

RICHARD SMYTH ON ENGLISH PRINTING
(BL Sloane Ms. 772 ff.34^a-38^b)

Printing first brought
into England by W^m
Caxton avouched by
W^m Stow in his
Annals & Survey.

Albeit Mallincrotius as he saith, could not then find out, who first brought Printing into Spaine, England & Poland, yet concerning England, I finde that John Stow, an Industrious Antiquary (among others) in his Annals, or Chronicle of England,¹⁵ & likewise in his Survey of the City of London¹⁶ relateth, that William Caxton a Citizen of London was the first that brought Printing into England; With this Relation of Stow most English Writers have hitherto concurred, Untill now of late an other Relation of the first Printing in England hath been produced by Richard Atkins Esq^r in a Treatise of his Entituled, The Originall & growth of Printing &c. Printed by John Streater A.D.1664. in 4to.¹⁷ Unto the truth of which Relation Mr Atkyns seemeth so much to adhere, as that in his judgment, he preferreth the same, before that other, which by Stow & other Writers, hath hitherto been generally approved, which Relation of Mr Atkyns (as proper to this Subject, so far as it concerns the Originall of Printing in England) I shall heer insert in Mr Atkyns own words,¹⁸ as followeth,

Mr Atkyns

Concerning the Time of bringing this Excellent Art into England, (saith Mr Atkyns) & by whose expence & procurement it was brought, modern writers of good reputation doe most erroneously agree¹⁹ together. Mr Stow, saith he, in his *Survey of London, speaking of the 37th year of K. Henry ye sixth his Reigne, which was Anno Dñi. 1459. saith, That the noble science of Printing was about this time found in Germany at Magunce by one John Cuthenbergus a Knight and that William Caxton of London Mercer brought it into England about the year 1471. & first practized the same in the Abby of St. Peter at Westminster, with whom Sr Richard Baker in his Chronicle²⁰ agrees throughout, And Mr Howell in his Historicall Discourse of London & Westminster²¹ agrees with both the former in the Time, person and place in generall; but more particularly declares²² the place in Westminster to be the Almory there & that Islip Abbot of Westminster, set up the first Presse of Book-printing that ever was in England; These 3 famous Historians having filled the world with the supposed truth of this Assertion (although possibly it might arise through the mistake of the first writer only, whose memory I perfectly honour) makes it the harder task upon me to undeceive the world again &c.

*Not ye Survey but
his Anāl or Chronicle
pa.404. yet mention-
ed also in his Survey
p.525. Printing first
invented Stow.
p.404. in marg.

S^r Rich. Baker
Howell

about ye year of o^r
Ld. 1471. saith Stow
Surv. p.525

Historians, (saith Mr Atkyns) must of necessity take many things upon trust, they cannot with their own, but with the eyes of others see what things were done before they themselves were,

Bernardus non vidit omnia, Tis not then impossible they should mistake: I shall now make it appear they have done so, from their own as well from other arguments.

Mr Stow his Expressions are very dubious & the matter exprest very improbable: He saith Printing was *found in Magunce, which praesupposes it was practized somewhere else before & lost. And further, that it was found in the Reign of Henry the Sixth An^o Dni. 1459. and not brought into England till eleaven yeers, in the succeeding Reign of Edward the fourth, being XII. yeers after as if it had been lost again: If this be true, there was as little rarity as expedition in obtaining it, the age of XII. yeers time having intervned, and so indeed it might be the Act of a *Mercer rather than a more eminent person: But when I consider what great advantage the Kingdome in generall receives by it, I could not but think a publique Person & a publique purse must needs be concerned in so publique a Good. The more I considered of this, the more inquisitive I was to find out the truth of it. At last a Booke came to my hands²³ Printed at Oxon A.D. 1468. which was .3. yeers before any of the recited Authors would allow it to be in England, which gave me some reward for my Curiosity & encouragement to proceed further. And in prosecution of this Discovery the same most worthy person who trusted me with the aforesaid Book, did also present me with a Copy of a Record & Manuscript, in Lambeth house, heertofore in his Custody, belonging to the See (and not to any particular Archbishop of Canterbury) The substance whereof was this; though I hope for publique satisfaction the Record its self in its due time will appeare.

Thomas Bouchier Archbishop of Canterbury, moved the King (Henry the vith) to use all possible meanes for procureing a Printing-mould (for so twas there call'd) to be brought into this Kingdome: The King (a good man and much given to works of this nature) readily hearkened to the motion: And taking private advice how to effect his design, concluded it could not be brought about without great Secrecy & a considerable sum of money, given to such person or persons as would draw of some of the workmen from Harleim in Holland, where John Cuthenberg had newly invented it & was himselfe personally at work. Twas resolved that less then one thousand marks would not produce the desired effect; toward which sum, the said Archbishop presented the King with 300 Marks. The mony being now prepared, the management of the designe was comitted to Mr Robert Turnour, who then was of the Roabs to the King & a person most in favour with him, of any of his Condition; Mr Turnour tooke to his assistance, Mr Caxton a Citizen of good abilities, who tradeing much into Holland might be a creditable pretence as well

*found, that is first found out or invented or first discovered So Stow in ye Margin, Printing first invented.

*Curious Arts have been invented by the industry of laborious & Ingenuous Artists assisted with the purse of more wealthy psons wherein a Mechanick may exceed a more eminent pson.

It is mervail Mr Atkyns omitted to set down the name of the Author or the Title of this book.

Diligent enquiry hath been made to find out this Record, but it cannot yet be found.

a Record in Lambeth-house.

for his goeing as stay in the Low Countries. Mr Turnour was in disguise (his beard & haire quite shaven of) but Mr Caxton appeared Known & publique. They having received the said sum̄ of 1000 Marks, went first to Amsterdam, then to Leyden, not daring to enter Harleim it self; for the town was very jealous, having imprisoned & apprehended divers persons, who came from other parts for the same purpose: They staid till they had spent the whole 1000 Marks in guifts & expences; so as the King was faine to send 500 marks more; Mr Turnour having written to the King, that he had almost done his work. a Bargain as he said, being struck betwixt him & two Hollanders for bringing of one of the workmen, who should sufficiently discover & teach this New Art. At last, with much adoe they got of one of the Underworkmen, whose name was Frederick Corsellis (or rather Corsellis) who late one night stole from his fellows in disguise into a Vessell praepared for that purpose, & so the wind favouring the design brought him safe to London. 'Twas not thought so prudent to set him on work at London, but by the Archbishops meanes, who had been Vice-Chancellor, & afterwards Chancellor of the University of Oxon, Corsellis was carried with a Guard to Oxon, which Guard constantly watch'd to prevent Corsellis from any possible escape till he had made good his promise, in teaching how to print. So that at Oxford, Printing was at first set up in England, which was before there was any Printing-presse or Printer in France, Spain, Italy or Germany (except the City of Mentz, which claymes seniority as to Printing even of Harleim it self, calling her City Urbem Moguntinam Artis Typographicae Inventricem primam, though 'tis known to be otherwise, that City gaining that Art by ye Brother of one of the Workmen of Harleim, who had learnt it at home of his brother & after set it up for himself at Mentz.)

This Presse at Oxon̄ was at least ten years before there was any Printing in Europe (except at Harleim & Mentz, where also it was but new born. This Presse at Oxford was afterwards found inconvenient to be the sole Printing-place of England; as being too far from London and the Sea; whereupon the King set up a presse at St Albans and another in the Abby of Westminster where they printed severall books of Divinity & physick (for the King for reasons best known to himself and Councill) permitted then no Law Books to be printed,²⁴ nor did any Printer exercise that Art, but only such as were the Kings sworn servants, the King himself having the price & emolument for Printing Books. Printing thus brought into England was most graciously received by the King & most cordially entertained by the Church, the Printers having ye honour to be sworn the Kings Servants & the favour to lodge in the very bosome of the Church as in

It is likely that Caxton was the Printer at Westminster.

Westminster, St Albans, Oxon &c. By this means the Art grew so famous, that A^o 1^oRic.3. ca.9. When an Act of Parliament was made for restraint of Aliens from using any Handicrafts here (except as Servants to Natives) a speciall Proviso was inserted, That Strangers might bring in Printed or written Books to sell at their pleasure & exercise the Art of Printing heer notwithstanding that Act. So that in the space of 40. or .50. yeares, by the speciall industry & diligence of Edw.4. Edw.5. Ric.3. Hen.7. and Hen.8. the English proved so good proficient in Printing & grew so numerous, as to furnish the Kingdome with Books and so skilfull as to print them, as well as any beyond the Seas, as appears by the Act of 25.Hen.8. ca.15. Which abrogates the said Proviso for that reason And it was further enacted in the said Statute, that if any person bought forreine books bound, he should pay VI^svij^d p booke; And it was further provided & enacted, that in case the said Printers & sellers of Books, were unreasonable in their prizes, they should be moderated by the Lord Chancellor Lo. Treasurer, the two Lord Cheif Justices, or any two of them; who also had power to fine them III^s.III^d. for every Booke whose price shall be enhanced.

Thus Mr Atkyns.

Observations upon
Mr Atkyns

Now something I shall observe upon Mr. Atkyns Discourse before mentioned, namely, that admitting that supposed Record at Lambeth which Mr Atkyns so much relyeth on, to be true, Yet nothing appears from thence, but that Caxton might notwithstanding be (and probably was) the first Printer in England, for although it be graunted, that Corsellis a servant & workman to the Printer at Harlem being brought from thence into England by ye procurement of Mr Turnour & Mr Caxton as in the said record is alleaged, did first bring the Art of Printing & first taught & practized the same at Oxford as is pretended or at any other place in England, yet Caxton who caused him to be brought into England to that end, having by his industry learnt that Art of Printing from him, might thereby become the first Printer thereof in England, Corsellis being employed only as the Printers Servant to teach the Art only and not otherwise; for it appears that Caxton having attained to the skill of this noble Science, forthwith put the same in practice by Printing and publishing divers bookes at Westminster (or at Oxford if you please) or elsewhere in England, in his own Name as Printer thereof & not any of them in the Name of Corsellis or of any other Printer; Which Bookes of Caxton so printed by him are yet extant to be seen; but no other Printer was ever known or produced to have printed & published any Book in England, before Caxton, so that it is more then probable, that Caxton was the first Printer of Books in England.²⁵

Matt. Parker. Archbp.
of Canterbury

Moreover Matthew Parker Archbp^e of Canterbury in ye beginning of Q. Elizab. Reign, in his *Antiquitat. Eccles. Britanicae* Edit. Londinens. p.335.²⁶ saith, That Printing was invented at Strasburgh in Germany about the year of our Lord 1461. Thomas Bouchier being then Archbp. of Canterbury but (saith he) of the certeinty of the Author, of the place, & of the year, there is great controversy amongst writers, which he leaves to the Readers to consider of, but he hath not one word of Printing first brought into England by procurement of that Archbp. or by Caxton or otherwise, w^{ch} doubtles he writing that Archbp.s life would not have omitted, if Mr Atkyns Record had then been in his Library, or if he had heard of it otherwise; Archbp. Parker being acknowledged to have been a very diligent Antiquary in the Affaires of his own Nation; & this being a matter of such consequence.

Bryan Twyne.

Bryan Twyne That
Printing in England
was first practized at
Oxon

Now whereas Mr Atkyns, as above, affirms, That Oxford was the place where printing was first set up in England, that he may not seem alone to hold this opinion, I finde, That Bryan Twyne of Corpus Christi Colledge in Oxford, in his *Apologia pro Antiquitate Academ. Oxoniensis*²⁷ among his *Miscellanea in Parochia S. Johis Baptistae*, seemeth to averre the same, saying, *Artem Typographicam Angliae finibus recenter appulsam Oxoneam primo devenisse &c.* That the Art of Printing newly arrived on the Coasts of England, came first to Oxford, from whence by the meanes of W^m Caxton it was transferred to London, not only ancient writings relate, but this also manifesteth the same, that John Scolar, the first Printer at Oxford, opened heer his Printing shop, & published the *Coments of the acute Oxonian John Dedicus upon the Moralls An^o Dⁿⁱ.1518.* Whether the Cantabrigians got sooner or so soon the Privilege of such Printing, I know not, but if they had gotten it certainly they would have procured the *Sophismata & Consequentiae of Rob. Alington* an Oxford man, to have been published not at London by Winandus de Worde An^o Dⁿⁱ 1510. but at Cambridge doubtlesse to their behoofe. Thus Twyne.

Against Mr Twynes
Opinion

But in my opinion the reason heer produced by Mr Twyne to prove Printing to be first in Oxford & from thence to be afterwards transferred to London by Caxton is insufficient; unless he had produced those auncient writings he mentions, to confirm the same, and his citing John Scholar to have been the first Printer in Oxford, who printed there A.D.1518 (which was long after Caxton's death, who died about A.D.1495. and after his printing of many bookes at Westminster,²⁸ makes it probable that Caxton being a Printer at Westminster many yeares before that time, (as appears by his bookes extant in Print under his own Name, did not succeed but praecede that first Printer of Oxford in his Printing at Westminster,

the Book Printed at Oxford by that Oxford Printer A.D.1518, being 27. years after Caxton's death. Wynkyn de Worde who succeeded Caxton in his printing house at Westm^r in a Book by him printed at Westm^r A.D.1495, An^o 10. Hen.7. entituled Vitas Patrum, at the close of his Book saith, that W^m Caxton late dead translated that Book into English out of French. A.D.1491. and finished it in the last day of his life; Whereby it appears that Caxton Died in that year 1491, for, saith Winkyn, Caxton was lately dead 1495, and finished his Translation the last day of his life, which Translation was An.1491.²⁹

The time of Caxtons death 1495

Mr Tho Fuller, in his Book of English Worthies³⁰ saith, that this W^m Caxton was born at Caxton between Royston & Huntingdon; that he lived 30 yeeres beyond the Seas wth the Lady Margarett Duchesse of Burgundy & Died about A.D.1486. But heerin Mr Fuller was deceived, for that he printed Virgils Aeneids in English A.D.1490. (which was 4 yeeres after 1486. and he was but lately dead A.D.1495. as Wynkyn de Word hath enformed us in his Vitas Patrū as abovesaide.

T.Fuller mistaken in the time of Caxtons death

But that you may know who this W^m Caxton was, observe what Bale³¹ & Pitseus³² write of him, which is to this purpose. vizt.

Balaei cont.8 p.618.
Pitseus de script:
Angliae

William Caxton no dull or idle man, saith Bale, but very studious to propagate the memory of his Nation, to bring the same to passe, did with no little paines search out many monuments of other Nations — he dwelt in the meane while in Flanders 30 yeeres with the Lady Margaret Duchesse of Burgundy Sister to King Ed: 4. At last returning to England he found (as he himself confessed saith Pitseus) The beginning of a certein History, entred upon by a certein *Reader or Lecturer of the Abbey of S. Alban, who being prevented by death, could not finish his entended work. Caxton after his death not only made use of his loose papers w^{ch} he gathered together, but added thereto much of his own Collection out of divers very good Authors, as namely Titus Liviꝯ St.Augustinꝯ Gildas, Beda, Isidorus, Cassiodorus. Galfr: Monemutensis,³³ Gul. Malmesburiensis, Martinus Carsulanꝯ, Theobaldus Carthusianus & others, & thereof composed an History, which he styled, Fructus Temporum, beginning from the first inhabitation of this Land & continued unto the last year of K.Edw. 4. w^{ch} was A.D.1483. He wrote divers other Books, some very large contrived partly by his own Industry & partly translated by him out of French into English whereof the Titles are set down by Balaeus & Pitseus, but I doe not finde that he ever published or printed any Book in Latin or translated any into English out of Latin.³⁴ Balaeus saith he began his History from the Gyants, the first Inhabitants of this land (as he surmiseth) & endeth

*Bale terms him
Didasculus & Pitseus
Praelector

Balaei et Pitsii com
Script.Britan.

*Mentz

in the 23 year of K.Edw.4. which was A.D.1483. I do not finde in any of his Bookes by him published, any mention of the bringing of Printing into England yet he writes in his Chronicle cal'd Fructus Temporum that about A.D.1457. Printers of Bookes were mightily multiplied in *Moguncy & throughout the World, & there began first & there held their crafts; but no mention of Printing brought into England, perhaps Caxton out of his modestie did forbear to make any relation of any thing tending to his own Comēdation.

From whence Stowe had his relation of Caxton's first bringing the Art of Printing into England, I confess I know not, but I conceive he had it out of some auncient manuscript which might come to his hands, rather then out of any printed Book published before his time, w^{ch} I never yet could meet withall. I have in my hands divers Books printed by Caxton in English from An^o D.1474. unto A.D.1490. which uppon any fit occasion may be produced: viz. in Folio. &c.

- 1 The Game of Chesse (about).1474.³⁵
- 2 Godfr of Bulloign Conq. of Jerusalem, prose.1481.³⁶
- 3 The Image or mirror of the world .1481.³⁷
- 4 Pilgrimage of ye soul 1483³⁸
- 5 Cato with a Cōment. eng. 1483. A^o 1.Ric.3.R³⁹
- 6 The Knight of the Towre 1483.⁴⁰
- 7 The book of good manners 1486.⁴¹
- 8 Virgils Aeneis engl. prose 1490 A^o 5.Hen.7.R⁴²

Wynkyn de Worde

The next Printer in England after Caxton, that I finde was Winand⁹ or Wynkyn de Worde, a Dutchman, who Printed in Caxtons time in Caxtons house at Westm^r & continued Printing for many years together, & after Caxtons death, had the Use of his Printing-presse & Instruments at Westm^r as may appeare by the Prints of Caxton marked with W.C. which marke Wynkyn used in his own printed Bookes before or behind the same after Caxton died; Wynkin de Worde printed Walter Hiltons Scala Perfectionis in English in Fol. A.D.1494.⁴³ He also printed Vitas Patrum in English Fol. A.D.1495. (when as Caxton was lately dead, to wit A^o 1491, saith Wynkyn) which Caxton saith he Translated into English 1491.⁴⁴ Wynkyn also Printed The Golden Legend in English of Caxtons Translation; he printed it A.D.1527.⁴⁵ which is 33 years from 1494. (when he printed Walter Hiltons Booke, between which years of his Printed Books, he printed divers other Books, many of which I have in my Custody. In the time of this Wynkyn de Worde & afterwards, I finde many Printers in England which for brevity sake I omit, making heerafter mention only of those cheif Printers Styled by the Name of the Kings

Printers. Before Wynkyn de Worde, I find Laur.Gul. de Saona de Rhetorica was printed apud Villam S.Albani, A.D.1480, in 4°, but the Printers name omitted.⁴⁶

The First of Which Kings Printers Books that ever came to my sight is Gulielm⁹ Faq̄ whose name in such a Character is Imprinted at London in a Latin Psalter set forth by comānd of K.Hen.7. A.D.1504, in .8°. ⁴⁷ wherein this Printer styles himself Regius Impressor, but I find no other Book of his Printing besides this.

The next Kings Printer I have met withall is Rich. Pynson, who hath printed many Books under the Name of the Kings Printer, & before hee was the Kings Printer as Medulla Gram̄atices Pr.in Fol. A° 1499.⁴⁸ & Directorium Sacerdotum or Pica Sarum Pr: A° 1503.⁴⁹ before he was the Kings Printer; but afterwards he printed in the Name of the Kings Printer, The Epitome of Capgraves Catalogue of English Saints, in 4° in English A.D.1516. A° 7.Henr.8.R.⁵⁰ & in the same year The Rule of black Monkes & Mynchens⁵¹ and A.D.1525. Frosards Chronicle in English Fol.⁵² & divers others.

The next Kings Printer after Pynson I find is Tho: Berthelet w^{ch} continued the Kings Printer all the Reign of K.Hen.8. following.

Next to Tho: Berthelet in the Reign of K.Edw.6. I find Rich. Grafton to be the Kings Printer, who wrote a Chronicle⁵³ in his own Name having also before that time been his Printer when he was Prince of Wales, in K.Hen.8 his fathers reigne, Grafton was displaced from Printing by Q.Mary having a little before printed as her printer, for Printing (as is supposed) Q. Janes Proclamation⁵⁴ after K.Edw. 6 died He lived afterwards privately in his House in the Gray Friers near Christchurch lately⁵⁵ the Printing House of Mr. Ja: Flesher, the City Printer, How long he lived afterwards, I find not, But after he was put out for his Printing the next Printer was John Cawood, Printer to Q.MARY; & so continued during her Reign: After her death at the begiñing of the Reign of Q.Elizabeth: An° 1558, Richard Jugg is nominated sole Printer to Q.Eliz: But afterwards Jo:Cawood was joyned with Richard Jugg as both Printers to her Ma^y And then againe I find that Rich. Jugg alone An° 1572. & .1573. &c is styled Printer to Qu.Eliz: After Jugg the next I find styled the Queens Printer, was Christ. Barker An° 1580 An° 23 Eliz. (how long before precisely I know not) and so continued till the later end of Q.Eliz. And then it appears by the Queens Proclamation Printed A° D. 1600 A° 43 Eliz: (and I suppose not long before) Robert Barker eldest son of the said Christopher, is styled Printer to her Ma^y in which Place he continued during her Reign: After the

sub Mar.R. et
Eliz.R.

John Cawood

R. Jugg alone
R. Jugg
& J.Cawood }
sub Eliz.R.

Chr.Barker

Rob.Barker sub
Eliz.R. et Jac.R.

Jo: Bill. sen^r

Bonham Norton

Reign of Qu. Elizabeth Rob. Barker sold unto John Bill the one half or moiety of his Office of the Kings Printer, and mortgaged the other half unto Bonham Norton, whereupon (as I am enforced) Jo: Bill & Bonham Norton were for a while styled Printers to the Kings Ma^{ty} but the right of the moiety of the office belonged still to Rob. Barker (the other moiety being in John Bill) & so it continued in him during the Reign of K. Charles I. untill An^o D. 1640. (or thereabouts) if I collect not amiss, without interruption, untill he was disturbed from the exercise of his place or Office by the then Promoters of the unhappy tumults & Rebellion then raised against his Ma^{ty} by his disloyall Subjects. during which broils & Com^otions his Office was sequestred & disposed of by the then Usurpers to others as they pleased, w^{ch} so continued (during his life) untill the happy Restauration of our dread Sovereign K. Charles 2 to his Throne; who justly restored again that office of the Kings Printer (as he did all others unjustly usurped) to the right owners, namely to Jo: Bill son & heir of the said John Bill (who had purchased the moiety of the office before of Robert Barker as above) and to Christopher Barker the grandchild of the said Robert Barker, unto whom of right the other moiety belonged; in which two the right of that office of the Kings Printer continueth to this day.

Jo: Bill Jun

Chr. Barker Jun.

Regin. Wolfe sub
Ed. 6. R

Jo. Norton

Moreover (besides these Printers to his Ma^{ty} abovenamed) I finde other Printers for his Ma^{ty} for the Latin tongue only, namely, Reginald^o Wolfius at the beginning of the reign of K. Edw. 6. styled Regius in Latinis Typographus, in which place or office I finde him afterwards settled & so named in the Reign of Q: Eliz. An^o D. 1560. & 1572. And in the beginning of the Reign of K. James, A^o 1604. I find John Norton in Lib. Constitut: et Canon Ecclesiast:⁵⁶ then set forth styled, Regiae Majestatis in Latinis Graecis et Hebraicis Typographus; what other printers of his Ma^{ty} for those languages have been besides these two, I have not yet found out.

Printing at St
Albans. 1480

Worcester 1549.

Neither was Printing in England at first confined to London for I finde a Book, entituled, Nova Rhetorica composed by Gul. de Saona a Minorit & Dr of Divinity Printed in Latin apud Villam S. Albani A. D. 1480. in the reign of K. Edw. 4.⁵⁷ Afterwards the book of Com^on prayer in the Reign of K. Edw. 6. was printed A. D. 1549. at Worcester by John Oswen in Folio⁵⁸ & since in severall other places, besides the two Universities.

And thus much of the Printers of England not known to Mallin-crotius.

- 1 His name is variously recorded as 'Smyth' or 'Smith'; I have preferred the form used in the register of his baptism, in his signature to the London Visitation of Heralds in 1634, and in his will.
- 2 W.A. Jackson, 'Humfrey Dyson and his collection of Elizabethan proclamations', *Harvard Library Bulletin* 1 (1947), 76-89; 'Humfrey Dyson's library, or some observations on the survival of books', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 43(1949), 279-287.
- 3 E.G. Duff, 'The library of Richard Smith', *The Library* 2nd ser. 8(1907), 113-133.
- 4 T.A. Birrell, 'John Dryden's purchases at two book auctions, 1680 and 1682', *English Studies* 42(1961), 1-25.
- 5 Duff, p.119.
- 6 Bodleian Ms. Rawl. D.1377; BL Sloane Mss. 771, 1071; BL Add.Ms. 21,096.
- 7 BL, pressmark C21.e.2 (Wing O864).
- 8 BL, pressmark C28.e.13.
- 9 Ed. Bliss v.3 cols. 1031-1034.
- 10 e.g. BL Sloane Mss. 338, 786, 788, 790, 791, 1024, 1054; and lots 227 and 228 Sotheby's sale 9-10 Feb. 1970 (purchased by Hofmann & Freeman).
- 11 BL Sloane Ms. 772, Cambridge UL Ms. Dd.11.91 and St Bride Printing Library. William Herbert's very full abstract made from the Cambridge manuscript, and formerly in the Patent Office Library, is now BL Add.Ms.54,785.
- 12 Wing H513 and S4154.
- 13 These were GW6544 and GW4211.
- 14 It is now Bodleian Auct.I.Q5.15, and bears a quotation from Mentel in Smyth's hand on the colophon leaf. I am grateful to Michael Turner for assistance in identifying this.
- 15 STC 23333. Smyth's copy, lot 368 of the folio English books in his sale, was of the 1615 edition, STC 23338.
- 16 Smyth's copy, lot 369 of the folio English books, was of the 1633 edition enlarged by A. Munday and Humfrey Dyson, STC 23345.
- 17 Wing A4135.
- 18 Save in accidentals, Smyth's transcription from Atkyns is in most respects very accurate; variations are noted below.
- 19 sic Atkyns; 'doe not agree' all Smyth manuscripts.
- 20 Wing B501. Smyth's copy, lot 44 of the folio English books, was of the fourth edition, 1665 (Wing B505).
- 21 Wing H3090; lot 222 of Smyth's folio English books.
- 22 sic Atkyns; 'declares' omitted all manuscripts.
- 23 Probably Atkyns saw Rufinus Tyrannius of Aquileia, *Expositio Sancti Ieronimi* (STC 21443) with the famous 1468 Oxford imprint; cf. Madan, *Oxford books* vol.1 (Oxford, 1895), pp.245-253.
- 24 Evidence of Atkyns's ignorance of early English law printing; it is surprising Smyth passed it without comment. cf. Bennett, *English books and readers 1475 to 1557* (Cambridge, 1952), pp.76-85.
- 25 Smyth's text foreshadows the rather similar attempts to reserve the honour for Caxton made by Bowyer and Middleton in *The origin of printing* . . . (London 1744), attempts which Conyers Middleton's *Dissertation concerning the origin of printing in England* (Cambridge, 1735) had by then rendered superfluous.
- 26 STC 19292. Smyth's copy was lot 28 of the folio libri historici; he also had the 1605 Hanau edition (lot 226 of the folio libri theologici).
- 27 STC 24405; Smyth's copy was lot 8 of the quarto libri philologici.

- 28 This phrase is present only in the St Bride manuscript.
- 29 The Sloane manuscript is corrupt here; the reading is taken from the St Bride manuscript.
- 30 Wing F2440; lot 128 of Smyth's folio English books.
- 31 STC 1295. Smyth's copy was of Oporinus' Basle edition, 1555-9 (Adams B136) and formed lot 11 of his folio libri historici.
- 32 *Relationarum historicarum de rebus anglis* (Paris, 1619). Smyth's copy was lot 1 of the quarto libri philologici.
- 33 Sic Bale; 'Monumetensis' all manuscripts.
- 34 A serious error on Smyth's part; cf. N.F. Blake, *Caxton and his world* (London, 1969), pp.224-239, 'Caxton's Publications'.
- 35 STC 4920, Blake 45; lot 92 of Smyth's folio English books, acquired by him from Humfrey Dyson.
- 36 STC 13175, Blake 96; lot 94 of Smyth's folio English books, and formerly King Edward IV's copy.
- 37 STC 24762, Blake 75; lot 85 of Smyth's folio English books.
- 38 STC 6473, Blake 85; lot 90 of Smyth's folio English books.
- 39 STC 4853, Blake 15; lot 89 of Smyth's folio English books.
- 40 STC 15296, Blake 73; lot 84 of Smyth's folio English books.
- 41 STC 15394, Blake 9; lot 88 of Smyth's folio English books.
- 42 STC 24796, Blake 36; lot 91 of Smyth's folio English books.
- 43 STC 14042, Duff 203. I have not traced a copy of this edition in Smyth's sale catalogue, though he possessed Wynkyn's edition of 1519 (STC 14043.1; lot 22 of the Roman Catholick books) and also the London edition of 1659 (Wing H3882; lot 382 of the octavo English books).
- 44 STC 14507, Duff 235; lot 93 of Smyth's folio English books.
- 45 STC 24880; Smyth's copy came from Humfrey Dyson's library. The text implies that Smyth was ignorant of Caxton and Wynkyn's earlier editions, but an annotation to the entry in the sale catalogue 'with Mr R.S. Observations on the Edi. MS.' (lot 145 of the folio English books) suggests these may have given fuller information.
- 46 STC 24190, Duff 369; lot 562 of Smyth's quarto libri philologici. Smyth owned a copy of *The book of St Albans* in Wynkyn's edition of 1496 (STC 3309, Duff 57; lot 556 of the quarto English books) but seems to have been unaware of the earlier St Albans edition.
- 47 STC 16257; lot 534 of Smyth's octavo libri theologici.
- 48 STC 20434, Duff 352; lot 166 of Smyth's folio libri historici.
- 49 STC 16230; Smyth's copy, acquired by him from Humfrey Dyson, was lot 203 of the quarto libri philologici.
- 50 STC 4602; Smyth's copy with his manuscript notes was lot 21 of the quarto Roman Catholick books.
- 51 STC 1859; Smyth's copy was bound with his Caxton *Pilgrimage of the Soul* and so formed part of lot 90 of the folio English books.
- 52 STC 11397; lot 131 of Smyth's folio English books.
- 53 Smyth owned the folio 1569 edition (STC 12147); lot 159 of his folio English books.
- 54 STC 7846; Smyth's copy of this and of Grafton's proclamation of Queen Mary (STC 7847) came to him from Humfrey Dyson, and formed part of the first lot of folio 'Bundles of Sticht Books' in his sale. Jackson (see note 2) identifies these with the copies in the Society of Antiquaries' library.

- 55 In his *Obituary* (ed. Ellis, p.89) Smyth records Flesher/Fletcher's death in 1670: evidence that this section of the treatise was written after that date.
- 56 STC 10068; lot 128 of Smyth's quarto libri theologici.
- 57 See note 46.
- 58 STC 16276; I have been unable to trace this in Smyth's sale catalogue.

Copyright of Full Text rests with the original copyright owner and, except as permitted under the Copyright Act 1968, copying this copyright material is prohibited without the permission of the owner or its exclusive licensee or agent or by way of a license from Copyright Agency Limited. For information about such licences contact Copyright Agency Limited on (02) 93947600 (ph) or (02) 93947601 (fax)