

Joseph Moxon: A Re-Fashioned Appraisal

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Printer Joseph Moxon's legacy to print culture has suffered from myriad, often conflicting interpretations by book historians from the late nineteenth century to present day. Who really was Joseph Moxon (1627–1691), born in Wakefield, England the son of Puritan English printer James Moxon? Through a historical appraisal of Moxon's professional interests and associations with the Stationer's Company and the Royal Society of London, and a brief analysis of specific editorial aspects of *Mechanick Exercises or, The Doctrine of Handy-Works. Applied to the Art of Printing*, this paper will first provide a clearer picture of Joseph Moxon as self-fashioning pragmatist and then redefine his place within print culture—that is, as a pivotal contributor not only to the mechanical art of printing but also to the standardisation of editorial practice.

Critical Perceptions of Joseph Moxon

A notable starting point to elucidate the critical perceptions of Joseph Moxon's numerous professional occupations is with Talbot Baines Reed, who distinguished Moxon as “the first practical English writer on the mechanics of typography ... brought up as a mathematical instrument maker, in which profession he showed himself highly proficient.”¹ Nine years later, Theodore L. de Vinne stated that Moxon's “first business was that of a maker and vender of mathematical instruments ... between the years 1659 and 1693;” however, owing to dissatisfaction “with his work, for he had leanings to other branches of the mechanic arts,”² he “carried on the two distinct businesses of type-founding and printing after 1669.”³ For P. M. Handover in 1960, Moxon was a “versatile ex-printer who stocked globes and maps made by himself and guides to navigation and textbooks on astronomy translated by himself.”⁴ Two years later Arthur E. Hallerberg described Moxon as “a globe and instrument maker, writer of leaflets and books explaining their use, and publisher of maps and charts for others as well.”⁵ While Herbert Davis

¹ Talbot Baines Reed, *A History of the Old English Letter Foundries, with Notes, Historical and Bibliographical, on the Rise and Progress of English Typography* (London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, E.C., 1887), 180.

² Joseph Moxon and Theodore De Vinne, *Moxon's Mechanick Exercises, or the Doctrine of Handy-Works Applied to the Art of Printing: A Literal Reprint in Two Volumes of the First Edition Published in the Year 1683* (New York: Typothetæ of the City of New York, 1896), ix.

³ Moxon and De Vinne, *Moxon's Mechanick Exercises*, xi.

⁴ P. M. Handover, “Review: *Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing* (1683–4) by Joseph Moxon. Edited by Herbert Davis and Harry Carter,” *The Review of English Studies* 11 (1960): 332.

⁵ Arthur E. Hallerberg, “Joseph Moxon, Mathematical Practitioner,” *The Mathematics Teacher* 55 (1962), 490.

and Harry Carter identified Moxon as an intermittent printer, they specifically described him as an experienced craftsman.⁶ Carey S. Bliss enumerated all of these roles succinctly: “Joseph Moxon, printer, publisher, globe maker, map maker, mathematical-instrument maker, typefounder, and author.”⁷ Thirty years after Bliss, Graham Jagger presented a similar catalogue, ultimately subsuming all of these roles into “tradesman.”⁸ Most recently, Laurence Worms has defined Moxon as “printer, publisher, author, and maker of globes, maps and mathematical instruments,” “Hydrographer to the King” and “Fellow of the Royal Society.”⁹ Adrian Johns labels Moxon as a “practitioner” of all occupations abovementioned, who wrote *Mechanick Exercises* based on his “intimate knowledge,”¹⁰ while Derek A. Long supplemented these enumerations with “type-designer.”¹¹

In contrast, Frans A. Janssen embodied a more critical departure:

Moxon ... had nothing of the workman: he was the son of a master printer and was active in London not only as a printer, but also as a producer-publisher of globes and maps, he translated and adapted books on globes and astronomy, cartography, architecture and mathematics. He was also Royal Hydrographer and Fellow of the Royal Society ... he was more or less a gentleman-printer.¹²

But few critics are this dismissive of Moxon’s talents. Occupying a comparative middle ground, Lisa Maruca first identified Moxon as an “entrepreneur,” who “advertised himself not only as a knowledgeable printer, but also a reliable hydrographer and map-, globe-, and mathematical instrument-maker,” and then proceeded to position him “on the boundary between the laboring and thinking classes” because of his connection with the Royal Society of London and its

⁶ Joseph Moxon, Herbert Davis, and Harry Carter, *Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing (1683–84)*, 2nd edn (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 483, xlvi. Interestingly, P. M. Handover asserts that Davis and Carter “regard [Moxon] as a sporadic amateur” (“Review,” 332), an assessment that contrasts starkly with Davis and Carter’s summation to their introduction: “He was the first writer on printing, and though he had a dignified following, he was probably the best of all” (lv).

⁷ Carey S. Bliss, *Some Aspects of Seventeenth-Century Printing with Special Reference to Joseph Moxon* (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, University of California 1965), 14.

⁸ Graham Jagger, “Joseph Moxon, FRS, and the Royal Society,” *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 49 (1995): 193, 200.

⁹ Laurence Worms, “‘At the Sign of the Atlas’: The Life and Work of Joseph Moxon, A Restoration Polymath,” *Imago Mundi* 67 (2014): 117.

¹⁰ Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 79–80.

¹¹ Derek A. Long, *‘At the Sign of Atlas’: The Life and Work of Joseph Moxon, A Restoration Polymath* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2013), xxiii.

¹² Franz A. Janssen, “The First English and the First Dutch Printer’s Manual: A Comparison,” *Quaerendo* 30 (2000): 157.

Fellows.¹³ In light of this great variety of critical assessments, what do Moxon's own actions reveal about himself and his professional narrative?

Moxon: Self-Fashioning Pragmatist

Certainly, the political environment in England complicated Moxon's early life. Moxon's Puritan father James "vigorously opposed ... Archbishop Laud's policy for Church and State" and hence relocated to Holland in 1637,¹⁴ when Joseph Moxon was aged ten. James Moxon worked as a master printer first at Delft and then at Rotterdam, establishing his press at the Rotterdam Rederijkers' Theatre, where he printed unauthorised English Bibles and exported them back to England; he also allegedly printed "libellous" material against the English government.¹⁵ Following the impeachment and imprisonment of Archbishop Laud in 1641, the political environment improved in England for Protestants. Father and son eventually returned to England in 1646 and founded their printing partnership under the joint imprint "at the upper end of Houndsditch, near Bishopsgate." From 1647 to 1649, they printed together twelve titles on either Puritan or military topics. However, Davis and Carter recount how from late 1649 Joseph Moxon distanced himself from his father's political stance to begin his own journey:

The last joint imprint seems to be on a volume printed in 1649; and in the list of London printers with their sureties, dated 10 October 1649, the name of James Moxon, Houndsditch, appears alone. And it is from this year that Joseph Moxon dates the beginning of his special training which was to make him a globe- and map-maker and hydrographer.¹⁶

From this point, Joseph Moxon's career could be interpreted symbolically as "political rehabilitation,"¹⁷ where he located himself within his own professional niche, pursuing his own mathematical interests that would inform his own publishing agenda from 1654.

¹³ Lisa Maruca, "Bodies of Type: The Work of Textual Production in English Printers' Manuals," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 36 (2003): 326–27. However, earlier in the article, she slightly contradicts herself by identifying Moxon as "a part-time printer, typefounder and writer, in addition to his regular work as a hydrographer and mathematical instrument maker" (323).

¹⁴ John Feather describes Laud's motivation for his policy well: "The whole thrust of crown policy in the 1630s, under the direction of Laud and [Thomas Wentworth, first Earl of] Strafford, was centralisation and control. Laud was concerned about the growing divisions in the Church of England and the opposition to his ecclesiastical policies. Fully aware of the power of the press, he sought to control it." See John Feather, *A History of British Publishing* (London: Routledge, 1988), 40.

¹⁵ Jagger, "Joseph Moxon," 193; Moxon, Davis, and Carter, *Mechanick Exercises*, xx. See also Bliss, *Some Aspects*, 15; Long, "At the Sign of Atlas," 6.

¹⁶ Moxon, Davis, and Carter, *Mechanick Exercises*, xxi.

¹⁷ Jagger, "Joseph Moxon," 197.

The ambiguity regarding Moxon's unsullied or inky fingers and his motivations, as suggested by Janssen, results from two related factors: his professional experience being inspected under a modern lens, and his self-positioning in seventeenth-century print culture. Researchers analyse distant content from their own frames of reference. Unlike the modern labour market with its clearly labelled titles and exhaustive position descriptions, print culture during Moxon's lifetime did not appear to be so constrained. According to Lisa Maruca, it was:

a time of fruitful indeterminacy. Indeed, many of the literary categories that later emerged as rigid 'natural' dichotomies—text versus book, creative thought versus manual labour, intellect versus economies—had not yet developed into commonsense inevitabilities. Certainly, many print workers, from booksellers to compositors, did not always see themselves as confined to one side of the binary.¹⁸

Such indeterminacy enabled Moxon to position himself between two seemingly disparate but, for him, interconnected worlds: professional and philosophical.

Upon Moxon's return from Holland in 1654 (he journeyed there in 1652 to continue his special training in globe- and map-making), he became a "publisher in his own right" with the publication of an English translation of William Janszoon Blaeu's *Institutio Astronomica* (1634), the short title of which was *A Tutor to Astronomie and Geographie*;¹⁹ apparently, Moxon acquired his Latin copy while in Holland.²⁰ The following year, Moxon released John Dansie's *A Mathematical Manual: wherein is handled Arithmetick, Planimetry, Stereometry, and the Embattelling of Armies*.²¹ Immediately afterward, Moxon printed a translation of an abridged version of James Barozzi's *Vignola: or the Compleat Architect, Shewing in a Plain and Easie Way the Rules of the Five Orders of Architecture* in 1655,²² now under the imprint of "Printed by J. Moxon, and sold at his shop in Cornhill, at the signe of *Atlas*."²³ There, he also authored his own text of tabular material, the half-title of which was *Primum Mobile: or Tables shewing the Declinations, Rights Ascensions, Ascensional Differences, Oblique Ascensions of the Sun and Other Planets* in 1656; and printed John Newton's *A Help to Calculation*

¹⁸ Lisa Maruca, *Work of Print: Authorship and the English Text Trades, 1600–1760* (Vancouver, BC: University of Washington Press, 2012), 10. Printers exemplify this breadth of professional roles. Simpson explains that from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries printers either hired correctors or performed the corrections personally (*Proof-Reading in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* [London: Oxford University Press, 1935], 110), though John Feather indicates that the "early decades of the seventeenth century ... saw the beginning of the separation of the printing and publishing functions" (*History of British Publishing*, 39); see also Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 105.

¹⁹ Jagger, "Joseph Moxon," 194. See also Long, "At the Sign of Atlas," 14.

²⁰ Hallerberg, "Joseph Moxon," 490; Bliss, *Some Aspects*, 15–16; Long, "At the Sign of Atlas," 16.

²¹ Long, "At the Sign of Atlas," 17; Moxon, Davis, and Carter, *Mechanick Exercises*, 417.

²² Bliss, *Some Aspects*, 16.

²³ Moxon, Davis, and Carter, *Mechanick Exercises*, xxvii; Long, "At the Sign of Atlas," 18.

and William Oughtred's *Trigonometria* in 1657. Hence, Moxon's printing legacy is never in question: despite his virtual printing hiatus for the period 1660–1665 (he was appointed Hydrographer to the King in 1662 and tasked with creating globes and maps),²⁴ Moxon's book production amounted to forty titles for the period 1662–78, and more than sixty by 1686.²⁵ While Davis and Carter perceive Moxon's output as a printer to be comparatively negligible,²⁶ quantity of output is not necessarily symbolic of success—the longevity of the content is, however, and Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises* is a notable example. Moxon's typographical business interests—namely as letter-cutter and typefounder—were first evidenced after his enforced relocation to Russell Street, Westminster, as a consequence of the 1666 London Fire:

[The] first types cut by him at Russell Street in 1667 were the symbols designed by Bishop Wilkins for his *Essay towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language*. He is said also to have cut the “correcting marks” used later in his own *Mechanick Exercises*, and the mathematical and astronomical symbols which were afterwards in the Andrews foundry, and some symbols used in the *Index Villaris* of John Adams, 1680.²⁷

Given these technical contributions to the art of printing, it is surprising that Moxon was not a member of the Stationer's Company.²⁸

The purpose of the Stationer's Company since its fifteenth-century inception had been the regulation of the printing and publishing industries. Queen Mary's granting of the royal charter in 1557, bolstered later by the *Licensing Act 1662*, further empowered such regulation through two provisions to be legally administered by the Company. The first provision was the banning of provincial printing: presses were to be located in London and were limited to approximately twenty establishments,²⁹ with the exception of the university presses in Cambridge, Oxford and later York in 1662 and those provincial few who were accredited members. The second provision established pre-publication

²⁴ Bliss, *Some Aspects*, 16–17; Jagger, “Joseph Moxon,” 198; Long, “*At the Sign of Atlas*,” 21.

²⁵ Jagger, “Joseph Moxon,” 194.

²⁶ Moxon, Davis, and Carter, *Mechanick Exercises*, 482. Furthermore, D. F. McKenzie writes: “Where output varies so markedly from man to man and period to period, any reliance on ‘norms’ would seem to imply an almost irresponsibly large burden of probable error” (“Printers of the Mind: Some Notes on Bibliographical Theories and Printing-House Practices,” *Studies in Bibliography* 22 [1969]: 13).

²⁷ Moxon, Davis, and Carter, *Mechanick Exercises*, xxxv. See also Handover, “Review,” 332–33; Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 79; Moxon and De Vinne, *Moxon's Mechanick Exercises*, xvi.

²⁸ Long (“*At the Sign of Atlas*,” 30) indicates that the only company of which Moxon was a member was the Livery of the Weavers' Company; he was admitted on 8 August 1664.

²⁹ John Feather, “The British Book Market 1600–1800,” in *A Companion to the History of the Book*, ed. by Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 240. See also Maruca, “Bodies of Type,” 326; D. McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order, 1450–1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 187.

licensing: only Company-approved content could be printed.³⁰ Pre-publication licences, or patents, could only be granted to members of the Company.³¹

Two types of printing rights existed at this time: royal prerogative patents rights and those assigned by the Stationer's Company; Michael Treadwell reproduces part of the *Licensing Act 1662*:

[Both] forms of printing rights were given statutory authority in the clause of the Act (par. 6) which made it an offence to print or import any work which any person 'shall have the Right, Privilege, Authority or Allowance, solely to Print ... by ... vertue of any Letters Patents ... granted or assigned ... or by ... vertue of any Entry ... thereof ... in the Register Book of the ... Company of Stationer's, or the University Register Books for university books' (par. 6).³²

The royal prerogative patents rights were mainly administered by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London; all printing rights allocated by the Stationer's Company were entered into the guild register.³³ Furthermore, the Act required "the name and place of habitation of the publisher and owner of the press on the title page of each printed work,"³⁴ simply known as the *imprimatur*. Interestingly, the copyright periods for the two printing rights differed: royal prerogative patents rights were measured in years—usually 10, 14, 21 or 31; whereas Stationer's Company printing rights were held perpetually and, according to Mark Rose, "might be bequeathed, sold or split into shares."³⁵ Both of these printing rights legally protected the copyright holder's text from piracy.³⁶ In other words, as Rose explains, "Copyright did not protect a work itself but rather a stationer's right to publish a work."³⁷

³⁰ Feather, *History of British Publishing*, 28–32. See also Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450–1800*, trans. David Gerard (London: NLB, 1976), 191–92; Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 72.

³¹ Feather, *History of British Publishing*, 39. See also Mark Rose, *Authors and Owners: The Invention of Copyright* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993), 12.

³² Michael Treadwell, "The Stationers and the Printings Acts at the End of the Seventeenth Century," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Vol. IV 1557–1695*, edited by John Barnard, D. F. McKenzie and Maureen Bell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 759. See also Rose, *Authors and Owners*, 12.

³³ Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 232–33, 239; Patterson, Lyman Ray Patterson, *Copyright in Historical Perspective* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1968), 139; Treadwell, "Stationers," 757.

³⁴ Patterson, *Copyright*, 141. See also John Feather, *Publishing, Piracy and Politics: An Historical Study of Copyright in Britain* (London: Mansell Publishing Limited, 1994), 44.

³⁵ Mark Rose, "Copyright, Authors and Censorship," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Vol. V 1695–1830*, edited by Michael F. Suarez and Michael L. Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 118. See also Treadwell, "Stationers," 762.

³⁶ Patterson, *Copyright*, 6.

³⁷ Rose, *Authors and Owners*, 14.

Despite these restrictions, numerous advantages were gained through membership in the Stationer's Company:

The trade had been recognised as an important element in the state. Its senior members had learned to work with the highest levels of government and had successfully achieved many of their own objectives.... The parallel evolution of crown and Company licences had laid foundations for the practice, and later the law, of copyright.... The trade in 1640 was more prosperous than ever before.³⁸

If membership to the Stationer's Company entailed lucrative and enduring benefits, why then was Moxon not a member? Davis and Carter suggest that Moxon might have considered himself to be adequately safeguarded from the Company's "interference" by being a freeman of London and the royal hydrographer, as well as by the fact that he never claimed to be a master printer. They also believe that Moxon's printing output was not sufficiently consistent to attract the regular attention of the Company.³⁹ Such assertions prove problematic when they acknowledge not only that Moxon had applied for membership on 1 December 1663, though later decided against it on account of what would be "demanded" of him, but also that he was summoned twice before the Company's court for illegal printing: the first on 10 January 1673/4; the second, eleven years later, on 7 May 1685, for "printing, binding, stitching, publishing or dispersing printed books while being free of London livery companies other than the Stationers."⁴⁰ While Maruca neglects to specify why Moxon remained "[outside] the still closed ranks of the Stationer's Company," she posits roguish motivations for his non-membership by stating that "he could freely give away 'secrets'," albeit not in wilful "defiance of the Company."⁴¹ Most recently, in his biography of Moxon entitled *At the Sign of Atlas: The Life and Work of Joseph Moxon, A Restoration Polymath*, Derek A. Long reiterates the information previously supplied by Davis and Carter: "Moxon refused to accept the conditions demanded of him;" however, Long disagrees that Moxon "relied on his position as Royal Hydrographer to give him authority to print, publish and sell books." Long's concluding remark on this matter is that "the relation between Moxon and

³⁸ Feather, *History of British Publishing*, 41.

³⁹ Moxon, Davis, and Carter, *Mechanick Exercises*, xxvii–xxviii.

⁴⁰ Moxon, Davis, and Carter, *Mechanick Exercises*, 481. Adrian Johns also points out this inconsistency (*Nature of the Book*, 79).

⁴¹ Maruca does not identify which "secrets" that Moxon could "freely give away," though it can be assumed she alludes to the print trade ("Bodies of Type," 326). However, she does explain on the previous page how the English civil war impacted on the trade and its regulation: "In the case of the print trades ... factors were exacerbated by the loosening of restrictions on printing throughout the last thirty years or so of the seventeenth century." See also Feather, *History of British Publishing*, 43–49.

authorities like the Stationer's Company is rather unclear."⁴² Both Davis and Carter and Long independently cite the Company's records, which unfortunately do not elucidate why Moxon disputed the Company's conditions. Nevertheless, Moxon's decision to disavow membership to the Stationer's Company highlights his deliberate independence and self-positioning. This becomes more apparent when considering the instability of copyright legislation in the final quarter of the seventeenth century and Moxon's response to it.

In accordance with the *Licensing Act 1662*, the title page of *Mechanick Exercises* featured Moxon's imprint: the name of the publisher ("By *Joseph Moxon*, Member of the Royal Society, and *Hydrographer* to the King's Most Excellent Majesty") and the location of the printing shop ("LONDON. Printed for *Joseph Moxon* on the West-side of *Fleet-ditch*, at the sign of *Atlas*. 1683."). However, Moxon did not register *Mechanick Exercises* with the Stationer's Company, nor did he obtain a royal patent. It would thus appear that Moxon failed to protect his text from potential piracy, yet this presumed wilful neglect may be interpreted more pragmatically.

The *Licensing Act 1662* as described by John Feather was "impermanent" legislation—that is, it functioned for a three-year period and, [then] required renewal.⁴³ The Act was renewed in 1665, lapsed in 1679, was successfully renewed in 1688 and 1693, but lapsed once more in 1695.⁴⁴ No other copyright legislation existed until the 1710 Statute of Anne. Therefore, the period in which *Mechanick Exercises* was produced was notable for its legislative instability, a situation compounded by the government's failure to administer the Act effectively during its erratic existence. Treadwell cites D. F. McKenzie's examination of published output for the year 1668, enumerated in D. G. Wing's *Short-Title Catalogue of Books*, as an example:

And D. F. McKenzie, who in 1974 examined 458 of the 491 items then known to have been printed in 1668 found that only fifty-two of them bore any form of the licence required by the Act—though close to half obeyed the Act by carrying some form of the printer's name, presumably because compliance was easier.⁴⁵

Treadwell extends this conclusion by stating that the government's true intention was never to enforce the licensing section of the Act: "In short, the government never tried to enforce licensing; it merely used the easily proven

⁴² Long, "At the Sign of Atlas," 30–31.

⁴³ According to Feather, the parliament designed this legislative impermanence to ensure against the monarch "[governing] for long periods without a parliament" (*History of British Publishing*, 52).

⁴⁴ Feather, *History of British Publishing*, 52, 54–55. See also Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 231–34; Maruca, "Bodies of Type," 325; Treadwell, "Stationers," 769–70.

⁴⁵ Treadwell, "Stationers," 766. See also, D. F. McKenzie, *Making Meaning: "Printers of the Mind" and Other Essays* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), 118.

offence of failure to obtain a licence as its preferred weapon against those publications to which it objected on quite other grounds.”⁴⁶ Hence, Moxon printed *Mechanick Exercises* after the 1662 *Licensing Act* lapsed in 1679 but before its renewal in 1688. As discussed earlier, Moxon disavowed membership to the Stationer’s Company, which explains why his printed works were never licensed and registered—*Mechanick Exercises* was therefore not legally protected from potential piracy. However, given this legislative instability, he sought to reinforce his ownership by appearing to follow the rules—that is, he complied with the obsolete Act by inserting his imprint details on his title page. His pragmatic response became standard practice among copyright holders, as demonstrated by McKenzie’s statistics on non-registration.

Moxon’s other significant association with the Royal Society of London not only compounded his professional self-positioning but also complicated it further. Through his mathematical printing, such as John Newton’s *A Help to Calculation* in 1657 and Jonas Moore’s *Short Introduction Into the Art of Species* in 1660, Moxon befriended significant personages in the mathematical community, including Isaac Newton, Walter Pope, Elias Ashmole and Moore. Thirteen mathematicians supported his petition to become Royal Hydrographer in 1662 by supplying their signatures of approval; all except two were Fellows of the Royal Society.⁴⁷ Moxon’s direct involvement with the Royal Society probably resulted from the Royal Society’s purchase of his mathematical instruments:

On 30 March 1664 the Council ordered ‘that the Society tube be lent to Mr Moxon to make observations.’ Later in the same year it was ordered ‘that the treasurer should pay for a globe ... which Dr Wren should choose at Mr Moxon’s.’ The Royal Society was evidently a good customer.⁴⁸

Moxon’s association with Robert Hooke, curator of experiments at the Royal Society, appeared to deepen and proved invaluable from the late 1670s. Bliss reproduces an entry from Hooke’s diary of 24 April 1677 that indicates Moxon’s close friendship with Hooke: “Wild, Aubery, Merret, Moxon, &c., here to see comet but missed it. Drank 2 bottles of claret.”⁴⁹ Hooke also recorded in his diary

⁴⁶ Treadwell, “Stationers,” 766.

⁴⁷ Jagger, “Joseph Moxon,” 194–98. See also Long, “*At the Sign of Atlas*,” 25–26.

⁴⁸ Jagger, “Joseph Moxon,” 198; Long, “*At the Sign of Atlas*,” 30. The cited text originates from the minutes of the Royal Society, reproduced from Thomas Birch’s *The History of the Royal Society of London*, vol. 1 (London, 1756–57), 403 and 469 respectively. Moreover, the Royal Society archives are accessible online; the first part of this citation, in regard to the Society’s “tube,” resides in the repository “GB 117 The Royal Society,” reference number CMO/1/46, dated 30 March 1664, <<https://collections.royalsociety.org/DServe.exe?dsqIni=DServe.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=0&dsqSearch=%28%28text%29%3D%27Moxon%27%29>>, date accessed 29 September 2014.

⁴⁹ *Diary of Robert Hooke 1672–1680. Transcribed from the Original in the Possession of the Corporation*

subsequent engagements with Moxon, during which they discussed Moxon's most notable achievement: *Mechanick Exercises*. Hooke visited Moxon on 31 December 1677, when he read the first issue on smithery from *Mechanick Exercises*. Its publication occurred over fourteen issues between 1678 and 1680, thereby becoming "the first book in England to be published in serial form;"⁵⁰ the print run comprised five hundred copies and each issue cost six pence.⁵¹ Armed with a letter of introduction from John Evelyn, another Fellow of the Royal Society, Moxon bestowed on the president of the Society, Sir Joseph Williamson, the first six numbers of *Mechanick Exercises* in July 1678. Soon afterwards, on 30 November 1678, Moxon was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.⁵²

Moxon's election as a Fellow occurred late in his professional career—he was fifty-one years old—and followed twenty years of association with the Society and its Fellows.⁵³ His election can certainly be interpreted as an honour;⁵⁴ however, it is necessary to question from whose perspective and to what end? The answers to these questions are, once again, more detailed and complicated than they might appear. Moxon's writing of *Mechanick Exercises* aligned with the Society's own philosophical research interests in the mechanical arts,⁵⁵ as illustrated at a Society meeting in the subsequent year: "On 18 March 1679/80 Moxon 'presented his fourteen *Mechanical Exercises*, bound in a volume; and was encouraged to proceed in the undertaking."⁵⁶ Nevertheless, this encouragement belies Moxon's tenuous relationship with the Society. While Davis and Carter, Bliss and Maruca surmise Moxon's election as a Fellow to be a natural consequence of his endeavours, only Jagger details the reality—a reality that implicitly results from his self-positioning:

The first and indeed only occurrence of negative voting occurred at the Anniversary meeting held on 30 November 1678 at which Moxon was elected with 27 votes for, and four against.... What is remarkable about Moxon's election is not the four

of the City of London (Guildhall Library), edited by H. W. Robinson and W. Adams (London: Taylor and Francis, 1935), 287, cited in Bliss, *Some Aspects*, 18. See also Jagger, "Joseph Moxon," 198–99; Moxon, Davis, and Carter, *Mechanick Exercises*, xlv.

⁵⁰ Jagger, "Joseph Moxon," 199.

⁵¹ Bliss, *Some Aspects*, 18, 21; Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 81; Moxon, Davis, and Carter, *Mechanick Exercises*, xlv.

⁵² Jagger, "Joseph Moxon," 199–200; Moxon, Davis, and Carter, *Mechanick Exercises*, xlv. See also Hallerberg, "Joseph Moxon," 491.

⁵³ Jagger, "Joseph Moxon," 201.

⁵⁴ Bliss, *Some Aspects*, 17.

⁵⁵ Maruca states that one of the proposed projects of the Royal Society at that time was a "written catalogue and history of the trades" ("Bodies of Type," 326). See also Walter E. Houghton Jr, "The History of the Trade: Its Relation to Seventeenth-Century Thought: As Seen in Bacon, Petty, Evelyn, and Boyle," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 2 (1941): 50. Houghton notes that the Society "was riddled with a utilitarian and commercial spirit."

⁵⁶ Jagger, "Joseph Moxon," 201. The cited text is from Birch, *History of the Royal Society*, vol. 4, 26.

votes cast against him but the fact that he was elected at all ... he was the first tradesman to be elected Fellow.⁵⁷

Jagger does mention that Moxon had not been the only tradesman to be elected; however, this comes with a caveat: "Although some 13 merchants had become Fellows prior to Moxon's election, no less than nine of these were knights and the remainder held various public offices."⁵⁸ The Society's reluctance to grant Moxon's application for fellowship is evidenced additionally by his age—"The median age of the 100 Fellows elected immediately before him was about 37"—and the fact that his election occurred after his prestigious employment as the Royal Hydrographer.⁵⁹

Becoming a Fellow of the Royal Society certainly symbolised Moxon's official welcoming into the mathematical fellowship; however, such a connection was not manufactured completely altruistically—Moxon was a businessman after all. Moxon's other motivation was therefore commercially inspired to increase sales. For example, as Johns notes, "Moxon made use of president of the Society Sir Joseph Williamson's position as overseer and editor of the *London Gazette* to publicize the *Exercises* in the government's periodical."⁶⁰ Furthermore, integral to this commercial imperative were the concepts of prestige and authority. Moxon's association with the Royal Society and the latter's encouragement of his writing regarding the mechanical arts enabled him to publicise this on the title page of *Mechanick Exercises or, The Doctrine of Handy-Works. Applied to the Art of Printing*—he writes, "Member of the Royal Society, and *Hydrographer* to the King's Most Excellent Majesty." Hence, just as printers would promote eminent editors of their titles to increase sales with booksellers,⁶¹ Moxon likewise capitalised on his connection to the Royal Society. The irony of this publicising is that the Society expelled Moxon in November 1682, together with twenty-three other

⁵⁷ Jagger, "Joseph Moxon," 200. Johns does mention the negative vote, though neglects to explain the reason for it; see *Nature of the Book*, 81.

⁵⁸ Jagger, "Joseph Moxon," 200.

⁵⁹ Michael Hunter confirms the Society's reluctance to grant fellowship to tradesmen, as well as Moxon's late election: "what is more significant than his actual election is its lateness, considering that he had been associated with the Society earlier, and the fact that he received the unusual number of four negative votes when he stood for election" (*The Royal Society and its Fellows 1660–1770: The Morphology of an Early Scientific Institution* [Chalfont St Giles: The British Society for the History of Science, 1982], 25).

⁶⁰ Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 81. To date, research into the *London Gazette* archives yields no evidence to confirm whether Moxon paid for this advertising or not. See also A. E. Musson & Eric Robinson, *Science and Technology in the Industrial Revolution* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1969), 22.

⁶¹ Brian Richardson, *Print Culture in Renaissance Italy: The Editor and the Vernacular Text, 1470–1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 6; Edward A. Malone, "Learned Correctors as Technical Editors: Specialization and Collaboration in Early Modern European Printing Houses," *Journal of Business and Technical Communication* 20 (2006): 397–98.

Fellows, for not paying his subscription,⁶² nine months before the publication of *Mechanick Exercises* in 1683. According to Jagger, Moxon took little notice of his expulsion: rather, his involvement with the Society faltered after his application to become the Society's printer was rejected in favour of Richard Chiswell, who was appointed on 29 June 1681.⁶³ The minutes of the Royal Society meeting that day states: "Mr Chiswell's Patent to be Printer to the Society was fairly engrossed, read and approved."⁶⁴ For Moxon, as Jagger relates, this was "a bitter disappointment."⁶⁵ Such disappointment could be confirmed when considering a cryptic note in the Society's meeting minutes for 3 March 1682: "Mr Haughton brought in a written reply from Mr Moxon which was read but ordered to be debated at the next meeting."⁶⁶ Did Moxon write to the Society to question or appeal the decision to elect Chiswell as printer? Unfortunately, searching through the Society's online archives has not so far yielded an answer to this question.

Maruca declares that Moxon's association with the Royal Society indicated that the intended audience of *Mechanick Exercises* was not printers, a perception long-held by bibliographers. Instead,

Moxon's participation in the Royal Society suggests that his was not a manual for printers, but one specifically for outsiders. Indeed, he asserts in his preface to the

⁶² Royal Society meeting minutes for 1 November 1682 states: "It was again debated whether the 23 mentioned in the list to be left out of the list to be printed agains[t] St Andrews day should also be left out of the Treasurers Book for the future and it was agreed on and ordered to be done accordingly," "GB 117 The Royal Society" repository, reference number CMO/2/13, <<https://collections.royalsociety.org/Dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=50&dsqSearch=%28Date%3D%271682%27%29>>, date accessed 29 September 2014.

⁶³ Jagger provides his interpretation of why Chiswell was appointed in preference to Moxon: "In many ways Chiswell was an ideal candidate. Twelve years Moxon's junior, he had a thriving publishing business at the sign of the 'Rose and Crown' in St Paul's churchyard. In 1680, under the authority of Speaker Williams, Chiswell published the *Votes of the House of Commons* and, by the time of his appointment as printer to the Royal Society, official publishing had become one of the main strands of his business" ("Joseph Moxon," 202). This interpretation is supported by Takano Michiyo, "Richard Chiswell and his Publications in the Late 17th Century" (online), *Yamanashi Glocal Studies; Bulletin of Faculty of Glocal Policy Management and Communications* 6: 74–84, <www.yamanashi-ken.ac.jp/wp-content/uploads/kgk2011008.pdf>, date accessed 29 September 2014.

⁶⁴ "GB 117 The Royal Society" repository, reference number CMO/1/278, <<https://collections.royalsociety.org/Dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=1&dsqSearch=%28%28text%29%3D%27Mr%20Chiswell%27%29>>, date accessed 29 September 2014. Furthermore, Birch writes: "Upon returning to the debate, whether a printer should be chosen for the Society, it was resolved in the affirmative; and Mr Richard Chiswell was unanimously chosen" (*History of the Royal Society*, vol. 4, 79).

⁶⁵ Jagger, "Joseph Moxon," 202–203.

⁶⁶ "GB 117 The Royal Society" repository, reference number CMO/2/3, <<https://collections.royalsociety.org/Dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=1&dsqSearch=%28%28text%29%3D%27Mr%20Moxon%27%29>>, date accessed 1 October 2014.

first volume of the *Exercises* that, “Mechanicks be, by some, accounted ignorable and scandalous ... yet it is very well known, that many Gentlemen in this Nation, of good Rank and high Quality, are conversant in Handy-Works.”⁶⁷

Janssen mirrors this conclusion in his analysis of Moxon’s preface: “Moxon does not address the employees of the workforce, but his fellow-members of the Royal Society: his work, accordingly, is dedicated to no less a man than John Fell, Bishop of Oxford and governor of the university.”⁶⁸ However, Moxon’s name-dropping can be interpreted differently from a commercial viewpoint. The references to the Royal Society and to John Fell, the “‘architect’ of English seventeenth-century typography,”⁶⁹ impart to *Mechanick Exercises* both prestige and authority, aiming to magnify its value in the eyes of its intended readers and increase sales. Another advantage is that the intended audience widens to embrace not only printing professionals but also the learned “outsiders.”

In light of these complex motivations, the contention over whether Moxon identified as unsullied gentleman-printer or inky-fingered businessman loses relevance. His self-positioning between the professional and philosophical worlds enables his content to address each.

***Mechanick Exercises*: Moxon’s Editorial Legacy**

As mentioned earlier, Adrian Johns labels Moxon a “practitioner” who authored *Mechanick Exercises* based on his “intimate knowledge” of the print trade. What is this intimate knowledge? Certainly, Moxon proved his intimate knowledge of the art of printing; however, his understanding of the issues governing the technical work of correctors has garnered scant attention.⁷⁰

The critical edition of *Mechanick Exercises* analysed here is that compiled from “two copies of Moxon” by Theodore L. de Vinne and published in 1896.⁷¹ De Vinne divided his edition into two volumes. The first volume features the typographical arts: printing, letter-cutting, mould-making, sinking of punches and casting of letters. The second charts the production processes within printing-houses: compositors’ trade, correctors’ office, pressmen’s trade and warehouse keepers’ office. It is through an examination of the compositors’ trade and the correctors’ office in the second volume that the nature of Moxon’s fingers are revealed: they are demonstrably inky and, utilising modern terminology, editorial.

⁶⁷ Maruca, “Bodies of Type,” 326.

⁶⁸ Janssen, “Printer’s Manual,” 156.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ The most notable is Percy Simpson, *Proof-Reading*, 133–34. My Monash University PhD thesis, entitled “Style Matters: The Influence of Editorial Style on the Publishing of English, 1683–1813,” seeks to attend to these less-acknowledged issues.

⁷¹ De Vinne’s edition has been selected, rather than that of Davis and Carter, as the latter features some modernisation of Moxon’s text.

Moxon's inky, editorial treatment in the "Compositor's Trade" section involves regulations relating to proper nouns, words of emphasis (including common nouns), capital letters generally, and obsolete English and foreign-language words. The significance of this content is that it reveals Moxon's "intimate knowledge." All proper nouns are typeset differently from the main body text to convey commensurate distinction. This means that body text typeset in roman requires proper nouns to be set in italic; in contrast, body text in italic necessitates proper nouns in roman—note the block quotation directly below, for example. Nonetheless, all proper nouns begin with a capital: "For *Capitals* express Dignity where-ever they are *Set*, and Space and Distance also implies stateliness." Similarly, if the body text remains in roman, words of "great Emphasis" are typeset in italic and, depending on the distinction to be communicated, sometimes start with a capital. Nouns (identified as "Things") of emphasis also begin with a capital and are typeset in italic; however, those of smaller emphasis can be set in roman. Capital letters always follow full stops.⁷² Lastly, for the presentation of obsolete English and foreign-language words, Moxon writes:

English obsolete Words he *Sets* in the *English* Character, the first *Letter*, if the dignity of the Word require it, as aforesaid, with a *Capital*.

Foreign languages he meets with in his *Copy*, if the *Master Printer* have them in his House, he *Sets* them in the proper Character; if not, the Author must write them in the common Character, and the *Compositor* *Sets* them as they are written.⁷³

An interesting and inventive interpretation of Moxon's italicisation deserves mention here. In her article "Bodies of Type," Lisa Maruca employs gender theory to analyse the mechanical arts of early-modern England—that is, she declares "the arguments for typographical regulation rely on discourses of sexuality and gender."⁷⁴ Certainly, her gendered portrayal of the mechanised, physical aspects of printing is undeniable for the first volume of *Mechanick Exercises*:

Dismembered body parts of a more familiar sort [...] litter Moxon's text: heads, cheeks, faces, mouths, tongues, feet and toes, among others. These are [...] not literal human remains, but the terms given to various mechanical parts and tools related to the work of printing; nonetheless, their overwhelming presence seems more than an accident of etymology. The ghostly bodies formed by these parts evidently have a sex, and indeed, are made to have sex, for, Moxon tells us in a passage on the casting of letters of type, "[t]he *Female Block* is such another *Block* as the *Male Block*, only, instead of a *Tongue* running through the length of it a *Groove* is made to receive the *Tongue* of the *Male-Block*" (*ME*, 181).⁷⁵

⁷² Moxon and De Vinne, *Moxon's Mechanick Exercises*, 225–26.

⁷³ Moxon and De Vinne, *Moxon's Mechanick Exercises*, 226–27.

⁷⁴ Maruca, "Bodies of Type," 324.

⁷⁵ Maruca, "Bodies of Type," 328.

Nevertheless, utilising a gendered, “bodied” theory to examine Moxon’s italicisation is misguided, particularly given Moxon’s impartial, content-driven explanation of italic’s technical application. Maruca concludes that: “For the most part, Moxon’s italicization of printing terminology in this passage and throughout his text clarifies for the reader whether body parts belong to sentient beings or inanimate objects—the ‘*shoulder*’ of the notch versus the ‘Fingers’ of the caster, for example.”⁷⁶ Maruca’s earnest contention here is clear: the language and its typographical presentation indicate the intermingling of sentient and mechanical bodies to create a communal “body of type” in printing houses, which were historically sexualised and gendered to the detriment of women. However, her interpretation of *Mechanick Exercises*, namely the first volume, is founded on her exclusion of the technical editorial content of the second volume. As explicated above, the primary objective of italics is to convey emphasis, with or without capitals to communicate greater or lesser distinction, respectively. This system of italicising to express emphasis not only prevailed with those who succeeded Moxon during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries but also persists with editors who practise it today. Furthermore, while Moxon did not personally devise the editorial regulations relating to proper nouns, words of emphasis, capital letters and obsolete English and foreign-language words, he was the first to present them together in the one manual in English.

Moxon continues to demonstrate his intimate knowledge in the section “*Of the Corrector, and his Office,*” in which he explains not only how correctors mark their corrections on typeset page proofs but also outlines correctors’ procedures for checking pages—a veritable checklist, the first to appear in print. For the first, correctors indicate their corrections on the typeset page proofs utilising a system of proofreading marks that Moxon lists and describes (see Figure 1). This text is significant for two reasons: first, it is the first such in English;⁷⁷ and second, it demonstrates Moxon’s contribution to editorial practice’s evolution since the publication of the first technical manual, *Orthotypographia*, by German corrector Hieronymus Hornschuch in 1608.⁷⁸ Hornschuch’s catalogue of proofreading marks does appear to include more than Moxon’s list—that is, Moxon omits stet, full stop, comma and hyphen insertion marks, and run-on symbols. Nonetheless, on closer inspection, it becomes evident that Moxon’s marks build on Hornschuch’s own, especially from a twenty-first-century editor’s perspective.

⁷⁶ Maruca, “Bodies of Type,” 330. However, she does admit immediately afterwards that “a few typographical slippages reveal that this dichotomy may not be completely stable.”

⁷⁷ Simpson, *Proof-Reading*, 133.

⁷⁸ Hieronymus Hornschuch, *Orthotypographia*, trans. Philip Gaskell and Patricia Bradford, *Historical Bibliography Series* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Library, 1972).

Letter thus th^o, and Writes the Letter *c* /
 it should be on the Right Hand *Margin*
 of the *Page*, right against the same *Line*,
 and makes a *Dalh* behind it, as you may
 see in the *Margin*.
 If two or three, or more Words in the
 same *Line* have *Faults* in them, as in these
 Words, *Pb^tienſe p^t ſhrce*; where firſt *a/c/r/o*
 an *o* is *Set* inſtead of *a*, *e* inſtead of *e*,
t inſtead of *r*, and *c* inſtead of *o*: Theſe
 he marks in an orderly ſucceſſion towards
 the Right Hand, againſt the ſame *Line*,
 as you may ſee in the *Margin*.
 But if one word be *Set* inſtead of ano-
 ther, as *Scoff* inſtead of *Smile*, here he
 marks *Scoff* out thus *Seoffy*, and writes
Smile /
Smile, as in the *Margin*.
 If a *Word* or *Words*, or *Letter*, or *Point*
 be *Left out* he makes this mark *^* where
 it is *Left out* for a mark of *Inſertion*, and
 Writes in the *Margin* what muſt come in.
 If a *Space* be *Left out* he makes the for-
 mer mark of *Inſertion* where it ſhould
 come in, and makes this mark ** /*
** /*
 If a whole *Sentence* be *Left out*, too
 long to be *Writ* in the *Margin*, he makes
 the mark of *Inſertion* where it is *Left out*,
 and only Writes (*Out*) in the *Margin*. If (*Out*)
 the *Sentence* *Left out* be not very long,
 he Writes it under the *Page*, or on the
 Left Hand *Margin* of the *Page*: But if
 it

it be too large to be *Writ* in the
Margin, or under the *Page*, he
 Writes in the *Margin*, See the *Copy*. (See the *Copy*)
 If a *Word* or *Sentence* be *Set*
 twice, as *Him Him*, he marks out
 one *Him* thus *Him*, and makes
 this mark *§* in the *Margin*, for *De-
 Leo*, to take out. *§ /*
 If a *Letter* be turned thus *ſ*, he
 dashes it out as you ſee, and makes
 this mark in the *Margin*. *ſ /*
 If *Words* are *Transpoſed*, that is,
 if one *Word* ſtand in another
Words place, as, no *I* love *Swear-
 ing*, and it ſhould be, *I* love no
Swearing; he marks this *Fault*
 thus, (no *I* love) *Swearing*, and
 makes this mark *ſ* in the *Margin*. *ſ /*
 The like mark he makes
 in *Matter* and *Margin* if two *Let-
 ters* are *Transpoſed*.
 If a *Space* or an *m* or *n* *Quadrat*,
&c. ſtick up, and *Print Black*, as
 between theſe words, he marks
 in the *Margin* thus. *L*
 If a *Word* be *Set* in *Roman* *Let-
 ter* inſtead of *Italick* or *Engliſh* *Let-
 ter*, he dashes the *Word* under-
 neath thus, and Writes *Ital.* or
Eng. in the *Margin*. *Ital / Eng /*
 In like manner, if a ſingle *Let-
 ter* or more *Letters* be *Set* in *Roman*
N n 2 *Let-*

Figure 1: Moxon's proofreading marks (Moxon, Joseph, and De Vinne, 262–63).

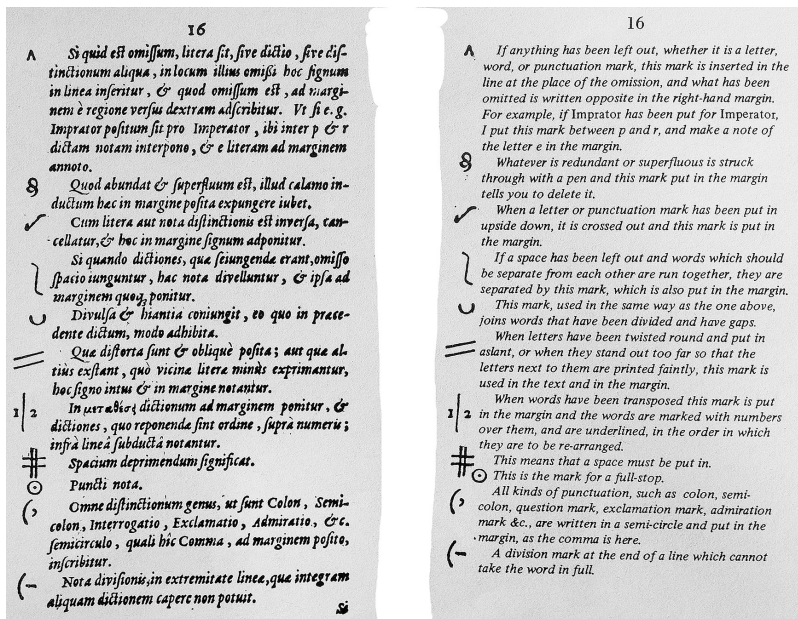


Figure 2: Hornschuch's "marks" for correcting. His original text appears on the left; the translation by Philip Gaskell and Patricia Bradford on the right. (Hieronymus Hornschuch, Orthotypographia, 16) Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

For example, when Hornschuch refers to a corrector's insertion of "all kinds of punctuation" in the copy,⁷⁹ he advises the punctuation mark be enclosed in a semicircle and placed in the margin (see Figure 2). Moxon instructs correctors in a similar manner; however, the difference is that an oblique is placed after the punctuation mark, not a semicircle. While this might epitomise a slight difference to the inexperienced, the opposite is true. Hornschuch applies the semicircle to punctuation only (copy, such as individual letters such as an *e*, is marked in the margin in isolation), whereas, for Moxon, obliques follow all insertion copy. This logical practice endures to present day because it effectively prevents confusion among multiple insertions on the same line.

Moxon mirrors Hornschuch with his inclusion of the insertion, deletion and space symbols; however, three additional proofreading marks symbolise his radical departure. The first is "(Out)," or the related "(See the Copy)," written in the margin. As Moxon explains:

If a whole Sentence be *Left out*, too long to be Writ in the *Margin*, he makes the mark of *Insertion* where it is *Left out*, and only Writes (Out) in the *Margin*. If the Sentence *Left out* be not very long, he Writes it under the *Page*, or on the *Left Hand Margin* of the *Page*: But if it be too large to be Writ in the *Margin*, or under the *Page*, he Writes in the *Margin*, See the Copy.⁸⁰

Moxon therefore developed an unambiguous system for correctors to highlight copy that, for instance, either the compositor has neglected to typeset or the author desires to include in hindsight in the typeset page proofs, especially if considerable mark-up plagues the typeset page. The second involves distinct mark-up within the copy to communicate to the compositor that words are to be transposed, or rearranged. Where Hornschuch instructs correctors to insert numerals both above the specific copy and in the margin to display the accurate sequencing of words, Moxon marks the correction visually in the body text with curved lines. The intention behind this practice is to reduce the amount of mark-up on the page. The third is Moxon's instruction regarding the correction of type into, for example, italic or roman or vice versa: "If a *Word* be set in *Roman Letter* instead of *Italick* or *English Letter*, he dashes the *Word* underneath thus, and Writes *Ital.* or *Eng.* in the *Margin*."⁸¹ The success of these meticulous practices is that they remain the modern standard. Moreover, Moxon's accurate and empathetic articulation of the issues challenging correctors and their mark-up reinforces how inky his fingers were.

In regard to correctors' procedures for checking typeset page proofs, Moxon states that correctors first received their pages from either the compositor or

⁷⁹ Hornschuch, *Orthotypographia*, 16.

⁸⁰ Moxon and De Vinne, *Moxon's Mechanick Exercises*, 262–63.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 263.

errand “boy” and usually performed their checking in their “Appartment”—“some little Closet adjoining to the *Composing-room*”—with the assistance of a skilful and efficient reader. “This *Reader* ... Reads the *Copy* to him, and the *Corrector* gives attention; and at the same time carefully and vigilantly examines the *Proof*, and considers the *Pointing*, *Italicking*, *Capitaling*, or any error that may through mistake, or want of Judgment, be committed by the *Compositor*.”⁸² Next, correctors examine “if the *Forme* be right *Impos’d*,” that is, once the minutiae is corrected, a substantive perusal is required to verify the pages are gathered accurately and therefore in order. They accomplish this “not only by [checking] the *Direction Word*, but by examining the whole Sentence the *Direction* comes in, both at the end of the *Page*, and the beginning of the next *Page*.” Signatures, titles and folios are then confirmed. Moxon reminds his readers that if the manuscript “be large *Forms* and small *Letter*”—a larger format, such as folio, typeset with a smaller fount, contains more copy on the page and risks ambiguity and error—greater attention to detail is necessary. Consequently, correctors inspect a second, and possibly a third, set of pages and approach these in an identically meticulous manner to first page proofs. Once second and/or third pages are returned to the printer and corrections incorporated, correctors receive final pages before proceeding to print: “After the Second or Third *Proof* he has a *Revise*, which is also a *Proof-sheet*. He examines in this *Revise*, *Fault* by *Fault*, if all the *Faults* he markt in the last *Proof* were carefully mended by the *Compositor*; if not, he marks them in the *Revise*.”⁸³ Moxon’s procedure effectively standardises the editorial process of checking typeset pages.

Conclusion

Joseph Moxon’s legacy in print culture suffers from myriad, often conflicting labelling by book historians from the late nineteenth century to present day. Hence, to provide a clearer picture of Moxon by reviewing his work in the wider context of his origins and legacy in print culture, this paper has sought to determine whether Moxon was an unsullied gentleman-printer or inky-fingered businessman, and whether, and to what end, his published output was politically or professionally necessitated. While I conclude that Moxon’s professional and philosophical experience makes the need to resolve the first inquiry irrelevant—that his deliberate self-fashioning enabled his content to attract a wider audience of printing professionals and learned “outsiders”—I concur with Jagger and Johns in acknowledging his considerably inky fingers in the print trade. This is evidenced by his published output, by his typographical business as letter-cutter

⁸² *Ibid.*, 262. This is confirmed by Roger Chartier, *The Author’s Hand and the Printer’s Mind*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2014), 92.

⁸³ Moxon and De Vinne, *Moxon’s Mechanick Exercises*, 264–65.

and typefounder, and by the technical content of *Mechanick Exercises*, for which Moxon worked as author and printer. However, my response to the second question is less straightforward: Moxon's published output was both politically and professionally necessitated. That is, his pragmatic self-positioning within seventeenth-century print culture, as seen in his disavowing membership to the Stationer's Company and in his self-promoting association with the Royal Society of London, was politically driven to further his commercial success. Furthermore, the brief analysis of *Mechanick Exercises* serves to demarcate anew Moxon's position in the wider context of print culture: his influence on the mechanical art of printing is undeniable and enduring; however, he should also be remembered for his vital contribution to the standardisation of editorial practice.

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