PRINTING TYPES
THEIR HISTORY, FORMS, AND USE
PRINTING TYPES
THEIR HISTORY, FORMS, AND USE

A STUDY IN SURVIVALS

BY
DANIEL BERKELEY UPDIKE

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

"Nunca han tenido, ni tienen las artes otros enemigos que los ignorantes"

VOLUME II

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CHAPTER XV

TYPES OF THE NETHERLANDS: 1500–1800

THOUGH Netherlands printing never equalled the exquisite work of the best French printers between 1500 and 1550, by the middle of the sixteenth century the primacy in printing had begun to pass from France to Holland. This was chiefly because the Roman Church, and especially the theologians of the Sorbonne, were discouraging French scholarship, forbidding Hebrew studies, fearing the study of Greek, and, by thus impeding scholarship, impeding the career of that fine figure, the French scholar-printer. The palm for printing passed to Holland also, largely because of two great names; and the books one naturally first thinks of in considering the Netherlands press are the ample sixteenth century volumes by Christophe Plantin, and the “tight,” business-like little editions printed by various Elzevirs in the seventeenth century. We first consider the work of these two presses, and then some sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth century books by other Netherlands printers.

PLANTIN was a Frenchman. He was born at Saint Avertin, near the city of Tours, about the year 1520, and after various wanderings in his own country he came to Antwerp, where he engaged in book-binding and working in leather. Incapacitated through an accident from continuing his trade, he became a printer—a métier with which he was already familiar. The books which he printed show
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his Gallic training and taste. Partly through the political situation of the Netherlands—still under Spanish rule—and partly through his eminence as a scholarly typographer, he came to have extended relations with many notable men. He began to print at Antwerp in 1555, and established a foundry in connection with his press in 1563, where a certain Sabon—whose name was given to a size of German type—was employed. At first Plantin apparently purchased current and local material; later he began to import matrices of foreign fonts or to have his types cut for him. Though he made Antwerp a centre of printing, this printing was characteristic not so much of the Netherlands as of France. This was not solely because Plantin was a Frenchman, but because he so constantly procured and used French products. François Guyot of Antwerp, a type-cutter and founder, who was one of the earliest fournisseurs to the Plantin press, was a Frenchman of Parisian origin. With Robert Granjon of Lyons—who for a time lived at Antwerp—Plantin had continuous dealings. Sanlecque supplied some of Plantin’s fonts; at the Garamond sale he acquired certain important “strikes” and types; and Guillaume Le Bé I and Hautin supplied part of his equipment. Some delightful roman and italic fonts came, apparently, from the office of Simon de Colines. Granjon supplied some of Plantin’s civilité, and also cut the Greek and Syriac type for his Polyglot Bible—the Hebrew being from Le Bé. This famous Polyglot in eight volumes (printed by Plantin under the patronage of Philip II of Spain, and edited by Benito Arias Montano, Philip’s chaplain) was his masterpiece and also almost his ruin. “Learning hath gained most by those books by which the Printers have lost,” says Thomas Fuller in his Holy State. “Christopher Plantine [sic] by printing of his curious interlineary Bible
CXXI

MISSA. Quare tristis es, anima mea.

Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison,

Yri e e leison, ij.

193. Music Types employed in De la Hôte's Masses: Plantin, Antwerp, 1578 (reduced)
in Anwerp [sic] through the unreasonable exactions of the King's officers, sunk and almost ruined his estate." The Spanish Crown later granted the Plantin press special privileges for printing service-books for the Spanish Church. This was a monopoly retained for a long time by Plantin's descendants, and (as we shall see) proved an obstacle to the progress of liturgical printing in Spain. Between 1568 and 1570, Plantin bought the Netherlands "rights" of the new Breviary of Pius V; for the new Missal he purchased a monopoly for the Netherlands, Hungary, and portions of Germany. These privileges assured the press of a staple product which was a veritable gold mine to him and his descendants.

Plantin, after the death of Guyot and the cessation of his relations with Granjon, appears to have taken up with a Ghent type-founder, Henric van der Keere the younger, or, as he preferred to call himself, Henri du Tour; and between the years 1570 and 1580 Plantin's own foundry apparently was closed—Du Tour supplying everything. He, too, seems to have been of French origin—indeed, Fournier speaks of him as living at Paris. The music fonts in Plantin's office were of remarkable magnificence, and some of his books of Masses, especially those by Georges de la Hèlle, are strikingly handsome (fig. 193). Of these music types some of the best were cut by Du Tour. In 1580, the year of Du Tour's death, he was, according to Rooses,¹ the only type-founder in the country. There were also Netherlands founders from whom Plantin purchased types, whose names have come down to us, but the greater part of his equipment was by French hands.

The following letter to Moretus, written from Paris, De-

cember 12, 1598, tells something of the relations between Garamond and Plantin, as well as Plantin’s dealings with Guillaume Le Bé I, whose son, Guillaume Le Bé II, writes it.

"I have long had a great desire to write you, understanding you to be son-in-law of the late M. Plantin (whom may God absolve), who during his lifetime was a great friend of my late father’s, which has caused me, through the kindness with which your nephew, M. de Varennes, has addressed me, to take up my pen, in order that thereby I may make overtures toward renewing between us the acquaintance which existed between our fathers—which is the first reason moving me to write; the second being, that as I know you have the matrices and punches which M. Plantin had and likewise punches of the *petit texte* cut by Garamond, I would pray and beg you to accommodate me with a set of these matrices (without justifying them, as long as they are struck on copper of good quality and are deeply sunk), and as a ‘trade.’ I have Garamond’s other punches which my late father purchased from Garamond’s widow, of which I will accommodate you with any, in even exchange, such as the *paragon romain*, the *gros romain*, the *canon* and the *petit romain*. It was my late father who sold M. Plantin the said punches of *petit texte* and those of the *Saint-Augustin* which I know you have, for my father bought all these from Garamond, and then, at the desire of Monsieur your father, he sold him these two kinds, although my father retained for himself a set of matrices of each. But in selling a large assortment to a merchant, he had to dispose of his *petit texte* because this customer wanted so much to have it; and that is why, not possessing it, I desire to secure it. I have also several fine fonts of Hebrew letters—for text as well as notes—with which
Quisquis est, qui moderatione & constantia polleat, quietus animo est, fibile ipse placatus, ut neque tabescat molestiis, neque frangatur timore, nec sitienter quid expectans, ardeat deside-

III. TVSCVL.

Sapienti nihil potest videri magnum in rebus humanis, cui æternitas omnis, totiusque mundi nota sit magnitudo. Nam quid aut in studiis humanis, aut in tam exigua vitae breuitate magnum sapienti videri potest, quia semper animo sit excubat, ut ei nihil improviso accidente possit, nihil

Sapientia nihil est melius. 2. de natura Deorum.

Ad rempublicam plurima veniunt commoda, si moderatrix omnium rerum presto est sapientia: hinc adipsos qui eam adepti sunt, laus, honor, dignitas confluat.
1. de Inuent.

194. Roman and Italic Types: Plantin Specimen, Antwerp, 1567
to print rabbinical commentaries, as is done in the great Bible printed at Venice; I think you have several kinds of Hebrew letters, for my father cut them and sold them to M. Plantin, your father. If it is agreeable to you to accommodate me with a set of matrices of the aforesaid petit texte of Garamond's on the above named conditions, I beg you to send me a reply. I am living at rue Saint Jehan de Beauvais, au clos Bruneau, and am a dealer in paper, and a master type-founder. By doing this you will impel me with all my heart to render you service wherever it may please you to command it; praying God that He may preserve you, and remaining, Sir, your servant and friend,

Guillaume Le Bé.

"I send you an impression of the letter I call petit texte, which I wish to procure."

Some of Plantin's fonts are shown in his Specimen of 1567. This Index, sive Specimen Characterum Christophori Plantini showed forty-one specimens—seven Hebrew, six Greek, twelve roman, ten italic, three cursive, and three gothic types. Rooses shows but six roman, four italic, and three cursive fonts. I hesitate to give these types attributions, though the larger sizes of roman and italic appear very French in style (fig. 194). Those headed De Claris Orat. and Pro Sesto appear to be from the office of De Colines (fig. 195).

The cursivees headed Pro Flacco and I Offic. are the work of Granjon, whom Plantin frequently employed (fig. 196). The cursive type headed III De Legib. is attributed to another type-cutter. Various forms of cursive type are displayed in Plantin's Polyglot Bible, and the Plantin office

1 Rooses' Plantin, after page 232. His reproduction, from which our plates are taken, is slightly reduced.
2 Druckschriften, pls. 8 and 30.
at Leyden possessed fine fonts of it. A peculiarity of all these fonts is that lower-case letters to be used in the middle of a word often differ entirely from those to be employed as final letters.

But the Dutch vernacular types, which reproduced typographically writing then current in the Netherlands,—the only "national" character given by the Low Countries to typography,—we owe to Ameet Tavernier and Henric van der Keere. Tavernier, who, no doubt, had seen Granjon's types, produced a similar character in Flemish style about 1559, which, because it was native, and not (like Granjon's) foreign, had a great success, and was used by Plantin. Van der Keere (already mentioned as supplying Plantin with material) also made an essay of a letter façon d'écriture about 1575; his font comprising 110 characters. Specimens of these types exist in the Enschedé collection.

Though not germane to our investigation, they are of considerable interest.

Another "document" on Plantin's types is the publication of the Plantin-Moretus Museum entitled Specimen des Caractères employés dans l'Imprimerie Plantinienne, issued in 1905. Forty-eight characters used by Plantin are displayed, although the basis on which the selection was made is not indicated. The monumental canon d'Espagne—a large, round gothic letter intended for liturgical books, and, I believe, cut for a Spanish Antiphonary ordered by the King of Spain but never printed—is a very good ex-

1 Enschedé's Fonderies de Caractères et leur Matériel dans les Pays-Bas, du XVe au XIXe Siècle, pp. 44-47.
2 Ibid., pp. 40, 41, 47, 48, 49.
3 For a valuable survey of these types see Les Caractères de Civilité de Robert Granjon et les Imprimeurs Flamands, Antwerp, 1921, by Maurits Sabbe (of the Musée Plantin) and Marius Audin. It contains twelve reproductions of civilité fonts by Granjon, Tavernier, etc.
V. TUSCUL.

O VITAE Philosophia dux, o virtutis indagatrix, expultrixque vitiorum quae modo non, sed omnino viri hominum fine te scie potuisset? Tu virbus perepissisti, tu dissipatos homines in societatem vitae conuocasti. Tu eos inter se primo didicisti, deinde conuissi, tum literarum & volum commuonione inuixisti. Tu inuentrix legum, tu magistra rerum & disciplinae fuisti. Tu vitis tranquillitatem largisti nobis eis, & terrorcum mortis sustulisti.

Thales Milefsus, ut obiurgatorum fuos consueret, olet dendræque Philosophum, si ei commodum esset, pecuniam facere posse, omnem oleam antequam florere coepisset, in agrum Milefio coë conceive diruceret. Animaduererat fortasse quaedam scientiam olearium vberatatem fore. 1. de Deinax.

Qui ceteris rebus pro nihil habitis rerum naturam studiös inuenit, & sapientissimi studiös & Philosophi habentur. 2. Tucl.

Philosophii, virtutis magistri. 3. Tucl.

DE CLARIS ORAT.

PACIS est eomen potique loci, & iam bene constiuit civis est qui alium quaedam eloquentia.

Nemo est qui se seu initio genus humanum in montibus alius dissipatum, prudenter consiliis compellat: & dilectoror oratione delectari, se oppidas menibusque ftulsi. 1. de Orat.

Fuit quaedam tempus, cum in agris homines pastrum bellumem more vagabantur, & viatu ferbarum, sibi vitam propagabant: nec ratione animi pide, necque, necque viribus corporis admissabat. Nemo legitimae viderat nuptias, necnemo censero in specifier et liberis. Quo tempore quidam magnus videlicet vir & sapienti, dissipatos homines in agris, & in locis fluitissibus abditos, racione quaedam compultum in vnum locum, & congregato, & eos ex feris & immanibus mites redidit, & manifestos. 1. de Orat.


195. Roman and Italic Types: Plantin Specimen, Antwerp, 1567 (reduced)
PRO FLACCO.

Discretsus, conditions d'administrer, e regir les cités et provinces, resquelles diligence est pleine de rancune, negligence et dissimulation est presque : resquelles securite est dangereuse, insécurité non aggrable, le parler plaign d’embuscèr, estrangere pérnicieuse, se font familiers à tous, l’esprit de plusieurs plain d’indignation, couvert secret, et strantries ouvertes : toutes resquelles choses attendent les preuresses tenant le possession de leurs dignitè, elles seurmont à turg quand ils sont presents, et se délassent lors qu’ils s’y sont.

III. DE LEGIB.

Quand le inge voulut prononcer sa sentence, il se doit soumettre qu’il a d’dien pour tournier, s’est à dire son esprit, autre leç Suspense à l’homme c’est plus Smicine.

En est gif de la sagisv Singe, qu’il prit : sa command d’être essund, guoit aussi qu’il le doit, ait soumette mon pas combien il fut est promis, mais aussi iniquit en subordonne puissance, pour l’abond. C’est a voyer d’tresfois toujours la sentence. 2. Office.

196. Roman, Italic, and Cursive Types: Plantin Specimen, Antwerp, 1567 (reduced)
ample of the black-letter peculiar to Spain at that period (fig. 197). Certain fonts similar to it were used in Italy. The *moyen canon romain* and its italic appear to me French, as does the *petit canon romain* with its italic; but the *moyen canon flamand* is a characteristic Netherlands black-letter. The roman and italic types are, of course, old style, most of them heavy in cut. The *ascendonica cursive* is an interesting, lively italic in which two forms of double s should be noted, as well as the lower-case g's, the ligatured sp, the ampersand, and the capital Q—characters closely allied to handwriting. On the other hand, the *gros texte italique*, the *augustin italique* (1st), and the *cicéro italique* remind one (in general grayness of effect when printed) of the light italic which came into use in France in the late eighteenth century. In the smaller types of this specimen there seem to be two sorts of fonts: (1) traditional old style with its interesting italic, and (2) lighter roman and italic, more even in cut, more monotonous in colour, and much less attractive. The beautiful type from the De Colines office, called *Colineus roman* and *Colineus italique*, I have spoken of. The type-specimen ends with a page each of Greek and Hebrew—one of the latter from De Colines' office—and then follow music types and borders, some of which are familiar. A vast quantity of ornamental alphabets, many of which are of great magnificence, do not come properly under our survey. Two classes of these, however, may be noted—the calligraphic letters (fig. 198), probably derived from the ornamental lettering of contemporary writing-masters, meant to be used with *civilité* types, or with music; and the class of alphabet represented by the famous historiated letters numbered 6 and 14, from the first of which a letter (reduced) is shown in the plate from De la Hèlle's Mass (fig. 195).
How such types look in pages may be seen by consulting Plantin’s books—particularly the monumental Polyglot Bible (1572), the prefatory matter to the first volume being a magnificent display of his noble fonts (fig. 199). This work is generally to be found in any large library. For those who desire an easy ascent to Parnassus (though they will not get very far up the mountain), the plates of text-pages in Rooses’ life of Plantin will be found convenient; or, better still, the few but telling facsimiles in Druckschriften des XV bis XVIII Jahrhunderts. But Plantin’s books themselves are the only satisfactory exhibition of his types.

Plantin’s earlier printing is more delicate than his later work. A good example of his first manner is an “emblem book” published in 1567—an edition of Claude Paradin’s Symbola Heroica, translated from French into Latin, and printed in 32mo form. The text of this delightful little book is set in a delicate italic which harmonizes agreeably with the spirited rendering of the designs. Displayed lines, employed in connection with the italic text, are, however, set in roman, and the prefatory matter is almost entirely printed in it (fig. 200). Very reserved in style, the book reminds one of editions from the Lyons press. A 12mo herbal, Rariorum Stirpium Hispaniae Historia, by Charles de l’Écluse (Clusius), printed by Plantin in 1576,—also set almost entirely in italic,—resembles French or Italian work. Simple in arrangement, and with charming woodcuts of plants, it is another example of his earlier and more intimate man-

1 Druckschriften, pls. 7, 8, 16, 30, 87. Plate 7 shows a beautiful old style type, very beautifully set (our fig. 199). Plate 8 shows Dutch civilité type, with its semi-calligraphic initial. Notice the “written” look of the capital letters in the first seven lines. Plate 16 shows an italic type. Notice the ampersands in the third, fourth, and seventeenth lines. Plate 30 shows a small size of civilité. Plate 87 exhibits a massive old style roman font, in which observe the final n’s, e’s, and t’s.
Plato Atheniensis. Dicebat in morte amicorum quiescendū esse: partim eo quod nondum liqueret, bonum esset an malum quod accidisset:

197. Canon d'Espagne from Plantin Office
REGNI NEAPOLITANI
PRIVILEGIVM.

PHILIPPVS DEI GRATIA REX
CASTELLÆ, ARAGONVM, VTRIVSQUE
SICILIO, HERVILVALE, VNGARIO, DALMATIO, ET CROATIO, &C.

ANTONIVS Perrenotus, S.R.C. tit. Sancti Petri ad Vincula Preby-
ter, Cardinalis de Granuels, prefate Regis & Catholicae Maiestatis
a coniilis starus, & in hoc Regno locum tenens, & Capitaneus ge-
neralis, &c. Magno viri Christophori Plantino, ciuii Antwerp-
se, & prefate Catholicae Maiestatis Prototypographo fideli Re-
gio, dilecto, gratiam Regiam & bonam voluntatem. Cum ex pre-
clarorum virorum litteris certiores factis simus, opus Bibliorum quinque linguarum,
cum tribus Apparatu tomis eceleberitum, resque publicae Christianae vitillissimis,
eiusdem serenissime Maiestatis iussu, ope atque auspiciis, ad publicam totius Chris-
tiani orbis commoditatem & ornamentum, typis longe elegantissimis, & praefan-
tissimi viri Benedicti Arie Montani praepus cura & studio. quam emendariissimè
a te excusum esse, eiusdemque, exemplar sanctissimo Domino nostro PP. Gregorio XIII.
oblato, ita plausisse, vt prefate Maiestatis sanctos conatus, & Regi Catholico in
primis conuenientes, sumnmore laudari, & amplissima tibi priuilegia ad hoc opus
ruendum Motu proprio conceferis. Nos quoque cum naturali genio impellimus ad
fouendum praecista qua que ingeniis, quae insigni quopiam comatus ad publica com-
moda promouenda atque augenda aspirant, primum quidem longe praeclastissimum
hoc fuit Maiestatis studium, vt vere Heroicum & Promei, Eumenis, aliorumque
olim conscriptum in Bibliothecis inoffendis eò praehansus, quod non vane simulo
gloria, vt illi, sed reæ Religionis consecranda & propaganda zelo susceptum, meri-
to inspicientes, deinde eximiari operam doctissimi B. Arie Montani, ac immortali
laude dignam admirantes, rebusque tuis, quasmodum tuin nomine expeditor, pro-
spiceris cupientes, ne meritis frauderis frutibus tanta operis, & impense, quæ summa
felicitudine & industria in opus ad finem feliciter perducendum a te etiam infirmæ
esse accepimus, cumque certa confert, opus hoc nunquam hatus hoc in Regno ex-
cusum esse, dignumque ipso S. felis A postholicus suffragio fit iudicaturn ut diuulgetur
ac priuilegii ornetur. Tuis igiitur iustissimis votis, vt deliberato conplo, ista acari &
experieas fronte lubenter annuentes, tenore presenonym ex gratia speciali, prefate
Maiestatis nomine, cum deliberatione & assistencia Regii collateralis conpiii, statui-
num & decreuismus, ne quis intra viginti annos proximos, a die dat. presnetum dein-
ceps numerandos, in hoc Regio dictum Bibliorum opus, cum Apparatum tomis
coniunctis, vel Apparatum ipfos, aut eorundem aliquam seforiis, erit ipfius Chi-
ristophori, aut caufiam & ius ab ipfo habencia, licentiam imprimeræ autab aliis impref-
vendere, aut in fuisse officiniis vel aliis tenere pooffit. Volentes & decernètes exprefse,
quod

199. Page from Biblia Polyglotta: Plantin, Antwerp, 1572
(reduced)
SYMBOLA

HEROICA

M. CLAUDII PARADINI,
BELLIOCENSIS
CANONICI,
ET D. GABRIELIS SYMENONIS.

Multo, quàm antea, fidelius de Gallica lingua
in Latinum conversā.

ANTVERPIAE.
Ex officina Christophori Plantini.

M. D. LXXVIL

CVM PRIVILEGIO.

200. Text-page and Title in Plantin’s early manner, Antwerp, 1567
The later Plantin fonts needed great space around them when in mass; and this they have in that splendid Atlas by Abraham Ortel—*Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*—first published in 1570. In a copy of the edition of 1584 in the Library of Harvard College, the elaborate copper-plate title-page is made gorgeous by colour, and the portrait of Ortel is surrounded with a complicated framework which is a mass of illumination. The maps are gaily coloured, too, and their decorative *cartouches* are specially brilliant. The typography (in roman and italic fonts) stands up well under the strain of its coloured decoration. The prefatory type-matter is magnificent, especially the page of spaced capitals, arranged in a dedication to Philip II. The alphabetical index of maps, in spaced capital letters, the compliments to Ortel in Latin and Greek, and the tabular arrangement of type (in the *Nomenclator Ptolemaicus* generally bound with the Atlas), are all most distinguished. The final "privilege" in *civilité*, and directions to the binder, etc., on the last page, close a book in which a difficult problem is met with courage and solved with gusto. As the size of type used in each page is dictated by a desire to fill it, and the matter varies in amount, the volume is a sort of specimen-book of Plantin's fonts.

Plantin's folio *Opera* of Tacitus, annotated by Lipsius, printed in 1585 (a third issue of this work) is also a beautiful

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1 For other examples of Plantin's earlier way of working, see title-pages reproduced in Rooses' *Plantin*, pp. 58, 60, 84.

2 Commonly known as Ortelius.
book. It is very simply arranged. The Annals and History occupy a section by themselves, and Lipsius' commentary to the former, and notes to the latter, occupy divisions marked by separate title-pages. This fine, lively piece of printing employs for its preliminary matter many of Plantin's mellowest and most beautiful types. The opening addresses, composed in noble fonts of roman, or in an italic full of swing and movement, show the Gallic touch. In the body of the work the type used is a smaller size of excellent roman; but the pages are so large, there are such masses of it, and it is so closely set, that the effect is a bit overpowering. Lipsius' commentaries at the end show that sad mixture of roman and italic, spaced capitals, and Greek quotations, dear to the learned at that date. Yet in the main, the Tacitus is a fine piece of printing.

Plantin also printed books in the Flemish black-letter current at that day. An example of this is the Rechten, ende Costumen van Antwerpen, printed at the expense of that city, in 1582. It is not by any means a "pure" black-letter book, for (as in some sixteenth century English books) roman was used as a display letter to a "norm" of black-letter—exactly reversing our present-day use of black-letter and roman. Its title, preface, and some displayed matter employ italic. A letter quoted in the black-letter "Confirmation of Privileges" is set in roman type; and passages in roman here and there occur. But the text, which runs to nearly four hundred quarto pages, is composed in a superb Flemish lettre de forme, massive and very fine. Some passages in civilité are interesting, and so are the decorated initials. This book is supplemented by a sort of "order of procedure" for meetings of city officers. Would that "municipal printing" to-day had such dignity! (fig. 202).

In addition to the Polyglot and other Bibles, and missals,
CAROLI CLVSII
RARIORVM STIRPIVM
HISTORIE,
LIBER SECVNDVS.

RARORVM, fruticum & suffruticum absoluta Histora, reliquarum stirpium descriptiones adgrediemur, inter quas Coronariæ (quod insigni colorum varietate, omnium oculosi licè in se conueriant, eolque mirum in modum recreent) meritor primum locum sibi vendicare videmur. Initiumigitur a Bulbosis, vt potes nobilioribus, facientes, reliquas ordone deinde prosequemur.

De Narcissi. CAP. I.

Duo sunt apud Dioscoridem Narcissi genera, medio lutere, & medio purpureum. Ego, prater postremum (qui nonnullis Narbonensis Gallia pratis ponti provenit) quatuor alia genera per Hispanias observavi, magnitudine, florum foliorumque forma & colore, florendi denis, tempore inter se differentia.

Prior ergo Narcissi 1. tertia aut quaterna folia habet, virentia, oblonga, Pors solius similia sère, caulis concavum, fructum, sine solis pedem alium, in terum alsiorem, & in summo flores sex aut octo, pluriresae, triangulis pediculis insidentes, & è membrana crumpeentes, medioiter amplos, cum granitate quadra odoratos, sex soliis albis constantes, quorum medium calyx omnino luteus occupat, stamina brevia sex cum totidem.
Rechten, ende Costumen van Antwerpen.

Hande Jurisdiction.

I.

Nden eersten, sprekkende van Antwerpen/is men begrijpende niet alleenlijk tgena dat binnen de poorten oft muren van der stadt befolten/maer ook dat bierten/ende binnen de Turfjent der seluer stadt gheleghen is.

Welcke turfjent gaat ende streke tot Dorne-brugge/ende II. Berchem/ende anno voort om de stadt van Antwerpen/ volghende t'Privilegie byden keisert Maximianus verleent in Noveembri An. 1488, naewtynen van der chaertte hier by ghewoordt.

Item alle de ghene/die binnen de voorspheyen limiten geboven worden/ zijn voorters/ende d'Inwoonders alsdaer/ziejn Ingheleennen van Antwerpen.

202. Page of Rechten, ende Costumen van Antwerpen, Plantin, 1582 (reduced)
breviaries, and such-like liturgical books, I recommend the student of Plantin's work to examine the botanical books by Lobel, Dodoens, and Charles de l'Ecluse; the atlases by Abraham Ortel; Luigi Guicciardini's Description of the Low Countries in various languages; the works of Arias Montano and Justus Lipsius; the music of G. de la Hèle, Cornet, and others; the emblem books of Junius, Alciati, Sambucus, etc., and the poetry of Houwaert.

Plantin died in 1589. He was buried in Antwerp Cathedral, and on his tomb was inscribed:

CHRISTOPHORUS SITUS HIC PLANTINUS, REGIS IBERI
TYPOGRAPHUS, SED REX TYPOGRAPHUM IPSE FUIT

Plantin's two daughters were married to printers— the elder to Raphelengius, associated for many years with Plantin, and who previously taught Latin and Greek at Cambridge, and afterwards accepted the chair of Hebrew at Leyden. To this University he was also printer— as was Plantin himself for a brief period. The other daughter married Moretus, who, after Plantin's death in 1589, in association with his widow, carried on the press— the Plantin-Moretus Office, as it was usually called. Its work, at its best, preserved much of the later Plantin style. Two examples of it must suffice. The first is Rembert Dodoen's Stirpium Historia, printed by Plantin's grandson, Johan Moretus, in 1616— a revised Latin edition of the book earlier issued by Plantin. The preliminary matter is set in Plantin's superb roman and italic fonts (fig. 203). The actual book, most agreeably illustrated with brilliantly printed woodcuts of plants, is composed in a small size of roman type of great mellowness and beauty. Simple two-line initial letters start each chapter, the title of which is set in a small italic. It is a charming piece of work— ex-
cept that the chapter-heads are too much crowded into the text—and a fine example of "the Plantin manner"; perhaps too much of a survival to be typical of Moretus. An odd feature is the final table of names of the plants described, in different languages. Arabic names, etc., are set in italic; Italian, Spanish, and French, in roman; but German, Bohemian, English, etc., equivalents are arranged in black-letter. Dodoens was among the great botanists of his day, and Plantin printed a number of his books.

Another seventeenth century book from the Plantin Office is the Jesuit Hugo's Obsidio Bredana. This interesting folio gives an account of the siege of Breda—familiar still through Velasquez' great picture of its surrender. Its printing retains much of Plantin's later manner. It is composed entirely in an ample roman type. It was issued in 1626 and is a very dignified piece of work.

The Officina Plantiniana—more a palace than a printing-house—in the Marché du Vendredi at Antwerp, has long been, and still is (as the Musée Plantin), one of the sights of Europe. It is probably the most beautiful building—both inside and out—dedicated to the uses of printing, in the world; nor is there any other establishment which gives such an accurate idea of an early printing-house. The presses, type, and materials of Plantin, Moretus, and their successors have all been preserved, as well as their account-books and correspondence. Not the least valuable part of the collection is the original plates and blocks of ornaments, and designs drawn for the press by Rubens and other artists. To the student the most interesting of the rooms are the type-cutters' work-shop, the letter-foundry, the press-room, and the proofreaders' room, which are kept much in their primitive condition. The building and its contents were in the possession of successive members of the
Largus opes propriae diffundens solus in omnes,
Sic hoc Scriptorum veterum monimenta volumen
Illustrat splendore suo, noctemque recentum,
Arte nova pulsae penitus caligine nudat.
Iure igitur viuax, omniq. perennius arce
Maestate sua stabit, nec firmius ullum.
Olim cudit opus vapidis fornacibus Ætna
Cyclopum laffata manus, ferroq. coacta
Sudantis rara sub vestis Pyracmonis artes
Sentiscent assi cariern prius, & solida se
Fraudatus Steropes operam plorabit inerem.
O qua fama tuas olim se stabitur umbras?
Venturi quantus populi memoraberis ore
Dodonae pater? quanto celebrabere plausus?
Cum tibi se pasci debebunt plebsque, patresq.,
Seruatiq. senes, ignaraq. virgo mariti?
Funera quid metuis? viuet post busta super fistes
Pars immensa tui, nulloq. taceberis suo,
Arque ipso à senio sumet tua gloria vires.
Nem prius astra polum toto radiantia calo
Destituent, sterilesq., fragosum littos arenas,
Inq. autumnsi nova palmite gemma tumebit,
Et pede pressa fluet tepido vindecum Vere,
Quam taceat nomenq. tuum, laudesq. minores,
Inrataq. intereaq. opera conamina vestra.
Moretus family until 1875, when it was ceded to the city of Antwerp by Edouard Moretus, the last proprietor, who died at Antwerp in 1880. The place is full of charm, and its sunny, vine-clad courtyard a haunt of ancient peace.

ELZEVIR, the other great name in the history of printing in the Netherlands, belongs properly to the seventeenth century. The founder of the family, Louis Elzevir, a bookseller and bookbinder at Louvain, removed to Leyden for religious reasons—the Elzevirs were Protestants—in 1580, and began to publish books there three years later. Five of his sons carried on the Elzevir activities. Utrecht, Leyden, Amsterdam, all had members of the family at work there, and for nearly a century and a half they were the best known printers of the Low Countries. The great figures in the family were Bonaventure and a nephew Abraham—partners from the year 1625—who published editions of the classics in convenient format. “In the Elzevirs,” as Aldis says, “we have parted company with the scholar-printers who themselves edited and revised the texts which they presented to the learned world. We have, instead, intelligent printer-publishers, excellent men of business, anxious to produce books that both textually and typographically should sustain their credit for good work. To secure correctness they employed scholars to edit their publications and see them through the press.”

The Elzevirs are popularly remembered nowadays by their little editions in 32mo, with engraved title-pages, narrow margins, and compact pages of a solid, monotonous type which is Dutch and looks so. These are the volumes which romantic novelists—who are seldom good
bibliographers—like to call “priceless Elzevirs,” though they were then, and are now, cheap books. These and other Elzevir editions had the merit of handy form, good editing, and eminently common-sense qualities. But even this scarcely accounts for their tremendous popularity. The Abbé de Fontenai, writing in 1776, says that the Elzevirs “have made Holland celebrated for printing, through an elegance of type which the most famous printers of Europe have never been able to attain, either before or since. This charm consists in the clearness, delicacy, and perfect uniformity of the letters, and in their very close fitting to each other”; and he adds that “the taste of young people for literature very often shows itself by a great fondness for these little Dutch editions, which give so much pleasure to the eye.” John Evelyn, who was in Leyden a hundred and twenty-five years earlier, was of the same mind, and speaks of visiting the printing-house and shop of the famous Elzevir, “renowned, for the politeness of the characters and editions of what he has published, through Europe.”

As publishers, the Elzevirs held somewhat the relative position to the work of their time that Aldus did in his day. They were pioneers in the popularization of books through convenient format and low price. How modern in ideas as publishers the Elzevirs were, is shown by their series of travel-books called “The Republics”—little historical and geographical descriptions of European countries by various authors, put together by a judicious use of scissors and the paste-pot. The Helvetiorum Respublica, devoted to Switzerland; Respublica, sive Status Regni Scotiae et Hiberniae (fig. 204), a similar volume on Scotland and Ireland—both issued in 1627; and a like book on France—Gallia, by

Evelyn also records that at Antwerp at “the shop of Plantine I bought some books for the namesake only of that famous printer.”
CONTENEA
hujus libelli.

I.
SCOTIA REGNI TOPOGRAPHIA; &
Georgio Buchanno Scotto,
& Guili. Camdeno Anglo.

II.
Inscriptiones antiquae in Scotia.

III.
De animantibus quadrupedibus, volatilibus, aquariliibvs Scotvs, ex Hector Boethio.

IV.
De Scotorum primiti recentibusque insitusue ac moribus, ex Hector Boethio.

A. V. De

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II.
HIBERNIA DESCRIPTIO,
limites, magnitudo, celli, folium
qualitates, incolae, divisio. Ex
Camdeno & Speedo.

N mari, quod Britannis Mot
veridit, Hibernis Farig. Latinis
Vergivm dicitur, Brit-
thnix latus occiduum clau-
dit celeberrima insula HIBERNIA.
Incolis Erin, Britannis Verdon, S. Angli
Eireland dita. Potentiis hae
insula ab altero in aquilonem, non
latior quam longior, ut Strabo prodi-
dit, sed forma lenticulari sive ovalis
nec vixiis dieurn navigatione, ut
Philemon apud Tholomxum tradtis;
sex decem sexies longirodine
celebrium millia passuum, latitudine
ex xex impet. Ab ortu Angliam tur-
bido mari dujundam habet, quod Hi-
bernium vocant; ab occalo immenso
oceano occidentali; ab septentrione
Descaledonio; ab altero Vergvio al-
luitur. Magnitudine & circuio olim

204. Title-page, Contents, and Text-page of one of Elzevir's Republics, Leyden, 1627
J. de Laet—published in 1629, formed parts of this pocket series.

Of the celebrated Elzevir editions of the classics in small format (styled in-12, but what we should call 32mo), the Caesar of 1635 is considered one of the best. This was published at Leyden. Its engraved title-page, a preface set in italic, and prefatory matter printed sometimes in roman and sometimes in italic, its neat little maps, its tight little headpieces, and compact, monotonous type are very like all Elzevirs. These editions were all very much alike. Each division of a book generally started with title and chapter heads set in capitals and small capitals, very much spaced; the subject of the chapter (if any) being set in a tiny italic. The running-title was in capitals and small capitals, also spaced, and page after page in book after book was set in this style. To have seen one Elzevir volume in prose and another in poetry, in this format, is to have seen all—or certainly as many as one wishes to see! How any one ever read with comfort pages so solidly set in such monotonous old style type passes understanding—or at least mine. Elzevir editions were generally unannotated, and if notes occurred, they were usually placed at the end of the book.

The Pliny of 1635 and the Virgil of 1636 stand on a parity with the Caesar in the estimation of bibliophiles. The Leyden Terence of 1635 is also one of the most esteemed 32mo editions, and is easier to read because in Latin verse. The Leyden Florus of 1638, though of the same format, is more attractive. In 1642, the Elzevirs printed the Opera of Cicero in ten volumes, 32mo, and this, as Elzevirs go, is

1 The printers' marks, head-pieces, and ornaments of the Leyden and Amsterdam establishments, with a collection of similar material from different seventeenth century Dutch printing-houses, may be seen in Rahir's *Catalogue d'une Collection Unique de volumes imprimés par les Elzevier et divers Typographes Hollandais du XVIIe Siècle*, etc. Paris: Morgand, 1896.
an attractive edition. The engraved title-page is handsome, the portrait of Cicero not bad, the prefatory matter well arranged, and the rest of the work made up of the solid pages characteristic of the house (fig. 205). Daniel Elzevir’s Amsterdam edition of 1675 of St. Augustine’s Con- fessions, in 32mo, is also considered among the best of the Elzevir editions; and perhaps it is—though not beautiful. The Institutes of Justinian, an edition of which was printed by the same house in the next year, plentifully supplied with rubrication, is a book which was thought charming in its time. Still other editions which the student may look at are the Amsterdam Decameron of 1665 and the Virgil of 1676. Though considered so remarkable in their day, these editions now appear merely “well-enough” little books for the pocket. But they were largely copied by other Dutch publishers, and by publishers throughout Europe—the same rugged little types were employed, the same style of composition was repeated, and the same effect produced, except that it was not so good. The Elzevir 32mo editions had a series of decorations peculiar to themselves, which were as “air-tight” in effect as the pages which they adorned.

The Elzevirs also printed editions of the classics in octavo—less typical in one sense, but better, because the type, being larger, was handsomer, and being more leaded, was easier to read. The typographic style, however, was much the same. These editions were annotated, and the very full notes were set in double column at the foot of each page. The octavo edition of Caesar of 1661 is a good instance of this format (fig. 206).

If a 32mo Elzevir edition were inflated until it became a folio, you would have a very good likeness to the second revised edition of Philip Cluverius’s Germania Antiqua,
De Oratore

M. Tullii Ciceronis

Ad Qvintvm Fratrem

Dialogi tres de Oratore.

Dialogus, sec Lib. I.

Ostam mihi sapere numero, & memoria vetera repentina, perbas et usile, Quince frater, illi videri solens, qui in opima Republica, cum & honori, & rerum gestarum gloriam florentem, eum visce cursum tenere ponenter, vel in negotio fine peritae, vel in uno cum dignitate esse posse. Ac uis tempus illud, cum mihi quoque initium requiescendi, acque animum ad virumque nostrum pacatum studia revести fore, judicio, & prope ab omnibus concepsum esse arbitratio, si in figuris forensium rerum labor, & ambiguis occupationem, decurio honorum, etiam arbitrari sita cum conflctibus. Quam spem cogitationum, & consiliorum securitatem, cum graeis communium temporum, tum variis notis causis suffecerunt. Nam qui locos quietis & tranquillitatis plenissimas favity, in eo maxime molestiarum, & turbulenterim temporum exituare. Neque vero nobis capitisibus, acque exoptantibus studibus osti, damnit eos ad eam arret, quibus a pacece dedici suis, celebrandas, inter notisque recolendas. Nam prima saepe incidunt in ipsum perturbationem disciplinar vetatis, & consilium debeat in medium rerum omnium certamen acque dicentium, & hoc tempus omne posse concilianm objectibus suis studiis, qui per nos a communi pelle depulsi, in nonsecutis sequarum. Sed tam in his vel ase-
Liber II.

Usum effec Caesar in citeriore Gallia in hibernis, ut un supra demonstravimus, crebri ad cum rumores affercabantur, literisque item Labieni certior sit et omnes Belgas, quam tertiarm esse Gallias partem dixeramus, contra populum R. conjurare, obideaque inter se dare. Conjurandi has esse causas: primum, quod veterentur, ne, omni pacar Galii, ad cos exercitum nostrar adduceretur: dein de quod ab nonnullis Gallis follicitarentur, partim qui Germanos diutius in Gallia versari nolle; ita populi R. exercitum hieare arque inveterescere in Gallia molestè.
printed at the Elzevirs' Leyden house in 1631, for the formula used in making it is about the same. Except for the condensed italic of the reprinted introduction to the first edition—quite a new note in italic type—the fonts used are larger versions of those in smaller books. Type well set and displayed by good presswork gives a general effect that is excellent, and the masses of Greek quotations make it look very learned. The same author's Sicilia Antiqua (sometimes included as a supplement to the Italia Antiqua of 1624), printed by the Elzevir office in folio in 1619, is less conventional in style. Both books have engraved titles and maps, and the Germania a good many copper-plate illustrations. The Historia Naturalis Brasiliæ of Piso and Marcgravius, issued in 1648 with the Amsterdam imprint of Louis Elzevir, is a good example of an Elzevir folio. The text is printed in a handsome but rather too regular roman, which is very Elzevirian indeed.

In a letter written from Amsterdam in 1681 by the widow of Daniel Elzevir to the widow of Moretus, at Antwerp, we learn that the writer wished to dispose of part of the type-foundry inherited from her husband, Daniel Elzevir, which had descended in turn from Louis Elzevir. Some of its material was the work of Christoffel van Dyck, the great Dutch designer and type-cutter.

"Not feeling myself competent to manage everything," she writes, "I have decided to sell my type-foundry. It consists of twenty-seven sets of punches and fifty sets of matrices, which are the work of Christoffel van Dijk, the best master of his time, and of our own. This foundry is, consequently, the most famous which has ever existed. I have desired to inform you of the intended sale, and to send
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you specimens and catalogue so that, if agreeable to your
plans, you can seize the occasion and profit by it."

With this letter she sent a broadside specimen-sheet
which is reproduced, and the heading of which reads:

"Proofs of types cut by the late Christoffel van Dyck
such as will be sold at the residence of the widow of the late
Daniel Elsevier, on the Canal, near the Papen-bridge, at the
Elm, Wednesday, March 5, 1681" (fig. 207).

This broadside shows forty sorts of characters, if we
include two music fonts. There are four kinds of capital
letters, thirteen roman, twelve italic (the "pearl" not having
any italic of its own), eight black-letter, one Greek, and two
music fonts. Most of these types are recognizable as Dutch
by their sturdy qualities of workmanship, and, particularly
in the smaller sizes of roman and italic, by a tiresome even-
ness of design. Their closely fitted, large face on a small body
was preeminently practical, and adapted them for the small
formats of the Elzevir publications. In a table given by
Enschedé in his Fonderies de Caractères, he attributes but
twenty-eight of these characters to Van Dyck.\(^1\) The forms
of the types call for little attention; the Augustijn Romeyn
and the Augustijn Cursijf\(^3\) (that in the second column) have
certain swash letters which, in the roman, remind one of
Plantin's fonts. Some of the swash letters in the Kleene
Kanon Cursijf\(^4\) (sixth in the first column) and the capital
Q's in the Paragon Cursijf (next to the last in the first col-
umn) are interesting. It was from Dutch swash letters—
so much admired by Moxon\(^2\)—that the variant capitals in

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\(^1\) In the first column of the specimen, the first, fifth, sixth, seventh, and ninth
types shown are his. In the second column, the first three, and the capitals of
the Augustijn and Cursijf. In the third column, the first, third, sixth, seventh,
eighth, and ninth, and the last one; and all the types in the fourth column.

\(^2\) Moxon's Mechanick Exercises, or the Doctrine of Handy-Works applied
to the Art of Printing, pl. 15.
PROEVEN
Van
LETTEREN,
Die gesneden zijn door Wylen
CHRISTOFFEL VAN DYCK,
Soo als de selve werkstullen werden ten boeie van de Welvorne Wylen
DANIEL ELSEVIER,
Op't Water, by de Papenbrug, in den Olmboom, op Weensdag, den 5 Martii, 1681.

Text Curfijf.
Eo mifti Rex Succeu Theodoricum Galcchenbur-gnum, administratarum adiutorum comitum; Jos.
thus Schmadelius allenstebium ei deoict; qui
nei in eas diri commetare, & rei tormentaria Magn.
deburum exercerat ABCDEFGHJKLMNPQRSTVWXYZ\textsuperscript{2} Af.

Augustijn Romeyn.

Tardus aliquanto molestissime cum Oran.
gio acta res eit. Is enim reea posteri, Hol.
lantiae, Zelandique\textsuperscript{3} arque Burgundia Praef.
ctum defagueret quando fe huic; pretiosissim cec.
iddique, Aperta Insimicum Nollet cui Vinum.
hijklnopq sttvv ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOP Q STVWXYZ\textsuperscript{2}

Augustijn Curfijf.

Aedem, is ad puncti Gubernatorici ut abriet
Amstelodamento, non modo non a portaret, sed etiam
Nolleen a Gubernio trice Turionum a secreto pri
vata Concilii, qui Regis nomine Subseret silam

Descendam Romyn.

Maxime qui non perferre mulier in republica reformi-
ca ex uit maximun amulationen suave notis officia
num et uno Meaux, Tyrranico modo imperare con-
ficere, Terra miferis se & pecuniam; popularis Romanus
propriciit urbe republicae quattuorvientos defundit ini
rata. Iujo Cesareius inscriberat qui viam et, caele lapus
Helio Numantinio in tantum clarissinim Pervenient ut Ro-
manis Venetiius Carus Effet, Q n omnibus libris de vi ti
nias; id est, ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTVWXYZ\textsuperscript{2}

Descendam Curfijf.

Sedem tempore Triz, adserenda Caesareum imperii, in fis in
Prefectus prefectorum gloriae suae cum suis molis multas
federat. In aet. cum Persi arsflamma compreg praes, impignor
perseritam frangit; sed adin adcs istam vicoso vitat, ut tue
Parthia Turcicum potius bello divititer femurque suam redu
merit, Caspi & libconis, sed ons illud quantificatim.

Augustij Duyts.

Om de Waarschuyt te wagen wat de bereide
men macht. Assij in de Stadts poyst geïufje
wonderly, zoo is gij een van gezon Sla

ABCDEFGHJKLMNPQRSTVWXYZ\textsuperscript{2}

Meijen Duyts.

Zeven Bergh S. Engelz beyuynige bandt have
bestaan van der Ducht; dat sich als niet Michel Gottit
tot het houten der aflevering en Gude schuitt
kerne geschri \\nmet een Vertrouwe dat uitsluiten
alle diks samen met anderen suchen
ABCDEFGHJKLMNPQRSTVWXYZ\textsuperscript{2}

Meijen Nooren.

Germont Romeyn.

Jum preventure ad quinam & aliam questionem que eis de
ominibus Regis Caroli, ut contra puellas habe amicitia
inclus. Nolleen a Gubernio trice Turionum a secreto pri
vata Concilii, qui Regis nomine Subseret silam

Descendam Duyts.

Germont Curfijf.

Iam non necesse fur secundus hactenus de hominum imperialis

dignis. Amen. Sunt nulliur Insimicius promoveris. figae ne

ABCDEFGHJKLMNPQRSTVWXYZ\textsuperscript{2}

Germont Curfijf.

Iam non necesse fur secundus hactenus de hominum imperialis
dignis. Amen. Sunt nulliur Insimicius promoveris. figae ne

ABCDEFGHJKLMNPQRSTVWXYZ\textsuperscript{2}
Netherlands Types: 1500–1800

Caslon’s fonts were no doubt partly derived. In these old fonts, too, there were more unusual and tied letters than are now common.

The black-letter shown in this specimen is heavy in its larger sizes, and the capitals are awkward and overcharged—like Flemish sixteenth century fonts too much elaborated. In the medium sizes, the types seem better. The Greek characters would to-day be obscure because of the number of ligatures. The two fonts of music type are those known as the “Music of the Huguenots.” The specimen ends with many good type “flowers.” The last three still hold their own, not merely because they are attractive in design, but because they print so well. This is due to the cross-hatching of the designs, which gives a pleasant tone and variety of colour to the ornament, and was intentionally employed to help the presswork.

Mr. De Vinne, who attributed all these types to Van Dyck,—in the light of which his words should be read,—says,¹ that “Liberal allowance should be made for the worn types and the bad printing of the original specimen-sheets, as well as for some falling-off, even from this low standard, in a facsimile. . . . Yet the good form and fitting-up of the Flemish Black Letters are but slightly obscured; . . . any punch-cutter might be justly proud of them. The smaller sizes of roman and italic make a creditable appearance, but all of the larger sizes are not so good: some are really bad. Letters more uncouth than those of the capitals of the ‘Dukkelde Augustijn Kapitelen’ . . . were probably never shown by any reputable type-founder. Moxon’s tracings of the Van Dijck roman letter,² although rudely done, showing undue sharpening of the lower serifs, give a clearer idea of

¹ Historic Printing Types, New York, 1886, p. 43.
² Moxon’s Mechanick Exercises, pls. 11 and 12.
its peculiarities of style and of its real merit than can be had from the study of the Elzevir specimen-sheet. The general effect of this letter is shown to the best advantage in the larger types of some of the octavos of Daniel Elzevir. The smaller types of the duodecimos are too small to clearly show the peculiarities of cut. Van Dijck seems to have designed letters, with intent to have them resist the wear of the press. The body-marks were firm, and the counters of good width, not easily choked with ink. Hair lines were few and of positive thickness. The serifs were not noticeably short, but they were stubby, or so fairly bracketed to the body-mark that they could not be readily gapped or broken down. When printed, as much of the Elzevir printing was done, with strong impression and abundance of ink, the types were almost as bold and black as the style now known as Old Style Antique. This firmness of face explains the popularity of the so-called Elzevir letter. It may not be comely, but it is legible. The letters may be stubby, but they have no useless lines; they were not made to show the punch-cutter’s skill in truthful curves and slender lines, but to be read easily and to wear well.”

Mr. De Vinne appears oblivious of what seems so self-evident to some French writers—that Van Dyck slavishly copied the design of Garamond’s fonts. Dutch authorities think differently.

The punches and matrices of the types shown on the specimen-sheet were offered for sale in 1681, and were bought by a Spanish Jew named Athias—a Rabbi as well as a type-founder. Some twenty years earlier he had employed Van Dyck to cut Hebrew fonts which were used in a Hebrew Bible, for which Athias was given a medal and a golden chain by the States of Holland and West Friesland. In 1683, the following notice appeared in the Gazette
de Haarlem: "The attention of the public is called to the fact that the excellent and celebrated type-foundry of the late Christoffel van Dyck, sold by the heirs of the late D. Elzevir, together with other excellent matrices, Greek as well as Roman, brought together in the lifetime of the said Elzevir, has been reorganized at Amsterdam. Address Jan Bus in the house of Sr. Joseph Athias, where he is at work throughout the day. The price of the types is the same as in the time of Van Dyck and Elzevir." A broadside specimen which must have been brought out about the same time shows, according to Blades, five fonts of titling, sixteen of roman and italic, eight of black-letter, and two of music.¹

Upon Athias's death the foundry passed to a printer named Schipper; then to the Amsterdam founder Jan Roman. One-half of Roman's collection was sold in 1767 to Enschedé of Haarlem; the other half to the brothers Ploos van Amstel of Amsterdam. Later their portion was bought by Enschedé, so that practically all Van Dyck's work went to the Haarlem foundry. Unfortunately, the Enschedés' unbounded admiration for the tasteless German type-cutter Fleischman threw Van Dyck's types into the shade, and their untoward end is described on another page.

III

THE work of the Dutch press, outside that of the Elzevirs and Plantin, was not of great interest. There were three features, however, to which attention should be called: (1) The magnificent maps and atlases printed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by Mercator, Ortel,

¹ Proeven van Letteren die gesneden zijn door Wylen Christoffel van Dijck, welke gegaan werden by Jan Bus, ten huysc van Sr. Joseph Athias, etc. Bus had a reputation in his day as a clever workman.
² Blades's Early Type Specimen Books, pp. 14, 15.
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Waghenae, Hondius, and the Blaeus, which, quite apart from their engraved plates, are imposing in their typography. (2) The books printed in French and other languages during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Some of these were works, now famous, issued in Holland in order to escape the restrictions placed on the press elsewhere—restrictions that proved most advantageous to the Netherlands book-trade.1 (3) The illustrated volumes published in the early eighteenth century by Bernard Picart and others—ambitious pieces of type-setting, which, though heavy in effect, were magnificent for the period.3

§ 1

During the first half of the sixteenth century, printers in the Netherlands employed a great deal of gothic type of a square, heavy, monotonous cut. A few books were printed in a lettre bataerde, but the black-letter fonts that were most used were of the lettre de forme family. A few of these fatter, “blockier” gothic types furnished an unfortunate historical precedent for the corpulent “blacks” which disfigured Eng-

1The small format of some editions of proscribed books was probably to adapt them to convenient transportation to the public they commanded outside Holland.

2Title-pages, etc., of books issued in the Netherlands during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (as well as manuscripts and incunabula) are reproduced in J. ten Brink’s Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Letterkunde, Amsterdam, 1897. See also Stockum’s La Librairie, l’Imprimerie et la Presse en Hollande à travers Quatre Siècles. Documents pour servir à l’Histoire de leurs Relations Internationales. La Haye, 1910. This gives reproductions of title-pages, etc., of works of foreign authors printed in Holland. For a guide to some of the best Dutch printing, consult the Catalogue of the Exhibition of Old and New Book-Making in the Netherlands, held at The Hague and Amsterdam in 1920 under the auspices of the Joan Blaeu Society (Catalogus van de Tentoonstelling van Oude en Nieuwe Boekkunst in de Nederlanden: Vereeniging Joan Blaeu). The catalogue includes 378 items, and is valuable for titles of interesting sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth century books, of well-printed volumes issued in the nineteenth century, and of those reflecting modern tendencies in type-cutting and book-making issued in recent years.
lish printing in the early nineteenth century. Along with these gothic types, roman types were used—a Dutch variant of Italian roman types, with the same squarish quality in design which marked their black-letter companions. The italic employed resembled the Aldine character, and with it small roman capitals were used according to Venetian tradition. The general effect of type at this period was reminiscent of the fifteenth century; indeed, the same general forms persisted in Dutch typography for a long time after 1600. Early Netherlands books were often decorated with woodcuts, occasionally effective, though usually coarse in design and execution; and title-pages often bore elaborate and overcharged borders. Such types, square in shape, closely set, monotonous, and arranged without much sense of style, made books which can be readily recognized on the shelves of a library; volumes too thick for their height, in folio, quarto, and diminutive 32mo, mostly bound in vellum, which are as unappetizing in their outward appearance as the typography within.

A general idea of Netherlands printing from 1500 to 1540 may conveniently be had by consulting the reproductions of titles and text-pages given in Nijhoff's *L'Art Typographique dans les Pays-Bas*, and I indicate a series of plates from it which cover the different classes of types. The square, heavy lettre de forme is exemplified in some of the work of the Antwerp printer Willem Vorsterman, whose product is of a high average—for instance, the title-pages of both

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1 Wouter Nijhoff, *L'Art Typographique dans les Pays-Bas* (1500–1540). *Reproduction en Facsimile des Caractères Typographiques, des Marques d'Imprimeurs, des Gravures sur Bois et autres Ornements employés dans les Pays-Bas entre les Années MD et MDXL. Avec Notices Critiques et Biographiques.* La Haye, 1902. In the references to this work which follow, the numbers of the *Lustauso* in which the loose facsimiles were originally issued are given, but if the plates have been collated and bound, these numbers can be disregarded.
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Old and New Testaments in his Dutch Bible, issued respectively in 1528 and 1529. These plates show, too, the borders used in such books—although these are much above the ordinary in design.¹ The same sort of type, but larger and finer in execution, was employed by Jan Seversz. in his title-page of *Die Cronycke van Hollandt*, etc., of 1517.² Yet another book that shows Dutch printing of the first order is the Delft edition of a Latin Psalter printed in 1530 by Cornelis Henriczoon Lettersnijder—who certainly knew his business.³ His black-letter is very impressive and beautiful, though of a massive kind that betokens Dutch provenance.⁴ These show Dutch *lettre de forme* at its best. Scarcely less good—and more characteristic—are the types of Jan Lettersnijder of Antwerp as used in *Hoveken van devocien* (c. 1500).⁵ Still more characteristic, and much less good, are the pages from Nicolas de Grave's 1520 and 1529 editions of J. Boutillier's *Somme Ruyrael*, the *Segelijn van Jeruzalem* (1517), and *Leven van St. Bernard* (1515).⁶

Roman type of this period is finely displayed in the opening page of a book printed by Thierry Martens of Alost at Louvain in 1517—*Summae s. argumenta Legum Romanorum* of P. Aegidius⁷—in which the entire title is set in roman capitals of classical form. A title-page showing capital and

¹ Nijhoff: Anvers, Willem Vorsterman, IV, No. 10 (*Livreaison* 3), and V, No. 11 (*Livreaison* 4).
³ In connection with this man's work, the cursive character used in his edition of the New Testament in Dutch, printed at Delft in 1524, is sufficiently unusual to reward attention. See Nijhoff: Delft, Cornelis Henriczoon Lettersnijder, Nos. 7 and 9 (*Livreaison* 11).
⁴ Nijhoff: Delft, Cornelis Henriczoon Lettersnijder, V, No. 15 (*Livreaison* 17).
lower-case letters appears in the Antwerp edition of Erasmus' *De Contemptu Mundi,* printed by Van Hoochstraten.\(^1\) Fonts of heavier roman were used in some other books printed by Thierry Martens—such as the *Condemnatio Doctrinae M. Lutheri* of 1520, or Fischer's *Eversio Munitionis,* printed about 1518,\(^2\) or the somewhat better roman types used by Paffraet at Deventer in 1521 and 1525.\(^3\) Examples of italic are to be found in a Leyden edition of Erasmus' *De vitando pernitoso aspectu* of 1538, printed by Pieter Claeszoon van Balen,\(^4\) and in the pages of Antonio de Nebrija's *Lexicon Juris Civilis* of 1527, printed at Antwerp by Graphaeus.\(^5\) These examples give a fair idea of the kind of roman and italic types generally employed in the Netherlands from 1500 to 1550.

Two books in folio by Hubert Goltz (Goltzius) of about this date are interesting. The first is his *Viva Omnium sive Imperatorum Imagines,* printed at Antwerp in 1557, and in its illustrations showing, says an authority, "the first use of the copper plate in connection with blocks engraved for chiaroscuro printing and also the first appearance in any form of the chiaroscuro as book illustration."\(^6\) Typographically it is noteworthy for its display of italic types; especially imposing in the largest size,\(^7\) which resembles some used by John Day. The prefatory and final matter is arranged with great distinction—in capital letters mingled

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\(^1\) Nijhoff: Anvers, Michiel Hillen van Hoochstraten, XIV, No. 51 (*Livraison* 15).
\(^2\) *Ibid.* Louvain, Theodoricus Martinus Alostensis, II, Nos. 6, 7, 8 (*Livraison* 2).
\(^3\) *Ibid.* Deventer, Albert Paffraet, IV, Nos. 16, 18, 19 (*Livraison* 2).
\(^6\) Rudolph Ruzicka.
\(^7\) Facing pls. xli, xlii, etc.
with an italic recalling Fell's types. The second book is *C. Julius Caesar sive Historiae Imperatorum Caesarumque Romanorum ex Antiquis Numismatibus Restituta*. It was printed at Bruges in 1563, and is a fine example of the sober use of some monumental roman types of a style much earlier than the date of the book. It is illustrated with copperplates, and its engraved title-page and colophon are most distinguished.

Luigi Guicciardini's *Descrittione di Tutti i Paesi Bassi* was issued in folio at Antwerp, in 1567, by G. Silvius, royal printer. The roman type in which it is chiefly printed and the italic used in its prefatory verse are not unlike Plantin's fonts, and the book is interesting because it suggests that Plantin's style was not so peculiar to him as we are apt to think. Except for a copper-plate map and a view of the Hôtel de Ville at Antwerp, the book is illustrated with large wood-engravings. The title-page and its two following leaves of dedication, engraved on wood, are fine, and so are the double-page plates: those of Ypres, Malines, and Louvain in particular being worth looking at. These blocks were ultimately bought of Silvius by Plantin, and are now in the Musée Plantin at Antwerp. On Silvius' death at Leyden (where he was printer to the States of Holland and the University), his widow sold his material to Plantin.

§ 2

J. Hondius, the well-known Amsterdam publisher, brought out in 1611 a Latin history of that city by Pontanus—*Rerum et Urbis Amstelodamensium Historia*. It is printed entirely in roman and italic types—the latter the better of the two—which have the worthy but uninspired appearance of Elzevir fonts. There are engraved illustrations and woodcut initials—the latter rough but attractive. The same
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publisher about this date printed a Dutch edition of this book, set in double column, in a spirited cut of lettre de forme with the usual italic and roman interspersed. The copper-plate illustrations—unintentionally diverting—of the Latin edition are used in the Dutch version. The two editions are interesting to compare.

Samuel Ampzing’s Beschryvinge ende lof der Stadt Haerlem in Holland (Description and Praise of the City of Haarlem), and Pieter Schrijver’s (Scrivierius) Laure-Crans voor Laurens Coster van Haerlem, Eerste Vinder vande Boeck-Druckery, were printed together in a stout quarto at Haarlem by Adriaen Rooman in 1628, in a mixture of roman, italic, black-letter, and cursive letter, in various sizes. I do not attempt to describe it except as an unbelievable jumble of types not in themselves bad. Of the two unusual cursives, the smaller is well displayed on pp. 246–256 in the first book named, and the larger in the Voor Reden to the second. This last work,—“Laurel Wreath for Laurenz Coster,”—although issued separately, was added, in enlarged form, to Ampzing’s book to support his championship of Coster as the inventor of printing. Plates of Coster’s ill-favoured countenance and of his printing-office enliven the treatise.

The three-volume folio Atlas Novus sive Descriptio geographica Totius Orbis Terrarum, by Mercator and Hondius, published at Amsterdam by J. Jansson and H. Hondius in 1638, and apparently printed by Hondius, is handsome typographically, apart from its maps. The text is printed in double column from old style roman and italic fonts; and woodcut ornaments and initials are often employed. But it lacks the sense of style of Plantin’s edition of the Atlas by Ortel. Although the text is printed on the back of the engraved maps, the paper is so thick and good that it does not matter.
Willem and Joan Blaeu’s *Novus Atlas*, in six enormous “atlas folios,” is another able performance. In an edition in German, printed at Amsterdam in 1676, the text is set in fraktur, with — alas! — proper names in roman, and quotations in italic letter. But it is a very wonderful achievement, all the same. Evelyn, when on a tour in 1641 which seems to have been more or less bibliographical, visited (besides the establishment of “that indefatigable person” Hondius, mentioned above) Joan Janszoon Blaeu’s shop in Amsterdam to buy maps and atlases. This was Blaeu the younger, son of the better-known Willem Janszoon Blaeu (1571–1638), inventor in 1620 of an improved style of printing-press which had considerable success in the Netherlands and in England. The elder Blaeu had earlier been associated with Tycho Brahe, the Danish astronomer, from whom he got the idea of making globes and maps. Blaeu’s new press was intended to surmount difficulties in perfecting this work, for which the shop became famous.

A contemporary account, describing the establishment much as Evelyn must have seen it, tells us that “on the Blumengracht, near the third bridge, and the third alley, may be found the greatly renowned printing-house of John Blaeu, Counsellor and Magistrate, of this city. It is furnished with nine type-presses, named after the nine Muses, six presses for copper-plate printing, and a type-foundry. The entire establishment on the canal, with the adjoining house, in which the proprietor lives, is 75 feet in breadth, and stretches along the east side of a cross street 135 feet, or with the attached house 150 feet. Fronting on the canal is a room with cases in which the copper-plates are kept, from which the Atlases, the Book of the Cities of the Netherlands and of foreign countries, also the Mariners’ Atlases and other choice books are printed, and which must have
cost a ton of gold. Next to this first room is a press-room used for plate printing, and opening upon the cross street referred to above is a place where the types, from which impressions have been made, are washed; then follows in order the room for book-printing, which resembles a long hall with numerous windows on either side. In the extreme rear is a room in which the type and certain other materials used in printing are stored. Opposite this store-room is a stairway leading to a small room above which is set apart for the use of the proofreaders, where first and second impressions are carefully looked over, and the errors corrected which have been made by the typesetters. In front of this last designated room is a long table or bench on which the final prints are placed as soon as they are brought from the press, and where they are left for a considerable time. In the story above is a table for the same purpose just indicated, at the extreme end of which, and over the room occupied by the proofreaders, is the type-foundry wherein the letters used in the printing of the various languages are moulded.

"The foundation of this splendid building was laid in the year 1636, by John Blaeu's oldest son Willem Blaeu, and on the 13th of the Fall month of the following year the printing establishment was here set in order. The original founder of the printing-house, who died in the following year, was John Blaeu's art-loving father Willem, who, for a considerable time, had been a pupil of the great astronomer Tycho Brahe, whom he zealously followed, constructing many instruments for the advancement of astronomical studies, for the promotion of the art of navigation, and of other sciences of like character, an interest in all of which he revived and furthered while at the same time he made new discoveries, as has become widely known from
the publications which have issued from this printing-house."

P. and J. Blaeu printed at Amsterdam in 1698 a French edition of Gerard Brandt’s Life of Admiral de Ruyter — *La Vie de Michel de Ruyter* — a more or less commonplace performance of seven hundred folio pages. The book is composed in a light variety of old style roman, with the numerous quoted documents arranged in italic. It is illustrated with large copper-plates — which, unlike the text, leave nothing to be desired as to incident and movement.

§ 3

The name of Wetstein, the eminent Amsterdam printer-publisher, appears (with others) on the title-page of Hooft’s *Nederlandsche Historien*, printed in 1703. Its types are characteristic Dutch fonts of the eighteenth century, but more lively than those in most contemporary work. The italic used has some delightful characters. Except for copper-plates, the volume has no decorations save some nine-line Dutch “bloomers,” used at the beginning of each of the thirteen books into which the History is divided. They “bloom” energetically!

Peter the Great, on his last stay in Holland, from 1716 to 1717, was fired with the idea of improving printing in Russia, and he made various endeavours to this end. The history of the only effort that succeeded — and that but partially — is a curious incident in the annals of Dutch printing. There had been at the beginning of the seventeenth century a Dutch Bible printed at the command of the States-General of the United Provinces, and taking this for a basis,

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1 Filips von Zesen’s *Beschreibung der Stadt Amsterdam*, 1664, pp. 215, 216; quoted in E. L. Stevenson’s *Willem Janszoon Blaeu*, Hispanic Society, New York, 1914. For a list of the principal geographical works of the elder Blaeu, see Bibliography in the latter book.
the Czar ordered a Bible arranged in double column; the Dutch text (entirely in capital letters) on the right, the other column being left blank for a Slav translation of the Dutch text—to be printed later in Russia from Slavic types, cut and cast for this purpose by Clerk and Voskens, the Amsterdam type-founders. The New Testament, in two folio volumes, was printed at The Hague in 1717, and the Old Testament, in four volumes, at Amsterdam. It appears that the greater part of the edition sent to Russia was lost, and that only a few copies of the New Testament ever were completed by the addition of the Slav text. Only four copies are now known.¹

The quarto edition of *Brieven . . . den Johan de Witt*, issued by H. Scheurleer at The Hague in 1723, has a congested red and black title-page, and apart from this is a perfectly straightforward quarto, set from heavy, awkward old style types, moderately well printed, on moderately good paper, perfectly respectable, and as uninteresting as all this sounds. Wetstein and Luchtmans—both good names in Dutch printing and publishing—brought out at Amsterdam and Leyden in 1738 a quarto Livy in seven volumes—a monumental work, and, like most monuments, depressing. The type of the text is a very square cut of old style, the notes a colourless variety of Elzevir types. The crowded title, the allegorical frontispiece, the author’s portrait, the preface in enormous italic, and page after page of crowded text, make these two volumes of something over one thousand pages each, a very sleepy affair.

Bernard Picart, a French engraver and seller of prints who resided at Amsterdam after 1710, contributed a decorative note to early eighteenth century Dutch printing. An

¹ Stockum’s *La Librairie, l’Imprimerie et la Presse en Hollande à travers Quatre Siècles*, figs. 153, 154.
example of his work is the *Œuvres Diverses de M. de Fontenelle*, published in 1728 at The Hague by Gosse and Neaulme. The book is full of Picart’s exquisite engraved decorations, and is (except for the tiresome type border on every page) printed from old style types more French than Dutch in effect. Another more imposing and more familiar “Picart” book is the folio *Temple des Muses*, published at Amsterdam by Zacharie Chatelain in 1733, the year of Picart’s death. Apart from the engravings and the series of fine frameworks around them — so good that they have been often utilized by later printers and decorators — the typography is extremely handsome. The fonts used — of a bold, massive sort — are impressive in effect; and the composition, too, is adequate, and very much in the key of the pretentious plates (*fig.* 208). Such books were, I suppose, bought for their pictures, and were intended as luxurious pieces of book-making. Still another illustrated Picart work is the *Cérémonies et Coutumes Religieuses des Nations de tous les Peuples du Monde* in nine volumes, begun in 1723, of which an English edition was published.

Johannes Enschedé and Jan Bosch of Haarlem very appropriately printed G. W. van Oosten de Bruyn’s *De Stad Haarlem en haar Geschiedenissen* in 1765. It is not much of a performance. The dull, light, roman and italic types have lost all colour and spirit (*fig.* 209). Some black-letter (possibly Fleischman’s) is here and there used for verse. Then, too, the composition of displayed and prefatory matter is tasteless and pretentious. As a whole, the book, — a folio, — weak as it is in its types, is yet interesting, because showing new tendencies in printing.

The eighteenth century Dutch press brought out a great many famous books which were prohibited or in danger of suppression in France. These are often good examples of
LES TITANS.

Exstruere bi montes ad sidera summa parabant,
   Et magnum bello follicitare Jovem.
Fulmina de coel jaculatus Jupiter arce
    Vertit in auctores pondera vasta suos.

OVID. 5. Fast.

ES Geans, nés du sang que Coelus répandit sur la Terre, par la plaie que lui avait fait Saturne son Fils, étoient des Hommes horribles par leur figure & par la hauteur de leur taille, mais plus horribles encore par leurs vices & leurs dérèglemens. Fiers de leurs forces, & ne trouvant rien qui leur résiste sur la Terre, ils jettent un regard audacieux vers le Ciel, & conçoivent le dessein téméraire de chasser de leur séjour les Dieux, dont

208. Dutch Type used in Temple des Muses, Amsterdam, 1733
Ik heb dit deel verdeeld in drie boeken, waar van 't eerste, met een gering schemer-licht, de duisternissen der gryze oudheid, waar in de geboorte en 't beginstel van deeze en andere Steden leggen opgezwachteld, doorwandelt tot het midden der der tiende eeuwe toe, als wanneer deeze Stad, door haaren waar schynlyken inboorling, Graave Willem den II den van Holland, den Rooms-Koning, voor 't eerste, met handvees en burger-rechten is vereerd geworden in den jaare 1245, terwyl zy 't ongeluk hadde van, elf jaaren later, deezen haaren begunstiger te ver liezen, senevelend in den flag tegen die van Vriesland in den jaare 1256. In het tweede boek neem ik de gelegenheid waar, dat wy Haarlem niet alleen tot eene Stad zien aangegroeiend, maar ook vergierd met een breedvoerig handvees, verscheide aan merkelyke burger-rechten in zich bevattende, om naar haar' oude gelegenheid, en eerste bronnen van haare welvaart en aanwas onderzoek te doen, haar' oude gestichten, die of veranderd, of

209. Type used in De Stadt Haarlem en haare Geschiedenissen: Enschedé and Bosch, Haarlem, 1765
current Dutch typography, though the student may easily be misled by Dutch imprints on work produced elsewhere, as in the first edition of Voltaire's *Henriade*. Books actually printed in Holland were the first editions of Voltaire's *Éléments de la Philosophie de Neuton*, Amsterdam, 1738; and *La Bible enfin Expliquée* (dated London, 1776); l'Abbé Prévost's *Manon Lescaut*, 1731 and 1753; Montesquieu's *Causes de la Grandeur des Romains et de leur Decadence*, 1734; Rousseau's *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, 1761, and the *Émile* and *Contrat Social* of 1762. All of these are respectable pieces of printing from old style types; neither better nor worse than the average typography of the time.

FOURNIER *le jeune*, in speaking of contemporary Dutch foundries, says that "Holland, having made printing one of the principal features of its commerce, erected with care and expense several celebrated foundries. At Amsterdam, Dirk Voskens, the celebrated engraver and founder of that city, set up a type-foundry at the end of the last century. His types are round in form, in the manner of our great masters, and very well engraved. This foundry has passed to his widow and to the Sieur Zonen." Another celebrated foundry at Amsterdam was established by Christophe van Dyck, also an engraver, and has now fallen into the hands of M. Jean Bus. A third foundry established in the same town, not less excellent than the two preceding, is that of Isaac van der Putte. All three are well stocked with characters of different kinds, particularly with the Flemish

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1 Stockum, fac. 161.  
2 Ibid., fac. 163.  
3 Ibid., fac. 164.  
4 Ibid., facs. 171, 172.  
5 Ibid., fac. 174.  
6 Ibid., facs. 195-198.  
7 *i.e.*, and her sons. Fournier mistook the Dutch word "zonen" for a proper name.
character, which has been very much used in the Netherlands but which is now being abandoned. At Haarlem, M. Rudolph Wetstein, printer at Amsterdam and learned in types, having inherited some punches of Greek characters which G. Wetstein, his father, had cut for him at Geneva, added types to his foundry engraved by Sr. J. M. Fleischman, a very clever type-cutter. After the death of M. Wetstein, which occurred in 1742, Messieurs Isaac and Jean Enschedé, brothers, bought this foundry in 1743 and took it to Haarlem to form a complete typographical establishment in conjunction with the printing-house they had there. This foundry has received very considerable accessions through the work and talent of Sr. Fleischman, mentioned above, who is in their employ. At The Hague, Sieurs R. C. Alberts and H. Vytwerf established, about 1730, a foundry for which a part of the types were cut by J. M. Schmidt, a talented type-cutter. At Antwerp there is an old foundry which has been celebrated for a long time. It was set up by Christophe Plantin, the accomplished printer, about 1561. He went to France, to buy types at the administrator’s sale of the Garamond foundry. Guillaume Le Bé also sold types to him, and he had other types cut by Henri du Tour, of Ghent, then living in Paris. Moretus, Plantin’s son-in-law, having inherited it, it came through his descendants to M. Moretus, the type-founder and printer, who owns it to-day. This foundry has greatly lost prestige through lack of employment, or by the ignorance of some of those through whose hands it has passed. Another Antwerp foundry belonged to M. Balthazar von Wolffchaten. In Holland there still exists the Athias foundry, called the Jewish foundry; and at Leyden that of Blokmar, and one at [belonging to ?] Blaeu."

1 Van der Keere the younger.
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Plantin's types and Van Dyck's characters, both mentioned by Fournier, have been discussed. The first still remain at the Plantin Museum. The second were finally acquired by the Enschedés. The Enschedé foundry at Haarlem is one of the most interesting establishments in Europe, and is a "descendant" of the oldest foundries in Holland and of ancient foundries in Basle and Geneva. Begun in 1703, and flourishing to-day, it possesses probably the best collection of ancient types, in private hands, in the world. Besides portions of the Athias and Wetstein foundries, it includes material from those of Dirk Voskens, Blaeu, Van der Putte, Ploos van Amstel, Elzevir, and others—almost every establishment mentioned by Fournier. Some of its types date from the fifteenth century. Had not many of Van Dyck's matrices been destroyed, it could have reproduced in type any Dutch book from the fifteenth century to our own. Its proprietors have been, from the first, learned men, and adepts in their work.

Fleischman, a German, was employed by the Enschedés in the eighteenth century to cut types for their foundry, and his signature is found beneath many fonts shown in their specimen-books. In his hands their output was somewhat changed, though not much bettered. His types are singularly devoid of style, and usually show a drift toward the thinner, weaker typography which was coming in Holland as everywhere else. But Fleischman's work was much the fashion in the eighteenth century, and it made such excellent fonts as Van Dyck's appear hopelessly obsolete. In 1810, when Didot type was the mode, Van Dyck's matrices and types were, without much thought, thrown into the melting-pot—a "gesture" no doubt regretted by later members of the Enschedé family.

Various books and broadside specimens of types and
ornaments were published by the Enschedés. One of the earliest books was the Épreuve des Caractères, qui se fondent dans la Nouvelle Fonderie de Lettres d'Isaac et Jean Enschedé à Haarlem. Augmentée & perfectionée jusqu'à l'An 1744. The preface alludes to the abilities of Rudolph Wetstein as a printer and type-founder, and mentions that the Enschedés bought his foundry in 1743; Wetstein having died the year before. The Greek types are mentioned with special pride; and the deep cutting of counters, and the solid way in which the types are constructed to escape wear, are emphasized. The roman and italic types shown are all old style. In 1768, the Enschedés published an elaborate specimen called Proef van Letteren, Welke gegrooten worden in de Nieuwe Haerlemsche Lettergieterij van J. Enschedé, prefaced by a portrait of Enschedé and other engravings. An introduction, dated Haarlem, 1768, and signed by J. Enscchedé, is printed in a very ugly cursive script letter (fig. 210)—a fearful decline from the splendid cursive fonts in use a hundred and fifty years earlier. This is followed by a portrait of J. M. Fleischman, their type-cutter. Then begins a series of types—capital letters in roman and italic of a very Dutch and ugly cut, a series of shaded capital letters, and a great variety of faces of roman and italic types, in some of which the size of the body of lower-case letters is unduly large in proportion to the capitals. Many of the types that we come upon which look more "modern" (some of them being as we should now say "condensed") were cut by Fleischman—whose name appears beneath them. He uniformly extracted all interest from his fonts, partly through lightening the cut, which gave monotony of colour, and partly by his large, round lower-case letters, made more rolling in effect by shortening the descendents in a very modern way (fig. 211). The smaller types are extremely dull in colour, though here and
Dubbelde Garmond
GESCHREVEN SCHRIFT.
Fr. Garmond à deux Points.

De Liefhebbers van Konsten en
Wetenschappen zien hier het tweede, voor
de Haarlemsche Lettergieterij geëvene,
Geschrven Schrift, voor wylen den
Heer JOAN MICHAEL
FLEISCHMAN, den grootk en
konstigken Letter-Siempelfynder, die
'er ooit in de Waereld geweef is, en
mogelijk komen zal, in 1768 voleindigt;
eynde zijn laatkie Konk-Werkstuk voor dese
Lettergieterij, en de laatkie door hem ge-
jufteerde Matryzen. Zyn Naam en Konk
zal, door eyne uitmuntende Letteren, die
ten getale van ruim seventig onderscheidene
Schriften eig in de Haarlemsche Letter-
gieterij bevinden, na verloop van vele
Eeuwen, nog door de Geleerde Waereld met
roem vermeld worden.

210. Script Type: Enschedé's Proef van Letteren, Haarlem, 1768
Descendiaan Romein, Eerfte Schrift.
Fr. Philsphiae Romein.
Engl. Smal Pica Roman.
Hoogd. Descendia Antiques.

Il y a des gens qui les estiment beaucoup; quelques Protestant mèmes les louent. Mr. Arnoldus indique plusieurs Passages des Ecrivains Catholiques qui ont admis Rusbroch. Mais il ne devoit pas mettre de ce nombre François Swertius. Apparemment ce qui l'a brouillé est de s'être souvenu qu'il y a un Livre intitulé Athene Batavor, &c. fili fili fili ABCDE
FGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZÆ
1234567890S†!
J. M. Fleischman sculpt. 1734.

Descendiaan Romein, Tweede Schrift.

At etiam literas, quas me fibi misisse diceret, recitavit homo & humanitatis expers, & vitae communis ignarus. Quis enim unquam, qui paulum modo bonorum confuetudinem nollet, literas ad se ab amico missas, offendisse aliqui interposita, in medio protulit, palamque recitavit? Quid eit alius, tollere è vita vite societatem, quam tollere amic
ABCDEFHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZUV
WXYZÆ. 1234567890.
J. M. Fleischman sculpt. 1753.

Laatste Descendiaan Romein, Derde Schrift.

CDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZÆJ
ACDEHILM NOPSTUY 1761.
J. M. Fleischman sculpt. 1753.

211. Fleischman’s Roman Types cut in 1734, 1753, and 1761
Enschedé’s Proef van Letteren, Haarlem, 1768
there we find fonts with a good deal of movement, cut by
Van Dyck. Fleischman's black-letter (fig. 212) is tortured
and fanciful, and does not stand comparison with Van
Dyck's simpler and finer black-letter, still less with early
Flemish gothic fonts. Fleischman's music, both in round
notes and square, is also shown. The caractère de finance, an
unattractive script, was cut by Rosart. Beyond these faded-
looking characters comes a page of fine old civilité (fig. 213).
There is an interesting collection of Greek fonts, and the
assortment of ligatured characters which supplement them
should be examined. There are Arabic, Hebrew, Armenian,
and other exotic types by various hands, and the specimen
closes with ornaments which are mostly flat renderings of
current English and French designs. Every page in the
book is surrounded by type borders, many of them ingen-
iously contrived. A supplement shows newer fonts added to
the foundry between 1768 and 1773, which are not im-
portant. Two pages of splendid old Dutch black-letter fonts
(figs. 45 and 46) and a folding view of the Enschedé foun-
dry at Haarlem close a representative eighteenth century
Dutch specimen.

Charles Enschedé's Fonderies de Caractères et leur Maté-
riel dans les Pays-Bas du XV° au XIX° Siècle contains every-
thing in the early Enschedé specimen-books, and reproduces
interesting types from the Rosart, Decellier, and many other
foundries. No other book on Dutch types is so valuable, and
so complete. In illustrating it, the author had the enormous
advantage of his own collection of types, and many of the
examples are printed from them. He shows not only pages
of type in mass, but also alphabets of capitals and lower-case
letters, and the unusual "sorts," of which there were many
in Dutch fonts. For instance, in the civilité cut by Van der
Keere, which was purchased by the Enschedés from Ploos
van Amstel in 1799, the type is first displayed as it appears in Van Hout's specimen. In an analysis of this font, its capital letters, lower-case letters for the middle of words, and letters to be used at the ends of words, or phrases, are exhibited; together with double letters, punctuation, numerals, ligatured initials and medials, and final ligatures, with six ligatured forms of en, et, and in. This gives some idea of how thoroughly the work is done. Ornamental initials, decorations, and typographical borders are treated with equal fullness and completeness, and illustrated by a marvellous series of reproductions. No one who does not know this book can know much about Dutch printing from 1500 to 1800.

A final specimen-book to be discussed is that of a certain Jacques François Rosart (1714–1777), a native of Namur. He seems to have been self-taught, and to have established himself at Haarlem as type-founder in a small way, when about twenty years old. The establishment of the Enschedé foundry there was a blow to him, although he cut many fonts for Enschedé and so gained valuable experience. He thought, rightly or wrongly, that the Enschedés treated him shabbily and unduly favoured his rival, Fleischman.

The dedication of Rosart's specimen is printed in one of his disagreeable script fonts, somewhat like that used for the introduction to the Enschedé specimen. In an address "to amateurs of the art of printing," Rosart observes in a somewhat acid manner that he does not praise the hardness of his type-metal, nor the depth of his counters, as some claimants do, who wish to make a great deal out of nothing. For printers whom he, Rosart, has had the honour to serve, know very well the quality of his types! And he adds that he cannot conceal his surprise that the Enschedés in praising Fleischman have forgotten to name the Artist who has brought honour to their foundry by supplying it with a
Paragon Duits.

Maer na sommige dagen sprack Paulus tot Barnabas:
Laet ons wederom trekken/
En onze Broeders bezoeken
door Alle steden./ In welcke
wy des Heeren Woord ver-
kondigt hebben hoe hy zich
houden. CDEFGLM
OPQRSTUVWYZ.

J. M. Fleischman sculpt. 1744.

Text Duyts.

Het is Godt die in ons werk het willen/ En het volkzengen na zijn goedt welbehagen. Over welke woordt de Oude Leraar Hasmo aldus Sent.
De genade Gods komt ons booz. En maakt dat wij willen; En hy volgt ons en maakt dat wij kunnen. ABC
FIKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ.

J. M. Fleischman sculpt. 1744.

212. Fleischman's Black-letter: Enschede's Proef van Letteren
Haarlem, 1768
Text Oud Geschreven.

Augustijn Oud Geschreven.

Henry par la Grace de Dieu / Loy / de France a / de Pologne / Comte de Provence / Sorcalquier / & Terret d' Autun / au Generelat de Provence / vu son Lieutenante au siege de Marseille / Salut. / Mr. Ser. / Bien aime, Honore Chamsan / & Habitant de la / cite Dille / voit a faire dire et remercier que / det long temps il n'est mosqué a enseigner le / premieres Lettres. En quoi je me reside / du fait soin et Sitivence / quis en est demeure / en extreme contentement a tout ceux a qui il / est a appris : ayant pour sa commodo dire a / chacun qui roue d'apprendre de Lui / a pour / la siene aussi composé une Repase / de quelque Characeristique / qui pourront servir / de guerre a soulever ses Personnes, mes / mejet et petit Enfant.

Dit lastige Geschreven Schrift is gefunden voor den vermaarden Boediker Christoffel Plantyn te Antwerpen, door Aeneas Tavernier, Letterfryder.

213. Seventeenth Century Civilité: Enschedé's Proef van Letteren
Haarlem, 1768
number of types—calling Fleischman the foremost type-cutter of the century, to the prejudice of persons whose talents are not yet much known, but who (it is to be hoped) will shortly make them so.

There is something pathetic about Rosart’s book. It is not very well executed. The capital letters with which it starts out are a little extreme in the delicacy of their serifs and in the thickness and thinness of contrasting lines. Three alphabets of flowered letters (detestably displayed) were cut by Fournier le jeune of Paris! Of the upper and lower-case types, not much is to be said. They are of the Dutch taste of the day; but the italics are more elegant than most of those of the period. As the types become smaller, the bodies seem out of proportion to the height of the capital letters, and in these smaller sizes there are certainly many bad fonts. His music characters and plain-song notation are both shown. The caractère de finance (fig. 214), Rosart tells us, he engraved in 1753 to be printed with the music types which he offered to the public in 1750;1 “as,” he adds, “the whole city of Haarlem can certify” (fig. 215). Some black-letter, some Greek, and a beautiful cut of civilité engraved by “the late Grandjant [Granjon] at Paris” complete the specimen of types, and then come pages of ornaments (fig. 216), among which the unpleasant marrow-bones, scythes, skulls, and crossed spades—which appear, too, in other contemporary “specimens”—leave no doubt about the kind of notification they were to decorate! Some of the simpler ornaments are pretty and delicately cut, but most of them, I think, were inspired by Fournier. Rosart’s hand was rather mechanical, and his work is that of a good “technical” cutter of no great taste.

1 Fournier, Breitkopf, and Enschedé produced their improved music types respectively in 1754, 1756, and 1764.
In 1759, Rosart left for Brussels, where, under the patronage of the Duke of Lorraine, he established a foundry. He died May 26, 1777, at the age of sixty-two, leaving several children. A son, who was also a reputable type-cutter, did not succeed to his father's foundry. In 1779, Rosart's music characters, matrices, and punches were sold with the rest of his collection, and were acquired by a widow named Decellier, of Brussels. Whether Rosart cut good types or not, his priority in the improvement of movable music types will always give him a modest immortality.

To round out properly the subject of eighteenth century Dutch types, consult the specimen issued by the brothers Ploos van Amstel of Amsterdam, of 1784, and its supplement issued about 1790; the specimen of J. de Groot, published at The Hague in 1791, which contains some of the Rosart material, and that issued by Harmsen & Co. at Amsterdam at about the same period—"necessary where they may be had." The most interesting of these types and ornaments, however, are beautifully reproduced in Enschéde's monumental Fonderies des Caractères. Those who are curious about the declension of excellence in late eighteenth century Dutch types may refer to that remarkable book.

M. Enschéde, speaking of this period, says that "the taste of the public changed, and in a manner which one could not approve of. The art of the type-founder retrograded from all points of view. . . . The French Revolution, which overturned so entirely the old order of things, brought nothing better in place of it to our art, and the assortment of types by Fleischman . . . became, as if by en-

1The Rosart specimen described was probably put out by J. F. Rosart at Brussels about 1761. Madame Decellier in 1779 issued a specimen entitled Épreuve des Caractères de la Fonderie de la Veuve Decellier, successeur de Jacques-François Rosart. Troisième édition augmentée. À Bruxelles, Rue dite Vinckt, près du Marché aux Grains.
DOUBLE DESENDIAAN
OU PHILOSOPHIE
CARACTERE DE FINANCE
Dans le deftin ou nous sommes de
nous unir, avec la benediction du Seig-
neur, par les saints nœuds du mariage;
nous avons l'honneur de vous communi-
guer, que notre premiere Annonce est
tre Dimanche prochain.
Nous nous flattons, que vous vou-
de bien prendre part a notre sauf
faction, et nous croire, avec la plus
parfaite consideration.

Votre tres humble et tres obeissans
Serviteur et Sevrante. N. N.

Ce Caractère Coulé a eté inventé & Gravé la
premiere fois l'An 1753. sur le double Mediaan
ou Cicero, pour servir à la Musique, que J. F
Rosart a inventé & donné au Public le 3 de Jan-
vier 1750 dont le Sr. Sancto Lapis & Antonio
Mahout & toute la Ville d'Harlem peut certifier.

214. Rosart's Caractère de Finance, from his Épreuve, Brussels
(after 1760)
Ah! ah quel tourment pour un coeur
ten = déc, d'att = ten = déc le mo-
ment, qui doit le rendre heureux et con-
tent. Ah! ah quel tour-
ment pour un coeur ten = déc, d'att =
ten = déc le mo = ment, qui doit le
rende heureux et con-tent, qui doit le

215. Rosart's Music Types, from his Épreuve, Brussels
(after 1760)
216. Rosari's Ornaments, from his Épreuve, Brussels (after 1760)
chattment, old-fashioned, after the foundation of the Batavian Republic, and had to give place to characters of a more modern cut. . . . The name of Fournier, formerly so well-known among us, had already been eclipsed at this period by that of Didot. What Fleischman had formerly been [to Dutch type-founding] Didot was at that epoch."

There was not a single foundry which did not try to advertise itself by Didot types or copies of them, and this was the case not only in Holland, but in Germany, and indeed throughout Europe. Those who recall the end of the chapter on German types will remember how true this was of the output of Unger. So, too, the eighteenth century in Dutch typography closes under the influence of the faults and merits of the great French founder.

England was largely supplied with Dutch printing types in the seventeenth century, as we know from the James correspondence quoted in Rowe Mores’ *A Dissertation upon English Typographical Founders and Foundries*, and from letters about Bishop Fell’s gift of types to the University Press, Oxford. The Fell types were procured in Holland about 1693, through the intervention of Rev. Thomas Marshall, preacher to the English merchants in Holland and afterwards Dean of Gloucester; and negotiations consumed some four years, largely because Marshall did not know a punch from a matrix! Moxon, the first English writer on type-founding, says that the “common consent of Book-men assign the Garland to the Dutch-Letters,” and he himself greatly admired them. In the second paper of his *Exercises* he gives a very oft-quoted description of them, which I spare the reader.¹ Moxon particularly praised Van Dyck’s

¹ Enschedé’s *Fonderies de Caractères*, etc., pp. 382–386.
² Moxon’s *Mechanick Exercises, or the Doctrine of Handy-Works applied to the Art of Printing*, Numb. II, ¶2, Of Letter; also pls. 11–17.
types, and the engraved plates of them, enlarged, shown in his *Mechanick Exercises*, have already been alluded to. Dutch types were also in vogue in Germany at the end of the seventeenth century, and were imported in large quantities. Some roman and italic Dutch types of this date were shown in connection with Breitkopf’s specimen in Gessner’s *Buchdruckerkunst und Schriftgiesserey*, Leipsic, 1740. These came from a Leipsic foundry which Fournier considered second only to Breitkopf’s—that of Hr. Erhardt. A head-line (omitted in our reproduction) reads: “Real Dutch types, and a great number of other characters, which are to be found in the Erhardt foundry here.” These fonts resemble those given by Fell to the Oxford Press, and in cut belong to the seventeenth century. Their provenance I do not know. Although heavy, they retain considerable vivacity of line, and have great capabilities when used with taste. Our illustrations (figs. 217 and 218) show the larger sizes of both roman and italic—the latter being the better of the two.

The types which the Dutch supplied to England at the commencement of the eighteenth century are shown in the specimen printed at the beginning of Watson’s *History of the Art of Printing*;¹ of 1713 (fig. 261). They had begun to assume a general uncouthness which helped the English to abandon their purchase for those more comfortable and “cheerful” roman letters designed by William Caslon about 1720.

¹ Specimen of Types in the Printing-House of James Watson, Edinburgh, 1713, pp. 1–xlviii.
Kleine Canon Antiqua.

Adhortamur vos fratres, ut abundetis magis, & in hoc studiose incumbatis, ut quieti sitis, & propria agatis. AD MDCC.

Roman Antiqua

Et sermo ille caro factus est & commoratus est Inter nos & gloriam ejus gloriam quam ut unigeniti egressi abcd e g h i k l m n o p q r s t u v wxyz A A D D E E E H

Ascendonica Romain.

Biennum est, & quod excurrit cum rogatui præcellentium non nullorum Academiae nostræ studiorum indulgerem, vt Adir ABCD Fette Text Verfal. AÆCDEFIMNRTUV

Parragon Romain Antiqua.

Deum nemo vidit unquam unigenitus ille filius qui est sine patris ille

217. Dutch Roman Types: Erhardt Foundry Specimen, Leipsic, c. 1739
Kleine Canon Curfiv.

Credimus, nos salvari per gratiam Domini Jesu Christi, quemadmodum & Patres salvati sunt.

Roman Curfiv.

Idem & nos matelogis illis hydropica siti laboratibus oppro bare iure possumus quomodo vos Ecclesia vniue gloriam Christo flffi&ïkkwwxxyyyyzzAAADDDEEEHHHMMMM

Ascendonica Curfiv.

Persone atque Officii Salvatoris CHRISTI septenarium quem diversis annis distincte Festivitates Ecclesiasticæ mihi perperarunt, de scriberent eundem a nobis abiturientes ecum deportarent & Typogr.

Parragon Curfiv.

Deus locutus est nobis per filium, constituit hæredem omnium, per etiam fecula condidit si splendor gloria & expressa imago substantiae illius moderetur omnia

218. Dutch Italic Types: Erhardt Foundry Specimen, Leipsic, c. 1739
CHAPTER XVI

SPANISH TYPES: 1500–1800

The great traditions of printing held their own in Spain during the first part of the sixteenth century somewhat persistently — perhaps more so than in other countries. This was no doubt due to Spanish conservatism, and to the geographical position of the country, which isolated it from foreign fashions. Indeed, the Mozarabic Breviary of 1502, printed by Peter Hagenbach, a German, at Toledo, the Mozarabic Missal of the same date, and some later volumes are — like very many Spanish fifteenth century books — simply copies of manuscripts, rendered in type. The Hurus printing-house at Saragossa produced fine work of this kind. The most renowned of its illustrated books, says Haebler, “is the edition of the Officia quotidiana of 1500, which contains some fifty woodcuts and more than one thousand magnificent initial letters. The copy printed on vellum and illuminated, which was in the hands of Don José Sancho Rayon when Hidalgo wrote his enthusiastic description of it, is one of the finest specimens executed at any time and at any place in the world, and reminds us of the beautiful illuminations of mediæval manuscripts.” The splendid Missale Romanum on vellum, printed in 1510 at Saragossa by “George Coci Theu-

1 English authorities for the history of Spanish typography from 1500 to 1800 are few. There appears to be no readily accessible survey of Spanish printing for the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, even in Spanish; although there are essays on presses (during the whole or part of this period) in Palencia, Seville, Alcalá, Valencia, Toledo, Medina del Campo, Madrid, Cordova, Tarragona, Lérida, Leon, the kingdom of Aragon, etc., many of which are admirable. In English there is little in the way of a continuous narrative, though Mr. H. Thomas’s paper on The Output of Spanish Books in the Sixteenth Century (Transactions of the Bibliographical Society, Sept., 1920) may be consulted with advantage for this period.
tonic,"1 a successor of Hurus (and owner of this office after 1506), is executed in a very Italian letter, in red and black, with music, and with a representation of the Crucifixion opposite the Canon, which is surrounded by elaborate borders. It is a book typical in style of the fifteenth century.

In the early years of the sixteenth century—between 1514 and 1518—one of the masterpieces of Spanish typography appeared; namely, the Polyglot Bible printed by Arnald Guillen de Brocar at Alcalá; usually known as the Complutensian Polyglot, from the Latin name of Alcalá—Complutum. This was published at the expense of Cardinal Ximenez (or, as he is commonly called in Spain, Cisneros), Primate of Spain, Archbishop of Toledo, and founder of the University of Alcalá, whose patronage of learning and printing is now better remembered than his hand in the destruction of thousands of Arabic manuscripts—an orthodox feat in which he was the principal actor! This Bible—a very splendid performance for any period, and the first of the great Polyglots—was printed in Hebrew, Chaldee, Greek, and Latin, between 1514 and 1518, as has been said; but it was not published until after the Cardinal’s death in 1522. The Greek types used in the New Testament are particularly famous, for they preserve the character of older Greek manuscripts, being based on an early book-hand and not (like the Aldine Greek fonts) on the fifteenth century cursive handwriting of Greek scholars. This font was possibly modelled on the Greek characters of a manuscript from the Vatican Library which the Pope lent Ximenez to aid in constituting his text. But the Complutensian Polyglot was printed under special and advantageous conditions, and cannot be considered typical of Spanish work of its period. Its printer, Brocar, was ap-

1 A copy is in the Hispanic Society’s Library, New York.
219. Round Spanish Black-letter, from Lucas' Arte de Escrivir, Madrid, 1577
pointed typographer to Charles V, for whom he executed in 1517, at Logroño, the Crónica de Don Juan II, by Perez de Guzman, which Haebler calls a masterpiece of typography. This and the Polyglot Bible, I shall describe later. Of the ninety-two books printed by Brocar but sixteen appeared before 1500. For some time after his death (which occurred probably before 1523), his office continued to be one of the most famous in Spain.

How strongly the old traditions of Spanish typography persisted, is proved by books printed even after 1550, which are almost indistinguishable from incunabula. There was the same love of a massive black-letter for the text; the same enormous heraldic emblems were popular; the same xylographic inscriptions in large, round Spanish black-letter appeared on title-pages. This round Gothic letter in all its splendour was used in Spain for lettering titles on vellum-bound books—printed in roman type—all through the seventeenth and well into the eighteenth century; and the illustration of part of a Gothic alphabet in this hand (fig. 219) may be compared, with Plantin’s canon d’Espagne (fig. 197), and some examples of old gothic fonts (fig. 220), which were its type equivalents. By 1560, as in other parts of Europe, there was a more general introduction of roman type, and a realization of the flexibility of printing when applied to preliminary matter; and this led to a change of style. The roman fonts used in these later books were of rather a coarse, rough kind, not particularly interesting, nor very distinguishable from the poorer roman types used in France and Italy at that date. In some folios, a tall, thin lower-case roman letter, something like the types of Gara-

1 For italic and roman alphabets of this period see Arte de Escrituir of Francisco Lucas, Madrid, 1577. These are reproduced in Strange’s Alphabeta (third edition), plates 57 and 70. They are called type-letters by Strange, but are really calligraphic.
mond or certain Italian roman characters, was used with
great effect for head-lines and running-titles; and it was
sometimes employed in liturgical books in connection with
plain-song notation.

The influence of the Netherlands on printing in Spain
was considerable. Plantin of Antwerp produced the Polyglot
Bible commonly called after him, under the patronage of
Philip II—whose patronage was about all he gave to it!
Plantin printed, besides liturgical books for Spain (for which
he later obtained a special "privilege" enjoyed for a long
time in the Plantin-Moretus family), a large number of
books in Spanish. These were mostly composed in his deli-
cate early manner, which was more interesting and distin-
guished than his later somewhat overblown style. Spain,
in the sixteenth century, had more books printed abroad
than any other country, on account of its preponderating
political importance—the Netherlands ranking first in this
output, followed by Italy. These foreign productions influ-
enced the native Spanish press in both format and typog-
raphy, and there are many volumes of this period printed
in Spain which, in their small roman type, restraint in ar-
rangement, and delicacy of decoration, are plainly inspired
by foreign influence.

Plantin was invited to establish a printing-house in the
Peninsula. Being asked by Philip II in 1572 to suggest
which of his sons-in-law could take charge of it, Plantin,
probably not wishing to deprive himself of the help of either
Moretus or Raphelengius, replied with diplomacy that they
might direct it together, but that neither was capable of
doing it alone. That particular plan, therefore, came to noth-
ing. He did recommend to the King, however, in 1576, a
printer of Flemish origin, Matthew Gast, who had been for
some years previously in Spain. This Matthew Gast, who
Huevos de dios.
El libro profano mas antiguoo que tenemos es Ho-
mero que se cree vivio en el tiempo de Salomon:
y puede ser poco mas antiguo/
pues la guerra de Troya/
que refiero fueceido por el
 tiempo y los ultimos Ju-
ces. El historiado mas an-
tiguo que nos ha quedado/
es Herodoto: y no obstante
solo es del tiempo de Es-
dras y de Achemias. La
Biblia pues es el mas

Antiguos: pero nosotros no los
tenemos / ni esta-
mos tan instruhi-
dos en la historia
de la China / que
podamos juzgar
si es bien probar
la su antiguedad:
lo cierto es que en
Malabar cajinate

220. Antique Black-letter: Specimen of La Fabrica del Convento de S. Joseph, Barcelona, 1777
SPANISH TYPES: 1500–1800

had an establishment in Salamanca, had himself found difficulties in procuring types, for in 1574 we find him writing to Plantin, asking him to send him a type-cutter. Plantin replied that since the death of the type-cutters Guyot and Tavernier, he himself had found only one man who was good for anything, and he had continually to be told what to do in any work demanding initiative or judgment.

For Spanish printing, the seventeenth century was a discouraging period. The types in use were chiefly roman; the first edition of Don Quixote being printed from uncouth, old style roman fonts. The copper-plate title-pages in general European use had also some vogue there. As was the case wherever they appeared, printing fell off. Sometimes it only seemed to do so, because the contrast between the rough types of the time and the precision of a copper-plate was to the disadvantage of the typography; sometimes because if the fashionable copper-plates were supplied, printers seemed to feel that they could print as badly as they chose—a point of view then current in England and elsewhere. Then, too, the close political relations with Italy played a part in Spanish printing, and Italian fashions in seventeenth and early eighteenth century printing were usually bad. Spanish books of this period are much like the wretched productions of the Italian press—with congested title-pages, composed in letters too large for the page, ill-printed, and decorated (or at least supposed to be) with badly executed typographical ornaments. The type was generally a crude old style roman letter.

The first quarter of the eighteenth century, however, saw some efforts toward more interest in national typography. The first Spanish king of the Bourbon family, Philip V, granted in 1716 certain privileges and exemptions for
music-printing (not before attempted in Madrid), which had been begun on the initiative and at the expense of Don Joseph Torres, chief organist of the Chapel Royal. And in 1717 it was ordered that a press for liturgical books should be set up, so that both for Spain and in particular for the Indies, no foreign books of that class need be imported; but it was not done. In 1729, Antonio Bordazar, a native of Valencia (where he was born in 1671), proposed the establishment of a printing-house in Spain to produce liturgical works for the use of the Spanish Church. In old days, a monopoly of such volumes seems to have been maintained by the monastery of the Escorial, which procured missals, breviaries, etc., from the Plantin-Moretus Office at Antwerp; and they were still, apparently, imported under this privilege. In 1731, a royal decree again approved the native printing of Spanish liturgical books, and called for a discussion of ways and means to this end. Bordazar had already submitted to Philip V a carefully drawn-up memorial in which he represented that types, paper, and ink could be as easily procured, and books as successfully produced, in Spain as in the Netherlands, and he now received the royal authority to print this document.

This he did in the year 1732, at Valencia, under the title of Plantificacion de la Imprenta de el Rezo Sagrado, que su Magestad (Dios le guarde) se ha servido mandar que se establezca en España, in a handsomely printed tractate of some twenty folio pages (fig. 221). It is divided under the heads of paper, type, engravings, materials for calendars and music, inks, estimates of costs, choice of liturgical books to be printed, presses, administration, and time necessary for installation. The most interesting thing about it for our purpose is the specimen of types—Caracteres de España—which it was proposed to use. These are shown in twelve
PLANTIFICACION
DE
LA IMPRENTA
DE EL REZO
SAGRADO,
QUE SU MAGESTAD
(DIOS LE GUARDE)
SE HA SERVIDO MANDAR
Que se establezca en España.

EN VALENCIA.

Por Antonio Bordazar de Artau, Impresor del Santo Oficio,
i de la llustré Ciudad, año de 1732.

221. Title-page of Bordazar's Plantificacion, Valencia, 1732
(reduced)
sizes—_grancanon_ to _glosilla_; portions of Latin service-books, printed in red and black, being employed to display the types. These pages constitute the earliest Spanish _specimen_ of types that I have seen, though these types were _not_ Spanish but were cast from matrices imported from Flanders. In the paragraph concerning them Bordazar says: “Given the paper, about which there is no doubt, correspondingly one can have no doubt about type, for Carlos II, of glorious memory, had matrices brought from Flanders, and these are the ones now in the keeping of Juan Gomez Morales, a skilful and intelligent¹ type-founder of Madrid,² whose variety of types, although they seem but few, are increased in different ways as may be required,³ by means of spaces either separating letter from letter⁴ or line from line, making in each book such combinations as elegant arrangement demands; without any need of using for 76 books a like number of kinds of type, or even two or three kinds for each book, as is said by those ignorant of the subject. For this would call for more than 200 varieties, a number that does not exist and has never existed in all the presses of Europe. Thus all the books which are now, or which ever have been, in the Royal Monastery of the Escorial are combinations and arrangements that can be obtained from the types of Juan Gomez Morales, which are the following” (here appears the specimen). Bordazar adds: “Regarding the durability and lasting sharpness which the contours of certain foreign types possess, because of which some persons have thought the moulds to have been made of silver,

¹ _curioso_, _i.e._, virtuoso—a person curious about or interested in a subject—of an inquiring turn of mind.
² _en la Corte_, _i.e._, Madrid.
³ Literally, “changing with the art that symmetry requires.”
⁴ _Qy._, word from word?
types of the same quality may be cast in future, since the alloy has already been made in Valencia, and has been approved by the founder, Juan Gomez Morales himself, who rated it as of the quality of Dutch type-metal and thought it was of foreign make."

The texto (fig. 222) was used in Yriarte's Obras Sueltas, printed at Madrid by Francisco Manuel de Mena in 1774, and apparently, with the change of a few letters, in Bayer's De Numis Hebreo-Samaritanis, printed at Valencia by Benito Monfort in 1781. Perez de Soto appears to have used it in the Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escorialensis of 1760. Mendez says that these types came from the "incomparable printing-house of Plantin," and that they were ultimately utilized in Carlos III's time, which carries out the attribution I have given the texto. This is still further confirmed by finding the same type, with a variant italic, in the Opera of Hubert Goltzius, published at Antwerp in 1708; whether an edition of Goltzius issued some sixty years earlier employed the type, I have not been able to learn. It is one of the most beautiful roman fonts I have ever seen; and the best of the three forms of italic used with it—that in Obras Sueltas—is almost equally charming.

Bordazar's farseeing and enlightened proposals created some stir, but he did not live to witness their realization. After his death in 1744, Jose de Orga, also of Valencia, who had been brought up in Bordazar's printing-house, where he seems to have been manager or foreman, took up the plan and petitioned (in 1748) Ferdinand VI to be al-

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2 An able printer, who was the ancestor of a very distinguished Valencian "printing family." Jose and Tomas de Orga, his sons, printed in 1790 an important edition of the Bible translated into Spanish, executed in types from the fondo of the Real Biblioteca de Madrid, and from the foundry of Eudaldo Pradell.
TEXTO.

Die XXIV. Octobris.
IN FESTO S. RAPHAELIS
Archangeli.

Introitus.
Enedícite Dóminus omnes
Angeli ejus: poténtes vir-
túte, qui fácitis verbum
ejus, ad audiendam vocem fe-
 mónum ejus.
Psalms. B éndic ánima mea Dó-
mino: & omnia, quæ intra me
sunt, nómini sáncto ejus. ἡ Gló-
ria Patri.

Oratio.

ATANASIA.

Capitulum. Zacharíæ 8.
Pacem & veritatem diligite, ait Dó-
minus omnipotens. ἐγώ. Deo gratias.
ψ. Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris. ἐγώ. Mi-
sérere nobis.

LETURA ESPACIOSA.

Sermo Sancti Thomæ Episcopi.
Lectio iv.

Super omnem glóriam, inquit Ia-
ías, protétio, & tabernáculum
erit in abscondišnem à túnica, & à
plúvia, id est, justórum erit custódia, &
peccatórum suffúgium. Ita est, ıcı Virgo:
in omnibus tempestáibus, & pluíis, &
adversitáibus, si pestis, si bellum, si fa-
allowed to establish a "liturgical" printing-press in Madrid for the use and honour of the Spanish nation—setting forth numerous difficulties and inconveniences caused by the necessity of having such books printed abroad; and again alleging that the work done earlier by Plantin and Moretus, and by other printers in Venice and Holland, could be performed just as well in Spain, both as to material and execution, at less cost, and without taking money out of the country.\(^1\) Orga removed to Madrid, where he died February 19, 1756, and, as far as the native production of type was concerned, his efforts seem to have come to nothing at all. Fournier wrote, in 1766, "Spain is lacking in type-cutters: it has but two foundries, which are in Madrid; one belonging to the Jesuits, who let it for five or six hundred livres; the other was bought in Paris, from M. Cottin, who sold it for thirty thousand livres." But the project to print liturgical books in Spain was finally taken up, in Carlos III's reign, by a Compañía de Impresores y Libreros, in conjunction with the authorities of the Escorial. This body obtained royal sanction, and the establishment of a completely equipped printing-house for it was approved in 1787. A building was bought and the scheme was in operation when Mendez wrote of it in 1796,\(^4\) and in 1811 its director was Juan Josep Sigüenza y Vera—a pupil of the famous Ibarra.

This fruition of a long-considered and interminably deferred plan came to pass at the end of the eighteenth century, a moment when some excellent Spanish printing was

\(^1\) The various negotiations of Bordazur and José de Orga in relation to this subject are treated fully in José Serrano y Morales' Reseña Histórica en forma de Diccionario de las Imprentas que han existido en Valencia desde la Introducción del Arte Tipográfico en España hasta el año 1868, etc. Valencia, 1898–99.
\(^4\) Mendez' Typographia Española, p. 410.
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done — the result of a general movement in industry and art at a prosperous national era. Carlos III, whose reign lasted for almost thirty years, and who died in 1788, was a Bourbon, half-brother to Ferdinand VI, and much influenced in his tastes by France. A most enlightened man, his efforts toward the rehabilitation or establishment of all kinds of Spanish industries, and his patronage of the fine arts, were very ably seconded by his ministers. It was under Carlos that the Buen Retiro porcelain was made, and the palace of San Ildefonso at La Granja was filled with charming products from a glass factory there which he encouraged. Trade in watches and optical instruments was fostered at Madrid; fine leathers were made at Cordova and Seville, and velvets at Avila. A royal decree of 1733 had already pronounced that hidalgos could engage in handicrafts without loss of caste! Then, too, the Crown granted various exemptions and privileges to the printing-trade. In 1763, a decree had exempted printers from military service, and this applied to type-cutters and type-founders. Metals used in the work of the latter were reduced in price by one-third, and divers privileges and rights were conceded to printers — partly to help the industry and partly to improve book-making.

About the middle of the century, Gabriel Ramirez was doing good work, and Perez de Soto, royal printer, produced creditable books; but Joachin Ibarra, who was born

1 There was, too, an interest in printing in Portugal at this period. The Impressão Regia was established at Lisbon in 1769 through the influence of the Marquis de Pombal, the reforming minister of Joseph I (1750–1777). The scheme was a splendid one — a national press, which was to be at once a school of all branches of typography, and a means of producing books for the educational needs of Portugal. It was begun under direction of Miguel da Costa; and still exists as the National Printing House of Portugal. Fournier said (1766) that a type-foundry had been in existence at Lisbon for some thirty-five years, a Parisian named Villeneuve being its owner.
in Saragossa in 1725, was the Spanish printer who had the greatest reputation—not merely in Spain, but throughout Europe. Ibarra was evidently much influenced by Bodoni, and somewhat, perhaps, by Didot and Baskerville. To look to Bodoni was natural. Parma, like the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, was then in Bourbon hands, and the relation between the Spanish Court and that of Parma was close. Carlos III (whose mother, Elizabeth Farnese, was a Princess of Parma) was himself made Duke of Parma in 1731. On his accession to the Kingdom of Naples, where he encouraged fine printing,—notably Baiardi's great work, Delle Antichità di Ercolano, alluded to by Mendez,—his brother Philip became Duke of Parma. Philip, in turn, was succeeded by a son, Ferdinand, who was Bodoni's patron.¹ Ibarra, therefore, as Spanish Court printer, must have been perfectly familiar with the books printed for Carlos III's nephew by Bodoni, who held the same post in Parma that Ibarra held at Madrid. In fact, Bodoni had the honorary title of Printer to the Spanish King; and this accounts for the beautifully printed memorial discourses issued at Parma by Bodoni in 1789, on the death of Carlos III—Botteri's Orazione Funebre in lodi de Don Carlo III; and the Oratio in Funere Caroli III of Ridolfi delivered in the Papal chapel at Rome on the same occasion.

Ibarra's magnificent Spanish and Latin edition of Sallust, printed in 1772, is generally considered his masterpiece (fig. 223). Other great books printed by Ibarra were the Royal Academy edition of Don Quixote of 1780, an edition of the Bible, the Breviarium Gothicum . . . ad usum Sacelli Mozara-

¹ On the death of Ferdinand in 1802, the Duchy of Parma was governed by France, until, in 1815, the Congress of Vienna gave it to Marie Louise, wife of Napoleon I. This explains the dedication of the later books of Bodoni—who preferred rising to setting suns!
bicen or Mozarabic Breviary (1775), Mariana's Historia de España, and Antonio's Bibliotheca Hispana, Vetus et Nova (1783–88)—all of which are worth study. The Sallust, Don Quixote, and Antonio's work are later discussed.

Ibarra's printing was greatly admired by book-lovers of that day all over Europe. The Chevalier de Bourgoing, writing in 1782 of the Academy edition of Don Quixote, calls it "equally admirable for the quality of the ink, the beauty of the paper, the clearness of the character, and to be compared with the finest productions of the kind in any other nation. This is not the first proof the Spaniards have given of their ability in the art of printing. Every connoisseur is acquainted with, and prefers to the editions of Baskerville and Barbou, the Sallust, which the Infant Don Gabriel has translated into his own language, and some other works from the presses of Ibarra at Madrid, and from those of Benedict Montfort at Valencia, which are masterpieces of the typographical art, and will one day be sought after by posterity, as we now search for those of the Elzevirs."¹ Franklin, whose busy mind was always interested in the development of typography, was conversant with Ibarra's editions. Writing from Passy, December 4, 1781, to William Strahan, he says: "A strong Emulation exists at Present between Paris and Madrid, with regard to beautiful Printing. Here a M. Didot le jeune has a Passion for the Art. . . . He has executed several charming Editions. But the 'Sallust' [sic] and the 'Don Quixote' of Madrid are thought to excel them." This rivalry between Didot and Ibarra perhaps explains a rather sour allusion to the latter in the Épître sur les Progrès de l'Imprimerie written by Didot fils

LA CONJURACION
DE CATILINA
POR
CAYO SALUSTIO CRISPO.

...esta cosa es que los hombres, que desean aventajarse a los demás vivien-
tes, procuren con el mayor empeño no pasar la vida en silencio como las
bestias, a quienes naturaleza crió inclinadas a la tierra y siervas de su vientre. Nue-
stro vigor y facultades consisten todas en el animo y el cuerpo: de este usamos más para el servicio, de aquél nos valemos para el mando: en lo uno somos iguales a los Dioses, en lo otro a los brutos. Por

C. SALLUSTII CRISPI
CATILINA.

MNIS homines, qui sese stu-
dent presta re ceteris ani-
malibus, summa ope niti
de cet, ne vitam silentio transeant,
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atné, in 1784, who uses the names of both Ibarra and Baskerville as pegs on which to hang laurels in honour of his excellent papa! Bodoni—more generous—writes in 1774 of "the stupendous Sallust not long since printed with so much finitezza at Madrid," and Bayne in his Journal reports a conversation with Franklin in which the latter said that, excepting the Sallust, he thought the Don Quixote equalled anything he ever saw. "Ibarra carried the perfection of his art to a point until that time unknown in Spain," says Née de la Rochelle, "and the emulation he inspired in his confrères caused greater advances in Typographic Art in twenty years than it had made in the two preceding centuries. He is distinguished for his magnificent editions, in which sumptuous engravings are combined with sumptuous types, great accuracy, and superior presswork." Ibarra, it may be said here, introduced in Spain on his own initiative improvements akin to those made by Baskerville in England—first, an ink of particularly brilliant quality which he made for his own use; and second, hot-pressed paper. Indeed, he invented a machine to produce the latter. Carlos III appointed Ibarra court printer, and he was also printer to the Primate and the Academia de la Lengua, for whom he executed their Dictionary. He died at Madrid, November 23, 1785; and the Imprenta Real published before the new year a Soneto á la muerte de Joaquin Ibarra, Impresor de Camara de S. M.

1 Recherches . . . sur l'Établissement de l'Art Typographique en Espagne, etc., Paris, 1830, p. 65.
2 Probably that quoted in Juan Josef Sigüenza y Vera's Mecanismo del arte de la Imprenta, etc. Madrid, 1811. In this beautifully printed little book, dedicated to Ibarra's niece, the author describes himself as "disciple of Ibarra and director of the Imprenta de la Compañía de impresores y libreros del reino." It contains a "specimen" of Roman and Arabic types—all but one from the "Catalan" foundry of Eudaldo Pradell—and Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic alphabets.
In this revival of printing, Valencia stands out through the work of Monfort, whose particular claim to remembrance is Fr. Perez Bayer’s work on Hebrew-Samaritan coins, printed in 1781. Bayer was a great figure in all the scholarly undertakings of the period—the reformer of studies in the University of Salamanca, where he held the chair of Hebrew; a learned classical scholar, and preceptor to the Infantes of Spain. He it was who contributed the opening dissertation to the Infante Don Gabriel’s translation of Sallust. A native of Valencia, and archdeacon of its cathedral, he was familiar with Monfort’s work, and naturally employed him.

Benito Monfort, in contemporary opinion ranking next to Ibarra, was born at Valencia about 1716, and died (a few months before Ibarra) in 1785. He learned his trade in the office of Antonio Bordazar, where (as I have said) José de Orga, another eminent printer, was manager. Monfort set up his own office in 1757, and later became printer by appointment to the city of Valencia, to its University, etc. His editions were praised by his contemporaries, who compared him, for no very intelligible reason, to Baskerville. In the first volume of his edition of Mariana’s Historia de España, a letter from the king, Carlos III, is quoted, “who has seen with special satisfaction the beauty of this edition.” Among other books praised in a contemporary notice are Perez de Guzman’s Crónica del Rey Don Juan II (1779), Pulgar’s Crónica de los Reyes Católicos (1780), and Perez Bayer’s De Numis Hebræo-Samaritanis (1781), “which for its beauty and accuracy has merited the highest eulogies from other

1 Bayer was born in 1711 and died in 1794.
nations.” The Mariana and these three books seem to have been his best achievements.

Gabriel de Sancha, a Madrid printer, did some admirable work at this period, and his best books are worth looking at. His Don Quixote, edited by Pellicer, in five volumes illustrated with copper-plates, was fairly well printed. His nine-volume edition in duodecimo is desirable on account of its charming and well-engraved designs. Some of Sancha’s other printing I shall describe in detail—notably his edition of Solis’ Conquista de Mexico.

There were also well-made books printed at Madrid by Ramirez, Marin, the Imprenta Real, and other houses, as well as by the widow and sons of Ibarra, who carried on his establishment in the Calle de la Gorguera, after his death. Among the works executed under their direction was a very uninspired one-volume edition of the Diccionario de la lengua Castellana, with the widow’s imprint as Impresora de la Real Academia Española. A more creditable example of their work is the anonymous Relacion del Ultimo Viaje al Estrecho de Magallanes (in 1785–86), a handsome quarto printed in 1788. The classic work by Mendez, Typographia Española, of which the first volume only was printed, also appeared with the imprint Viuda de Ibarra—a barely respectable piece of typography. There was great activity among Spanish printers about this time. Robert Southey, writing from Madrid in 1796, says rather tartly, “Literature is reviving in Spain. The translation of Sallust by the King’s brother made it fashionable.” Coincident with this revival of printing, a number of Spanish “specimens” were issued, some of which are of considerable interest.

Printing had been introduced into the New World in 1539. Jacob Cromburger, who settled in Seville early in the six-
teenth century, was the foremost printer of his period. He had a son (or brother) Johann, who succeeded in obtaining an exclusive privilege for printing in Mexico, but to take effective advantage of it gave him considerable trouble. He finally sent out from Spain a certain Juan Pablos, who, in the city of Mexico, in 1539, printed the first American book, the Doctrina Christiana en la lengua Mexicana e Castellana. Antonio Ricardo of Turin, who had settled in Mexico, emigrated to Peru, where at Lima he printed in 1584 a leaflet on the correction of the calendar and a catechism, the latter being the first book printed in South America proper. Early Mexican and South American typography was, in the main, a colonial copy of printing of that period in the Mother Country. The books bore to the best Spanish printing about the same relation that American colonial work did to the English printing of its time. Title-pages in facsimile from many of these books may be seen by those who are sufficiently curious by looking through Vindel's Bibliografia Grafica.¹ The serious student—and he must be very serious—should look at the books themselves. They had, however, so little influence on typographical usage in general, that they are beyond the boundaries of the subject of this book.

§1

For our first example of a sixteenth century Spanish book we may take De las Tablas y Escalera Spiritual, a Spanish translation of the Latin work of St. Juan Climaco, printed

¹ P. Vindel’s two volumes of facsimiles, entitled Bibliografia Grafica, Madrid, 1910, show 1224 reproductions of titles, colophons, portraits, etc., taken from rare Spanish books, or books in Spanish published elsewhere. The work contains practically no text and is haphazard in arrangement, but is valuable for the light it casts on Spanish printing, especially from 1500 to our own day. Portugal, South America, and the Philippines are represented, as well as Spain.
Aquí comienza el prologo que escribió el varón de vida borrada: 7 de ciencia muy enseñada fray Ambrosio moíse de la orden de los calmalduenses: sobre la traslación nueva que hizo de griego en latín en el libro de sant Juácl maco: que es llamado en latín escolástico.
in quarto at Toledo by Peter Hagenbach by order of Cardinal Ximenez in 1504—Hagenbach being printer by appointment to the Cardinal. It was therefore published under distinguished auspices. Its title-page bears a coat of arms, surmounted by a cardinal’s hat, and below, in a rich, round, Spanish gothic letter, is the title in four lines. The rest of the book is printed in a spirited Spanish black-letter set in double column—the principal divisions beginning with handsome block initials with black grounds, and the contents of each division being set in effective lines of large black-letter (fig. 224). Running-titles are also composed in this large type, with folios on right-hand pages only. At the beginning and end of the book, these large characters run across the page, giving a very noble effect. The beautiful “texture” of the pages of type makes a very handsome book—but one which is practically a “fifteener” in general style.

A similar black-letter volume—an edition of De la Natura Angelica by Franc. Ximenez (Burgos, 1516)—is interesting because it is an example of the work of Fadrique de Basilea, a famous printer, and one of the few in Spain who, in the fifteenth century, used roman type for entire books. Not so fine as the preceding, it is much the same in type and arrangement, except that the folios, similarly placed, are set in enormous capitals which much disfigure the page.

“George Cocí, Aleman,” who acquired the Hurus office about 1506, and whom Haeblzer calls one of the most celebrated printers of the century, issued some good editions of the classics at Saragossa in the early sixteenth century.

1 Of the volumes chosen as examples of sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth century Spanish printing, some may be found in the Ticknor Collection of books on Spanish literature in the Boston Public Library, and others in the Library of Harvard College.
His Livy of 1520—*Las quatorze decadas de Tito Livio*—
is magnificent. It contains the first example of "colour
printing," as we now understand it, that I have found in a
Spanish book. The title-page—a huge armorial device
surrounded with the collar of the Golden Fleece—has be-
neath it a scroll on which is the title and "privilege" in five
lines of gothic letter, printed in red. The arms above are
in four colours, black, red, yellow, and green, printed from
wood-blocks. The text appears in a beautiful, rather con-
densed gothic type, closely set (*fig. 225*). The titles of the
chapters are composed in a larger size of much the same
font. Fine woodcuts extending the full width of the page
are very freely introduced, and accord splendidly with the
type of the book. Haebler calls it one of Coci’s most splen-
did productions, and certainly it is a sumptuous perform-
ance—of its kind. All the books printed by Coci that I have
seen are interesting and distinguished.

In another fine book—Pulgar’s *El Gran Capitan*—printed
by Jacob Cromburger at Seville in 1527, much the same
gothic type is used—a little rounder, perhaps—not so well
printed or so finely imposed. The title is very characteris-
tic—a large coat of arms, above three lines of title and two
lines of "privilege," all set in black-letter—the whole sur-
rounded with rough woodcut borders. On the text pages
(*fig. 226*), the notes or glosses are set in a smaller size of
gothic type. Many of the Spanish romances of the class of
*Amadis de Gaul* (for instance, an illustrated small folio edi-
tion of 1535) were printed by Cromburger, and had, typo-
graphically, a finish and richness of appearance in contrast
to like editions by other printers. They deserve careful at-
tention.

These books are good examples of the earlier form of
Spanish volume, and their style survived in certain classes
Comienza el segundo libro de la primera década.

Capítulo primero de la gloria de Bruto: porque echo de roma al rey Tarquino y de como este nombre fue tan aborrecido de los romanos: que el matrimonio de Lucería se huyo de y de roma por el que se llamaba Tarquino.

Es aquí adelante comenzaremos a tratar de las cosas del pueblo romano libre: así delas que hizo en tiempo de paz como de guerra, y de los consulados y imperios y leyes que hizo en la ciudad. Étaco fue esta su libertad más alegre: cuanto la soberanía del rey pasado hauia más crecido, la los otros reyes así hauia regado: como fundado res dela ciudad comenzada. Éno se duda que Bruto fue el que alcanzó la gloria del deshierro del rey soberano: y pudiera dar al rey aquella quisiera. Éno huo discordias; pero todas las amaro el imperio templado. Éno se estableció cosa más necesaria para conservar la libertad que la que los consules no tuviesen el consulado mas de un año. Y esto si bien lo miras: hallarás que fue mas causa de guardar la libertad y no todo lo que fue diminuido del poderío real. És los consules retuieron todos los derechos y insignias reales. Éordenose que vno solo leuasse los aparatos consulares: por el que el pueblo vio la sobladura de todos y que quisiera a un rey hauía cobrado dos. É Bruto leuó estas insignias; queriendo lo así su compañero. Étan grande amparado fue Bruto desde adelante de la libertad: quanto fue antes végado dela. É como vido él lo que el pueblo estuva muy codicioso de conservar la nueva
Las siguientes glosas que en las margenes de esta obra se han para declarar algunos pasajes de las escrituras, son que las Crónicas romanas no han leído. Con otras declaraciones que en ella están en letras, el nombre del cual no manifestó por temor de la tempestad de las lenguas. Bajo el nombre que carecen de sentido con obras, y no con palabras.

**Glosa.**


**Fol. ii.**

On muy gran razón soberano señor. Nuestra mayor...
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of literature almost through the sixteenth century. All of
them were set in gothic types; but the earliest type used
in Spain was roman, and the most famous book of the
sixteenth century—the Complutensian Polyglot—largely
employed it.

This, the first Polyglot Bible, the world owes to Cardi-
nal Ximenez, who, to use his own phrase, produced it “to
revive the hitherto dormant study of Holy Scripture.” It is
in six folio volumes. In the first volume, the title appears in
medium sizes of Spanish gothic type arranged in an in-
verted pyramid placed at the bottom of the page; and above
it, printed in red, are the arms of Cisneros surmounted by
a cardinal’s hat. At the top of the title-page, which is sur-
rrounded with a border of decorative strips of ornament, a
four-line verse appears, in a smaller size of the gothic type
used below. The prologue and introductory matter are set
in a very handsome and Italian roman type, with head-lines
of the fine gothic letter used in the title (fig. 227). Then
follows the polyglot Pentateuch in five divisions—first,
Hebrew, in the outside column; second, the Latin Vulgate,
in a narrow column placed in the middle, set in roman; and
on the inside, in irregularly spaced black-letter, a new Latin
translation of the Greek Septuagint, which is printed be-
neath it in a crabled Greek type. The three versions are
printed parallel to one another, line for line. Short lines in
the Vulgate version are filled out with ornaments made up
of circles, and a similar trick is resorted to in the Hebrew
text. In a block on the inside of right-hand pages is a
Chaldee version in Hebrew characters, and beside it a block
of black-letter Latin translation, left-hand pages reversing
this arrangement. Hebrew and Chaldee roots are given in
the margin. Granted the great difficulty of the problem from
the type-setting point of view, and the necessary variations
of colour of Hebrew, roman, black-letter, and black-letter with Greek types interlined—not to mention side-notes—the general solidity of effect is remarkable. Still more remarkable is the evenness of colour in the presswork. This first volume completes the Pentateuch.

In the second volume of the Old Testament the page is made up of three columns of equal length, though of unequal width—Hebrew, Latin, and Greek and Latin interlined. The third volume runs on in much the same manner, except that there is no Hebrew text for certain books; and the fourth, similarly arranged, completes the Old Testament and the Apocrypha—the latter given in two versions only. Minute letters refer from every word in the Vulgate to every Hebrew word throughout the Old Testament.¹

In the New Testament, which occupies the fifth volume (though in point of date the first volume printed), no rubrication appears on the title-page, and the text-pages are divided into columns of Greek and Latin—the Latin being set in roman. In this—the first printed Greek Testament (though not published until after Froben's 1516 edition, edited by Erasmus)—the wonderful Greek type is what all Greek type should be in style—a reversion to the fine early Greek manuscript-hands. It is very open and clear in design and of a beautifully even strength of line throughout. Reference is made by small gothic letters above the text repeated in alphabetical order, from every word in the Greek text to each word in the Vulgate. While this somewhat disfigures the page, it is so cleverly managed that it does not obtrude itself. To see how the famous Greek types look, normally printed, one must study such pages as that from which our illustration is taken (fig. 228). The sixth volume

Ad sanctissimum ac clementerissimum domum nostrum D. Leonem Decimum dutina prouidentia Pontificem Maximum Reuendiissimi in Christo parris ac ditt. D. F. Francisci Simentii de Cyneres Sacrosancte Romanae ecclesiae tituli S. Balbinii Presbyteri Cardinalis Hispaniae Archiepiscopi Tolentini ac regnorum Castellarum Archiepiscopi &c. in libros veteris ac novi testamenti multiplici lingua impressos.

Prologus.

[Text in Latin]

227. Roman and Gothic Types used in Complutensian Polyglot Bible: Guillen de Brocar, Acalá, 1514–17
Ευσεβίου καρπαιών ἀγαπητῷ ἀλεξάφῳ ἐν κυρίῳ Χαίρειν.
μμώμοις μετ’ ὅ ἀλεξαμπρεύς πολλήν ὡς εἴκος φιλοποιίας καὶ σπου
 لديك الإغلاق. تو أيا ميسيارو محى اتفالواي إنا غليز
وم. تود ماتايوو ماشة فلوراهون تود لويود إنا غليز لحصواي
ترتونيكن لاركسيائيس. أت إم إيماسحناك تود تود لئود إنا غليز
ما ده سازومهين كا تود تود لئود لا هنوساماتوس ي ود جيروي، إيلدإ=
ماب إهتىص تويس إكسيهيوس إكاستون إنا غليز لودوين، إمديس كا تود أنتو
مكءهسم ليالهثنيسيإسي إك تود بحمراتوس تود افورليمئيون أليدروس إيل=
نكدوس أفنماك كا إتيراشيدو يكحم أدا تود أريسوم هيكارابا=
سوي تويس. فوستهغيمينوس، أن ود دنرطوس فيريخاي إريسوس إم أي تا واي=
الهسيا إيرنكراس إت تيساريس، ماتابيوس، مايركوس، لونكا، إياميس، إلتنيروس
إم وو تويس، ماتابيوس، مايركوس، لونكا، تريتوس، إم وو توي، ماتابيوس، لون=
كا إياميس، إت تارتوس، إم وو تويس، ماتابيوس، مايركوس، إياميس، إلتويس، إم وو تويس،
و فيلا، ماتابيوس، لونكا، إهكتوس، إم وو تويس، ماتابيوس، مايركوس، إلتويس، إم وو تويس،
و فيلا، ماتابيوس، مايركوس، إياميس، إلتويس، إم وو تويس، ماتابيوس، مايركوس، لونكا، إلتويس، إم وو تويس،
و فيلا، ماتابيوس، مايركوس، إياميس، إلتويس، إم وو تويس، ماتابيوس، مايركوس، لونكا، إلتويس، إم وو تويس،
و فيلا، ماتابيوس، مايركوس، إياميس، إلتويس، إم وو تويس، ماتابيوس، مايركوس، لونكا، إلتويس، إم وو تويس،
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ends the work with a Hebrew and Chaldee vocabulary, indexes, etc.

The whole undertaking, which occupied about fifteen years, was started in 1502, and the printing, begun at Alcalá in 1514, was finished in July, 1517, "by that honourable man Arnald Guillen de Brocar, master of the art of printing"—as indeed he was. Ximenez died in 1517. Leo X sanctioned the issue of 600 copies of the work in 1520, but apparently it was not published until 1522. It cost Ximenez 50,000 gold ducats, to-day equivalent to considerably over a million dollars. The magnitude of the task, the efficiency of the plan, the even quality of its execution, make the beholder pause. It was a splendid conception, and it was splendidly carried out.

A book of four hundred or more double-column pages, rubricated on almost every page, is the volume which Haeblcr praises so highly, printed by Brocar at Logroño (where he also had a press) in 1517. It is a folio edition in black-letter of Perez de Guzman's Crónica del Rey Don Juan II, and is very fine of its kind, though not so fine, in spite of its lavish use of red ink, as Coci's Livy of 1520 or the books of the Granada printer Sancho de Nebrija (or Nebrissensis). It was executed by order of Carlos V, to whom Brocar was appointed printer on his first visit to Spain in that year.

Haeblcr tells us that a series of books was printed at Granada by Sancho de Nebrija, "executed with the utmost accuracy and splendour," between 1533 and 1552. This printer's books are interesting because of their early and good use of roman fonts—type clear enough to be perfectly readable, but without much distinction or beauty. Several books by the then celebrated grammarian, Antonio de Nebrija (otherwise known as Antonio Martinez de Jaravia),
sometime professor in the University of Alcalá, and one of the editors of the Complutensian Polyglot, were printed and published at Granada by his son Sancho, and employ types of this style. His Latin translation of Pulgar’s Spanish chronicle of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella (a fine example of this press) opens with a title-page ornamented with a border in four pieces—meant to be Renaissance—engraved on wood by some one very awkward with his graver and surrounding a brilliany armorial device. In what little space is left beneath is crowded: “Habes in hoc volumine, amice lector, Ælii Antonii Nebrisensis Rerum a Fernando & Elisabe Hispaniarù fœlicissimis Regibus gestaræ Decades duas. Necò belli Navariensis libros duos. Annexa insuper Archiepì Roderici Chronica, alijsq; historiiis ante-hac non excussis. Cum imperiali privilegio. Ne quis alius exodat aut vendat. Anno ÆEXLV.” The last two sentences are in the nature of an early copyright. The next page of the book (fig. 229) might have been taken bodily from one of Froben’s editions. This is true of all pages with displayed headings, where lines of large capitals, ornamented at each end with florets, descend abruptly in the second line to a much smaller size of capital letter. The use of italic with roman capitals in the Aldine manner in tables of contents, also reminds us of Basle books. Each chapter begins with a wood-block initial. At first sight imposing, on examination the typography seems coarse and loosely put together, partly because it is so, but mostly because it recalls better books, with more brilliant decorations and more massive roman types, printed in a like manner. The Chronicle of Roderigo of Toledo shows a title-page with a border surrounding blocks of title which, though a long way after those of Froben, is very striking.

An earlier book, Introductiones in Latinam Grammaticen,
ÆLII ANTONII NEBRIS
SENSIS HISPANARVM RERVM FERDINANDO
Regis & Elisæe Regina gestarum Primæ Decadis Liber Primus. Prae-
mittit quædam necessaria ad sequentis historiae declarationem.

Caput primum.

N R I C V S H V I V S N O M I N I S T E R-
tius Hispaniarum Rex, qui ex longa valetudine valetudi-
narius est cognominatus; cum obiret diem suum: Ioan-
nem bimulum fere puerum: quem ex Catharina filia ducis
Ioannis ab Alencastro Britanni suceperat: sub tutela eius
dem Catharinae uxoris ac Ferdinandi iunioris nati fra-
tris, heredem regni: sucestorem ex testamento reliquit.

Qui cum ad pubertatis annos peruenisset: uxorem du-
xit Mariam patruo atque tutore suo Ferdinando gentiam:
ex qua Enrique primogenitum proceraut. Hac post:
ea quam vita functa est: altera superinduxit Elisabæ Ioanne
Ioannis Lusitanorū Regis filio natæ: ex qua duos suscepit liberos, Elisabæ matri cognominem, q postea Hispa-
norum auspiciatissima Regina fuit, & Alphonsum: qui inter ipsa statim regni exordia

229. Roman Type used by Sancho de Nebrija, Granada, 1545
SPANISH TYPES: 1500–1800

by Antonio de Nebrija—a small folio printed at Alcalá by Miguel de Eguia, successor to Brocar, in 1525, with text in roman, surrounded with notes set in a nervous and beautifully cut Spanish gothic type—is also of interest, both for its arrangement—very romantic for a grammar—and its fine fonts. The same author’s edition of Persius, printed at Seville in 1504 by Cromburger, is another instance of text set in roman, surrounded by notes in an intricate weave of delicate gothic characters. Its title-page (an inscription in roman capitals in a panel of ornament) is wonderfully handsome. In the smaller books later printed by Sancho de Nebrija at Granada, he seems to have relied on roman both for text and notes; as in his father’s Hymnorum Recognitio, printed in 1549. Its title-page—though but a feeble copy of similar Basle books—and index will repay examination.

One of the few beautiful Spanish books of the late sixteenth century, printed in a pure and elegant roman type, was Alvar Gomez de Castro’s De Rebus Gesti a Francisco Ximeno, Cisnerio—a contemporary life of Cardinal Ximenes, still held as a very high authority. This book might have come from an Italian press, so spirited and delicate is the roman font used for it, compared with most contemporary Spanish roman fonts, and so simple and elegant is it in composition and imposition. To be sure, the title-page bears a pretentious wood-block, out of keeping with the severity of the text-pages, and the prefatory matter is obtrusive. But its simple text-pages are almost Jensonian in their reliance upon pure typography for beauty. The book was printed by Andres de Angulo at Alcalá in 1569 (fig. 230).

§ 2

The great Spanish book of the seventeenth century, and of every century since, is Don Quixote. The first edition of
the First Part was published by Juan de la Cuesta at Madrid in 1605. It is a square octavo. As to its type-setting, after some preliminary matter in a dull, heavy roman type, and in an irregular italic, and the familiar introductory poetry addressed to Don Quixote and Sancho Panza, arranged alternately in roman and italic, comes the text. This is very solidly set in the same heavy roman, but is managed most simply, and I think for that day it was probably considered a very modern sort of book. The argument of each chapter is set in italic; the text, as I have said, in a rough old style roman (fig. 231). When poetry occurs in the text, it is sometimes composed in a pretty and gay sort of swinging italic letter, sometimes in italic of a more commonplace cut. Each Book starts with a head-line of type ornament, and its text begins with a large block initial. At the end of the book the "epitaphs," etc., are set in italic with roman head-lines, and a table of chapters, chiefly in italic, closes this First Part.

The Second Part, issued at Madrid by the same publisher in 1615, resembles the First, except that chapter headings are smaller, and poetry is sometimes in single column in a roman letter like the text, or in double column in a size of italic slightly smaller. It is a respectable production,—nothing more,—but more readable than most seventeenth century editions of novels, which were usually very poorly printed.¹

¹ The Hispanic Society of America has reprinted in facsimile a number of rare and interesting Spanish books, the entries in their catalogue of publications running to some sixty-five titles. Facsimiles are supplied of Juan de la Cuesta's first Madrid edition of Don Quixote, both first and second parts, which appeared in 1605 and 1615, respectively. Title-pages of 611 editions of Don Quixote, extending from 1605 to 1905, are reproduced in facsimile in Iconografia de las Ediciones del Quijote de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra (Barcelona, 1905). Spanish and Catalan titles alone run to 233 numbers. Almost a history of Spanish printing after 1600 can be had by comparing the different editions from its first publication to the present day.
FRANCISCI XIMENII. LIB. I. Fo.24.
atque religionis statum reducita sunt,santa quidem Ximenij laude,
vt inter egregia eius praeclassa, facinora nunc hoc censendum sa-
nè sit maximum & clarissimum: vel ob rei difficultatem, vel ob pu-
licam utilitatem, tanto ex hac religionis reformatione fructu per-
cepto. Si quis monasticam disciplinam illius seculi in memoriam
reuccare voluet, aut aliarum hoc tempore nationum monasteria cui
nostris conferre curet, facile inteligit verissima esse quæ diximus. Igi-
tur hac tempestate quicquid in monasterijs nostris modestiæ, reli-
gionis, continentia, sanctitatis est, huic viro referri debet acceptū.
His difficultatibus incredibili quaedam constantia seuës, sentiës Xi-
menius bibi cum huiusmodi hominibus non semel, atque iterum et
se collutandum: qui ei pretentu pontificialium literarum, aut diplo-
matum, atque etiam Apostolici palatij officiorum aut praefectura-
rum, quotidie graues & molesti futuri essent, se se ab eius foro eximē-
tes, atque ad Pontif. Max. causas suas pertinere proclamantes: ne quâ
ergo hinc viuendi licentia in diœcesi sua cæmerget, quam omnium

230. Roman Type used by Andres de Angulo, Alcalá, 1569
Quixote de la Mancha. 172
proyecho, di en oluidalla. Y si algo se me acuerda, es aquello del sobajada, digo del soberana señora, y lo último, vuestro hasta la muerte, el caballero de la triste Figura. Y en medio de estas dos cosas, le puse mas de trezientas almas, y vidas, y ojos mios.

Cap. XXXI. De los sabrosos razonamientos que pasaron entre don Quijote, y Sancho Panza su escudo, con otros sucesos.

O DO esto no me descontenta, profi-gue adelante, dixo don Quijote. Llega-te, y que hazia aquella reyna de la hermosura? a buen seguro, que la hallaste entablando perlas, o bordando alguna empresa, con oro de cañutillo, para ese su cautivo caballero. No la balle, respondio Sancho, sino ahechando dos anegas de trigo, en un corral de su-casa. Pues haz cuenta, dixo don Quijote, que los granos de aquel trigo, eran granos de perlas, tocados de sus manos. Y si mi-raiste amigo, el trigo era candeall, o trechel? No era si no rubion, respondio Sancho. Pues yo te asfeguro, dixo don Quijote, que ahechado por sus manos hizo pan candeall, sin duda alguna; pero pasa adelante. Cuando le diste mi carta besola? Pusofela sobre la cabeca? hizo alguna ceremonia, digna de tal cartas? o que hizo? Cuando y of se la yua a dar, respodio Sancho, ella estaba en la fuga del meneo, de una buena parte de trigo, que tenia en la criua. Y dixo me, pone mi amigo esa carta sobre aquel costal, que no la pue-dul leer hasta que acabe de acruiar todo lo que aqui

Y 4.  

231. Types used in first edition of Don Quijote
Juan de la Cuesta, Madrid, 1605
SPANISH TYPES: 1500–1800

A roughly executed but fine seventeenth century book is the folio edition of Pedro Salazar de Mendoza's *Cronica de el gran Cardenal de España, Don Pedro Gonçalez de Mendoza*, printed by Donna Maria Ortiz de Saravia at Toledo in 1625. Arranged in double columns, surrounded and separated by rules, it is greatly superior to most books of the time in its finished effect and unity of conception.

Another more characteristic seventeenth century book—G. Gonzalez de Avila’s *Teatro de las Grandezas de la Villa de Madrid* of 1623—has an engraved and much overloaded title-page, followed by an equally elaborate engraved dedication, in which heraldic arms and a figure of the Blessed Virgin and Child play a large part; and after the preliminary “approbation” set in roman type, and some italic which looks very Italian in cut, a dedication follows, *Al Rey Nuesto Señor*, in handsome old style letter. The preface is set in old style roman type, and then the grandezas of the city are described in five hundred or more folio pages, generally in double columns of roman type with italic captions. Awkward and over-large ornaments appear here and there. Decorations made up of florets appear occasionally. The only thing consistent throughout is lack of unity and taste!—like poor seventeenth century printing everywhere. The book was issued at Madrid by Tomas Junta, royal typographer.

Francisco de los Santos’ interminable *Descripción breve del Monasterio de S. Lorenzo el Real del Escorial*, called by him “unica maravilla del mundo” (and by others the eighth), written after the completion of the Pantheon in 1654, was printed at the Imprenta Real (which I take to be merely a term) in 1657. This is a like book to the Grandezas, though a better one. It is set in a handsome old style roman type with patches of italic here and there. The presswork, how-
ever, is miserable—most uneven in colour. The translation of royal bones to their gilt and marble charnel-house—
corona de esta maravilla—and the discourses delivered on
the occasion, close with a touch of horror a respectable and
not very inspiriting piece of printing. A copy of the 1667
dition formed part of the library of Samuel Pepys.

The first edition of Antonio de Solis' *Historia de la Con-
quista de Mexico*, printed at Madrid by Bernardo de Villa-
Diego, printer to his Majesty, in 1684, is a good example of
a late seventeenth century folio. The title-page, set almost
wholly in various sizes of roman capitals, is surrounded with
a badly printed type-border. Then follow approbations, civil
and religious, among which appear dedications to the King
and the Count of Oropesa, by whose hands (the title-page
tells us) this volume was laid at the Royal Feet. The work
itself is set in double column in a rather fine roman letter,
interspersed with masses of a vivacious condensed italic,
not without charm (*fig. 232*). The book, which is a late ex-
ample of many similar volumes, is interesting to compare,
both as to type and arrangement, with Sancha's edition
of Solis, printed at the height of the "revival of printing"
in the reign of Carlos III.

§ 3

For eighteenth century Spanish printing, our first examp-
ple is a book printed at Madrid in 1726 by Francesco del
Hurio, printer to the Spanish Academy—a folio *Diccion-
ario de la lengua Castellana* in six volumes.¹ Its title-page is

¹ In a set of this Dictionary, given to the Library of Harvard College in 1767
by Thomas Hollis, a manuscript note from the donor reads: "This Dictionary
is much esteemed. There are good books in Spanish and I was willing to send
it; that, as the N. Americans, many of them, are likely, more than ever, to
partake of Spanish Wealth, some of them may also partake in Spanish Wis-
dom and Literature."
HISTORIA
DE LA CONQUISTA,
POBLACION, Y PROGRESSOS
DE LA
AMERICA SEPTENTRIONAL,
CONOCIDA POR EL NOMBRE
DE NUEVA ESPAÑA.

LIBRO PRIMERO.
CAPITULO PRIMERO.

MOTIVOS, QUE OBLIGAN A TENER POR
necesario, que se divida en diferentes partes la Historia
de las Indias, para que pueda comprehendérse.

Vrò algunos días
en nuestra incli-
nación, el inten-
to de continuar
la Historia Gene-
ral de las Indias Occidentales,
que dexó el Chronista Antonio
de Herrera, en el año 1554, de
la Reparacion Humana. Y per-

feverando en este animoso dic-
tamen, lo que tardó en descu-
brirle la dificultad, hemos lei-
do, con diligente observacion,
lo que antes, y despues de sus
Decadas, escribieron de aque-
llos Descubrimientos, y Con-
quistas, diferentes Plumas natu-
tales, y estrangeras, pero como
las

232. Opening of Solis' Conquista de Mexico (first edition)
Villa-Diego, Madrid, 1684 (reduced)
set in twenty-two lines of type, of which no less than ten are rubricated, and the name of Philip V (to whom it is dedicated) is as large as *Diccionario*—the first word of the title.\(^1\) This page is bordered with type ornaments, in red and black—a fashion much copied in colonial Spanish printing. All its prefatory matter is composed in various sizes of good, but rough, old style roman and italic, and the Dictionary itself is set in a smaller font which is pleasant in feeling. In the main, it is a sober, solid piece of work; but the woodcut head-pieces and common, ornamented initials employed are ugly, and the presswork is of varying degrees of badness.

Perez de Soto of Madrid produced between 1760 and 1770 a work that was then, and still is, thought a great achievement in scholarly printing—Casiri's *Bibliothea Arabico-Hispana Escurialensis*. Miguel Casiri was librarian of the Escorial, and this is a catalogue of the Arabic works in that library. It was printed in Latin and Arabic, in two volumes folio, at the expense of the Crown by Soto, who was printer by royal appointment. The roman and italic types used for the preface and text of this book—though much tried by too rough a paper—are remarkably beautiful, and appear to be the *texto* shown by Bordazar in his *Plantificacion* of 1732. The Arabic characters accord delightfully in colour with the roman types. In spite of sprawling head-pieces and ill-managed preliminary matter, the work is a wonderfully able piece of printing.

Of Joachin Ibarra's work, I describe first his Sallust—*Cayo Salustio Crispo en Español*—translated from the Latin by the Infante Don Gabriel Antonio de Borbon, second son

\(^1\) Placing the dedication on the title-page was a characteristic of many eighteenth century Spanish books. To honour the patron, his name was usually printed in very large letters, which sometimes overpowered the title of the volume.
of Carlos III. It was printed in 1772 and vividly recalls Bodoni's early manner. The title-page is entirely engraved; and besides a few full-page plates there are some handsome engraved head and tail-pieces and initials designed by the court painter Maella and others, which are agreeably combined with type. The Prologue is set in a very calligraphic italic, the Life in a beautiful font of roman—both fonts produced by Antonio Espinosa. The Spanish text of the book is set in the same beautiful clear italic, in a larger size, which has still more the look of writing. Beneath each page of translation the Latin text appears, set in a small roman letter in double column. It is very even in composition, if we allow for the spaces necessary for the figures for notes; though an odd feature is the equal space before and after commas, semicolons, and colons—a trick common, however, in contemporary work (fig. 233). At the end of two hundred and eighty-eight pages of text come notes, a treatise on the language of the Phœnicians by Perez Bayer;¹ and an index—these being set in double column, in a small, clear, old style roman type. Now this all sounds very simple—and it is; but as we turn page after page of this distinguished, lively, easily read italic and massive roman, we see how magnificent pure typography was made at an unexpected moment and place. It is really the beauty of these two fonts of type that, above all, makes such a wonderfully beautiful book. Like all great printing, it looks as if it could have been planned in any other way; and like all great art, it appears so simple that only after seeing it repeatedly do we realize how fine it is. One hundred and twenty large-paper copies were printed on a rich, creamy, hand-made paper. Almost all of these were given away by

¹ My own copy is one which was given by Bayer to a certain William Conyngham.
do derrotado a los que tenía por su frente, buelve sobre los Moros, y los acomete por un costado, con lo que rechaza al instante a Boco. Jugurta, que por sostener a los suyos, y no querer soltar de las manos la victoria que casi tenia en ellas, se detuvo; viéndose rodeado de nuestros caballos, y que havian muerto quantos con él estaban: se escabulle solo por medio de los enemigos, resguardándose de sus tiros. Mario entonces, ahuyenta-
da la caballería enemiga, buelve en socorro de los suyos, que havía oído estaban para ser rechazados. Final-
mente los enemigos fueron deshechos por todas partes. En tonces sí que aquellas dilatadas campañas presenta-
ban un aspecto horrible: seguían unos el alcance, otros huian: todo era matar y hacer prisioneros: caballos

233. Italic used for Spanish text of Sallust: Ibarra, Madrid, 1772
the translator, Don Gabriele, to the Royal Family, friends at court, persons of distinction, or learned institutions. He sent one to Franklin, then envoy to France, who (very characteristically) sent him in return the Proceedings of the American Congress! The Sallust is one of the finest volumes produced in any country during the eighteenth century—though it could have been printed in this particular style only in Spain.

Of Ibarra’s excellent editions of *Don Quijote*, there were three, all illustrated with copper-plates—that of 1771, in four volumes octavo; of 1780, in four volumes quarto; and of 1782, in four volumes octavo. Of these the 1780 “Academy Edition” was the most important—indeed, according to an authority on editions of *Don Quijote*, “the finest edition which Spain has produced and perhaps altogether the most estimable one we have.” Ford, in his delightful disquisition on the book—too little known—speaks of this edition, saying, “the finest, that ‘de lujo,’ was published for the Academy of Madrid by Ibarra, and no grand library should be without it.” Ponz mentions as in process, in his account of the Academia Española, “a magnificent edition which is to be a definitive one, executed by the Academy under Royal patronage.” “There is now in hand,” wrote Henry Swinburne, who visited Spain in 1776, “an edition of *Don Quijote*, with prints taken from the original drawings of the dresses and landscapes of the country, which has employed all the best engravers for some time past. ... This work ... does great honour to the editors and printers. ... The works of Calderon have been lately reprinted; and a new

1 C. R. Ashbee.
3 Ponz’s *Viage de España*, Madrid, Ibarra, 1776, Tomo Quinto, p. 176.
edition of Lopez de la Vega, on excellent paper, and with very fine types, is in great forwardness: Printing seems of late to be the branch they most excel in."

Of the "Academy Edition" in quarto, the first volume opens with a simple title-page set entirely in roman capitals, without engraved decoration (fig. 234). The complicated preliminary matter—that introductory to the actual book, and the preface, poetry, etc., which form part of Don Quixote—is managed with delicacy and restraint, and with an entire absence of fussiness. As to type, the opening parts and text are set in a kind of modernized old style roman and italic (fig. 235). Where poetry occurs in the text, it is set in italic, as are the "arguments" to chapters. All the type used in the book hangs together wonderfully, and the fonts are so full of colour, and so original and lively in cut, that they seem like the work of a man unhampered by professional and mechanical traditions. They were of Spanish design, being made by Geronimo Gil for the printing-house of the Biblioteca Real, and loaned to the Academy for this edition. The roman appears to be the atanasia gorda en texto of the Real Biblioteca specimen of 1787.

Engraved head-bands, head-pieces, and tail-pieces ornament the Prologo de la Academia and the text, but otherwise the book is severely plain, except for a portrait and many full-page plates designed and engraved—like the more agreeable decorations—by Spanish artists. Though well executed, these large plates are somewhat stiff and academic in design. The paper used for this edition is a creamy linen (made for it at the paper mills of Joseph Florens in Cataluña); the ink a vivid black; the presswork clear and remarkably even, and the imposition of the pages easy and

EL INGENIOSO HIDALGO DON QUIXOTE DE LA MANCHA

COMPUESTO

POR MIGUEL DE CERVÁNTES SAAVEDRA.

NUEVA EDICION

CORREGIDA

POR LA REAL ACADÉMIA ESPAÑOLA.

PARTE PRIMERA.

TOMO I.

CON SUPERIOR PERMISO:

EN MADRID

POR DON JOAQUÍN IBARRA IMPRESOR DE CÁMARA DE S. M.

Y DE LA REAL ACADÉMIA.

MDCLXXX.

234. Title-page of Academy Edition of Don Quixote (reduced)
DON QUIXOTE DE LA MANCHA

tan linda carta como aquella. ¿Y tiénesla todavía en la memoria, Sancho? dixo Don Quixote. No señor, respondió Sancho, porque después que la di, como vi que no había de ser de más provecho, di en olvidalla: y si algo se me acuerda, es aquello del sobajada, digo del Soberana Señora, y lo último: Vuestro hasta la muerte, El Caballero de la Triste Figura: y en medio destas dos cosas le puse mas de trecentas almas, y vidas, y ojos míos.

CAPITULO XXXI.

De los sabrosos razonamientos que pasaron entre Don Quixote y Sancho Panza su escudero, con otros sucesos.

Todo eso no me descontenta, prosigue adelante, dixo Don Quixote. Llegaste y que hacia aquella Reyna de la hermosura? Á buen seguro que la hallaste ensartando perlas, ó bordando alguna empresa con oro de cañutillo para este su cautivo caballero. No la hallé, respondió Sancho, sino ahechando dos hanegas de trigo en un corral de su casa. Pues haz cuenta, dixo Don Quixote, que los granos de aquel trigo eran granos de perlas tocados de sus manos: y si miraste, amigo ¿el trigo era canrael, ó trechel? No era sino rubion, respondió Sancho. Pues yo te aseguro, dixo Don Quixote, que ahechado por sus manos hizo pan candeial sin duda alguna; pero pasa adelante: cuando le diste mi carta ¿besóla? ¿pusosela sobre la cabeza? ¿hizo alguna ceremonia digna de tal carta? ¿ó que hizo? Cuando yo se la iba á dar, respondió Sancho, ella estaba en la fuga del meneo de una buena parte de trigo que tenia en la criba, y díxome:

235. Types used in Academy Edition of Don Quixote: Ibarra, Madrid, 1780 (reduced)
SPANISH TYPES: 1500–1800

distinguished. As a whole, excepting, perhaps, the full-page plates, everything prophesied of this edition, or said about it on its completion, is true. And this, the finest edition of Don Quixote that has ever been printed, was wholly the product of Spanish skill.

Two years later (1782), Ibarra published his pretty "reading edition" in four octavo volumes, printed from a somewhat modelled old style type, very straightforwardly arranged, and ornamented by many pleasant copper-plates. It is an example of what might be called Ibarra's quieter work.

The four noble volumes of Nicolas Antonio's Bibliotheca Hispana, Vetus et Nova, dealing with the works of Spanish authors from the time of Augustus to 1684, were begun by Ibarra at Madrid about 1783 and finished by his widow in 1788. They are in folio and printed throughout in a series of workmanlike old style fonts. These dignified pages, so practical in arrangement, are well imposed and printed on a fine rough linen paper. They are undecorated save for the heraldic trophies on the title-pages, and in the second series (Nova) an occasional engraved head-piece and initial, which do not add to the effect. The first two volumes are among the soberest and most satisfactory of Ibarra's editions—though the preliminary matter (as usual with this printer) is not as well handled as the text itself. The second part of the work was edited by Perez Bayer, who had a hand in so many of the great typographical and literary undertakings of that day.

Sancha's imprints show a general tendency to copy contemporary French work, and such books as Malo de Lugue's Establecimientos Ultramarinos de las Naciones Europeas of 1784, in five volumes, might easily be mistaken for a French edition of a little earlier date. Its text is very simply
arranged in leaded old style types, with plain old style letters for initials, printed on good paper, with ample margins—a very satisfactory "library edition." Las Eroticas, y Traduccion de Boecio, by Villegas, brought out in 1774, are pretty volumes—for Spain—and the engraved title-pages, with doves, clouds, garlands, torch, and lyre, remind us of attractive Parisian volumes of poetry by fashionable versifiers. The simple pages of poetry, without decorations, strike a comparatively modern note (fig. 236). Sancha published many such agreeable books.

To see the progress that printing made in this Spanish revival, compare Villa-Diego's edition of Solis' Historia de la Conquista de Mexico, issued at Madrid in 1684 (fig. 232), with Sancha's beautiful quarto edition of the same book, printed under distinguished patronage, also at Madrid, in 1783 (fig. 237). This is still considered the great edition of Solis' work. The types used are frankly old style, and of these the larger sizes are the best. Introductory matter fills fifty pages, and this prefatory material is divided into eleven sections. To arrange it successfully, as Sancha has done, would tax the ingenuity of any printer. On arriving at last at the History, how fine it is! The first page is faced by a portrait of Cortes after Titian; the opening page is really ornamented by its engraved head-piece and initial; the type of the text is a large, beautiful old style, printed on laid paper in a sharp, brilliant impression. A series of twenty-four delightful and rather ingenuous full-page engravings designed by Josef Ximeno are scattered through the work, each Book of which begins with an engraved head-piece and ends with a tail-piece. The engraved lettering beneath the full-page plates shows how magnificent was the style of calligraphy which still survived in Spain. This volume, which Sir William Stirling Maxwell called "the tri-
MONOSTROPHE XXXV.

A JOVE.

YO apostaré que es Jove
aquel toro, muchacha,
que á la Sidonia Ninfa
se lleva en las espaldas.
El denodadamente
los hondos mares nada,
y presuroso hiende
las ondas con sus patas:
Y á no ser él, no hubiera
toro que de las vacas
así dejará el puesto,
ni el Ponto así nadará.

MONOSTROPHE XXXVI.

DEL VIVIR REGALADO.

DE retóres maestros
peritos y elegantes
¿qué me enseñan las reglas?
¿qué las necesidades?
¿De qué tantas arengas
que persuadan fácil,
si ninguna me vuelve
dul-

236. *Type used by A. de Sancha, Madrid, 1774*
HISTORIA
DE LA CONQUISTA, POBLACION
Y PROGRESOS DE LA AMERICA
SEPTENTRIONAL,
CONOCIDA POR EL NOMBRE DE NUEVA ESPAÑA.

LIBRO I.
CAPITULO PRIMERO.

MOTIVOS QUE OBLIGAN A TENER
por necesario que se divida en diferentes partes
la Historia de las Indias, para que pueda comprenderse.

Uró algunos días en nuestra inclinacion Dificultades
el intento de continuar la Historia general
de las Indias occidentales, que dexó el cronista Antonio de Herrera en el año mil
quinientos cincuenta y quatro de la Reparacion hu-

237. Opening of Solis' Conquista de Mexico
Sanche, Madrid, 1783 (reduced)

Benito Monfort's edition of Juan de Mariana's Historia General de España, printed at Valencia in two quarto volumes in 1783, is a really fine book, though far less elegant and studied than Sancha's México. The title-page, with its brilliant copper-plate heraldic vignette, is effective, though its mixture of sizes and kinds of types is not worthy of the text-pages. A prospectus of the work (which was published by subscription) alludes to the encouragement that Carlos III gave to printing, as one of the means of its publication. For it appears that the King—"to encourage an art and business which so greatly contributes to general culture, to the promotion of science, and to useful knowledge"—permitted Monfort to reprint it in spite of some legal obstacles; His Majesty having also in mind the reestablishment of printing-houses that had formerly existed in almost all Spanish cities, in many of which the industry had died out. Twelve pages of subscribers' names, which attest the results of this prospectus, are followed by a prologue, an account of Mariana and his works, notes thereto, etc. This preliminary matter is not successfully managed, but the text itself, in a good, modelled, late eighteenth century old style font, is well arranged and very handsome. The paper and ink are excellent, the imposition most elegant, and as a whole it is a successful piece of printing.

Monfort's 1779 edition of Perez de Guzman's Crónica de Don Juan II is a readable folio. The title-page, to be sure, is a wretched mixture of shaded, decorated, and plain roman capitals, with italic added thereto; but the simple pages of text, set in double column, with chapter heads in roman capitals, and the argument of each chapter in italic, are dignified in effect; the presswork is fair, the paper de-
lightful. The same printer's edition of Pulgar's *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos* of 1780 shows progress, and has a much better and simpler title-page. It is ornamented here and there with copper-plates, evidently of Spanish origin. The text is arranged much as the *Juan II*. The type in both books is a very Spanish-looking early "old style," though the hand-made paper on which it is printed makes it look rougher than it is. Where they go to pieces is in the introductory and "displayed" typography.

The book most quoted as an example of Monfort's printing is Perez Bayer's learned Latin work on Hebrew-Samaritan coins—*De Numis Hebreo-Samaritanis*—a quarto printed in 1781. The type is about fourteen-point in size, well leaded, with some Hebrew introduced. The notes are set in smaller type, in double column, at the bottom of the page. Here and there, small engraved plates of coins are inserted in the text with great taste. There are also a few full-page plates. The book ends with notes, set in a handsome roman type, and an index (fig. 238).

It is easy to understand why this piece of printing had great reputation at that day. In the first place, the types (the *texto* of the specimen shown in Bordazar's *Plantificacion*), beautifully displayed by Latin, are of severe classical form and lighter in effect than most types used in Spain at that time. They have, especially lines set in capitals, a noble "inscripational" quality, and all that Monfort had to do to make a masterpiece was to stick to them! But he lacked the courage and taste to do this in the preliminary matter. Then, too, the engraved initial, head-piece, etc.—attractive enough in themselves—have nothing to do with these dignified types. On the other hand, it is in conception immensely ahead of its time in its typographical harmony with the serious scholarship of Bayer's work. With the ex-
CAPVT SECVNDVM.

De siciis, semisiclis et numis Hebraeo-Samaritanis in universum praeotanda; deque iis qui primo principatus Simonis Machabaei anno percussi fuere.

IAM primùm omnium, quod olim polliciti sumus, de numis Hebraeorum in universum praeotanda haec duximus. I. Numos aureos ab Hebraeis numquam percussos, saltem hactenus observatos nonuisse (1).

II. Siclos semisiclosque proprie dictos, quòd sici semisiclie titulo insigniantur, argenteos omnino esse (2).

III. Numos Hebraeorum omnes, quocumque nomine censeantur, ab Hasmonaeis seu Machabaeis Principibus, aut

238. Type used in Bayer's De Numis Hebrao-Samaritanis: Monfort, Valencia, 1781
ception of the first twelve or fourteen pages, it is as classical in feeling as any Spanish volume I have come upon—except Alvar Gomez’ life of Cardinal Ximenez, printed more than two hundred years earlier (fig. 230).

This roman was employed seven years before in Yriarte’s Obras Sueltas, published at the expense of his friends, and honoured by subscriptions from the Infantes Gabriel, Antonio, and Luis. It is a most beautiful piece of printing, and one of the very best examples of the Spanish revival. The delicate but virile roman, with an italic superior in style to that used in the De Numis, its exquisite paper, ample, well-disposed margins, and the great reserve of arrangement make a distinguished book, and one of classical effect. This came from the press of Francisco Manuel de Mena, of Madrid, in 1774, and suggests how much good work was being done in Spain, at that moment, by printers whose names are forgotten (fig. 239).

Good examples of eighteenth century luxurious printing of a more ephemeral kind are the pamphlets for the Spanish Academy on gala occasions—orations on marriages of the royal family printed by the “Imprenta” of that body; Antonio Marin’s distinguished brochure recording the opening of the Academy of San Fernando (1752); “relations” of the distribution of prizes for the same Academy, printed by Gabriel Ramirez in 1754, 1755, and 1756, including some admirably arranged verse; the Address of the Academy on the accession of Carlos III, by Perez de Soto; and similar examples of work by Ibarra. Almost all of these are carefully executed from old style types, some fine of their kind, and embellished (to use the word of that day) with handsome copper-plate decorations, intended to resemble the similar engravings in current French books.

It is because this eighteenth century revival is so little
known, and its work is so individual and so good, that I have described at some length a number of its best books. I am tempted to say that, as a class, Spanish books show the most characteristically national typography of Europe. Yet, although this seems so, I think it is chiefly because we are so unfamiliar with them that their peculiarities strike us freshly; whereas our eyes are accustomed to the equally strong national traits latent in French or Italian books of corresponding periods. However this may be, Spanish typography has its stately charm; though its primitive and uncompromising character may not be fully realized until amid a collection of old Spanish books—one comes across some elegant French version of a Spanish classic. This brings us back to European printing with a start, and makes the old saying that “Europe ends at the Pyrenees” seem for a moment true. But—_cosas de España!_—there are those who love things Spanish, and I am among the number. For those who do not, in the phrase of Cervantes, “Patience, and shuffle the cards!”

II

The eighteenth century Spanish “specimens” to be considered in closing this chapter are those of Espinosa, 1771; a Barcelona specimen of the Convento de S. Joseph of 1777; the first Real Biblioteca specimen of 1787; the Pradell specimen of 1793; Ifern’s book of 1795; and that of the Imprenta Real of 1799—all (except the second) issued at Madrid.

The first book is entitled _Muestras de los Caracteres que se funden por dirección de D. Antonio Espinosa de los Monteros y Abadia, Academico de la Real de San Fernando, uno

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1 For instance, D’Herberay’s _Amadis de Gaul_, in four volumes, folio, printed by Grouleau at Paris, for V. Sertenas, in 1548.
Sordidulus saltem, non sordidus, ire per urbem,
Huic summo pede subsultim per compita eundum,
Librandusque levis justo moderamine saltus.
Olli posterior maneat pes pensilis, aniceps
Incertusque viæ, donec responsa prioris
Accipiat. Non si Staticæ totam advocet artem
Sic alterna pedum vestigia temperet, ut tot
Impuras lustrare queat pede virgine sordes.
Dextera si baculum gestat de more ministrum,
Infido veluti moderans in flumine cymbam,
Navita prudenti vada tentat inhospita conto
Sollicitus, fundoque latentia saxa maligno,
Parvula ne scopulis pereat fallacibus Argo:
Non aliter baculo cautus rimare sagaci
Stagnantis vada cæca viæ, luteasque paludes
Sedulus explora, sitne alto in gurgite fundus,
Ne temerè instabili credas vestigia limo,
Ne cedente solo, tacitâque repentè ruinâ
Tibia, sura, genu tumultentur mersa barathro.
Nimirum quodcunque premunt vestigia, complent
Stercora, sordidiusque ipso vel stercore cœnum.
Pestiferis stratam cumulís invenerís urbem:
Illuvie latet omne solum, nec scrupulus extat
Sorde carens. Hinc congestis via squallida surgit,
Fæcibus, hinc fœdis putret intersecta lacunís.
SPANISH TYPES: 1500–1800

de sus primeros Pensionados, en Matrices hechas enteramente por el mismo, con Puntzones, que igualmente prosigue trabajando hasta concluir un surtido completo. It shows a series of slightly condensed old style types which are remarkable in one respect—that roman characters in some cases, and italic in all, have an extraordinary quality of pen-work. The italic—i.e., that used in the prefatory address preceding the title-page (fig. 240)—the texto gordo and its cursiva (figs. 241 and 242), texto en Atanasia cursiva, cursiva de letura chica (fig. 243), and the curious entredos (fig. 244), are not altogether pleasant in effect, but they are among the most thoroughly calligraphic characters to be found in any existing specimen-book; and, too, they are very Spanish letters. The italic of the parangona Salustiana is that used in Ibarra’s Sallust, though so badly printed as to be almost unrecognizable. Spain is writ large on every page of this volume, in types, ornaments, and their arrangement—though the borders on some of the pages are copies of Baskerville’s and Fournier’s type “flowers.”

The second specimen is entitled Muestra de los Caracteres que se hallan en la Fabrica del Convento de S. Joseph, Barcelona. Por el Ho. F. Pablo de la Madre de Dios, Religioso Carm. Des., 1777—a title-page the arrangement of which is a copy of the title-page in Bodoni’s Parma specimen of 1771—in turn modelled on a title in Fournier’s earlier Manuel. This rare little 32mo specimen is interesting for its showing of ancient black-letter types which were employed in early Spanish printing—Muestra de los Caracteres que se usaron en las Impresiones Antiguas de España—of which two sizes are reproduced on an earlier page (fig. 220). The larger is somewhat pointed, though not as much so as many other Spanish gothic types: the smaller is a rounder letter and perhaps resembles the Spanish equivalent of the
The roman and italic types in the book are old style of the usual kind, though here and there fonts appear which are somewhat calligraphic in appearance. The eleven pages of borders or viñetas are, most of them, Spanish renderings of French designs. The book (dedicated to Carlos III) was evidently printed by some one familiar with Fournier's style of type-setting.

In the volume of Ponz's Viaje de España devoted to Madrid, the author, in his account of the Real Biblioteca, says that it is much to be hoped that the works of national writers will be published under the direction of the Royal Library when the Imprenta Real is actually established, as it shortly will be by the King's instruction; the principal difficulty—that of obtaining suitable matrices—having been overcome. Ponz adds that these have been engraved with the utmost perfection by Don Geronimo Gil, and that specimens of them have been submitted to the King by Don Juan de Santander, chief librarian. The volume in which this passage occurs, Ibarra published in 1776. Allowing for the leisurely deliberation with which the development of type-cutting ambled along in Spain, perhaps eleven years was not a long period to wait for a specimen of the types themselves. Ibarra had already used some of them (loaned by the Real Biblioteca) in his quarto Academy edition of Don Quixote issued in 1780. It was not until 1787

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1 *Letra de Tortis*—probably derived from the name of a Venetian printer, Battista de Tortis, who largely employed it. Other forms of Spanish black-letter were called—according to Mendez—Bula, Antigua, Gothica, Formata, Veneciana, Lemosina, and de Calderilla. For explanation of these names see the notice of Del Impresor Battista de Tortis in Mendez' *Tipografía Española*, Madrid, 1796, pp. 383 et seq.

2 *Viaje de España*, Madrid, Ibarra, 1776, Tomo Quinto, p. 174. This was the work which the French are said to have used as a guide in looting objects of art during the Peninsular War.
Muy Señor mio, remito las ad- juntas muestras de los tamaños de letra que hasta el presente tengo corrientes en mi Fundición: El grado mas pequeño, que com- munmente llaman Nonpareli, se esta acabando de fundir para el nuevo rezado, pero como poco usual en nuestras Imprentas, se dexa su muestra para cuando sal- gan las de Misal, Parangona, Atanasia, y Brebiario, que discurro, siendo Dios servido, sal- dran por el fin de este año, acompanadas, asi de sus respec-

240. Italic in Prefatory Address: Espinosa’s Muestras de los Caracteres, etc., Madrid, 1771
TEXTO GORDO.

En este manuscrito tenemos un ejemplo sumamente persuasivo de qué necesaria es la crítica para hacer juicio de los libros; y de que para leer con utilidad algunos, es menester haber leído muchos. Qualquiera que tuviese no mas que una superficial noticia de este manuscrito, ó el que le leyese, sin mas noticias de su asunto, que las que hallase en él, tendría, á su parecer, un argumento demonstrativo de que las Artes Mágicas se enseñaron públicamente en las Escuelas de Toledo, y Córdoba: porque, yá se vé, qué prueba mas clara, que un manuscrito de notoria antigüedad, en que el mismo Autor confiesa, que sabe la Nigromancia: que la estudió en Toledo: que en el mismo libro propone enseñar al Mundo cosas arcanas, que le enseñaron los Espiritus; y en fin, que nombra los Maestros, que en su tiempo enseñaban en Toledo, y Córdoba las Artes Mágicas?
Cursiva de Texto Gordo.

EN quanto al Autor digo, que no pudo serlo el que suena; esto es, sujeto contemporáneo de algunos de los Maestros, que nombra. O no huvo tal Virgilio Cordubense en el Mundo, ó si le huvo, no fue Autor del manuscrito en question; ó si lo fue, el tal Virgilio Cordubense era un hombre ignorantísimo, y mentirosísimo. Dícese contemporáneo de Avicena, y de Abenroiz, que nosotros llamamos Averroes; y asimismo supone contemporáneos á estos dos Autores, lo que está muy lexos de ser verdad, pues Avicena floreció á los principios del siglo undécimo, y Averroes á los fines del duodecimo: de modo, que precedió casi dos siglos el primero al segundo. Mas: Refiere que Avicena enseñó en Córdoba. Esto es cierto que otros muchos lo dicen, y aun que fue Español por nacimiento; pero también es cierto, que no solo no fue Español, ni enseñó en Córdoba, mas ni entró jamás en España, ni aun se acercó á sus vecindades: de que hace evidencia D. Nicolás Antonio.
CURSIVA DE LETURA CHICA.

OTRO ENTREDOS.

Primera prueba.

Radix omnium bonorum est charitas, & radix omnium malorum est cupiditas, & simul ambe esse non possunt, quia nila una radicitus evulsa non fuerit, ali a plantari non potest. Sine causa aliquis conatur ramos incidere, si radicem non contendit evellere. Habere omnia sacramenta, & malus esse potest: habere autem charitatem, & malus esse non potest. Non numerositas operum, non diluturnitas temporum, sed major charitas meliorque voluntas auget meritum. Nam quod patet, & quod latet in divinis codicibus, tenet, quia charitatem servat in moribus. Sola charitas est, que vincit omnia & sine qua nihil valent omnia, & quae ubicunque fuerit, trahit ad se omnia. Scientia s sola sit, inflat, quia vero charitas adelisit, scientiam non permittit Inflari. Charitas est adito redimundinis, oculos semper habens ad Deum, glutinum animarum, societas fideliun, otio non frigida, aditione non fracta, non fugax, non audax, non preceps.

Las mas exquisitas producciones de la Prensa se hermosan y enriquecen con las del Buril; ayudando a la memoria, y a la comprension, delineados con espíritos ademas los Héroes, y personalizadas las pasmosas ocurrencias de sus mas singulares acciones. Los Gabinetes de los Eruditos no mendigan otros adornos, que los que abundantemente tributa el Grabado en Mapas Geograficos, y Astronomicos, ó en Tablas Cronologicas, para registrar y medir la anchuras capacidadd del Mundo, la admirable immensidad de las Esteras, y las puntuales Epocas del tiempo, sin apartarse de la quietud de su docto retiro.

244. Entredos (roman and italic): Espinosa’s Muestras, etc.

Madrid, 1771
that a specimen-book appeared, entitled *Muestras de los Nuevos Punzones y Matrices para la Letra de Imprenta ejecutados por Orden de S. M. y de su Caudal destinado a la Dotation de su Real Biblioteca*. These were probably all cut by Geronimo Gil, though no supporting statement is made except on the first page, where we are told that a minute type, proudly called *Plus Ultra* and described as the smallest letter in Europe, was cut by Gil, although he left it unfinished. These types are very Spanish in effect—notice particularly the *parangona* in roman and italic (*figs. 245 and 246*), the roman *otra parangona* on page 30, and the *cursivo nueva*—a version of the condensed French italic then popular (*fig. 247*). Specimens of Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic characters are included in the collection. The titling-letters resemble some Holland fonts, and many of the ornaments are derived from Fournier, from Caslon, and from Baskerville—with a difference. It is a fine assemblage, and is one of the first I know of, where the number of matrices and punches is appended to the display of each font. Many of these types and ornaments ultimately found a place in the Imprenta Real of Madrid and appear in its specimen of 1799.

The next book in the group is *Muestras de los Grados de Letras y Viñetas que se hallan en el Obrador de Fundicion de la Viuda & Hijo de Pradell, Madrid. En la Oficina de Don Benito Cano, Año de 1793*. Eudaldo Pradell, the founder of this establishment (sometimes called the Catalan foundry), was a country boy of good family. He was first apprenticed to an armourer—as was Caslon to a gunmaker. He went to Barcelona when twenty years old, and there met the head of the Imprenta Real, Pablo Barra. This man urged Pradell to become a type-cutter, as Spain needed such a workman. After a good many difficulties, Pradell produced four fonts
which were brought to the attention of Carlos III, who gave him a pension in 1764. Pradell, in a biographical note to this specimen, is called *el primer inventor en España de esta Arte*. He set up a foundry in Madrid, where he pursued his trade successfully, and he departed this life in 1788. In the next year his son Eudaldo, who continued his father's business, was also pensioned by the King.

The *peticano* (fig. 248), *lectura*, *texto*, and *entredos* were the first types that the elder Pradell finished. The body of the letter is, in some cases, large compared with its ascenders. The descenders are generally short, which partly accounts for the rolling look of the fonts in large sizes. Pradell's italic fonts have the pen-work appearance which was such a feature of Spanish eighteenth century types. The ornaments in his book show the Bodoni and Fournier influence, modified by Spanish rendering. There is an assortment of mathematical signs and some large arabic numerals—the latter reminiscent of Bodoni. Music-types, a supply of awkward, heavy titling-letters, flowered letters, and nine pages of "flowers" complete a very interesting volume.

The next specimen is *Muestras de los Caracteres que tiene en su Obrador Pedro Ifern, Fundidor en esta Corte. En la Imprenta de Fermin Thadeo Villalpando* (1795). The prefatory note to this 16mo volume reads: "These printing characters are cast from the punches and matrices which were entirely the work of Don Eudaldo Pradell, first inventor of them in Spain, for which he was pensioned by His Majesty in the year 1764, which matrices are now the property of Pedro Ifern, being part of the dowry of his wife, Doña Margarita Pradell, and which are dealt in by virtue of the royal order following"—which is appended, dated August 16, 1790. Ifern's specimen is a pretty little book, got up with considerable taste and showing naturally much the same
PARANGONA.

De esta manera viven los malos como olvidados de Dios, y así están en este mundo como hacienda sin dueño, como escuela sin maestro, como navío sin gobernalle, y finalmente como ganado descarriado sin pastor. Y así les dice Dios: no quiero ya tener más cargo de apacentaros.

Tiene este grado en el REDONDO 54 MATRICES de caja baja, de la alta 63, de versales 29, de versalillas 29, 30 de estas con acentos, y 33 de titulares.

245. Roman cut by Gil: Specimen Real Biblioteca
Madrid, 1787
PARANGONA.

Pues dime ahora ¿qué mayor peligro y qué mayor miseria que vivir fuera de esta tutela y cuidado paternal de Dios, y quedar expuesto a todos los encuentros del mundo? Porque si le falta esta sombra y favor de Dios ¿qué hará él solo y desarmado entre tan poderosos enemigos?

Hay en esta CURSIVA 32 MATRICES de caja baja, de alta 35, de versales y versalillas 38, de estas dos con acentos 32, de viñetas 3, de espacios de imprimir 2, y 33 delitulares.

PUNTONES de caja baja 33, de alta 31, de versales 28, de versalillas 28, con acentos 31, y 33 de titulares. Total de este grado: 441 matrices: y 344 puntones.

246. Italic cut by Gil: Specimen Real Biblioteca
Madrid, 1787
Regla es también de prudencia no mirar a la antigüedad y
novedad de las cosas para aprobarlas o condenarlas; porque mu-
chas cosas hay muy acostumbradas y muy malas, y otras
hay muy nuevas y muy buenas, y ni la vejez es parte para jus-
tificar lo malo, ni la novedad debe ser para condenar lo bue-
no, sino en todo y por todo hin-
ca los ojos en los meritos de las
cosas, y no en los años.

247. New Italic of Texto (showing French influence)
Specimen Real Biblioteca, Madrid, 1787
Este Rey Agesilao, como en su ejército tuviese poca gente de caballo, fuese á la Ciudad y tierra de

SU CURSIVA.

Efeso, donde había gente muy rica, y poco codiciosa de guerra. El gran mandato, &c.
SPANISH TYPES: 1500–1800

collection as his mother-in-law's more ambitious volume; but the paper is lighter and more attractive than the Pradell specimen, and shows off both types and ornaments better. The ornaments are not quite the same. Many of them are derived from French sources and some from English, but they are all treated in a very Spanish way (fig. 249).

A final volume to be described is the 1799 specimen-book of the Imprenta Real of Madrid, which was at last started and which seems to have absorbed the material cut by Gil for the Biblioteca Real. Richard Ford in his classic Hand-Book for Travellers in Spain—"the best guide ever written for any country"—speaks of the Imprenta Real as being, in his day, in the Calle de Carreteras—the same street in which, about a hundred years earlier, Baretti, then travelling in Spain, visited a printing-office. Housed in a cumbersome building, the work of an architect named Turillo, it contained, Ford tells us, "the royal printing and engraving establishment. From this press have issued many splendid specimens of typography," though he, unhappily, neglects to say what they were. This establishment was later situated in the Calle del Cid, but to-day no longer exists.

The title of this specimen is Muestras de los Punzones y Matrices de la Letra que se funde en el Obrador de la Imprenta Real, Madrid, Año de 1799. The book is in two parts.

1 The famous edition is that of 1845. Consult the amusing account of Spanish booksellers, Vol. I, pp. 138 et seq.

2 The Italian, Joseph Baretti (remembered chiefly for his Italian-English and Spanish-English lexicons, and as one of Dr. Johnson's circle), who was in Madrid in 1760, mentions visiting "a large printing-office in the Calle de las Carretas [sic], a street so called, and chiefly inhabited by printers and booksellers." Speaking of the fifty workmen employed in this printing-office and the rate of production, he says, "I asked two fellows at one press, how many sheets they could work off in a day, and was answered five and twenty hundred, which I thought a pretty good number, especially as they were none of the most muscular men." Baretti's Journey from London to Genoa, etc., London, 1770, Vol. III, pp. 8, 9.
The first comprises an ambitious collection of excellent roman and italic types, followed by some Greek types (fine in the largest and smallest sizes), a few pages of Arabic, and a little Hebrew. Apart from Gil’s fonts, and others of that style, there are a number of lighter fonts, both in roman and italic, that, while distinctly “old style,” show the taste for lighter letter-forms which was then making headway in Spain. A second collection of type of decidedly more modern cut begins on page 75. The tendency toward less “nourished,” lighter letters is clearly seen in these over-finished, monotonous characters (figs. 250 and 251)—types by no means so interesting as those in Part I. Following these is a large display of capital letters in roman and italic, shaded initials, Greek capital letters, and a repertoire of “flowers,” some of which we reproduce (figs. 252 and 253). A few are original, but a great many of these “flowers” were derived from Holland, France, and England, and others from various perfectly recognizable sources; but they are rendered in such a way as to be transmuted into very Spanish design.

Late eighteenth century Spanish specimen-books, when compared with English or French “specimens,” show (1) that the prevailing European taste was active in Spain, though retarded; (2) yet that type and ornaments both possessed a marked national character; and (3) that Spanish types—especially in italic fonts—had a surprisingly calligraphic quality.

This third point is perhaps capable of elucidation. These calligraphic types were (it seems to me) modelled directly

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1 Page 138, No. 155; page 139, No. 172.  
2 Page 136, No. 132; page 137, No. 142.  
3 The “modern face” type which was in use by 1800 in other parts of Europe does not appear to be commonly employed in Spain until some years later.
CARNICERO. CARNIVORO.

Estas voces convienen porque son calificaciones genéricas de los animales que comen carne. Difieren en que carnívoro significa simplemente el que come carne; y carnicero el que hace su comida de ella. La primera designa el hecho, y la segunda el apetito natural, el hábito constante. El animal carnicero no come otra cosa que carne; su naturaleza le obliga á vivir de ella sola; el carnívoro es el que entre otras cosas come carne; pero puede vivir sin comerla, como que no es su único y propio alimento. El tigre, el león, el lobo se mantienen solo de carne, y por consiguiente son carniceros. El hombre, el perro, el gato comen y gustan de carne; pero no la necesitan para vivir, pues pueden pasar con otros alimentos, y de consiguiente son carnívoros. En las especies carnívoras se llaman carniceros los individuos que gustan más de carne, y la comen más á menudo que los otros; pero ya en este caso se usa impropiamente de la voz carnicero.

250. Roman tending to "Modern Face," from Muestras, etc.
Imprenta Real, Madrid, 1799
LECTURA.

CARNICERO CARNIVORO

Estas voces convienen porque son calificaciones genéricas de los animales que comen carne. Difieren en que carnívoro significa simplemente el que come carne; y carrnicero el que hace su comida de ella. La primera designa el hecho, y la segunda el apetito natural, el hábito constante. El animal carrnicero no come otra cosa que carne; su naturaleza le obliga á vivir de ella sola, el carnívoro es el que entre otras cosas come carne; pero puede vivir sin comerla, como que no es su único y propio alimento. El tigre, el león, el lobo se mantienen solo de carne, y por consiguiente son carrniceros. El hombre, el perro, el gato comen y gustan de carne; pero no la necesitan para vivir, pues pueden pasar con otros alimentos; y de consiguiente son carnívoros. En las especies carnívoras se llaman carrniceros los individuos que gustan mas de carne, y los comen mas á menudo que los otros; pero ya en este caso se usa impropiamente de la voz carrnicero.

251. Italic tending to "Modern Face," from Muestras, etc.
Imprenta Real, Madrid, 1799
252. Ornaments from Muestras, etc., Imprenta Real
Madrid, 1799
253. Ornaments from Muestras, etc., Imprenta Real
Madrid, 1799
on the Spanish handwriting then considered ideal for documents or letters meant to be handsomely rendered. For instance, italic letters, in some fonts in these specimen-books, end in little "dabs," as if written with a pen overfull. This was much like some of the writing of the great seventeenth century Spanish calligrapher Diaz Morante, an edition of whose *Arte Nueva de Escribir* was republished by Sancha in 1776. Morante and his son profoundly influenced Spanish writing for two centuries.¹

Though craftsmen in other countries of Europe had learned the futility of copying too closely a written letter, an effort appears to have been made in Spain to translate the formal calligraphy of the eighteenth century into type-forms. This was a beginner's blunder, but all earlier beginners had "begun" so long before, that for a moment the student of types is puzzled at the recurrence of the error, and takes it for something new. If Spanish specimen-books were filled with very calligraphic types, perhaps it was because the Spanish type-cutter—with no native tradition or experience to guide him—was working out an old problem in his own way.

¹ See plates in *Reflexiones y Arte de Escribir* del Abate Dn Domingo Maria Servidori, Romano. Imprenta Real, Madrid, 1788.
CHAPTER XVII

ENGLISH TYPES: 1500–1800

If the earliest types cast in England were somewhat unattractive in design and rough in execution, it was not because the types were early types, for at that same time in other countries types were better; nor because of any lack of good models, for English black-letter manuscripts were often very beautiful. But in England few early native types had what we should call "feeling." Type-cutting and type-designing did not, apparently, at first come easily or instinctively to the English. Their best early types were imported.

Most of Caxton's types were poor in design compared with those chiefly employed on the Continent at the same epoch. In Caxton's day, gothic letter was in vogue for all English printing. Later, this gothic crystallized into an English pointed black-letter character, similar to some of the black-letter of the Netherlands, from which, tempered perhaps by French influences, it was derived. It was the characteristic type of England, and we find it in the English workrooms of De Worde, who greatly perfected it, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, as well as in use by Pynson and Berthelet. This character was commonly employed throughout the sixteenth century, and until the end of the seventeenth century, and even in the eighteenth century it was still used for law-books, proclamations, licenses, etc. The poet Gray, in a letter to his friend West, who was discouraged about his legal studies, alluded to this when he said, "Had the Gothic character and bulkiness of those volumes . . . no ill effect upon your eye? Are you sure, if Coke had been printed by Elzevir, and bound in twenty neat pocket volumes, instead of one folio, you should never have
COURTHAND.
Double Pica.

 tuaeso bodom abeoro celinu pdocuob
ryst quomiu nos obtom suq2 lno vund rubyob


English.

That about this time (1450) the
Art of Casting single Types was found


SECRETARY.
Great Primer.

And may it be enacted by The Authority
aforesaid that from and after the said


English. No. 2.

That about this time (1450) the Art of Printing
and Casting single Types was found out in the

Byddel 11. Matrices 70.

SCRIPTORIAL.
Double Pica.

That about this time (1450) the
Art of Casting single Types was found


English.

That about this time (1450) the Art of Printing
and Casting single Types was found out in the

Byddel 11. Matrices 70.

254. Court Hand, Secretary, and Scriptorial Types from Sale Catalogue of the James Foundry, London, 1782
taken him up for an hour, as you would a Tully, or drank your tea over him?" 1 While there were some forms of *gros-batarde* types (like Mansion's) used in England in the first thirty-five years of the sixteenth century, this pointed gothic letter drove them out. Types modelled on the old Norman law-hand called "set court," "bas secretary" (or engrossing), and "running secretary," — the latter the cursive of the law courts of Queen Elizabeth's time, — also existed (fig. 254); but (like the *civilité* in France) they were never much used, and made little impression on English typography.

In England, the first roman types were sometimes called Italian letter or "white-letter," in distinction to the common English black-letter. Pynson's *Sermo fratris Hieronymi de Ferraria* appears to have contained the earliest roman letter used in England, but the first English books printed entirely in roman were his two 1518 editions of the *Oratio* of Richard Pace. In the next year Pynson printed, in two sizes of roman type, a work by Norman, entitled *Vulgaria* (fig. 255). Since he was of Norman birth and had intimate relations with printers at Rouen and with Froben at Basle, he may have bought these fonts abroad; although he cut some types of his own. 2 Pynson succeeded Machlinia as a

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2 "The frequent indications to be met with of the transmission of fonts from one printer to another, as well as the passing on of worn types from the presses of the metropolis to those of the provinces, are suggestive of the existence (very limited, indeed) of some sort of home trade in type even at that early date. For a considerable time, moreover, after the perfection of the art in England, the trade in foreign types, which dated back as early as the establishment of printing in Westminster and Oxford, continued to flourish. With Normandy, especially, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, a brisk commerce was maintained. Not only were many of the English liturgical and law books printed abroad by Norman artists, but Norman type found its way in considerable quantities into English presses. M. Claudin . . . states that Rouen, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, was the great typo-
printer of English law-books—for which his knowledge of Norman French proved a recommendation. De Worde’s first roman type was introduced about 1520. This he used for printing entire books and also for emphasizing special words or quotations in books printed in black-letter. Apparently it was De Worde who first introduced an italic type into England, employing it for marginal notes in Wakefield’s *Oratio*, published in 1524—the first book printed in England showing Arabic and Hebrew types. De Worde’s skill in producing the best English black-letter forms has already been alluded to. He seems to have been his own type-cutter.

Thomas Berthelet, royal printer and famous for his beautiful bindings, maintained good traditions in printing. So did Richard Grafton, Berthelet’s successor as King’s Printer; remembered for his Bibles and service-books, and especially for the edition of Cranmer’s Bible which he printed in association with Whitchurch in 1539. Thomas Vautrollier was responsible for the printing of what is called one of the handsomest Elizabethan books—though a very tasteless performance in reality—North’s Plutarch, issued in 1579. In types and presswork he excelled most of his craft. But the London printer John Day left the most distinct mark on early sixteenth century English typography. He was

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graphical market which furnished type not to England only, but to other cities in France and to Switzerland. ‘It evidently had special typographical foundries,’ he observes. ‘Richard Pynson, a London printer, was a Norman; Will Faques learned typography from J. le Bourgeois, a printer at Rouen. These two printers had types cast expressly for themselves in Normandy. Wynken de Worde must have bought types in Normandy also, and very likely from Peter Olivier and Jean de Lorraine, printers in partnership at Rouen.’ And with regard to the first printer of Scotland, M. Claudin has no doubt that Myllar learned his art in Normandy, and that the types with which his earliest work was printed were those of the Rouen printer, Hostinge.” Reed’s *History of Old English Letter Foundries*, London, 1887, p. 103.
De pietate

De pietate in deum vbi de vera religione et recto cultu cum suis cerimonialibus et vitiis, circa neglectum vel coteptum corudem. Cap.

Here is no thyng in the world so cœneniēt to a man as to be holy and to lone god and worshippe hym.

Nihil in humanis religiosis factius / nihil hominis proprium quae pietatis cultus.

Man is naturaliye dysposyd to haue a mynde and reverence towarde god.

Hominis ingenita est religionis cura.

There be many & dierse manors of worshippyng and doynge of sacryfye.

Multiplex est varia quæ colendi deu ratio/multiplex sacrorum ritus.

The religion that Adam tawght synth his chylde and all that cam of them was to be takyn for the moost ryght and sure way that ledeth the man to the pryyte of god tyll Moses law cam.

Religio quam prothoplasticus a principio liberis et omni posteritati pposuit / omnium rectissima fuit loqeg;tutissima censēda/que ad veri numinis ducitar ā Mosaica tenę legē. Moses tabuls were caryd with the Arke.

A. j.

255. Roman Types used by Pynson, London, 1519
born in 1522, and began work on his own account in 1546. Taking refuge abroad during the Marian persecutions of Protestants, he returned and began printing again in 1557, and on the accession of Elizabeth (who merely persecuted Catholics), worked on a larger scale. Cunningham’s *Cosmographicall Glasse*, which Day printed in 1559, was, from a decorative and pictorial point of view, an ambitious book. It is described on a later page.

Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, was Day’s chief patron. Day cut a font of Saxon which was used in a book edited by the archbishop, issued about 1566, and in some later volumes, notably Parker’s edition of *Ælfredi Regis Res Gestæ*, printed in 1574. This book shows the result of the best efforts in type-founding up to that time, and the archbishop’s preface alludes to Day’s skilful punch-cutting: “And inasmuch as Day, the printer, is the first (and, indeed, as far as I know, the only one) who has cut these letters in metal; what things have been written in Saxon characters will be easily published in the same type.” The roman and italic used in the volume are of extreme importance in the history of early English type-founding. The roman, or, as it was then called, “Italian letter,” resembles some fine fonts used on the Continent (fig. 256); and the italic (that used in the *Cosmographicall Glasse*) is no less distinguished (fig. 257). Reed says: “The typography of the *Ælfredi* is superior to that of almost any other work of the period. Dibdin considered it one of the rarest and most important volumes which issued from Day’s press. The archbishop’s preface is printed in a bold, flowing Double Pica Italic, and the Latin preface of St. Gregory at the end in a Roman of the same body, worthy of Plantin himself.”

A new italic was first used in 1572 in Parker’s *De Anti-

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1 Reed, p. 96.
QUITATE BRITANNICAE ECCLESIE—The first privately printed book brought out in England. Day, by the way, was printer of the English edition in black-letter of that very famous Protestant martyrologium, Foxe’s Book of Martyrs, in 1563; and in 1569 he produced A Book of Christian Prayers,—commonly called “Queen Elizabeth’s Prayer Book,”—a rough, tasteless black-letter volume, clumsily modelled on French Horæ, but which had great popularity. He also cut a fine Greek letter and some attractive musical characters, and mathematical signs, etc., not before cast in type. The use of his roman and italic fonts was probably restricted to the See of Canterbury. Some of them were used a hundred years later by Roycroft in Bishop Walton’s Polyglot Bible. Day was one of the first English printers to cut roman and italic letters on uniform bodies. Before that time, roman and italic types had been considered characters without mechanical interrelation; as examination of books in which they are both employed too plainly shows.

Until the middle of the sixteenth century, the roman types used in England were respectable—in a few cases, handsome. By the middle of the century, however, there was a decline, attributable to a variety of reasons. English typography shared the general falling off which began as soon as the restraining traditions of the manuscript volumes had passed away. Then, too, as in other countries, new and more complex problems of book-making were coming into being—changes caused by a demand for cheaper books, by the realization of the possibilities of type, and by problems arising from the difference between the arrangement of a modern book, as we understand it, and the old traditional manuscript volume. Nor was the English printer very skilful or tasteful in the arrangement of types—good or bad; and thus English books did not equal those printed by good
Hæc est Praefatio (ostendens) quemadmodum Sanctus Gregorius hunc librum fecit, quem homines Pastorale nuncupant.

Elfredus Rex optat salutem Wulfhigeo episcopo dignissimo benevolè et amater. Et te scire volo quod mihi in mensa venit, quae sapientes diu abhinc extiterunt in Anglica gente, tam de spirituali gradu, quam de temporali, quæ fœliciam tunc tempora fuerunt inter omnes Angliae populos, quemadmodúq; reges qui tunc gubernationem habebant plebis, Deo & eius voluntatis scriptæ observandarint; ut, in sua pace, & bellicis suis expeditionibus, atque regimine do-

256. Roman Type used by Day, London, 1574
Elfredi regis amplissimi
(qui olim toti ferè Britanniae præfuit) historiam, tibi (humanissime, lector) exhibemus: à Io- 
banne Assero Antiflite, Shyreburnes (qui illi quodam a sacrïs fuit) Latini literis luculenter ex-
pressam. Quæ quidem historia non mediocrem menti tuæ voluptatem infundet, nec minorem adseret 
voluptate utilitatem, si in præclarissimarum rerum contemplatione defixus, te ad earum imitationem, 
quiæ imaginem totum effinxeris. Etenim quæ deletatio maior

presses on the Continent—either in workmanship, beauty, or correctness.

The decline of typography from 1550 to 1650, as McKerrow points out, was also due (1) to the fact that printing fell into the hands of a class of masters and men less able, enterprising, and socially important, who looked at it solely from the commercial side; (2) that English presses printed books chiefly in the vernacular, and that more scholarly volumes, like the classics, were largely brought from abroad; (3) and chiefly, to the beginning of a burdensome censorship of the press, which became increasingly restrictive. Separately and collectively, all these contributed to the decline in England of printing as an art.¹

“Some explanation,” says Reed, “of the marked superiority of our national typography at the close of the fifteenth century over that of half a century later, is to be found in the fact that, whereas many of the first printers used types wholly cut and cast for them by expert foreign artists, their successors began first to cast for themselves from hired or purchased matrices, and finally to cut their own punches and justify their own matrices. Printing entered on a gloomy stage of its career in England after Day’s time, and as State restrictions gradually hemmed it in, crushing by its monopolies healthy competition, and by its jealousy foreign succour, every printer became his own letterfounder, not because he would, but because he must, and the art suffered in consequence.” The first man recorded as a

type-founder was Hubert Dauvillier, who came to England in 1553 and whose shop was in existence in 1594; the first Englishman in the trade being Benjamin Simpson, who worked as a type-founder in 1597.

By the middle of the sixteenth century, the State had so seriously interfered with the liberty of printing, that by 1557 no press could be erected outside London except one each at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. In the seventeenth century, the Star Chamber decree of 1637\(^1\) placed the number of letter-founders at four, vacancies being filled by a commission. From 1640 to 1662 was a period of liberty; but this restriction was revived in 1662 and lasted until the end of the century—or to be exact, 1693. “During this period,” Pollard tells us, “of nearly a century and a half, no printing was permitted, and, with the most insignificant exceptions, no printing was done, except at London, Oxford, and Cambridge. If a school-book or a prayer-book, or a Bible, or a book of any kind were wanted at Falmouth or at Berwick-upon-Tweed, it was from London or Oxford or Cambridge that it had to be procured, and procured moreover from a closed ring, more or less able to charge what price it pleased. If a poll-tax of a few pence apiece had been imposed on the people of England the whole country would have been in revolt. But because this piece of oppression, which had no parallel in any other civilized country, had to do with books, this land of liberty bore it, apparently without a murmur.”\(^2\)

The earliest English specimen-sheet was that of Nicholas Nicholls, submitted to Charles II in 1665, with a petition for the post of royal letter-founder—which two years

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\(^1\) It was this decree which caused Milton to write his *Areopagitica*.

258. *Earliest English Specimen-sheet*
*Nicholas Nicholls, London, 1665*
later he obtained. The types were probably cut expressly for the specimen, and besides roman include Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, Samaritan, Ethiopic, and Arabic (fig. 258). Moxon, author of Mechanick Exercises, published a specimen in 1669. A specimen of the Fell and Junius types was issued by the University Press, Oxford, in 1693.

The Oxford Press began its work in 1585, and has been in continuous activity to our own day. In 1629, Sir Henry Savile gave the press some fine Greek types (bought at Frankfort possibly from Wechel's successors), called the "Silver Letter," in which the Eton Chrysostom had been printed. Later, Archbishop Laud obtained Letters Patent for it (allowing three printers, each to have two presses and two apprentices), and a Charter extending its rights, and he also presented it with some Oriental types. Between 1667 and 1672, the press received some fine types imported from Holland by Dr. John Fell, Dean of Christ Church and later Bishop of Oxford (figs. 259 and 260). A col-

1 It was Moxon who cut the symbols used in John Wilkins' Essay towards a Real Character, printed for the Royal Society (of which Moxon was a fellow) in 1668. He also produced the small pica Irish type used in Daniells' Irish New Testament in 1681, both type and printing being paid for by Robert Boyle—until 1800, the only Irish font in England.

2 Savile (1549-1622), Provost of Eton and one of the most learned Englishmen of his time, was for years interested in producing an edition of St. Chrysostom, for which he endeavoured to secure a font of the French "Royal Greek" types. Falling in this, he purchased abroad a special Greek font for the work, the preparation of which cost him the enormous sum (for those days) of £8000. The edition, in eight volumes, was finished in 1613. Savile was a friend of Sir Thomas Bodley, and founded at Oxford the chairs of Geometry and Astronomy, which are still known by his name. An interesting account of his Greek type is given in Robert Proctor's paper, The French Royal Greek Types, and the Eton Chrysostom (Transactions of the Bibliographical Society, Vol. VII). This "Silver Letter" was subsequently bequeathed by Savile to the University of Oxford, then loaned to the University of Cambridge, and has since been lost.

3 Reed, facing p. 140.
lection of Gothic, Runic, Icelandic, and Saxon characters was given also by a German, Francis Junius the younger, librarian to the Earl of Arundel.\(^1\) Rowe Mores says: "About the time of Mr. Junius's gift to the Univ. the excellent Bp. Fell, most strenuous in the cause of learning, had regulated and advanced the learned press in the manner which had been intended by archb. Laud, and which would by him have been effected had not the iniquity of those anarchical and villainous times prevented. He gave to the Univ. a noble collection of letter, consisting (besides the common founts Rom. and Ital.) of Hebr. Samaritan, Syriac, Arabic (Persic, Turkish and Malayn bought of Dr. Hyde), Armenian, Coptic, Æthiopic, Greek, Runic, Saxon, English, and Sclavonian: Music, Astronomical and Mathematical signs and marks, flowers, &c. together with the punches and matrices from which they were cast, and all other utensils and apparatus necessary for a printing-house belonging to the University."\(^2\) Fell employed Marshall, afterwards Dean of Gloucester, to buy some of these types in Holland, and Marshall's negotiations for their purchase (between 1670 and 1672) were chiefly with Abraham van Dyck, son of Christoffel, the celebrated type-cutter, and Dirk Voskens. A phrase in one of Marshall's letters is prophetic. "I se," he writes, "in this Printing-designe, we English must learn to use of own hands at last to cut Letters as well as

\(^1\) For the Fell types, see the rare Specimen of the Several Sorts of Letter given to the University by Dr. John Fell, later Lord Bishop of Oxford. To which is added the Letter Given by Mr. F. Junius, Oxford. Printed at the Theatre, A.D. 1693. Other editions followed in 1695, 1706, 1768, 1787, 1794, etc. Some of these specimens are reproduced in Hart's Notes on a Century of Typography at the University Press, Oxford, 1693-1794. Oxford, 1900.

\(^2\) Alike benefaction for the University Press, Cambridge, had been attempted in 1626 by Archbishop Ussher, who tried to get matrices of Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Samaritan letters from Leyden, but was forestalled in this by the Elzevirs. Before the advent of Caslon, most of the material of the press was carefully chosen from Dutch foundries. See S. C. Roberts' excellent History of the Cambridge University Press, 1521-1921. Cambridge, 1921.

259. Roman and Italic given by Dr. Fell to the University Press, Oxford
English English.

Our Father, which art in heaven; Hallowed be thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, As it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; But deliver us from evil. Amen.

New English English.

Our Father, which art in heaven; Hallowed be thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, As it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, &c.

Pica English.

Our Father, which art in heaven; Hallowed be thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, As it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; But deliver us from evil: For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, For ever and ever. Amen.

Long Primer English.

Our Father, which art in heaven; Hallowed be thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, As it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; But deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

260. Black-letter given by Dr. Fell to the University Press, Oxford
print wth them. For y* Founders here being reasonably furnish
ed wth Matrices from Franckfort, y* old van Dijke, &c. have no regard to cutting & justifying, unless perhaps to
supply a Defect, or two. So that some famous Cutters, they
say, are gone, to other Countries for want of imploygment.
And now not one here to be found.\textsuperscript{1} Dr. Fell also imported
a Dutch letter-cutter, Peter Walpergen, to direct the Oxford
foundry. Walpergen was succeeded by his son, and the son
in turn by Sylvester Andrews. Dr. Fell also had a hand in
the establishment of the Wolvercote paper-mill, now the
property of the Oxford University Press. The matrices of
the Fell types were the basis of the Oxford Foundry, es-
established in 1667, and at the present day in effective opera-
tion.

The University Press was transferred to the Sheldonian
Theatre in 1669 (built by Archbishop Sheldon, it is said
at Fell's suggestion), and during the life of Fell, its con-
stant and efficient friend, it produced some notable books.
Its charter was granted in 1682; a little later it obtained a
privilege for printing Bibles. In 1688, it was removed from
the Theatre—the Learned Press to one locality, the Bible
Press to another. The receipts from the copyright of Claren-
don's Rebellion chiefly provided the money for the erection in
1713 of the Clarendon Building, designed for the press by
Vanbrugh. In 1830, it was removed to its present building,
where the Bible Press and Learned Press are united.\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{1} Marshall's letters are reprinted in Hart's \textit{Notes on a Century of Typog-

\textsuperscript{2} For a brief account of the Press with lists of its most important books, see
the admirable brochure, \textit{The Oxford University Press. A Brief Account by
Falconer Madan. Oxford}, 1908. See, also, the same author's \textit{Chart of Ox-
ford Printing}, 1904. For an elaborate account of the Fell types, with fac-
ssimiles, etc., consult Horace Hart's \textit{Notes on a Century of Typography},
already alluded to. The latter book is printed from the Fell types, as is also
The restrictions which the Government placed on printing have hitherto been alluded to. The separation of printing from letter-founding was a gradual process, but in the reign of Charles I—in 1637—the Star Chamber decree shows that the establishment of type-founding as a distinct business was accomplished. The object of this decree was to restrict the number of persons engaged in letter-founding; and four authorized founders were appointed, namely, Grismand, Wright, Nicholls, and Fifield, who probably had been making types for some time previous. It was the son of Nicholls who produced the first known “specimen” of English type.

These men have generally been known as the Polyglot Founders, because they were later associated in the production of that famous work, Walton’s Polyglot Bible—the fourth Polyglot produced. The first was the Complutensian Polyglot of Cardinal Ximenez, printed at Alcalá in 1517; followed by the Plantin Polyglot of 1572, published at Antwerp, and the Paris Polyglot of 1645, edited by Le Jay. Each succeeding work surpassed its predecessor in the number of languages employed, the London Polyglot containing all that were in the Paris Polyglot and adding Persian and Ethiopic; though as a piece of printing it is inferior in beauty to the earlier Polyglots. It was issued between 1654 and 1657 in six folio volumes by the distinguished printer-publisher Thomas Roycroft, who also brought out Castell’s learned Heptaglot Lexicon, which supplemented it. Some roman and italic types employed in the Bible were (as I have said) the types that Day cut for Archbishop Parker. The characters for the nine languages used were all of English make, and some of these became models for later Oriental fonts in the eighteenth century. Roycroft (remem-

See Reed, pp. 169, 170, for comparison of the four Polyglot Bibles.
bered for his fine editions of the classics printed for Ogilby) was, on the accession of Charles II, made King’s Printer of Oriental languages, and Walton received a mitre!

The three best London foundries—none too good, be it said—of the second half of the seventeenth century were that of Joseph Moxon (author of *Mechanick Exercises*); that of his successors, Robert and Silvester Andrews, which was very well furnished in roman, italic, and learned fonts, as well as Anglo-Saxon and Irish characters; and that of James and Thomas Grover, who possessed types which came from Day, Wynkyn de Worde, and others, and a remarkable Greek uncial font later owned by the James foundry. But the types of most seventeenth century English books were probably Dutch. For this there were several reasons. One was the success of the Elzevirs, then the prominent publishers and printers of Europe, whose types were Dutch. Then there was the influence of fashion, for “the caprices of the court have always been to some extent responsible for the evolution of taste”; and court taste was to some degree Dutch. Moreover, with the Revolution, English restrictions on the importation of types were removed, and the use of Dutch fonts came about partly because, on account of previous hampering governmental regulations, there were not enough trained letter-cutters left in England to produce good types. That was the most potent reason of all for the general English use of the Dutch letter.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the great James foundry, which contained material produced by De Worde, Day, the London Polyglot founders, Moxon, and many more, was procuring its types from Holland, and an

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"It was Thomas James who cruelly thwarted William Ged, inventor of stereotyping. In a house which was part of the priory of St. Bartholomew the Great, Smithfield (at one time occupied by James), Benjamin Franklin was employed by Samuel Palmer."
account of Thomas James’s negotiations there in 1710, when he went to obtain material for his foundry, is given in a series of unconsciously humorous letters in Rowe Mores’ Dissertation. His purchases from Dutch letter-founders were from Athias, Voskens, Cupi, and Rolu. Reed calls attention to “the intimate relations which existed at that period between English printers and Dutch founders.” He adds, “There was probably more Dutch type in England between 1700 and 1720 than there was English. The Dutch artists appeared for the time to have the secret of the true shape of the Roman letter; their punches were more carefully finished, their matrices better justified, and their types of better metal, and better dressed, than any of which our country could boast.”

The rise of William Caslon, the greatest of English letter-founders, stopped the importation of Dutch types; and so changed the history of English type-cutting, that after his appearance the types used in England were most of them cut by Caslon himself, or else fonts modelled on the style which he made popular. An examination of types displayed in the specimen in Watson’s History of the Art of Printing, issued in Edinburgh in 1713, shows what the Dutch types were (fig. 261); and Caslon’s various specimens will show the English style. These, with Baskerville’s specimens, are the chief sources for the study of eighteenth century English type-forms.

1 Rowe Mores’ Dissertation, pp. 51–57.
2 Reed, p. 114.
THE Flatterer will quit thee in thy Adversity: But the Fool will never forsoke thee. If thou hide thy Treasure upon the Earth, how canst thou expect to find it in Heaven? Canst thou hope to be a Sharer, where thou hast reposed no Stock? Give not thy Tongue too great a Liberty, lest it take thee Prisoner. Wouldst thou traffick with the best Advantage, and crown thy Virtues with the best Return?

GREAT-PRIMMER, Italick. xxxv

HOW canst thou by thy Honour? By Money. How canst thou by thy Money? By Extortion. Compare thy Penny-Worth with the Price; and tell me truly, how truly Honourable thou art? It is an ill Purchase, that's encumbered with a Curfe: And that Honour will be ruinous, that is built on Ruins. Detain not the Wages from the poor Man that hath earn'd it, lest GOD with-bold thy Wages from thee.---Thou shalt not prosper for his Sake. The poor

261. Dutch Types used in England: Watson Specimen
Edinburgh, 1713
CASLON'S work marks a turning-point in English type-founding, so I shall outline briefly what he stood for in the history of English types.

William Caslon was born in 1692 at Cradley, Worcestershire, near Halesowen in Shropshire, and in the parish register of Halesowen his baptism is entered as "child of George Casselon by Mary his wife." Tradition has it that the surname was originally Caslona, after an Andalusian town, whence in 1688 William Caslon's father came to England. Caslon as a lad was apprenticed to an engraver of ornamental gun-locks and barrels in London. In 1716, he set up a shop of his own there, where he did silver-chasing and also cut tools for bookbinders. John Watts (a partner of the second Tonson) was accustomed to employ him to cut lettering for bindings—and sometimes punches for type. About 1720, William Bowyer the elder¹ is said to have taken Caslon to the James workshop, to initiate him into letter-founding; and Bowyer, his son-in-law Bettenham, and Watts eventually advanced money to enable Caslon to

¹ William Bowyer the elder (1663-1737) was printer for Thomas Hollis, benefactor of Harvard College. His son, William Bowyer, "the learned printer," received from the President, Edward Holyoke, and the Fellows, in December, 1767, a vote of thanks for several valuable books sent them, and "particularly his late curious edition of the Greek Testament with learned Notes." To one of the books which Bowyer presented (The Letters of Erasmus) he prefixed a Latin inscription, as he did in the Greek Testament just alluded to. For President Holyoke says in his letter: "We are greatly obliged to you for the favourable sentiments you have been pleased so elegantly to express of our Seminary, in the blank leaf of the New Testament; and we hope it will prove a powerful stimulus to our youth, more and more to deserve so good a character. This Society is as yet but in its infant-state; but we trust, that, by the generosity of the benefactors whom the Divine Providence is raising up to us, and by the smiles of Heaven upon our endeavours to form the youth here to knowledge and virtue, it will every day more effectually answer the important ends of its foundation."
set up a foundry of his own. The only good foundries then were those of the Oxford Press, of Grover, and of James. In the same year the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge engaged Caslon to cut a font of Arabic of English size, for a Psalter and New Testament for Oriental use—ultimately printed respectively in 1725 and 1727. This he did, and the story runs that he cut the letters of his own name in pica roman, and printed it at the bottom of a proof of his Arabic. This roman letter was so much admired, that Caslon was persuaded to cut a font of pica roman and italic; and in 1722, with Bowyer’s encouragement, he cut the English fonts of roman, italic, and Hebrew used in Bowyer’s folio 1726 edition of Selden’s works. These and some Coptic types for Wilkins’ edition of the Pentateuch, published in 1731, were, like the Hebrew, cut under Bowyer’s direction. Caslon’s beautiful pica “black” was cut about 1733. Several other of his “exotic” types appeared before 1734. In accomplishing all this, Caslon had been from the first effectively backed; and he ended with a complete foundry, which by his own labour and some discriminating later purchases became the best in England. His types were bought by printers abroad. He arrived, says Mores,¹ “to that

¹ Edward Rowe Mores, in the latter part of his life (in 1772), purchased all the older portions of the enormous collection of types, punchers, and matrices of the James foundry—an accumulation which dated from the sixteenth century. From his examination of its material he prepared an essay intended to preserve the memory of this foundry, the most ancient in the kingdom, and as an introduction to a specimen-sheet which was to show what his collection possessed. The specimen was not published until after his death. The essay finally appeared four years later to accompany the catalogue of the auction sale of the collection. The title-page reads: A Dissertation upon English Typographical Founders and Founderies. By Edward Rowe Mores, A.M. & A.S.S., MDCCCLXXVIII. This title and the final notes were added by John Nichols, the printer, who bought the whole edition (only eighty copies) at the sale of Mores’ books, in 1778. The Dissertation contains an immense amount of curious information about early types and type-founders in England.
A SPECIMEN

By W. CASLON, Letter-Founder, in Ironmonger-Row, Old-Street, LONDON.

ABCD
ABCD
ABCD
ABCD
ABCD
ABCD
ABCD
ABCD

Double Pica Roman.
Quoufque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? quamdiu
nos etiam furor ille tuus eludet? quem ad finem se effrenata jac-
ABCDEF

GREAT PRIMER ROMAN.
Quoufque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? quamdiu nos etiam furor ille tuus eludet? quem ad finem se effrenata jac.
ABCDEF

ENGLISH ROMAN.
Quoufque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? quamdiu nos etiam furor ille tuus eludet? quem ad finem se effrenata jac.
ABCDEF

PICA ROMAN.
Melium, novis rebus studendem, manu sua occidit.
Fuit, fuit ida quandam in hae repub. virtus, ut viti
fora accribris supplitia cives parum fidem, quam a

PICAS SMALL.
At nos vigesimam jam dext patimur blemex aie sem homen

Double Pica Italic.
Quoufque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? quamdiu
nos etiam furor ille tuus eludet? quem ad finem se effrenata jac.
ABCDEF

GREAT PRIMER ITALIC.
Quoufque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? quamdiu nos etiam furor ille tuus eludet? quem ad finem se effrenata jac.
ABCDEF

ENGLISH ITALIC.
Quoufque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? quamdiu nos etiam furor ille tuus eludet? quem ad finem se effrenata jac.
ABCDEF

PICA ITALIC.
Melium, novis rebus studendem, manu sua occidit.
Fuit, fuit ida quandam in hae repub. virtus, ut viti
fora accribris supplitia cives parum fidem, quam a

PICAS SMALL.
At nos vigesimam jam dext patimur blemex aie sem homen

PICA BLACK.
And be it further enacted by the Authority
agreed. That all and every of the said Ex-
chequer Bills to be made forth by virtue of
this Act, as so many of them as shall from
ABCDEF

PICAS SMALL.
At nos vigesimam jam dext patimur blemex aie sem homen

PICTA ARMENIA.
Melium, novis rebus studendem, manu sua occidit.
Fuit, fuit ida quandam in hae repub. virtus, ut viti
fora accribris supplitia cives parum fidem, quam a

PICAS SMALL.
At nos vigesimam jam dext patimur blemex aie sem homen

PICA SWISS.
Melium, novis rebus studendem, manu sua occidit.
Fuit, fuit ida quandam in hae repub. virtus, ut viti
fora accribris supplitia cives parum fidem, quam a

PICAS SMALL.
At nos vigesimam jam dext patimur blemex aie sem homen

PICA ARABIC.
La Bayk an Allah Assebriwet wole. La bokk tewr kheer. La toqtoq tewr.
patientia nostra?

Quoque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? quamdiu nos etiam

Quoque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? quamdiu nos etiam furor

262. First Broadside Specimen issued by William Caslon, 1734 (reduced)
perfection so that we may, without fear of contradiction, make the assertion that a fairer specimen cannot be found in Europe; that is, Not in the World." When Caslon's first specimen appeared, his reputation was made. His subsequent history is largely the record of the different fonts which he cut.

Though Caslon began his foundry about 1720, it was not until 1734 that he issued this specimen-sheet, which exhibited the results of fourteen years of labour (fig. 262). It shows various fonts of type, all cut by Caslon except the Canon roman, which came from Andrews (a "descendant" of the Moxon foundry); the English Syriac, cast from matrices used for the Paris Polyglot Bible of Le Jay, and a pica Samaritan cut by Dummies, a Dutchman. A reprint of this specimen, with a change of imprint, appeared in an edition of Chambers' Cyclopædia in 1738, and a note accompanying it says: "The above were all cast in the foundery of Mr. W. Caslon, a person who, though not bred to the art of letter-founding, has, by dint of genius, arrived at an excellence in it unknown hitherto in England, and which even surpasses anything of the kind done in Holland or elsewhere." Caslon was joined in his business by his son, William II, in 1742, and they constantly enlarged their stock of types, both roman and "learned." It was *adpropos* of this expansion that a rather startling phrase occurs in Ames' account of their foundry. "The art," he says, "seems to be carried to its greatest perfection by Mr. William Caslon, and his son, who, besides the type of all manner of living languages now by him, has offered to perform the same for the dead, that can be recovered, to the satisfaction of any gentleman desirous of the same."

Fournier, writing (not too accurately) in 1766, says: "England has few foundries, but they are well equipped
with all kinds of types. The principal ones are those of Thomas Cottrell at Oxford, James Watson at Edinburgh, William Caslon & Son at London, and John Baskerville at Birmingham. The last two deserve special attention. The types in Caslon’s foundry have been cut for the most part by his son with much cleverness and neatness. The specimens which were published of them in 1749 contain many different kinds of types.”

A contemporary print of Caslon’s foundry shows four casters at work, a rubber (Joseph Jackson), a dresser (Thomas Cottrell), and some boys breaking off the type-metal jets. Jackson and Cottrell subsequently became eminent type-founders themselves. Caslon seems to have been a “tender master,” and he was a kindly, cultivated man. In his Chiswell Street house he had a concert room, and within it an organ; and there he entertained his friends at monthly concerts of chamber music. I have seen the attractive old rooms where these musical parties were held, in the building in Chiswell Street — since pulled down, to be replaced by a more convenient structure.

William Caslon the elder (who was thrice married) died in London in 1766, at the age of seventy-four. The stock of his foundry about the time of his death may be seen from his Specimen of 1763. This was the first specimen-book issued in England, and from it some pages are reproduced


Also see Luckombe’s History of Printing, in which a reprint of that part of Caslon’s Specimen of 1763 which contains the types, is shown. The flowers are not the same. In Caslon’s specimens, variants of the same size of type are given, called “No. 1” and “No. 2” — the former a little larger than the latter, though cast on the same body — as in Luckombe’s reprint. In the Caslon Specimen of 1796, three faces of the same size of type are shown. Thus the name Caslon, says Mr. De Vinne, “as applied to a distinct face of type, is consequently not exactly descriptive; it may be somewhat misleading.”
Quousque tandem abutere Catilina, p
Quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, pa-

Two Lines English.
Quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? quamdiu nos e-
Quousque tandem abutere Catilina, patientia nostra?

Two Lines Pica.
Quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? qu
Quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? quam-

263. Roman and Italic: William Caxton & Son's Specimen
London, 1763
ENGLISH TYPES: 1500–1800

(...fign. 263 and 264). His son, William Caslon II (1720–1778), succeeded him at his death, and maintained the place the house had won for itself. On the death of William Caslon II, the property was divided between his widow — Elizabeth (Cartlitch) Caslon — and his two sons, William Caslon and Henry Caslon I. William Caslon III (1754–1833),

who had a son William (1781–1869), disposed of his interest in 1792 to his mother, and to Elizabeth (Rowe) Caslon; the widow of his brother Henry. The latter lady, whose partner was Nathaniel Catherwood, had a son, Henry Caslon (1786–1850). He, in partnership with John James Catherwood, with Martin Livermore, and alone, continued the house, which finally descended to the last of the family, Henry William Caslon (1814–1874). On his death, the business was taken over, under the style of H. W. Caslon & Co., by his manager, T. W. Smith, whose sons ultimately assumed the name of Caslon, and the foundry remains in their hands to-day. The developments of the Caslons' output during their long and honourable history are described on later pages.

Why are William Caslon's types so excellent and so famous? To explain this and make it really clear, is difficult. While he modelled his letters on Dutch types, they were much better; for he introduced into his fonts a quality of interest, a variety of design, and a delicacy of modelling, which few Dutch types possessed. Dutch fonts were monotonous, but Caslon's fonts were not so. His letters when

1 This William Caslon III, though selling his interest in the family business, bought Joseph Jackson's foundry (in operation from 1763 to 1792), which he managed under his own name until 1803 — the succeeding styles of the house being Caslon & Son and William Caslon (1807–19).

2 The account of the foundry which has been issued by the present owners under the title of Two Centuries of Typefounding should be consulted. It is very fully illustrated by portraits, reproductions of types, ornaments, etc.
analyzed, especially in the smaller sizes, are not perfect individually; but in mass their effect is agreeable. That is, I think, their secret—a perfection of the whole, derived from harmonious but not necessarily perfect individual letter-forms. To say precisely how Caslon arrived at his effects is not simple; but he did so because he was an artist. He knew how to make types, if ever a man did, that were (to quote once more Bernard's phrase) "friendly to the eye," or "comfortable"—to use Dibdin's happy term. Furthermore, his types are thoroughly English. There are other letters more elegant; for the Caslon characters do not compare in that respect with the letters of Garamond or Grandjean. But in their defects and qualities they are the result of a taste typically Anglo-Saxon, and represent to us the flowering of a sturdy English tradition in typography. Lacking a "national" form of letter, we in America (who are mainly governed by English printing traditions) have nothing better. Caslon types are, too, so beautiful in mass, and above all so legible and "common-sense," that they can never be disregarded, and I doubt if they will ever be displaced.

Caslon's ornaments or flowers deserve in their way as much praise as his types. "To a designer's eyes they have," says Mr. W. A. Dwiggins, "taken as individual patterns, an inevitable quality, a finality of right construction that baffles any attempt to change or improve. . . . Excellent as single spots, the Caslon flowers multiply their beauties when composed in bands or borders as ornamentation for letter-press. They then become a true flowering of the letter forms—as though particular groups of words had been told off for special ornamental duty and had blossomed at command into intricate, but always typographical patterns.
And be it further hereby enacted, That

And be it further hereby enacted, That the Mayors, Bailiffs, or other head Officers,

And be it further hereby enacted, That the Mayors, Bailiffs, or other head Officers of every Town and place corporate, and City within this Realm, being Justice or Justices of Peace, shall have the same authority by virtue of this Act, within the limits and precincts of their Jurisdiction.

And be it further hereby enacted, That the Mayors, Bailiffs, or other head Officers of every Town and place corporate, and City within this Realm, being Justice or Justices of Peace, shall have the same authority, by virtue of this Act, within the limits and precincts of their Jurisdiction.

264. Black-letter: William Caslon & Son's Specimen

London, 1763
This faculty possessed by the Caslon ornaments of keeping an unmistakable type quality through all their graceful evolutions sets them apart from the innumerable offerings of the type founders' craft as a unique group. ... From the point of view of the pressman, as practical working types for impressing ink into paper, they may be claimed to be better, so far as English and American designs are concerned, than any type-flowers made since their period. The proportion of printing surface to open paper ... is excellently adapted for the purposes of clean, sharp impression. Certain ones have elements broken by tint-lines into a clear-printing gray, and it will be observed that this tint is not the gray of copper-plate, but has the weight and solidity of a printing surface backed by metal" (figs. 265 and 266).

III

BASKERVILLE is the other great name in eighteenth century English type-founding. Here we have a very different influence emanating from a very different kind of man. His types were not so good as Caslon's, though to an untrained eye their fonts seem much alike; but the slight touch of over-delicacy which the Baskerville letter possessed was finally to develop a rival which would drive Caslon's type, for a time, from the field. Baskerville's characters had this advantage—that they were in line with the tendency toward lighter type-forms which was coming over European printing; and although his fonts never had much vogue in England, they did have an enormous influence on the later development of English type-forms, and on the type-forms of Europe.

John Baskerville was born in 1706. He was first a writ-
ing-master at Birmingham, and then turned to the trade of japanning—of trays, snuff-boxes, etc.—in which he made a good deal of money. In 1750, he began to interest himself in typography. "M. Baskerville," says Fournier, "a private individual of means, has established at Birmingham, the town where he lives—renowned for its metal manufactures—a paper-mill, printing-office, and type-foundry. He has spared neither pains nor expense to bring these to the highest perfection. His types are cut with much spirit, his italic being the best in any foundry in England, though the roman characters are a little too broad. He has already published some editions printed from these new types, which, for brilliancy, are real masterpieces. Some are upon hot-pressed paper, and although they are a little fatiguing to the eye, one cannot deny that they are the most beautiful things to be seen in this sort of work."

What Caslon did for types, Baskerville, aided by the novel form of his letters, his black ink, and hot-pressed rag paper, did for eighteenth century presswork. His way of printing was so closely connected with the effects of his fonts that they cannot be considered apart from it.

In printing a book, Baskerville had ready a succession of hot copper plates, and between such plates each wet sheet was inserted as it left the press—something no eighteenth century printer had up to that time attempted. The high finish of these hot-pressed sheets—the "gloss" of his paper—compared with that on modern papers, does not seem to us very noticeable. His contemporaries, however, thought otherwise, and the Abbé de Fontenai, in a notice of Baskerville, describes it as "so glossy and of such a perfect polish that one would suppose the paper made of silk rather than of linen." It is easier to understand his surprise

FLOWERS.

Double Pica Flowers.

Great Primer Flowers.

265. Ornaments: William Caslon & Son's Specimen
London, 1763
English Flowers.

1

2

3

Pica Flowers.

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

266. Ornaments: William Caslon & Son's Specimen
London, 1763
at Baskerville's restraint in the use of decoration, for at that
date most books did not depend for their effect on typog-
raphy, but chiefly on engravings, or else woodcut ornaments
or typographic flowers. This absence of plates in Basker-
ville's books struck men of that day very forcibly. "Con-
tent with the simplicity of typographic art," says De Font-
tenai, "the English printer has had no need to borrow aid
from engraving; nor do we find in the editions that he has
so far published—which are admirable—plates, vignettes,
tail-pieces, ornamental letters, or, in short, any of those ac-
cessories which serve as passports, so to speak, for a worth-
less lot of French verse which, without this useful precau-
tion, would meet its just desert—oblivion." ¹

Baskerville spent seven or eight years in experimenting
with designs for type before a page of a book was printed,
and he made not merely his own types (cut for him by a
certain John Handy), but also his ink, and if he did not
make his own paper, he superintended its manufacture. His
first book, the Latin Virgil, which came out in 1757, estab-
lished his reputation. And in 1758, Baskerville followed up
this success with a Milton in two volumes royal octavo—a
somewhat indifferent performance—which is chiefly inter-
esting for the preface (fig. 267) that he wrote for it.

"Amongst the several mechanic Arts that have engaged
my attention," he says, "there is no one which I have
pursued with so much steadiness and pleasure, as that of
Letter-Founding. Having been an early admirer of the
beauty of Letters, I became insensibly desirous of contrib-
uting to the perfection of them. I formed to my self Ideas
of greater accuracy than had yet appeared, and have en-
deavoured to produce a Sett of Types according to what I
conceived to be their true proportion.

"Mr. Caslon is an Artist, to whom the Republic of Learning has great obligations; his ingenuity has left a fairer copy for my emulation, than any other master. In his great variety of Characters I intend not to follow him; the Roman and Italic are all I have hitherto attempted; if in these he has left room for improvement, it is probably more owing to that variety which divided his attention, than to any other cause. I honor his merit, and only wish to derive some small share of Reputation, from an Art which proves accidentally to have been the object of our mutual pursuit.

"After having spent many years, and not a little of my fortune in my endeavours to advance this art; I must own it gives me great Satisfaction, to find that my Edition of Virgil has been so favourably received. The improvement in the Manufacture of the Paper, the Colour, and Firmness of the Ink were not overlooked; nor did the accuracy of the workmanship in general, pass unregarded. If the judicious found some imperfections in the first attempt, I hope the present work will shew that a proper use has been made of their Criticisms: I am conscious of this at least, that I received them as I ever shall, with that degree of deference which every private man owes to the Opinion of the public.

"It is not my desire to print many books; but such only, as are books of Consequence, of intrinsic merit, or established Reputation, and which the public may be pleased to see in an elegant dress, and to purchase at such a price, as will repay the extraordinary care and expence that must necessarily be bestowed upon them. Hence I was desirous of making an experiment upon some one of our best English Authors, among those Milton appeared the most eligible."

Besides the fine and famous series of classical and English authors that Baskerville continued to print on his own
PREFACE.

AMONGST the several mechanic Arts that have engaged my attention, there is no one which I have pursued with so much steadiness and pleasure, as that of Letter-Founding. Having been an early admirer of the beauty of Letters, I became insensibly desirous of contributing to the perfection of them. I formed to my self Ideas of greater accuracy than had yet appeared, and have endeavoured to produce a Sett of Types according to what I conceived to be their true proportion.

Mr. Caflon is an Artist, to whom the Republic of Learning has great obligations; his ingenuity has left a fairer copy for my emulation, than any other master. In his great variety of Characters I intend not to follow him; the Roman and Italic are all I have hitherto attempted; if in these he has left room for improvement, it is probably more owing to that variety which divided his attention, than to any other cause. I honor his merit, and only wish to derive some small share of Reputation, from an Art which proves accidentally to have been the object of our mutual pursuit.

After having spent many years, and not a little

account, he had other irons in the fire. He cut Greek types—and very bad they were—for Oxford. He was appointed printer to the University of Cambridge, and produced editions of the Bible and Prayer Book—some of them most imposing—though his types did not seem "solid" enough for this kind of work. I have chosen one or two typical volumes for description of his types and type-setting. The first one is the Virgil, which (in Macaulay's phrase) "went forth to astonish all the librarians of Europe."

This book was issued in square quarto. The title-page is set in lines of widely spaced capitals—a very characteristic feature of Baskerville's work. His rather condensed italic capitals are employed for two lines only (fig. 268). These italic capitals are used for running-titles, and elsewhere—the F, K, J, N, Q, Y, Z being peculiarly "Baskerville" in design. The book is set in great primer type, leaded. The folios and numbers to lines of the text employ a very calligraphic and rather disagreeable form of arabic figure. The book is printed on hot-pressed smooth paper, in my copy partly wove and partly laid. Very easy to read, the volume nevertheless does not seem to me a particularly agreeable or beautiful book, partly on account of its type, but chiefly because the type-page is too large for its paper, and the headings and running-titles, in restless italic capitals, become too much of a feature (fig. 269). The volume sold at a guinea, and among the subscribers was Benjamin Franklin, who took six copies. Perhaps among them was the copy given by him to the Library of Harvard College, of which he wrote (in April, 1758) that "It is thought to be the most curiously printed of any book hitherto done in the world." However that may be, it is a very typical example of Baskerville's merits and defects.

In The Works of the Late Right Honorable Joseph Addi-
son, Esq., in four quarto volumes, printed by Baskerville for J. and R. Tonson in 1761, we have a different kind of performance. The third volume I have chosen to discuss because it is devoted to The Spectator, a book so often reprinted that its editions form a sort of conspectus of English typography for a hundred and fifty years. To my mind, Baskerville’s treatment of The Spectator was most unsuccessful. Running head-lines are set in italic capitals, much spaced, so that “The” which precedes the word “Spectator” has to be huddled to one side in upper and lower-case italic. The number of the issue and its date are set between two lines of very light type-ornament, which is trivial and teasing. The text of the work is set in English roman of a monotonous roundness; for the height of the body of the letter calls for more leading and longer ascenders and descenders. On pages 432 and 433, observe the masses of italic—gray in colour, feeble and wiry in line, and annoyingly condensed in shape. The occasional lines of Greek are crabbed and disagreeable—to other Greek fonts what the italic is to “suaver” italics. The volumes may be vastly superior in brilliancy and clearness of effect to other books of the time, but for the text a Caslon, or even “Fell” letter, would have been better if the same attention had been given to presswork.

A much finer book—a really very fine book—is the Latin Juvenal and Persius, printed the same year (1761) in quarto. This is very simply arranged. The argument to each Satire is set in a large size of Baskerville’s italic, and the text in roman is more leaded than in the Virgil and accordingly much improved. Running-titles are set in spaced italic capitals. The imposition is elegant, the margins ample, the type clear. And some of Baskerville’s editions of the classics in 16mo are charming little books.
PUBLII VIRGILII
MARONIS
BUCOLICA,
GEORGICA,
ET
AENEIS.

BIRMINGHAMIAE:
Typis JOHANNIS BASKERVILLE.
MDCCCLVII.

268. Title-page of Baskerville's Virgil (reduced)
85 ME. Hac te nos fragili donabimus ante cicuta.  
Hae nos, Formosum Corydon ardebat Alexin:  
Hae eadem docuit, Cujum pecus? an Meliboei?  
MO. At tu fume pedum, quod, me quum saepe rogaret,  
Non tuit Antigones, (et erat tum dignus amari)  
90 Formosum paribus nodis atque aer, Menalca.

ECLOGA SEXTA.

SILENUS.

PRIMA Syracosio dignata est ludere versu,  
Nostra nec erubuit silvas habitare Thalia.  
Quum canem reges et praelia, Cynthiae aurem  
Vellit, et admonuit: pastorem, Tityre, pingues

269. Baskerville’s Type used in Virgil, Birmingham, 1757
Baskerville’s specimen-sheet of about 1762, entitled *A Specimen by John Baskerville of Birmingham, Letter-Founder and Printer*, shows eight varieties of roman—from double pica to brevier—and six sizes of italic. On this specimen the roman types appear better than in the Addison. But as Latin is employed for the paragraph which displays them, this may be due to the many m’s, n’s, and u’s which Latin affords. The italic is better, though it is a very thin, starved sort of character. The italic capital K’s, and capital Q’s and Z’s, both in roman and italic, are interesting (*fig. 270*). As our illustration of the broadside specimen is reduced, the reader is referred to the reproduction of Baskerville’s double pica roman and italic (a portion of another broadside specimen issued about the same time), which gives a somewhat more accurate idea of his type-design (*fig. 271*).

Baskerville no doubt was eccentric, vain, and unattractive as a man; but publishers and printers were jealous of him as a printer. They abused his type, they poked fun at his smooth paper, and in spite of his artistic success, financially he found it by no means easy sailing. Franklin, who loved a practical joke, in a letter written to Baskerville in 1760, tells him that hearing a friend say that Baskerville’s types would be “the means of blinding all the Readers in the Nation owing to the thin and narrow strokes of the letters,” he produced a specimen of Caslon’s types with Caslon’s name torn from it, saying it was Baskerville’s, and asking for specific criticism. He was at once favoured with a long discourse on faults so plainly apparent in the type that

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1 This sheet is a rare one. My copy formerly belonged to A. A. Renouard, the French publisher and bibliophile. There is also an example in the Birmingham Free Libraries. Baskerville issued specimens in 1757, c. 1762 (2, one of which is bordered), and in 1775 (2).
before the critic had finished, he complained that his eyes were even then suffering from "Baskerville" pains!¹

But Baskerville was tenacious, and persisted in printing and publishing, though his books did not pay. Several times during his latter years he tried to sell his types,—to the Imprimerie Royale (through Franklin in 1767), to the Académie des Sciences at Paris, to the Court of Russia, to Denmark, to the English Government,—without success; indeed, it is doubtful if he wished to succeed. For a time he placed his establishment in the hands of his foreman, Robert Martin, but later resumed its charge, and continued to print and to publish until his death in 1775. After Baskerville’s decease, his types were hawked about; some of them were sold in England, and the remainder bought by Beaumarchais for his great edition of Voltaire. The chief part of his equipment, therefore, went to France. In the upheaval consequent to the Revolution the history of his types becomes obscure. An advertisement of their sale in Paris, certainly after 1789, is reproduced from the only copy known (fig. 272). Later, Baskerville’s fonts were used to print the Gazette Nationale, ou Le Moniteur Universel, the official journal of the French Republic during “the terrible years.” Whittingham, early in the nineteenth century, used some of them,² it is said. And of late some are reported to have turned up in French printing-houses.³ Thus Baskerville’s matrices and types, which should have been preserved to English typography, through indifference were lost to it.

¹ Franklin’s amusing letter, which has been so often quoted, may be found in Straus and Dent’s John Baskerville, Cambridge, 1907, p. 19.
² In 1827, Pickering advertised The Treatise of Psyshyng wyth an Angle (attributed to Dame Juliana Berners) as printed with the types of John Baskerville.
³ See notice of Baskerville type in Marius Audin’s Le Livre, sa Technique, son Architecture, Lyon, 1921, pp. 42 et seq.
Double Pica Roman.

TANDEM aliquando, Quirites! L. Catilinam furentem audacia, scelus anhelantem, pe-
A B C D E F G H I J K L M N.

Great Primer Roman.

TANDEM aliquando, Quirites! L. Catilinam furentem audacia, scelus anhelantem, pestem patriae nefarie molien-
tem, vobis atque huic urbi ferrum flam-
A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P.

Double Pica Italic.

T'ANDEM aliquando, Quirites! L. Catilinam furentem audacia, scelus anhelantem, pestem patriae nefarie moli-
A B C D E F G H I J K L M N.

Great Primer Italic.

T'ANDEM aliquando, Quirites! L. Catilinam furentem audacia, scelus anhelantem, pestem patriae nefarie molientem, vobis atque huic urbi ferrum flammamque mimitan-
A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R.

271. Types from Baskerville's bordered Broadside Specimen
Birmingham, c. 1762
DÉPÔT DES CARACTÈRES DE BASKERVILLE,

PORTE SAINT-ANTOINE, entre la rue Amelot et le Boulevard, N° 1, vis-à-vis les ruines de la Bastille.

Le Dépôt de la Fonderie de Baskerville, qui présente aux Imprimeurs une ressource nouvelle en ce genre, contient les Caractères ci-après dénommés:

Savoir,

Gros Canon.  Saint-Augustin.  Petit Texte.

Ces Caractères, fondus sur la même hauteur, ne laissent rien à désirer pour la perfection de l'exécution, et l'on n'a de même rien épargné pour la bonté de la matière, objet dans lequel les Connaisseurs trouveront un avantage qui ne leur échappera pas.

Ce Dépôt offre aux Citoyens Imprimeurs et Amateurs en typographie, la facilité de se pourvoir sur le champ de tout ce dont ils peuvent avoir besoin, tant en Fontes qu'en Assortiments de toute espèce.

Le Directeur du Dépôt peut livrer sur le champ de quoi monter une Impimerie de 30 Presses, en Fontes les plus amplies, fussent-elles chacune de 5 à 30 feuilles, depuis le Gros Romain jusqu'à la Mignone inclusivement.

Cette Affiche, exécutée avec les Caractères de Baskerville, indique aux uns et aux autres ce qu'ils peuvent se procurer pour tous les ouvrages de ce genre.

Les Amateurs peuvent se procurer de ces Caractères assortis en aussi petite quantité qu'ils le voudront, ainsi que tous les Assortiments, Ornements, et en général tous Utensiles d'Imprimerie.

On distribuera un Essai d'Épreuves desdits Caractères, avec leurs prix, en attendant le Specimen ou Livre d'Épreuves de tout ce que contient la Fonderie de Baskerville, à la confection duquel on travaille.

S'adresser au Citoyen COLAS, Dépositaire desdits Caractères, au Dépôt ci-dessus; ou à sa demeure, rue Saint-Antoine, près la Place de la Liberté, Porte cochère No 161.

Imprimé sur les mesures, et dans l'Imprimerie Atelle propre, C. COLAS.

272. Advertisement of Sale of Baskerville’s Types, Paris, after 1789 (reduced)
ENGLISH TYPES: 1500–1800

The only ornaments Baskerville possessed were, apparently, fourteen forms of "flowers," which, rather thin in design, accorded very well with his types (figs. 273 and 274). But he seldom used them, and his best books have no ornaments at all.

As we look at Baskerville's specimen-sheets, the fonts appear very perfect, and yet somehow they have none of the homely charm of Caslon's letter. It is true that the types try the eye. Baskerville's contemporaries, who also thought so, attributed this to his glossy paper and dense black ink. Was this the real fault? The difficulty was, I fancy, that in his type-designs the hand of the writing-master betrayed itself, in making them too even, too perfect, too "genteeel," and so they charmed too apparently and artfully—with a kind of finical, sterile refinement. The excellent Johann Gottlieb Immanuel Breitkopf remarked that these types resembled copper-plate engraving; and the Leipsic gentleman was partly right.

Nor was Baskerville's type-setting as original as is nowadays supposed. Tonson had printed title-pages without rubrication or surrounding rules many years before, and he and William Bowyer, too, had used spaced roman and italic capitals in what we consider Baskerville's peculiar manner. Hanmer's edition of Shakespeare, which antedated Baskerville's first book, shows a method of employing "flowers" to which Baskerville was singularly addicted; and he was no doubt greatly influenced by the Foulis editions in the openness of his title-pages.

The more we think of Baskerville, the more he appears to be an eclectic, whose types were the result of fashions in calligraphy and whose presswork was an attempt to emulate on paper the finish of japanning. He put his books to-

1 As in Bowyer's edition of Pope's Works, printed for Lintot in 1717.
A Specimen
by John Baskerville
of Birmingham Letter-Founder and Printer.

Double Pica Roman.
TANDEM aliquando, Quirites! L. Catilinam furentem audacia, fecus anhelantem, pelestem patriae nefariae molientem, vobis atque huic urbi ferrum flammamque minitantem, ex urbe ABCDEFGHJKLMN OP.

Great Primer Roman.
TANDEM aliquando, Quirites! L. Catilinam furentem audacia, fecus anhelantem pelestem patriae nefariae molientem, vobis atque huic urbi ferrum flammamque minitantem, ex urbe vel ejecimus, vel emisimus, vel ipsum egredientem abit, excestit, evasit, erupit. nulla jam pennisias à ABCDEFGHJKLMN OPQRSTUV.

English Roman.
TANDEM aliquando, Quirites! L. Catilinam furentem audacia, fecus anhelantem, pelestem patriae nefariae molientem, vobis atque huic urbi ferrum flammamque minitantem, ex urbe vel ejecimus, vel emisimus, vel ipsum egredientem verbis profecuti fumus. abit, excestit, evasit, erupit. nulla jam pennisias à monstro illo, ABCDEFGHJKLMN OPQRSTUV.

Double Pica Italic.
TANDEM aliquando, Quirites! L. Catilinam furentem audacia, fecus anhelantem, pelestem patriae nefariae molientem, vobis atque huic urbi ferrum flammamque minitantem, ex urbe vel ejecimus, vel emisimus, vel ipsum egredientem abit, excestit, evasit, erupit. nulla jam pennisias à monstro illo, ABCDEFGHJKLMN OPQRSTUV.

Great Primer Italic.
TANDEM aliquando, Quirites! L. Catilinam furentem audacia, fecus anhelantem, pelestem patriae nefariae molientem, vobis atque huic urbi ferrum flammamque minitantem, ex urbe vel ejecimus, vel emisimus, vel ipsum egredientem verbis profecuti fumus. abit, excestit, evasit, erupit. nulla jam pennisias à monstro illo, ABCDEFGHJKLMN OPQRSTUV.

English Italic.
TANDEM aliquando, Quirites! L. Catilinam furentem audacia, fecus anhelantem, pelestem patriae nefariae molientem, vobis atque huic urbi ferrum flammamque minitantem, ex urbe vel ejecimus, vel emisimus, vel ipsum egredientem verbis profecuti fumus. abit, excestit, evasit, erupit. nulla jam pennisias à monstro illo, atque prodigio manibus ipsis intra mania comparabitur. Atque hunc quidem unum hujus beli 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.
Baine, he attempted an improved system of type-casting. This coming to nothing, they set up on a small scale a type-foundry at St. Andrews in 1742. Baine later left Wilson to go into business for himself; and Wilson (who had meanwhile removed his foundry to Camlachie) fell in with the famous brothers Foulis—Robert and Andrew—printers to the University of Glasgow. For them he cut some celebrated Greek types which they used in their Homer. The foundry was removed to Glasgow, and Wilson accepting a post as professor of astronomy in the University, its management fell to his sons. Their earliest specimen was dated 1772. A specimen in broadside form came out in 1783 and illustrated an article on printing in Chambers' *Cyclopaedia.* It shows a selection only of Wilson's types, but exhibits fonts of roman and italic from six-line pica to pearl, and five sizes of black-letter. Of Greek types there are five sizes (the double pica being that of the Homer), and there are six sizes of Hebrew. All these fonts (with the exception of the two larger "blacks") have been made more regular and mechanical than Caslon's types, and, especially in mass, lack their colour (fig. 275). If we compare Wilson's specimen of 1783 with Caslon's specimen of 1763, it is surprising to see how "rude" the Caslon letters appear. On the other hand, Wilson's types are not Baskerville's characters, for these were shorter and broader, and the italic much more like pen-work. Wilson's fonts clearly show the Baskerville influence, and yet somehow quite miss Baskerville's brilliancy. The monotonous grayness of the letter in pages, not disagreeably noticeable in large types, becomes marked as sizes decrease. It is particularly apparent in the fonts below pica, in the *Specimen of Printing Types* issued by Wilson at Glasgow in 1786—which shows Wilson's merits and defects better than the broadside just mentioned.
Wilson’s types, as I have said, were almost entirely used by the brothers Foulis. Their smaller *formats* were cheaper, more popular, and better known than their folios, and in them they popularized invertebrate sorts of fonts which were lifeless and dull in effect; and the reputation which they had made through the types of the folios cloaked the sins of the 12mos! Printers who did not use these types printed books that had the same faults—volumes like Dr. Charles Burney’s *History of Music*, in four quarto volumes (London, 1776–79), or the first edition of White’s *Natural History of Selborne*, printed by Bensley in 1789 in quarto; and other similarly “drab” performances. For some reason or other such books were often printed on a bluish-white paper, in an ink brown, rather than black. I fear we must count Foulis and Wilson as poor influences on contemporary English printing.

The owners of the Fry type-foundry at Bristol were intelligent, painstaking men, and its output stood very high in its day. Joseph Fry and William Pine, a Bristol printer, started the establishment in 1764, under the style of Fry & Pine. Fry—a typographic Vicar of Bray—was much influenced by other people’s work; and at first, under the direction of Isaac Moore, a type-founder who was made partner, this foundry produced letters modelled on Baskerville’s. The very rare specimen-sheet of Isaac Moore & Co., Bristol, shows their output in 1766 (*fig. 276*). But there was a prejudice against Baskerville’s types, and, Moore having retired about 1776, the firm—J. Fry & Co.—put aside their imitations of Baskerville and spent some years in imitating Caslon. They were able but bare-faced copyists, and openly announced in the advertisement to their specimen of 1785 that they had cut types “which will mix with and be totally unknown from the most approved Founts made by the late
Two Lines Great Primer.

Quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra?

A B C D E F G I

Italick.

Quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? quam-

Two Lines English.

Quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? quam-

A B C D E F G H I

Italick.

Quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra?

275. Portion of Wilson's Broadside Specimen, Glasgow, 1783
Quoufque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra fru

276. *Roadside Specimen of Isaac Moore and Co., Bristol, 1766 (reduced)*
ingenious artist, William Caslon”—which vexed the Caslons exceedingly. How much it vexed them may be seen in the Address to the Public prefixed to the Caslon specimen of 1785:

“The acknowledged Excellence of this Foundry,” says the Address, “with its rapid Success, as well as its unexampled Productions, having gained universal Encomiums, on its ingenious Improver and Perfecter, (whose uncommon Genius transferred the Letter-Foundry Business from Holland to England, which, for above Sixty Years, has received, for its Beauty and Symmetry, the unbounded Praises of the Literati, and the liberal Encouragement of all the Masterprinters and Booksellers, not only of this Country, but of all Europe and America,) has excited the Jealousy of the Envious, and the Desires of the Enterprising, to become Partners of the Reward due to the Descendants of the Improver of this most useful and important Art. They endeavour by every Method to withdraw, from this Foundry, that which they silently acknowledge is its indisputable Right: Which is conspicuous by their very Address to the Public, wherein they promise (in Order to induce Attention and Encouragement) that they will use their utmost Endeavours to imitate the Productions of this Foundry: Which Assertion, on Inspection, will be found to be impracticable, as the Imperfections cannot correspond in Size. The Proprietor of this Foundry, ever desirous of retaining the decisive Superiority in his Favour, and full of the sincerest Gratitude for the distinguished Honour, by every Work of Reputation being printed from the elegant Types of the Chiswell-street Manufactory, hopes, by every Improvement, to retain and merit a Continuance of their established Approbation, which, in all Quarters of the Globe, has given it so acknowledged an Ascendency over that of his Opponents.”
A Specimen of Printing Types, by Edmund Fry and Co., Letter-Founders to the Prince of Wales, appeared in 1787, and was reprinted in Stower’s abridged edition of Smith’s Printer’s Grammar, which was issued in that year. This shows the Fry’s imitations of Caslon’s types, and Stower’s note introductory to the specimen says: “The plan on which they first sat out, was an improvement of the Types of the late Mr. Baskerville of Birmingham, eminent for his ingenuity in this line, as also for his curious Printing, many proofs of which are extant, and much admired: But the shape of Mr. Caslon’s Type has since been copied by them with such accuracy as not to be distinguished from those of that celebrated Founder.” (!) Some of the Fry’s type certainly closely resembled Caslon’s; but, in the main, their types were more open and finished than even Wilson’s—or at least became so. As might be expected from so “learned” a foundry—for the proprietors were learned—they had a large selection of Hebrew types and some interesting forms of Persian, Arabic, Ethiopic, etc., the result of judicious purchases at the sale of the James foundry in 1782—in which year Edmund and Henry Fry were admitted to the business. The “flowers” in this book are of a rather lighter character than those in Caslon’s specimens—lightened to harmonize with the type.

In 1787, Joseph Fry retired. He left the business in the hands of his sons. Edmund Fry, a scholarly man, was the author of Pantographia, a book on which he spent some sixteen years of research. It shows more than two hundred alphabets—thirty-nine of Greek alone. In 1794, Dr. Fry took Isaac Steele into partnership. Their specimen of 1795¹ shows that, in view of the prevailing fashions, types of the Bas-

¹ A Specimen of Printing Types by Fry and Steele, Letter Founders to the Prince of Wales, Type Street, London. Printed by T. Rickaby, 1795.
Quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? quamdiu nos etiam furor

Quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? quamdiu nos etiam furor

Quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? quamdiu nos etiam furor

abcdefghijkl

abcdefghijkl

abcdefghijkl

277. Roman and Italic: Fry and Steele’s Specimen, London, 1795
kerville style were again resuscitated (figs. 277 and 278). A comparison between the broadside specimen of 1785, the specimen-book of 1787, and that of 1795, shows these puzzling see-saws of taste, with the last of which, undoubtedly, Didot and Bodoni abroad, and Bulmer and Martin at home, had something to do. Fry's Type Street Letter Foundry, as it was called, was ultimately acquired by the proprietors of the Fann Street Foundry, represented in our own day by Stephenson, Blake & Company.

Finally, the Caslons themselves became involved in the new movement, and in a specimen published in 1798¹ many of their types and ornaments are distinctly of the school of Wilson and Fry (figs. 279 and 280). Thus the taste for lighter book-printing was carrying all before it by 1800.

Joseph Jackson (1733–1792), who has been mentioned as apprentice to the first Caslon, and who was, later, a rival of William Caslon II, is chiefly remembered for his clever cutting of "peculiar" fonts—such as the "Domesday" character, and his Greek types copying the letter of the Alexandrian Codex. This last character, reproducing an earlier, like font, was magnificently employed by John Nichols in his great folio edition of Woide's Novum Testamentum Graecum, based on the Codex Alexandrinus, printed in 1786 at the expense of the Trustees of the British Museum. Jackson's roman letter, which more concerns us, was of a style that also took a middle course between the old-fashioned Caslon and the more modern Baskerville letter—somewhat like the earlier Wilson fonts. Macklin's Bible, printed by Bensley in seven ponderous folio volumes, is the best example of a book printed from these new double English roman types. When the Bible was printed as far as Numbers, Jackson

¹A Specimen of Printing Types by Wm. Caslon, Letter-Founder to the King. London: Printed by C. Whittingham, 1798.
died, and his foundry was bought by William Caslon III, with whom Bensley refused to have dealings. So Vincent Figgins I cut a similar font in which the Bible was completed. He was disappointed in succeeding to Jackson’s foundry by Caslon’s purchase of it, and he set up a foundry of his own, which for the period was one of the best. Figgins’ Bible type was used for Bensley’s fine edition of Thomson’s *Seasons*, of 1797—a fact recorded on the title-page thereto. He was also responsible for some other fonts, which had a good deal of popularity, and may be described as a sort of modified old style, although not the “modified old style” now in use. His first specimen-book—issued in 1792—was printed for him by Bensley. Figgins’ Greek types cut for the University Press, Oxford, a Persian type for Ouseley the Orientalist, an English Télegú font for the East India Company, and various fonts of Domesday characters attest his talents and reputation. Vincent Figgins I died in 1844.

A founder eminent in the late eighteenth century was Thomas Cottrell, another of Caslon’s old apprentices, whose foundry attained unfortunate prominence in the hands of Robert Thorne, who bought it in 1794; but whose “bold-faced” changes (in more senses than one) in its product were reserved for the early years of the nineteenth century.

To understand the causes of the revival of English printing which marked the last years of the century, we must remember that by 1775 Baskerville was dead; that Andrew Foulis died in the same year, and Robert in 1776. There seems to have been a temporary lull in English fine printing and the kind of type-founding that contributed to it. The wood-engraving of Thomas Bewick, produced about 1780, called, nevertheless, for more brilliant and delicate
English.

Pica.

278. Ornaments: Fry and Steele's Specimen, London, 1795
Great Primer Roman, No. 2.


ABCDEFGHJKLMN0PQRS
1234567890

Great Primer Italic, No. 2.

Quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? quamdiu nos etiam furor iste tuus eludet? quem ad finem sese effrenata jactabit audacia? nihilne te nocturnum præsidium palatii, nihil urbis vigiliae, nihil timor populi, nihil consensus bonorum omnium, nihil hic munitissimus habendi senatus locus, nihil horum ora vultusque moverunt? patere tua consilia

ABCDEFGHJKLMN0PQRSTU
1234567890

279. Transitional Types: Caslon Specimen, London, 1798
Great Primer Flowers.

6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17

English Flowers.

1
2
3
4
5
6

280. Ornaments: Caslon Specimen, London, 1798
letter-press than either Caslon's or Wilson's types could supply. If Baskerville's fonts had been available, no doubt they would have served; but some were scattered among English printers and the greater part were in France. So the next experiments in typography were made by a little coterie composed of the Boydells, the Nicols, the Bewicks (Thomas and John), and Bulmer. While the Foulis and Wilson influence had helped a taste for lighter effects in type, this new group sought brilliant effects for their printing. It was natural, therefore, to turn to a type-cutter who worked in the "tradition" of Baskerville.

Such a one was William Martin, who learned his trade, apparently, at Baskerville's foundry. He was brother to Robert Martin, who was for a long time in Baskerville's employ. About 1786, he came to London as punch-cutter to George Nicol (bookseller to George III), the originator of the plan for the "Boydell Shakspeare." He was employed by Nicol "to cut sets of types after approved models in imitation of the sharp and fine letter used by the French and Italian printers"—by whom Didot and Bodoni were, I suppose, meant. Now this is just what Martin did—_more Anglice._ And when the Shakspeare Press was set up with Bulmer in command, Martin was master of a sort of "private foundry" in connection therewith. His types were used in the "Boydell Shakspeare," the first part of which appeared in 1791, in the Milton of 1794–97, and in _Poems by Goldsmith and Parnell_ of 1795. These books will be discussed later. Martin's types, both roman and italic, were cut to imitate Baskerville's, but with certain fortunate individualities. A more "modern" quality had crept into these fonts, but they were very splendid of their kind.

It has been the fashion to disparage the types of this post-Baskerville movement; but when an authority says
that "the revival or re-invention of wood engraving by Bewick about 1780 had no good effect on printing, the new illustrations being too delicate to print well with type," is this entirely fair? It is not true of books like the Goldsmith and Parnell, illustrated by the Bewicks and printed from Martin's types. These new illustrations did print well with type, though with type some persons dislike. Whether or not we wholly approve of such types or books, the press-work is often splendid, the types are fine of their kind, the books reflect the taste of their day, and the performance as a whole "hangs together."

William Martin cut some Greek and Oriental fonts, but he will be best remembered by his wonderful roman and italic—fonts skilfully employed by McCreery in his poem *The Press* (1803)—and the splendid form of modern face letter used by Bulmer in Dibdin's bibliographical works. Martin died in the summer of 1815. I am glad to place this sprig of rosemary to the memory of a master of his art, whose work closes a chapter in English letter-founding.¹

ENGLISH books between 1500 and 1800 are important to us as the sources from which most of our present-day styles in printing are derived. The sixteenth century is an archaic period typographically in England, and its

¹ Martin never issued, I think, a specimen of his foundry, but a selection of his types, as employed by John McCreery of Liverpool, is shown—to no very great advantage—in *A Specimen of Improved Types of G. F. Harris, Printer, successor to Mr. John McCreery, Houghton Street, Liverpool* (1807). This was the only provincial printing-house owning any of Martin's fonts. They were cast for its collection by arrangement with Bulmer and Nicol. The "Shakespeare" types are said to be numbered 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, and 27. Martin's foundry, for a short period after his death, was continued by Bulmer. A portion of its material appears to have been sold to the Caslons in 1817.
interest is mainly historical. While in the seventeenth century English books are less archaic, its traditions have but little effect on our printing today. But eighteenth century work, especially after the advent of Caslon, has a close connection with nineteenth and twentieth century printing; and the influence of its somewhat dubious taste is shown, in recent years, in American books and especially in ephemeral typography. The books used to illustrate the progression of English type-forms during these three centuries are chosen from the rank and file of volumes of their respective periods—although among them there are some remarkable specimens of book-making.

§ 1

William Horman's Vulgaria—a book of common English phrases with their Latin equivalents—was printed by Pynson at London in 1519. The border on its title-page is an adaptation of a familiar Italian design. The title within it is set wholly in roman type. The prefatory matter employs the same roman fonts, and the body of the book is set in two sizes of roman. Divisions of subject begin with woodcut initials, or spaces for painted initials. The book is an early example of a volume printed throughout in roman fonts; and in appearance is rather more like Continental work than current English printing (fig. 255).

A second sixteenth century book is Gower's Confessio Amantis, printed by Berthelet in 1532. The text is set chiefly in two sizes of black-letter midway between batarde and lettre de forme, but the preface employs a purely English lettre de forme. Latin quotations are set in roman—a beautiful font—and running-titles in roman capitals. This mixture of roman and black-letter types is a sign of decadence, and prefigured a period when the rôle of the
two types would be reversed, and black-letter would be used only for “displayed” lines and such-like. Berthelet was a Frenchman, and this book has a certain workmanlike quality, and indeed elegance, which is somewhat French, and its title-page is ornamented after a design by Tory. The Gower, and books by Sir Thomas Elyot, are considered among Berthelet’s best productions (fig. 281).

The year 1532 is also the date of the first collected edition of Chaucer’s Works, printed by Thomas Godfrey of London. The text is composed in a French lettre batarde, but an English lettre de forme is used as an ornamental letter, for display on the very handsome bordered title-page, and elsewhere. The Preface is also set in it—and a line of roman letter is used at least once (fig. 282). Ten years later (1542), a second edition appeared, printed by Pynson, also set in black-letter, but entirely of the English variety—a rather solid lettre de forme—a consistently Gothic book and purely English in type-forms and in taste. The poems in both these editions are set in double column (fig. 283).

The Cosmographicaall Glasse, by William Cunningham, a Norwich physician, was printed by John Day in 1559, and has been called “a real landmark in English book-production. In addition to its fine types, this book is noted for its woodcut diagrams and pictorial capitals, ornamental title-page, large map of Norwich and . . . a strong and vigorous portrait of the author.” As a piece of printing, nothing better had hitherto appeared in England. It shows the influence of foreign typography (fig. 284). Day’s device, which appears at the end of the volume, should be noticed.

In 1570, John Day printed in folio the Elements of Ge-

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1 The copy in the British Museum has been skilfully reproduced in facsimile by the Oxford University Press (1905).
Towards love, say me what
My sonne as gyle ynder the bat
with sleightes of a Trigetour
Is hyd, enuye of suche colour
Dare yet the fourth be deceuynant
The which is clepeth fals Semblaynt
wherof the mater, and the forme
Nowe berken, and I the shal enforme

Nil bilinguis aget, nisi duplo concinante,
Dum diem loquitur nox sua vora regit.
Vulus habet lucem tenebras mens, sermo falsus.
Actus sed morbum dat suis esse gravem.
Pax tibi quis peperit, magis eft prenotica guerre
Commoda fui dederit, dixere subesse doleum.
Quod parent esse fides in eo fraud est polici
Principium pacti finis habere negar.
O quem condition talis deformat amantem
Qui magis apparens eit in amore nihil.

This tractat Confessio super quaer quarta specie in
vindicie / qua Dissimulacio dicturus, cumus Vulus
quanto maius amicici apparet quam ofendit/
tanto subtiliosis bone fallacias ad decipendum
mens magnaturn.

IT toweth, and will not arraye
But let it on the wawes dayue
In great tempeste, and great debate
wherof that love and his estate
Empeyseth: And therefore I rede
My sonne that thou se and rede.
This yce: and what that other seyn
Let thy semblaunt be trewe and pleyn:
For fals Semblaunt is thylike wise
whiche neuer was without office
where that enuyethynketh to gyle
He shall be for that ylyke wyle
Of pryue councayll messagere
For whan his semblaunt is moche cler
Than is he moche berie in his thought
Thought men hym set they knowe hym
But as it beweth in the glass (nought
Thynge which is therin neuer was
So lyketh it in his ynage
That neuer was in his courage
Thus doth be all his thing by sleighte

Nowe lay thy conceyance in wyght.

281. Types used in Gower's Confessio Amantis: Berthelet, London, 1532
The Romance of the Rose

Any men sayn I in sweneinges
There ings but fables a leysnges
But me may some swene(s) sene
Which he hardely I sasse ne bene
But afterwarde ben apparaunt
This name I drawe to warrant
An author/ that hight Harmones
That halle nat dinesses sasse ne sees
But hindothe be the aupton
That whilom mette byng Lysion
And who so faith or weneth it be
A rape or ells Nepet
To wene that dinesses after saf
Lette who so lyfhe a sole me cal
Fo: this trowe I and say for me
That dinesses siguanfance be
Of good and harme to many weightes
That dremey in her stepe a upgystes
Fui many things courtely
That fallen after al openly
Within my twentie pere of age
That it was Map me thought tho
It is sone pere or more ago
That it was Map thus dremed me
In ym of love and tolyte
That af shying geeneth waven gap
For there is nether busse nor hap
In Map that it npt shrouded bene
And it with newes wene
These woddes ese recovered grene
That due in wyrter bene to sene
And the erthe wepeeth proude withall
For sloyed dewes that on it fall
And the poot estate forsette
In whiche that wynter had it sette
And than becometh the groundes so proude
That it wot have a newes shroude
And maketh so quenit his robe and sapre
That it had srewes an hundred pape
Of grasse and stoures/pinde and pers.
And many srewes sul dypers
That is the robe Imene wyp

282. Lettre Batarde used in first complete edition of Chaucer: Godfrey, London, 1532
The Romaunt of the Rose.

Anye man sayen, that in
twene nynges
There nys but fables of
leynge
But men may some twene
ynges
Which hardlye that fals
ne beene
But after waide ben apparaunt
This mape I drave to warraunt
An author that hyghte Macrobes
That halte nat dreymes false ne leegs
But vndoth bs the anypoun
That whylom mette kyng Cipion
And whoso sayth, or wene th ethe
I ape, or els nyccetie
To wene that dreomes after all
Lette whoso lyft a foole me call
For this trowe I, and saye for me
That dreames signaunce be
Of good and harne to many weightes
That dremen in her slepe a nygges

That it was May me thought tho
It is suche yere or moe ago
That it was May, thus dremed me
In tym of love and soltie
That all thyng gynneth waxen gay
For ther is nether butke nor haye
In May, that it nyth rounded bene
And it with newe leues wyene
These woddes eke recoueren grene
That dyme in wytter ben to sene
And the erth twere throun withall
For towe dewes that on it fall
And the poe easte fogette
In which that wytter had it sette
And than become the ground to proude
That it wol haue a newe throude
And make th to queun his cobe and sappe
That it had dewes an hundred pagge
Of grace and floores, ynde and perg
And many dewes ful dyuers
That is the cobe I meny rods
Throughe which the grounde to preyten is

283. Lettre de Forme used in second complete edition of Chaucer: Pynson, London, 1542
THE SECONDE BOOKE OF
the Cosmographical Glasse: in which is plainly expressed the
Order, and Number, of Zones, Parallels, and Climates. Also se-
dry wayes for the exacte finding out of the Meridians Limes:
The Longitude, or Latitude, of places: with many other
principes, belonging to the making of a
Carte, or Mappe.

Spoudaus.

MORPHEVS THE
God of dreames, with his
stupend rodde, so much this
last night frequented my
companie, that (my body
taking rest) my mind was
much more bufie travell-
ing in such conclusions as
I had learnid of Philoni-
cus, the it was in the time of his teaching. For some time
Morpheus shewed me the Sonne, in the tropicke of Ca-
pricorne, farre in the South, among the cloudye skies, as
he commonly is the 13. day of December. And next he ap-
pered in the Equinocital points, as it is the tenth day of
March, and the 14. of Septeember, willing me with great di-
ligens to note that parallel circle. Shortly after the sone
appeared in the tropicke of Cancer, in whiche place he is
the 12. day of June, causing in our region, the longest day
in the yeare, and immediately the time sended as it were mid-
night. & Charles Wayne, with Bootes, & divers other
stelres, turned about the Pole. But as he wold have car-
rried me about the heavens, so have shewid me the North
F.iii.

Crowne

284. Page of Cunningham's Cosmographical Glasse
Day, London, 1559 (reduced)
ometrie of the Most Auncient Philosopher Euclide of Megara, composed in roman and italic fonts. The title is set in small panels within a woodcut border, and is followed by the translator's address, set in Day's imposing italic. Then comes a mathematical "Praeface," set in two sizes of a fairly handsome and evenly cut roman type of early design, and the folding-table or "ground-plat" accompanying it may be studied as a specimen of the various fonts in Day's office. In the body of the book the "propositions" are arranged in a large italic letter, and "demonstrations" in a smaller size of it. Both are good, free, lively, old style italic fonts. The old style roman letter used with them is like that of the Preface. Diagrams are placed within the area of the text pages, but arranged without much sense of style. Beginning with the seventh Book, the type employed is reduced in size, and from this point the work is less interesting. Though some of Day's types are exceedingly fine, and the general effect of the volume is imposing, the presswork is wretchedly uneven, the paper too thin, and when closely examined it is not a really successful piece of work. It lacks the taste and lucidity shown in French books of like nature.

Another book of Day's, showing his use of black-letter, is the 1571 edition of Roger Ascham's Scholemaster. Here the title-page is set chiefly in italic type, the Dedicatory Epistle in italic, and the Preface in roman — both rather roughly executed fonts and by no means well printed. Though the text of the book is black-letter, all tabulated matter is set in italic, English poetry in roman, Latin verse in italic, roman is used for proper names, and here and there a very good Greek font is introduced (fig. 285). In short, black-letter is being invaded on every hand. The book shows care in execution, and is attractive in spite of its hodge-podge of types.
Thomas Walsingham’s *Historia Brevis* (covering reigns from Edward I to Henry V) was printed at London by Henry Bynneman. The woodcut border on the carefully arranged title-page is extraordinarily well engraved and beautifully printed. The text is set throughout in roman and italic type. The Preface, which begins with a very elegant woodcut initial, is composed in Day’s noble italic letter. The Chronicle is printed in a small but excellent roman character, very even in cut, and reminiscent of early Continental fonts. Each “reign” begins with a large initial, cut on wood, and lines at the ends of sections are tapered, or arranged in an ornamental fashion recalling Italian printing—indeed, the composition is more like Continental than current English work. It is far ahead of most English books of its time in simplicity of arrangement and excellence of workmanship. Bynneman printed the *Historia* at Archbishop Parker’s expense in 1574, and it was bound up and published with Walsingham’s *Ypodigma Neustria* and the *Ælfredi Regis Res Gestæ*, both printed by Day in the same year.

North’s translation of Plutarch’s *Lives*, printed by Vautrollier in 1579, enjoys the reputation of being one of the finest books issued in Elizabeth’s reign, and for that reason I advise its examination by the student, though it is by no means a beautiful book, judged by present standards.

Our last sixteenth century example is Adam Islip’s folio Chaucer, printed at London in 1598. Its prefatory matter is set in roman and italic, with some black-letter intermingled—and in the large sizes the first two types are respectable fonts. The text, however, is set in black-letter in double column—roman and italic being employed only for lines to be displayed. In other words, the printer had come to use roman and italic types just as we should now use
The second Booke.

After that your scholar, as I said before, shall come in due, first to a ready persen in translating, then to a ripe and skilfull choice in marking out his 6 points, as,

\[\begin{align*}
1. & \text{Proprium.} \\
2. & \text{Translatum.} \\
3. & \text{Synonymum.} \\
4. & \text{Contrariam.} \\
5. & \text{Diversum.} \\
6. & \text{Phrases.}
\end{align*}\]

Then take this order with him: Read dayly into him, some booke of Tullie, as the third booke of Epistles chosen out by Sturmius, de Amicitia, de Senectute, or that excellent Epistle containing almost the whole first booke ad Q. fra: some Comedie of Terence or Plautus; but in Plautus, this full choise must be died by the Master, to traine his Scholer to a judgement, in cutting out perfectly over olde and unproper woordes: Cæl. Commentaries are to be read with all curiosity, wherein especially without all exceptio to be made, either by frend or foe, is some, the unspotted prophetic of the Latin tong, even when it was, as the Greceans say, in apos, that is, at the highest pitch of all perfectnes, or some Declarations of T. Livius, such as he both longest and plainest. T. Livius.

These bookes, I would have him read now, a good deale at every lecture: for he shall not now the dayly translation, but only construe againe, and parte, where ye suspec, is any need; yet, let him not omitte in these bookes, his former exercise, in marking diligently, and writing orderly out his five points. And for translating, be you your selfe, every second or third day, to chose out, some Epistle ad Atticum, some notable common place out of his Oblications, or some other part of Tullie, by your discretion, which your Scholer

black-letter—as an “occasional” type for display or ornament. The unity of effect seen in the editions of Chaucer of 1532 and 1542 has disappeared; and black-letter type (which survived for poetry and romances into the next century, for Bibles and prayer books until the end of the seventeenth century,¹ and which was still used for legal books in the eighteenth century) is giving way to roman letters. This edition is interesting only for that reason.

The end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century was signalized by the appearance of Shakespeare's Plays, both separately in quarto, and collectively in folio. The first quarto was Venus and Adonis, printed in 1593. The first folio appeared in 1623. The quartos, now the most valuable, but then sold for about sixpence, were printed from rough roman types, with rather heavy title-pages, in which capitals and lower-case letters were used for titles quite indiscriminately. The folios were printed in double column, with the text in roman and the names of the characters in italic; and although the prefatory matter was set in handsome type, the body of the work had from a printer's standpoint no particular typographical interest. The quartos had no more beauty than one would expect in a cheap edition of a popular play. They are mentioned here solely because of their place in litera-

¹ The first Prayer Book of Edward VI, printed by Whitchurch, appeared in 1549; and the Book of Common Prater, musically “noted” by Merbecke, was printed by Grafton, in 1550. These were black-letter books. Prayer books and liturgies were printed in black-letter until the beginning of the eighteenth century. The first English Bible (printed abroad, probably at Zurich), in 1535, was executed in black-letter. Cranmer's English Bible of 1539 (Whitchurch) was a black-letter book. The first edition of the King James “Authorized Version” of 1611 was set in English black-letter, with contents of chapters set in roman. Bibles and prayer books are so much in a class by themselves, that I have not usually employed them as examples of printing.
ture; and they have a literature of their own. The first edition of Shakespeare in which much typographical excellence was attempted, was printed at the University Press, Oxford, in the eighteenth century.¹

§ 2

Seventeenth century English books, save legal works, some Bibles and prayer books, and survivals of “vernacular” black-letter in romances and poetry, were almost entirely printed from roman and italic fonts; yet they have an archaic appearance, due in part to crude types, but even more to antique spelling. Title-pages were sometimes decorated with engravings on metal, sometimes with impressions from wood-blocks, and more often merely surrounded with double rules or panels of type ornament.

Our first seventeenth century example is Philemon Holland’s translation of Pliny’s Natural History, printed in two folio volumes, by Adam Islip, in 1601. It is set throughout in roman and italic types of even (and early) cut. The first two or three lines of its title-page are, I think, printed from wood-blocks. The subject of each chapter is displayed in handsome italic, and the chapter itself usually begins with a three-line initial, except when a chapter contains but two lines! Head-lines to pages are set in large old style lowercase roman letters; proems—or Arguments—in italic; marginal notes in tiny roman and italic types. Woodcut

This said, the people with a joyfull shoute
Applaud his speeches and his words approve,
And calm'd their griefe in hope the boaster shoute
Would kill the Prince, who late had slaine his loue.
O promife vaie! it otherwise fell out:
Men purpose, but high Gods dispose aboue,
For vnderneath his sword this boaster dide,
Whom thus he scorn'd and threatned in his pride.

The thirteenth Booke of Godfrey of Bulloigne.

The argument.
Imeno sets to garde the forestould
The wicked sprites, whose ougly shapes affray
And put to flight the men, whose labour would
To their darke shades let in beauns golden ray:
Thither goes Tancred hardie, faithfull, bold,
But foolish pitie lets him not assay
His strength and courage: beat the Christians powre
Annoyes, whom to refresh Gods sends a downe.

But scant dissolue into ashes cold
The smocking towre fell on the scorched graffe,
When newe deuife found out th'enchanter old,
By which the towne besieg'd, secured was,
Of timber fit his foes depreue he wold:
Such terror bred that late consumed maffe,
So that the strengthe of Sions walles to shake,
They shoulde no turrets, rammes, nor engins make.

286. Type and Ornaments in Tasso's Godfrey of Bulloigne
Hatfield, London, 1600
head-bands and lines of type "flowers" are employed for ornament. It is a handsome book of its time, though ponderous; and readable to-day—if to-day one wants to read Pliny—or folios!

For a contemporaneous book of poetry (1600), look at Fairfax's translation of Tasso's *Godfrey of Bulloigne or the Recoverie of Jerusalem*, printed in folio by Arnold Hatfield for J. Jaggard and M. Lownes. A simple and well-managed title-page in a generous panel of type-ornament opens the book. Some good italic is employed in the preliminary Address. The poem itself is set in an agreeable old style roman font, very even in design, with Arguments in a lively italic. Each Book begins with a head-band of type-ornament. It is a very readable edition, and good to look at for its clarity of effect and its more modern air (fig. 286).

*Recreations with the Muses*, by William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, brought out at London in 1637 by Thomas Harper, a printer of reputation, is a small folio composed chiefly in a rough roman character. The head-lines are set in a coarse italic, between light rules, which also carry the folio. A handsome border to the title-page, some ungainly initials, and head-bands usually made up of "flowers" are its principal decoration. The type is rough, the presswork is rough, the paper harsh, and the whole book gives the effect of belonging to an ancient period. But no black-letter is used in it.

The first edition of Thomas Fuller's *Holy and Profane State*, in folio, was very well printed at Cambridge by Roger Daniel in 1642. An engraved title is followed by a title-page, set in type, very well composed, surrounded by a border of "flowers" within rules. An Address to the Reader follows in a large roman type of considerable distinction and delicacy of cut. The Index to Chapters employs a brilliant italic—
very creditable for an English book of the time. The arabic figures used are remarkably good in design. The book proper begins with a woodcut head-piece, with the title beneath it in a thin lower-case letter of rather French appearance. The body of the work is arranged in a handsome roman letter, with sentences which begin each new paragraph like a text, in italic. Each page is surrounded by rules, the side-notes being in marginal panels. The type and presswork are vastly clearer than in most English books then current.

Walton’s great London Polyglot in six folio volumes, published between 1653 and 1657, does not come within the scope of our discussion. It is not the most beautiful of the Polyglots nor a normal example of book-making, for its remarkable feature is its employment of “learned” types; though some of Day’s fonts are utilized for the prefatory matter in the copies with the “Royal” dedication. Yet it is none the less to be examined as the greatest typographical achievement of the century, printed from types entirely cut by English hands. Its printer was Thomas Roycroft, whose fine editions of the classics,—Virgil, Homer, AEsop, etc.,—translated by John Ogilby, may be consulted for examples of his work. He was appointed Printer in Oriental Languages by Charles II. Roycroft died in 1677, and is buried at St. Bartholomew’s the Great, Smithfield. The name of this great scholar-printer has in our day become familiar in connection with a commercial venture of dubious typographical value.

A famous seventeenth century volume—Izaak Walton’s Lives—was printed by Newcomb in 1670. In this, headlines are set in a lettre de forme, the text in a rough old style roman type—perhaps Dutch. Where correspondence is introduced, it is printed in italic. Each Life has its own
George Herbert was born the Third day of April, in the Year of our Redemption 1593. The place of his Birth was near to the Town of Montgomery, and in that Castle that did then bear the name of that Town and County, that Castle was then a place of state and strength, and had been successively happy in the Family of the Herberths, who had long possessed it: and, with it, a plentiful Estate, and hearts as liberal to their poor Neighbours. A Family, that hath been blest with men of remarkable wisdom, and with a willingness to serve their Countrey, and indeed, to do good to all Mankind; for which, they were eminent: But alas! this Family did in the late Rebellion suffer extremely in their Estates; and the Heirs of that Castle, saw it laid level with that earth that was too good to bury those Wretches that were the cause of it.

The Father of our George, was Richard Herbert the Son of Edward Herbert Knight, the Son of Richard Herbert Knight, the Son of the famous Sir Richard Herbert of Colebrook in the County

title-page, in which the use of very large spaced capitals for unimportant words is a characteristic touch. In spite of its antiquated appearance, it is a readable volume with a certain agreeable flavour (fig. 287).

Other seventeenth century books of interest are Chiswell’s 1686 edition of Sir Thomas Browne’s Works and the folio edition of Shelton’s translation of Don Quixote, printed in 1675.

Tonson’s folio edition of Dryden’s translation of the works of Virgil was printed in 1697, and we may close the century with this noble book. The title-page in red and black is set chiefly in enormous capital letters, used without much sense of value—“Works,” for instance, being much larger than “Virgil.” This title-page is surrounded with double rules, and the field of this page is again set off into compartments by single rules—a favourite arrangement in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. An odd feature is a list of subscribers to the illustrations—engravings on copper described on the title-page as “Sculptures,” which cost the donor five guineas each. The actual book begins with the Eclogues. The poetry is set in roman type heavily leaded, and names of speakers in spaced italic capitals. Arguments are set in the inevitable italic, with proper names in roman. The narrow measure of the type-pages and the enormous margins give an air of great luxury. We begin to see a modern book here.

§ 3

The folio edition of Clarendon’s History of the Rebellion, printed in 1702–4, at the Theatre,1 Oxford, in three volumes, is one of the fine eighteenth century books from the Oxford Press. The prefaces to each volume employ a large “Fell”

1 The Sheldonian Theatre, in which the Oxford Press was then housed.
italic, very splendid in effect; the History itself being composed in a large roman letter solidly set, perhaps of Dutch cut, or one of the Fell types. Each division of the History has a displayed half-title; and every new Book is ornamented with an engraved head-piece and initial, and ends with a tail-piece—imposing pieces of decoration. Though the presswork is uneven, the edition is both sumptuous and simple—a combination difficult to effect.

"I know it will be said, what has a woman to do with learning," wrote Elizabeth Elstob, mistress of eight languages, in the preface to her translation of An English-Saxon Homily on the Birth-day of Saint Gregory. This particular lady had a good deal to do with it, and she is interesting typographically because her book, printed by the elder William Bowyer in 1709, employed some Anglo-Saxon types—in their day remarkable. The Homily is a good example of a well-made edition, issued by a careful publisher for a distinguished company of subscribers. A crowded and rather seventeenth century title-page is followed by an Address to the Queen composed in a large old style roman letter. The principle in this and other dedications, typographically, was that the larger the type, the greater the patron; and the smaller the name of the writer, the more grovelling was his abasement. The Homily—the two initial letters to which show Saint Gregory and the learned Elizabeth—is set in double column, the original text on the left hand in Saxon types, and on the right hand the English translation in roman types. Notes run the full measure of the page, set in small roman letter with proper names in italic; for in almost all books of this period, proper names were picked out in italic if the text was roman, in roman if the text was italic. A Latin version, an appendix, notes, etc., close a good-looking volume. Its feature—from a printer's standpoint—
An Homily on the Heads of Hair. And Gregory, when he saw the Beauty of the Young Men, enquired from what Country they were brought, and the Men said from England; and that all the Men in that Nation were as beautiful. Then Gregory asked them whether the Men of that Land were Christians, or Heathens; and the Men said unto him they were Heathens. Gregory then fetching a long Sigh from the very bottom of his Heart, said, Alas! alas! that Men of so fair a Complexion should be subject to the Prince of Darkness. After that Gregory enquired how they called the Nation from whence they came. To which he was answer'd, that they were called Angle [that is, English:] Then said he, rightly they are

1 Well a way is in common use to this day in the North, to express their Grief, or Surprize.

2 Speantcan people. Word for word the Black Devil; the Saxon Phrase for the Prince of Darkness.

is that the columns of Saxon and roman vary in width, so that each version ends a page approximately at the same word (fig. 288). This required, for every page, exact calculation in order to know what measure for each version would accomplish it. It is done so well, that it often appears not to have been done at all!¹

One of the fine folios of the early eighteenth century, published at London by Jacob Tonson in 1712, is a Latin edition of the works of Caesar—C. Julii Caesaris quae extant—annotated by Samuel Clarke. The title-page with its spaced capitals, especially the lines of spaced italic capitals,² and the absence of rubrication and surrounding rules, somewhat prefigures Baskerville’s title-pages. After the preliminary matter, the Commentaries begin, set in fine great primer old style types very generously leaded, notes being set mostly in small italic in the ample margins (fig. 289). It is illustrated with full-page copper-plates, and the magnificent head-pieces, tail-pieces, and initial letters are also engraved. Among other luxuriously printed editions with the Tonson imprint were Ovid’s Metamorphoses, 1717, the splendid Prior’s Poems in folio of 1718, Addison’s Works, 1721, a fine quarto Don Quixote in Spanish, 1738, and a folio Pope.

Full-bodied editions such as the Theological Works of the Rev. Mr. Charles Leslie, published by subscription in two

¹A few years after this book was printed, its Anglo-Saxon types were destroyed by fire. New Anglo-Saxon fonts, much more picturesque than those of the Homily, were cut for Miss Elstob’s Anglo-Saxon Grammar, which appeared in 1715. These were subsequently given by Bowyer the younger to the University Press, Oxford, where they still are. The 1743 edition of Junius’s Etymologicum Anglicanum, printed at the Theatre, Oxford—a fine edition—may be looked at for its use of the Junius Anglo-Saxon and other northern types.

²The theory in using these spaced capitals was that capitals spaced dignified the important word of a title, and that such a word should fill the measure of the page. Hence the printer spaced such lines until the letters appeared (as De Vinne says) “dialocated by explosion.”
volumes folio, by William Bowyer the elder in 1721, show a more modern point of view in book-making—old-fashioned, but not archaic. It is printed from old style types, no doubt Dutch, and the displayed half-titles and headings are interesting pieces of eighteenth century composition. Its head and tail-pieces are splendid examples of printer's ornaments of that epoch; and the head-bands of type "flowers" are handsome and cleverly managed. Leslie was a non-juror, and for some years Anglican chaplain to the Pretender at Rome, and his works were naturally printed by Bowyer, who was a non-juror himself. Pope's translation of Homer's Iliad (London, 1715), printed by Bowyer—for Lintot—in three imposing folio volumes, is a good example of another luxurious contemporary edition. The Works of Alexander Pope, also printed by Bowyer (London, 1717), is another instructive piece of type-setting. It is composed throughout in old style roman and italic, of a Dutch cut. Its enormously spaced half-titles, the running-titles in spaced italic capitals, and its open composition are all characteristic of early eighteenth century work.

But Bowyer's greatest achievement was the three volume folio edition of Selden's Opera, collected by Dr. David Wilkins, which was begun in 1722 and brought out in 1726. This was undertaken for a number of London publishers and issued by subscription. Bowyer printed the first volume in two parts, the succeeding volumes (each in two parts also) being printed by S. Palmer and T. Wood. William Caslon's English types were first used for the body of this book. To the student who has been looking at earlier English books printed with Dutch fonts, the pages of the Selden are a relief to the eye—they are so easy to read, so clear and beautiful. In Volume I the dedication displays a large size of roman type; the Address to the Reader is com-
ALLIA est omnis divisa in partes tres: §. I.
Quarum unam, incolunt Belgæ; aliam,
Aquitani; tertiam, qui ipsorum lingua
Celtæ, nostra Galli appellantur. Hi om-
nes lingua, institutis, legibus inter se dif-
ferunt. Gallos ab Aquitanis Garumna
flumen, a Belgis Matrona & Sequana
dividit. Horum omnium fortissimi sunt Belgæ: propterea
quod a cultu atque humanitate Provinciæ longissime absunt;
minimeque ad eos mercatores sæpe commeant, atque ea,
quæ ad effeminandos animos pertinent, * important; *
proximique sunt Germanis, qui trans Rhenum incolunt,

posed in flowing italic; the Life of Selden in great primer roman. The various "works," save for their prefaces, are arranged in double column, each column having a folio of its own. Here Caslon's English roman is used, and he also cut the Hebrew types for this edition. Arabic, Greek, and black-letter also occur in the text (fig. 290). Here and there rubrication is skilfully introduced, and there is much clever type-setting throughout the entire work. The third volume contains Selden's English tracts, and here it is interesting to compare the type set in English with its appearance in the Latin volumes. Numerous half-titles, etc., make the whole work a wonderful "style-book" for displayed matter set in old style types—though I do not think that the larger types are Caslon's. Finally, some of the beautiful tail-pieces used in the Leslie are introduced, with others still more elaborate. It is a stupendous piece of work, and shows Bowyer's sure taste in planning the style of the volumes, and in utilizing Caslon's skill for their type. Bowyer's better-known son, William, "the learned printer" (whose mother was the daughter of a printer employed on Walton's Polyglot Bible), assisted him in correcting and arranging the work. The second and third volumes were probably placed with Palmer and Wood so that all the volumes might appear in 1726.

In discussing eighteenth century English types, it must be borne in mind that law-books were still usually set in the traditional English black-letter—a survival of the lettre de forme of the Norman law-book. Titles, prefaces, running-titles, and marginal notes in such works were, however, commonly set in roman.

In 1733-37, a book appeared in London which, though not printed from type, had some influence on typography—namely, John Pine's memorable Latin edition of Horace.
Pine, who was an engraver, could not satisfy himself with current letter-press printing. So the text was first set up in type and an impression transferred to copper and then engraved, space being left for the decorations. Thus the whole book—a very exquisite performance—was printed from copper plates. The brilliancy of this engraved roman text struck a new note, and thus Pine's Horace may have had a good deal to do with the taste for more "finished" types which waxed as the century waned. In that connection it is mentioned here (fig. 291).

Some volumes of poems brought out by eminent publishers, and in their day considered handsome books, are good examples of later work. For instance, Poems on Several Occasions, by Mrs. Mary Barber—who, it is pleasant to know, "was one of the most extraordinary Women that either this Age, or perhaps any other, ever produc'd," and who succumbed to her reputation by dying at the age of twenty-seven! This luxuriously got up quarto has an introduction by Dean Swift,—who, it is said, lost Queen Anne's favour through the peremptory tone of a letter demanding her patronage for the book,—and was subscribed for by no less than thirty-three dukes and duchesses, and a multitude of less titled persons. The poems are set in an ample old style roman font, widely leaded, and the proper names, or most important words, are usually displayed in capitals and small capitals, instead of italic—though important words in titles to the poems, which are set in large Dutch italic, are "picked out" in roman. The book, overloaded with rather ill-printed head and tail-pieces, is an ambitious performance and a characteristic eighteenth century "Table-book." It was printed for the London publisher, Rivington, in 1734.

John Armstrong's The Art of Preserving Health, printed
leges eae, Israeltis nempe peculiares, ad gentiles attinerent, superinductum est sapientum decretum quo nunquam hujusmodi immunditie se ejus effectu, quantum ad Judaeos, carere gentiles constitutionem est. Scribunt enim 7, dominationem despectam nemo ex hac habeat. Sed acceperit Deus, et habet universos gentes, quevisque homo potest habeat leges suae, quae illi sunt. Lege sacrae de muliere menstruis aut sanguinis profusioni laborante, aut de puerpera, ad gentiles quidem non attinent; id est, ex ipsa lege sacrae immundi ex causis illis non sunt. Sed sapientes decreverunt omnimodos gentiles tam masculos quam feminas pro eis qui perpetuo sanguinis profusioni laborant, sive ea de re constet sive minime, habendo, quoties de munditia et immunditia quaestio sit; id est, ex corpore contactus immunditiam contrahit. Eos enim qui sacra immunditiae lege non tenebantur ipsi eis qui ea tenebantur semper immundos haberi jam ex superinducto hoc atque interveniente jure volebatum paulatim in disciplinam religionemque convertit. Hinc illud Apollonii Molonis s, Judaeos recipere noluisse ex aliis gentibus quempiam diversa de numine sentientem, quodque nunc nullus samnites saepe eum praebuit. Nec confutatis eorum uti qui alien praeter Judaeos vita rationem sequabantur. Quod vero fuisset palam afferit Josephus dum rem ipsum ex Graecorum aliquot de peregrinis more pluribus defendit. De commerciis autem et humanitatis officiis aliquot institutis habueri pro locorum diversitate alia atque alia, uti & procul dubio seculum. Huc etiam spectat illud de Samaritanis, qui nunc se sanguine Judaeorum junctos profitebantur, nunc ibant inicias ipsi, sed perpetuo Judaeos exosimili. Quomodo tuis, Judaeus cum sibi, bibere a me potes, quae sum mulier Samaritana? ad quae astant Judaei Samaritanus, non enim contunctor Judaei Samaritanis, non habent commercium, ut Syrius. Verba sunt Samaritanae ad Jesum Christum aquam
O D E X X I X .
A D I C C I V M .

C C I , beatis nunc Arabum invides
Gazis ; et acrem militiam paras
Non ante devictis Sabaeae
Regibus ; horribilique Medo

Neptis catenas. quae tibi virginum,
Sponso necato, barbara serviet?
Puer quis ex sula capillis
Ad cythum flatuetur unctis,
Doeus figittas tendere Sericas
Arcu paterno: quis neget arduis
Pronos relabi posse rivos
Montibus, et Tiberim reverti;
Cum tu coemtos undique nobiles
Libros Panaei, Socraticam et domum
Mutare loricis Iberis,
Pollicitus meliora, tendis?

for A. Millar in 1744, was a book meant to be smart and luxurious. In spite of a very eighteenth century title-page, with capitals so spaced as to make one feel cross-eyed, its ornamentation is restricted almost entirely to a few tailpieces. The volume shows a certain progression, too, because proper names are set in the same letter as the text. The large type used (Caslon, apparently) is much leaded, and the margins are generous. The general effect, though still very old-fashioned, is handsome—a sort of Baskerville book set in Caslon, with “current” presswork. The ornaments used make me think it was printed by Bowyer. Franklin reprinted this volume in Philadelphia in the year of its publication.

Sir Thomas Hanmer’s edition of Shakespeare was the first in which much pains were taken to make a handsome piece of printing. Hanmer, Speaker of the House of Commons, a friend of Bishop Berkeley, and a man of considerable literary achievement, brought out the Works in a six volume edition in 1744, though his name did not appear in it. It was printed “at the Theatre at Oxford,” and was “adorned with sculptures designed and executed by the best hands.” This first edition was bought up on publication, and the price of copies greatly advanced. It produced, therefore, an effect in its day. Italic and roman “Fell” types are used for the two prefaces, but that used for the plays is a lighter old style font, composed in a somewhat modern manner (fig. 292). What strikes us about the edition now is a certain similarity in composition to some of Baskerville’s work; though it was printed thirteen years before Baskerville’s first book (the Virgil) was published. This is to be seen in the arrangement of the title-page, half-titles, etc., with their spaced capitals, the manner of using ornamental bands of “flowers,” etc. (fig. 293).
In 1753, a famous illustrated book appeared—*Designs by Mr. R. Bentley for Six Poems by Mr. T. Gray*, printed for R. Dodsley, London. It was superintended with great care, and Bentley’s charming decorations are much discussed in Horace Walpole’s letters. To pad out the book, the text is printed only on one side of a leaf: a trick considered modern, but really old. The typography is commonplace—a large Caslon character, much leaded, and not well printed. A book was still appraised, as it had been a hundred years earlier, by the number of its copper-plate illustrations.

Walpole’s press at Strawberry Hill employed old style types for its work—probably Caslon’s—and among its rather indifferent printing, the Strawberry Hill Lucan is worthy of moderate praise.

Samuel Johnson’s *Dictionary of the English Language* is mostly remembered nowadays, by the general reader, as the book Becky Sharp flung back at Miss Jemima Pinkerton—not, fortunately, in its original two volume folio form—or because of Johnson’s famous letter to Lord Chesterfield. It was printed by William Strahan in 1755, in a monotonous old style type, in size rather small for the folio double-column pages. The title-page, in its leaded lines of small spaced capitals, shows a modern tendency toward light effects. In the preface, blank lines between paragraphs also exhibit a new detail of composition, much in favour as the century went on. In the Dictionary proper, words are set in capitals, and derivations from these words in capitals and small capitals—e.g., DIVULGE, DIVULGER. These pages of mild colour and easy air seem old-fashioned to us now, but not antique.

I have already said that editions of the same book printed at different dates, but in the same country, are a lesson in the history of national printing-styles; while books like the
The generous and gravelest citizens
Have hent the gates, and very near upon
The Duke is entring: therefore hence, away. [Exeunt.

ACT V. SCENE I.

The STREET.

Enter Duke, Varrius, Lords, Angelo, Escalus, Lucio,
and Citizens, at several doors.

Duke.

My very worthy cousin, fairly met;
Our old and faithful friend, we're glad to see you.
Ang. and Esq. Happy return be to your royal Grace!
Duke. Many and hearty thanks be to you both:
We've made enquiry of you, and we hear
Such goodness of your justice, that our soul

292. Type of Hanmer's Shakespeare: University Press, Oxford, 1743–44
THE WORKS
OF
MR WILLIAM SHAKESPEAR.

VOLUME the FIRST.
CONSISTING OF
COMEDIES.

OXFORD:
PRINTED AT THE THEATRE.
MDCCXLIII.

293. Bastard Title-page of Hanmer's Shakespeare (reduced)
Latin classics, common to all countries, show how different nationalities treated the same problem. The same class of book can also be compared in this way: books on astronomy, geometry, botany, architecture—and dictionaries. For instance, the earliest English vocabularies or dictionaries were printed in black-letter, both word and definition. Many seventeenth, and even some eighteenth century English dictionaries printed the words defined in black-letter, with definitions in italic. In Florio’s *New World of Words* of 1611, italic was used for the definitions, but the words were set in roman. In the mid-eighteenth century, as in Johnson’s *Dictionary*, words were set in capitals or in capitals and small capitals, with definitions in roman lower-case. Later on, the words defined were almost always set in capitals, and this is continued, in such dictionaries as Webster’s or Worcester’s, to our own day. In the *Century Dictionary*, and in that wonderful piece of work, the *New English Dictionary*, printed at the University Press, Oxford, a bold-face upper and lower-case roman letter has been employed to pick out the “word” from the text. This is, in a way, a return to the black-letter of the earliest period. Dictionaries being popular books, and for that reason employing types familiar and easy for the eye to seize quickly, thus show, if examined chronologically, (1) what types were the most familiar at a particular epoch, and (2) the date when they became obsolete.

I have not mentioned Baskerville’s work here, because the types he designed fall into a class by themselves, and because two or three of his editions have been already described. But the Baskerville manner was in full swing at the time that Caslon’s old style types had their vogue. “Fashionable” English printing had become very open and light in effect by the last of the century—partly, I dare say,
through Baskerville's influence. Sir Joshua Reynolds' *Discourse at the Opening of the Royal Academy* in January, 1769, though printed from old style type, by its arrangement has an effect entirely different from the printing of fifty years earlier. A collection of these addresses delivered by Reynolds between 1769 and 1783, some of them the work of Cadell, printer to the Academy, is (like similar Spanish occasional addresses that have been mentioned) illuminating because they were printed for a distinguished body of men, and represent the best taste of the day (*fig. 294*). The excessively spaced letters of the title-page, the large folios in spaced brackets, the open leading, the blank spaces between paragraphs, and the wide margins, show a style of work which—handsome in quartos like these—became very thin and faded in smaller books which copied them.

Then again, a new influence in typography was that of the Foulis brothers (of whom I have spoken), printers to the University of Glasgow since 1743, who were employing Wilson's lighter transitional types, and producing books which showed a new feeling in English printing. Their smaller *formats*, in which the classics were issued, are more characteristic of their work, or the faults of their work, than the folios.

A "Foulis edition" of the best sort is Andrew Foulis's *Poetical Works of Alexander Pope* (1785), in three folio volumes. The effect of the pages of the poems is very noble and most readable, owing to the large size of fine type in which the text is set. The smaller types used for the contents, advertisements, quoted poetry, etc., become, as they descend in size, gray and monotonous, without the colour of Caslon's or the clearness of Baskerville's small types. But the effect, as a whole, is exceedingly distinguished (*fig. 295*). Among the most celebrated Foulis editions in large *format*
GENTLEMEN,

The honor which the Arts acquire by being permitted to take possession of this noble habitation, is one of the most considerable of the many instances we have received of His Majesty's protection; and the strongest proof of his desire to make the Academy respectable.

Nothing has been left undone that might contribute to excite our pursuit, or to reward our attainments. We have

fions a truth may be more strongly represented in nega-
tive than even in positive expressions, while they are, at
the same time, more suitable in the mouth of a person
who is speaking of things in which he himself is interested.
The character of his parents given by our Poet, in his
epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot, is certainly fitted to impress us
with very favourable notions.

Of gentle blood (part shed in Honour’s cause,
While yet in Britain honour had applause)
Each parent sprang—What fortune pray?—their own,
And better got than Belitia’s from the throne.

295. Type of folio Pope: Foulis, Glasgow, 1785
are a Callimachus of 1755, the Horace of 1756, the monumental Greek Iliad and Odyssey, in four volumes, printed between 1756 and 1758, and a Paradise Lost issued in 1770. For Gray's Poems (1768) in quarto, Wilson cut a special font of double pica roman. Of the Foulis classics in small format, the 16mo edition of Aeschylus (1746) or Aristophanes (1755) in Greek and Latin, and the Juvenal of 1750 in 16mo, may be cited. The 12mo Latin Horace of 1760 (a fourth edition) is better. It is a very well-bred little book—but, like many other well-bred things, rather colourless. Types such as it is set in had to be cleverly handled to look well—and this is a good example of Foulis's clever handling. The Letters of Charlotte, printed for Cadell in 1786 (fig. 296), or the 16mo edition of Thomson's Seasons, printed by Strahan in 1788 for Rivington and others, was the sort of book Foulis made popular—pretty, but "faded." Such feeble types led to the adoption of the heavy fonts of Thorne early in the next century. Something had to be done, and "fat blacks" were administered to fainting ladies like Charlotte, as a sort of rough-and-ready first aid to the injured.

The books illustrated by Bewick caused the introduction of more modelled and brilliant type-forms. Bewick's cuts from the first demanded such types. The demand was not met by those used in his Quadrupeds of 1790 or his British Birds of 1797. These books, printed at Newcastle, are set in a very poor form of letter—either Wilson's or an old style type much whittled down from its first estate. It was Bulmer who realized the kind of typography that Bewick's cuts called for; and when he produced his new types, it must have been a revelation to the public of that day; in fact, it was! But before describing the Bewick books printed at the Shakspeare Press by Bulmer, there are two of its earlier books which must be mentioned.
The "Boydell Shakspeare," which the Shakspeare Press was established to print, is its most famous performance. Its Advertisement, written by Nicol, tells us that "while foreign nations were publishing splendid editions of their favourite authors, we in this country contented ourselves with such editions of ours as were merely useful." This work was meant to be a magnificent national edition, in which splendour of production was to go hand in hand with correctness of text. "With regard to the Typographical part of the work," Nicol says, "the state of printing in England, when it was first undertaken [1786], was such that it was found necessary to establish a printing-house on purpose to print the work; a foundry to cast the types; and even a manufactory to make the ink." How much the art of printing has improved since that period the Public can best judge." This folio edition in nine volumes, with its accompanying plates, was "printed by W. Bulmer and Company for John and Josiah Boydell, George and W. Nicol, from the types of W. Martin," and was finally published in 1802, though the first volume appeared in 1792 (fig. 297). The folio edition of Milton's Poetical Works, illustrated by West-

1 The pure black ink was prepared from material supplied to Bulmer by Baskerville's old foreman, Robert Martin, and was probably made from a recipe similar to that employed by Baskerville.

2 Dibdin tells us how Nicol contrived "to silence some connoisseurs of Printing, who, upon seeing the productions of the Shakspeare Press, were constantly saying 'This is very well, but what is this to the Printing of Bodoni?' ... A specimen sheet of a pretended edition of Cicero was set up with the Shakspeare types, of the size of Bodoni's publications. When this specimen was shewn to the same connoisseurs, they exclaimed, 'To what degree of perfection does this man mean to carry the art of Printing! Why this surpasses all his former excellence!' And they were all very anxious for Mr. N. to procure them copies of the work. To this Mr. N. replied, 'that Mr. Bodoni had an agent in town; and if they would turn to the bottom of the last page of the specimen they would find his address' — which they found as follows — 'W. Bulmer and Co. Shakspeare Press!'"
THE

LETTERS

OF

CHARLOTTE,

DURING HER CONNEXION WITH

WERTER.

Granzia sola di fu ne vaglia, inanti
Che piu'l deso d'amare al cor s'invecchi.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR T. CADELL, IN THE STRAND.

M.DCC.LXXXVI.

296. Title-page of Letters of Charlotte, London, 1786
SCENE II

THE SAME.  GARDEN OF JULIA'S HOUSE.

Enter Julia, and Lucetta.

Jul. But say, Lucetta, now we are alone, Would'st thou then counsel me to fall in love?
Luc. Ay, madam; so you stumble not unheedfully.
Jul. Of all the fair resort of gentlemen, That every day with parle encounter me, In thy opinion, which is worthiest love?
Luc. Please you, repeat their names, I'll show my mind

297. William Martin's Type used in the 'Boydell Shakespear': Bulmer, London, 1792–1802
all, also printed by Bulmer for the Boydells in 1794–97, is another wonderful production—in simplicity of arrangement, in typography, and in presswork. For pure typography is almost wholly relied on for effect, in both these books, and the reliance is justified. Martin’s roman types are very handsome, very clear—and very modern. His italic is a little too calligraphic; the italic capitals in particular show Baskerville’s influence and distract the eye. But the editions evidently turned out what they were meant to be; and only a printer knows all that this implies! No description, however, gives any idea of the change of taste in English printing which these books exemplified.

The magnificent letter-press of Chamberlaine’s Imitations of Original Drawings by Hans Holbein, being Portraits of Illustrious Persons in the Court of Henry VIII, printed by Bulmer in 1792, may be consulted by those tempted to belittle the work of this school. A more intimate and agreeable book is the charming edition of Poems by Goldsmith and Parnell, printed by Bulmer in 1795. This was the first really finely printed book illustrated by the Bewicks. In the interesting Advertisement Bulmer says: “To raise the Art of Printing in this country from the neglected state in which it had long been suffered to continue, and to remove the opprobrium which had but too justly been attached to the late productions of the English press, much has been done within the last few years; and the warm emulation which has discovered itself amongst the Printers of the present day, as well in the remote parts of the kingdom as in the metropolis, has been highly patronized by the public in general. The present volume, in addition to the Shakespeare, the Milton, and many other valuable works of elegance, which have already been given to the world, through the medium of the Shakspeare Press, are particularly meant to
combine the various beauties of Printing, Type-founding, Engraving, and Paper-making; as well with a view to ascertain the near approach to perfection which those arts have attained in this country, as to invite a fair competition with the best Typographical Productions of other nations. How far the different Artists, who have contributed their exertions to this great object, have succeeded in the attempt, the Public will now be fully able to judge. Much pains have been bestowed on the present publication, to render it a complete Specimen of the Arts of Type and Block-printing. The whole of the Types, with which this work has been printed, are executed by Mr. William Martin, in the house of my friend Mr. George Nicol, whose unceasing endeavours to improve the Art of Printing, and its relative branches, are too well known to require any thing to be said on the present occasion; he has particularly patronized Mr. Martin, a very ingenious young Artist, who has resided with him seven years, and who is at this time forming a Foundry, by which he will shortly be enabled to offer to the world a Specimen of Types, that will in a very eminent degree unite utility, elegance, and beauty. The ornaments are all engraved on blocks of wood, by two of my earliest acquaintances, Messrs. Bewicks, of Newcastle upon Tyne and London,1 after designs made from the most interesting passages of the Poems they embellish. They have been executed with great care, and I may venture to say, without being supposed to be influenced by ancient friendship, that they form the most extraordinary effort of the art of engraving upon wood that ever was produced in any age, or any country. Indeed it seems almost impossible that such deli-

1 Bulmer, a native of Newcastle, was from youth a friend of Thomas Bewick, to whom he is believed to have suggested lowering the surface of his wood-blocks, to give a lighter impression for effects of distance.
The whole of the Types, with which this work has been printed, are executed by Mr. William Martin, in the house of my friend Mr. George Nicol, whose unceasing endeavours to improve the Art of Printing, and its relative

*The Shakspeare Printing Office owes its origin to the publication of that great National Edition of the Works of Shakspeare, which you are now, so much to the honour of our country, happily conducting toward its completion; I*
cate effects could be obtained from blocks of wood.¹ Of the
Paper it is only necessary to say, that it comes from the
manufactory of Mr. Whatman."

Bulmer’s edition of William Somervile’s Chase (1796),
a companion volume, “presented to the Patrons of Fine
Printing” (for a guinea), is another delightful book in much
the same manner. Martin’s types, used in both volumes, are
charming transitional roman fonts, both delicate and spir-
ited—and so thoroughly English that Bewick’s engravings
seem in complete harmony with them (figs. 298, 299, and
300). A magnificent work that employs Martin’s types is the
two-volume History of the River Thames, issued in folio by
William Bulmer & Company for John and Josiah Boydell
in 1796. The title-page bears the words, “from the types
of W. Martin.” Its pages of large roman type, beautifully
set, make it one of the finest books Bulmer ever printed.

The printer Bensley also issued books somewhat in this
style, which are examples of “the latest fashion” in print-
ing. His edition of Thomson’s Seasons, with plates by Bart-
tolozzi, issued in 1797, and some luxurious books published
by Stockdale, are good specimens of his earlier work. His
composition is less successful than Bulmer’s, and his better
work, which I shall mention later, appears to have been done
after 1800.

Whatever may be the opinion of the light, open types and
widely spaced and leaded pages of volumes by the best
printers in these last years of the eighteenth century, they
seem to me to be very sincere and workmanlike solutions
of problems which the printer worked out in the manner
of that time. Such books were part of the life about them.

¹ George III could not be convinced that they were so engraved, and insisted
on seeing the wood-blocks before he would believe it.
PRINTING TYPES

They accorded admirably with the cool, sedate interiors in which they were housed. It was printing faithful to the best standards of its day, and because of this I think it will live.¹

¹See list of nearly fifty books printed by Bulmer and some of those printed by Bensley before 1817 in Dibdin's Bibliographical Decameron (1817), Vol. II, pp. 384 et seq. Aids to the student will be found in the Catalogue of an Exhibition of Books, Broadsides, Proclamations, Portraits, Autographs, etc., Illustrative of the History and Progress of Printing and Bookselling in England, 1477-1800. Held at Stationers' Hall, June, 1912, by the International Association of Antiquarian Booksellers. London, 1912; and also in the valuable Catalogue of the Caxton Celebration of 1877, though the latter is more general in scope.
Sweet smiling village, loveliest of the lawn,
Thy sports are fled, and all thy charms withdrawn;
Amidst thy bowers the tyrant's hand is seen,
And desolation saddens all thy green:
One only master grasps the whole domain,
And half a tillage stints thy smiling plain.

The subject proposed. Address to his Royal Highness the
Prince. The origin of hunting. The rude and unpolished
manner of the first hunters. Beasts at first hunted for
food and sacrifice. The grant made by God to man of the
beasts, &c. The regular manner of hunting first brought
into this island by the Normans. The best hounds and

299. William Martin's Great Primer Roman and Italic
The old and infirm have at least this privilege, that they can recall to their minds those scenes of joy in which they once delighted, and ruminate over their past pleasures, with a satisfaction almost equal to the first enjoyment; for those ideas, to which any agreeable sensation is annexed, are easily excited, as leaving behind them the most strong and permanent impressions. The amusements of our youth are the boast and comfort of our declining years. The ancients carried this notion even yet further, and supposed their heroes, in the Elysian fields, were fond of the very same

When the exertions of an Individual to improve his profession are crowned with success, it is certainly the highest gratification his feelings can experience. The very distinguished approbation that attended the publication of the ornamented edition of Goldsmith's Traveller, Deserted Village, and Parnell's Hermit, which was last year offered to the Public as a Specimen of the improved State of Typography in this Country, demands my warmest acknowledgments; and is no less satisfactory to the different Artists who contributed their efforts towards the completion of the work.

300. William Martin's Pica Roman and Italic
CHAPTER XVIII
TYPES USED IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES, AND SOME EARLY AMERICAN SPECIMENS

In connection with English printing of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, something must be said about typography in the English Colonies of North America, and about one or two of the earliest specimens put forth by American type-founders and printers.

The first press set up in the Colonies was established at Cambridge, Massachusetts. Its activities extended from 1638 to 1692. Its equipment consisted of a printing-press and type, and with these three pressmen and a printer arrived in the summer of 1638. This proto-typographer of British North America was Stephen Daye, traditionally connected with the famous London printer, John Day. The foundation of this press was the work of Joseph Glover, Rector of Sutton in Surrey. Glover dying on the voyage out, his wife set up the press at Cambridge, in the latter months of 1638. It was always closely associated with Harvard College; and among its most celebrated books were Eliot's Indian Bible and the Bay Psalm Book. The ordinary type for its use was all procured abroad, probably from England and Holland. Its work came to an end in 1692, Samuel Green being its last manager.

In the seventeenth century, typography in Europe was upon the wane, and for English printing the Stuart period, owing to restrictions on the press, was a miserable epoch. To make life beautiful was not the motive which led to the settlement of New England: and the promoters of the Cambridge Press merely desired that spiritual truth should be

1 For facsimiles of its work and that of other Massachusetts printers, see Littlefield's Early Massachusetts Press, 1638–1711. Boston, 1907. 2 vols.
made more clear through its publications. The typography of its books was as unattractive and crabbed as the matter which it (perhaps fittingly) enshrined. I mention this press, therefore, only because it has a certain historical importance.

Harvard College apparently owned no types after Green's death until about 1718, when Thomas Hollis made it a present of fonts of long primer Hebrew and Greek characters. The latter type lay idle until 1761, when it was employed for some Greek verse occurring in a congratulatory address to George III on his accession—*Pietas et Gratulatio Collegii Cantabrigiensis apud Novanglos*. This was its first, last, and only appearance; for it was destroyed in a fire which consumed the first College Library in 1764.¹ But the Hebrew types, being at the time in use in Boston, escaped; whether they still survive, I know not.

In the eighteenth century, typographical material in American printing-houses—at any rate before the Revolution—was almost all foreign. Franklin records in his *Autobiography* that his brother James secured both his press and type from England, and there are repeated allusions to the necessity of procuring such materials abroad for various Colonial printing-offices. When manager of Keimer's press in Philadelphia, Franklin writes: "Our printing-house often wanted sorts, and there was no letter-founder in America; I had seen types cast at James's in London, but without much attention to the manner; however, I now con-

¹ Thomas's *History of Printing*, Worcester, 1810, Vol. I, pp. 251 et seq. In the broadside *Account of the Fire at Harvard College*, dated January 25, 1794, among the losses chronicled, this paragraph occurs: "A font of Greek types (which, as we had not yet a printing-office, was reposited in the library) presented by our great benefactor the late worthy Thomas Hollis, Esq; of London; whose picture, as large as the life, and institutions for two Professorships and ten Scholarships perished in the flames."
trived a mould, made use of the letters we had as punch¬
eons, struck the matrices in lead, and thus supply'd in a
pretty tolerable way all deficiencies." The earliest types in
such offices as that of Bradford, the first New York printer,
were probably Dutch and English; later types were Eng¬
lish, and chiefly those of Caslon—although after 1775
(roughly speaking), type was made in North America. Prim¬
ers and books, newspapers and broadsides, were mostly
printed in Caslon old style types in the mid-eighteenth cen¬
tury and up to the Revolution. Indeed, the Declaration of
Independence itself was printed in the Caslon letter. It was
the face commonly in use until about 1800.

How well Colonial printers used it was another matter.
For Franklin, writing from Passy (where he had set up a
private press) in October, 1779, to his niece, Mrs. Partridge,
says: "I thank you for the Boston Newspapers, tho' I see
nothing so clearly in them as that your printers do indeed
want new Letters. They perfectly blind me in endeavouring
to read them. If you should ever have any Secrets that you
want to be well kept, get them printed in those Papers."
Franklin admired and recommended Caslon's types, and his
own office was equipped with them. The style of compo¬
sition of most Colonial work was like a provincial copy of
London printing—and was, as a rule, a good many years
behind current London fashions.

The first regular American type-foundry was that of
Christopher Sauer or Sower II (son of a German printer of
the same name), which was started at Germantown, Penn¬
sylvania, in 1772. Its appliances were imported from Ger¬
many, with moulds for three sizes of German type and some
English script. Some of its type was cut and cast by Sauer's
assistant, Justus Fox, who bought the foundry in 1784. The
next foundry was that of Jacob Bey, assistant to Sauer and
Fox, also at Germantown. He cut and cast Roman as well as German types. Another foundry was that of John Baine & Grandson in Co., of Philadelphia, which was probably established about 1788. The elder Baine (who had been in partnership with Alexander Wilson of Glasgow) must have come to Philadelphia, whither his grandson had preceded him, between 1787 and 1790, the year of his death. On the title-page of *A Specimen of Printing Types, By John Baine & Grandson in Co., Letter-founders, Edinburgh* (1787), now in the library of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Isaiah Thomas wrote, “This Foundry was brought to America, by the grandson, about 1771, and established at Philadelphia. John Baine came over not long after his grandson.” But there is a discrepancy between this statement and the generally accepted facts. The specimen contains some Caslon fonts of early form, a few heavy-faced types, and a number of late eighteenth century types. The repertoire of ornaments and their ingenious and tasteful combinations are worth looking at.

In 1791, Adam Mappa, a Dutchman, brought a type-foundry to New York from Holland, chiefly to make Dutch and German types. “His foundry was very extensive,” says a contemporary, “and his specimens extravagantly showy.” Benjamin Franklin Bache, grandson of Franklin, possessed a small outfit for type-founding, purchased by Franklin when in France, but it was little employed. “Dr. Franklin,” says William McCulloch in his *Additions to Thomas’s History of Printing in America,* "was desirous of establishing his grandson at that business; and with that view Bache wrought some time in the foundry of P. S. Fournier," of

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2 Probably Simon Pierre Fournier, *son* of P. S. (Pierre Simon) Fournier *le jeune.* The latter died in 1768, and Bache was born in 1769.
Paris, in order to acquire some insight preparatory to his commencing in America. Franklin purchased a foundry from this Fournier, which he brought to America, at his (Bache's) arrival; and Bache began type casting in Franklin Court in Market Street but soon relinquished that business for printing. I have seen, in Binny and Ronaldson's possession, an history of type founding (in French) of which this Fournier is the author.1 Ronaldson, who was some years since in France in pursuit of antimony, tells me he was in this foundry, now in the possession of Fournier's grandson,2 and that there is a bust or head of Franklin3 in that laboratory, at which the men looked and pointed with the liveliest enthusiasm, exclaiming: "l'excellent Franklin." The four-page specimen-sheet issued by Bache4 is chiefly made up of Caslon characters, although the few types marked by an asterisk were cast in Philadelphia from French matrices. Interesting historically, this sheet contributes nothing to our knowledge of American type-forms—all the material being foreign. Though undated, it probably was not printed before 1790.

Many of these small equipments finally fell into the hands of two Scotchmen, Archibald Binny and James Ronaldson, whose Philadelphia foundry was begun in 1796. In 1797, they offered for sale the first dollar-marks ever made in type. These men, in 1806, purchased the appliances for type-founding brought over by Franklin.

The first specimen-book of an American Type Foundry is said to be that of Binny & Ronaldson, which belongs to

1 Evidently the Manuel Typographique of his father, Fournier le jeune.
2 M. Beaulieu-Fournier (?).
3 Possibly the likeness of Franklin alluded to in note on p. 257, Vol. I.
4 A Specimen of Printing Types belonging to Benjamin Franklin Bache's Printing Office, Philadelphia.
the nineteenth century — *A Specimen of Metal Ornaments cast at the Letter Foundery of Binny & Ronaldson. Philadelphia. Printed by Fry and Kammerer*, 1809. It was not a printer’s specimen of types, but a founder’s specimen of ornaments. About one hundred ornamental cuts are shown. In appearance the designs seem largely inspired from French sources. A few of them are like those shown in Pierres’ collection of 1785. The general type of decoration in others is similar to cuts in the Gillé specimen of 1808. A feature of the book is its versions of the arms of the United States. Ill-executed mechanically for the most part, from a decorative point of view the collection is respectable and has considerable style. The prices of these cuts run from twenty-five cents to five dollars, and, for the larger cuts in particular, seem high for what was supplied.

In 1812, a *Specimen of Printing Types from the Foundery of Binny & Ronaldson, Philadelphia*, appeared, also printed by Fry and Kammerer. It begins with an address “To the Printers of the United States.” The proprietors speak of having, through patronage of printers, been able “to extend and improve their establishment on the grand scale, of which this specimen exhibits a proof.” From our point of view, there seems to have been little grand about the foundry except its pretensions.

The great primer roman was used for the text of the imposing quarto edition of Joel Barlow’s *Columbiad*, printed at Philadelphia in 1807 (*fig. 301*), and very finely printed, too, by Fry and Kammerer, whose imprint appears on the specimen we are considering. Notes to *The Columbiad* are set in the small pica No. 1. This volume is an early instance of an American *édition de luxe*, and reflects the style of Bulmer’s London editions. The engravings, after paintings by Smirke, were procured through the interest of Robert Fulton.
COLUMBIAD.

Who raised an opening scroll, where proudly shone
_Burgoyne and vengeance from the British throne._

Champlain receives the congregated host,
And his husht waves beneath the sails are lost;
Ticonderoga rears his rocks in vain,
Nor Edward's walls the weighty shock sustain;
Deep George's loaded lake reluctant guides
Their bounding barges o'er his sacred tides.
State after state the splendid pomp appals,
Each town surrenders, every fortress falls;
Sinclair retires; and with his feeble train,
In slow retreat o'er many a fatal plain,
EARLY AMERICAN SPECIMENS

Of the larger sizes of type shown in this specimen, the French Canon roman and its italic is a really handsome letter. The rest of the larger sizes are of the heavy face then fashionable. The transitional forms of smaller roman and italic shown are delightful. I do not know whether these were cut in America or cast from imported matrices, but a passage in the preface to James Ronaldson’s specimen of 1816 makes me believe that they were cut by Archibald Binny. They retain—especially in the italic of certain sizes—a late eighteenth century touch, reminiscent of the work of Martin. The pica was supplied by Binny & Ronaldson for the text of Isaiah Thomas’s History of Printing in America, issued in 1810. Six sizes of black-letter with a disagreeable German twist to it—notice the f’s (fig. 302); four German text types—the double pica being reminiscent of very early German fonts; three sizes of Hebrew, and four of rather crabbed Greek, complete the book—except for three or four pages of ornaments. The “New Flowers” which open the collection are attractive designs in white on black. The American arms (No. 1), the urn (No. 4), the eagle (No. 5), etc., are quite delightful, and really charming when combined, as in the sixth of these borders. The skulls and crossbones below are less inviting, and the designation “new flowers” perhaps indicates the immortelle! (fig. 303). The other ornaments are mostly variants of ancient patterns, and are in some cases excellent.

Binny & Ronaldson were succeeded by James Ronaldson, who brought out a specimen in 1816 which, as it is beautifully printed, shows the transitional types mentioned above to much better advantage than Binny & Ronaldson’s specimen of 1812. The selection offered of both types and ornaments is considerably increased and bettered. The interesting Preface alludes to the 1812 specimen as repre-
senting the labour of twenty-five years, and adds that the adoption of ranging figures and the round s are among the improvements which have been made simultaneously with European foundries. Apologies are offered for the fat-faced types put forth "to imitate the Europeans," contrary to the founders' judgment, and proved by experience to be suited only for "works of fancy." An enlarged edition of this specimen appeared in 1822. James Ronaldson was succeeded by Richard Ronaldson, who apparently issued no specimen. In 1833, the owners of the foundry were Lawrence Johnson and George F. Smith. Later, on Smith's retirement, Johnson took as partners Thomas MacKellar and John F. and Richard Smith. Upon Johnson's death in 1850, his three partners added Peter C. Jordan to their company and became the firm of MacKellar, Smiths and Jordan, remembered by older printers. This house was absorbed in 1892 by the American Type Founders Company.

The material that a well-known eighteenth century printer possessed is shown in the specimen of Isaiah Thomas (1749–1831) of Worcester, Massachusetts. Franklin called Thomas the "American Baskerville," but his printing was not remarkable except in view of the period in which he worked, and the difficulties which lack of good paper, good ink, and good workmen placed in his way. Thomas's chief work was his folio Bible, published in 1791—the first folio Bible printed in America—for which Franklin, to whom Thomas presented a copy, expressed great admiration. Dr. Charles L. Nichols, the biographer and bibliographer of Thomas, considers Sewall's Carmina Sacra (1789) the best printed of his books, though Thomas preferred Charlotte Smith's Elegiac Sonnets (1795), a volume printed on the first wove paper made in this country, by
And be it further hereby enacted, That the Mayors, Bailiffs, or other head Officers of every Town and place corpo-
NEW FLOWERS.

303. Ornaments: Binny & Ronaldson's Specimen
Philadelphia, 1812
Thomas himself. Thomas also printed music — the *Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony* being his work. He was the author of that standard book, *The History of Printing in America*, published in 1810; and the founder of the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, of which he was the first president.

The title-page of Thomas's specimen shows his esteem for William Caslon (fig. 304). He had a complete series of the Caslon fonts, with some large letters cut on wood. In a manuscript note in a copy of his specimen belonging to the American Antiquarian Society, Thomas says: "£2000 sterling and upwards, were added to this Specimen, in types from Fry's, Caslon's and Wilson's Foundries, between 1785 and 1784 [sic]. A great addition, and a great Variety of Types were added to the following after 1785. When complete the Printing materials were estimated at Nine Thousand Dollars." His specimen shows a good assortment of mathematical, algebraical, and astronomical characters, a font of Greek, with some very good two-line Greek letters, and a small font of neat Hebrew. There are a number of type ornaments or "flowers," some of which are very pretty. Of them Thomas says: "These ornamental types may be varied in a thousand different forms, but they are here inserted in the simple manner in which they are cast"; though the compositor has tried his hand at new arrangements without great success. Set in a commonplace script is this concluding advertisement: "I. Thomas, Printer, Worcester, Massachusetts, has with the greatest care and attention furnished himself with the best Printing Materials that could be made in Europe, and has purchased these articles to a very large amount. — He has every thing requisite for neat, elegant, or ornamental Printing, be the work small or large, and will be happy to execute every com-
mand in the way of his Profession, on the most reasonable Terms, and with *Dispatch.*" The book is rare, but a copy which Thomas gave to Harvard College may be seen in the library of the University.
A SPECIMEN OF ISAIAH THOMAS's PRINTING TYPES.

Being as large and complete an ASSORTMENT as is to be met with in any one Printing-Office in AMERICA.

Chiefly MANUFACTURED by that great Artist, WILLIAM CASLON, Esq; of LONDON.

PRINTED at WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS, By ISAIAH THOMAS. MDCLXXXV.

304. Title-page: Isaiah Thomas's Specimen, Worcester, 1785
CHAPTER XIX
NINETEENTH CENTURY "CLASSICAL" TYPES
BODONI AND THE DIDOTS

The pseudo-classical types which were in full possession of the European field in the first years of the nineteenth century, and which we best recognize by the term "Didot," had their origin (1) in some special tendencies or influences in typography, and (2) in political and artistic movements, which must be described at some length if we are to understand the typographical revolution which they brought about.

In typography, the first and earliest influence was the form of serif introduced into the French *romain du roi* by Grandjean in the reign of Louis XIV. This thin, straight serif, dazzling to the eye, rendered the *romain du roi* letterform quite unlike anything that preceded it. Grandjean's serif was discarded by Luce in the types cut by him in the time of Louis XV; but it was revived in types cut after Luce's period, notably by the Didots.

The second influence was the fashion for more modelled types, with light strokes in greater contrast to heavy strokes, introduced in England by Baskerville. This style, although it never took root deeply in England, was greatly admired on the Continent, especially in France and Italy. For, as Baskerville said when he offered his fonts to the Académie des Sciences, "I have never sold my Types, nor do I intend to sell any to London printers, as my Labours have always been treated with more Honour abroad than in my native Country." To France Baskerville's types ultimately went, and his influence on both Bodoni and Didot is undeniable.

1 For a full discussion of the latter, see Louis Hauteceur's *Rome et la Renaissance de l'Antiquité à la fin du XVIIIe Siècle.* Paris, 1912.
A third influence was the condensation of type-forms—as exhibited by Luce in his caractère poétique, and by other founders in the fonts called serré or approché—by which letters appeared taller and narrower.

And finally, all these tendencies were accentuated by the taste throughout Europe for a lighter and more delicate style of typography; sometimes arrived at by actually cutting a lighter letter, sometimes by greater leading of the type.

Chief among the artistic and political movements which affected type-forms was the revival of appreciation of the antique, which by 1800 dominated every phase of art. This revival was the result of something over a hundred years of unconscious preparation. Long before the discovery of Herculaneum and Pompeii, excavations had been made in the neighbourhood of Rome, and the “grand tour” had made Roman antiquities familiar to travellers. Although the first discoveries at Pompeii were made as early as 1713, it was not until 1745 that Herculaneum was uncovered, and not until 1764 that the greater part of Pompeian antiquities were found.1 Even before the latter date public interest was considerably aroused, and these discoveries were discussed in learned publications—Cochin, who visited Italy with Marigny and Soufflot, writing on Herculaneum in 1751, and Carlos III in 1757 promoting Baiardi’s Antichità di Ercolano. The vogue of antique art was heightened by Panini’s paintings, Piranesi’s engravings, and the sketches of Hubert Robert; encouraged by the French Academy at Rome and the new Academies in Naples, London, Madrid, Parma,

1 The decoration which marked the reign of Louis XVI, known as style Louis Seize outside France, was, owing to the classic motifs that inspired it, called in France à la grecque—the decorative work discovered at Herculaneum and Pompeii being often more Greek than Roman in quality.
and elsewhere; and further stimulated by the sale of Sir William Hamilton’s Etruscan vases to the British Museum, the installation of Roman collections of sculpture, etc., and the journeyings of the erudite to Naples, Paestum, and Sicily. The popularization of all these wonders by publications illustrating and describing them—by Caylus, St. Non, Visconti, Winckelmann, Mengs, and others—led people to consider Rome, in the language of the day, “the unique Emporium of the Beautiful and the Temple of Taste.”

In architecture, painting, and sculpture men soon formulated what was supposed to be the underlying theory of antique art. Artists searched Plutarch for subjects; sculptors chose living models on account of their likeness to antique statues; and the Beau Idéal was to be attained by studying antiquity rather than life. In painting, these ideas were exemplified by such pictures as Le Serment des Horaces of David, by Flaxman’s illustrations for the Iliad, and by Angelica Kauffmann’s pictures of antiquity à la mode. In sculpture, Canova held first place in this revival, and made his reputation by work which, because it was thought the last word in classicism then, makes us smile now.

And in the minor arts all the forms of antique ornament were pressed into the service of decoration. In furniture, marble or mahogany was encumbered or enriched by classical ornaments in metal. In porcelain, Etruscan motifs were used at Sèvres; Wedgwood named his potteries Etruria, and for him Flaxman made classical designs. Ruins became inkstands, tripods turned into flower stands, porticoes formed clocks, and sphinxes, andirons. Pliny’s Doves in mosaic became table-tops, paper-weights, or brooches, buttons were à l’antique, and even fabrics were printed from Huet’s designs of Roman ruins.

By the year 1790, Greek and Roman antique art had com-
pletely captured public taste—social and political events and ways of thinking in France being particularly favourable to such a development; though French students and artists resident in Rome became so unpopular because of their revolutionary opinions and license of expression that they were driven out. ¹ But by 1796, the Pontifical States were invaded by France, and the rage for antiquity showed itself in French demands. Paris must be a new Rome; and so it was needful to make Paris what Rome had been—the artistic centre of Europe. To effect this *worthily* we must, said the French, possess Roman monuments; and they proceeded to possess them. The Laocoön, the Dying Gladiator, the Faun of Praxiteles, all set out for Paris, accompanied by Raphael’s Transfiguration, Domenichino’s St. Jerome, and a mixed company of goddesses, saints, nymphs, martyrs, and emperors. There was even a plan to carry off Trajan’s Column, which proved, on investigation, so much too heavy that a lighter obelisk was sent instead. The greatest works of Italian art arrived in Paris by 1801, where they were received with public rejoicing. For by that time, politics, literature, art, all recalled the antique world. Government was confided to senators, tribunes, and consuls—and, *more Romano*, a victorious general was made Emperor.

To us nowadays the antique seems something very hackneyed, but it was to the men of those days brilliantly and thrillingly new—a resurrection from the dead; and, by an association of ideas, antique art—and even sterile and frigid imitations of it—symbolized that private virtue and public wisdom which was then hopefully supposed to have made its home on earth. The pseudo-classical tendency in paint-

¹ To the Pontifical authorities the “last straw” was an unfortunate work of art (somehow made into candelabra) showing Jupiter striking Aristocracy with Thunderbolts and Apollo trampling under foot Superstition.
“CLASSICAL” TYPES 163

ing and sculpture made itself felt also in oratory and literature. And thus it seemed necessary, in typography, to clothe new modes of expression in a new way, and new type-forms were demanded to do it. It required only a “man of the hour” to accomplish this—in France Didot, in Italy Bodoni. Thus artistic movements, political reforms, and dynastic changes, together with certain tendencies in design, contributed to the popularization of a kind of type which, however far from classicism it seems to us now, represented to the bibliophile of that epoch a return to “antique virtue”!

II

In bringing about this change in typographic practice, Bodoni showed great originality in his new type-forms, and in this respect was the man most to be reckoned with. The scholarly prestige of the Didots (in the long run a far greater force) was influential in popularizing these new styles of type.

Giambattista Bodoni, the son of a printer, was born at Saluzzo in Piedmont in 1740. Leaving home as a lad, he made his way to Rome, where he served as apprentice in the press of the Propaganda Fide—la félite scuola, as he called it—

1 As formal types called for a formal style of illustration, old decorators of the book had to change their manner. The beautiful Italian (1754) edition of Lucretius,—Della Natura della Cosa,—translated by Marchetti, edited by F. Gerbault, and dedicated to the Marquis de Vaudières, brother to Madame de Pompadour, or Le Monnier’s Pièces des Bonnes-Genes de Canon, etc., published by Prault and others at Paris in 1778, with frontispiece by Moreau, are both printed in easy old style eighteenth century French types, with which the decorations admirably accord. On the other hand, the embellishments made for Didot’s folio Horace of 1799 by the architect Percier meet “Empire” requirements, and Moreau’s illustrations to Legouvé’s Le Mérite des Femmes et autres Poésies, brought out in Paris by A. A. Renouard in 1809, show a painful endeavour to do so. Both these books are printed in Didot’s “classical” fonts.
for which he always retained his early affection. Its director, Ruggeri, a learned man, was kind to Bodoni, and encouraged him in trying to improve himself—even at that early date we find Bodoni cutting types for the establishment. His stay there was not long. Ruggeri committed suicide, and Bodoni, unable to endure further employment at Rome, left the Press with the idea of seeking his fortune in England. On his way there, stopping at his parents' house at Saluzzo, he fell ill; and before he had a chance to continue his journey he was asked, in behalf of Ferdinand, Duke of Parma, to take charge of the Stamperia Reale at Parma. This was in 1768. Bodoni’s work there was that of a private printer; he produced either such things as were needed at court, or interested the Duke; or such work as he, on his own initiative, proposed. His first stock of types came from the Parisian foundry of Fournier, and he also cut type based on Fournier’s models. What this stock of type was in 1771 is shown in Bodoni’s specimen of that year, and to this period belong his *Essai de caractèresRusses* (1782); a *ManualeTipografico* in quarto, a folio *Manuale*, and a Greek specimen—*Serie de' caratteri greci di Giambatista [sic] Bodoni*—all three produced in 1788. By this time Bodoni had designed a great number of types, which, beginning as old style, by degrees took on a more modern appearance. His press became one of the sights of Europe, and was visited by the *dilettanti* and *cognoscenti* on the “grand tour”; his

1Arthur Young, in his *Travels in Italy*, writing from Parma, December 9, 1789, says: “In the afternoon . . . to the celebrated *reale typografia* of Signore Bodoni, who shewed me many works of singular beauty. The types, I think, exceed those of Didot at Paris, who likewise often crowds the letters close, as if to save paper. The *Daphne and Chloë*, and the *Amynta*, are beautifully executed; I bought the latter, as a specimen of this celebrated press, which really does honour to Italy. Signore Bodoni had the title of the printer to the king of Spain, but never received any salary, or even gratification, as I learned in Parma from another quarter; where I was also in-
editions were admired and collected by bibliophiles everywhere. After 1790, his situation—\textit{vis-à-vis} the Duke of Parma—was improved. This came about through an offer which Bodoni received from De Azara, Spanish Minister to the Papal Court, who conceived the idea of starting a press there (to bring out editions of the classics), of which he invited Bodoni to take charge. This plan coming to the Duke's ears, he made a counter proposal, with the result that Bodoni remained at Parma with a larger press and a more independent position, which permitted him liberty to print for any one who wished to employ him. So, besides Italian, Greek, and Latin books, Bodoni enlarged his field by printing French, Russian, German, and English books—Walpole, Gray, and Thomson being among the English authors for whom he produced editions. He was appointed printer to Carlos III of Spain; he received a pension from his son, Carlos IV; he corresponded with Franklin; he was complimented by the Pope; the city of Parma struck a medal in his honour; he obtained a medal for his work at Paris; he received a pension from the Viceroy of Italy; Napoleon gave him another and a larger one, and in short he was a great personage. He was one of those fortunate mortals who, appearing at just the right moment, knew exactly what he wanted to do, attempted it, succeeded in it, was praised for it, and deserved (and highly enjoyed) the praise. What more could one ask? He departed this life at Parma in 1813, and even his funeral ceremonies appear formed, that the salary he has from the duke is only 150 zecchins. His merit is great and distinguished, and his exertions are uncommon. He has 30,000 matrices of type. I was not a little pleased to find, that he has met with the best sort of patron, in Mr. Edwards, the bookseller, at London, who has made a contract with him for an impression of two hundred and fifty of four Greek poets, four Latin, and four Italian ones—Pindar, Sophocles, Homer, and Theocritus; Horace, Virgil, Lucretius, and Plautus; Dante, Petrarcha, Ariosto, and Tasso.'
to have been precisely what he would have wished them to be!

As to Bodoni's specimen-books (apart from the charming little specimen of 1771, Fregi e Majuscole, described in a former chapter), the inscriptions in exotic types,—Iscrizioni Esotici a Caratteri novellamenti incisi e fusi, 1774,—printed to commemorate the baptism of the Prince of Parma, may be considered his first attempt to display his exotic characters. It is an interesting book—of 50 pages, quarto—and shows twenty of Bodoni's "learned" fonts (fig. 305). The magnificent Epithalamia in folio, printed in 1775 and later to be described, also falls into this class. Bodoni's Manuale Tipografico of 1788 I have never seen. It was apparently a quarto book of 360 pages, containing one hundred specimens of roman and fifty of cursive types, displayed in French and Italian on one side of the leaf. In it were also included twenty-eight sizes of Greek character, which were issued separately as well. This edition of the Manuale seems also to have been printed in octavo form on various special papers and on vellum.

In the same year, 1788, Bodoni issued the finest and most imposing of his specimens—a folio collection of roman, italic, Russian, Greek, and Cancellereschi types. The book opens, unfortunately, with the last named, in fifteen sizes of a detestable form of script capital; but the twenty-eight alphabets of roman and twenty-seven of italic capitals which follow are perhaps the most magnificent of their kind ever displayed. The roman capital letters in larger sizes (from 1 to 5) are specially fine—brilliant in cut and splendidly printed in ink of a wonderfully rich black. Then, too, unlike Bodoni's later books, the paper has a pleasant surface from which all the life has not been smoothed out. Nine alphabets of Greek capital letters follow, both in upright
Εδοξάσθη
το βάδισμα· αυτοῦ
ἐν ἔξοδῳ· δίκου· καταπετάσματος
καὶ· λαμπρότης· βλέμματος· αὐτοῦ
ἐστιν· ὡς
λαμπρότης· βλέμματος· Ἀγγέλου
Περιέζωσεν· αὐτὸν
ὃ· Τῦψιτος· στολὴν· δόξης
καὶ· συνέλειαν· καυχήματος
ἐνέδυσεν· αὐτὸν
Πρόσωπον· αὐτοῦ· χαρίτων· μεστὸν
καὶ· Θαυμαστῶν
ὡς· ἀστὴρ· καὶ· ὡς· τάξον
ψωτίζον· ἐν· νεφέλαις
dόξης·

305. Greek from Iscrizioni Esotici: Bodoni, Parma, 1774
"CLASSICAL" TYPES

and cursive forms — though how legitimate Greek "italic capitals" are is a question. The sizes from 1 to 4, or 5, are superb, especially number 1, in both italic and roman. Next come Russian capital letters in twelve sizes of roman and italic, and here again the cutting is brilliant and the impression effective to the last degree. From that point on, the types are upper and lower-case, beginning with roman and italic papale, imperiale, reale, ducale, in three weights of letter down to tresmégiste, below which roman and italic are shown in ten sizes of each; followed by similar Russian fonts of great magnificence. Fonts of Greek follow in descending sizes, and a few specimens of roman and italic (fig. 306), which are much more old style than Bodoni's later equivalent fonts.

The splendour of this book depends upon pure typography. There is not an ornament in it—not even the little tablets by which Bodoni sometimes gave a dash of salt to his books, but with which less skilful printers have peppered their reproductions! From a passing allusion in Bodoni's preface to his Manuale of 1818, it appears that only a few copies of this specimen were printed.¹

To this period also belongs Bodoni's "Letter" to the Marquis de Cubières² in French and Italian, printed in 1785. Concerning it Franklin wrote the following letter to Bodoni, dated Philadelphia, October 14, 1787:

"I have had the very great pleasure of receiving and perusing your excellent Essai des Caractères [sic] de l'Imprimerie. It is one of the most beautiful that Art has hitherto produc'd. I should be glad to see a specimen of your

¹ An example is in the Boston Public Library.
other Founts besides this Italic & Roman of the Letter
to the Marq.* de Cubières; and to be inform’d of the price
of each kind.—I do not presume to criticise your Italic
Capitals; they are generally perfect: I would only beg leave
to say, that to me the form of the T in the word LETTRE
of the Title Page [*fig. 307a] seems preferable to that of the
T in the word Typographie in the next Page [*fig. 307b],
as the downward stroke of T, P, R, F, B, D, H, K, L, I, and
some others, which in writing we begin at the top, natu-
really swells as the pen descends; and it is only in the A and
the M and N that those strokes are fine, because the pen
begins them at the bottom.”

De Lama says that Bodoni was overcome with joy to
have from the President of the United States of America
this flattering letter, which he considered a title to glory
and preserved with religious care. Bodoni and De Lama,
although a little mixed about the office which Franklin
held in America, were quite right in being pleased; and
this compliment so flattered Ferdinand, Duke of Parma,
that he had the letter translated into Spanish, and sent it
to his uncle, Carlos III, at Madrid, to whom Bodoni was
honorary printer by appointment. 1

In 1806, the Oratio Dominica in CLV Linguas Versa et
Exoticis Characteribus Plerumque Expressa is another mas-

1 Bodoni was often called “the King of Typographers and the Typographer
of Kings”—a phrase suggested by the epitaph on Plantin’s tomb at Ant-
werp. He was also styled “the Baskerville of Italy”—just as Didot was
called “the Bodoni of France,” the Foulis brothers “the Elzevirs of Glas-
gow,” and Thomas “the Baskerville of America.” This rather ridiculous
habit of calling somebody the something of somewhere else has always at-
tracted a certain class of mind in this country. A worthy gentleman who
lived in Rhode Island in the eighteenth century and collected pictures was
styled “the Lorenzo de’ Medici of Newport,” and a Boston schoolboy de-
scribed Demosthenes as “the Edward Everett of Athens.” It was reserved,
however, for Mrs. Piozzi to call Switzerland “the Derbyshire of Europe.”
Adria, vil. le ancien.

Italia, che nè le nom au Golfe Adriatiq.

Adria, Cité antica d’Italia, che diè del no. me al Gol. fo Adriatiq.
LETtre
DE J. B. BODONI
Typographe du Roi d'Espagne
ei Directeur de l'Imprimerie
de S. A. R. l'Infant Duc de Parme
a Monsieur le Marquis
DE CUBIERES

307. (a) Title of Lettre à De Cubières

Si dans les feuilles du Comité de Correspondance, à l'article de la Typographie, on a comblé d'éloges quelques faibles essais de mes caractère, vous savez que je les dois entièrement à l'empressement flatteur, avec lequel vous avez exigé

307. (b) Text of Lettre à De Cubières: Bodoni, Parma, 1785
terly showing of what Bodoni could do in foreign and ancient alphabets—though a somewhat tiresomely perfect book.¹

The second and final edition of Bodoni's *Manuale Tipografico*—in two quarto volumes, with a *Discorso* by his widow and *Prefazione* by Bodoni (fngs. 308 and 309)—appeared in 1818, five years after his death. It was completed under the care of his widow and Luigi Orsi, who was for twenty years foreman to Bodoni. Signora Bodoni, writing to M. Durand l'ainé of Metz, from Parma (November 14, 1817), says: "The *Manuale Tipografico* in two volumes on papier-vélin—the only kind of paper used for it—is not yet completed, but it will be, without fail, at the beginning of the coming year. I dare to believe that book-lovers will thank me for having published a volume which is so very important to Typography. The reception which it will have, will make up for the trouble it has cost me (although Bodoni has left the blocks or models for it) and the considerable expense which I shall have had to incur before it is finished. Also, in view of the fact that but 290 copies are struck off, I cannot dispose of them at less than 120 francs, without any reduction. M. Rosaspina has engraved au burin the portrait after one which the celebrated Appiani... painted in oils, which is a striking likeness."²

The first volume contains, under the title of *Serie di Caratteri Latini, Tondi e Corsivi*, a series of roman and italic

¹ This polyglot *Oratio Dominica* was printed at the suggestion of Pius VII, who, in May, 1805, had passed through Parma on his way from the coronation of Napoleon. It was intended to outdo a like work published by the Imprimerie Imperiale at Paris. Bodoni's book was dedicated to Eugène Beauharnais, Viceroy of Naples, to whom he personally presented a copy. In return for this work, Bodoni received a pension and an offer of the direction of the Royal Printing House at Milan.

² From an unpublished letter belonging to the author.
types, which cover 144 pages. These run from parmigianina to papale. Sometimes there are as many as fourteen varieties of the same body in different designs and weights of line. It is almost impossible to conceive why it was necessary to have so many kinds which, even to a trained eye, appear much alike: though it is perhaps justifiable in the larger sizes—as in the three weights of ducale (fig. 310)—where differences can be clearly detected. The number of sizes of type, so nicely graduated that one almost merges in another, is more explicable. This great series enabled Bodoni to place on his pages, not approximately, but exactly, the size of type he wished to employ (fig. 311).

Succeeding pages (145–169) show Serie di Caratteri Cancellereschi, etc., in smaller sizes ugly, gray forms of script. Here and there an interesting one appears—like number 13, or the large sizes, 16 and 17. The English scripts are copies of the “fine Italian hand” then fashionable in England, and have little to recommend them. Volume I closes with an enormous array of capital letters, both roman and italic, followed by a few pages of hideous script capitals unworthy of the collection.

The second volume contains an assemblage of roman and “italic” Greek capitals, covering sixty-two pages; and exotic types, beginning with Hebrew, run on to the ninety-seventh page. These are followed by German and Russian types, many of great splendour. The book closes with series of borders, mathematical, astronomical, and other signs, musical notation, etc. Some few ornaments (fregi) are attractive (fig. 312), but most of them, while very perfect, are chilly, sterile, and uninteresting. The borders (contorni) confined in rules—a form of decoration which Bodoni affected for his broadsides—are, however, quite charming (fig. 313). The arabic figures displayed are distinguished, and
fonderia: il Manuale presente ne renderà esatto conto, qualora vogliasi confrontare col primo. Converrammi piuttosto osservare, che il sesto e il contorno sono i medesimi ch’egli vivente diede ad alcune pagine fatte imprimere per prova. In queste, a differenza del suo primo Manuale, ove ogni pagina conteneva la descrizione di una qualche città, comincian- do col nome di essa, volle replicato il principio della prima Catilinia =Quousque tandem abutère ecc. per mettere sotto l’occhio de’ commettenti di caratteri il vantaggio che potrebbero ritrarre domandando
dono puro di Dio e felicità di natura, benché spesso provenga da lunga esercitazione e abitudine, che le più difficili cose agevola a segno che in fine senza più pur pensarvi riescono ottimamente fatte. Che però la grazia della scrittura forse più che in altro sta in certa disinvoltura di tratti franchi, risoluti, spediti, e nondimeno così nelle forme esatti, così degradi ne' pieni, che non trova l'invidia ove gli emende. Ma forse più sicuro è ristringerci a dire che han grazia le lettere, quando sembrano scritte non già con isvogliatezza o con fretta, ma piuttosto, che con impegno e pena, con felicità ed amore.

Tanto più bello sarà dunque un carattere, quanto avrà più regolari-
Quousque tandem abutère, Catilina, patientià
multis non sentias?

Quousque tandem abutère, Catilina, patientiâ

Quousque tandem abutère, Catilina, pati-

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310. Specimen of Bodoni's Ducale in three weights
Manuale Tipografico, Parma, 1818
311. Largest, medium, and smallest Roman and Italic Capitals shown in Bodoni's Manuale Tipografico, Parma, 1818
313. Borders: Bodoni's Manuale Tipografico, Parma, 1818
deserve mention. The music type is uninteresting, the plain-song notation in particular being too modern in effect. The work is probably the most elaborate specimen that the world has ever seen — an imposing tour de force — and the acme of Bodoni's late, chilly, dry manner.

Bodoni's work may be divided into two periods: (1) when he employed old style or transitional types and used decorations somewhat profusely, and (2) when he depended on his own type-designs and unadorned typography for his effects. His early printing shows French influence very distinctly, and in the specimen of 1771 — Fregi e Majuscole — the border of Bodoni's title-page is almost a copy of that of the second volume of Fournier's Manuel Typographique. But earlier than that, the French fashion of printing appears in such books as Le Feste d'Apollo and the Pastorale of 1769 — which commemorate gala performances in honour of the marriage of the Duke of Parma. Some other early books of the Stamperia Reale — such as Alberti's Saggio di Poesie Italiane (1773) or Trenta's tragedy L'Auge, issued about 1774 — are so far from Bodoni's later style that it is at first sight difficult to believe that he printed them. Such a book as the Epithalamia Exoticis Linguis Reddita of 1775, issued in honour of the marriage of Marie Adelaide Clotilde, sister of Louis XVI, printed in Bodoni's "first manner" from old style types, is a masterpiece; really magnificent in its types, their arrangement, and the superb engraved decorations which, for once, enhance the effect of the page (figs. 314 and 315). I think it one of his finest volumes.

In 1784, Bodoni printed another very charming book in this early manner — Prose e Versi per onorare la Memoria di Livia Doria Caraffa, a collection of poetry, prose, and inscriptions which is probably one of the most beautiful memorial volumes ever produced. The fonts of delicate roman
and italic type are distinctly old style. In 1785, Bodoni's edition of Anacreon's *Odes*, in quarto, was published—a most beautiful book (printed entirely in capital letters) in Greek and Latin. The volume *In Funere Caroli III*, of 1789, and the *Orazione Funebre* of Botteri (for the same occasion) are also good specimens of his earlier taste. The Greek and Italian Callimachus of 1792 retains a great deal of his early style; and his *Tavola di Cebe Tebano* of 1793 is another delightful piece of printing—simple, and very characteristic. The Brief of Pius VI of 1792, of which there were but twelve copies printed in folio, may well have caused the Pope to exclaim that he must issue a second brief to praise the way in which Bodoni had printed the first one! Of all this work, a little 32mo Anacreon in Greek of 1791 is my favourite—one of his most exquisite bits of printing. Meanwhile, the increasing number of books prefiguring his later way of working—like the Horace and *Imitation* of 1791 and 1793—show that he was feeling his way into the refrigerated manner of his last days. But his first period—less known, and when known, less considered—is his best.

Of Bodoni's second manner—which, roughly speaking, may be called his nineteenth century style—there are innumerable examples, and in all these later books the area of unprinted space on his pages is great. Bodoni lightened the solidity of close-set composition by exaggerating his ascenders and descenders, and also by ingeniously placing small faces of type on large bodies, which effectually prevented such fonts from being set solid. His quarto *Tacitus* of 1804 is a fine book—transitional in style, perhaps. *Il Bardo della Selva Nera* of 1806 is a full-blown example of his favourite and typical way of working. The *Oratio Dominica* of the same year, Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* of 1807, the Greek *Iliad* in three volumes folio of 1808, La
anta est hoc tempore in toto terrarum orbe linguarum multitudo, tanta varietas, ut qua aetate hominum animi ad mutuam intelligentiam societatemque inter se ineundam impensius feruntur, graviora eorum studiis impedimenta communi quodam fato obstare videantur. Quae enim restat felicissimo hoc nostro aevo detergenda natio, quae novae coloniae deducendae, quae inaudita cum difficillimis regionibus ineunda commercia, quae conquirenda demum remotionis vetustatis monumenta? Magnis haec laboribus majorique alacritate a nobis fuscipiuntur, quae

314. Roman in Epithalamia Exoticis Linguis Reddit, etc.: Bodoni, Parma, 1775
novum opus, nec, ut arbitror, poeni
dum, ingenti plane meo periculo, ac la
bore exantlatum in literariae reipubli
cae conspectum in angathē τὐχη educō.
Quae me ad illud edendum impulerint
causae, & quae illius sit ὀἰκοδομήσωσι, habeto. Vt primum
de nuptiis CAROLI EMMANVELIS FERDINANDI,
subalpinae galliae principis ad me rumor perlatus est,
statim mecum ipse reputare coepi, qua ratione possem non
modo defixam animo gratulationem palam testari, sed
“CLASSICAL” TYPES

Rochezoucauld’s Maximes in French of 1811, and the French Télémache of 1812, which Bodoni thought perhaps his best work—all these are books showing originality of conception, even though the conception may not be of a very endearing kind.

One of the last and most typical of his editions is La Giuditta of 1813—begun but not finished by Bodoni—a book absolutely without ornament, and very fine in its way. Some smaller volumes of poems in 16mo, delicately printed from delicate types, on paper which is much like vellum in quality, are delightful of their kind. Such are Parini’s Odi of 1799; Versi di Giordani, in four volumes, of 1809; and Versi del Conte Aurelio Bernieri, 1811, in four volumes.

Finally, Bodoni’s broadsides—inscriptions in capitals, framed in borders made up of ornaments—are among his most interesting performances. These are rare; and while no reproduction gives much idea of them, I refer the reader to their facsimiles at the end of Bertieri’s admirable book.¹

Bodoni’s larger volumes were certainly often magnificent. They were planned on a great scale. It has been very well said of him that those who came after might choose to do something else; but that what he chose to do could never be done better. His first manner, in one way less characteristic of him, is, as I have said, much the more agreeable and sympathetic. He was then under the influence of French styles, although perhaps he had given up employing French types; but there was about the books of this period—as in those of his rival Didot—real charm. The distinction of old style type was retained, but it was slightly refined.

¹ For these and other interesting facsimiles see Bertieri and Fumagalli’s L’Arte di Giambattista Bodoni. Milan, 1913. The series of plates at the end show at a glance the difference between his early and late manner of printing. A chronological table of Bodoni’s editions forms Vol. II of De Lama’s Vita di Bodoni. Parma, 1816.
PRINTING TYPES

But while it was in his first period that he produced his most beautiful books, he himself did not think so. It may be said that this is self-evident, because he soon changed his style for one which he must have considered an improvement. But it was not Bodoni, but the spirit of the art round about him, that made his later types more and more rigid, their heavy lines thicker, and their light lines thinner and more wiry. Wonderfully perfect as these types were in detail, they contributed to a style of printing that made these later books as official as a coronation, and as cold as the neighbouring Alps! His volumes were to other printing what Canova's statuary was to earlier sculpture.

Many of Bodoni's books lacked intimacy and charm, too, because of his conception of the function of his press. He cared nothing about printing as a means to popular instruction. He did not despise the masses — he forgot all about them! He was a court printer, existing by the patronage of the Lucky Few. His editions were intended to be livres d'apparat.¹ He not alone saw no harm in making them so, but the bigger and more pretentious they were, the better he liked them. In fact, he openly said so, and told Renouard, the French publisher, "Je ne veux que du magnifique, et je ne travaille pas pour le vulgaire des lecteurs." I am afraid, too, that he always retained an eighteenth century Italian carelessness about detail, which often gave Italian architecture and painting of that period such delightful brio. But "broad effects," when applied to scholarship and proofreading, lead to disaster. Thus the texts of Bodoni's classical editions have never been considered very correct, and his books, apart from their appearance, are not valuable to the

¹A collection of Bodoni's books in all their different editions, on large paper, "special" paper, vellum, etc., is preserved in the Ducal Library at Parma, where the matrices of Bodoni's types are also exhibited.
PARANGONE I.

N'ayez de l’attachement, et de l’amour pour le monde, qu’à proportion du temps que vous y devez être. Celui qui voyage, ne doit point s’ar

*Non abbiate attacco, ne amore pel mondo, se non che a proporzione del tempo, che voi vi dovete dimorare*. Quegli che ec.

PARANGONE II.

Il n’y a au monde que deux manières de s’élever; ou par sa propre industrie, ou par l’imbécilité des autres. On ne vole. ec

*Non ha l’uomo che due mezzi per aggrandire; o la propria industria, o l’altrui imbécillità. Non si vola colle stesse ali etc.*

316. *Roman and Italic: Amoretti’s Saggio de’ Caratteri*

*Parma, 1811*
“CLASSICAL” TYPES 175

scholar. Didot, who published much better editions, but did not print so well, justly enough said that Bodoni’s books would figure on the shelves of collectors, but not in the libraries of savants—adding, “Comme littérature je con-
damne ses éditions, comme typographe je les admire.” There were other eminent critics who took the same tone. Appar-
etly it was not only in the classics that he sinned; for Horace
Walpole, writing in 1790 to Mary Berry, who was then in
Italy, says, “I am glad you did not get a Parmesan Otranto.
A copy is come so full of faults that it is not fit to be sold
here.” But whatever Bodoni’s faults were, he was perfectly
characteristic of his period, and expressed it in his work.
Because he was so characteristic of his time is perhaps the
chief reason that he is a great printer.

Andrea Amoretti, a learned Italian priest, who, renoun-
cing his calling, engraved some of Bodoni’s types, and who
printed some pretty books himself, issued a delightful little
specimen, Saggio de’ Caratteri e Fregi della Fonderia dei
Fratelli Amoretti Incisori e Fonditori in San Pancrazio presso
Parma (1811), and this book shows how the Italian output
had been influenced by Bodoni and Didot (fig. 316). The
clear-cut ornaments, which are to earlier ornaments what
the Amoretti types of 1811 are to earlier types, are very per-
fected, very brilliant, and extremely characteristic of the fash-
onable style in printing at that period (fig. 317). Indeed, Bo-
doni’s work was much copied by such presses as that of the
Vicenzi at Modena and in other parts of Italy. The luxurious
books of the Tipografia della Società Letteraria at Pisa (now
almost forgotten), which employed Amoretti’s fonts, were
important and collected by amateurs of printing. The effect

1 The Amorettis also issued in 1830 another specimen — Nuovo Saggio
de’ Caratteri e Fregi della Fonderia dei Fratelli Amoretti Incisori e Fonditori
in Parma. It is inferior to the first one and shows some types in the English
manner of Thorne.
of Amoretti's fonts is shown in the folio *Poesie di Catullo*, in Italian and Latin, issued at Pisa in 1815. This book recalls Bodoni's manner, but just misses its excellence; somehow the types seem commonplace, and their arrangement lacks Bodoni's clever touch. Amoretti's types are also used in Tasso's *Aminta*, printed in Pisa in 1804 at the same press; but here the types are too much spaced and look weak, not only on that account, but because they are so.

III

Some account of the manifold activities of the Didot family is given in a previous chapter, but we must now consider their important part in the development of nineteenth century type-forms. Their eighteenth-century influence in the movement toward lighter types is shown by François Ambroise Didot's fonts cut by Wsflard about 1775, in that interesting book already spoken of, *Épître sur les Progrès de l'Imprimerie*, written and put forth by Didot l'aîné in 1784, and in the delightful *Essai de Fables Nouvelles*, in which the *Épître* was reprinted in 1786. It is but fair to say that mid-eighteenth century French specimens were full of very light fonts, in what was then called the *gout nouveau*, and it was these that the Didots somewhat refined upon. On the other hand, some of the graceful and spirited but attenuated old style types used by the Didots about 1780 were very beautiful, and have not been sufficiently noticed—types just on the turn of the tide—foreshadowing the coming change in style, but by no means

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1 I have not been able to examine any volumes showing large sizes of the Wsflard types, which were quickly superseded by Vibert's fonts, for which Pierre Didot was responsible. Alphabets of Wsflard's characters are shown in Thibaudeau's *La Lettre d'Imprimerie*, Vol. I, pls. 15 and 16. The date of their appearance there given (1757) would appear to be open to question.
ALTRI IN QUADRO DIVERSO

317. Ornaments: Amoretti's Saggio de' Caratteri
Parma, 1811
disfigured by it. None of these characters (save possibly Wafiard's) prepare us for the fonts cut by Firmin Didot about 1800 for the Racine and also used in the composition of the Constitution de la République.

The famous édition du Louvre of Racine (1801–5) was printed by Pierre Didot in three folio volumes, and considered his chef d'œuvre. "The splendid execution of this book," says Bouchot, "was a true typographical revolution. Never in any country had scrupulous perfection of detail been joined to so masterly a knowledge of arrangement and form of characters. The great artists of the Davidian school were anxious of the honour of seeing their drawings reproduced as illustrations, and...designed the fifty-seven plates with which the edition was adorned." Two hundred and fifty copies were printed, one hundred of which had proofs of the plates before letters. It was published by subscription at 1200 francs for the ordinary edition, and with proofs at 1800 francs.

The series of typical "Didot" characters used in it is distinguished by the violent contrast of their thick and thin lines. The heavy strokes of the letters are very strong, the thin lines and the serifs are exaggerated and lightened to a mere hair-line. The italic is almost as if engraved. The effect as a whole is perfect, but dazzling; it sticks into, rather than strikes, the eye. All the agreeable, mellow feeling of the letter of Jenson and Garamond is gone. "Didot incontestably realized," says Thibaudeau, "a pompous roman alphabet instinct with majestic grandeur, but of extreme dryness and absolutely glacial rigidity of line." He adds that a whole school of typography sprang up around this Didot "formula-type." There existed, however, a minority who did not accept Didot's fonts without criticism and protest.
We can understand the enthusiasm excited by such books as Didot's Horace and Racine only when we realize that the men chosen to illustrate them were part and parcel of the movement in Art that I have already outlined, and that printing was itself but a tiny current in the far-reaching sweep of this tide. Lifeless and pretentious as such work seems to us now, to the public of that day it appeared the quintessence of the antique spirit. For it must be observed—and this observation has a moral for the printer—that what the contemporaries of Didot saw and admired in his printing is not what we see and admire now. Men of that day saw, or thought they saw, in Didot's great folios, antiquity; to us the only interesting thing about them is that they exhibit Didot's idea of it. And since the Didot idea was not particularly interesting, or his manner charming, neither his types nor the books he printed with them much interest us. The only "period" a printer can work in so as to give pleasure at subsequent periods appears to be his own.

The development of this Didot letter is shown in the *Spécimen des Nouveaux Caractères . . . de P. Didot l'aîné* of 1819 (fig. 318). Here we see a new style of French type in full swing. Pierre Didot says these fonts were engraved under his personal supervision by the type-cutter Vibert, whom he assisted (and probably inordinately tormented) for three hours a day for ten years to get things to his mind. François Ambroise Didot, it should be remembered, had reformulated a system of type-measurement—one reason why his style of type became so popular with printers. His son applied this mathematical sense to type-design, with a resultant rigidity which is a mark of early nineteenth century "classic" French fonts. Almost every trace of pen-quality vanishes in these types. It is an alphabet "regularized" to a painful degree; though very perfect and very
Avis.

J'ai dû suivre et adopter l'ordre numérique pour la dénomination de mes caractères, au lieu des noms insigniants et souvent bizarre conservés encore aujourd'hui dans presque toutes les imprimeries, tels que Perle, Parisienne, Nonpareille, Mignonne, Petit texte, Gaillarde, Petit roman, Philosophie, Cicéro, Saint Augustin, etc., lesquels n'offrent aucune idée de leurs proportions particulières ni de leur corrélation, qui en effet existe rarement entre eux d'une manière exacte.

Cet ordre numérique, le seul vraiment convenable, a été ainsi établi par mon père; et le nom de chacun de ses caractères particuliers en présentait à-la-fois le signalement. Il a donc donné à celui qu'il a voulu prendre pour point de départ, et qui répond à peu près au petit caractère connu dans les imprimeries sous la dénomination de Nonpareille, une proportion fixe et invariable, la ligne de pied-de-roi. Il l'a nommé le six, parce que le corps de ce caractère contient six points, ou six sixièmes de ligne. Le sixième de ligne, ou le point, est la plus petite partie qu'il soit possible de fondre, soit comme espace entre les mots, soit comme interligne. Ainsi donc le six comprend dans son corps, c'est-à-dire avec les lettres longues d'en haut et d'en bas, telles que b, p, etc. (ou simplement la lettre j, dont le point et la queue complètent la dimension totale); le corps six, dis-je, comprend une ligne juste de pied-de-roi; le sept comprend une ligne, plus un sixième de ligne, ou sept points, etc.

A ces dimensions établies j'ai ajouté des corps intermédiaires, ou demi-points, afin d'obtenir et de présenter plus de richesse et de variété dans les proportions des différents corps, et par là, du six au douze, j'ai augmenté de six le nombre de mes caractères. Leur progression graduelle est ainsi d'un demi-point seulement, ou d'un

318. Italic in P. Didot l'aîné's Specimen des Nouveaux Caractères, Paris, 1819
brilliant. There are marked and disagreeable peculiarities in some letters (fig. 319), and its disabled g and wounded y warn us of the danger of too much fussing over details.

Some very horrid characters engraved for the Imprimerie in 1818 by Jacquemin were a reflection of those heavier types introduced by Thorne in England; for after the downfall of Napoleon, English fashions were popular. They had a counterpart in those of Henri Didot’s nephew, Marcel- lin Legrand, whose fonts of 1825—a sort of mechanical version of Didot’s 1819 fonts—were followed by the same engraver’s unpleasantly condensed types of 1847.

The effect of types of the Didot school may be seen in books published in France by different members of the Didot family, by Renouard, and other progressive publishers, between 1800 and 1850. The following volumes, selected at random, show a certain progression in style of type as the century advanced.

In the Bucoliques of Virgil and the Idylles of Theocritus, translated and printed by Firmin Didot, his caractères d’écriture were first used in 1806. In 1811, Renouard published, in two volumes 12mo, an illustrated edition of the Fables of La Fontaine, which was an important book in its time and a characteristic piece of early nineteenth century typography. The fonts used in the 1817 edition of Molière’s works—in octavo, printed by Pierre Didot l’aîné—show further progression toward modern face types, as we now understand the term. Baour-Lormian’s translation of Tasso’s Jérusalem Delivrée, published by Delaunay and printed by Didot le jeune in 1819, though virile compared with later type effects, is a very frigid and tiresome performance.

Poésies et Traductions en Vers de Firmin Didot. Paris, de la Typographie de l’Auteur, 1822, shows Didot’s own views
as to what a book should look like; and *Napoléon et ses Contemporains*, a series of engravings with text by A.P. de Chambure (1824), published by Bossange and printed by Lachevardière *fils*, is a good example of fashionable typography of a little later time. *Lettres de Napoléon à Joséphine*, etc. (1796–1814), published and printed by Firmin Didot Frères in 1833, in two volumes octavo, is also an example of what the Didot house at that period thought fit to present to the public. Curmer's famous edition of St. Pierre's *Paul et Virginie*, in octavo, printed by Éverat and published at Paris in 1838, was considered a delightful novelty in book-making. Besides many full-page wood-engravings by Tony Johannot, its text was smothered with innumerable wood-cuts, designed and executed by the best hands—French and English—in the "romantic" manner of the day. It interests us for two reasons: first, as a painstaking and successful endeavour to make what was then considered (and, in a sense, still is) a remarkable edition; second, because in it all unity of illustration with typography was thrown overboard. This style in the making of gift-books persisted in all countries for many years.

Finally, Horace's *Opera*, printed by Firmin Didot in 1855 from very tiny types, is worth examination. Ambroise Firmin Didot's address *Au Lecteur* gives some typographical details about the edition. The smallest type in the book (cast by Laurent & De Berny) is used in the notes to Didot's address—not so small, however, as Henri Didot's microscopic types used in 1827 in a minute edition of La Rochefoucauld's *Maximes*.

Except for the reconstitution of books of that period, types of the Didot school have little practical value to us now.
LE TREIZE.

Conjurant la mélancolie,
La défiance et ses détours,
La froideur, et la jalousie,
En ont confié l'heureux cours
A l'Hymen sensible, aux Amours,
A la raison, à la folie:
Heureux qui sait régler toujours
Leur accord, leur douce harmonie!
   Là, des dieux respirant la vie,
L'Hymen, par sa fécondité,
L'Hymen, que mon cœur déifie,
Entretient, augmente, et varie
L'amour, l'espoir, et la gaieté;
La douce paix, la liberté,
Y président de compagnie,
Versant, offrant de tout côté
Et le nectar et l'ambrosie.
   Comme, après un beau jour d'été,
La nuit, plus calme et non moins belle,
OF early nineteenth century French specimens to be considered, the first is that of J. G. Gillé fils, who in 1808 issued a folio specimen entitled Recueil des Divers Caractères Vignettes et Ornaments de la Fonderie et Imprimerie de J. G. Gillé. The series of book-types shown are just on the verge of modern face. The titling-letters are of the extreme "Didot" form. The best fonts in this book are the beautiful series of caractères d'écriture in ronde, bataerde, and coulé, which (especially in larger sizes) have much movement and style. These were used with great success for administrative and commercial printing. The vignettes or type-borders are distinctive, particularly those with black backgrounds, which are among the handsomest of their kind (fig. 320). The collection of decorations cut on wood and reproduced in polytype is an important feature. All kinds of interesting ornaments are displayed. Many of them are in the pseudo-classic taste of the period, which was taken uncommonly seriously by Gillé. In a prospectus about his designs for printers, he alludes slightly to the borders and tail-pieces in Louis XV style, holding Luce up to ridicule, who, he says, "did not consult the immortal and enchanting cartons of Raphael. . . . But in our day," he adds, "Percier, Fontaine, and other great architects have appeared. They have opened our eyes, and iron, marble, steel, wood, all should breathe the spirit of Raphael"—though I do not think Raphael would easily recognize his "spirit" in Gillé's type ornaments! An idea of the collection may be had from our reproduc-

1 This foundry existed in the eighteenth century, when it was presided over by a certain J. Gillé, who published an interesting octavo specimen in 1773, and another of 16mo form in 1778, entitled Caractères de la Fonderie de J. Gillé, Graveur et Fondateur du Roi, etc. About 1790, his son acquired the foundry.
tion of a broadside specimen of his types, probably issued also about 1808 (fig. 321). In this, examples are shown of the roman and italic types and the caractères d’écriture just spoken of, and the sheet is surrounded with one of Gillé’s fine borders.

A less important specimen of about this period is the folio book of Vignettes et Fleurons engraved by Besnard and published by him in 1812, printed by Mame, and interesting for its pretty ornaments designed in light style.

At the Exposition du Louvre of 1819, the Parisian type-founder Molé jeune, who began life as a painter and designer, exhibited a series of fourteen great broadsides, surrounded with wide borders, which is one of the most magnificent type-specimens known. These sheets exhibit the result of twenty-seven years of personal labour—206 varieties of roman, italic, civilité, Greek, Hebrew, Rabbinical Hebrew, Arabic, Samaritan, Syriac, and also a fine series of roman titling-letters. In addition there are 468 borders (very varied in design and many of great beauty), rules, etc. The roman and italic are of the Didot style, and (except for the titling-letters) are less mechanical than is usual in such fonts. They show this kind of type at its best, though owing much to the splendid presswork of Pierre Didot l'aîné. We reproduce the sixth plate of the series (fig. 322). The Jury of the Exposition commended “this immense and magnificent collection as the work of an artist who greatly merits notice, not merely for his admirable work, but for the labour, pains, and immense sacrifices he has made to arrive at so high a degree of perfection.” As a conspectus of the best French type of its day, Molé’s fourteen Tableaux are classic.

French typographic ornament of this period, like typeform, was much influenced by England, and an English engraver, Charles Thompson,—brother of the better known
Caractère de la Fille, Rue

P. PETIT TEXTES.

P. ROMAIN ORDINARIE.

P. ROMAIN OIL NOLY.

A. CICERO.

A. CICERO.

PHILOSOPHIE.

Philosophie.

Philosophie.

Philosophie.
AUGUSTIN
Un homme qui consomme son bien imprudemment porte à ses enfants un dommage considérable et produit les inconvenients d'une masse souvent préjudiciable.
L'urbanité montre les hommes comme ils devraient être.

A. AUGUSTIN.
L'étude des livres est un des amusements pour ceux qui aiment l'instruction; elle leur dume les désagréments qu'on éprouve dans le commerce des hommes.
La tranquillité de l'esprit prouve évidemment la bonne conscience.

G. TESTE.
Les hommes que l'on croit communément heureux en ce monde, ont infiniment moins de parfait contentement, que de soucis et d'anxiéttes.
L'irrésolution est un défaut qui nuit à notre avancement.

G. ROMAIN.
Extrêmement constamment la rencontre de ces hommes de communication libre et parlant continuellement.
Les hommes devoient se securiser mutuellement.

A. G. ROMAIN.
L'estimation de l'opulence est communément la manière des hommes qui n'ont point de mérite personnel.
La loi la plus exactement observée est la bienveillance.

P. PARANGON.
Souvent l'homme ne peut se rendre raison du motif qui le détermine.
Un homme vraiment instruit est modeste.

G. PARANGON.
L'immense fortune donne de la vanité à l'homme commun.
La mort d'un homme de bien est un malheur.

P. CANON.
Communément les hommes sont emportés vers l'admiration.

G. CANON.
Commune.

Estimation.

D. CANON.
Amour

Amitié

Caractères d'Écrivains.

Sur Cuvier.

La Commission de la Morale est sur le point de signer une ordonnance.

Les Justiciables doivent être avisés.

On a fait voir qu'on ne peut esquiver, passible de l'administration.

Sur Peti Canon.

La Commission de la Police.

Sur les Comptes.

Sur ce Paragon.

Pour leur avoir trouvé à l'Assemblée.

Pour la société d'Arts.

Sur Peti Canon.

Pour leur avoir trouvé à l'Assemblée.

Munitionnaire.

Ordinaire.

Commerce

Imprimerie

Ordonnance

Éd., Paris, c. 1808 (reduced)
GROS CANON N° 197.
La nature fait ordinaire-ment jouer des ressorts se-
crets, qui nous poussent et
nous inclinent toujours vers

ITALIQUE N° 198.
La nature fait ordinaire-
ment jouer des ressorts se-
crets, qui nous poussent et
nous inclinent toujours vers

HÉBREU DE G. C. N° 201.
כֶּרֶם בֶּרֶכֶת אֲלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל
נָעַר יָשָׁר בְּשֹׁר הֶוֹחֵד

DOUBLE CANON N° 202.
La nature fait ordi-
nairement jouer des
ressorts secrets qui
nous poussent, nous
inclinent toujours au

ITALIQUE N° 203.
ITALIQUE N° 200.
La nature fait ordinairement jouer des ressorts secrets,

TRIPLE CANON N° 204.
Conformément à l'ordonnance
GROSSE NOMPAREILLE N° 205.
Les commandemens de
GROSSE SANS PAREILLE N° 206.
Commandemens et
"CLASSICAL" TYPES

John Thompson,—contributed to this. Settling in Paris in 1816, his engraved decorations were very much the mode, and their multiplication by the process known as polypypage put them at the disposal of the ordinary printer. Thompson published, in 1826, the first of a quarterly series of collections of his ornaments, entitled *Recueil de Vignettes gravées sur bois et polypypées par Thompson*. This thin quarto, printed by J. Pinard, shows his work, with prices for the cuts affixed to each. They were not very charming productions, for though well engraved, they were somewhat dry both in design and in line. But Thompson set a style which was much followed in France.

Many of the cuts in the Gillé *fils* specimen of 1808 are repeated in *Épreuves des Divers Caractères, Vignettes et Ornements de la Fonderie de J. A. Pasteur*, Paris, 1823; a fuller and in some ways more interesting collection. Though Pasteur appears to have succeeded to some of Gillé's collection, probably the largest part went to Laurent, Balzac, and Barbier. After the failure and death of Gillé *fils*, Laurent, a former employee, had charge of the sale of his material in 1827. Later, he became a partner in the firm of Laurent & De Berny.¹

The type-founder L. Léger issued a brilliant broadside which shows the persistence of those extreme "classic" type-forms which the Didots made fashionable (fig. 323). He brought out, some time between 1831 and 1844, a quarto volume of types and ornaments, entitled *Spécimen des Di-

¹ The De Berny foundry had an interesting history. With Laurent, and a printer named Barbier, the novelist Honoré de Balzac formed an historic but disastrous association in 1827, in a scheme to erect a foundry, printing-office, and publishing-house all in one. In 1828, the firm broke up, leaving Laurent in possession of the foundry, who was joined by Alexandre de Berny (placed there by his mother, whose sentimental relations with Balzac greatly influenced the novelist's career). This firm—Laurent & De Berny—existed until 1848, when the business was continued by De Berny alone.
vers Caractères Vignettes et Fleurons des Fonderie et Stéréotypie de L. Léger, Graveur, neveu et successeur de P. F. Didot, which, according to its compiler, represented the results of twenty-five years' labour. The ornaments and borders are distinctly light in effect, black backgrounds having mostly disappeared (fig. 324). The types, less excellent than the ornaments, are still in the Didot style.

An extremely characteristic showing of types in popular use in the first fifty years of the nineteenth century is made in the Specimen Typographique de l’Imprimerie Royale. These two folio volumes (I, 1845; II, 1851), display a number of fonts modelled on the Didot plan, and also make a distinguished showing of exotic fonts by Jacquemin. An index at the end of the first volume tells who cut the various types displayed—Firmin Didot, Marcellin Legrand, and Léger Didot figuring among their designers; while among ancient fonts are those from Garamond, the Propaganda and Medici offices, and Savary de Brèves.

The Didot foundry remained in the possession of the family until sold by Ambroise Firmin Didot, when its types became part of the Fonderie Générale of Paris. In this house were consolidated the establishments of Firmin Didot, Molé, Crosnier, and Éverat. The 1839 specimen of the Fonderie Générale, issued by E. Tarbé, who presided over it, shows text types in the “classic” Didot style, and many of the ornaments designed to accompany them—as well as vignettes in the “romantic manner” which are very characteristic of that time and very amusing in this. Another important specimen of the Fonderie Générale, then managed by Biesta, Laboulaye & Cie, issued in 1843, showed, in addition to the collections mentioned, those of Lion, Tarbé, and Laboulaye Frères. The preliminary Avis supplies references by which the types cut by different designers may be identified. The
NOUVEAUX
GRAVES
PAR LEGER, FONDEUR
NEVEU ET SUCCESSEUR DE DIDOT.

Deux Poids de Petit Roman.
AVRANCHES.
BEAUMONT.
MOULINS.
NANTES.

Deux Poids de Grand Roman.
CARCASSONNE.
DUSSELDORF.
ORLÉANS.
PAMIERS.

Deux Poids de Gras Roman.
ERMENONVILLE.
FAIRMOUTH.
QUIMPER.
ROANNE.

Deux Poids de Trinéglisse.

YPRES HS N

Nota. Ces Caractères ont été fondus par un nouveau Procédé qui offre plusieurs avantages faciles à apprécier. Il est propre à la France.
Enfin, les lettres, depuis le Gros Roman jusqu'aux Gras fontes, sont fondues sur un corps creux, ce qui économise un cinquième de matière et lesquelles je suis copropriétaire, et une Médaille à l'Exposition de l'an 1804.
X TITRES

VÉS

R EN CARACTÈRES,

QUAI DES AUGUSTINS, A PARIS.

---

DEUX PONTS DE SAINT AUGUSTIN.

GRENOBLE.

JOINVILLE.

DEUX PONTS DE GRAND TESTE.

HONFLEUR.

LEUCATE.

DEUX PONTS DE PETIT COIN.

STENAY.

UTRECHT.

DEUX PONTS DE PETIT COIN.

TURIN.

VANNES.

---

DEUX PONTS DE GRAND COIN.

---

WORMS

---

uros, avec des Lettres de deux points, mais encore des Vignettes et des Caractères d'écrire, qui rend aussi pur que le poivron, matière, comparativement à la manière ordinaire de fondre. Ce sont ces avantages qui ont mérité à ce Procédé un Évocat d'Invention, du
book is important to any one desiring to reconstitute the
typography of a somewhat hopeless period. It has also the
doubtful honour of being one of the earliest specimen-books
in which a series of *condensed* letters for titling was shown,
though the Didots used them in their own printing much
earlier. Types of the Didot variety,—“classic” types, as
they were called,—though degraded by condensation from
the best Didot form, remained in general favour until about
1850 (fig. 325).

Only a few years after the revival of the original Cas-
lon types in England, Alexandre de Berny brought out (in
1852) a sort of French old style letter modelled on earlier
fonts (fig. 326), which, to quote an associate of De Berny’s,
“belonged to the Latin family of letters — letters charac-
terized by the substitution of more robust — ‘plus nourries’ —
lines for the fine lines of the ‘classic’ types.” Similar types
were designed about the same time by the Lyons publisher
Louis Perrin, who used them in De Boissieu’s *Inscriptions
Antiques de Lyon*. These types were made familiar to the
readers of a generation ago in the publications of the Paris-
ian house of Lemerre. “Elzevir” types were also issued by
Beaudoire (Fonderie Générale) of Paris. All these offered
agreeable relief from the monotony of fonts of the Didot
school—though much resented by the adherents of “Di-
dotery.”

Since that time, many different kinds of old style fonts
have been brought out by French founders; such as the
*Série XVIIe Siècle Elzévier*, a useful series of types with
attractive ornaments copied from Elzevir decorations; and
imitations of seventeenth century cursive fonts and initial

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1 Werlet’s *Études Bibliographiques sur la Famille des Didot* (Paris, Dentu,
1864) should be consulted for an account of the chief books and types pro-
duced by the Didots.
letters, produced by the Fonderie Mayeur. The utilization of fonts of older style was later helped by such men as Jules Claye (predecessor of A. Quantin et Cie.), who published in 1875 *Types de Caractères et d'Ornements Anciens*, an interesting showing of “special” types employed by him. These were cast from the original matrices of ancient fonts which he called *Elzeviriens*, and for them he produced some excellent ornaments and initials—those in the Lyons style being particularly successful. “Modern designers,” says M. Audin, “have wisely reacted against the tendency introduced by Grandjean in his types, a tendency that Baskerville and Bodoni did not know how to escape and that Didot carried to its extreme. A better balance between the thin and thick strokes, a little fancifulness also in line, has changed entirely the physiognomy of modern typography.”¹ While types showing Didot influence are still much used in France, the most carefully printed books are now often set in French old style fonts. During the present century, the “historical types” of the Imprimerie Nationale have been increasingly employed and appreciated—in works like Claudin’s *Histoire de l'Imprimerie en France*, and in the agreeable editions of Balzac, Flaubert, and De Maupassant printed by the Imprimerie for the Paris publisher Conard. And some modern Parisian type-founders have resuscitated eighteenth century styles in fonts and ornaments, with most charming results.

To see how early nineteenth century fonts compare with the historical fonts which preceded them, look at the comparative table of roman and italic types employed by the French National Printing-House from 1640 to 1825 ([fig. 327](#)). It is one of the most enlightening documents about French type-

¹Audin’s *Le Livre*, p. 50.
Ego multos homines excellenti animo ac virtute fuisset, et sine doctrina, naturae ipsius habitu prope divino, per seipsos et moderatos et graves extitisse fatores: etiam illud adjungo, sepius ad laudem atque virtutem naturam sine doctrina, quam sine natura valuisset doctrinam. Atque idem ego contendo, cum ad naturam eximiam atque illustrem accesserit ratio quaedam, conformatioque doctrinarum; tum illud nescio quid præclarum ac singulare solere existere. Ex hoc esse hunc numero, quem patres nostri viderunt, divinum hominem, Africanum: ex hoc C. Lælium, Lucrum, moderatissimos homines et continentissimos: ex hoc fortissimum virum et illis temporibus doctissimum, M. Catonem illum senem: qui profecto, nisi nihil ad perципiendam colendamque virtutem litteris adjuvarentur, nunquam se ad earum studium contulissent. Quod si non hic tanta fructus ostenderetur, et si ex his studiis delectatio sola peteretur: tamen, ut opinor, haec animi remissioem, humanissimam ac liberalissimam judicaretis. Nam cetera neque temporum sunt, neque ætatum omnium, neque locorum: haec studia adolescentiam alunt, senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium ac solatium praebent, delectant domi, non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinatur ac rusticantur. Quod si ipsi haec neque attingere, neque sensu nostro gustare possemus, tamen ea mirari deberemus. Quis nostrum tam animo

Ego multos homines excellenti animo ac virtute fuisset, et sine doctrina, naturae ipsius habitu prope divino, per seipsos et moderatos et graves extitisse fatores: etiam illud adjungo, sepius ad laudem atque virtutem naturam sine doctrina, quam sine natura valuisset doctrinam. Atque idem ego contendo, cum ad naturam eximiam atque illustrem accesserit ratio quaedam,

**IMPRIMERIE. FONDERIE. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0.**

*Fuit autem et animo magno, et corpore, imperatoriaeque forma, ut ipso aspectu cuivis injiceret admirationem sui. Sed*

Fonderie Générale, rue Madame, n° 22, à Paris.

c'est la famille des lettres Latines, lettres caractérisées par la substitution de traits plus nourris aux traits fins du type classique et par le léger raccord des empattements terminés en pointe, qui délimitent les traits, avec ces traits eux-mêmes.

C'est là une création vraiment originale, qui a ouvert un champ nouveau à la Fonderie de caractères, champ si vaste qu'on peut dire que la plupart de ses créations se rattachent à ces types, depuis leur apparition première, en 1852. La Typographie a multiplié leur emploi dans toutes les impressions si variées des ouvrages de ville, pour rompre la monotonie résultant de l'emploi unique des lettres dérivées du type classique. Il n'est pas téméraire d'affirmer que cette substitution sera plus complète dans un jour prochain, et que des caractères ordinaires procédant des mêmes principes remplaceront nos types actuels dans presque tous les travaux de l’Imprimerie.

La Typographie reconnaissante rapportera le mérite de cette évolution, déjà si féconde, à son initiateur, et associera aux noms de ses illustres devanciers, les Didot et les Fournier, celui de de Berny.

326. *French Old Style revived by De Berny, Paris, in 1852*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ROMAINE</th>
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faces in existence.\textsuperscript{1} The letters of the Garamond fonts of 1540 are most irregular, and this is true of the characters cut by Grandjean in 1693 and finished by Alexandre, and those of Luce of 1740 — when compared with the greater mechanical perfection of roman letters in Didot's font of 1811. The older types make elegant, easy, readable pages, but pages set from Didot types appear rigid, formal, and tiresome. This is still truer of the fonts of Jacquemin and of Marcellin Legrand, who cut a more condensed version of his type in 1847 — which by no means bettered its design. Compare the Garamond types of 1540 with the Legrand types of 1825, and it is plain enough that mechanical perfection does not necessarily make a fine font. And yet these types were intended to supersede the splendid \textit{romain du roi} of earlier days. All this came about in French typography through Grandjean's mischievous serif, Baskerville's influence, the later printing of Bodoni and the Didots — and some English fashions, which must now be considered.

\textsuperscript{1}From \textit{Notes sur les Types Étrangers du Specimen de l'Imprimerie Royale} (Paris, 1847). There is a similar table in Duprat's \textit{Histoire de l'Imprimerie Impériale de France} (Paris, 1861).
CHAPTER XX

ENGLISH TYPES: 1800–1844

In England, a change in type-forms, analogous to that which was taking place in France, and a like final crystallization, brought about a new style of English type. Transitional fonts which were far on the way to this, we have seen in the work of English presses at the end of the eighteenth century. It is their nineteenth century development of which we have now to speak.

Classification of types by centuries is an arbitrary thing. Typographical style does not, of course, change because imprints are dated 1800 instead of 1799, and many books produced in England early in the new century resembled, in type-forms and manner, those issued during the last years of the old. For instance, a poem in folio entitled The Sovereign. Addressed to His Imperial Majesty Paul, Emperor of all the Russias, by Charles Small Pybus, London, Bensley, 1800, is a superb showing of transitional English types just about to become modern face (fig. 328). Dibdin wrote in 1817 that he considered this book the finest piece of printing that Bensley had produced. Tasso’s Jerusalem Delivered, printed by Bensley and brought out in 1803, is a quarto showing the use of old style type, much leaded, which was one of the ways of obtaining the light effects then the mode. Another book by Bensley which is interesting to the student of transitional types is Macklin’s beautifully printed folio Bible of 1800—an imposing work of great reputation, intended to rival Bulmer’s “Boydell Shakspeare.” Humes’s History of England, in five folio volumes, printed for Robert Bowyer in 1806 by Bensley, was highly praised by the lovers of fine books of that day. Then again, Blair’s Grave, printed by Bensley and published by Ackermann in 1813,
O THOU, great Monarch of a pow’rful reign,
That more than doubles Europe’s whole domain!
Whom larger empires own their sov’reign lord,
Than bow’d before the Macedonian sword,

The foregoing Epistle was obviously written at the time
when our confident hopes were placed upon the victorious
Arms of the Emperour of Russia, which had delivered
nearly the whole of the Italian States from the Tyranny

328. Types used in The Sovereign: Bensley, London, 1800
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<tr>
<th>LETTRES</th>
<th>ROMAIN</th>
<th>ITALIQUE</th>
<th>ROMAIN</th>
<th>ITALIQUE</th>
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it was translated into English for the use of her illustrious daughters"—the "Female Personage" being no other than Queen Charlotte. This book was the first volume stereotyped by Earl Stanhope's process, and is interesting on that account. The standard rules of the Stereotype Office affixed to this book state that nothing is to be printed against Religion, everything is to be avoided upon the subject of Politics offensive to any Party, that the Characters of Individuals are not to be attacked, and—what concerns us most—that every Work which is stereotyped in this Office is to be composed with beautiful Types. This notice throws a certain light on the innocuous rôle which the Stereotype Office proposed for itself, and also shows that they thought this book printed from good types—it being the first of their publications. These types are not old style at all. They are what we now term modern face, and the book is mentioned because it shows an early use (1804) of this type-form (fig. 330).

An extremely good specimen of a real modern face roman type was used in Thomas Frognall Dibdin's *Bibliographical Decameron*, printed in 1817 by Bulmer in three volumes (fig. 331). This work is one of the most successful typographical achievements of the early nineteenth century. The typography is excellent, the pages splendidly imposed, and the reproductions of old printers' marks and other illustrations beyond praise. In presswork it is one of the finest of modern volumes. It needed, however, all that the printer could do for it; for its author wrote in an affectedly playful style which makes his books among the most tiresome and irritating in the language. Bulmer's fine edition of Dibdin's *Typographical Antiquities of Great Britain* (Volumes II, III, IV) and the *Bibliotheca Spenceriana* (1814–15) are also worth examining.
Though thy disloyal sons, a feeble band,
Sound the loud blast of treason through the land:
Scoff at thy dangers with unnatural mirth,
And execrate the soil which gave them birth,
With jaundiced eye thy splendid triumphs view,
And give to France, the palm to Britain due:
Or,—when loud strains of gratulation ring,
And lowly bending to the eternal King,
Thy Sovereign bids a nation's praise arise
In grateful incense to the fav'ring skies—
Cast o'er each solemn scene a scornful glance,
And only sigh for Anarchy and France.

Yes! unsupported Treason's standard falls,
Sedition vainly on her children calls;
While cities, cottages, and camps contend,
Their King, their Laws, their Country to defend.

Raise, Britain, raise thy sea-encircled head,
Round the wide world behold thy glory spread;
Firm as thy guardian oaks thou still shalt stand;
The dread and wonder of each hostile land!

329. Types used in Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin: Bulmer, London, 1801
STANDING RULES

of

The Stereotype Office.

1. Nothing is to be printed against Religion.

2. Every thing is to be avoided, upon the subject of Politics, which is offensive to any Party.

3. The Characters of Individuals are not to be attacked.

4. Every Work which is stereotyped at this Office, is to be composed with beautiful Types.

5. All the Stereotype Plates are to be made according to the improved Process discovered by EARL STANHOPE.

6. School Books, and all Works for the Instruction of Youth, will be stereotyped at a lower Price than any other.

330. *Types used by the Stereotype Office, London, 1804*
NINTH DAY.

see you in this field of contest, brandishing your unerring lance, or quietly reposing beneath the panoply of your seven-bulls-hide shield!...

LYSANDER. This must be a very extraordinary champion.

LISARDO. 'In his way' (as they call it) he hath absolutely no compeer; and Magliabecchi yields entirely to his ascendant genius—for Nennius not only loves bokes as lustily as did the librarian of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, but he hath something more than a mere title-page acquaintance with them. His memory also is equally faithful and well-furnished—and such a gluttonous bibliomaniacal appetite doth he possess, that even Rymer, the Gallia Christiana, and Bouquet's Recueil des Historiens des Gaules, will scarcely suffice him for a twelvemonth's 'victualling.' Mabillon, Montfaucon, and Muratori are his dear delights as foreign authors; while his deal-shelves groan beneath the weight of annotation upon our home historians; such as Gildas, Jeffrey, his namesake, Ingulph, Hoveden, Malmesbury, Matthew Paris, Ralph de Diceto, and Benedictus Abbas, &c. &c.—and then for the 'scribbled margins' (as Warburton used to express it) of his Leland, Camden, Twysden, Gale, Sparke, Hearne, Batteley, Grose, King, and others of the like character—oh, 'twould do your heart good only to have a glimpse of them!

LORENZO. More and more wondrous!

LISARDO. I have not yet done with Nennius. He hath no small knowledge of the art of design; and brandishes his pencil upon castles, cathedrals, and churches, that it were a marvel to see how his drawers and portfolios are crammed with the same. There is not a church, nor place of worship, nor castle, within the counties of Sussex, Kent, and Bedford,
ENGLISH TYPES: 1800–1844

Other examples of the employment of these modern face types are found in the text of Rudolph Ackermann’s celebrated series of illustrated quartos on Westminster Abbey (1812) and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge (1814–15), and in the inimitable Microcosm of London (1808–11), etc., the coloured plates of which are so delightful that they have obscured the merit of their straightforward typography — some of it Bensley’s work. Another edition which shows this kind of type (and also its falling off) is John Murray’s 16mo edition of Lord Byron’s Works, published in five volumes in 1823. Here we begin to see what such types were coming to when less well cut, less well printed, and less well imposed, and also how poor they were in smaller sizes. For printers at that date found the same trouble with delicate modern face types that we do now. In fact, Dibdin, in one of the few directly written passages in the Bibliographical Decameron, mentions this difficulty, and (somewhat surprisingly) seems to feel that old style types were better than the modern cut of letter in which his own book had been printed. “In regard to Modern Printing,” he says, “you ask me whether we are not arrived at the topmost pitch of excellence in the art? I answer, not quite at the topmost pitch: for our types are, in general, too square, or sharp; and the finer parts of the letters are so very fine, that they soon break, and, excepting in the very first impressions, you will rarely find the types in a completely perfect state. There is more roundness, or evenness, or, if you will allow the word, more comfortableness of appearance, in the publications of Tonson and Knapton, than in those of modern times.” Now Tonson’s and Knapton’s types were old style.

As in all periods when particular attention was paid by printers to making fine books, the cultivated amateur was
not lacking, and one such man, now forgotten, was Julian Hibbert. He was an interesting character who, besides having a hand in the social and political reforms of his day, undertook to reform the Greek fonts then used in printing. In 1827, he brought out at his private press in his house in London, *The Book of the Orphic Hymns*, "in uncial letters, as a typographical experiment" (fig. 332). Hibbert says of his alphabet that it "was first composed from the inspection of Inscriptions in the Museums of London and Paris, and thus it is no wonder, if it still retains more of a sculptitory than of a scriptitory appearance." After reading Montfaucon's *Paleographia Graeca* and examining facsimiles of the Herculanean manuscripts, he altered the forms of many of the letters. "If I had adopted the Alphabet of any one celebrated ms," Hibbert says, "I should have had less trouble. ... As it is, I have taken each letter separately from such mss. as I thought best represented the beau ideal of an uncial type; ... yet as placed side by side, they look very different from a ms." But he calls it "a Greek type, which, at the same time that it is calculated for ordinary use, approaches nearer to old mss. than types that have been hitherto used," and "represents with tolerable accuracy the forms of the letters used by the Greeks themselves, in the brightest days of their literature. ... I do not mean," he adds, "a type like that used in Bodoni's Callimachus, ... ornamented (or rather disfigured) by the additions of what, I believe, type-founders call syrifs, or cerefs."¹ Two books were printed by this forerunner of Robert Proctor, who was indeed *vox clamantis*! The fonts had considerable charm, but were at the time considered — if they were considered at all — as complete failures; and were afterwards melted.

¹See "Preface addressed by the Printer to Greek Scholars" in *The Book of the Orphic Hymns*. 
ΛΥΜΝΟΙ. ΛV.

ΛV. (54) εἰς ἄφροδιτὴν

γυμνάς.

οὐράνια, πολυγυμνα, φιλομμενάς ἄφροδιτης

ποντογενῆς, γενετεύρα θεᾶ, φιλοπαννυχὲ, σεμνὴ

μυκτηρί, γεγυκτείρα, δολοπλοκέ, μιπερ ἀλάρης,

πάντα γαρ εἴ σεβον εστίν, ἡπεζευγνο δε το κοσμον

καὶ κράτεις τρισσῶν μοίρων, γενναίας δε τα πάντα το

οσσα τ εν οὐράνιοι εστί, καὶ εν γαῖς πολυκαρπαίς,

ἐν πλὴν τούτο ευφως, σεμνῆς Βάκχου παράρες,

τερπομενη φαλχίς, γαμοστολε, μιπερ ἐρωταί

πεισοῖ λεκτοκαρῆς, κρύψει, κάριδων ἀμασας,

ταῖονομὴν τ, ἀφανῆς τ, ερατοπολκαμ, εὐπατερεία

μυκτηρί, σύμμαιτε, θεῶν σχιντούχε, λυκίνας

γεγυκτείρα, φιλαμπρε, πολυποτατη, εὐδαιμονία

ἐμελευγώνατος ἄμαλκυνηοιοικίσις ἀμασάς.

καὶ θεῖοι πολύ γυλό, ερωμανεῖν ὑπό πηλτρῶν

ἐρχο. ΚΥΡΡΟΓΕΝΕΣ θεῖον γένος εἰτ ἐν οὐλόμων

εὔρη. θεῶν καταλείπα, καλῶν γνωσα προσώπων

eπετ καὶ εὔθυνον συρίις εὐωδις ἀμφιπολεύεις

eπετ σύ τε ἐν λειώσατε σύν ἀρμάς κρύσεωτεκτοικ

ΛΤΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΕΧΕΙΣ ΗΡΗΣ ΓΟΝΙΜΟΘΕΑ ΛΟΥΤΡΑ

καὶ ΚΥΑΝΟΣΙΝ ΟΧΩΙ ΕΠΙ ΠΟΝΤΩΝ ΟΙΩΜΑ

ερωμενή κακον τηγάδας ΚΥΚΛΑΙΝΙΝΗ ΚΟΡΑΙΑΝ

καὶ μυκτήρι τερπή κυάναντες ἐν χώιαι ΔΙΧΗ

οὐσας οἱ λεγίαν οἵμομοιοι άμαλτη ΚΟΥΙΟΙ

εἴτ εν ΚΥΡΡΩΙ, ἀμασα, τρόφωνοι σε νεφώ καλαί σε

παρθενοὶ ἀναμενοί αὐτοῖς μυκτήρας τ ἀκα παντ ἐρωτόην

γυμνούσιν σε, κακαιρα, καὶ ἀμβροτομ ἄμων ΑΔΩΝΙΝ

εἴτε, κακαιρα θεᾶ, καὶ εἴριοτόν εὐωδικ εὐαγγε

ἡμείς γαρ σε καλα σεμνῆς αἰγοίς οροοίν.
ENGLISH TYPES: 1800–1844

It is to Scotch founders that we must turn for the next step in the development of the modern face type-family. Alexander Wilson, who in the eighteenth century made types for the brothers Foulis, had left a foundry which was still maintaining scholarly traditions. The taste which led to the adoption of lighter type-forms had been followed consistently by his house; and, probably still further influenced by Didot types, the Wilson foundry early in the nineteenth century produced an English version of them — the best English variant of this form of letter that we have. It is sturdier and pleasanter to read than parallel French types, and we are much more at home with it. It is not as good a type as the Caslon character, but as produced by Wilson it is a very handsome and serviceable letter, and in it we have another English type-family — the Scotch modern face. It is an English equivalent of the fonts shown in the 1819 specimen of the Didots.

The fonts, practically as we have them to-day, are beautifully shown in the Specimen of Modern Printing Types cast at the Letter-Foundry of Alex. Wilson & Son, at Glasgow, 1833. This quarto specimen is in two parts. In an “Address to the Printers,” which prefaces the volume, the Wilsons say: “In conformity with ancient, immemorial usage, we have, in Part I. displayed our Founts in the Roman garb — the venerable Quousque tandem; but lest it should be supposed that we had chosen the flowing drapery of Rome for the purpose of shading or concealing defects, we have in Part II. shown our Founts in a dress entirely English.” Two pages of titling-letters are displayed before we come to the first body type — a spirited and fine cut of great primer. Then follow varieties of roman, from pica to diamond. A page of double pica Greek (used in the Homer printed by the Foulis brothers) is followed by Greek fonts
down to "mignon," and two pages of Hebrew. The roman and italic types are again displayed in Part II, set in English, sometimes in prose, sometimes in poetry, and variously leaded. A broadside specimen of Wilson's newspaper fonts ends the book.\footnote{A similar quarto specimen was issued in the same year by the Edinburgh branch house of Wilsons & Sinclair, which may be also consulted.} Every roman and italic type in it is modern face. We show a pica font (\textit{fig.} 333). "The Foundry of Messrs. Wilson," says Savage (writing in 1822), "at Glasgow, has been long established, and for many years enjoyed a monopoly of letter founding in Scotland. They have, however, of late experienced a formidable competition from Mr. Miller of Edinburgh, who derived his knowledge of the art from them, and whose types so much resemble theirs as to require a minute and accurate inspection to be distinguished."\footnote{\textit{Decorative Printing}, p. 73.}

William Blades considered "the year 1820 as a boundary line between the old and new style of punch-cutting. About that time great changes were initiated in the faces of types of all kinds. The thick strokes were made much thicker and the fine strokes much finer, the old ligatures were abolished and a mechanical primness given to the page, which, artistically, could scarcely be called improvement. At the same time, printers began to crowd their racks with fancy founts of all degrees of grotesqueness, many painfully bad to the eye and unprofitable alike to founder and printer."\footnote{Blades' \textit{Early Type Specimen Books of England, Holland, France, Italy, and Germany}, London, 1875, pp. 21, 22.} Thus taste, which in England had sanctioned very light types, began to change to heavier faces about 1815.\footnote{Blades says 1820, but Vincent Figgins' specimen of 1815 is full of these dropssical types, and Thorne's specimen of these letters appeared as early as 1803.} Exactly as

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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
£ 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Pica Italic, No. 3.

Quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? quamdiu nos etiam furor iste tuus eludet? quem ad finem sese effrenata jactabit audacia? nihilne te nocturnum presidium palatii, nihil urbis vigiliae, nihil timor populi, nihil consensus bonorum omnium, nihil hic munitissimus habendi senatus locus, nihil horum ora vultusque moverunt; patere tua consilia non sentis; constrictam jam omnium horum conscientia teneri conjugationem tuam non vides? quid proxima, quid superiore nocte egeris, ubi fueris, quos convocaveris, quid consili ceperis, quem nostrum ignorare arbitraris? O tempora, o mores! Senatus hoc intelligit, consul vidit, hic tamen vivit. vivit? immo vero etiam in senatum venit: fit publici consili particeps: notat et designat oculis ad caedem unum quemque nostrum. Nos autem, viri fortes, satisfacere reipub. videmur, si istius furorem

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 E
ENGLISH TYPES: 1800–1844

in France, the weight of these new type-faces was at first gained, not by a greater weight of line throughout, but by a dis-proportionate thickening of heavy strokes of letters, which left their hair-lines much as before. This reaction from fragile to sturdy letters was a change which, if it only had been guided by some one familiar with early type-forms, might have led to better results. But at that time materials for the comparative study of types were not readily assembled.

The further development of these fashions brought about a kind of swollen type-form1 in which all the lines of a letter were of nearly equal strength, and these were the types of which Savage says: “The founders have now introduced another change in the proportions of letters, and have gone to a barbarous extreme, from their first improvement. The rage is now, which of them can produce a type in the shape of a letter, with the thickest lines, and with the least white in the interior parts.” He adds that the founders said that such types were meant for printing hand-bills, etc., and if they were introduced into book-work, that it was contrary to the original intention. Savage displays sheets in which original Caslon types are shown in contrast to the current Caslon types. If these are bad types, he says, “it may be attributed to the bad taste of others, whom the founders are desirous of obliging”—but this is merely an ancient and poor excuse for not sticking to one’s principles! These hideous fashions for a time drove original Caslon types to the wall. Hansard, writing in 1825, says: “Caslon’s fonts rarely occur in modern use, but they have too frequently been su-

1 These characters were often called in type-specimens and elsewhere “Egyptian” (no doubt in allusion to their “darkness”); and a London jest-book of 1806, under the heading “Fashionable Egyptian Sign-Boards,” says: “An Irishman describing the Egyptian letters which at present deface the Metropolis, declared that the thin strokes were exactly the same size as the thick ones!”
perseded by others which can claim no excellence over them. In fact, the book-printing of the present day is disgraced by a mixture of fat, lean, and heterogeneous types, which to the eye of taste is truly disgusting."

In London, Robert Thorne, successor to Thomas Cottrell, is responsible for the vilest form of type invented — up to that time. Thorne’s specimen-book of “Improved (!) Types” of 1883 should be looked at as a warning of what fashion can make men do. His “jobbing types” look as their name suggests! His black-letter is perhaps the worst that ever appeared in England. In Vincent Figgins’ specimen of 1815, and in Fry’s specimen of 1816, and naturally in the specimen of William Thorowgood (Thorne’s successor) of 1824, 1832, and 1837, the new styles are triumphant (figs. 334 and 335). Fashions like these, as Hansard says, “have left the specimens of a British letter-founder a heterogeneous compound, made up of fat-faces and lean faces, wide-set and close-set, all at once crying Quousque tandem abutere patientia nostra?” The Caslon specimen of 1844 shows the adoption of some of the worst current fashions in types; and we exhibit a selection of the unattractive ornaments intended to accompany the “fat-face” fonts produced by this famous house (figs. 336 and 337). A tide of bad taste had swept everything before it by 1844 — the precise year of the revival of Caslon’s earliest types!

Much the same thing was happening on the Continent, and the curious may consult such “documents” as the Supplement to the Specimen of the Spanish founders, J. B. Clement-Sturme y Compañía, published at Valencia in 1833, which is full of types of this kind; the Didot, Legrand et Cie.

1 Hansard’s Typographia, London, 1825, p. 355. As early as 1805 the Caslons ceased to show in their specimen the original types cut by the first William Caslon.
English No. 2.

Quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? quamdiu nos etiam furor iste tuus eludet? quem ad finem sese effrenata jactabit audacia? nihilne te nocturnum præsidium palatii nihil urbis vigiliae, nihil timor populi, nihil consensus bonorum omnium, nihil hic munificentissimus habendi senatus locus, nihil horum or vultusque moverunt? patere tua consilia non

\[\text{ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ} \text{ÆŒ£1234567890} \text{ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZÆŒ}

Quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? quamdiu nos etiam furor iste tuus eludet? quem ad finem sese effrenata jactabit audacia? nihilne te nocturnum præsidium palatii nihil urbis vigiliae, nihil timor populi, nihil consensus bonorum omnium, nihil hic munificentissimus habendi senatus locus, nihil horum or vultusque moverunt? patere tua ABCDEFGH

\[\text{IJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ} \text{ÆŒÆM} \text{N}

English No. 2, on Pica Body.

Quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? quamdiu nos etiam furor iste tuus eludet? quem ad finem sese effrenata jactabit audacia? nihilne te nocturnum præsidium palatii nihil urbis vigiliae, nihil timor populi, nihil consensus bonorum omnium, nihil hic munificentissimus habendi senatus locus, nihil horum or vultusque moverunt? patere tua consilia non

\[\text{ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ} \text{ÆŒ£1234567890} \text{ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZÆŒ}

Quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? quamdiu nos etiam furor iste tuus eludet? quem ad finem sese effrenata jactabit audacia? nihilne te nocturnum præsidium palatii

334. Roman and Italic: W. Thorowgood’s Specimen, London, 1824
And be it further hereby enacted, that the Mayors, Bailiffs, or other head Officers of every Town and place corporate, being a Justice or Jus

And be it hereby enacted, that the Mayors, Bailiffs or other head Officers of every Town or Place corporate, being a Justice

And be it further hereby enacted, that the Mayors, Bailiffs, or other head Officers of every Town and place corporate, and City within this Realm, being Justice or Justices of Peace &

And be it further hereby enacted that the Mayors, Bailiffs, or other head Officers of every Town and place corporate and

335. Black-letter: W. Thorowgood’s Specimen, London, 1824
336. Ornaments to accompany "Fat-Face" Types
Henry Caslon, London, 1844
TWO-LINE ENGLISH.

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FOUR-LINE MINION, NO. 7.

No. 8.

337. Ornaments to accompany "Fat-Face" Types
Henry Caslon, London, 1844
Quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? quamdiu nos etiam furor iste tuus eludet? quem ad finem sese effrenata jactabit audacia? nihil te nocturnum presidium palatii, nihil urbis vigiliae, nihil timor populi, nihil consensus bonorum omnium, nihil hic munitissimus habendi senatus locus, nihil horum ora vultusque moverunt? patere tua consilia non sentis? constrictam jam omnium horum conscientia teneri conjurationem tuam non vides? quid proxima, quid superiore nocte egeris, ubi fueris, quos convocaveris, quid consilii ceperis,

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Quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? quamdiu nos etiam furor iste tuus eludet? quem ad finem sese effrenata jactabit audacia? nihil te nocturnum presidium palatii, nihil urbis vigiliae, nihil timor populi, nihil consensus bonorum omnium, nihil hic munitissimus habendi senatus locus, nihil horum ora vultusque moverunt? patere tua consilia non sentis? constrictam jam omnium horum conscientia teneri conjurationem tuam non vides? quid proxima, quid superiore nocte egeris,

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338. *Types and Ornaments of Period of Caslon Revival*  
*Caslon Son and Livermore and Henry Caslon Specimens, 1844*
Specimen issued in Paris in 1828, for like French types; for similar Italian fonts, the 1838 Specimen of Cartallier, of Padua, in which some characters show this tendency. Enschedé’s Letterproef,1 issued at Haarlem in 1841, as compared with older Enschedé specimens, is another telling but dismal document in the annals of this change of style—a few good fonts being buried in pages of uninteresting or ugly letter-forms. The Second and Third Parts of Enschedé’s Letterproef, issued in 1850 and 1855, leave one nothing to say, except that nothing good can be said! But if this great house sold or threw away interesting ancient types to buy Didotschen rubbish, it must be remembered that the Caslon foundry had sacrificed to False Gods its own Children! (fig. 338).

I have said that Grandjean, Baskerville, Bodoni, and the Didots had a mischievous influence on type-forms; for the derivations from types that their work made popular culminated in a kind of letter which was capable of greater vulgarity and degradation than was ever the case with older fonts. The ordinary English, French, or Italian book printed between 1830 and 1850 was very often a cheap and mean-looking production. Perhaps Bodoni and other great persons were not wrong in their own day; but they put type-forms on the wrong track. Their “recovery” in England is the subject of another chapter.

CHAPTER XXI

REVIVALS OF CASLON AND FELL TYPES

REVIVALS of type-forms are periodical. They are usually brought about by dissatisfaction caused by too intimate knowledge of the disadvantages of types in use, and ignorance of disadvantages which may arise in the use of types revived. In other words, one set of types falls into neglect through certain inherent drawbacks; and it is not revived until the difficulties known to those who formerly employed it are forgotten and only the advantages appear. A constant factor also is a natural love of variety and change.

The best early work of the nineteenth century was the result of a sincere effort toward the betterment of printing, according to the standards of that day; but before the mid-century, English typography, except here and there, had again fallen behind. The fine editions printed by Bulmer and Bensley were things of the past. Bulmer was dead in 1830—Bensley in 1833. Several other publishers brought out well-printed books, but they were without the distinction of those issued some years earlier. There was, however, an exception in the work done by the two Charles Whittinghams—uncle and nephew—at the Chiswick Press, founded in 1789, though established at Chiswick in 1810. This press is famous in the annals of English typography, the soundest traditions of which it has upheld for over a century. Its best books were printed by the younger Whittingham for the publisher Pickering. In 1844, Pickering and Whittingham proposed to issue an edition of Juvenal (in contemplation since 1841), and requested the Caslon foundry to cast some of the original Caslon types which they wanted for it. This Latin edition of the Satires of Juvenal and Persius, in
Lady Willoughby.

her Cheeke by some Query respecting a particular Piece of Needle-work in hand; and added, on perceiving the Effect she had produced, she had heard Sr. Erasmus de la Fountain much commend the delicate Paterne: whereat poore Margaret attempted to look up unconcern'd, but was obliged to smile at her Sister's Pleasantry. I was discreet, and led the Conversation back to the Spinning.

The Days passe smoothly, yet Time seemeth very long since my deare Lord departed on his Journey. We heare no News. Armstrong will perchance gain some Tydings at Colchester: and I must await his Return with such Patience I can.

Since my little Fanny's long Sicknesse I have continued the Habit of remaining by her at night, sometime after she is in Bed: these are Seasons peculiarly sweet and soothing; there seemeth something holy in the Aire of the dimly lighted Chamber, wherein is no Sound heard

339. Caslon Type as revived by Whittingham, London, 1844
quarto (a handsome book except for its red borders), was
delayed, however, and not published until 1845. So the great
primer "old face" Caslon font intended for it, appeared first
in 1844 in The Diary of Lady Willoughby. For this fictitious
journal of a seventeenth century lady of quality, old style
type was thought appropriate. The Diary was a success, art-
istically and commercially. Though its typography does not
seem much of an achievement now, it came as a novelty and
relief to printers who had long since abandoned good earlier
type-faces in favour of the fonts of the school of Thorne
(§ 339). This was the beginning of the revival of original
Caslon fonts, and a very sound revival it was. From that
time to this, Caslon type has had the popularity it merits.
In fact, the chief typographic event of the mid-nineteenth
century was this revival of the earliest Caslon types in the
competent hands of Pickering and Whittingham. United
States founders reintroduced these fonts about 1860, but
they did not become popular until some thirty years later.

The Aldine Poets, Walton's Complete Angler, the beauti-
ful Latin Opera of Sallust (in the type of the Juvenal and
Lady Willoughby), an octavo edition of Milton and Herbert,
and the famous series of folio black-letter Prayer Books are
among the best of Pickering's publications. But the series
of 16mo volumes, which for beauty and utility have not been
surpassed in modern times, are what is particularly meant
by a "Pickering edition" (§ 340). All these were printed
at the Chiswick Press, as well as many other beautiful books
for publishers, book-clubs, and individuals — among them
the Bannatyne Club's Breviarum Aberdonense and Henry
Shaw's books on mediaeval alphabets and ornament. The
Chiswick Press still holds preëminent rank — the present
establishment at Tooks Court, Chancery Lane, London,
being conducted by Charles Whittingham and Griggs, Ltd.
The use of the Fell types, which had lain for many years neglected at the Oxford University Press, was revived by a little press (first started at Frome in 1845, and continued at Oxford) which was a private venture of the Rev. C. H. O. Daniel, late Provost of Worcester College. Dr. Daniel had the taste to recognize the possibilities dormant in Fell's fonts, and after 1877 he used them in his rare little issues with delightful discrimination (figs. 341 and 342). The Daniel books were printed in both roman and black-letter, and in connection with the former type many pleasant old ornaments were revived. The publications of this press were continued until 1919. The Fell types are now the pride—or one of the "prides"—of the Clarendon Press. Their revival was of real importance in modern printing: The Oxford Book of English Verse, the volumes in the Tudor and Stuart Library, the Trecentale Bodleianum of 1913 (fig. 343), and the Catalogue of the Shakespeare Exhibition held in the Bodleian Library to commemorate the Death of Shakespeare (Oxford, 1916) are familiar examples of their admirable and effective modern use.

The Ballantyne Press of Edinburgh, founded at Kelso by James Ballantyne in 1796, later, at Sir Walter Scott's suggestion, coming to Edinburgh, and known under the name of Ballantyne, Hanson & Company, has done delightful work for many years past. The business has been acquired by Messrs. Spottiswoode & Company of London, and has been removed from Edinburgh. This firm, that of Messrs. R. & R. Clark, and the establishment of T. & A. Constable of Edinburgh, have been more constant to types of Scotch

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1 See The Daniel Press. Memorials of C. H. O. Daniel, with a Bibliography of the Press, 1845-1919. Oxford, Printed on the Daniel Press in the Bodleian Library, 1921—"the first book printed within the walls of the Bodleian," where the third Daniel press, on which it was printed, is deposited. It is illustrated with portrait, facsimiles, etc.
I. THE TEMPLE

The Dedication.

Lord, my first fruits present themselves to thee;
Yet not mine neither: for from thee they came,
And must return. Accept of them and me,
And make us strive, who shall sing best thy name.
Turn their eyes bitter, who shall make a gain
Their, who shall hurt themselves or me, refrain.

1. The Church-porch.

Periplusanterium.

HOU, whose sweet youth and early
hopes enhance
Thy rate and price, and mark thee for
a treasure,
Hearken unto a Verfer, who may chance
Ryme thee to good, and make a bait of pleasure.
A verse may finde him, who a sermon flies,
And turn delight into a sacrifice.

Beware of luft; it doth pollute and foul
Whom God in Baptisme waft with his own blood
It blots thy lesson written in thy soul;
The holy lines cannot be underfloode.

How dare those eyes upon a Bible look,
Much leffe towards God, whose luft is all their book!

340. Caslon Type used in a "Pickering edition"
Whittingham, London, 1850
I have printed this 'Sermon' from a MS. of the xviii

Century, numbered xxxviii in the Library of Worcester College. I have attempted to reproduce it with painful faithfulness, which is the first requisite in a task of this sort, however trivial the matter. The spelling I have retained, (& in the main the punctuation) as an element of style, because the pedantic rigidness of our day has no claim to supersede the picturesque laxity of a Time too vigorous & too passionate for elementary trifling.

The interest of the Pamphlets will be, I think, mainly for those whose knowledge of the ephemeral Literature of the Civil War time enables them to recognize the many allusions to persons & faults. To such neither dulness nor occasional inerency will be a surprise or a shock. This will be understood by a glance at my 'Catalogue of Pamphlets,' or by turning over any collection of the Tracts of the Period.

The Type has been cast for the Impression from the matrices given the University by Doctor John Fell. The whole of the manual work has been done by myself. Fifty Copies are printed, of which this is the

C. Henry Daniel.

Worcester College;
February the 12th. 1877.

SONGS

by

MARGARET L. WOODS

DANIEL: OXFORD:
1896

342. Fell Types as used by the Daniel Press
Oxford, 1896
THE
LIFE of Sir Thomas Bodley,
Written by himself.

I was borne at Exeter in Devon, the Early Life.

2 of Marche, in the yeare 1544; descended, both by Father and
Mother, of Worshipfull parentage. By
my Fathers side, from an antient familie
of Bodley, or bodleigh, of Dunscombe
by Crediton; and by my Mother from
Robert Hone Esq; of ottereySaint Marie,
nine Milles from Exon. My Father in
the time of Queene Marie, beinge knowne
and noted to be an enemie to Poperie,
was so cruelly threatened, and so narrow-
lie observed, by those that malliced his
religion, that for the safegarde of him-
selue, and my Mother, who was wholly
affected as my Father, he knew no waye
so secure, as to flie into Garmanie:

Where

343. Fell Types as used in Trecentale Bodleianum
Oxford University Press, 1913
TO CHARLES,

PRINCE OF WALES.

May it please

Youre Highnesse

I fear I shall much surprize youres Highnesse with a Pamphlet of this subject under my poore name: which I undertooke since my returne for some diversion of my minde from my infirmitie which I was troubled with a miserable stopping in my breast and defluxion from my head.

It was printed sheete by sheete as fast as It was born, and It was born as soone as It was conceived: So as It must needs have the imperfections, and deformities of an immature birth besides the weaknesse of the Parent. And therefore I durst not allowe it so much favour even from my self as to thinke it worthie of any dedication, yet as I have presented the first copie thereof to the King, so is the second due to y' Highnesse. And the rather, because youe have taken a view of forein strusture and have made youre self besides

Cornices, and the like, were enough to graduate a Master of this Art; yet let me before I passe to other matter, prevent a familiar Objection; It will perchance bee said, that all this Doctrine touching the five Orders, were fitter for the Quarries of Asia which yeelded 127 Columns of 60 Foot high, to the Ephesian Temple, or for Numidia where Marbles abound; then for the Spirits of England, who must be contented with more ignoble Materials: To which I answere, that this neede not discourage us: For I have often at Venice viewed with much pleasure, an Atrium Græcum (we may translate it an Anti porch, after the GREEKE manner) raised by Andrea Palladio, upon eight Columns of the Compounded Order; The Bases of Stone, without Pedistals, The shafts or Bodies, of meere Brick; three foote and an halfe thicke in the Diameter below, and consequently thirty five foote high, as himselfe hath described them in his second Booke; Then which, mine Eye, hath never yet beheld any Columns, more stately of Stone or Marble; For the Bricks, having first beeene formed in a Circular Mould, and then cut before their burning

344. Modernized Old Style Fonts as used by Chiswick Press, London, 1903
N CERTAIN CONFUSIONS OF MODERN LIFE, ESPECIALLY IN LITERATURE: AN ESSAY READ, AT OXFORD, TO THE GYRPHON CLUB OF TRINITY COLLEGE.

If I were in need of a single word to express the idea which I wish to follow out in this essay, I could scarcely, I think, find one in English; none, at least, that would completely fit my meaning: I should have to fall back upon the Greek. We translate the word χώρας by order, beauty, or world, according to the context; but we have no single phrase that combines and identifies in our minds, as this word did in the minds of Greeks, the beauty of harmonious arrangement with the beauty of the visible world. We do not seem, indeed, to have at all the same quick perception of this kind of beauty that they appear to have had. The Author of "Modern Painters" has pointed out that, in the Odyssey, when Hermes approaches Calypso's cave, what he admires is, not so much the wild beauty of the island, as the trimness of the goddess's own domain, her four fountains.

345. Type used in The Hobby Horse: Chiswick Press, London, 1890
CASLON AND FELL REVIVALS

letter-founders, and for many years have successfully used "revived old style" and also characters of the modern face family.¹ Constable employed an interesting Scotch modern face for David Nutt's distinguished series of Tudor Translations. The fine revived old style or (as I should prefer to call them) modernized old style fonts were used by the same printer in the three volumes of Bibliographica (1895); and Mr. J. P. Morgan's monumental Catalogue of Manuscripts and Early Printed Books from the Libraries of Morris, Bennett, etc. (1907), is a magnificent example of the skilful use of these types by the Chiswick Press. In smaller sizes this type was delightfully employed by the same press in their reprint of Sir Henry Wotton's Elements of Architecture, issued by Longmans in 1903 (fig. 344).

But the early and "classic" use of this type was in Herbert Horne's periodical, The Century Guild Hobby Horse (1886–92). Its later volumes (beginning in 1888), printed in a large size of the "modernized old style" character, with delightful decorations drawn by Mr. Horne, are most distinguished pieces of typography (fig. 345). Of The Hobby Horse not many volumes were issued, but they will always hold a place in the annals of the revival of printing at the end of the last century.

In Mr. Horne's typographical venture, William Morris had a hand; but as Morris rode a very Gothic hobby-horse of his own, and Mr. Horne's charger was much more Italian than Gothic in its behaviour, it is easy to see why Morris soon turned his attention to printing in a way more to his mind. His endeavours, their results, and the influence they have had on modern printing have now to be considered.

¹ In England Caslon types are called "old face"; what we call "modernized old style" is there termed "revived old style"—a type designed about 1830.
CHAPTER XXII

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN REVIVAL OF EARLY TYPE-FORMS AND ITS EFFECT ON CONTINENTAL TYPES

WILLIAM Morris was born in 1834— the son of prosperous middle-class people, who lived freely and pleasantly. He was educated at Marlborough School and Exeter College, Oxford, where he formed a lasting friendship with Burne-Jones. Originally intending to take Holy Orders, he changed his mind, and studied architecture for a year or two under Street; then, between 1857 and 1862, through Rossetti’s influence, he took up painting. Meanwhile he had begun to write— his *Defence of Guenevere* appearing in 1858. From then until his death he wrote many volumes of poetry and prose, most of it of a very high order. Painting proved unsatisfactory, so he began about the year 1870 to work as a decorator, eventually turning his hand to illumination,— in which he was expert,— to the making of wall-papers, rugs, hangings, and stained glass, and to house decoration. It was an era of pattern, and though in Morris’s hands the pattern was often magnificent, houses decorated or furnished by him would now appear rather tiresome and affected.

In socialism Morris was seriously interested. It was the somewhat romantic socialism of a well-to-do, fastidious man, which had the added attraction of placing him in the opposition; for he somewhat enjoyed “otherwise-mindedness.” Morris never went into the slums and lived with the people— indeed, he gave scant attention to the particular individual in his large and roomy movements— it was not the manner of his time. He desired with great desire to see the life of workmen improved by being made more like his own, rather than to get nearer the *workmen’s point of view*
by making his life more like theirs. Yet he was thoroughly in earnest about his socialism. That the workman’s life was so sordid made him miserable. He loved mediaevalism because it appeared to him — I think rather unhistorically — a close approach to the life he wished to see commonly lived in the world. None the less, he had sometimes impossible manners, often a furious temper, always short patience with fools, and there was a bit of pose and “bow-wow” about his daily walk and conversation. In his character, as in his wall-papers, one was a little too conscious of the pattern, but the pattern was fine, and there was lots of it! Over and above all this he was an educated, cultivated man, tremendously observant and shrewd, and his driving power was enormous. Like Bodoni (whose work Morris detested), no man knew better what he wanted to do. Morris’s motto was “If I can,” and by hard work, enthusiasm, and — we must admit — a fixed income and a good deal of incidental prosperity, he usually “could.”

Morris’s style of printing, therefore, may be partly explained by the interiors of his own houses or those he decorated; and its motive by his idea of socialism, which, through a kind of Religion of Beauty, was to produce the regeneration of a work-a-day world. It was to be a wonderful world, and it was, potentially, very real to him. His printing was for it, or was to help to its realization by others. If his decorations now appear a bit mannered and excessive, and his socialism somewhat romantic and unreal, it is because Morris was very much of his period. Thus (again like Bodoni, though from diametrically opposite theories) Morris made magnificent books, but not for ordinary readers — nor, for the matter of that, for ordinary purses — but only for a certain fortunate group of his own time.

To understand the work of the Kelmscott Press we must
understand this much of the environment and ways of thinking of a man as forcible and sincere as he was many-sided.

Some years before Mr. Morris set up any press of his own, he had made a few essays in printing. *The Roots of the Mountains*, which was issued in 1889, was printed for him at the Chiswick Press in a character cut some fifty years earlier, belonging to the Whittinghams, and modelled on an old Basle font; and in 1890, the *Gunnaug Saga* was printed in a type copied from one of Caxton’s fonts. In 1891, almost fifty years after the Whittinghams’ revival of Caslon’s type, and some fifteen years after the Fell types were resuscitated, Morris established the Kelmscott Press, named after Kelmscott Manor House (on the upper Thames, about thirty miles from Oxford), which Morris acquired in 1871. The first “Kelscott” book that he issued was *The Story of the Glittering Plain*, and its effect upon lovers of fine books was instantaneous. Opinion was at once divided about Morris’s printing. To a limited public, the Kelmscott editions opened the millennium in book-making. Others were irritated at what they considered their affectation and faddishness, and condemned them utterly, as unreadable—which was only a half-truth. The effect on printing in general that Morris was to have through his types and type-setting entirely escaped most printers, as did the sources from which he derived his methods. Because they knew very little about early manuscripts or early books, about the characters of the one or the types of the other, the Kelmscott books appeared to them to have fallen from the sky—either very new and wonderful or else very freakish and senseless—just as they would to anybody who knew nothing whatever about it! On the great English public, or the majority of English print-
REVIVAL OF EARLY FORMS

ers, Morris's books had—at that time—scarcely any effect at all. Indeed, Mr. Morris was a much more widespread popular force in America and Germany than in England, where his work was known only to a comparatively small artistic group.

"I began printing books," said Mr. Morris, "with the hope of producing some which would have a definite claim to beauty, while at the same time they should be easy to read and should not dazzle the eye, or trouble the intellect of the reader by eccentricity of form in the letters. I have always been a great admirer of the calligraphy of the Middle Ages, and of the earlier printing which took its place. As to the fifteenth century books, I had noticed that they were always beautiful by force of the mere typography, even without the added ornament, with which many of them are so lavishly supplied. And it was the essence of my undertaking to produce books which it would be a pleasure to look upon as pieces of printing and arrangement of type. Looking at my adventure from this point of view then, I found I had to consider chiefly the following things: the paper, the form of the type, the relative spacing of the letters, the words, and the lines; and lastly the position of the printed matter on the page. . . .

"Next as to type. By instinct rather than by conscious thinking it over, I began by getting myself a fount of Roman type. And here what I wanted was letter pure in form; severe, without needless excrescences; solid, without the thickening and thinning of the line, which is the essential fault of the ordinary modern type, and which makes it difficult to read; and not compressed laterally, as all later type has grown to be owing to commercial exigencies. There was only one source from which to take examples of this perfected Roman type, to wit, the works of the great Venetian
printers of the fifteenth century, of whom Nicholas Jenson produced the completest and most Roman characters from 1470 to 1476. This type I studied with much care, getting it photographed to a big scale, and drawing it over many times before I began designing my own letter; so that though I think I mastered the essence of it, I did not copy it servilely; in fact, my Roman type, especially in the lower case, tends rather more to the Gothic than does Jenson's.

"After a while I felt that I must have a Gothic as well as a Roman fount; and herein the task I set myself was to redeem the Gothic character from the charge of unreadableness which is commonly brought against it. And I felt that this charge could not be reasonably brought against the types of the first two decades of printing; that Schoeffer at Mainz, Mentelin at Strasburg, and Gunther Zainer at Augsburg, avoided the spiky ends and undue compression which lay some of the later type open to the above charge. . . . Keeping my end steadily in view, I designed a black-letter type which I think I may claim to be as readable as a Roman one, and to say the truth I prefer it to the Roman.

"It was only natural that I, a decorator by profession, should attempt to ornament my books suitably: about this matter, I will only say that I have always tried to keep in mind the necessity for making my decoration a part of the page of type."1

Morris's three types (two black-letter and one roman) were as follows:

A roman letter, called the Golden Type, cut in English size, finished in 1890, and first used in his Golden Legend, issued in 1892 (fig. 346).

THE ARGUMENT.

LUCIUS Tarquinius (for his excessive pride surnamed Superbus) after hee had caused his owne father in law Servius Tullius to be cruelly murd'red, and contrarie to the Romaine lawes and customes, not requiring or staying for the people's suffrages, had possessed himselfe of the kingdom: went accompanied with his sonnes and other noble men of Rome, to besiege Ardea, during which siege, the principall men of the Army meeting one evening at the tent of Sextus Tarquinius the king's sonne, in their discourses after supper every one commended the vertues of his owne wife: among whom Colatinus extolled the incomparable chastity of his wife Lucretia. In that pleasant humor they all posted to Rome, & intending by theyr secret and sodaine arrivall to make triall of that which every one had before avouched, onely Colatinus finds his wife (though it were late in the night) spinning amongst her maides, the other ladies were all found dauncing and revelling, or in severall sports: whereupon the noble men yeelded Colatinus the victory, and his wife the fame. At that time Sextus Tarquinius being enflamed with Lucrece beauty, yet smothering his passions for the present, departed with the rest backe to the campe:

346. Morris's Golden Type: Kelmscott Press
REVIVAL OF EARLY FORMS

A black-letter great primer font, called the Troy Type, showing the influence of Schoeffer of Mainz, Zainer of Augsburg, and Koberger of Nuremberg, although different from any of these, and first used in the Historyes of Troye, issued the same year (fig. 347).

A black-letter, called the Chaucer Type, differing from the Troy type only in size, being pica instead of great primer. This was used in some parts of the Historyes of Troye, but was first employed for an entire book in The Order of Chivalry, published in 1893 (fig. 348).

Morris also designed a fourth type, based on the fonts used by Swynheym and Pannartz in St. Augustine’s De Civitate Dei, but it was never cut. All Morris’s types were finally left to trustees, and their use is occasionally permitted for special books. The wood-blocks of illustrations to his editions have been placed in the British Museum.

As we look at Morris’s typographical achievements in perspective, they seem to be more those of a decorator applying his decorative talents to printing, than the work of a printer. His books are not always what he said books should be—easy to read, not dazzling to the eye, or troublesome to the reader by eccentricities of letter-form. He says he admired fifteenth century books because they were beautiful “by force of the mere typography, even without the added ornament, with which many of them are so lavishly supplied.” But what is true of those books is only partly true about his own. He did make books which it was a pleasure to look at—as arrangements of type and fine pieces of printing—but he did not make books that it was a pleasure to read. If Morris admired Jenson’s fonts, it is hard to see why he did not copy their best points more closely. One has only to take a Kelmscott book and compare it with a good
specimen of Jenson's printing to see how far away one is from the other.

On the other hand, many people did not at all understand Morris's greatness—for great he was. As he was both visionary and practical, his visions bothered the practical man, while his practicality somewhat disturbed the visionary. "Perhaps this kind of character is rare in our time," says Mr. Clutton-Brock, "only because craftsmen are rare; for the craftsman, if he is to excel, must be both industrious and a visionary, as Morris was. He must have honesty and common sense as well as invention; and his work develops and harmonizes both sets of qualities. We shall understand Morris best if we think of him as a craftsman... as one who could never see raw material without wishing to make something out of it, and who at last saw society itself as a very raw material which set his fingers itching."¹

I doubt if Morris himself realized the enormous effect his work would have upon typography. Neither did he know that, while his types were not particularly good types, and his decorations were often unduly heavy, by this very overstatement in the colour of the type on its paper, in making characters which loudly called attention to earlier ones, and in designing somewhat over-splendid decorations (which, nevertheless, were in harmony with his type), he led the printer of his particular moment to see how imposing, and even magnificent, masses of strong type, closely set and well inked, combined with fine decorations, may be. And Morris taught a lesson in the unity of effect in books for which the modern printer is deeply in his debt—a unity now influencing volumes very far removed from those rather precious productions in which it was first exemplified. Nowadays,

such as choose to seek it: it is neither prison, nor palace, but a decent home. All which I neither praise nor blame, but say that so it is: some people praise this homeliness overmuch, as if the land were the very axle-tree of the world; so do not I, nor any unblinded by pride in themselves and all that belongs to them: others there are who scorn it and the tameness of it: not I any the more: though it would indeed be hard if there were nothing else in the world, no wonders, no terrors, no unspeakable beauties. Yet when we think what a small part of the world's history, past, present, & to come, is this land we live in, and how much smaller still in the history of the arts, & yet how our forefathers clung to it, and with what care and

347. Morris's Troy Type: Kelmscott Press
pains they adorned it, this unromantic, uneventful-looking land of England, surely by this too our hearts may be touched and our hope quickened.

Or as was the land, such was the art of it while folk yet troubled themselves about such things; it strove little to impress people either by pomp or ingenuity: not unseldom it fell into commonplace, rarely it rose into majesty; yet was it never oppressive, never a slave’s nightmare or an insolent boast: & at its best it had an inventiveness, an individuality, that have never overpassed: its best too, and that was in its very heart, was given as freely to the yeoman’s house, and the humble village church, as to the lord’s palace or the mighty cathedral: never coarse, though often rude enough, sweet, natural & unaffected, an art of peasants rather than of merchant princes or courtiers, it must be a hard heart, I think, that does not love it: whether a man has been born among it like ourselves, or has come wonder.
the old-fashioned method of using various fonts of type on a title-page, or an unnecessary number of sizes of type in a volume, has been given up—even in the commonest commercial work. And, too, Morris's reforms have extended to illustrations, which are at present almost always by one hand, and not, as in old-fashioned illustrated books, by half a dozen different designers and drawn without any relation to the type-page. These newer and better fashions in book-making may be directly traced to sounder conceptions of what a book ought to be; and Morris—as with the weapon of the Viking heroes he loved so well—hammered this conception into the consciousness of gentlemen who will even use Truth, if it appears to be an "asset"! For no man ever had the courage of his convictions more than Morris, or a heartier contempt for foolish opponents. When asked to hear the other side, he replied (like Garrison on the slavery question), "There is n't any!" This very intolerance made Morris a tremendous force in typography; for, in spite of certain conscious overstatements, it was a sincere intolerance, and was aimed not at people, but at their shallow views of things. In the last year of his life, when in failing health, he attended a public meeting, and returning from it with a friend, showed signs of weakness. The friend, more amiable than discreet, suggested that this was the worst time of the year. "No, it ain't," said Morris, "it's a very fine time of the year indeed. I'm getting old, that's what it is." In short, Morris hated humbug, though he sometimes mistook for humbug, opinions with which he disagreed—as 'tis human to do. He was a great printer because he was a great man who printed greatly, as he did much else.

When Morris began to work with types of his own in his own way, other people (most of whom knew rather less
about it) began to design their own types and print with them too. Charles Ricketts of London, who was already interested in making fine books, instituted the Vale Press. Mr. Ricketts' books were actually printed at the Ballantyne Press, but the types were designed by him and arranged under his direction, and some very charming decorations for the Vale Press books were by his hand. In a paper issued in 1899, called *A Defence of the Revival of Printing* (which no one had seriously attacked), he contrasted the work of the great Venetian printers and of William Morris, with his own. Morris, as was well known, hated the Renaissance, but Mr. Ricketts called it "a charmed time in the development of man." Admitting himself "utterly won over and fascinated by the sunny pages of the Venetian printers," he defined the pages of a fine Kelmscott book as "full of wine" and those of an Italian book as "full of light." This being Mr. Ricketts' point of view, it is surprising that his type appeared so much like Mr. Morris's! For it is fair to suppose that the types which he designed looked precisely as he meant that they should. Apparently the Vale Press intended to deal not in "wine" but in "light," and it must be terribly uncomfortable when you want light to get wine! But in spite of this rather affected *Defence*, the Vale books had style and distinction—being more classical in feeling.

1 Mr. Mackail says, in his life of Morris: "With the noble Italian art of the earlier Renaissance he had but little sympathy: for that of the later Renaissance and the academic traditions he had nothing but unmixed detestation. Some time in these years [c. 1873], his old fellow-pupil, Mr. Bliss, then engaged on researches among the archives of the Vatican, met him in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and pressed him to come with him to Rome. His reply was too characteristic to be forgotten. 'Do you suppose,' he said, 'that I should see anything in Rome that I can't see in Whitechapel?' Even the earlier and, to his mind, the far more interesting and beautiful work of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Italy did not appeal to him in the same way as the contemporary art of England or Northern France.' Mackail adds: "He much preferred Iceland to Italy."
CAPUT LXXXIII.


CAPUT XLVIII.

Trimalchio autem mutit ad nos vulnus respetit; et, Vinum, inquit, si non placet, mutabo: vos illud, oportet, bonum faciatis. Deorum beneficio non emo, sed nunc, quidquid ad salivam facit, in suburbano nascitur meo, quod ego adhuc non novi. Dicitur confine esse Tarracensibus et Tareminus. Nunc conjungere xxxvii

Quare non facimus? Tum ego, toties excitatus, plane vehementer excandui, et reddidi illi voces suas: Aut dormi, aut ego jam patri dicam.

CAPUT LXXXVIII.

than the Kelmscott books, and less so than those of the
Doves Press.

The *Bibliography* (the last book issued by the Vale Press,
in 1904) is printed in Vale type, and at the end a page of
Latin text is shown in the Vale Fount (fig. 349); another in
the Avon Fount—a smaller roman type more successful, to
my eye, than the Vale (fig. 350); and a third in the King's
Fount, which is less happy through the introduction in its
lower-case of some capital letter-forms (fig. 351). The first
Vale Press book was Milton's *Early Poems*, issued in 1896.
The Avon seems to have been first used in 1902. Unfor-
unately, most of the wood-blocks of the ornaments were
lost in a fire at the Ballantyne Press; and the punches, ma-
trices, and type were destroyed on the issue of the last of
the Vale publications. The tendency in these books was cer-
tainly toward Italian models, but so much influenced were
Messer. Hacon and Ricketts—like every one else at that
moment—by Morris's work, that they did not get as far
from it as they either thought or intended.

Four years after Morris's death in 1896, T. J. Cobden-
Sanderson, with Emery Walker, Morris's learned associate
in the work of the Kelmscott Press and a man who (as
every one but himself would admit) has been the mov-
ing spirit in most of the good and scholarly ventures in
modern English typography, founded the Doves Press. It
owes its odd name to an old riverside inn at Hammersmith
on the Thames, familiar to rowing men, which in turn gave
its name to a cottage which Mr. Cobden-Sanderson (who
had already set up a bindery) used as a work-shop. The
Doves Press was founded, says Mr. Cobden-Sanderson, in
his Catalogue published in 1908, "to attack the problem
of pure Typography, as presented by ordinary books in the
various forms of prose, verse, and dialogue, and keeping
always in view the principle ... that 'The whole duty of Typography is to communicate to the imagination, without loss by the way, the thought or image intended to be conveyed by the Author,' to attempt its solution rather by the arrangement of the whole book, as a whole, with due regard to its parts and the emphasis of its divisions, than by the splendour of ornament, intermittent, page after page." For this press, a single roman font was cut, and the first book produced in it (in 1891) was the Agricola of Tacitus. This Doves type discarded the extreme blackness of Morris's fonts, and was more Italian in character than any which had hitherto appeared in England. It is based on Jenson's roman font, "freed from the accidental irregularities due to imperfect cutting and casting,"—perhaps a fault rather than a virtue,—"and the serifs altered in some cases." It is a very beautiful type, although its regularity, and the rigidity of the descender in the y,₁ make it thin and spiky in appearance, and thus a little difficult to read; nor has it the agreeable "opulence" of the best Italian fonts (fig. 352). The Doves Press books have been, however, among the very best of those printed under the influence of the Morris revival. The Doves Bible (1903) is a masterpiece of restrained style; and although in one or two later volumes a commonplace italic is introduced into the fine roman text, the Doves books have delightful consistency and simplicity. All ornament is eschewed in them, but fine, free initials give a decorative note to the pages here and there. Mr. Walker withdrew from the undertaking in 1909. Mr. Cobden-Sanderson has lately, with considerable elegiac ceremony, brought its work to a close.

₁ A test of the excellence of any type is this—that whatever the combination of letters, no individual character stands out from the rest—a severe requirement to which all permanently successful types conform.
between the seen and the unseen, the finite and the infinite, the human and the superhuman, and is a monumental work of the eighteenth distinguished from the seventeenth century, the century of the Bible and of Milton. Finally, in the nineteenth century, Sartor Resartus, the Essays of Emerson, and Unto this Last, are related & characteristic attempts to turn back the Everlasting Nay of scepticism into the Everlasting Yea of affirmation, & in the presence of the admittedly inexplicable & sublime mystery of the whole, to set man again at work upon the creation of the fit, the seemly, and the beautiful. Browning's Men & Women, now in the press, conceived about the same time, is a more direct presentment of the same positive solution.

These Books printed, as a first essay, the whole field of literature remains open to select from. To-day there is an immense reproduction in an admirable cheap form, of all Books which in any language have stood the test of time. But such reproduction is not a substitute for the more monumental production of the same works, & whether by The Doves Press or some other press or presses, such monumental production, expressive of man's admiration, is a legitimate ambition and a public duty. Great thoughts deserve & demand a great setting, whether in building, sculpture, ceremonial, or otherwise; & the great works of literature have again and again to be set forth in forms suitable to their magnitude. And this

352. Doves Type: Doves Press
REVIVAL OF EARLY FORMS

A private venture which has produced comparatively few books, but among them some of the greatest beauty, is the Ashendene Press, established in 1895, and directed by C. H. St. John Hornby of London. Its first books employed the Caslon and Fell characters—up to 1902. Later, an Italian semi-gothic character, closely resembling the Subiaco type of Sweynheym and Pannartz, was designed for this press by Mr. Walker and Mr. Cockerell (fig. 353). This type was first used in Dante's Inferno, issued in 1902. The splendid Dante of 1909—the works entire, with illustrations by C. M. Gere; Le Morte Darthur (1913); and the beautiful Boccaccio (1913–20), with rubrication, and initials designed by Graily Hewitt, are among its greatest achievements. The Dante ranks with the Doves Bible and the Kelmscott Chaucer—described as the “three ideal books of modern typography,” from the three ideal presses of the Revival.¹ In many books the initials are in colour, and sometimes in gold.

Lucien Pissarro's Eragny Press (like the Kelmscott and the Doves Press, placed at Hammersmith) took its name from Eragny, the Normandy village where Mr. Pissarro was born, and where he studied and worked with his father. His earlier books were printed in the Vale type designed by Ricketts. The Brook type, in which an account of the Eragny Press was printed in 1903, is an agreeable roman letter designed by Pissarro on the lines of the Vale type, with a pleasant movement and admirable legibility (fig. 354). The superiority of its appearance to that of the Vale fonts is due partly to the paper generally used, which is most delightful. Wood-blocks printed in colours are a favourite feature of the Eragny Press books, and the text is their accompaniment. The designing, wood-engraving, and print-

ing are all the work of Pissarro and his wife, though sometimes the illustrations are by other hands.

The Essex House Press, although its first issues were brought out in Caslon types, produced, in 1903, a font called the Prayer Book type—ambitious, but not entirely successful. It was designed by C. R. Ashbee, the director of this press. There are some curiously unfortunate characters in its lower-case letters—the g and f, e and n, for instance—which resemble pen-work, and not very pleasant pen-work at that. His Endeavour type, which in 1901 preceded the Prayer Book font—a letter smaller in size, but with many of the same eccentricities—is obscure and dazzling. And set in these types, it is not surprising that the Essex House books have no great merit. Its work in Caslon types was much the best—and was (as when combined with Edmund New’s delightful illustrations in Wren’s Parentalia) harmonious and simple. As for the Cambridge type of the University Press, Cambridge, it is an unattractive letter, which combines many of the defects of the fonts we owe to the modern revival. It is difficult to see why it was ever cut at all.

Herbert P. Horne designed three types of importance—the Montallegro, the Florence, and the Riccardi. These may be called sister types, for they show a certain progression of idea, and all attack the problem of what a fine type for commercial printing should be—elegant, yet readable from a present day standpoint.

The Montallegro type came first. This type was modelled, as were the others, on an early Florentine font, and was intended to be a good “reading type,” which should have rather more flexibility and grace than the fonts based on older Italian forms. It was first used in Condivi’s Life of Michelagnolo Buonarroti by the Merrymount Press, Bos-
ODI profanum vulgus & arceo;
Favete linguis: carmina non prius
Audita Musarum sacerdos
Virginibus pueros; canto.
Regum timendorum in proprios greges,
Reges in ipsos imperium est Iovis,
Clari Giganteo triumpho,
Cuncta supercilio moventis.
Est ut viro vir latius ordinet
Arbusta sulcis, hic generosior
Descendat in Campus petitor,
Moribus hic meliorque fama
Contendat, illi turba clientium
Sit maior: aequa lege Necessitas
Sortitur insignis & imos;
Omne capax movet urna nomen.
Destructus ensis cui super impia
Cervice pendet, non Siculae dapes
Dulcem elaborabunt saporem,
Non avium citharaeque cantus

34

353. *Type used by the Ashendene Press*
A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN OF THE Eragny PRESS.

Mr. Pissarro first learned to draw from his father, in the fields far from any art school. One day M. Lepère, the well-known engraver, showed him how his tools were held, & finding him interested, gave him two gravers and a scorrer. Thus furnished with the means he made a start and taught himself; with the result that in 1886 F. G. Dumas, editor of the «Revue Illustrée», commissioned him to illustrate a story, «Mait’ Liziard», by Octave Mirbeau. Four woodcuts appeared, but the subscribers to the Review expressed so much disapproval of these illustrations, conceived and executed in the uncompromising spirit of Charles Keene’s work, which Mr. Pissarro greatly admired, that his collaboration was cut short there and then. He learnt later that this epistolary demonstration against his work, which inundated Mr. Dumas’ office, was the work of some students in the atelier of a well-known painter. Disappointed, and having heard that in England there was a group of young artists who were ardently engaged in the revival of wood-engraving, he crossed the Channel with the intention of joining them, having in his pocket an introduction from Félix Fénéon to John Gray.
ton, in 1905, and since in the volumes of *The Humanists' Library* (*fig. 355a*). This type was cut under Mr. Horne's direction by E. P. Prince of London, an English craftsman of great ability and experience, and—within a narrow circle—of great reputation. The types of the Kelmscott, Doves, and other English private presses were from his hand, as well as the Florence and Medici fonts.

The Florence type of 1909 came next. It is somewhat smaller in face and simpler in form than the Montallegro; and is perhaps the most successful of the three. It was cut for Messrs. Chatto & Windus of London (*fig. 355b*).

The last was the Riccardi type, also cut in 1909, based on fonts cut by Miscomini. It has been used in the "Riccardi Press" editions published by the Medici Society of London. A little monotonous in effect and gathering too much colour in printing unless carefully managed, it is so practical that it loses the elegance of the other two fonts (*fig. 355c*). A smaller size of the type (11-point) has been cut for the same series of volumes.

Among other interesting typographical experiments of the later nineteenth century was a Greek type designed by Selwyn Image. This was cut in two sizes, both used in a Greek Testament issued in 1895 (*fig. 356*). It was based on the letter-forms of early Greek manuscripts, modified as little as might be by concessions to the familiar cursive Greek characters of Aldus, which have so unhappily influenced Greek typography. These types are not particularly successful. Robert Proctor's very fine Greek type—the "Otter"—used in the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus, printed in 1904, was another important essay in Greek type-forms.

1 There are other modern private fonts on which I have not touched. For facsimiles of some of them, see Steele's *Revival of Printing*, London, 1912, and *The Art of the Book* (a Special Number of *The Studio*), London, 1914. Also *The Saturday Review*, London, November, 1919.
PRINTING TYPES
(fig. 357). It was based on the noble Greek characters employed in the New Testament in the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, printed at Alcalá in 1514. For this type Proctor designed the capital letters—except the Π. It is fully described by Proctor in a note at the end of the volume; which was produced at the Chiswick Press, for Emery Walker, S. C. Cockerell, and A. W. Pollard.

Next to English special types, similar American fonts are perhaps the most interesting. The fine Montaigne font designed by Bruce Rogers for the Riverside Press, Cambridge, was cut in 1901 for a monumental edition of the Essays of Montaigne, published in 1903. This, Mr. Rogers said, "was an attempt to meet a want that was felt for a large type-face that should avoid, on the one hand, the extreme blackness of the types which Morris's work had made popular, and, on the other, the somewhat thin effect of the

1 Proctor says that with this exception the original font had no capital letters; but according to other authorities it actually had nine. See J. F. R. Lyell's Cardinal Ximenes, London, 1917, p. 47.

2 It would be an injustice to think that all the best energies of modern English printing (which for books I think at present the "soundest" in the world) were exhausted in the work of special presses or the use of specially designed types. All along there has been a steady flow of admirably printed English books of a more normal kind, printed from old style, modern face, and other fonts commonly obtainable. In these types the best English printers have consistently produced a certain class of memoir and many books on architecture, painting, and the fine arts, which are delightful—agreeable to look at, to handle, and to read. The Oxford University Press, the Chiswick Press, the Arden Press, the houses of Constable and of Ballantyne have printed many such books, and there are other less famous presses which almost, and sometimes quite, equal them. Work like this is what the student must look to for some of the best and most characteristic English typography of to-day. Though American ephemeral printing has generally been superior to English, of late some English presses have turned out such work most successfully. The circulars, placards, etc., of the Pelican, Cloister, and Curwen presses are most agreeable in feeling, and their striking effects have been arrived at with commendable simplicity of attack and economy of means.
And if you set him beneath as good a man as him self at the table: that is against his honour. If you doenot visite him at home at his house: then you knowe not your dutie. Theis maner of fashions and behaviours, bring men to such scorne and disdain of their doings: that there is no man, almost, can abide to beholde them: for they love them selves to farre beyonde measure, and busie them selves so much in that, that they finde litlle leisure to

(a)

La lungheza di decta chiesa insulata e braccia ducento sexanta: la quale di fuori et tucta di uarri marmi incrustata, con statue di marmo et porphiri molto adornata per mano di nobili sculptori; maxime di Donato ui e il gigante primo, dalla porta della Assumptione marmorea per mano di Iohanni Banchi, sopra la Annuntiata di musiuo per mano di Domenico Grillandaro. Nella facciata dinanzi e uno evangelista aedere et una statua di uno che si piegha, et in sul cantone uno uccchio, tucte per mano di Donato. Ma a dir ti la uerita, decta facciata, la quale Lorenzo de'

(b)

and it is no exaggeration to say that in no printed book between the closing years of the fifteenth century and those of the nineteenth was any attempt made to obtain them all, though the traditions of good craftsmanship ensured that some of them were preserved in many cases. The fifteenth-century book was avowedly an imitation of a fine manuscript; its type was a copy of the current writing hand, the arrangement of its page was that of a manuscript, its spacing

(c)

335. *Herbert Horne's Montallegro, Florence, and Riccardi Types*
1 ἜΝ ΔΕ ΤΑΙΣ ΗΜΕΡΑΙΣ ἔκανες παραγόντας ἵδινες
2 ὁ βαπτιστής Κηρύσσων ἐν τῷ ἔριμῳ τῆς Ἰουδαίας λέγων
3 Ἔστιν, ἤττικεν γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν. Οὕτως
4 γὰρ ἐστιν ὁ Ῥήματι διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ προφήτου λέγων τούς
5 Ὁ Θεὸς ἔδωκεν ὑμῖν τὴν οἰκουμένην της δόξης του τουπ.
6 Εἴποντες τοὺς ὁδὸν Κυρίου,
7 εἰσεύρεται τὰς τρίδους αὐτοῦ.
8 Αὐτῶς ἰδεῖ ὁ Ἰσαάκ φύλαξ τοῦ ἐκτίμημα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τρίκων
9 καὶ μῖν, οἷον ἐν τῷ Ἑβραίῳ καὶ τῷ Ἱουδαίῳ,
10 καὶ εὐρίσκω διὰ τοῦ Ἰεροδώνου, καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἰονδάνου, ὁ πάτερ
11 τοῦ ἔριμων ποταμοῦ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἐξελεύσωται ταῖς
12 ἀναρτήσως αὐτῶν. Ἡθὼν δὲ πολλοὺς τῶν Ἠρακλείων καὶ
13 Ἡρακλειώτων ἔρωμεν ἐπὶ τὸ βάπτισμα εἴπα αὐτοῖς
14 Γεννώμενα ἔκδωσε, τὰς ὑπέδασεν ὑμῖν φυτεῖν ἀπὸ
15 τῆς μελλούσης ὅρθρος; ποίεστε οὐκ. καρπὸν ἔκων τῆς
16 μεταφοράς καὶ μὴ δοκεῖς λέγειν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς Πατέρα
17 γεγομένων τῶν Ἰσραήλ, λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐκκαταβ οὗ
18 οἷος ἐκ τῶν λελευθερωμένων ἐκεῖνοι τῆς τῆς Ἰσραήλ.
ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝΟΣ ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ
Αγαμέμνων εἰς Ἰλιον ἀρχώμεν ἑκτὸς ἡ Κλυταιμήστρα ἐι
πορεύονται τὸ Ἰλιον ὑπέσχετο τῇς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ση-
μαίνειν διὰ τοῦ πυρσοῦ. Ὁθεν σκοποὺ ἐκάθες ἐπὶ
μισθῷ Κλυταιμήστρα ἱνα τηροῖν τὸν πυρσόν. καὶ ὁ
μὲν ἰδώμ ἀρχήγειλεν, αὐτῇ δὲ Ἰὼν πρεσβυτῶρ ὀχ-
λον μεταπέμπτεται ἑρεί τοῦ πυρσοῦ ἐροῦσα, ἐξ ὧν
καὶ ὁ χορὸς συμίσταται. ὥτινες ἀκούσαντες σκαλανί-
ζουσιν, μετὰ οὖν πολὺ δὲ καὶ Ταλεύβιος παραγίνεται
καὶ τὰ κατὰ Ἰὸν ὁλούν λιχυεῖται. Ἀγαμέμνων δὲ

357. Proctor’s "Otter" Greek Type
ordinary book-faces when used in the larger sizes. It was modelled as closely as possible upon photographs of a page of Jenson's 'Cicero,' but partly by reason of the designing, and partly through the conventional training of the punch-cutter (who was nevertheless a most admirable and skilful workman), the desired quality was only partially attained. The upper-case letters were fairly successful from the first, and required little modification; but the majority of the lower-case characters were recut several times—and were allowed to pass when the expense and the delay became prohibitive. This type is on the 16-point body.” It has been delightfully used by Mr. Rogers in the Montaigne and in some other beautiful books designed by him (fig. 358). Since that time Mr. Rogers has designed another and, to my mind, finer font—the Centaur. The upper-case letters of this font have been, since 1914, in use for the work of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and in 1916 the complete font in 14-point size was shown in Maurice de Guérin's Centaur. Mr. Rogers describes the letter as a refinement on his Montaigne type, and though—as is his wont—he sees ways in which this font could be bettered, it appears to me one of the best roman fonts yet designed in America—and, of its kind, the best anywhere (fig. 359).

The type known as Merrymount was designed for the Merrymount Press about 1895 by Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, the architect, who designed the well-known Cheltenham fonts. He, too, based the Merrymount font on the Jenson letter, but instead of having the courage of our rather wavering convictions and making a type as light as Jenson's, both he and I were seduced by Morris's unduly black types. So we merely modified the heaviness of the Morris fonts, although adopting an early form of roman letter. The result is that the type is too black unless used on large pages,
as in *The Altar Book* (1896) and an edition of the *Agricola* of Tacitus (1904), both in folio (*fig. 360*).

The Humanistic type was designed in Italy, and was based on a manuscript Virgil in the Laurentian Library at Florence. It was cut for the University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Extremely ingenious in its clever rendering of a written letter, it is not, as type, easy to read, and the excessive length of the descenders compels a somewhat leaded composition. It is an interesting letter-form and shows research, but it was not a wholly fortunate experiment, because more calligraphic in effect than is comfortable to the eye. It just lacks the charm of fine writing, and yet is too like it to make a fine type; and so falls between two stools.

What value have these specially designed and privately cut fonts of type? And the answer is: In themselves, very little. They are only in the nature of interesting experiments; and there is scarcely one of them that is absolutely practical. If they have failed, the causes are not far to seek. One minor reason is that most of them were not cut by the man who designed them, and the type-cutter cannot put into them *as he works* the touches which the designer would instinctively give, if he were a type-cutter too. Another reason is, that when a book becomes decorative at the expense of its readability, it ceases to be a book and becomes a decoration, and has then no *raison d’être* as a book. Again: being unaccustomed nowadays to the purer letter-forms to which these types usually approximate, fonts of the kinds we have been considering are for continuous reading almost always consciously trying to the eye. Last and chiefly, such types do not readily lend themselves to the literary and typographical needs of to-day; and indeed there is a great deal of printing that must to-day be done and done
THE BANQUET OF PLATO

APOLLODORUS. I think that the subject of your inquiries is still fresh in my memory; for yesterday, as I chanced to be returning home from Phaleros, one of my acquaintance, seeing me before him, called out to me from a distance, jokingly, ‘Apollo- dorus, you Phalerian, will you not wait a minute?’—I waited for him, and as soon as he overtook me, ‘I have just been looking for you, Apollodorus,’ he said, ‘for I wish to hear what those discussions were on Love, which took place at the party, when Agathon, Socrates, Alcibiades, and some others met at supper. Some one who heard it from Phœnx, the son of Philip, told me that you could give a full account, but he could relate nothing distinctly him-

358. Bruce Rogers’ Montaigne Type
THE CENTAUR. WRITTEN BY MAURICE DE GUÉRIN AND NOW TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH BY GEORGE B. IVES.

Was born in a cavern of these mountains. Like the river in yonder valley, whose first drops flow from some cliff that weeps in a deep grotto, the first moments of my life sped amidst the shadows of a secluded retreat, nor vexed its silence. As our mothers draw near their term, they retire to the caverns, and in the innermost recesses of the wildest of them all, where the darkness is most dense, they bring forth, uncomplaining, offspring as silent as themselves. Their strength-giving milk enables us to endure without weakness or dubious struggles the first difficulties of life; yet

359. Bruce Rogers' Centaur Type
DOMINE omnipotens, Deus patrum nostrorum Abraham, et Isaac et Jacob, et seminis eorum justi, qui fecisti coelum et terram cum omni ornatu eorum; qui ligasti mare verbo praecpti tui; qui conclusisti abyssum, et signasti eam terribili et laudabili nomine tuo; quem omnia pavent et tremunt a vultu virtutis tuæ, quia importabilis est magnificencia gloriae tuae, et insustentabilis ira comminationis tuae super peccatores; immensa vero et investigabilis misericordia promissionis tuae: quoniam tu es Dominus, altissimus, benignus, longaminis, et multum misericors, et pœnitens super malitias hominum. Tu, Domine, secundum multitudinem bonitatis tuae promissisti pœnitentiam et remissionem iis, qui peccaverunt tibi, et multitudine miserationum tuarum decrevisti pœnitentiam peccatoribus in salutem. Tu igitur, Domine Deus justorum, non posuisti pœnitentiam justis, Abraham, et Isaac et Jacob, iis, qui tibi non peccaverunt, sed posuisti pœnitentiam propter me.
well, to which these fonts are not suited at all. The convention which is properly required in their employ restricts their use. For in "artistic" types, as in so much else, art to the Anglo-Saxon is thought out, not felt—conscious rather than instinctive. So-called æsthetic printing,—be it English, American, or German,—taken en bloc, is, in the long run, a bit tiresome. It is so much in earnest that it charms too wisely rather than too well, and fails in the purpose for which all types and books exist.

These fonts have not, I think, directly accomplished all that the designers in their enthusiasm expected. But they are indirectly of value in making us think about earlier and purer type-forms. Students of typography must be familiar with them; and it is only the student who can place them in their proper perspective, and, because he does so, appraise them at their relative and therefore true value. And if type-founders who produce new fonts will continue to study (as they are at last beginning to do) the originals which usually inspired these modern essays, they will recognize how much men have to hark back for good models to the older types, after all. So in spite of some faults and impractical qualities, such essays stimulate the eye and remind printers of standards set by the past. It is from this point of view that they are one of the important contributions of late years to the appreciation and practice of good bookmaking.

II

OUTSIDE of England, Germany was most influenced by the English revival of twenty years ago; more "popularly" influenced than England itself. Up to the time of the War there was a sort of renaissance in German type-founding and printing. The German books of the early nine-
teenth century were not well printed,—neither type nor paper was good,—but they were simple in their poverty, "poor but honest." From 1850 to 1880, the ordinary German book was very bad indeed, because it was at once so cheap and so pretentious. But a new "secession" movement began about 1890, not only in painting but in other fields pertaining to the arts. As far as printing was concerned, the first important note of this revival was struck by George's Blätter für die Kunst; followed in 1894 by the appearance of the secessionist periodical Pan, which introduced Morris's books to the German public, and the typographical style of which greatly influenced contemporary German printers. This was followed in 1899 by the Insel, a similar review, from which grew the Insel-Verlag, Leipsic, whose entire product took on a fine and thoughtful typographical form. Some of its books were printed in modified German gothic types. Books printed in roman type show the influence of English models. Its ventures were effectively supported by the public. Private presses were also set up, and some fine special types were cut for them. Great attention was paid to good calligraphic lettering,¹ for which instructors were brought over from England by the German Government. The volumes brought out by the Hyperion-Verlag and Century Press of Munich (Hans von Weber), by the Tempel-Verlag, the Insel-Verlag, and the Janus Press at Leipsic, the "special editions" of Ernst Rowohlt (Drucklin-Drucke) of Leipsic, the books of Diederichs of Jena, and of Georg Müller of Munich show the best book-making of this modern German revival.

As to types, besides the best current German and roman

¹ For Austrian work in calligraphy see Rudolph von Larisch's Unterricht in Ornamentaler Schrift. K. K. Hof- und Staats druckerei, Vienna, 1913—an important and interesting study. In this connection a roman type designed by C. O. Czeschka — the Czeschka Antiqua — should be looked at.
types obtainable, fonts in both were specially designed and cut for the work of these houses—notably the modified gothic character designed by E. R. Weiss. This Weiss-Fraktur was highly considered in Germany, and was an attempt to solve the problem of a "book face" of German script which should be agreeable and readable. The types designed by Behrens, Koch, Tiemann, Wieynk, Kleukens, König, Hölzl, and Ehmcke, are characteristic of the merits and defects of this school of type-design.

Of the results of all this effort, it is less easy to speak. While the cheap, popular books were admirable, the more ambitious German volumes were mannered and intentional. Like most modern German work in other forms of artistic endeavour, they produce a certain sensation, but not that of pleasure; they astonish rather than charm. To one who possessed a modern "secession" house, with a classic-hygienic-penal looking library, I suppose such books would be the only kind to have.¹ For these determined volumes, as we view them in perspective, seem to have run true to form and to have been characteristic of the life about them—but alas, that is another story!

For us, German book-making closed memorably with the beautiful exhibition held at Leipzig in the summer of 1914.

No doubt a certain northern quality in Morris's work commended itself more to Teutonic than to Latin taste. So in Italy the "revival" showed itself chiefly in a return to old forms of roman letter. A type closely modelled on Morris's Golden type was used by the Fratelli Treves of Milan in an edition of D'Annunzio's Francesca da Rimini issued in 1902. Since that time there have been many similar books,

¹ For illustrative material I refer the reader to the Times Printing Number, London, 1912 (Fine Printing in Germany, pp. 58 et seq.), and The Art of the Book, Special Number of The Studio, 1914 (The Art of the Book in Germany, by L. Deubner, with specimens of types described).
but the tendency has been toward lighter types and free and sometimes startling unconventionality in decoration. The magazine edited by the Milanese printer Bertieri—Risorgimento Grafico—and printed by Bertieri and Vanzetti, employs a roman type of free design which is agreeable to the eye, though there is too much space between individual letters to make it wholly successful (fig. 361).

In Holland, there is evidence of the spread of the movement toward earlier letter-forms in the Distel type designed for J. F. van Royen's Zilverdistel Press at The Hague, by Lucien Pissarro. This is intended to imitate old Netherlands writing (fig. 362). The narrowing of paragraph-marks is a clever way of subduing an obstreperous character in such fonts. The Zilver type (fig. 363), on the order of the Doves Press font, was cut for the Zilverdistel, and the historic Enschedé types have been employed for some of its work. Interest in typography is also evidenced by the existence of the Typografische Bibliotheek at Amsterdam. In Belgium, the Musée du Livre at Brussels is a somewhat similar establishment. The latter lately issued Sept Études publiées à l'occasion du Quatrième Centenaire de Christophe Plantin, printed from old types—more curious than beautiful—in the Musée Plantin at Antwerp.

Although in France the Morris revival never had much vogue, it is interesting to recall that a year or two before the founding of the Kelmscott Press some delightful gothic types—a clever rendering of the best form of lettre batarde—were cut by E. Mouchon for a reproduction of Simon Vostre's Heures à l'Usage de Rome of 1498, of which a page is reproduced (fig. 364). The book was printed by O. Jouaust and published in 1890 by L. Gauthier, who was, by the way, élève and successor to Curmer of Paul et Virginie celebrity. Save for this and a few similar exam-
LE ABBREVIAZIONI, di Giuseppe Fumagalli. La moda, certamente lodevole, introdotta in questi ultimi tempi di disegnare nuovi caratteri i quali imitino i modelli dei nostri primi maestri dell’arte della stampa, ha indotto i fonditori a un eccesso che non è ugualmente da lodarsi, di riprodurre anche le lettere speciali e le abbreviazioni che s’incontrano con tanta frequenza nelle pagine di quegli antichi tipografi; e poiché i tipografi d’oggi non sempre usano a proposito tali lettere, delle quali non tutti conoscono il significato, sarà utile discorrere qui brevemente delle abbreviazioni nelle antiche scritture, con particolare riguardo a quelle che s’incontrano nelle vecchie stampe. L’uso delle abbreviazioni è noto che venne dai manoscritti antichi dove s’introdusse ed ebbe grande diffusione, specialmente negli ultimi secoli del medio evo, per due cause, la prima, il desiderio naturale di scrivere più rapidamente e più brevemente che fosse possibile le parole di uso più frequente, qualora, abbreviate, non potessero essere fraintese nella lettura, e la seconda, la necessità di risparmiare spazio di fronte alla scarsità della pergamina: questa si fece più sensibile nel se-

361. Type of Risorgimento Grafico: Bertieri and Vanzetti, Milan, 1921
Wie sel den hoghen dans verstaen
Dat nighen dat swighen dat stille staen
Dat sweuen omme ende omme
Dat treden van dat sweuen an
Die snelle hoghe spronghe
(Die minne staet die minne gaet
Die minne singhet die minne springhet
Die minne rust in der minnen
Die minne slaept die minne waect
Wie mach dit al verfinnen
(Die blankende cleder sijn al ghespreit
Die duerbaer vaet sijn al bereit
Elc nae sijn behoren
Al wat dat in den houe dient
Dat heeft die minne vercoren
(Die duerbaer vaet van hoghen schijn
Mit edelen cruden mit puren wijn
Si houden edel wise
Si tonen haren edelen aert
Die minne die wilse prisen
(Wat vroechde mach in den houe sijn
Daer also milde schenkers sijn
Die hoghe vroechde maken

362. Distel Type: Zikverdistel Press, The Hague, 1918
DECEMBER MCMXV. DE ZILVERDISTEL BRENGT TER KENNISNEMING: HET IS ONS DOEL NIET, DOOR DITSCHRYVENTE WYZEN OP DE WERKZAAMHEID VAN DE ZILVERDISTEL. In een uiteenzetting, die afzonderlijk wordt uitgegeven, zal men alles omtrent haar grondbeginselen, haar streven, haar programma kunnen lezen. Dit geschreven dient slechts, om een vaster werkzijne te verzekeren voor een deel onzer voor, nemens. De ervaring heeft geleerd, dat ons streven in het buitenland alle waardeering vindt, die het mogelijk maakt om de door ons overwogen serie buitenlandse boeken uit te geven; naast deze willen wij echter die van Nederlandsche litteratuur niet ter zijde laten. Veeleer dringt zij zich het eerst aan onze aandacht op. Zij is het, aan wier meesterwerken wij in de eerste plaats de zorgen van DE ZILVERDISTEL wenschen te besteden, opdat zij de boekkunstige werkelijkhandeling vinden, waartoe wij naar ons inzicht hen als gerechtigd, ons als verplicht erkennen. De ervaring heeft nochtans mede geleerd, dat voor het uitvoeren van onze plannen op dit gebied een andere werkzijne ware te volgen, dan voor onze boeken voor het buitenland bestemd. Kleiner immer is ons land, geringer het aantal van hen, die tegelijkertijd en in de Nederlandsche letterkunde en in de vaderlandsche boekkunst belangstelling; en al weten wij door onder, vinding, dat een voldoende getal personen, die de be.

Table des matières.

Fêtes mobises & calendrier perpétuel.
Prières du matin.
Prière au Saint-Esprit.
Consecration au sacre Cœur.
Prières du soir.
Psalme De profundis, r op. Fidelium,
Ordinaire de la Miss.
Antique d'actions de grâces.
Pêtres du Dimanche.
Complies.
Pêtres de la sainte Vierge.
La Nativité de Notre-Seigneur.
L'Épiphanie de Notre-Seigneur.
Le Dimanche de la Résurrection.
L'Ascension de Notre-Seigneur.
La Fête de la Pentecôte.
La Fête du Saint-Sacrement.
L'Assomption de la sainte Vierge.
La Fête de tous les Saints.
Pêtres des Morts.
Miss de l'enterrement.
Prières pour le sacrement de Pénitence.
Prières pour la Communion.
Saluts du Saint-Sacrement.
Cérémonies à messe du Mariage.

364. French Lettre Batarde, Paris, 1890
THE CONTINENTAL REVIVAL

amples of reproduction of old types, the old-fashioned formulae for fine book-making still survives.

Entirely outside any influence of Mr. Morris, and for that reason scarcely within the limits of this chapter, some recent developments in French type-founding may be mentioned here. Of modern French foundries, that of G. Peignot & Fils, Paris, has contributed most to interesting and unusual typography. Founded by Gustave Peignot (who died in 1899), in the hands of his second son, Georges Peignot, it issued several series of type which strike a new note in French printing. The first—which appeared in 1897—was the Grasset type, followed in 1902 by the Auriol type, designed by Georges Auriol. Both of these had considerable vogue in France, but were too distinctly Gallic in flavour to commend themselves to the public of other countries.

A contribution of more general application is the series called Les Cochins, based on eighteenth century engraved and typographic material, but by no means slavishly following it. About 1914, a brochure was issued describing and showing these fonts, entitled Les Cochins, Caractères & Vignettes renouvelés du XVIIIe Siècle. Of the type-designs, the first, Le Cochin, is based on engraved characters, especially in its delightful italic (fig. 365), and may be used for entire books; Le Nicolas-Cochin (in roman only) is an exaggerated form of letter with extremely tall ascenders, more obviously based on engraving, which it recalls in its sharpness of outline. It is effective for title-pages or ephemeral printing, though too eccentric to have lasting value. Both types are admirably adapted for what are called in France travaux de ville. They have been used with charming effect in the Gazette du Bon Ton, in Christmas numbers of L’Illustration, and in similar ephemeral publications. To them were
PRINTING TYPES

added as equipment Le Fournier-le-jeune, a series of ornamental italic capitals à la Fournier, which he in turn had adapted from engraved originals; and Le Moreau-le-jeune, an imitation of engraved open lettering—wrong in theory, but so well done as to be charming. The Vignettes Fournier supplied to accompany these types are more or less faithful renderings of ornaments shown in Fournier’s Manuel. The other ornaments by Pierre Roy and by Marty are not good.

The type designed by Giraldou and cast by De Berny is an essay in aesthetic characters which is creditable but scarcely successful, though used by Jules Meynial, who has employed the Cochin types with such exquisite results.

But to my mind, the healthiest sign in modern French printing has been the popularity of a revived use of Garmond’s and Grandjean’s types and other ancient fonts in editions printed by the Imprimerie Nationale. The monumental Histoire de l’Imprimerie en France au XVᵉ et au XVIᵉ siècle, by Anatole Claudin,¹ begun in 1900, is the classical

¹ Monsieur Claudin had his Paris book-shop in a series of somewhat forbidding rooms on the rive gauche, not far from the Institut, and there I once or twice met him. Like most French bibliophiles, he was full of enthusiasm for his favourite subject, took rare books most seriously, and—like most Frenchmen—did not much enjoy travel. A friend of mine, a great collector of fine books, met Claudin in Paris many years ago, and Claudin told him that he was making some investigations about the Horé of Vérand and others. “Monsieur,” said my friend, “I have in America several of Vérand’s Books of Hours which are entirely at your disposal.” Monsieur Claudin thanked him politely, and the conversation turned to other things. The next summer, my friend, being again in France, paid another visit to Claudin. “I have so often thought of those books you spoke about,” said Claudin, “and wished that I could see two or three of them.” “Oh,” was the reply, “had I known that, I could have brought them over with me.” Monsieur Claudin looked very serious. “Sir,” he said, “is it not enough to entrust your own life to the terrible sea, without also offering to imperil the existence of les vrais chefs d’œuvre?”

A much less famous bookseller on the rive droite, to whom I once applied for a book, shook his head, saying wearily, “No, I have not that work. It can only be obtained across the water.” After some questioning I discovered that by “the water” he meant the Seine!
LES COCHINS.

LE COCHIN

2115 - Corps 7.

Le médecin Bouvard avait sur le visage une balafre en forme de C qui le défigurait beaucoup. Diderot disait que c'était un coup qu'il s'était donné en tenant maladroitement la sauge de la mort.

On demandait à un polichinelle ce qu'il y avait dans sa boîte de demon... Des ordres, dit-il. — Et dans la boîte de démoncer? — Des contre-ordres.

ENTRAÎLLES DE PETIT-MAÎTRE À LA MAINTENON

2116 - Corps 8.

Ceux qui rapportent tout à l'opinion, ressemblent à ces comédiens qui jouent mal pour être applaudis, quand le goût du public est mauvais. Quelques-uns auraient le moyen de bien jouer si le goût du public était bon.

Al... disait de M. de la Reynière, chez qui tout le monde va pour sa table, et qu'on trouve ennuyeux : on le mange, mais on ne le digère pas.

COULEUR CHEVEUX DE LA REINE
MASCARADE CHEZ LA MARQUISE

2118 - Corps 10.

La plupart des faiseurs de recueils de vers ou de bons mots ressemblent à ceux qui mangent des cerises ou des hufières, choisissant d'abord les meilleures et finissant par tout manger.

C'est un proverbe turc que ce beau mot : « O malheur! je te rends grâce, si tu es seul! »

GUÉMENÉE, FONTENOUY
BERGÈRE ET MÉNÉTRIER

2119 - Corps 12.

On est heureux ou malheureux par une foule de choses qui ne paraissent pas, qu'on ne dit point et qu'on ne peut dire.

Et l'on fausse son esprit, comme on gâte son estomac.

GENLIS, FRONSAC
LEVER DE LA REINE

example of the modern use of such types. The prefatory matter is composed in Garamond's characters, and the text of the work in Grandjean's *romain du roi*, from fonts newly cast for this purpose. It is probably the finest book on printing that has ever been published.
CHAPTER XXIII

THE CHOICE OF TYPES FOR A COMPOSING-ROOM

I

n suggesting types for the equipment of a composing-room, I take for granted that the owner of the ideal printing-house1 of which it is to form a part is a man who adopts the professional rather than the trade view of his occupation. This means that the workmanship in all departments of his establishment will be of the best, and that the types will be chosen with an educated taste and from a scholarly point of view. The product of such a printing-house cannot, from the necessity of things, be termed either “commercial” or “artistic,” as these words are usually employed; since artistic printing is merely printing so exactly and agreeably suited to its object as to charm us, which work called commercial may certainly do. For “charm is nothing but the kind of light that shines out from the fittingness of things which are well put together and well devised one with another and all together. Without this measure even the good is not beautiful; and beauty is not pleasing.” Such a press as that of which I speak should have the aims which so often exist in the mind of the amateur without technical ability to execute them, combined with the execution of the skilled technician who may not possess the point of view of the lover or student of fine printing. Furthermore, if a press is to do the work of to-day in a satisfactory manner, the class of equipment analogous to that of the first printers—which consisted of a few fonts of type, generally employed in a somewhat rigid and inelastic manner—will not serve its purpose. In making a choice of types for a composing-

1 “Printing-house” was the old term for what is sometimes erroneously called a print-shop — the latter, properly speaking, being a shop where engravings or prints are for sale.
THE CHOICE OF TYPES

room, while some types of early form may be desirable, we shall find more material among those designed by Baskerville, Caslon, Didot, Bodoni, Wilson, and other eighteenth century founders, and their derivatives; to which must be added the best types of to-day.

There are two preliminary statements which apply to the purchase of all types. First, that in buying a series of type, every size obtainable should be procured, so that the range shall be as great, and the gradations as slight, as possible: good typography demanding that the sizes of type used must be, not approximately, but precisely, those that suit the eye. Second, that each size must be bought in sufficient quantity to meet all probable needs; for a few complete series in large fonts are far more valuable than thrice the amount broken up into small fonts of many different series. If a printer knows how to use type, the variety of accent he can obtain from one series is almost unlimited. For instance, in a 12-point type he has roman capitals, italic capitals, roman capitals in combination with small capitals, small capitals alone, and roman and italic lower case—six variations

Cambridge
Cambridge
Cambridge

in size, colour, or effect, which should be, and indeed are, enough for the requirements of an entire book. Multiply these six variations by the number of body-sizes in a series of type, and you have an enormous keyboard on which the typographer may play. If, with this great repertoire to choose from, a printer is obliged to resort to fanciful display letters or heavy-faced type for accent, it proves that he lacks understanding of the use of normal types.
In discussing the selection of types and decorative material I have made the following classification:

1. Types that seem indisputably standard, on which there is no possibility of going astray; or, if I may so call them, "types of obligation."

2. Types which, while standard, are not of universal utility, as they can be used appropriately only for books of a particular character.

3. Types that are based upon some historic fonts or show that their designer was a student of early type-forms; and fonts adapted for "publicity," though not usually suitable for the printing of books.

4. Types of approved utility for decorative use.

5. Initial letters and type ornaments.

§ 1

In the class of types which appear to be beyond criticism from the point of view of beauty and utility, the original Caslon type stands first. This is a letter identified with old English work, and as we follow the traditions of English printing rather than those of Continental countries, Caslon's types are ours by inheritance. Enough has been said about their history to make further words here unnecessary. Caslon type should be had from the Caslon foundry; for the versions offered in various other quarters are not in all respects as good. Fonts should be as closely fitted as possible—not always the case, even in types put out by the Caslons themselves. No Caslon font—or for that matter any other—is desirable if adapted to the standard lining system by shortened descenders.

The variant letters which are supplied with Caslon and with many other types in the nature of old style, are characteristic and useful—such as swash italic capitals, the italic
THE CHOICE OF TYPES

lower-case ɔ and ʃ used to begin words, and the ɭ for use at the ends of words. These swash letters, as employed by thoughtless compositors or designers, have sometimes produced very absurd effects. Only certain of the swash italic capitals can be successfully placed in the middle of a word, the design of the rest suggesting their position either as initial or final letters. Used "discreetly, advisedly, soberly," swash letters give variety and movement to pages of type. Furthermore, both in roman and italic, long s and its combinations with ascending letters are interesting letter-forms.1 Some tied letters lately supplied in the reproduction of an historical font are: ɒʃ, ᵢʃ, ᵤʃ, ᵩʃ, ʃʃ, ʃʃ, ʃʃ, ʃʃ, ʃʃ. It is to be wished that terminal a’s, e’s, m’s, and n’s, with tails intended to fill out lines, were available. Apart from the agreeable appearance of these specially old-fashioned characters, they are useful in reprints of old books. And so, too, are superior letters, which are desirable for reprints of old work, or for modern books printed in antique style. In old style fonts, signs to indicate notes—star, dagger, double dagger, etc.—are more interesting and picturesque, typographically, than superior figures, which I prefer not to use with an old style type. They are particularly appropriate to books of an historical or genealogical nature. For liturgical books the common liturgical signs must also be supplied, and of these peculiar sorts I suggest—at the risk of repetition—that there must be enough of each of them to allow work to go on unimpeded by an inadequate supply of a kind of material that at short notice it is hard to get.

Finally, the original old style arabic figures—nowadays called "non-ranging"—should be used with all old style

1 The abolition of the long s, it is popularly thought, we owe to the London publisher John Bell, who in his British Theatre, issued about 1775, discarded it. Franklin, writing in 1786, says that "the Round s begins to be the Mode and in nice printing the Long f is rejected entirely."
fonts. Such figures as those in the Dutch types given by Dr. John Fell to the Oxford University printing-house are among the best of their kind; and Caslon's old style arabic numerals are lively and agreeable type-forms. Of these, the numbers 1, 2, and 0 cover only the middle of the body; 6 and 8 are the ascending, and 3, 4, 5, 7, and 9 the descending figures (fig. 366). "In no characters," said Mr. Morris, "is the contrast between the ugly and vulgar illegibility of the modern type and the elegance and legibility of the ancient more striking than in the arabic numerals. In the old print each figure has its definite individuality, and one cannot be mistaken for the other; in reading the modern figures the eyes must be strained before the reader can have any reasonable assurance that he has a 5, an 8 or a 3 before him, unless the press-work is of the best."

Second in the first class of types stands the modern face known in America as "Scotch." In this type the letters are more regular in design than in old style fonts. Perhaps the most beautiful form of it ever brought out was that cut by William Martin; and a very close copy if not actually the same face was produced in Scotland in the last century—notably in the "Series of Old Founts" by Messrs. Miller & Richard of Edinburgh. The Wayside Series of the American Type Founders Company—if in its original form, with long descenders—is a fairly satisfactory equivalent.

Modern face types appear, at first sight, clearer to the eye and more easily read than old style, but they are really less so in the long run. Our newspapers are printed in various poor forms of "modern face," which is, therefore, familiar.

1 The old-fashioned figures were employed until about 1785, when Hunter introduced into his logarithmic tables the new form called "ranging." In them a larger size was needful for legibility. About 1845, both the Royal Astronomical Society and the Superintendent of the (English) Nautical Almanac decided to restore the non-ranging figures.
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*Arabic Figures used by Simon de Colines, Paris, 1536*

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366. Arabic Figures, Non-Ranging and Ranging
THE CHOICE OF TYPES

to the public; so that old style types seem a little archaic to most persons. Modern face type is admirable for books of a scientific or technical character, and, as it is likely to be used for such work, the mathematical, geometric, algebraic, botanical, astronomical, and other special signs should be fully supplied with it. Very beautiful books have been made from larger sizes of this type—such as the pica—generously leded; but smaller sizes appear monotonous if set solid, and if leaded, weak; and any size, if unskilfully used, may become very commonplace in effect. To make a distinguished use of a modern face is more difficult, it appears to me, than with old style type. None the less, it is excellently adapted for certain sorts of work which could not be executed so appropriately in an old style letter.

A third type (which originated with Binny & Ronaldson of Philadelphia over a hundred years ago) is in design transitional between old style and modern face. For books where the old-fashioned air of Caslon would be too obtrusive, and yet which call for a letter more interesting in design than the somewhat bald Scotch face, there is nothing better. I should not advise the purchase of this transitional series at the expense of the first two types chosen, but it will frequently do the work of either. Some of its italic has a certain naïve quality, though that for the 11-point (No. 1)—superior to the rest—was the work of an accomplished type-cutter. This type is not obtainable above 12-point or below 9-point, although Binny & Ronaldson's specimen of 1812 shows also brevier and minion. It is called “Oxford” by the American Type Founders Company, from whom it may be had. I have used it for this book. It seems to me a type of real distinction.

1 The nonpareil and pearl do not appear to be of the same series.
§ 2

Types of our second class, while standard, are limited in utility, because only to be used appropriately for certain kinds of printing.

The type which stands first in value in this category is called in English specimen-books “revived old style face,” and in this country “modernized old style.” It was an intentional attempt on the part of English letter-founders to modify the rather irregular character of Caslon’s letter design without copying the rigidity of the modern face. It has, in certain ways, an affinity with some of the types which were put out by Wilson, in which he modified the Caslon irregularities; and this type in turn is a modification of the more spirited designs of Wilson’s fonts. It is rather a broader letter than Caslon’s, with a body notably high in relation to its ascenders. This type is useful only in its best form, which appears to be that cut in England about 1850. If this best form is well composed and well printed, fine books have been and can be made from it; but it requires care in setting and printing because, like some of its precursors, its effect may be spoiled by uneven typesetting and poor presswork. While not a necessary type for an office, it is a good one. It has the advantage of giving to the repertoire of a printing-house a certain variety; for printers often become weary of using the same kind of type, even though their customers may appear to desire no change.

Another type for which one has a high respect, but which can only be used for even more special occasions, is that commonly called “French Old Style” or “Elzévier.” The best form of this type appears to be that brought out by Mayeur of Paris, about 1878. Although styled “Elzévier,” it has a greater resemblance to the types poétiques cut by
THE CHOICE OF TYPES

Luce in the eighteenth century. Its italic is more useful than its roman, because it has an interesting series of swash capitals and some unusual tied lower-case letters. Extensively copied, I do not think that versions produced in this country—of which the best is called “Cadmus Old Style”—are as good as the French original. I should therefore suggest that the type be procured from French foundries. If used with a nice sense of taste, such a type is suitable for entire books and is excellent for ephemeral printing.

§ 3

The last fifteen years have witnessed, in architecture and decoration, an increasingly careful study of the art of historical periods, and this has had an effect upon book-making. At first, such types as were available were utilized to reconstitute books in the styles of different times and countries. Naturally enough, this soon led to the production of types inspired by certain historical type-forms, the earliest of which were privately owned fonts specially designed for a given purpose or a particular press. Later, similar fonts were put on sale by founders for whatever use a printer chose to make of them; the success of their use depending on the printer’s skill. In the first of these, type-founders “improved” what they said they set out to copy, with the inevitable result of impairing the original design; but several later fonts of this class indicate a growing appreciation of the necessity of a stricter adherence to the originals.

The Cloister Old Style roman was based on a study of Nicolas Jenson’s long-suffering and as yet unrivalled font, and its italic is of an interesting early form. It is a practical type; not very inspired, perhaps, yet quiet and satisfactory because not attempting too much; and, just because of its unobtrusive quality, lending itself better to a good
deal of work than the more distinguished Garamond series, based on the Caractères de l'Université cut by Claude Garamond in the seventeenth century. In the latter, the italic is better than the roman; for in its roman the height of capitals as compared with short lower-case letters is much greater than in the original, and they are also more condensed. Less free than the type which Garamond cut, it is yet so much freer than most modern fonts that it may be recommended as a picturesque and useful letter.

While the Cloister or the Garamond—both brought out by the American Type Founders Company—may not be absolutely necessary to an office, a type of this historic class should be selected because occasionally useful in books dealing with artistic subjects where slightly archaic types are suitable; or for announcements and other ephemeral printing which permit a certain latitude of treatment. I doubt if such fonts make comfortable reading editions of standard works.

The Kennerley type, cut by Frederic Goudy, whose work has had a distinct influence on recent American type-forms, is a freely designed letter which has been much praised in many quarters. Its capitals are excellent, but the lower-case roman, except perhaps in 10-point, seems to "roll" a little; and, as was said of another of Mr. Goudy's types, "when composed in a body, the curves of the letters—individually graceful—set up a circular, whirling sensation that detracts somewhat from legibility. That is to say, the curves are perhaps too round and soft, and lack a certain snap and acidity." The italic lower-case—less successful—is a letter of approximately uniform line, recalling (to its disadvantage)

1 This and other fonts produced by Mr. Goudy on his own account are interestingly displayed on a broadside entitled, A Specimen of Types designed and sold by Frederic W. Goudy, The Village Letter-Foundery, Forest Hill Gardens, New York.
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those used by some early French printers. The Kennerley appears to me a little consciously modelled on early types—more “precious” than valuable. It is a question whether it is merely an ennobled form of publicity type or a book face the value of which has yet to be proved. According to Leonardo, “Truth was the daughter of Time.” So it will be more polite—and safer—to let the Lady decide.

Cheltenham Old Style, designed by Mr. Goodhue, is among those types that Time and his Daughter have definitely devoted to publicity, although it has been occasionally used for books. Owing to certain eccentricities of form, it cannot be read comfortably for any length of time. Its capitals are better than its lower-case, which is too “perpendicular” in effect—a fault appropriate to so distinguished an architect of Gothic buildings! It is, however, an exceedingly handsome letter for ephemeral printing.

A second type that seems to me to have found its place in the same class is Bodoni. Some people might call it an historical font; but the “Bodoni” type of commerce is a composite picture of many of Bodoni’s fonts, rather than a reproduction of any one of them. None the less, it is in effect somewhat foreign, and that is its disadvantage; for a volume set in it suggests a Continental reprint of an English book—an impression by which one is perpetually, though perhaps subconsciously, teased. It can be utilized for short addresses, circulars, and advertising, with great success—as in the charming use of it by Mr. T. M. Cleland. To printer-designers as skilful as Cleland it may be recommended.

§ 4

Black-letter, though nowadays rarely used, as it originally was, for the text of entire books, has survived for ornamental purposes; especially in liturgical printing. This type is un-
readable to some people and puzzling (in mass) to most, so it must be used cautiously. It can be combined most successfully with old style types. With more "modern" faces it is out of accord. The best form of this English national letter is that cut by William Caslon in 1734. Most of the variants of Caslon's black-letter have been unsatisfactory because too thick or too thin, too modelled or not enough so.

The gothic paragraph-marks that sometimes accompany black-letter types are interesting and should be had; as well as the "peculiar sorts" of these fonts—the round r (r), old ampersand (&&), ligatured letters, liturgical signs, etc. The so-called black-letter arabic figures, the dollar-mark, and modern ampersand may be rejected. Roman forms of enumeration—by letters—should be used in printing numbers in black-letter type, and the word "dollars" printed in full. In many gothic fonts, the same letter-form is still used—as it should be—for both capital I and J. But the capital U—anctely used for V as well—is generally supplemented by a V of modern design, which is seldom satisfactory.

Other black-letters that are sometimes useful and always interesting are the Old Flemish Black, based on one of Caxton's types, cut by Vincent Figgins; and a round gothic letter called Old Tudor Black, cut by F. Tarrant and E. P. Prince for Messrs. Miller & Richard, recalling round Italian gothic types. Beautiful French batarde and civilité fonts may be secured from French foundries.

A type based on eighteenth century engraved lettering, although of an entirely different kind from black-letter, may be employed in a similar way—to give here and there an ornamental touch to pages set in old style types. Its peculiarly French character limits its use, which must be sparing in any case. It is called in this country French Script,
THE CHOICE OF TYPES

but the series brought out by Mayeur of Paris is styled Les Batardes Coulées.

For lines set in capital letters on covers and in title-pages, the Goudy Old Style roman capitals are good. In design they have an agreeable freedom, and they compose into strong lines of dignified letter. Where a more unconventional letter-design is not unsuitable, Goudy’s Forum capitals are to be recommended.

§ 5

For “free” initial letters—to cover two, three, or more lines of text—fonts of capitals cast without shoulders are desirable. Complete series of these “titling-letters” in both old style and modern face should be procured. With transitional types, old style initials will serve satisfactorily.

French Old Style roman capitals make a distinguished initial letter, and Goudy Old Style roman capitals are also effective for this purpose. For use with black-letter, a few good alphabets of free gothic capitals—notably the series called “Missal”—are available. These plain roman or gothic letters are, as a rule, preferable to ornamented initials.

For occasional use in printing of a more fanciful kind, the four sizes of Moreau-le-jeune outline roman capitals and the three sizes of Fournier-le-jeune ornamented italic capitals brought out by the Peignot foundry of Paris are very good indeed.

Of decorative alphabets there are three classes: old alphabets used by famous printers such as Tory, Ratdolt, Estienne, Plantin, and others, which are handsome but somewhat hackneyed; alphabets of a much later style, some of them versions of those used by Whittingham at the Chis-

¹So called because often used for titles requiring several lines of capitals where the shoulder of regular capitals would introduce too much space between lines.
wick Press; and a few modern series. No rule can be laid down in selecting such alphabets, because it depends so much on personal taste. Nor can we tell where to find them, for they must be gathered from many different foundries. Initials of large size are comparatively rarely used; so alphabets of small-sized letter are usually the most practical, and, it may be added, are somewhat harder to get. Furthermore, if one can secure a capable designer who thoroughly understands the line required in decorations to be used with types, he may be employed to draw a special alphabet; for this is a valuable asset to a printing-office. Some volumes printed by T. & A. Constable employ an alphabet designed by Laurence Housman, intended to accompany a modified old face type, which is a good example of a fine specially drawn series of decorative letters.

In some of the best old and modern printing, the only typographical ornaments used are solid black florets or "ivy leaves." These are a very early form of type ornament, and fifteenth and sixteenth century books, in which they constantly appear, show most of the best varieties. Froben's books are full of such ornaments. Those still used by the Oxford University Press were part of Dr. Fell's gift. Florets give life to a large or solid page of type, where other less sedate forms of ornament would not be appropriate. Most of them accord best with sturdy old style types. Some more sharply cut designs of later date harmonize better with modern face types.¹

¹ Maltese crosses — still employed as florets in country printing-offices and by countrified printers in towns — are not ornaments at all, but a definite liturgical sign indicating blessing. Except where one is placed at the head of a religious inscription as a symbol, they should not be used for decoration. Oddly enough, they are most frequently employed by printers for non-liturgical Protestant bodies, which, if they knew what they meant, would not want them!
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As early types became lighter, ornaments became more open and complicated in design, and in combination formed definite patterns. Examples have come down to us from the earliest foundries, and are seen in their specimen-sheets—e.g., that of the sale of the Van Dyck types.

Rowe Mores (in his Dissertation) says, "Metal-flowers were the first ornaments used in printed books to be set at the head of the first page and the tail of the last page, as well as the head and tail of any separate part of the whole work. And they were sometimes used as an edging to the matter according to the taste of the author or the printer. They were used but sparingly and with small variety, but in time they became more numerous, and were cut in several shapes, forms and devices, and continued in reputation till Cutters in Wood supplanted them. When Mr. Moxon wrote they were accounted old-fashioned. But the use of them was revived by the French and Germans and the variety of them considerably encreased by the Two Mr. James's in England." The older English "flowers," he continues, often "expressed some meaning and were adapted to other purposes than barely to dress and decorate a page. They were formed from real objects, natural and artificial, civil and military—as from weeds and flowers of the field and garden, leaves, branches, fruits, flower-baskets, flower-pots, urns, crosses, banners, launces, swords, and tilting spears, and other simples culled from the fields of nature and of heraldry; yet germane to the subject matter of the work. They were frequently emblematical and monitory; as cherubs' faces for the hymns of charity girls, hour-glasses for lugubrious orators, and mort-heads for the parish-clerks. They were symbolical of nations; as the crown and rose, the crown and lyz, the crown and harp;—of dignities and orders; as diadems, crowns, mitres and coronets; the red
hat called at Camb. the Cardinal’s cap, where too the mitre is called the golden night-cap; the courtelass; the arms of Ulster, and the anchor of hope; the Scotch thistle and sprigs of rue; . . . of states and conditions; as the myrtle, the weeping willow, and the bugle-horn.”

Equivalents of many of the “flowers” described by Mores are to be found in Caslon’s early specimen-sheets, which show those he designed for use with his own types, and which are carefully adapted to harmonize in colour with letter-press. Solid black masses are usually avoided, and in some designs cross-hatching is employed to give variety of effect and help the presswork. Of their kind there is nothing superior to Caslon’s “flowers,” and the larger assortment of them one has, the better.

With the ebb and flow of colour and strength in types, the weight of ornaments changed. As, toward the end of the eighteenth century, type-faces became lighter, “flowers” became more delicate—or, as Mores, writing in 1778, says, “mère figures of fancy, made up of circular oval and angular turns, contrived to look light airy and unmeaning, and to try the genius or patience of a compositor.” With modelled types of the early nineteenth century, ornaments became still thinner and more wiry in effect. During the reign of fat-faced types the ornaments also waxed fat. In short, there was a distinct difference between the type ornaments of 1750, 1790, and 1820, and accordingly they cannot be used interchangeably. The French ornaments, flowers, and borders in Fournier’s Manuel of 1764 show that they were designed to decorate pages set in types of that time and in

1 About twenty years ago, these old ornaments fell on evil days, a few of them being redrawn for several American foundries in “chap-book” style. This heavy rendering accorded in weight with the massive black type then in fashion—a style with which they were out of keeping. The original forms are the only ones worth considering.
THE CHOICE OF TYPES

those only. Employed with the types of Didot, used forty years later, they look coarse and inharmonious. We can use these "ivy leaves" or "flowers" properly, only by remembering that typographic ornament must harmonize in line and treatment with its accompanying letter-press.

The supply of good florets is not as great as one would expect. To obtain them, specimen-books of different foundries must be consulted, and those selected that are modelled on the best old ones. Deficiencies may be supplied by specially designed florets, copied from those in old books.

Before making a choice of "flowers," it is a good plan to study the specimen-books of Caslon, Fry, Fournier, Didot, and Bodoni, which will reveal many good designs and give hints for employing what might otherwise seem useless material. Many of the best "flowers" can still be had in their original forms, and fair equivalents of others can be picked up here and there. Good ornaments, which have been laid aside by their founders as old-fashioned, can sometimes be cast to order.

In making such selections as this, if a man has knowledge and trained taste, it will show itself in a repertory of ornaments distinguished, individual, and peculiar to his own office.

II

OUR composing-room has, therefore, only about seven series of standard types for book work, and in all about a score of varieties: "For what, then," the reader may ask, "are all the other types in founders' specimen-books?" My answer would be, "Chiefly to avoid." We are told that if we know the truth, it will make us free; and it will. If we know the truth typographically we shall be freed from using the many poor types that are offered us. There are hun-
dreds of pages in founders' specimen-books; and yet ex-
amples of almost every type that the world ought ever to
have seen could be shown in a thin pamphlet.¹ If we know
anything about the history of type-forms, or have learned
to distinguish what pure type-forms are, most of the types
offered appear absolutely negligible. If printers had been
better educated in their own trade, many of these wretched
letters could never have been sold at all. Horace Walpole—
who printed none too well at Strawberry Hill—said about
people, that nine-tenths of them "were created to make you
want to be with the other tenth." This is true of types.

The types I have recommended—all of which may be
had from existing foundries—are mostly standard, and all
of them appear to me good. It is not, however, my purpose to
choose types for a printer, but to show him how to choose
types for himself. He may therefore make quite a different
selection, and this is as it should be. If only the types sug-
gested—no matter how excellent—were invariably chosen,
all printing-houses would be as like as the proverbial two
peas, with products as monotonous as Sahara. This can
be obviated only by exercising individual taste—wisely;
and the basis on which individual taste can be wisely exer-
cised has been already pointed out. It is applicable both to
old types that we may come upon, and new ones that may be
offered us.

There is, for instance, that large and interesting class of
types transitional between old style fonts and modern face
characters, shown in late eighteenth century English and
French specimen-books—types like Martin's in England
or Didot's early fonts in France. Such a fine transitional let-

¹Out of 146 types classified by M. Thibaudéau in La Lettre d'Imprimerie,
I find but four types that seem "possible"; and De Vinne's Plain Printing
Types displays only a very few.
Domine omnipotens, Deus patrum nostrorum Abraham, et Isaac et Jacob, et seminis eorum justi, qui fecisti coelum et terram cum omni ornatu eorum; qui ligasti mare verbo praecipi tui; qui conclusisti abyssum, et signasti eam terribili et laudabili nomine tuo; quem omnia pavent et tremunt a vultu virtutis tuae, quia importabilis est magnificentia gloriarum tuae, et insustentabilis ira comminationis tuae super peccatores; immensa vero et investigabilis misericordia promissionis tuae: quoniam tu es Dominus, altissimus, benignus, longaminis, et multum misericors, et paenitens super malitias hominum. Tu, Domine, secundum multitudinem bonitatis tuae promisisti paenitentiam et remissionem iis, qui peccaverunt tibi, et multitudine miserationum tuarum

Domine omnipotens, Deus patrum nostrorum Abraham, et Isaac et Jacob, et seminis eorum justi, qui fecisti coelum et terram cum omni ornatu eorum; qui ligasti mare verbo praecipi tui; qui conclusisti abyssum, et signasti eam terribili et laudabili nomine tuo; quem omnia pavent et tremunt a vultu virtutis tuae, quia importabilis est magnificentia gloriarum tuae, et insustentabilis ira comminationis tuae super peccatores; immensa vero et investigabilis misericordia promissionis tuae: quoniam tu es Dominus, altissimus, benignus, longaminis, et multum misericors, et paenitens super malitias hominum. Tu, Domine, secundum multitudinem bonitatis tuae promisisti paenitentiam et remissionem iis, qui peccaverunt tibi, et multitudine miserationum tuarum decrevisti paenitentiam peccatoribus in salutem. Tu igitur, Domine Deus justorum, non posuisti paenitentiam justis, Abraham, et Isaac et Jacob,

367. Examples of Transitional Types
THE CHOICE OF TYPES

ter will do all the work of an old style type, and has sometimes, as I have said, a distinction and delicacy which old style fonts do not possess; while it is more interesting—less bleak and commonplace—than a modern face type. The two upper sections in our plate (fig. 367) are set in a transitional font, which is, both in roman and italic, a fine and workable letter. The smaller roman beneath has certain interesting peculiarities that render it unlike Caslon's ordinary fonts—or Baskerville's either—but its accompanying italic came from the Caslons when under the Baskerville influence, and is for all intents and purposes a characteristic "Baskerville" type. A man must be thoroughly grounded in his knowledge of type-forms to select these fonts; for an untrained eye may be easily deceived by some mongrel type which is not transitional at all, but merely a bad type for any period. But an eye trained to be sensitive to type-forms will be able to "spot" good types amid masses of worthless material. There is no need to limit ourselves to American or English products in searching for such types. Continental type foundries must have many agreeable types hidden away among their material, which might well be resuscitated.

And what are the types we ought not to want—which have no place in any artistically respectable composing-room? They are (in my opinion) practically all types on "standard line," all condensed or expanded types, all "sans-serif" or (as they are absurdly miscalled) "gothic" types, all fat-faced black-letter and fat-faced roman, all hair-line types, almost all "ornamented" types and types which imitate engraving, and, with one or two exceptions, all shaded types. To this list I would add the variant forms of many standard series of types, which make up their "families." These are principally condensations, distortions, or exag-
gerations of the original letter—the disreputable offspring of honest parents.

To the printer the moral of all this is that studies in type-forms teach us not only how to choose, but give us courage to eliminate. There are many ways of being wrong, but only one way of being right, and it is surely better to know the one way of being right, and purchase types few but fit, than to follow the many ways of being wrong, and expend much time, labour, and money in the experience! I have called this book a study in survivals, because in it I have tried to show not only what types have survived, but what should survive through their fitness for the best typography, and in so doing to lay down those general principles which may help “the survival of the fittest” in days to come. Each year that passes, we shall be called on to judge the design of types, both old and new. We must have a trained taste and eye to make a rewarding choice. For if we do not judge types rightly, they will judge us—the penalty of foolish choice being the penalty we pay for choosing foolishly in life. We are punished by getting what we want!

It is a simple matter to make lists of good types—though not as simple as it seems. It is still simpler—and much less trouble—lazily to accept other people’s conclusions and think no more about it. But the ideal composing-room will never be equipped in this way. It will be made what it ought to be only by those adventurers who add to those types accepted as “standard” other interesting fonts selected from sources to which study will have furnished a clue. The field for fruitful research is still great; and the printer who seeks will find himself the possessor, not merely of delightful, individual, and rare types, but of the ideal composing-room.
CHAPTER XXIV

INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS OF THE PAST AND THEIR RELATION TO THE PRINTER’S PROBLEM TO-DAY

At first sight, the conditions of industry in the past do not seem to have practical relation either to a knowledge of printing types or to the work which a printer has to do with them. This same objection, however, might be made to the historical study of type-forms; yet the deductions made from such a study have a practical bearing on the selection of material for to-day’s work. I propose to show that a knowledge of past industrial conditions is of like value. For over and above the eternal problem of how best to do our work, some ambitious beginners in printing have made a further problem of their own. These men, knowing little of economic and industrial history, have come to believe that the conditions under which a printer works now are somehow very different from conditions in the past, and that the reason men cannot do to-day what the early printers so splendidly did, is because to-day’s conditions are so entirely different.

It is natural that any one who desires to become something more than a commonplace printer should be beguiled by the romantic aspect of his art; and if he starts out with a false although conventional conception of “the good old times,” it is only because he has derived such views from pleasant papers, written by so-called “craftsmen,” concerning ancient guilds, the former unity of aim among workmen, the stimulating environment which surrounded them, and the ease with which masterpieces were thus produced. The statements of these romantic writers have little relation to facts, or their deductions much application to our problems now. Mr. Ruskin and Mr. Morris were long ago
responsible for some of the harm done in this direction; and the disciples of the ideals of the one, and the imitators of the work of the other, have had time to do even more harm. There have been, indeed, many well-meaning persons—some are still with us—who have written, and also talked, in a manner very near to nonsense, about the advantages of working long ago—though the precise years of these agreeable periods are usually left dans la vague.

Such mistaken views have not been confined to writing and talking, but were sometimes acted upon. Theorists and sentimentalists here and there formed themselves into temporary industrial groups, fenced away from what they called the "corroding influences" of the period to which they really belonged! These men thought (or said they did) that they were reproducing that tranquil and contented industrial life under which—in some Golden Age—good work was universally done. A little study of the economic history of printing, and of the life of printers in old times, would perhaps have convinced these amiable persons that—as far as typography was concerned—no such conditions existed. The Gothic scene against which the old work was accomplished, made in some ways as little difference to it as does the shape of a room to the sense of what is said in it. What we think of as the printers' foreground was usually their background, and the remoteness of the period should not lead us to idealize it, or them. When we throw away all this "bric-à-brac sentimentale et moyen-âgeux" we find that the constant element was the human will struggling against human laziness; and that the victory of the one or of the other made for success or failure then, precisely as it does now. When what they did was admirable—as it sometimes, but not always, was—it was produced with travail. The pity of it is that much valuable enthusiasm, which might have been applied to present-
day needs, has come to nothing through these false conceptions. "The chains of the mind are broken by understanding," says Gilbert Murray, "and so far as men are unduly enslaved by the past, it is by understanding the past that they may hope to be freed. But it is never really the past—the true past—that enslaves us; it is always the present."

II

The history of French type-founding, printing, and publishing is extremely "documented," and I write of early industrial conditions in France because we can so readily get an idea of what they were at first in the printing industry and of what they subsequently became. To begin with, the men who copied manuscripts before printing was introduced were often extremely inaccurate transcribers. To establish some proper standard and supervision, they were placed under the control of the University of Paris. The University had the right to license proper copyists, and to approve the sale of their manuscripts—many of which were in the nature of text-books in which exactness was essential. To accomplish this, there was a great body of regulations in force. The copyists in France were an influential class—strong enough to prevent the setting up of a printing-press in Paris for fully twenty years after the invention of printing. Their opposition to the press shows us that industrial conflicts existed at the very birth of printing. Mellottée says that "documents of the period tell us of the frightful struggle of the manuscript-makers against the first printers. No improvements in our present-day machinery can be compared to the change which printing made in the production of books. And even the revolution at the beginning of the nineteenth century, brought about by the
introduction of the power-press, is as nothing really, compared with the complete overturn which took place in industries connected with the book. In 1470, there were six thousand men occupied solely in transcribing manuscripts, and some years later they scarcely existed, the new process doing ten times more work than all of them together. Rome, Venice, Milan, Nuremberg, Cologne, Augsburg, all had printing-presses before a Parisian press was set up; and when the first Paris press was established, it was in a sense a private affair and came into being only through the influence of scholars like Heynlin and Fichet of the Sorbonne. After a while the business men of that day saw the commercial advantage of such enterprises, and began to interest themselves in them. It was not, however, until about 1480 that printing was fairly established in Paris. Twenty years later, there were Parisian establishments which possessed as many as fifteen presses.

If we keep steadily in mind that the making of printed books was nothing more than the reproduction of manuscripts by mechanical means, we can better understand by what insensible steps the supervision of the University was transferred from the product of the copyists-by-hand (i.e., manuscripts) to the product of the copyists-by-machine (i.e., books). The copyists-by-hand, after printing was introduced, had still some work to do on a printed book. In many cases they illuminated the first page, just as they had decorated the first page of the manuscript; and they still filled in paragraph-marks, initials, etc., in colour. There was no abrupt transition from hand-copying to press-printing. Many men continued in the waning industry of calligraphy and illumination until they died; but their places were not filled.

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Others were at once forced into other occupations, and many became writing-masters, some accountants. The same regulations that had been applied to the scribe and his manuscript were applied by Louis XI in 1474 to the printer and his book; the transition was accomplished, and the printer found himself attached to the University in place of the ancient copyist.

On the other hand, the examining and licensing prerogatives of the University, vested in a theological faculty, were one by one transferred to the King, and in the end it was to the Crown that the three grades of French printers—the apprentice, the journeyman, and the master-printer—had to look for such privileges as they enjoyed. The copyist having become a printer, and supervision having been slowly transferred from the University and from Parliament to the Crown—the chief result of sixteenth century legislation—we have to find out what were the conditions in the printing and publishing trade in France during this and succeeding centuries.

In the early days of French printing, there were, as has been said, three classes of printers: apprentice, journeyman, and master-printer. To be a master-printer, a man had first to be a journeyman, and before being a journeyman he must have been an apprentice. Certain conditions had to be fulfilled before admission was granted to these different ranks. The rules which governed these positions descended to the printing trade from the ancient Corporation du Livre; and to this extent guild rules had some influence on printing. In the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries the guild or trade-union was really a safeguard to the artisan, we are told by Mellottée. The head of the atelier was in some sense a father; the workman lived under the same roof with him; in disputes he had a right of appeal; and he was
backed by his guild or company as the cleric was by his bishop, or the student by his college. But this healthy and true form of paternalism was on the wane when printing was invented, and by the sixteenth century, although conditions appeared to be much as in former years, the guilds and similar associations had fallen into the hands of employers and become close corporations and monopolies. The interests of the two classes became more distinct, and finally were antagonistic. Whatever the guilds may have done for manuscript-makers, as far as they influenced printing at all they were not a particularly salutary force. For printing was a trade that required capital, encouraged subdivision of labour, and, to be profitable, had to employ workers in large numbers.

The first master-printers engaged their apprentices on various terms: sometimes paying in money only; sometimes undertaking to feed and lodge the apprentice, and to supply him with shoes during his stay—and at the end of his engagement to present him with an extra pair! The apprenticeship generally lasted three years. In 1571, apprenticeship became compulsory, and a master was obliged to certify that an apprentice had duly learned his trade under him, and was fitted to become a journeyman. The journeymen complained that stingy, ignorant master-printers turned out half-educated apprentices, and that thus the whole class of journeymen was discredited; and as a remedy they suggested that pressmen should serve four years' and compositors five years' apprenticeship—in any case three. Later it was insisted—what from the first would have seemed desirable—that apprentices should know how to read and write! In 1649, the lines of qualification were much more tightly drawn, and apprentices were expected to know something of Greek and to be able to read Latin. The result
was that so few apprentices applied for admission to printing-houses, that in 1654 master-printers were again allowed to engage apprentices who only knew how to read and write in the vernacular.

There was also an inferior sort of apprentice called an *allowé*. Nothing was asked of him except hard work. He had the same obligations as other apprentices, but when he had finished his apprenticeship, he was still a mere workman and not a journeyman. Journeymen could (if fitted for it) become master-printers; but the *allowés* could not. They first seem to have been recruited from the ranks of little boys, hewers of wood and drawers of water, who, because they were strong and willing, were useful in printing-offices and could be profitably employed. Later they arrived at the status we have described. They were an antique form of printer's devil. Child-labour—male and female—is not new.

In those days of ancient peace there was really constant war between employer and employed over the apprentices—a struggle that began with the invention of printing and is scarcely terminated yet. The master-printer, to increase the number of journeymen, wished to be free to take as many apprentices as he pleased. The journeyman, on his side, wanted to reduce the number of apprentices so that the number of journeymen should be limited. A rule issued in 1541 has a significant clause to the effect that masters may make and take as many apprentices as they choose, and that the journeymen must not beat or menace the said apprentices, but must work with them for the good of the trade, under pain of prison, banishment, and other punishments. It was this dispute that was one of the causes of industrial troubles which will be mentioned later.

The earliest French printing-offices were often very small
affairs—ateliers de famille. They were conducted chiefly by foreigners, mostly Germans, whose common origin, employment in a foreign country, and the fact that books were usually in Latin, sometimes led to real community of interest and some intellectual culture among the workmen. But in the sixteenth century, men of means, principally publishers who were not themselves practical printers, organized printing-offices simply for the returns they got from them, just as we now organize manufactories and, I am sorry to say, printing-houses, which interest us only for the money they bring in. Then, as now, the disparity between the social and financial situation of the two classes forced men into groups governed by opposing interests. As early as the year 1536, a master-printer had been sentenced for the bad food given to a journeyman, and the decree also censured him for what it styled "his unbridled avarice," which made him care for nothing but getting rich, though he was reducing his journeymen and their families to objects of charity. When establishments came into existence which employed as many as two hundred and fifty workmen, the masters tried to reduce the rate of wages. To effect this, the number of apprentices was made as great as possible, for apprentices were paid less.

The type-founders' legal situation was not, "up to 1686, very clear. They were not yet recognized as exercising any special trade, and they could not, as type-founders alone, become members of the Confrérie de St. Jean l'Évangéliste¹ (a sort of guild-trade-union), or from 1618 become one of the Community of Printers and Publishers. This difficulty they got over by taking out permits, which allowed them to open

¹ St. John the Evangelist is the traditional patron of printers and publishers, "comme celui qui fut le principal et le plus haut desdits secrétaires évangélistes de Notre Sauveur."
shops and to call themselves publishers, or sometimes even paper-makers; but real publishers were not pleased at this, and instituted a suit in 1614 to forbid them to take this title.”¹ This quarrel lasted for a long time, and some thirty years later Richelieu’s favourite, Antoine Vitré, wrote that “Letter-founders call themselves publishers, printers and binders because they cast letters for books. I tell them that the calf has about as much right to call himself a publisher because he furnishes the skin for the bindings.”

A decree of 1670 regulated the sale of new or second-hand typographic material, which was scrupulously looked after. No press and no font of type could be sold or exchanged without a declaration before the authorities, if it was to be used in Paris; or some special authorization, if sent into the provinces. The Crown took these measures to prevent the establishment of clandestine printing-offices, from which disquieting political pamphlets were often issued. Royal authority, enforced to the utmost through the censure, had by the end of the seventeenth century reduced the University to a negligible rôle in relation to printing. The regulation of the printing and publishing trade I shall touch upon later.

I

It may come as a surprise to the lover of ancient customs that among the picturesque habits of sixteenth century printers was that of going out on strikes. The printers’ strikes and resultant disturbances at Lyons and Paris lasted from 1539 to 1572. The Lyons strike was an explosion among the rank and file of the work-people, the outcome of a series of abuses suffered at the hands of the masters; for master-printers appear to have determined to re-

¹Mellottée’s Histoire Économique de l’Imprimerie, pp. 401, 402.
duce their subordinates to men without powers or rights. This Lyons strike had been brewing for a long time. In the months of April and May, 1539, a number of the Lyonnese printers stopped work, and also disorganized the labour of other journeymen and apprentices, threatening them if they dared to continue in their places. The sequel was a strike so general that the printing industry was at a standstill. Armed bands of strikers marched the streets day and night and attacked masters, police, and officers of the government; but among the workmen themselves excellent discipline reigned, showing that a perfectly good understanding existed, and had existed for some time, as to what was to be done by the labour party. The outgoing men pledged themselves not to work except in a body, and punished any one refusing to submit to the rules of their organization. The number of men in the labour group was so great that it was impossible to imprison them all, though here and there some workmen were arrested.

The cause of the strike, according to the workmen's complaint, was that master-printers supplied insufficient food, that wages had been reduced, and that they were not free to do their work as, and when, they chose. The masters retorted that there were certain classes of journeymen who were never contented with their food and never would be, and that there were always men who wished to take holidays on work-days and to work on holidays. But the number of holidays without pay was a positive evil then to the working-man, as they would be now, for he often needed to work at those times to support his family. On the chief festivals, naturally, no work was done, but there were multitudes of minor saints' days to be observed, leaving only about two hundred and forty working days in the year.

The masters were willing to compromise on these points,
but the workmen would not accept their offers. Meanwhile the authorities of Lyons insisted upon some solution, for they had the strikers’ wives and children on their hands, many of them in real destitution. To settle matters, two committees (one composed of journeymen, the other of masters) appeared before the Seneschal of Lyons, who had authority from the Crown to settle the dispute. The seneschal’s decision shows on how many points the two groups differed. Journeymen were forbidden to take any pledge among themselves, to gather outside work-rooms in larger parties than five, to carry arms or sticks in printing-offices or the street, to threaten or beat apprentices or to interfere with them; they were also debarred from labour on festivals and from stopping work on the eves of festivals earlier than was customary, and were not allowed to leave work to go to a baptism or funeral unless it was in the family of their master or mistress! As to master-printers, they could take as many apprentices as they chose, but they must give the usual monthly wage to journeymen and must feed them properly, with as good food as they had customarily given five or six years before—a committee being appointed to decide wherein proper board and lodging consisted. In most of these stipulations journeymen were defeated and masters were triumphant; but the Seneschal of Lyons, in receiving a group of journeymen representing the workmen, inadvertently recognized the labour party. By this an admission was practically made that workmen had the right to act in a corporate capacity and to be represented before the authorities. The Crown, however, accepted the settlement of the dispute and made a decree which was mandatory, and the strike was ended. The government found itself face to face with organized labour, and it was so frightened thereby that the decrees which it put forth not alone regulated printing,
but were to be applied in principle to every other trade in France.

The Lyons strike was a question of wages; the Paris strike concerned the conduct of employees. It was precipitated by complaints made by master-printers, who alleged that journeymen and their helpers, by private clubs and associations, had directly and indirectly stirred up dissatisfaction among apprentices, and had so influenced them as practically to destroy their usefulness. The masters drew up regulations which they wished the King to enforce, based on decisions given in the Lyons strike, and meant to forestall similar difficulties. These proposed rules debarred journeymen from forming any club or electing representatives, from assembling outside their master's house, and from being armed; forbade them to beat apprentices; made masters arbiters of what journeymen should do and how and when they should do it; forbade assembling at dinners to celebrate the beginning or end of an apprenticeship and the asking of subscriptions for a common cause; forbade the use of the word “tric” (a signal used when work was to be stopped for a strike); forbade grumbling if work in a hurry should be distributed among a number of workmen; and prohibited them from absence on eves of festivals and from working on the feast-day itself. Masters were to give journeymen reasonable nourishment, pay them monthly, dismiss any who were mutinous or disreputable; were to insist on eight days' notice before workmen could leave them (although they were not to give notice of dismissal to workmen); were not to hire away one another's work-people, or use one another's printers' devices. They were also obliged to have proofreaders who knew how to correct proofs properly. The working day was fixed from five o'clock in the morning until eight o'clock at night. Type-foundries were
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included in the preceding rules. The King approved the proposals and they became law. In Lyons, it was the journeymen who complained; in Paris, the masters saw an opportunity to secure more power by precipitating questions which forestalled like complaints. In August, 1539, when the law was promulgated, the Paris strike began. The disturbances which it caused were not settled by the Crown until thirty years later — in 1572, by a compromise which was satisfactory neither to the employers nor the employed.

Meanwhile, at Lyons the printing industry was ruined. The master-printers decided to leave the city for Vienne in Dauphiny, or some other place where conditions were better. The Lyons authorities, frightened at the removal of an industry and invested capital which would hurt the prosperity of the town (for next to Paris Lyons was the great centre for printing), met the masters and endeavoured to find some way out of the difficulty. An appeal was made to the King, who finally modified the laws in effect at Lyons, in accord with rulings which had been enforced at Paris; but it was only after some years of negotiation that the matter was finally settled, and then only by royal authority. It is recorded that among the many master-printers of Lyons, Étienne Dolet, the author-printer-bookseller, alone sided with the workmen, and incurred, by so doing, the lasting hostility of other master-printers—a hostility which had something to do with the troubles to which he later fell victim. Dolet, who had been proofreader for Gryphius, and was friend to Jean de Tournes, was hanged at Paris in 1546 for heretical opinions, and his body and books burned together.

These are but two episodes in the history of the printing trade in France during the sixteenth century. Conditions were probably the same in greater or less degree in England,
Holland, Germany, and Italy. At any rate, enough has been said to show how very like the industrial conditions were then to those we know now. Some of the details seem very modern; and yet Aldus had been dead only about twenty years when these strikes began, and the Aldine Office still existed and was to exist for years to come.

IV

We have seen what French industrial conditions were in the sixteenth century. At the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, what was the condition of printing at Paris?

There was a certain Pierre Jacques Blondel who, about 1724, wrote a sarcastic memoir on Parisian booksellers and printers, which, though not, perhaps, to be taken too seriously, casts light upon the situation at that time. It is amusing to find the writer begin, as we are apt to do to-day, by telling about the wonderful old times of long ago. In the happy days of François I, he says, wistfully, there were men like the Estiennes, the De Colines, Vascosans, Morels, and


Yet it must be remembered that a Latin poem was written by Henri Estienne II in 1569, entitled Artis Typographiae Querimonia, de illiteratis quibusdam Typographis, propter quos in contemplationem venit. It was translated into French by Lottin in 1785, the title reading, Plainte de la Typographie contre certains imprimeurs ignorans qui lui ont attiré le mépris où elle est tombée.
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others, who were "all men of letters, clever in their profession and much more anxious to perfect their art than to make immense fortunes." And then Blondel goes on to speak of the Camusats, the Vitrés, and the Cramoisys as men who, if not so learned, were at least of respectable standing; capable, as he quaintly says, of "consoling the Republic of Letters for the loss of the first group of printers." Here we have two sets of men. Note that the first class, who lived two hundred years before Blondel wrote, were perfect prodigies of learning, while the second group, living nearer Blondel's time, though less learned were still acceptable. "But," says Blondel, "into what decadence has this important art fallen in our day, especially in Paris! What a gap there is between the printers that I named and those who mix themselves up in printing now and who degrade a noble art by the meanest manoeuvres! . . . The earliest printers were industrious, they applied themselves to their profession, they were versed in belles-lettres and the learned tongues. To-day, printers are men occupied solely in gain or amusement, without special knowledge and for the greater part without general education—as we say, ignorant and unlettered men. . . . If some of them went to college in their youth, they brought away but a mere smattering of learning, . . . and the rest are simply tradesmen who have made their fortune in second-hand books and who began their career in situations so very different from their present calling that it is a wonder they are printers at all! They are printers, not because of, but in spite of literature and men of learning; and furthermore, are rich printers, which educated men will never be." While Blondel is ready to admit that there are two or three persons in the profession at his own period who can be respected, he thinks that most of them are mainly supported by a bibliomania encouraged by
financial magnates, who are in turn actuated more by vanity than by taste or intelligence. He proceeds to describe the annoyances suffered by the public, the authors, and last of all by the workmen themselves.

The privileges which the king accorded for the printing of books (to the thirty-six printers fixed by law by the edict of 1686), Blondel reminds us, expressly stipulated that books should be printed on good paper and from good type, and if they were not, the privilege became null and void. Printers and booksellers, however, now sold books of importance printed on wretched paper, from battered types, carelessly corrected—all to avoid expense. If the public complained, it complained without redress. Moreri’s historical dictionary could not be bound properly, because the ink was so poor that it offset upon opposite pages, and some books were so carelessly printed that whole lines of text were left out. Greek characters were used which were so worn that the accents could not be distinguished. Booksellers, who had to obtain a license for each new edition of a book, evaded this requirement by omitting the number of the edition on the title-page, or by placing old dates on new editions. The English at that period had a method of publishing works by subscription—a number of subscribers clubbing together to finance the expense of a book, each subscriber receiving copies of the edition so published at a lower price than outsiders. The French publisher took up this scheme and improved upon it. He secured the subscribers’ money in advance and this furnished the chief part of the capital necessary for the enterprise; and though subscribers got their books cheaper than outsiders, yet they paid exorbitantly for them. Nor did the publisher, having received the subscrip-

1 Louis Moreri’s (1643–1680) *Grand Dictionnaire historique, ou Mélange curieux de l’histoire sacrée et profane.*
tions, hurry to issue the book. As long as it was ultimately printed, he thought it “did just as well”; and should any subscriber venture to suggest that the work ought to appear, his subscription would be haughtily returned. Blondel says, humorously, that if all the subscribers had only asked for the return of subscriptions, somebody would have been much embarrassed! Again, when the public complained that books cost a great deal, the publisher said that paper was dear, that workmen insisted on enormous wages,—though workmen were really scandalously underpaid,—and that, after all, it was merely to keep business going that they printed at all; they would willingly shut up shop, for all the profit they got out of it! But in spite of all this, no less a person than Jean Baptiste Coignard II,¹ who with Denis Mariette printed Moreri’s dictionary, boasted that every time he published an edition he was able to marry off a daughter with a comfortable dowry. Some pious individuals, who wished to publish religious books at their own expense, to be distributed gratis among the poor, or sold at a small price to those in modest circumstances, were astonished to find, after these works of edification had been delivered to them and paid for, that before they could be distributed they were seized by booksellers as about to be illegally sold without a license. Those who seized them then sold them a second time for their own benefit.

The master-printers of an older day had the reputation of attracting educated men, whom they treated “with some consideration and not like convicts.” But master-printers of Blondel’s epoch had arrived at their position, as we have seen, not by knowledge or experience, but by favouritism and money. In other trades, masters directed their appren-

¹ Second of the three Jean Baptiste Coignards, all eminent Parisian printers, who held, among other posts, that of printers to the Académie Française.
VICES, but here it was the apprentices who directed their masters. Masters were not only ignorant, but absolutely incapable of working at the calling of which they were ostensibly the heads. They had been, most of them, neither apprentices nor journeymen, but simply moneyed men,—or sons of prosperous booksellers,—who looked at the whole affair as trade, and who set up a printing-office because they thought they were rich enough to make it succeed. Workmen had from time to time brought complaints to Parliament, and masters had been forbidden by its decrees to harass them or to require that workmen who wished to change their place of employment must carry letters of recommendation from the old to the new master—a plan which, the authorities perceived, reduced workmen “to a servitude from which the commonest servant in France is exempt, because he is at least permitted to change his place if he wishes.” Then, again, master-printers had so influenced legislation, that when workmen tried to get justice, they found themselves forbidden by law to act in a collective capacity, and consequently could not legally complain collectively before any tribunal. The men’s wages were arbitrated at a sort of board of trade, and were often determined by persons who knew nothing about typography or how much should be given to the printer for each page he composed. “You might as well,” says Blondel, “have the tailors tell the cloth-makers what wages they should pay their employees,” and, “in fact,” he adds, “a great deal better, because the tailors are far more conversant with the qualities of cloth than are publishers with printing and paper. All they know is (as Harlequin said) that the white is the paper and the black is the print.”

If any workman complained of the insufficient wages, he was called mutinous, seditious, and dissipated; and yet, ac-
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cording to the statistics of the period, among the six hundred journeymen printers in Paris, there were very few who led loose lives; and Blondel adds sarcastically that "the extremely small wages which they received were not capable of furnishing the means for very serious dissipation!" That the labourer is worthy of his hire, Blondel reminds his readers, is a precept of the Gospel; but the Gospel did not interest Parisian booksellers—unless it was to be printed.

If an author was in a hurry to get his book finished, but some new work of a more important and paying sort came to the printing-office, work-people were taken off the book the author was clamouring for, and were compelled to stay all night working on the more profitable job that had to be printed quickly. If an author complained that his book did not get on fast enough, what was the reply? It was that printers were dissipated, and that, of course, was not the fault of the publisher!

Two well-known Paris publishers and printers, Barbou¹ and David,² "as stingy as they were unprincipled," says Blondel, employed a publisher who had correspondents in various countries to secure printers from Germany, whom they would engage to pay three livres a day, together with washing, lodging, and food. Eight German workmen, on the strength of the publisher's letter (which, unfortunately for them, they left behind at Frankfort), accepted the offer. Six of them went to Barbou, two to David. They all worked exactly three days. Then Barbou said he was not satisfied, because the men were Germans and did not know French; also he alleged that they did not work in the Parisian, but

¹ Joseph Barbou, of the eminent family of Barbou, printers at Lyons, Limoges, and Paris, who exercised their profession from 1524 to 1820. Most of Fournier's books bear their imprint.
² According to Lottin, this was Christophe David II.
in the German method—which (at this late period) appears to us natural. He would consent to keep them, he declared, only at two livres daily to include everything and on condition they would engage to stay with him for three years. The men refused, saying that living was dear in Paris, they were accustomed to a good table, and they could not afford to stay at the wages offered. So Barbou locked them up in his printing-office without food, and there they remained until they made so much noise that he was shamed into setting them free. When the men tried to return to Germany, the masters held back their luggage. Their French comrades, angry at such scurvy treatment of strangers, made up a purse and sent them home. This the master-printers considered insulting and insupportable to the last degree, and described as an attitude of open revolt.

At that day, there were six hundred printers in Paris, and great opposition was made to bringing in foreigners at all. "Why," says Blondel, "should people import labour? What injustice it is to hire abroad people who take the bread out of the hands of the French workmen." Little the masters cared whether their men were foreign or native, learned or ignorant! "They judged their qualifications by their own," he adds, "and as many of the master-printers hardly know how to read, they are absurd enough to suppose that it is not necessary to know more, in order to be capable of correctly producing Greek, Latin, French, and scientific works. . . . If this sort of thing goes on, they will make negroes come to work at printing, as they employ them in the Indies to produce indigo and sugar."

But Parisian publishers in these sad, bad old times, did not worry as to whether the books they printed were correct, or well produced, provided they could sell them at a high price. Illustrated Bibles had been printed a hundred
years earlier which were cheaply and tastefully brought out, but new editions—sold at a high price—contained plates disgraceful in their slovenly execution. Editions of poetry were issued, badly printed, wretchedly composed, with pages swarming with faults of spelling and punctuation. Absurd errors, the correction of which was absolutely essential, were passed over. In a book of prayers for the use of lay-people, a passage in St. Matthew was made to read *non timebis Dominum* instead of *non tentabis*, and in a missal, the Canon of the Mass lacked a word.

"Instead," Blondel concludes, "of keeping the loyalty of their workmen by fair wages and inciting honest endeavour, the master-printers hold them only to persecute them, to decry their value, and to enviously snatch the very bread from their hands. Was there ever such terrible oppression! Slaves at Algiers do not fare worse. Is n’t this precisely the way to disgust decently educated men, as journeymen ought to be, with such an ungrateful employment? . . . If matters go on in this way, and a deaf ear is persistently turned to their complaints, they will flee a country where they groan under oppression. . . . It is not to scandalize people, that this memoir is written; it is to end a violence so tyrannical that there is no way of opposing it save to cry loudly: Stop thief!"

The tone of much of this is disconcertingly modern. The introduction of the ill-paid and inexperienced foreign workman, the oppression of the helpless labourer, the objection to his forming any corporate opposing body, the association of employers to determine the wages to be paid, the statement that books were dear because the workmen received such large returns—all these things are familiar to us. Our own troubles to-day are only repetitions of these old tumults: no more bitter, but on a greater scale.
Blondel's memoir was satirical,—and intentionally so,—but it stated facts and reflected the general opinion upon conditions among booksellers and printers in Paris in the last years of the seventeenth century and the first quarter of the eighteenth. It made some noise, and (as was intended) aroused the authorities, who spent much time in trying to find out who wrote it and where it was printed. As a result, some real reforms were effected. Publishers were obliged to submit to regulations which required the use of better paper and greater correctness in printing, and in the matter of subscription books they were held to stricter standards.

The censorship of books and its later development were further handicaps under which printers of old times had to work—for freedom was first allowed to the press in France in 1789. The inspection of the book-trade under the kings of France was extremely severe, and imposed a strict surveillance upon every conceivable aspect of the printer's and bookseller's business, and a drastic censorship of all printed books. It was forbidden, under pain of punishment and fines, for any private persons, except master-printers, to have or to keep in any place whatsoever, or under any pretext, any press, type, forms, or printer's tools; and to every one except the bookselling publishers, to take part in the commerce, sale, or purchase of books. All works printed without permission were taken from those who were at fault, and in case they contained anything contrary to religion, the King, the State, or public morality, the authors, printers, and publishers who had written, printed, or sold such books could be condemned and punished as disturbers of the public peace; while the printers, booksellers, and
peddlers could be degraded from their trade and declared incapable of exercising it. Type-founders were not permitted to deliver fonts of types to any one except master-printers, or their widows carrying on the business; nor could they sell to any one save masters in the trade, printers, and booksellers, in large or small quantities, their punches, strikes, and matrices. The quartier de l'Université on the left bank of the Seine, in which printers were obliged to live and work, was exactly marked in its limits, and non-residence there was punished by loss of outfit and sometimes by deprivation of privilege.

The oversight of all this was exercised by different classes of police inspectors. One of the eighteenth century officials, d'Hémeréry, who became the general inspector of the whole bookselling community, was authorized to make visits to any bookseller or printer whom he chose to see, either by night or by day, and to have an account given of anything that he happened to find, about which he wished to learn. He considered it necessary to know the precise number of presses and the amount of type in every printing-office, and to possess proofs of all vignettes and ornamental letters. Founders were not to be allowed, without his consent, to deliver fonts of type without giving him a declaration of their number, weight, and kind, and the names of those to whom they were to be sold. He even expected a list of all the apprentices in Paris, to whom he wished to furnish tickets of ingress and egress for the particular printing-office in which they were employed. The power that he asked for was not fully granted; but it indicates an agreeable conception of his own sphere of labour!

It would seem logical that the author should be held responsible for his ideas rather than the printer; but in early times, the printer suffered and the author often went free.
Mellottée tells us that this was due to the theory that the
printer provided the author with the means of promulga-
ting the errors in his works, and that it was not attacks upon
religion or existing institutions that were thought danger-
ous, but rather the popularization of such attacks; in other
words, the fact that they were printed and widely distrib-
uted. In the Middle Ages, before the invention of printing,
there had been many philosophers with heretical ideas, but
they had been quickly stifled by the Church or the Crown.
All this was quite different after the invention of printing.
Such people no longer merely addressed an assembly of a
few hundred individuals, but could make their appeal to an
entire people, and printing being the only means which
could give such power to thought, repressive legislation fell
upon printers rather than upon authors. It was for this rea-
son that such severe and rigorous penalties were inflicted
in support of the censorship of the press; for the men of
the sixteenth century were so frightened at what appeared
to them its incalculable power, that they took extreme mea-
sures to counteract this new force. Besides confiscation
and degradation, the ordinary punishments were imprison-
ment, whipping, or banishment, and capital punishment was
not uncommon. These pains and penalties were not alone
applicable to printers because they produced dangerous
publications, but even to people who merely neglected to
take out proper authorization for otherwise harmless work.
In 1547, punishment by death was proclaimed against all
printers who published a book without the *imprimatur* of
the faculty of theology of Paris. It was not only in the six-
teenth century that death was meted out to printers, but as
late as 1757, the declaration was made by the civil power
that all persons who were convicted of having composed
or printed works tending to attack religion, to disturb the
public mind, or against royal authority, or the order and security of the government, were punishable by death. It is true that judges avoided these extreme measures as far as they could; but from 1660 to 1756, less than a century, eight hundred and ninety-six authors, printers, and sellers of books, prints, and pictures were arrested and imprisoned in the Bastille for having published works contrary to good manners, religion, or the Crown. A third of these men were printers. In addition to the more severe punishments mentioned above was the public burning of volumes at the hands of the hangman—the author himself being occasionally added as kindling to the flames, as in the case of Dolet. This charming custom was practised during the happy days of the manuscript-makers, and, as far as printing is concerned, was merely the survival of a picturesque old-world ceremony applied to a new form of industry.¹

It was much the same all over Europe. In the Netherlands, for instance, edicts were enforced by Charles V and Philip II against printers who purchased or sold books favourable to the Reformation; and in the sixteenth century, Plantin was granted the post of proto-typographer, which empowered him to examine all candidates for the printer’s and engraver’s trades. Among requisite letters which a printer must produce was a certificate from his diocesan authorities that he was of the orthodox faith, while the magistrate of the district bore witness to his good reputation. The number of apprentices in his employ—if he was a master-printer—had to be stated. Proofreaders had to give certificates of birth, parentage, places of education and training, and good

¹ Under such conditions, printers and publishers had recourse to all sorts of stratagems to conceal their connection with a book. They invented names of imaginary cities for their imprints, to which they added equally imaginary publishers, non-existent streets, and absurd emblems which have caused no end of bewilderment to innocent readers.
reputation as Roman Catholics, prior to an examination of their skill. Registers were kept, in which titles of the books printed and other particulars had to be inscribed. Imported books were subject to examination, and any sold in Antwerp had to be recorded. Houses in which heretical books had been printed were abbatues et ruynées par terre! quite in the modern German manner.

VI

As to production—in 1571, three hundred to five hundred sheets a day was considered a good output, but in 1654, it was twenty-seven hundred; and in 1650, twenty-five hundred was the rule. These were for sheets printed in black, but twenty-two hundred was considered enough if red was also used. These sheets were printed by hand on a screw-press. Such requirements put to flight our pleasant idea that work in the old days had none of the rush about it that it has now.

Hours of work for foremen, workers by the day, and workers by the piece, were from six o'clock in the morning until eight o'clock at night in summer; and in winter, from seven in the morning until nine o'clock. This was in the eighteenth century. But agitation by work-people about the length of the working day began as early as the fourteenth century, and was neither the child of the French Revolution, nor the offspring of modern socialism. In 1395, shorter hours, with the same wages given for a longer working day, was a practical question. The Lyons printers complained in 1571 that their day began at two in the morning and lasted until eight or nine in the evening; and this for print-

1 See Rombout's *Certificat de livrées aux Imprimeurs du Pays-Bas par Christophe Plantin*. Antwerp, 1881.
ERS does not seem to have been unusual. Night work, as such, is true, was forbidden,—although most persons do not much differentiate between 2 a.m. and night—not because it was bad for the workman, but, among other less creditable reasons, because the danger from fire was great and because the flickering lights of the period did not permit men to do justice to their tasks. In England, the working hours varied in different trades, and at different places and periods. Even as late as the middle of the nineteenth century, the ordinary working hours of the printer were unlimited—though nominally from 7 a.m. to 8 p.m.—in such excellent London printing-houses as that of the Spottiswoodes.

If economic conditions are not kept in mind, we misunderstand the significance of certain historical facts, and twist them to fit some fantastic theory. For instance, people talk loosely about great printing dynasties like the Estiennes, Elzevirs, Plantin-Moretus, etc., where generations of the same family succeeded each other as printers. This was caused to some extent, no doubt, by interest in and attachment to the work; but it was also due to an economic reason. The amount to be had by the sale of the equipment of a printing-house was, as in our time, by no means commensurate with the money value of the business if it could be carried on. That was the chief reason why large printing-offices were continued by one family, or by a long succession of partners. We know, too, that in early times the widows and daughters of master-printers were in great demand, because when a qualified journeyman married the widow or daughter of a master-printer, he acquired privileges facilitating his reception as a master. And this was another of the causes for great printing families—which we like to style “printing dynasties” if it all happened long enough
ago! It was more commonplace and simpler—more reasonable—than we think.

Nor were women in the bad old times permitted to lead peaceable lives, occupied by the cradle and the distaff. From the time of St. Louis, women were employed in trades reserved for them—we find records of their names and occupations as early as 1296. Quite apart from learned ladies like Charlotte Guillard, who printed and published her famous Greek and Latin editions of the Fathers in the sixteenth century, women were very early employed in the humbler branches of typography, and women have been in our composing-rooms almost ever since. Like child-labour, it is nothing new; very few industrial "novelties" are!

THERE is, therefore, little excuse for thinking that conditions of labour to-day are very different from those that long preceded them; and it is important to realize that these conditions were all along factors, as they are now, in the problem of turning out good printing. Types and books reflect the state of the arts around them, because on one side typography is an art; but they are influenced by trade conditions, because it is also a trade. Not to face these two facts, or to neglect either one or the other, is merely to fool one's self!

To make a book which should look like a manuscript, and indeed counterfeit it, was what the first printers tried to do. They wished to reproduce the manuscript of commerce as nearly as they could, and they did it by imitating such manuscripts in type. It was an effort to make cheaply what had before been made expensively. Incidentally, they imitated beautiful written books, but there is no proof that
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their printed books were always consciously intended to be beautiful.

All along, the changes in books were influenced by commercial conditions. The first books were folios—large and dear. What did the printer do? He produced books which were small and cheap, and we have the Aldine 16mo volumes, printed in italic (a letter adopted chiefly because it was compact), for their period perfectly commercial though attractive editions. Again, Pigouchet and Vérand at Paris printed their Books of Hours, and they were very charming volumes. They were not as charming as the manuscripts from which they were copied, but they were far, far cheaper. By and by, when printers discovered the ignorance of the public and its willingness to buy books however badly printed, they dared to make them poorer and poorer. They printed what we call "good" books, because ours are worse; but what they thought were poor ones, because older books had been so much better. This they did because they could sell them, and because they did not even then realize what we know now—how wretchedly books can be made and still be sold! In short, the rank and file of early printers were not often actuated by conscious artistic standards, and they had trade conditions to struggle against, just as we have, and in an environment singularly like that of to-day.

Yet beautiful printing was done, and fine books were made, because there were a few men among these early printers who were actuated by conscious artistic standards, and who made trade conditions helps, and not hindrances, to successful production. To print things suitably and well was the problem of the good printer then, just as it is now. The few printers and publishers who were then faithful to artistic and scholarly standards in the face of trade conditions are the men who did this, and the men we remember.
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As in the Roman alphabet as opposed to other alphabets—as in certain famous types as opposed to other types—we see a survival of the fittest, so the printers whose names have survived have had a modest immortality because, though few, they were fit.

Apparently it was not so much conditions as personality and education that produced the fine books of early days. Typography was good then, and has been so, under varying circumstances, and at different periods, whenever it was practised patiently by educated men of trained taste, who had convictions and the courage of them. When we think of a Jenson or an Aldine book, a Pickering or a Morris edition, a definite typographical vision passes before the eye. All the greater printers had a conception of what they wanted to do. They did not permit themselves to be overwhelmed by trade conditions, by so-called practical considerations, by “good business,” or the hundred and one excuses which printers make for being too ignorant, too unimaginative, or too cowardly to do what the older men did. Nor were they pulled about by ignorant customers who wanted first this type and then that; and by obliging whom the work would have become merely a series of compromises. If they had allowed what some standardless, uneducated printers to-day allow, no individuality would have been left in their books to be remembered!

In every period there have been better or worse types employed in better or worse ways. The better types employed in better ways have been used by the educated printer acquainted with standards and history, directed by taste and a sense of the fitness of things, and facing the industrial conditions and the needs of his time. Such men have made of printing an art. The poorer types and methods have been employed by printers ignorant of standards and caring alone
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for commercial success. To these, printing has been simply a trade. The typography of a nation has been good or bad, as one or other of these classes had the supremacy. And today any intelligent printer can educate his taste, so to choose types for his work and so to use them, that he will help printing to be an art rather than a trade. There is not, as the sentimentalist would have us think, a specially devilish spirit now abroad that prevents good work from being done. The old times were not so very good, nor was human nature then so different, nor is the modern spirit particularly devilish. But it was, and is, hard to hold to a principle. The principles of the men of those times (since they require nothing whatever of us) seem simple and glorious. We do not dare to believe that we, too, can go and do likewise.

The outlook for typography is as good as ever it was—and much the same. Its future depends largely on the knowledge and taste of educated men. For a printer there are two camps, and only two, to be in: one, the camp of things as they are; the other, that of things as they should be. The first camp is on a level and extensive plain, and many eminently respectable persons lead lives of comfort therein; the sport is, however, inferior! The other camp is more interesting. Though on an inconvenient hill, it commands a wide view of typography, and in it are the class that help on sound taste in printing, because they are willing to make sacrifices for it. This group is small, accomplishes little comparatively, but has the one saving grace of honest endeavour—*it tries.* Like Religion, "it will remain a voice crying in the wilderness; but it will believe what it cries, and there will be some to listen to it in the future, as there have been many in the past." Around this camp idealistic lunatics hover, but they are quite harmless, and were never known to hurt or print anything seriously. This camp
I think the only one worth living in. You may not make all the money you want, but will have all you need, and moreover, you will have a tremendously good time; for as Stevenson said, "work that we really love is nothing more than serious play."

The practice of typography, if it be followed faithfully, is hard work—full of detail, full of petty restrictions, full of drudgery, and not greatly rewarded as men now count rewards. There are times when we need to bring to it all the history and art and feeling that we can, to make it bearable. But in the light of history, and of art, and of knowledge and of man's achievement, it is as interesting a work as exists—a broad and humanizing employment which can indeed be followed merely as a trade, but which if perfected into an art, or even broadened into a profession, will perpetually open new horizons to our eyes and new opportunities to our hands.

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ONE of the most distinguished books put forth in recent years is of peculiar concern to Rhode Islanders—Daniel Berkeley Updike's "Printing Types. Their History, Form, and Use: a Study in Survival" (Harvard University Press), which appears in two volumes, to which the rarely fit term "sumptuous" may properly be applied.

Mr. Updike's Notable Work

PROVIDENCE of thirty-five years ago has already withdrawn into the historic past, but there are many readers of the Sunday Journal's Book Page who retain a lively recollection of that very brilliant decade in the artistic and literary life of the community. Their thoughts of those days will be reawakened by the announcement of a publication—enthusiastically hailed by those competent to judge, as the most important contribution to an understanding of its subject that has appeared in a generation—whose roots were nourished in this city at that time.

The seed from which this book has grown sprouted in the old stone building of the Providence Athenaeum Library. The planting goes much further back, nearly a century and a half, to the time when Sarah Updike of Narragansett, wife of Dr. Goddard, helped her son, William, with money and advice and watchful oversight when he set up the first printing press in the town of Providence. It was a long story from the son's poster announcing that a company of play-actors were come to town, in 1764, to the brilliant pages of the great-grandnephew's magnificent opus, but it is easier to believe that an inheritance of some of Sarah Updike's common sense and a certain delicacy of feeling for putting together types-ornaments has something to do with the achievement of a lifetime, than to credit it altogether to unaided genius.

By 1765, Daniel Berkeley Updike went from the desk of the Athenaeum Library to learn the trade of printing at the Riverside Press, he took with him a definite ambition, high ideals, the good wishes of a few men and women of very sound judgment, and an intimate friendship. The friend, when Mr. Updike started his own "Merriemount Press" in 1883, could readily have paid all the bills, but if he had done so, the experiment begun by the press would have been, alas, hisundoing! Instead of doing this, he gave the support of enthusiastic confidence and personal co-operation in the undertaking, sharing in the consideration of all its plans and helping to decide on all doubtful problems until his untimely death. It was much more than his money that carried the press to a triumphant issue the Merriemount's first, and still—one of its most notable, achievements, the Altar Book "finished at Easter, A. D. 1886, by Daniel Berkeley Updike and Harold Brown."

The "columns" on the final page of the Altar Book go on to state, above the linked coats of arms of these two devoted "Laymen of the Diocese of Rhode Island," that "the plain-song is arranged by Sir John Stainer; the plates are designed by Robert Anning Bell; the borders, initials, type and cover by Brem Groveson Goodhue; and the colophons are engraved by Charles Sherborn." Harold Brown, who is remembered in Providence as a lad who grew up to look like his father, John Carter Brown, was not physically strong, and he raised around himself a wall that seemed to shut him off from people. If he did this deliberately, it was so that he might give all that he had of strength of mind and of affection to the three or four whom he admitted within its confines. To those few, he gave unstintedly, and his advice and interest helped the Merrymount Press largely through the doubtful years of its beginnings.

It was natural that the John Carter Brown Library should go to Mr. Updike when it had printing to be done. Besides its annual reports, check lists and catalogue, and the History of the Library, the Merrymount and John Carter Brown Library imprints are combined on its description of the "Gazeta de Lima" and on two fine quarto, one containing facsimiles of broadsides relating to the lottery which enabled the money to support the first St. Francis Xavier colony, etc., the other views of a Franciscan Mission in 1778, Brown University soon followed the library, and for several years its annual catalogue, President's report, and bulletin have borne the Merrymount stamp. This also appears on the University's more important recent publications, Professor Bronson's History, the commemorative volume of the Sesquicentennial exercises of 1914, and William Vail Kellogg's "Appreciation" of Henry Wheaton on the hundredth anniversary of his graduation.

For the Rhode Island School of Design, Mr. Updike set the standard for its Book and Butler Hospital has likewise gone to him for its more important printing. The Episcopal Diocese of Rhode Island, as well as several of its strongest parishes, have sought his skill for the printing incidental to their occasional functions. From the same press came the volume commemorating the twenty-first anniversary of the Review Club, presented to the members by its long-time President, Arnold B. Chase. Its stamp is on the memorial issued by St. George's School to commemorate the students who were killed in the war.

For individual Rhode Islanders the Merrymount Press has produced some of its most characteristic volumes. Three of these are classics for the history of the State—"The Johnny Cake Papers," Rev. Daniel Goodwin's edition of the Diary of James McDougall, and Wilkins Updike's "History of the Narragansett Church.

The first was reprinted for the late Rowland Hazzard, with charming woodcuts by Rudolph Ruzicka. Of the two volumes containing the catalogue of Senator Aldrich's library one is devoted entirely to books dealing with the State. Of less importance but each with its own interest to the history of "Little Rhody" are "The Letters of These Rhode Islanders..."
...of why he has succeeded? why...d of the Press after thirty years...and busy, printing as well as its owners know how and better than they have ever printed before, and doing nothing else; and why all his rivals and all their ideals have failed. The explanation, like most adequate ones, is simple enough. Good work in the past was achieved under conditions that never were better and may have been worse than those of today, and good work can be done to-day quite as easily as ever before.

The "Good Old Days," the "Golden Age," or "Hand Labour" by "Medieval Craftsmen" never existed except in the sentimentalized imaginations of Ruskin and of William Morris and of those who repeat their formulae. There is no lack of documentary evidence for those who prefer facts to "inspiration." In the year Anno Domini 1296 women were intruding themselves and their problems into the male monopoly of the book-making industries. In 1385, "shorter hours, with the same wages given for a longer working day, was a practical question." The printer's strike at Lyons and Paris, and resultant disturbances, lasted from 1539 to 1572. The printers stopped work, broke up the work of other journeymen, indulged in armed picketing while "among the workmen themselves excellent discipline reigned, showing that a perfectly good understanding existed, and had existed for some time, as to what was to be done by the labor party. The outgoing men pledged themselves not to work except in a body, and punished anyone refusing to submit to the rules of their organization." They forced the Government officials to recognize the delegates of the workingmen as entitled to speak for and negotiate on behalf of the body of laborers. This was in the year 1539, and is typical of what Mr. Updike finds to be characteristic of labor conditions down to the French Revolution, when most writers say that such things started. In brief, "the old times were not so very good, nor was human nature then so different, nor is the modern spirit particularly devilish. * * * The outlook for typography is as good as it ever was—and much the same. Its future depends upon the knowledge and taste of educated men."

G. F. W.
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