

**THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AUSTRALIA
AND NEW ZEALAND**

BULLETIN

Volume Five

Third Quarter, 1981

**THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER AND THE MONARCHY FROM
THE RESTORATION TO THE REIGN OF GEORGE I: SOME
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL OBSERVATIONS**

THE MORTALITY OF BRITISH MONARCHS — not to mention their propensity for marrying and for begetting princes and princesses — has certain consequences for the Church of England and, by extension, presents certain problems of identification and description for the bibliographer. The nub of the problem, for both the Church and the bibliographer, is that the *Book of Common Prayer*... according to the use of the Church of England contains references to the reigning monarch and other members of the royal family, either by name or in the form of 'the King' or 'the Queen'. It follows that certain occurrences within the royal family — notably the death of one monarch and the accession of another — render parts of the text obsolete. What this article is concerned with is the various methods employed to bring the Prayer Book up to date, chiefly in the period 1685–1727.

Those sections of the Prayer Book which contain references to the monarch and/or other members of the royal family are, in order of appearance:

1. Morning Prayer, and
2. Evening Prayer, both of which mention members of the royal family by name in 'A Prayer for the King's/Queen's Majesty' and 'A Prayer for the Royal Family'; these are conventionally known as the 'State Prayers'.¹
3. The Litany, which includes references to the monarch and other members of the royal family by name.
4. The prayer, 'For the High Court of Parliament, to be read during their Session', which refers to the 'King' or 'Queen'.

5. The two 'Collects for the King/Queen', and
6. The prayer, 'For the whole state of Christ's Church militant here in earth', both part of the Communion service and both referring to the monarch by name.
7. Forms of Prayer to be used at Sea ('To be also used in His/Her Majesty's Navy every day'), which refer to the monarch by name.
8. The Ordinal (when included in the Prayer Book), which refers to the monarch by name.
9. The State Services, from 1662 comprising the anniversaries of 5 November (Gunpowder Plot), 30 January (Martyrdom of Charles I), 29 May (Restoration of the Monarchy) and the accession of the reigning monarch (also 29 May for Charles II), and also for a short time 2 September (Fire of London); all contain references to the monarch by name.

Of the nine only no.4 is unspecific and therefore not rendered obsolete by a king succeeding a king or a queen a queen. But the remaining eight vary in the frequency of their use:

- (a) those forming part of the daily Morning or Evening Prayer,
- (b) those of more occasional use, and
- (c) those used only on anniversaries.

From the point of view of the owner of a Prayer Book — or of a stationer or printer with unsold sheets — the death of the monarch is more troublesome in (a), less so in (b), and of little consequence in (c).

To provide a frame of reference for what follows it is worth noting here the critical dates in the progress of the monarchy from the reign of Charles II to that of George II:

- 1685 (6 February) — Death of Charles II; accession of James II.
- 1688 (11 December) — 'Abdication' of James II.
- 1689 (13 February) — Accession of William III and Mary II.
- 1694 (28 December) — Death of Mary.
- 1702 (8 March) — Death of William; accession of Anne.
- 1714 (1 August) — Death of Anne; accession of George I.
- 1727 (11 June) — Death of George I; accession of George II.

On the whole the references to members of the royal family — specifically the reigning monarch — are not sufficiently frequent to require an owner to replace his Prayer Book just as soon as the King's or Queen's Printers or the University Presses could run off a new edition accommodating the changes occasioned by the accession of a new monarch. But at the same time a new text was needed immediately, and it was this immediacy which led to the obvious ex-

pedient of making the appropriate changes by hand. Such manuscript emendations might be an interim measure, pending the publication of a new edition, but in themselves they obviously constituted the necessary changes, and there is ample evidence that they were not regarded as being merely an interim measure. The evidence comes from exemplars in which *successive* emendations have been made, thus taking the volume into a third reign. An extreme instance is afforded by an exemplar of the 1662 London folio in the National Library of Wales,² which has been taken from the reign of Charles II via the reigns of James II and William and Mary into the reign of Queen Anne; by 1714 it had presumably reached the end of its useful life, for it lacks eleven leaves and is in a generally dilapidated state. A much longer-lived Prayer Book is a 1693 Oxford folio in the British Library,³ which has been brought in one stroke of the pencil⁴ from William and Mary to Queen Victoria, Prince Albert and Adelaide, Queen Dowager (d.1849). I think it reasonable to assume that these manuscript emendations — often so clumsily effected — are the work of owners, though it would clearly not be beyond the powers of printers or stationers to bring unbound and unsold exemplars up to date in this way.

A neater way of effecting the necessary changes was to print the new text on slips and paste them over the old. If manuscript emendations favour owners, printed slips favour printers and stationers. It would be possible, of course, for an owner to cannibalise other printed matter, and an exemplar of the 1716 Oxford folio now in the British Library⁵ appears to be so derived: it was found in 1746 at Invergarry Castle and lacks the Form of Prayer for 1 August, contains an inserted portrait of James Edward Stuart (the Old Pretender), and has printed slips bearing the name 'James' pasted over most occurrences of the name 'George'. On the other hand there is evidence that the slips were printed specifically for insertion in superseded editions of the Prayer Book. The most obvious piece of evidence is the letter spacing of J A M E S to make it occupy the same extent as CHARLES.⁶

A more complex piece of evidence is in an exemplar of the 1716 Oxford octavo in the State Library of Victoria,⁷ which has been brought into the reign of George II. George succeeding George obviates the need for changes in all but the references to other members of the royal family — i.e. in Morning and Evening Prayer and the Litany. In this exemplar in both Morning Prayer (B5^v) and Evening Prayer (C1^r) the 15-line 'Prayer for the Royal Family' has been covered by a slip comprising 14 lines in a slightly larger type, the typographical change being required to convert 'his Royal Highness, *George*, Prince of *Wales*, the Princess and their Issue, and all the Royal Family' to the briefer 'our gracious Queen *Caroline*, the Royal Issue, and the rest of the Royal Family'. Two things favour the printer or stationer as agent. One is that the only alternative source for the prayer (as opposed to the names noted previously) would be a Prayer Book of the new reign; however, since this exemplar is from the fine-paper issue, ruled in red and printed partly in red, it is conceivable that an owner might cannibalise an inferior issue. The other is that both slips are from the same setting, suggesting that

they were printed at the same time; the alternative is to assume either that two exemplars were cannibalised or that, in the one exemplar cannibalised, type had been kept standing from Morning Prayer for re-use in Evening Prayer.⁸ In the Litany (C3^r) a five-line slip, the lines leaded, replaces six lines, set solid, making the same changes as in Morning and Evening Prayer, with *C A R O L I N E* letter spaced.

What appears surprising about all three instances is the clumsiness with which the changes have been effected: the printer's measure for the slips is 49mm., against the 46mm. of the original; the slips are pasted on crookedly; and they have obscured the surrounding red rules, which have not been redrawn on them. But this clumsiness seems typical of slips and perhaps is an indication that they derive from the printer or stationer, being inserted in large numbers at speed rather than individually at leisure by owners.

Slips are, however, only partial in their effect since associated phrases and pronouns — like 'Sovereign lady the Queen' and 'she' — are never, in my experience, altered by further slips: usually they remain unaltered; occasionally they are altered by hand.

Editions of the Prayer Book, in a variety of formats, were published practically every year from 1660 onwards, though some — notably, I suspect, fine-paper folios — might not be exhausted for many years. It would not be surprising, therefore, to find that the death of the monarch left printers and stationers with unsold sheets, sheets in such numbers that it was worth their while to cancel the superseded leaves in order to effect what might be regarded as belated 'ideal copy'. In fact, such was the case. Determining the frequency with which slips were used is hampered by the fact that their presence will often be unnoticed — or at least unrecorded. But some idea of the frequency of cancellation in Prayer Books can be gained from the entries in the *British Museum Catalogue*. There are 26 exemplars containing cancels. The earliest noted is a 1678 London quarto,⁹ in which 'sig. A3-6, B8, C1, K1, K4 have been reprinted after the accession of James II'; the latest is an 1840 Cambridge octavo,¹⁰ which 'contains cancels, printed after the birth, but before the baptism, of the Prince of Wales'. But this last is something of a 'sport', the preceding two instances being (i) a 1769 Cambridge octavo,¹¹ in which there are 'cancel leaves, printed after the death of the Princess Dowager of Wales', and (ii) a 1754 London folio,¹² 'with cancels due to the death of Frederick Prince of Wales'.¹³ Otherwise the practice of cancelling single leaves seems to have stopped in 1726/1727. And prior to 1678 there is only one recorded instance of cancellation: in STC 16390, dated 1633 (1632), where 'in the 2nd HN copy B3,4 including the later State Prayers are a cancel bifolium'.¹⁴

My own observation shows that cancellation was more widespread than the *British Museum Catalogue* reveals. And I think it reasonable to assume that cancellation has continued, but has been less obvious in the last 150 years or so because it has taken the form of folds or whole gatherings rather than single

leaves, and has been effected by changes in plates rather than by reset type. Modern cancels are likely to go unnoticed too because of the practice of publishing the Prayer Book without an imprint date. Nonetheless, plated books often look their age, and their origin may in part be revealed by the 'Table of the Moveable Feasts for Forty-five Years' in the preliminaries. The first year in the Table does not always correspond with the date in the imprint, even in seventeenth-century Prayer Books, but widely divergent dates may be indicative of a re-issue (or of sophistication). With plated Prayer Books without a date in the imprint a more approximate check can be made by comparison with the wording of the State Prayers. An Oxford 'Pica 12mo' Prayer Book, which is the one most immediately accessible to me, has a Table running from 1934 to 1978, and yet the State Prayers refer to Queen Elizabeth and to 'Elizabeth the Queen Mother, Philip Duke of Edinburgh, Charles Prince of Wales, and all the Royal Family' — i.e. those parts of the text cannot pre-date 26 July 1958, when Charles was created Prince of Wales. That the volume is not homogeneous is also suggested by the direction line of \$1^r of those gatherings which contain references to the monarchy, B C I R S: on B R and S there is 'x', on C and I ' + '.¹⁶ The conclusion I draw is that those five are cancel gatherings: there are no other stigmata of cancellation that I have observed. I also assume that it would not be difficult to demonstrate from twentieth-century Prayer Books that modern practice is to engage in continuous revision, which explains the lack of dates in imprints — but this is a matter beyond the scope of the present study.¹⁷

The presence of cancellantia in Prayer Books around 1700 — cancellantia which can be dated — gives some idea of the length of time that sheets could remain unsold, even for a work such as the Prayer Book, for which there must have been a continuing high demand. In the British Library there are instances of surprising intervals between the imprint and cancellantia which can be dated, ranging up to 14 years. Apart from the 1678 quarto mentioned above, the longest-lived sheets are all folios: 1681/reign of William and Mary;¹⁸ 1687/William alone;¹⁹ 1687/reign of Anne.²⁰ The most obvious explanation for this longevity is that folios were slower sellers, being destined for institutional rather than personal use. But the position is much more complex, and the operations of the book trade much less orderly, than at first appears. It is not simply that an edition of a particular date and format was brought up to date through cancellation and when it was exhausted a new edition produced: cancels appear in particular editions despite the subsequent appearance of editions in the same format. For example, the 1681 folio is sometimes found with cancels which bring it into the reign of James II, despite the fact that there had been further folio editions at Oxford in 1682 and 1683.²¹

This Oxford folio exhibits a range of modification which suggests that it was produced in a particularly large edition number — or alternatively that it was a particularly slow seller. Many of the surviving exemplars are on fine paper and are ruled in red, and one²² provides evidence that this was an edition valued for its appearance and presumably therefore both expensive and a slow seller. On a

binder's leaf Gilbert Burnet has written:

This Book after it had been His Majesties
Comon Praier Book²³ above two years was given
(by the Most Reverend Father in God John²⁴
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom it
belonged by the change of the Books in the
Closet he being Clark of the Closet)²⁵
to my Wife and posterity to be kept in rem=
embrance of the honour I once had of having
served His Majesty in that Post²⁶

Whithall 13thDecember

1691

Gi Sarum

One curiosity of this exemplar is that though it was William's personal Prayer Book the references to William and Mary are merely manuscript emendations, chiefly on cancellantia bearing the name 'James'. A further — bibliographical — curiosity is that 3A3 was mis-signed 'Zzz3', the correction 'Aaa3' being effected by means of a printed slip, a use of a slip which must be most unusual.

Although the King's personal exemplar had only manuscript emendations, this same edition does exist with cancellantia bringing it into the reign of William and Mary, superimposed as it were on cancellantia referring to James II. The complexity of this edition is illustrated by one exemplar in the University Library, Cambridge,²⁷ and another in the Bodleian Library.²⁸ The Cambridge exemplar has seven cancellantia referring to William and Mary, but also one referring to James and two original leaves referring to Charles II. On the other hand the Bodleian exemplar has only two cancellantia (referring to William and Mary) — R4 and S1, which contain the Communion Service references; elsewhere references to the monarch have been changed by hand to take the volume through successive reigns from Charles II to George I. It might be argued that the Bodleian is a made-up exemplar, though the same R4-S1 cancellantia are found (along with others) in both exemplars in the Oxford University Press Printer's Library.²⁹ But whatever the source of the R4-S1 cancellantia they are of more than passing interest bibliographically: not only is R4 signed (the stigma of cancellation in a volume gathered in fours) but R4 and S1 are conjugate. The removal of two disjunct leaves *within* a gathering and their replacement by a conjugate pair occurs sufficiently often not to upset the descriptive bibliographer, but the removal of the last leaf of one gathering and the first leaf of the next and their replacement by a conjugate pair presents a problem in description for the solution of which Bowers's *Principles of Bibliographical Description* offers no help.³⁰ Perhaps this instance should be represented formulaically as

... R⁴ (-R4 + 'R4'. 'S') S⁴ (-S1)....

The 1681 Oxford folio *does* exist in a 'pure' form³¹ — with Charles II throughout — collating $\pi A^2 *a - *d^2 A-3A^4 3B-3C^2$, but in addition to the varying number of cancels it also exists with reset State Services dating from the reign of James II. The State Services begin on 2Y4^v, and the resetting transforms the original nine leaves, 2Z1-3B1, into ten, 2Z⁴ 3A⁶. A collation which took no account of any of the cancels would read . . . A-2Z⁴ 3A⁶ [3B]1 3C²; one which discounted only the internal cancels would read . . . A-2Y⁴ 2Z⁴ (\pm) 3A⁴ (-, + 3A⁶) 3B² (-3B1) 3C². The resetting was required basically to incorporate the new services for 30 January (2Z2^v-3A1^v) and 29 May (3A2^r-6^v) and to remove the anti-Catholic, and hence offensive to James, 'Forms of prayer to be used yearly on the second of September, for the dreadful fire of London'. (The last three leaves, which are not reset, contain the 39 Articles and the Table of Kindred and Affinity.)

Variations within the 1681 Oxford folio are possibly more numerous than I have identified. Nonetheless those described above are sufficient to illustrate the bibliographical complexity of the 'edition' and the apparent lack of orderliness of the book trade.

The extent of the cancellation required if all references to the monarch were to be changed in the Prayer Book can be illustrated by the 1701 Oxford octavo: there are at least two exemplars³² in which every leaf bearing a reference to William has been replaced by one referring to Queen Anne. The collation A-Z⁸ 2A¹⁰ 2B² is transformed to A⁸ B⁸ (\pm B8) C⁸ (\pm C3, -C4,5 + C4,5, \pm C8) D-K⁸ L⁸ (\pm L7,8) M-Y⁸ Z⁸ (-Z2,7 + Z2,7, \pm Z8) 2A¹⁰ (\pm 2A1.10,4,6) 2B². The only leaf overlooked in the exercise is 2A9, which contains a reference back to 'the Collect of the King' (L7^r). It is worth noting here that the cancellantia are not marked in any way, though their presence is betrayed by their being printed on paper whiter than the original, by the occasional stub, and by the failure of horizontal red rules to join up where leaves meet which ought to be conjugate. The press figures also provide a hint that there has been some disturbance: the regularity of full figuring (generally on 57^v8^v) is broken by C, which is figured only on 7^v; L, which is figured not at all; Z, which is figured only on 1^r; and 2A, which is figured only on 9^v (i.e. 8^v of the inner eight leaves). Other instances could be cited of comprehensive cancellation, the number totalling about 13, varying according to format and according to whether the particular passage straddles a verso and the following recto. One instance of comprehensive cancellation provides illustration — if illustration is needed — of the practice of post-dating: a Prayer Book with cancellantia referring to William and Mary but with an imprint dated 1689.³³

Comprehensive cancellation represents, however, only one approach to bringing the Prayer Book up to date. Also discernible is the approach in which only those leaves forming part of Morning Prayer, Evening Prayer, the Litany and the Communion service are cancelled — i.e. those parts of the Prayer Book most frequently used. In this the cancellation has parallels in manuscript emendations and slips, which are sometimes confined to those parts. Partial cancellation

may be observed in the 1712 Oxford octavo: in its original Queen Anne form³⁴ it collates A-2B⁸ 2C⁴ (\$4 signed); in its King George form it collates A⁸ B⁸ (± B8) C⁸ (-C3,4,5,6 + C3,4,5,6) D-K⁸ L⁸ (± L7,8) M-2B⁸ 2C⁴ — B8 containing Morning Prayer, C3-4 Evening Prayer, C5-6 the Litany, and L7-8 the Communion service (unchanged are another five leaves bearing references to the monarchy).

The 1712 Oxford *quarto* also exists with a similar set of six cancellantia, collating A⁴ B² C⁸ (± C2,4,5,6) D⁸ (± D4.5) E-I⁸ K² (-K2). What is peculiar in the Bodleian exemplar³⁶ is that other forms of emendation have been used too: printed slips bearing 'King GEORGE' have been pasted over 'Queen ANNE' in 'Forms of Prayer to be used at Sea' and the State Services; and there are some manuscript emendations. A final form of cancellation in this exemplar — unusual though not unprecedented — occurs in K: K2 has been excised and a piece of blank paper pasted over the lower third of K1^v, thus eliminating the State Service for 8 March. In this instance perhaps we have a combination of agents effecting the changes.

Partial cancellation (or slips, or manuscript emendations), exemplified by these 1712 Oxford Prayer Books, suggests a solution to the problem of monarchical mortality which has been adopted in more recent times. The solution is to rely on a complete Prayer Book for the more stable elements and to use in conjunction with it a separately printed volume containing only the daily service, which can be revised and reprinted *in toto* when the need arises. This is the solution adopted by at least one Cambridge college chapel, which uses an Edward VII Prayer Book, supplemented by an Elizabeth II daily service.

One thing that is surprising is that cancellation of leaves containing references to the monarch was not, in my experience, accompanied by a new title leaf clearly demonstrating that the volume was up to date. (Had title leaves also been cancelled, the status of the volumes as 'issues' would have been clear; in conventional terms I suppose that they must remain as 'states'.) But to express surprise is perhaps merely to ascribe to the book trade concerns which its members did not feel for products with an assured sale marketed in monopoly conditions. The volumes themselves are testimony to the fact that their concern was limited to the text itself, or at least to certain parts of it. And the task of the bibliographer is made easier in that datable references set against an earlier imprint date are presumptive evidence of cancellation.

Though the identification of cancels may present few problems for the modern-day bibliographer, one of the stigmata of cancellantia — the method or the fact of their signing — is bibliographically the most interesting aspect of bringing the Prayer Book up to date. Examples have already been cited where cancellantia have not been distinguished in any way — e.g. the 1701 Oxford octavo. An imperfect Charles II duodecimo in the British Library³⁷ provides examples of cancellantia signed where the cancellanda were unsigned: cancellanda (c)6 (c)9 D8 D10 are replaced by cancellantia 'C6' 'C9' 'D8' 'D10'. And there are

instances, too, of what might be called 'modified signatures': cancellantia replacing signed cancellanda and bearing a siglum (usually an asterisk) as a means of distinguishing the replacement from the original — e.g. C2/*C2, C4/*C4 and D4/*D4 in the Bodleian exemplar of the 1712 Oxford quarto.³⁸

Signing unexpected leaves and modifying signatures distinguish cancellans from cancellandum and also indicate where the cancellans is to be placed — an important consideration in the Prayer Book, which seldom has page numbers. Both systems illustrated in the preceding paragraph are unexceptionable in that they are found in all kinds of publications at all periods of the hand-printed book. But several Prayer Books exhibit another system of location, the implications of which are quite surprising. The instances I have noted are:

1. 1693 Oxford folio in sixes (\$3 signed)³⁹

A4 cancelled; cancellans signed 'A7'

A5 cancelled; cancellans signed 'A9' (conjugate with 'A7')

B4 cancelled; cancellans signed 'B7'

M5 cancelled; cancellans signed 'M9'

2L5 cancelled; cancellans signed 'L9'

2N4 cancelled; cancellans signed 'Nn7'

B2 C1 N1 2L1 2L6 2N1 2N2 and 2N6 are also cancels. None of these cancellantia are distinguished in any way; the omission of any signature on 2L6 and 2N6 (which on analogy with the other \$4, \$5 cancellantia could have been expected to be signed, probably 'L11' and 'Nn11') is explained by their being conjugate with 2L1 and 2N1 respectively.

2. 1712 quarto in eights (\$4 signed)⁴⁰

C5 cancelled; cancellans signed 'C p 9' (conjugate with '*C4')

C6 cancelled; cancellans signed 'C p.11'

C2 C4 D4 and D5 are also cancels. The signatures of the first three cancellantia are prefixed by '*'; cancellans D5 is not so distinguished, but since it is conjugate with *D its position is fixed. In addition there are four leaves on which slips bearing 'King *GEORGE*' are pasted over 'Queen *ANNE*'.

3. 1712 Oxford octavo (\$4 signed)⁴¹

L7 cancelled; cancellans signed 'L p. 13'

B8 C3 C4 C5 C6 and L8 are also cancels. None are distinguished in any way, though four might have been expected to be (note that the half sheet C3.4.5.6 is replaced by four disjunct leaves).

4. 1727 Oxford duodecimo (\$6 signed)⁴²

B8 cancelled; cancellans signed 'B15'

B10 cancelled; cancellans signed 'B19'

B5 is also a cancel, not distinguished in any way.

Experience suggests that most cancellantia were not marked by their printers, either to distinguish them or to locate them. We have to assume,

therefore, that members of the book trade were able to insert them without too much difficulty, occasionally guided by a printed set of instructions.⁴³ It is axiomatic that the trade used signatures as their system of reference, and we would expect that if the cancellandum was unsigned⁴⁴ and if there was reason to indicate the position within the gathering which the cancellans was to occupy, more especially in a volume without page numbers, the obvious way of locating the cancellans would be to give it the signature that the cancellandum would have had had it been signed. Such exceptionally signed cancellantia occur often enough, and the Charles II duodecimo cited above shows that such a system was at least sometimes used in the Prayer Book.

The practice outlined in the previous paragraph is well enough understood and would not merit introduction here were it not for the evidence of the four editions described above that an alternative practice was employed — at least at the Oxford Bible Press between 1693 and 1727.⁴⁵ The ‘alternative practice’ was to locate the cancellans not by leaf (i.e. signature) but by page. Such is the system, though the notation used in 1693 does not make it obviously clear and is even potentially confusing — and to that extent it may well prove to be an early example of the practice. A7 = the seventh *page* in gathering A — i.e. A4^r, or, ‘A4’ had \$4 been signed in this volume. The real confusion would arise if this system were used to refer to cancellantia in the first half of the gathering. That the cancellantia in this category are not distinguished in any way, however, shows that reference by leaf and by page co-existed in the same volume. Even if there was no real possibility for confusion in the 1693 and 1727 system of notation, the 1712 system is a refinement in that it makes explicit the reference to page: ‘C p 9’ = the ninth page in gathering C — i.e. C5^r or ‘C5’.

What is so puzzling about the alternative practice is why it should be necessary or desirable to locate cancellantia by page references rather than by signatures. For whom were the page references intended? Can we assume that since the book trade worked with signatures the page references were designed for people outside the trade — most obviously owners of Prayer Books — who did not know how to infer the signature of an unsigned leaf? (It seems less likely that the practice was dictated by a peculiarity of the Oxford Bible Press or of the Bible/Prayer Book trade in general.) If we accept that the notation was designed to assist owners of Prayer Books it must follow that sets of cancellantia were made available to them. As far as I know this is a novel suggestion. Is there any evidence from other sources (or concerning works other than the Prayer Book) that cancellantia *were* made available for insertion in exemplars of works already sold? One difficulty is that there appears to have been no page-for-page reprinting of the Prayer Book at this period, so that cancellantia are specific to a particular edition. This situation is in contrast with that which existed with Bibles in the first half of the seventeenth century, where what I have termed ‘families’ existed: editions of the Bible in a particular format and with the same collation, but with constantly reprinted sheets found in various combinations and prefaced by title pages bearing — it would seem — the date of the current year. In the Bible

¹⁶ There is also ‘+’ on K1^r, implying (if the siglum *does* indicate a cancel gathering, as I think it must) that there is a further textual change in that part of the Prayer Book that extends from mid-way through ‘Private Baptism of Infants’ to the Collect in ‘At the Burial of the Dead’. This is a question I have not pursued.

¹⁷ The process of continuous revision is of some bibliographical interest, not least in categorization: what, for instance constitutes an edition? I propose to discuss a similar phenomenon — the continuous re-setting of sheets in Bibles of the first half of the seventeenth century — in a separate article.

¹⁸ C.48.1.4.
²⁰ 3406.f.14.

¹⁹ 3406.f.13.

²¹ There is also an undated folio usually regarded as having been published in 1683.

²² British Library, 11.g.5.

²³ ‘Book’ interlined.

²⁴ John Tillotson, who was Archbishop of Canterbury from May 1691 until his death in November 1694.

²⁵ i.e. head of the College of Chaplains to the royal household; ‘when the’ is crossed out after the parenthesis.

²⁶ Burnet had been appointed Clerk of the Closet early in 1689, on the accession of William and Mary.

²⁷ G.1.2.

²⁸ C.P.1681.b.1.

²⁹ One of unknown provenance, with Peter Parker in the imprint, the other from the library of Dundas of Arniston.

³⁰ The situation is not without parallel. One other instance that I know of is in Charles Burney’s *Account of the musical performances held in Westminster Abbey 1784* *In commemoration of Handel* (1785), which collates . . . ²E⁴ (-E4 + ‘E4’. ‘F’) F⁴ (-F1) Some idea of the problem of description can be gauged from the *NUC* entry NB0982979, which gives the collation as . . . E1-3 (E4 canceled) ²E1, F⁴ (F1 is a cancel) . . . *NUC* NB 0982980/83/84 are all entries for the same edition, varying in their recording of the pagination.

³¹ There are exemplars at Christ Church, Oxford (N.A.1.g) and the Bodleian (C.P.1682.b.2).

³² Bodleian, C.P.1701.e.1; Worcester College, Oxford, C.τ.4.

³³ Bodleian, C.P.1689.c.1.

³⁴ Oxford University Press, Bible Library.

³⁵ Oxford University Press, Printer’s Library.

³⁶ Bib.Eng.1712.d.1(1).

³⁷ 3408.b.11.

³⁸ Bib.Eng.1712.d.1(1) — like most quarto Bibles and Prayer Books of the period, bound in eights (\$4 signed).

³⁹ Bodleian, C.P.1693.c.1; British Library, 3406.e.31; Moore Theological College, Sydney, Broughton Collection, A162 (lacking A4 and A5 — stubs visible).

⁴⁰ Bodleian, Bib.Eng.1712.d.1(1).

⁴¹ Oxford University Press, Printer’s Library.

⁴² State Library of New South Wales, Richardson 91.

⁴³ For example, Burney’s *Account*, cited in note 30, includes ‘Directions to the binder for placing the cancels’.

⁴⁴ In this period primarily by falling in the second half of the gathering.

⁴⁵ It is a limitation of the present account that it derives from my interest in the Oxford Bible Press: London imprints are greatly under-represented, Cambridge imprints represented not at all. Hence I am unable at present to say whether the alternative practice is peculiar to Oxford or is a characteristic of the Bible trade as a whole, confined by regulation to the King’s/Queen’s Printer and the two University Presses.

⁴⁶ See also note 17.

⁴⁷ State Library of New South Wales, Uncat. D22; Moore Theological College, Sydney, Broughton Collection, J341.

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