

AN EXCURSION INTO PRINTED KEEPSAKES: I: 'HAVING ONE'S NAME PRINTED'

IT MAY WELL BE IDLE SPECULATION, but I sometimes wonder what the novelist Tobias Smollett might have had Matthew Bramble and his party do in *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (published 1771) had he had them stay longer in Scarborough. The party had taken in the Yorkshire coastal resort so that Bramble might bathe in the sea in an effort to improve his health. Their departure was somewhat precipitate, being prompted by the action of Humphry Clinker, who, thinking that his master was in danger of drowning, dived into the water and pulled him out on to the beach naked. (At that time the usual route into and out of the water was via a bathing machine.) To avoid public embarrassment Bramble resolved to leave Scarborough the next day, and the party headed northwards over the moors to Whitby, en route to Scotland.¹

Besides sea-bathing, Scarborough's chief claim to fame in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was its Spa waters, which attracted numerous genteel visitors to the town. It is tempting to believe that, had Smollett detained the party longer there, he might have had them do what other visitors to the town in the mid-eighteenth century did: visit the local printer and have a 'personalised' keepsake² produced to mark the occasion. For Thomas Gent, the York printer, records in his memoirs that he set up his nephew, Arthur Clarke, as a printer in Scarborough, that Clarke's printing shop opened in June 1734 (in a house in Bland's Cliff), and that 'The gentry from the Spa used to visit us, to have their names, and see the playhouse bills and other work printed.'³ 'Having one's name printed' refers to the custom whereby the visitor to a printing house had his or her name and the date of the visit inserted in a forme of standing type, an impression from which then constituted the keepsake.

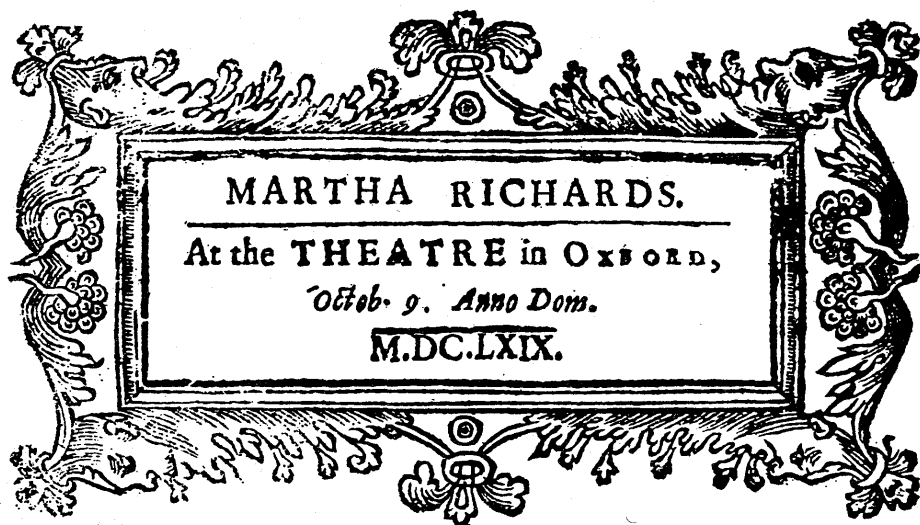
The operations of the printing press seem always to have offered an attraction for laymen, and keepsakes commemorating visits to printing houses in England precede by more than half a century Gent and Clarke setting up shop in Scarborough. Like most printed ephemera, however, extant keepsakes no doubt represent only a minute fraction of those produced. The first known reference to the practice is a verse narrative by Mrs. Alicia D'Anvers, entitled *Academia, or the humours of the University of Oxford, in burlesque verse*, published in London in March 1691. *Academia* runs to 67 pages of unremarkable versifying, constituting a conventional satire on the young undergraduate come up from the country. What – to bibliographical eyes – redeems *Academia* is an episode during the visit to Oxford of one of the family servants, John Blunder, who finds himself in the neighbourhood of the Sheldonian Theatre, a building which is still used today for ceremonial purposes but which, in the late seventeenth century, also housed in its basement the University's printing establishment – hence the familiar imprints 'At the Theater' and 'E Theatro Sheldoniano'. When back at home, John relates his adventures to his fellow servants, his visit to the Sheldonian printing house being described in these lines:⁴

Down in the Cellar||: folks are doing
 Something that makes a world of bowing,
 Some throw *Black Balls*, their *Heads* some throwing,
 As if they Arse-ward were a mowing,
 Stooping a little more to view 'um,
 They kindly ask'd me to come to 'um;
 But look ye (*Tom*) for here's the thing now,
 One could not come in at the Window,
 And for my share, I could no more
 Fly in the Air, than find the door;
 A world of Paper there was lying,
 Besides a deal as hung a drying,
 They being wet as I suppose,
 Were hung on Lines, as we hang Cloaths;
 The Folk below began to hollow,
Whop, you there, honest Country Fellow ;
We'll print your Name, What is't I wonder ?
 Says I, one's *John* (Sir,) t'other *Blunder* ;
 They bid me walk that way a little,
 I'de find a *dore* about the middle:
 Which having found, (said they,) *Go in*,
 Not saying any kind of thing;
 Well, in comes I, where *Men* were picking,
 Of little things, that makes a nicking:
 And hoa that sent me, not to cheat ma,
 Came up, as I came in, to meet ma;
 Hoa told me, *them small things were Letters*,
And that the Men themselves were Setters ;
 And so would you think it! why, this same too,
 Bid one o'th *Fellows* do my *Name* too:
 And so'a did, and down we went,
 To have *John Blunder* put in *Prent* ;
 And here 'tis for you all to look on't,
 See, if they have not made a *Book* on't;
Look, Look, (cryes Bess,) so 'tis I vow !
John Blunder, as I live 'tis so.
 But hold, let's read the rest on't tho;
 Let *Tom*, he's the best *Scollard* ho:
John being just come from *Oxford*, too
 Most thought, that best his *Name* he knew,
 Having seen how 'twas put together,
 They knew he could not miss on't neither;
 So out he read it in a *Tune*,
John Blunder, Oxford Printed June :
 But coming to the *Figures*, was

|| *Printers.*

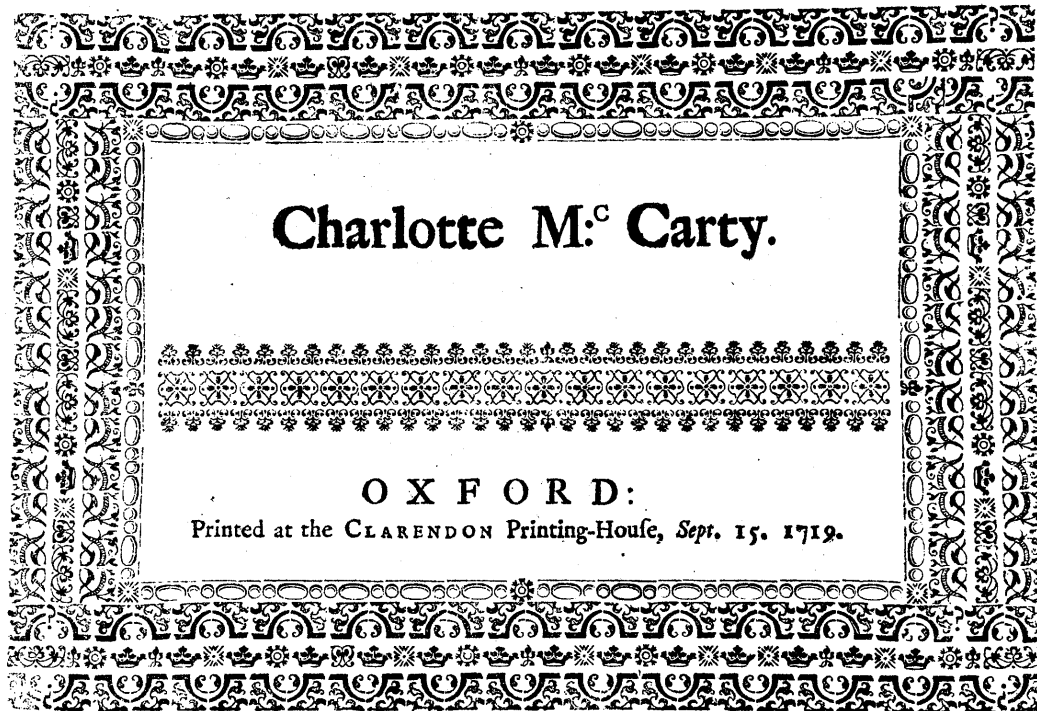
(But that *Tom* help'd him) at a loss,
Not knowing what i'th' world to do,
To know if that was *one* or *two* ;
At last 'twas found to be *One Thousand
Six Hundred, Seventy* and a dozen.
(Says *John*,) the *Printers* are such *Sots*,
This bit of *Paper* cost *two Pots*, . . .

Presumably what John Blunder got for his two pots of beer in 1682 was a keepsake resembling that which Martha Richards had got on her visit to the Sheldonian thirteen years earlier, 9 October 1669:



*Reproduced, by permission, from the copy in the Simpson Bookplate Collection*⁵

Note the date in roman numerals, which produced such difficulties in deciphering for John Blunder and his fellow servants. In Lee's catalogue of early printed book labels, Martha Richards's is the earliest keepsake listed (the preceding 184 entries comprise printed labels clearly destined for insertion in books, either as a mark of ownership or as a record of donation), and it is perhaps not without significance that it was printed only three months after the opening of the Sheldonian Theatre, 9 July



F. G. 2.

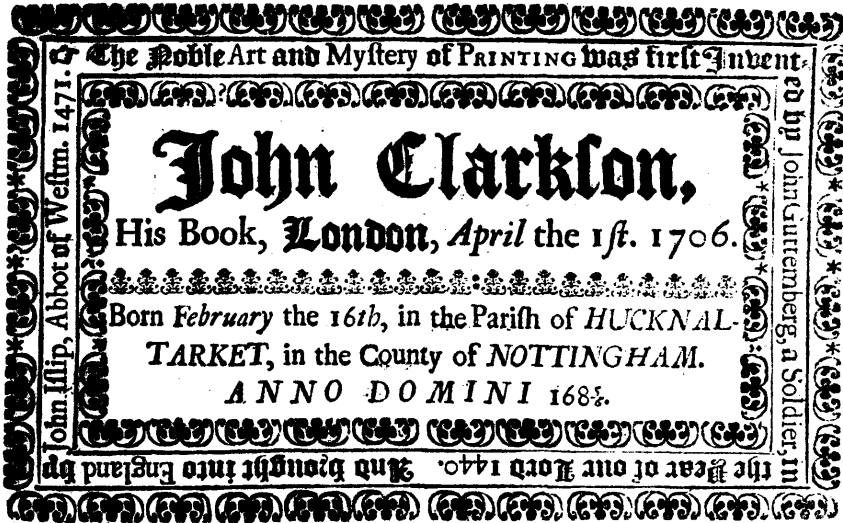
Plate 1

1669. It has been suggested to me that the practice of having one's name printed may well have begun at the newly-opened Oxford University printing house, thereby instituting a tradition. Be that as it may, the practice continued at the Clarendon Theatre (built alongside the Sheldonian), whither the University's printing was transferred in 1713. It was here that Charlotte McCarty had her keepsake printed, 15 September 1719. (See Plate 1) Both Harry Carter⁶ and Nicolas Barker⁷ claim that visitors themselves pulled the bar when their keepsake was printed; such may indeed have been the case, but the only evidence to that effect that I have dates from the second half of the eighteenth century (see below). That visitors paid a fee or gave money for beer *is*, however, well attested. John Blunder's experience has already been cited, and a keepsake printed at Bath in 1760 incorporates the following quatrain:

Since you have seen what we with pleasure show,
'Tis hop'd your generous Bounty you'll bestow:
To give a Trifle for a free Access,
Is made a Law at every Printing-Press.⁸

Most of the keepsakes that have survived were printed at the University presses of Oxford and Cambridge. There *are* examples from London and Bath, and perhaps printed labels bearing the place names Winslow, Nottingham, Bristol, Derby, Truro and Norwich⁹ may also be keepsakes – the status of those in this second group is uncertain, since they generally record name, date and place, but not printer. Why Oxford and Cambridge should be so well represented is not obvious: perhaps the University towns simply attracted more visitors, including those – like John Blunder – with some association with members of the University; perhaps the University presses had more time to devote to visitors, being less governed by the need to pay their way; or perhaps visitors to the University towns were more likely to preserve their keepsakes.

Many surviving keepsakes owe their survival to having been used as marks of ownership in books; thus the copy of the Martha Richards keepsake in the Simpson Collection shows signs of having been removed from a book, and the Charlotte McCarty keepsake is preserved in a 1660 Cambridge folio Bible, now in the Auckland Public Library.¹⁰ Indeed, as Lee observes, there isn't really much else that visitors *could* do with their keepsakes. This use makes it often difficult to distinguish labels that were printed explicitly as book plates from those which were printed as keepsakes:¹¹ size may be a criterion (some keepsakes are too big to sit comfortably in anything but an elephant folio), but there is no clear distinction in typography, and genuine book labels are often dated and may also contain the name of the printer. On occasion printers even produced keepsakes which assumed the form of book labels by the inclusion of 'his book' or 'her book' as part of the text, thus acknowledging their destination. In this category – if we accept Lee's judgment that it *is* a keepsake – falls John Clarkson's label of 1 April 1706:



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Cambridge — FMK 3495

Martha Simcox's label of 30 August 1670 is notable in this context because it employs the same border used for Martha Richards's of the previous year (see above), and therefore was presumably printed at the Sheldonian, the letterpress now reading merely 'MARTHA SIMCOX her BOOK. | [rule, 77mm.] | Aug. 30. Anno Dom. 1670.'

Martha Simcox's may be either keepsake or genuine book label, but Lee is no doubt correct in categorizing John Clarkson's as a keepsake. What marks it as such is the legend around the perimeter:

The noble art and mystery of printing was first invented by John Guttenberg, a soldier, in the year of our Lord 1440. And brought into England by John Islip, Abbot of Westm[inster]. 1471.

Legends beginning 'The noble art and mystery of printing' are traditional components of keepsakes produced for visitors to printing houses, though the actual wording may differ quite radically from that in the Clarkson example. Taken as a whole they provide a fair conspectus of the mythology associated with the introduction of printing into England: places, agents and dates all vary. Thus Mrs. Frances Francis's keepsake (See Plate 2), 22 October 1732, bears this legend:

The Noble ART and MYSTERY of PRINTING was first Invented and Practised by
of the Workmen: These prevail'd on one *Frederick Corjellis* to leave the Printing-House
John Guttenburg, a Soldier at *Mentz*, in
in *Diffenhe*, who immediately came
Higb-Germany, Anno 1440. King *Henry VI.* (*Anno 1459.*) sent two private Messengers with
over with them, and first Instructed the ENGLISH in this most Famous ART, at
Fifteen Hundred Marks, to procure
Oxford the same Year, 1459.

Mrs. Frances Francis,
HER BOOK.
October 22, 1732.

Plate 2

The noble art and mystery of printing was first invented and practised by John Guttenburgh, a soldier at Mentz, in High-Germany, Anno 1440. King Henry VI. (Anno 1459.) sent two private messengers with fifteen hundred marks, to procure one of the workmen. These prevail'd on one Frederick Corsellis to leave the printing-house in disguise, who immediately came over with them, and first instructed the English in this most famous art, at Oxford the same year, 1459.¹²

Eléazar le Marchant's keepsake, produced 'at the Theatre in Oxford', 3 June 1725, even has it that the 'The noble art and mystery of printing was first invented in the year 1430. And brought into England in the year 1447.'¹³ Such claims are – to say the least – surprising; certainly they fall outside any of the traditions accepted in the early eighteenth century. They are all the more surprising in emanating from Oxford. William Caxton is curiously absent from the keepsakes that I have seen, though Andrew W. Tuer reported on one which reads:

The noble art and mystery of printing was first invented and practised by John Faust in the city of Mentz in High Germany, about the year of our Lord, 1451, and brought into England by William Caxton, a mercer and citizen of London, who by the encouragement of the great and particularly of the Abbot of Westminster, first set up a printing-press in that Abby, and began the printing of books there about the year of our Lord 1471.¹⁴

Lee has documented book labels (including keepsakes performing that function) only as far as 1760. Evidence that they survived, if only by a little, beyond that date is afforded by the keepsake of James Jones, 19 March 1763, which Mr. John Simpson has kindly drawn to my attention. (See Plate 3) This keepsake has the added attraction of recording that it was 'Printed with his Own Hand', thus confirming that at least some visitors to the printing house did indeed pull the bar themselves when their keepsake was produced. I have no reason to believe that keepsakes of the kind already described did not continue to be produced to the end of the century and beyond, but I would guess that with the increased mechanisation of printing in the nineteenth century their production would have been confined to special occasions or special conditions.

One such special occasion, to mark which keepsakes have continued to be printed into modern times, has been the visit of someone particularly distinguished to the printing house, when keepsakes printed on silk have been produced. Thus Barker reproduces one (item 325) marking the visit of 'Dr. Samuel Langhorne Clemens' [Mark Twain] to the University Press, Oxford, 28 June 1907, the keepsake being 'printed in his presence' – he had been awarded an honorary D.Litt. by the University five days earlier. Another American, President Theodore Roosevelt, was to receive a keepsake printed on silk, 7 June 1910. The 'Programme of condensed tour and presentation' for the visit of Mr. and Mrs. Roosevelt allowed the final five minutes for presentations:

Copy of Mr. ROOSEVELT's Romanes Lecture, specially bound at the

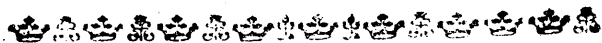


James Jones,

O F

Harlaxton in the County of *Lincoln*

March the 19th, 1763.



Printed with his Own Hand at Stamford
in Lincolnshire.

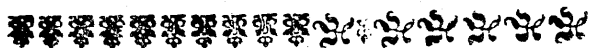


Plate 3

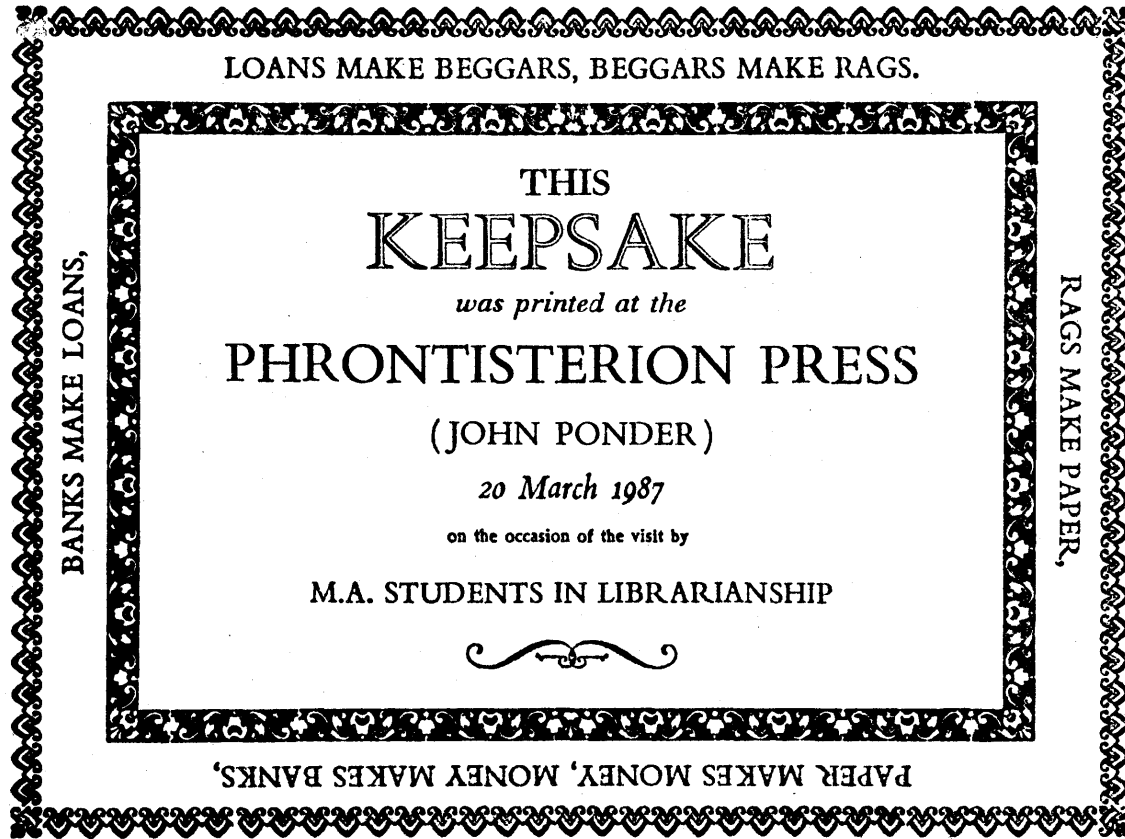


Plate 4

Reproduced by permission of Mr John Ponder

Oxford Bindery, will be presented by the Vice-Chancellor; and copy of Keepsake, commemorating the visit, printed on silk in the traditional manner, will be presented to Mrs. ROOSEVELT by one of the youngest employees from the Girls' Department of the Bindery.

A small exhibit of similar silk Keepsakes, including one presented to the late Queen Victoria in 1832, will occupy Visitors while members of the party sign Visitors' Book (on table in readiness).¹⁵

Obviously the President did not even see the keepsake being printed, let alone pull the bar.

Elsewhere, where hand- or foot-operated presses of one kind or another have survived, so has the practice of producing keepsakes. In this part of the world the most common form of keepsake produced nowadays is that printed on a flat-bed or a platen press at 'pioneer villages', where the visitor's name is inserted in a forme of standing type (or, perhaps more commonly, added to a sheet already printed).¹⁶ Typically the result is a poster announcing either a reward for the apprehension of the person named, on a charge of, for example, 'horse stealing & furious riding' (Sovereign Hill, Ballarat, Victoria) or 'cattle duffing' (Coal Creek, Korumburra, Victoria), or his or her appearance in an operatic recital, willingness to empty closets and cesspools on most reasonable terms, or some such. Examples could clearly be multiplied considerably.

The practice is also maintained today at private presses, among which should be counted bibliographical presses.¹⁷ One such example is that reproduced as Plate 4, printed at the Phrontisterion Press,¹⁸ operated by Mr. John Ponder, latterly at the Meat Market Craft Centre in North Melbourne. The centrepiece at the Phrontisterion Press is a replica of the eighteenth-century wooden 'common' press housed in the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, and traditionally associated with Benjamin Franklin, the printer-statesman. The replica was built by Mr. Ponder and an interested metal-worker, from the plans produced by Clinton Sisson.¹⁹ The keepsake reproduced here was printed by students from the Graduate School of Librarianship at Monash University during one of the visits that groups have made from time to time to the Phrontisterion Press. (The type itself was set at the Ancora Press, Monash University, where the same basic setting has been used to print other keepsakes.)

One bibliographical press which has continued the tradition of printing keepsakes is the Institute of Bibliography and Textual Criticism at the University of Leeds, where keepsakes printed on silk (or a synthetic substitute?) have been produced to mark the visits of distinguished personages. Another such bibliographical press is the Ancora Press, though here keepsakes have been confined to the more plebeian surface of paper. For the most part Ancora keepsakes have been produced during the visits of groups of students, though they have also been produced on other occasions, such as for meetings of the Friends of the Monash University Library and on the University's Open Day. The Ancora Press is not an item of curiosity, nor a mere antique, but an educational tool used – albeit briefly – in the professional preparation of librarians. The rationale of the bibliographical press,



A list produced by a computer should never be expected to be scholarly. A man-made list that is not scholarly, however, is a disgrace to man, since human beings, contrary to computers, carry scholarly responsibility. Noblesse oblige; more may be expected from the master than from his servant.

Rolf E. Du Rietz, *Text* vol. I (1974), p.25.

Printed by members of English 464 on their visit to the Ancora Press, 23 March 1981

however, usually emphasises its contribution to an understanding of the transmission of texts, as an aid to literary studies – i.e. it is only by understanding the processes through which a text has passed that one may properly appreciate the ‘physical laws’ of bibliographical investigation as well as understand the nature and status of variations, both within and between editions. So every year the Ancora Press plays host to students in the fourth-year English course, Aims and Methods of Literary Research. Normally visitors are invited to set their own name and then to print the forme into which it has been inserted, usually (for convenience’ sake) not on the 1857 Albion flat-bed but on the late-nineteenth-century treadle-platen or the 1983 Har-Ma.

It will be apparent that the Phrontisterion example has been influenced by the appearance of traditional keepsakes in using a border of printers’ ornaments and in incorporating a legend around the perimeter. This particular text comes from Dard Hunter’s *Papermaking; the history and technique of an ancient craft*, 2nd ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947; reissued New York: Dover Publications, 1978), where it appears as the epigraph. Aesthetically this example is about on a par with those of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century printers: it incorporates examples from founts held at the Ancora Press, although the only ones held in sufficient quantity to set text of any length in are 12 and 14 point Monotype Bembo. In fact the usual practice at the Press has been to incorporate a text (chosen for its assumed appositeness and/or pithiness), a practice which appears to be particularly rare in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries – one of the few is the keepsake produced for Richard Godfrey, 12 November 1731, which incorporates the Ten Commandments and the Lord’s Prayer, with the name and date enclosed in a compartment at the foot.²⁰ But the use of borders and compartments makes it more difficult to insert and remove names (since the sides of the frames need to be broken); the Ancora’s usual practice has been to place a rule beneath the text and then to record the circumstances of the visit or the name of the group or the individual and the date. Examples of Ancora keepsakes are reproduced as Plates 5 and 6.

The first stage of this excursion has been devoted to one of the byways of printing, mementoes of personal visits to printing houses. In the next stage the press will come to the people.

B.J. McMullin,
Monash University.

NOTES

1. The Scarborough episode occupies pp.178–86 in Lewis M. Knapp’s edition of the novel (London: Oxford University Press, 1966).
2. I have persisted in the term ‘keepsake’ (rather than ‘memento’ or ‘souvenir’) even though, as Mary Lugton has pointed out to me, its use dates only from the very end of the eighteenth century, its subsequent currency resulting from forming part of the title of literary annuals of the early nineteenth.
3. *The Life of Mr. Thomas Gent, printer, of York; written by himself* (London: printed for Thomas Thorpe, 1832; reissued New York: Garland, 1974), pp.182–3.

Certaine faults escaped

THERE is no garden so well trimmed, but hath some weeds; no siluer so well tried, but hath some drosse; no wine so well fined, but hath some leeze; no honie so well clarified, but hath some dregs; finallie, no humane action, but hath some defect: meruell not then (good Readers) that in so huge a volume, consisting of so manie leaues, lines, and letters, oftentimes varied both in forme and matter, a fault or two doo escape; were the Correctors care neuer so great, his diligence neuer so earnest, his labour neuer so continuall, his eies neuer so quicke, his iudgement neuer so sound, his memorie neuer so firme; breeflie, all his senses neuer so actiue and liuelie. Such faults therefore as are passed, being but few in number, if it please you in reading fauourable to amend, according as they be here corrected; your selues shall be profited, and I satisfied.

Pietro Martire Vermigli, *The Common Places*, London, 1583.

Printed at the Ancora Press, Monash University, 21 March 1988, by

M.A. students in Librarianship

Clarke is the first printer recorded as having operated in Scarborough, and though I know nothing about his career I have assumed a continuity of printing from 1734. No Scarborough imprint appears after 1734 (Thomas Gent, *The Pattern of piety*) until 1795 (*Authentic narratives of affecting incidents at sea*) in the ESTC records, but booksellers – whose names appear in imprints of books published in York – continued to trade there, and I presume that they did jobbing work, including playhouse bills. Mr. B. Berryman, Divisional Organiser Reference, Central Library, Scarborough, reports that the Library has no examples of local printing earlier than the 1790s. The two historians of Scarborough – Thomas Hinderwell (*The History and antiquities of Scarborough, and the vicinity*, 2nd ed. (York: printed by Thomas Wilson and Son, for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, and J. Mawman, London; for Wilson and Son, and W. Spence, York; and for W. Ainsworth, Scarborough, 1811)) and Arthur Rowntree (*The History of Scarborough* (London: J.M. Dent, 1931)) – are silent both on Clarke and on printing in general.

4. The description of the printing processes I take to require no elucidation, but the references to the 'topography' of the Sheldonian will be clarified by consulting an Oxford title page of the period, where a cut of the Theatre is often included, or illustrations such as that in David Loggan's *Oxonia illustrata*, itself printed at the Theatre, 1675. The Loggan plate depicting the Sheldonian is reproduced as item 81 in Nicolas Barker, *The Oxford University Press and the spread of learning 1478–1978; an illustrated history* (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1978) – note at ground level the windows which illuminate the basement.
5. In the original in manuscript above the frame has been written: 'There is a Human Face at each corner'; and below: '9 July 1669' and 'Note. The New Theatre at Oxford, the gift of D^r Sheldon Archbishop of Canterbury was opened. D^r South, University Orator, made a speech upon the occasion.' The annotations can be seen in the reproduction in Brian North Lee, *Early printed book labels: a catalogue of dated personal labels and gift labels printed in Britain to the year 1760* ([Pinner, Middlesex]: Private Libraries Association and the Bookplate Society, 1976), p.81.
6. Harry Carter, *A History of the Oxford University Press, Volume I: to the year 1780* (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1975), p.194.
7. Barker, p.60 ('Ephemera').
8. Quoted by Lee, p.103.
9. See Lee, *passim*.
10. Shelf mark RBR 1660 (2v.). A 1660 Cambridge Book of Common Prayer is bound in before volume 1 of the Bible, but it lacks its title leaf, the omission being repaired by the title leaf from a 1662 London edition of the 'Domus Orationis' variety. Volume 2 is preceded by an additional title leaf, supplied from a 1638 Cambridge folio Bible. Both title leaves which have been supplied are mounted, and on the upper right corner of the mount of each is the inscription 'Char. MacCarty 1715', presumably representing the year in which she acquired the two volumes. On the front paste-down of both volumes is the armorial book plate of the previous owner, John, Lord De la Warr; Charlotte McCarty's keepsake is pasted on a binder's leaf at the front of volume 1.
11. Since the distinction between keepsakes and book plates printed by the letterpress method is not always clear, Lee includes the former in his catalogue if they are now pasted in a book or show signs of once having been so. (He reserves the term 'book plate' for those printed from an engraved block.)
12. Reproduced by Lee, p.129; the printer and place of printing are unknown.

13. Reproduced in Edith Carey, 'Guernsey book-plates [V:] The Le Marchant plates', *Journal of the Ex Libris Society* 8(1898), 159-64 (p.159). When Eléazar's son Josué had a keepsake produced 'at the Clarendon Printing-House', 13 June 1753, the legend was more 'traditional': 'The noble art and mystery of printing was first invented by John Guttemberg of Mentz a city of Germany in the year 1440: and brought into England by John Islip, of London, in the year of our Lord 1471.'
14. Quoted by Lee, p.102. For two recent essays on the 'mythology' of the introduction of printing to England see Lotte Hellinga, *Caxton in focus: the beginnings of printing in England* (London: British Library, 1982), pp.21-2 ('The Oxford legend') and Roderick Cave, 'Richard Smyth and early English printing', *Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand Bulletin* 5(1981), 41-59. The conflation of Coster in Haarlem and Gutenberg in Mainz is reflected in a modern keepsake, for members of the Double Crown Club and the Gezelschap Nonpareil, Amsterdam, produced at the University Printing House, Oxford, 28 June 1957; the legend reads - no doubt in keeping with the occasion: 'The noble art and mystery of printing was first invented by John Guttemberg, a soldier, at Harlem, Holland, in the year 1440: and brought into England by John Islip, of London, in the year of our Lord 1471.' (Reproduced in Barker, item 325.)
15. Programme reproduced in Barker, item 327.
16. In one example that I have seen the pre-printed sheet - sad to relate - was printed by offset lithography, rather than letterpress. How common this practice is I do not know.
17. On bibliographical presses see Philip Gaskell, 'The Bibliographical press movement', *Journal of the Printing Historical Society* 1(1965), 1-13 and B.J. McMullin, 'Bibliographical presses in Australia and New Zealand', *Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand Bulletin* 3(1977-8), 55-64. (The press at Monash University is now known as the Ancora Press.)
18. In passing, it might be noted that 'Phrontisterion' means 'Pondering Place' or 'Thinking Shop' and is a term used by Aristophanes in *The Clouds* in ironic reference to Socrates and his school.
19. *The Common press, being a record, description & delineation of the early eighteenth-century handpress in the Smithsonian Institution, with a history and documentation of the press by Elizabeth Harris and drawings & advice on construction by Clinton Sisson*, 2v. (London: The Merriam Press, 1976).
20. Reproduced by Lee, p.127.

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