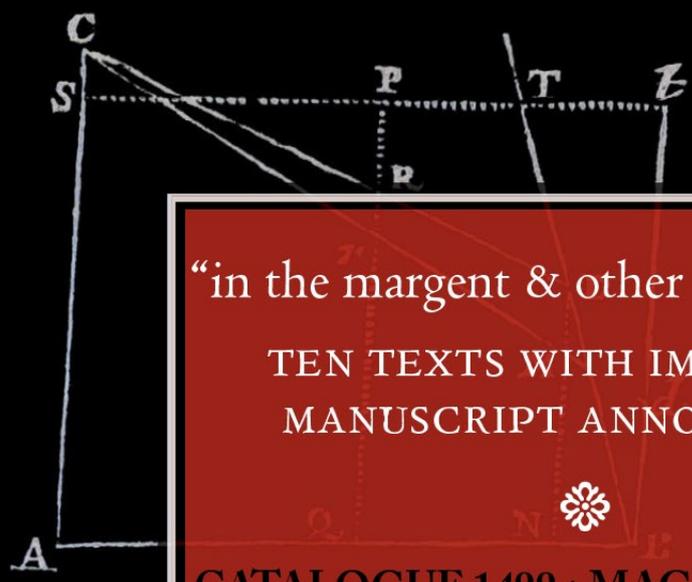


ziii latera opposita  $AC$  &  $BD$  non  
 elam  $AC$  & occurrentem tum rectæ  
 ni in  $d$ . Junge  $Cd$  fecantem  $PQ$  in  $r$ ,

LIBER  
 PRIMUS.

componitur enim  
 Rectangulum  $PQ$  in  $R$  &  
 ad  $It \times P.S$  ex simili;

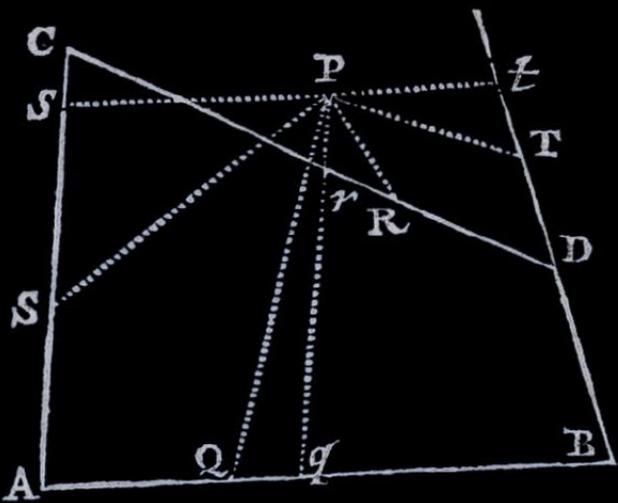


“in the margent & other voyde places”  
 TEN TEXTS WITH IMPORTANT  
 MANUSCRIPT ANNOTATIONS  
 \*  
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Rectangulum  $PQ \times PR$  est ad rectangulum

rationibus.  
 rectis.  
 $ANB$   
 $A \text{ ad } B$   
 $DC \text{ ad } CR$   
 $A \text{ ad } B$

ineas  
 non  
 $AB$ ,  
 Ea-  
 lparallelas  
 s ipsi  
 s tri-  
 $SS$ ,  
 $Q$  ad  
 $r$ , &  
 es compositæ  $PQ \times PR$  ad  $Pq \times Pr$ ,  
 Sed, per superius demonstrata, ratio  
 ta est: Ergo & ratio  $PQ \times PR$  ad



et limitis Rectang.  
 Sed in utroque Rectan-  
 gulo erunt similitu-  
 ratio  $PQ$  ad  $Pr$ ,  
 et  $PR$  ad  $Pr$   $DA$   
 $DA$   
 Nam sunt duæ ratio-  
 nes in uno Rectangulo  
 que sunt similes  
 in altero, quoniam  
 dissimiles inter se,  
 quod nihil impedit  
 ad analogiam propor-  
 tionum Rectangulorum.

“in the margent & other voyde places”

TEN TEXTS  
WITH IMPORTANT  
MANUSCRIPT ANNOTATIONS

CATALOGUE 1499



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HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN  
PURVEYORS OF RARE BOOKS  
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*Front cover illustration from item 5, Newton / Ceva*

*Back cover illustrations from item 1, Bossewell / Bromley*

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**T**he nine books and one manuscript in this catalogue highlight the complex and unique interaction between text and reader (or readers).

Giovanni Ceva struggles valiantly with Newton's *Principia*, a book made "designedly" difficult to read, Samuel Taylor Coleridge disagrees with Southey over Henry More, William Bromley is consoled by Bossewell's book on heraldry – "so ffrendlie a companyon in my sicknes" – and extensively personalizes the book for the young Hugh Cholmondeley, Anthony Scattergood consults Crescenzi's book on husbandry 200 years after its publication, John Upton meticulously analyses Spenser's poetry while Edward Holder furiously annotates his rival's book with the evidence of his own guilt for forging paintings of Shakespeare.





FIG. 1

**"OF WHOM YOU BE DISCENDED"**

**I** BOSSEWELL (John),  
annotated and illuminated by **BROMLEY** (William).

**Workes of Armorie**, devyded into three bookes, entituled, the Concordes of Armorie, the Armorie of Honor, and of Coates and Creastes, collected and gathered by John Bossewell Gentlemn.

[London]: In aedibus Richardi Totelli, 1572

£18,000

**First Edition.** *Small 4to. (188 x 150mm). [4], 136, 30 ff., with numerous woodcut heraldic shields throughout the text; hand-coloured, annotated and underlined throughout by William Bromley, with a long manuscript letter to Hugh Cholmondley bound at the beginning, over 60 additional painted heraldic shields and two small bust-length portraits added in the margins [see below].*

*Extensive repair work to the blank margins of the title-page, title-page a little grubby, some staining and minor repair work to the upper fore-corner of the following two leaves, a number of leaves from the first quire appear to have been reinserted on stubs, occasional discolouration and show-through caused by the heavy colouring and oxidisation of the woodcuts, some occasional light damp staining along the lower edge in places, extensive staining caused by the colouring and annotations to C3-C8, small paper repair in the lower inner margin of C8 (not touching the text), heavy brown staining to I2-L1, M3-N2 and Aa1-Bb2, green paint just beginning to crack on a single shield on L4v, inner margin of Z3 repaired, partial repair to the blank fore-margin of Bb4 and Cc1 (not touching the text), very small worm hole in the lower blank margin of Ff4 and Gg1, neat closed tear to Gg4 and an old repair in the inner margin, final couple of leaves a little browned.*

*Mid-19th-century polished calf, covers panelled in gilt, spine tooled in gilt with a brown morocco label in the second panel, marbled endleaves (joints and edges rubbed and a little worn).*

STC 3393.

**William Bromley** annotates John Bossewell's **Workes of Armorie** for the young **Hugh Cholmondeley**.

The extensive additional manuscript materials by William Bromley of Nantwich in the margins of this book were designed to place the young Hugh Cholmondeley (1552-1601), the eldest son of Sir Hugh Cholmondeley (d. 1571), firmly within the context of his own family and their lengthy and powerful dynasty. The Cholmondeley family could trace their Cheshire roots back to the Norman conquest but Hugh Cholmondeley would have only been in his early twenties when this book was borrowed from him by his kinsman William Bromley and returned in May 1574. As a teenager in 1569 Cholmondeley had accompanied 130 soldiers under the command of his father to suppress a Northern rebellion. In 1574 – when the book was given back by Bromley – his mother had died and his father had just, or was on the brink of, marrying his second wife, Mary (d. 1588), daughter of Sir William Griffiths of Penrhyn, Chamberlain of North Wales, and widow of Sir Randall Brereton of Malpas, Cheshire (though all his children were by his first marriage). Now in his majority, as William Bromley expressly states in his manuscript letter at the beginning of this volume it was important that the young Hugh Cholmondeley learn, “of whom you be descended”.

In 1544 the elder Sir Hugh Cholmondeley of Cholmondeley (b. before 1513 - 6 Jan. 1596/7) – the second of three sons of Richard Cholmondeley (d. 1517/18) - was knighted for his services during an attack on Edinburgh and Leith in Henry VIII’s renewed war with Scotland. Basil Morgan, in the *ODNB*, states that Cholmondeley spent most of the remainder of his life in “diligent local service to the crown ... [as] commissioner in Cheshire for musters, chantries, relief, church goods, piracy, and ecclesiastical causes; a JP for Cheshire and Shropshire; five times sheriff of Cheshire [lastly in 1588], once of Flintshire; and a deputy lieutenant for Cheshire in 1569, 1585, and 1587”. He was also Vice-President of the Queen’s Council in the Marches of Wales.

**Hugh Cholmondeley the younger** would be M.P. for Cheshire in 1585 and was knighted in 1588, and was High Sheriff of Cheshire in 1589. He married Mary (1563-1625), daughter and heiress of Christopher Holford of Holford and they had five sons and three daughters. Hugh died at Cholmondeley on 23 July 1601 and was buried in Malpas Church. His widow acquired the estate of Vale Royal and was named “The Bold Lady of Cheshire” by King James on his visit there in 1616. She died at Vale Royal on 15 August 1625 and was buried at Malpas. From their son Hugh descend the Marquesses of Cholmondeley and from Thomas the Barons Delamere of Vale Royal.

**William Bromley** (the annotator of this volume) appears to be the son of William Bromley of Nantwich (born c.1525- after 1554), M.P. for Liverpool (1553-54). He was the 6th son & heir of Sir John Bromley and his 1st wife Martha, one of six daughters of Sir Richard Woodville, 1st Earl Rivers (d. 1469) and Jacquetta de Luxembourg, Duchess of Bedford (c. 1416-72). Martha’s eldest sister Elizabeth



Woodville married King Edward IV secretly in 1464. After the defeat of Edward IV at the Battle of Edgcote Earl Rivers and one of his sons, Sir John Woodville, were executed by order of the Earl of Warwick at Kenilworth on 12 August 1469 (**the arms of “Woodvyle, Earle Rivers” have been added in the margin of f. 39r**). According to the *History of Parliament*, the elder Bromley was “related to the well-known legal family [of Shropshire, for whom see *ODNB*], and is described in the visitations of Shropshire and Cheshire as comptroller to the Earl of Derby. Since the Earl exercised considerable influence in Liverpool, usually nominating one Member, it must have been this William Bromley who sat four times for Liverpool and not any of his namesakes”, *The History of Parliament* goes on to state that Bromley was probably already deceased when his eldest son, William, married the daughter of Edward Underhill who was called Eleanor or Ellin (born c. 1549). In *The Underhills of Warwickshire*, J. H. Morrison stated that William Bromley (junior), “of Darnford nere Namptwich” died on June 9th 1592 leaving a son and heir, Thomas, who was aged 16 years, 6 months and 23 days (p. 51). **The Bromley arms, as painted on the inserted leaf after the title** (see below), include the griffin rampant of Earl Rivers on an escutcheon [fig.1] and, as one of many great-grandchildren of Rivers and Jacquetta de Luxembourg, William Bromley was related to many of the grandest noble families in England and Europe.

Hugonis Hol-  
mondeley Militis  
Insignia.

Esq. Achievement portrayed on p. 2. page  
of Esq. next leafe, is to be blased, as following

1. First, he beareth Gules, two helmothe in chief Argent, & a gyron on the base d'or. By the name of Holmondeley.
2. He beareth masculine, Argent & Azure, a bend Gules fretty d'or. By the name of Esq. next.
3. He beareth Argent, 3 Saxon's Gables: by the name of Esq. next.
4. Esq. 4. are two coats quartered. The first Argent a Gant Gable. The seconde Gules, a fretty d'or. The third as the seconde. The fourth, as the first. Borne by the name of Sutton.
5. The fift, the fift is Azure, a cresant & a starre mountant d'Argent. Borne by the name of Wynsford.
6. The sixt, as the first.

And for his crest sett upon a Torse Or & Gules, a demy Griffin passant Gable. Holding a helmothe Argent. Mantled Gules. Dubled Argent.

This Achievement thus blased, doith appertaine to the right worshipfull Sir Hugh Holmondeley of Holmondeley, in the Countye of Chester Knight High Stewarde of the Towne & Baronye of the Wiche Malbancke in the Countye aforesaid, & one of the pryncypall Barons of the Cheafest & most part of the said Baronye, Also vicepresydent of the Quenes Maiesties honorable Councell established in the Marches of Wales.

Anno Dni. 1574.

Although the Salt barrowes (wh<sup>ch</sup> are holden by the 2. Satyres) are noe part of this Achievement, yet they may be taken as a fytt furnytur for the same. & waighynge the Jurisdiction & cherytance wh<sup>ch</sup> the said Sir Hugh haith in the Towne & Baronye of Wychemalbancke aforesaid: the said Saltbarrowes are not to be thought incongruently placed. And likewise

To the right honorable and his  
singuler good lorde, Sir William Cecil  
Baron of Burghleigh, Knight of the moste  
noble order of the Carter, Lorde highe Treasurer of Englande,  
master of the courtes of wardes and Liveries, Chauncellour  
of the Universitie of Cambridge, and one of the  
Quenes Maiesties privie Counsaile,  
John Wostwick wilbeth long  
healthe with encrease  
of honoz.

Robt Ratchiffe  
no jure sonet

1607  
Ex. Doro  
Jos. Honer. Higgs  
London



Right honorable, and my singuler good  
Lorde, I have marueled upon occasion,  
of late, that amonge the numbers of  
bookes, in their severall kyndes, not one-  
ly by their auctors diligently devised,  
but surely by the printers of these daies,  
for the most part procured, and to their  
exceeding great charges, saythfullye &  
exactlye published: I finde so fewe, that I coulde almoste haue  
saide none, to haue written in our native tongue, of the science  
and skill of Armory. Truly in my oppinion, a very fruitefull  
necessary, and honorable argument, but might I deeme, or were  
it rashnesse, as Tullye in his Tusculans, in the comparison be-  
twene the Romains & Grecians, which might excede other, or  
be more auncient in knowledge, sayth of such, as of the lay neg-  
lecte, Honos alit artes omnesq; incendunt ad studia gloria,  
Surely not vnlike, but as in al other things, so in science, what  
auayleth seruice, where soueraintie is neglected, what actiua-  
tie where men lie downe to sleepe, with sloth: what loue, what  
friendship, where no man buildes on sayth or credyt, so take  
honor from lawe, rewarde from Phisicke, admiration from Ma-  
thematicalls, humilitie and zeale, from beaunty science, and  
who sets his sonne to schoole for them: no doubt Tully saide ful-  
wisely, keepe backe rewarde, and learning adew. Yet somme  
there are, that feede not altogether of this humor, and they rake  
together the fewe sparckes of knowledge hyd, and almoste dead  
in the ashes of obliuion, and eyther them selves builde a fyre  
theras

FIG. 2

William Bromley signed the manuscript letter at the beginning of this volume (see below) from “Nanptwiche” (Nantwich, a market town in Cheshire). In a rare first person note in this volume, Bromley also states that “I have seen this other coate in the glasses wyndows at the Earle of Derbys Manor Howse of Colham”, which he may have visited with his father when he was the earl’s comptroller. Although something is known about Bromley’s father, it becomes fairly difficult to trace William the younger.

**At the heart of this volume is Bossewell’s printed book on the science of heraldry, but this has become a platform for William Bromley to direct the young Hugh Cholmondeley through the science of heraldry, the history of the Cholmondeley family, and the position of that family in the context of the armorial families of the north-western counties of Cheshire and Shropshire.**

The volume opens with a full-page painted coat-of-arms [fig.3] with six quarterings of the elder Sir Hugh Cholmondeley (c.1513–1587) as a frontispiece. Bromley states that he wishes the young man to know “what sondrie coates be therein marshalled, but also by what names & tytles, you beare them” – the quarterings of the Cholmondeley arms are explained on the 4th page of the two-leaf insertion between the title and the dedication is expanded upon in the margins throughout the book. Bromley includes several references in his notes to Gerard Legh’s *The accedens of armory* (1568, and later edns) but he gives no other source for his heraldic knowledge and admits his amateur status more than once in his notes, e.g. “But I referre myne opynyon herin the Heraulds with condigne reverence to their Authorities” (Book III, f. 20v).

**Bound between the title-page and the dedication are 2 leaves of manuscript that have never been studied despite the volume’s regular appearance at auction in the last 150 years.** The first page contains two poems [fig.1] describing the Cholmondeley arms, “Blason by Colours” (10 lines, beginning “This Worthie Knight doith beare at home, likewise abroad in fiede for his Ensigne in Armorie, Dan Mars his Gulye Shilde.”) and “Blason by Stones” (6 lines, beginning “And on a Torce of Topace pure, & the riche Rubye redde, / a demye Griffon sergreant, doith stand upon his headde”). Beneath the poem is a painting of the arms of Willam Bromley suspended from a tree with a skull at the foot and the motto “Vivet post funera Virtus. W. Bromley, Ao D[ni] 1574”.

This is followed by a **2pp (64-line) manuscript letter** (dated 29th May 1574) signed by “W. Bromley” addressed to “the right wurshipfull Mr Hugh Cholmondeley. Esquire”.

Bromley’s letter, filled with alliterative flourishes, begins with a reference to him returning the book to Cholmondeley which he had borrowed during a period of sickness since Christmas and is an extended apologia for having annotated and illustrated his book “in the margent & other voyde places”:

FIG. 3



“I have ffounde your boke so ffrendlie a companyon in my sicknes synce the last Christmas, that I thought I myght not (wth out reproofe) sende hym away in his olde sute of Silver & Sable [i.e. black & white]. But pulling that Wynter Lyveraye from his backe, I have revested hym against this Summer in somewhat more gallant Garmentes of sondrie fresshe & florysshinge colours. In fframyng & fytting whereof you maye well perceiue some parte of good will, then any piece of cunnynge. I have (in the margent & other voyde places) added .60. Coate Armoures or above, the wch althoughe they have some resemblance to some of the prynted coates that be on the same pages where they be poutrayed, either in partycon of the shieldes, or Tokens therein chargd: yet doe they greatlie differ bothe in order of bearing & blason and may sarve somewhat for your instructiion in what sundire partes thinges maie be borne for the avoyding of challenge, and therefor I trust you will not thinke them altogether incongruentlie placed. And ffirst I have sett firstlye your ffathers Atchievement [the frontispiece], wherein I wolde wisse you to be skillfull (however you do wth the rest) that you shalte not onlie knowe what sondrie coates be therin marshalled, but also what names & tytles you beare them: wth their severall colours & tokens, & tearmes of blason therto appartaynyng. The wch I thynk to be very convenyent ffor therebye you shall not onlie Learne sondrie necessarie pointes belonging to this excellent Scyens of Heraldrye, but also knowe whoe & what they were of whom you be discended. Whoe, although devouringe Deathe hath distanced their deadde bodies, [and] consuminge tyme brought their humane shape into oblyvion: yet doe their worthiest virtues still flouryshe in the House of ffame. Where their Ensignes remaine [-] of Royall Rewardes: for their valiaunt & doughtie desartes. ffor, whoe is he [whoe] having any skill in this worthie Science that shall beholde your Gulie Shielde charged wth such noble & Auncyente tokens Armoriall but he will straightwayes Judge, that yor Auncester (to whom it was ffirst given) did noe lesse desarve it, for his Manlye & martiall prowes: then the Heraldues made, that ffirst devised the same? And by a certayn secrete instynct of Nature, every perfyte Gentleman is drawen to Love & reverence his old unknowen Auncestors, whose badge he bearith: soe is he greatlie bounden to honor this Noble Science, wch resarvith to memorye the Monumentes of those antique tymes wherein they lyved. Representing to posteritye those their atchieved Ensignes, as perfyte patternes of their heroicall vertues. Imprynting wth all in ryche & gentle Spirite, an earnest zeale rather to Imytate the same whereby their Names maye be eternyzed: then gredelie to gape after their possessions & patrymonyes & being but thinges of a transytorie substaunce. And as I knowe your gentle Spirite to be capable of that Impression, whereby you are stirred up to love & lyking of this & other gentlemanlie Qualyties soe was I drawen to bestowe this small labour, wch hoping it will be some furtheraunce to yor desyred purpose. The ffaultes I trust you will ffrendlie favour,



waighing that yt was neither prentyce wth Pygmalion, nor Apelles, nor fostred in the house of ffame: but brought up in a brutish barrayne Soyle scante worthie to sarve as the poorest page in the statelie [?] of prudent Pallas, chiefe Patronesse of thies Martiall devises. But if skill & goodwill were equall, you maye be assured it shulde appeare in matters of greater consequence. Thus not doubting, but you will practise this pleasant exercice with hartie desier of your advauncement I take my leave. At the Namptwicke the :29: of Maye 1574. & your poore Kynnesman to Commande. W. Bromley.”

The fourth page (facing the dedication leaf) explains the heraldic structure of the six quarterings of the Cholmondeley arms in a point-by-point format [fig.2]. Below this, and separated by an intricate floral band heightened with silver and gold, is a biographical note describing the armorial:

“The atchievement thus blased doith appartaigne to the right Wurshipfull Sir Hugh Cholmondeley of Cholmondeley, in the Countie of Chester Knight, High Stewarde of the Towne & Baronye of the Wiche Malbancke in the countye aforesaid & one of the pryncypall Barons of the Cheafist & most part of the said Baronye, also Vice presydent of the Queenes Majesties honorable Councell establysshed in the Marches of Wales. Anno Dni. 1574”. Bromley also notes that he has added at either side of the shield two “satyres” which are holding “salt barrowes” (conical wicker



Conte Saint pauls



He beareth Gules, 3 pallettes verrey, on a chiefe Or, a fyle w<sup>th</sup> 5. Lambes or Azure. This is a frenche Coate, & supposed to belonge to the Earle of S<sup>t</sup> pauls. & is one of the Coates borne & marshalled in the Graunde Shilde of the right honorable the Earle of Derby. Howbeit I thinke the Earle of S<sup>t</sup> pauls dothe beare Argent, a Lyon Rampante Gules Crowned, or suche a lyke Coate. And yet I haue sene this other Coate in the glasse wyndowes at the Earle of Derbys Maner Howse of Colham, where it ys shewed by the Subscriptyon: to belonge to the Earle of S<sup>t</sup> pauls. \* W. Bromley



1. Beareth Geronnie of vi. pieces Or and Sable, on a quarter Gules, one mollet d'Argent. I tooke the trickes of thys cote as I founde it in a glasse wyndowe, within the Parithe churche of Lileburne in Leycester shire, but by what name it is borne, I there could not get knowledge.
2. Beareth sable sempe flozpe d'Argent, and a quarter d'Or.
3. Beareth d'Or, two barres Sable, a quarter sinistre d'Ermyne.
4. beares Gules, two pales de baire, on a quarter sinistre d'Or, one fermaulr lozengie, Gules.

Beareth

Wyrell beareth d'Or, ij. Cheurons gules, a quarter de melme. They must bee here blazed two Cheurons, although the quarter abateth one halfe of the Cheuron mountant, that is, the ouermoste Cheuron, and thys is a true Rule, whan ye shall see anye token abated, by the dignitie of the Canton: for the token or signe, although it should seme abated, yet it abideth perfect in blazon.

Woodvyle, Earle Rivers



He beareth Argent, a fesse & Canton Gules. This is the sixt Coate marshalled in the shilde of the right honorable Henry Earle of Derby. & is borne by the name of woodvile Earle Rivers.



1. The fielde is of the Perle, a playne Crosse Diamonde, Canton d'Ermyne. For difference one mollet Topazie, signifying the third brother of that house from whence in blode hee is lineally descended. Thys ensigne apperteyneth



FIG. 4

baskets which allowed the salt brine to drain). These are intended as “fytt furniture” to represent the “jurisdiction [...] that Sir Hugh hath in the Towne & Baronye of Wychemalbancke”. Nantwich and the surrounding area was famous for its salt production from the Roman period. The last 5 lines of this note have been cut-off and pasted to the back of the armorial frontispiece.

Within the text itself, among the first coat-of-arms that Bromley draws the young Cholmondeley’s attention to, apart from those of Bromley itself, (f. 27r) is that of the “The Towne of Wiche Malbancke” in “the Countye of Chester” (f. 27v). Bromley explains that the name of the town changed to Namptwyche “after the conquest of this Realme by Duke William of Normandy; surnamed Conqueror” (f.28). Bromley is able to put Namptwyche (Nantwich today) into context within Chester whilst also highlighting its link to William the Conqueror. Nantwich was also of particular interest to Bromley as this is where he had been born and near where he lived.

At the end of the volume Bromley has also included **two striking portrait miniatures** [fig.4] of a man and woman dated 1574 on facing pages (Book III, f. 22v & 23r; the latter is slightly cropped at the foot and the blue backgrounds have partly degraded to red); both are dated 1574 in gold. It is not entirely clear who these two people are but it seems most likely that they represent the elder Sir Hugh Cholmondeley and his late wife Ann or Amy (d. 1571), daughter to Sir George Dorman, of Malpas, Cheshire (mother of the recipient of the volume). The woman’s portrait is surmounted

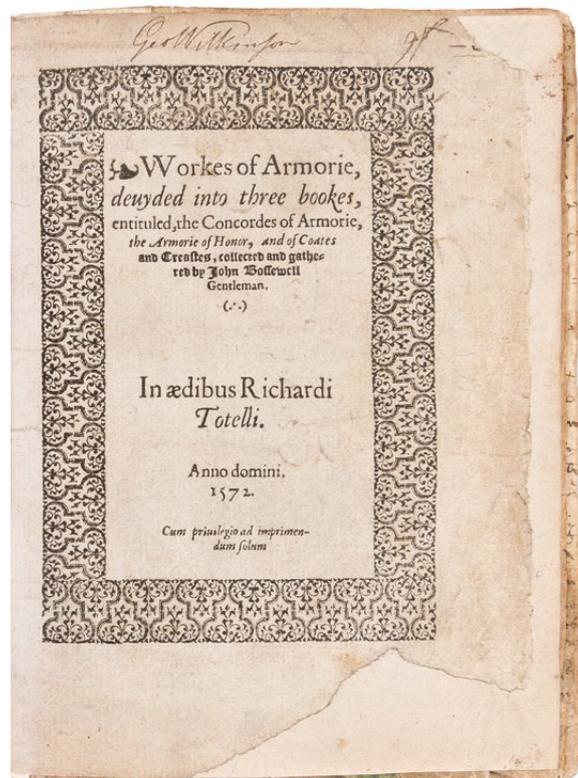
by a winged bleeding heart motif and a celestial crown suspended from a cloud (so she is clearly deceased) and on a ribbon is the motto “Fac ut Mereas” beneath which Bromley has written “Aut Venus Aut Gorgon. / Yf Beautie cause men to disdaigne Medusa’s head though mayest obtaine” (there is a woodcut of Medusa’s head on a shield on the page opposite). No doubt they were copied from original panel paintings in the family house. There are a number of images online of the tomb-chest of Sir Hugh Cholmondeley and his second wife at St Oswald’s Church, Malpas which show two similar figures in alabaster. Bizarrely, it was suggested by Swann auctioneers in 1948 that the female portrait was of Elizabeth I and the man the Prince d’Anjou. Clearly the two portraits require further research.

Sir Hugh Cholmondeley the younger followed William Bromley’s advice and maintained an interest in his family history and heraldry. In 1597 the antiquary Sampson Erdeswick (c. 1538-1603), who had estates in Cheshire and Staffordshire, was working on a pedigree of the Cholmondeley family for Sir Hugh. On 17 November 1597 he wrote to Sir Hugh from London: “Sir at the length I have founde a time to trace forth ye dissent according to ye noats I have receved of yor evidence such recorded as myself have ... and whereof noe appearance sheweth (as yet) to contradict the same.” This letter, bound with a watercolour of the Cholmondeley arms, a draft pedigree of the Cholmondeley descent, and other genealogical manuscripts was sold at Forum Auctions (25/1/2017, lot 138).

**Geoffrey Whitney’s Choice of Emblemes, and other devises (Leiden, 1586).** Both Sir Hugh Cholmondeley and his son Hugh the younger were the dedicatees of emblems and poems devised by Geoffrey Whitney (1548?-1600/01) who was born and educated in Cheshire, near Nantwich. Sir Hugh the elder’s emblem on p. 130 is the “Dicta septem sapientem”, the sayings of the Seven Sages of Greece and depicts a Sage mounted on a donkey with their names inscribed on banners and their attributes above. Hugh the younger’s emblem is “Ex bello, pax” and depicts a swarm of bees inside a knight’s helmet, their sweet honey being “the blessed fruites of peace.”

**Early Provenance:** 1. Sir Hugh Cholmondeley, Kt. (1552-1601), of Cholmondeley, Cheshire. Borrowed from him at Christmas 1573 and returned on 29 May 1574 by his “Kynnesman to Commaunde”, William Bromley, with numerous additions, annotations, hand-colouring and a 2-page manuscript letter by Bromley bound-in. 2. Signatures of “R W Ratcliffe” at the head of the first manuscript page, [fig.1] “Sum E Libris R. W. Ratcliffe 1687” (on Ar1) and “Rob W. Ratcliffe me jure tenet 1687” at the head of the dedication with “Ex dono Jos: Stoner Higgs Lond.” below [fig.2], and (in Ratcliffe’s hand) “Ex Dono Jos: Stoner Higgs Call[ends]: Januar: 1687/8.” (Civ). 3. George Baker of Cringleford [Norfolk], late 18th-century flourished

FIG. 5



signature on the verso of the title-page. 4. George Wilkinson, early 19th-century signature to the upper blank margin of the title-page [fig.5].

**Later Provenance:** 1. William Strong, Bookseller of 26 Clare Street, Bristol, offered in his, *A Catalogue of British History and Topography* (1840), no.419 “a very curious and interesting volume, containing many additional arms, and numerous MS. additions by W. Bromley, 1574”, then newly bound, £2/12/6d. 2. Rev. Dr Henry Wellesley (1794-1866), Principal of New Inn Hall, Oxford, curator of the Bodleian Library, curator of the Ashmolean Museum and Taylor Institute; collector of old master drawings, and topographical and historical prints, manuscripts and coins. Lot 1100 in the sale of his library, Sotheby, 8+/11/1866 (and on the following fourteen days), sold for £2/2/- to Quaritch. 3. Quaritch

Catalogue of June 1868, no. 11556 (£3/3/-) “fine edition, black letter, 400 coats of Arms, the arms emblazoned, and with numerous additions and alterations by W. Bromley, 1574, for Sir Hugh Cholmondeley, whose arms face the title-page, panelled calf £3.3s”. 4. William Battley Dukes (1876-1942), architect, of 67 Belsize Park, London, sale, Sotheby, 18/8/1942, lot 144, £5/5/- to Maggs. 5. Anonymous sale, Swann Galleries, New York, 1948, “A Distinguished Collection of Rare Color-plate Books, Fore-edge Paintings, Extra-illustrated Books, Incunabula, Illuminated Manuscripts, Original Drawings, Alken, Cruikshank, Rowlandson: The Fine Library of a New York Collector, Sold by Order of Robert J. Schwartz, Attorney ...”, lot 233 (with “remarkable miniatures” and “corrections in the hand of W. Bromley, Lord Burleigh’s secretary... [with at the end a] very interesting miniature painting of Queen Elizabeth dated 1574, with scroll, floral decoration, a burning heart and crown. Facing this miniature is another of the same date of a gentleman in costume of the period, presumably the French prince whom Elizabeth intended to marry”. 6. Anonymous sale, PBA Galleries, San Francisco, 22/6/1995, lot 282, \$1200; subsequently in a private collection on the west coast of America before being sold to Maggs Bros. in 2014.



fusus. nam terra que luctosa tractat  
i principio / toto fertur ano tractari  
non posse. que vero leuiter superius  
infusa est / subcus sicca si tunc aret  
asseritur p triennium fieri sterilis et  
ideo mediocriter ager ifusus nec lu  
tos / sit uec aridus debet profcudo i  
Si collis est transuersus sulcetur p  
latera. que forma tunc semē acci  
pit est seruanda. Si agros incultos  
aperire uolueris / considerabis an sit  
humidus uel an siccus / situs aut gra  
mine filice uel fruteccis uestitus. Si  
humidus erit fossarum ductibus ex  
omni parte siccet. sed aperte fosse no  
te sunt. Cetero uero hoc genere fiunt i  
primunt sulci per agrum ex trāsuer  
so altitudine pedum triū. postea vs  
qz ad medietatez lapidibus replent  
aut glarea / et desuper terra eqt. Sed  
fossarum capita unam patentez fos  
sam pecant / ad quā decliuis recurrat  
Ita et humor deducetur / et agri spa  
cia non peribunt. Si defuerit lapides  
sarmenctis uel stramine cooperiantur  
uel quibuscunqz uirgultis. hec autēz  
de mense Mai apca fiunt / etiam ali  
is mensibus secūdo qūitatez hūi  
ditatis terre cōsūptē. Si memorosus  
est extirpatis aut rare relictis arbo  
ribus colatur / Si lapidosus / per mul  
tas pres saxorum turba collecta pur  
gari poterit et muniti. Tunc gramē  
et filices frequenti aratione uincunt  
sed filicem si sepe fabam confersas ul  
lupinos / et si subinde nascentē mucro  
ne falcis recidas / itra exigui tempz  
absumes. mense Julu ueliter uel an  
te canicularēs dies filicem extirpa  
bimus et caricem. hoc mense cum sol  
cancri tenebit hospitium. Luna sexta

in capricorno signo posita / gramen  
a latum greci asserunt nihil de radi  
cibus redditorum.

De seminatione in communi.

**D**e seminis natura et virtu  
te tam in precedentibus  
dicum est. Sed hic atten  
dendum est qz semen duo  
dinet / quoz unū ē uirtus formatiua  
quā habet e celo cuz calore et spū u  
qui instrumentaliter formatiue deser  
uiunt. Calor quidez digerendo segre  
gando et substantando. spiritus autem  
uebendo uirtutem. Alterum autē qd  
habet semen est substantia formalis  
que imixto sibi humido suscipit for  
mationem et figuracionem in plācā  
et plantę organa. Nouerēduz ē igit  
in omni seminatione ut feratur se  
mē quando ad uicioruz malus baby  
et celo hoc autem est quando uuatur  
calido humido / et uiuifico lumine so  
lis et lune simul. Luna enim quia ter  
re uicina ē / regit omnia terrea ad pul  
sationem. et precepit propter hoc  
quia ipsa mouet lumine solis tempe  
rato / quod in ipsa aliquantulu temp  
tati ē. In sole enim coniunctuz siccus  
et ideo est aliquatulum adustiuū hūi  
di semis. et ideo nouella semia et plā  
tas teneras aliquando obumbrant  
a feruore solis bi qui ortos pruden  
ter excolunt. sed in lumine lune est lu  
men eiusdem solis coniunctuz frigidus  
temperato et humido / ut ex lumine  
solis habeat caliditatem mouentem  
et ex frigidis temperato recipiat tēpe  
ramē / et ex humido moueatur siccitas  
ipstus. Incenso igitur primo lu  
mine in luna cum ipsa est calida tem

A Direction in the  
sowing of Corn.

Juste of sayle being  
suggested to be such as  
with the usual husbandry  
of bringing stalks  
Lynny, holding, &c. with  
shown in some good ma  
ture a multiplied crop of  
the grain therein sown  
you must give unto it the  
ordinaie tillage, accor  
ding to the nature of  
soyle, & use of Countrey  
your seed being sowed  
Red Barley, &c. must be  
well chosen, & changed  
from higher Corne, & sown  
before the mixture of  
any damagefull thing,  
you may abate the fourth  
part of the seed you a  
ually sow, & in another  
lib. find the Corne as  
thick and strong as before  
In some Bushell of  
or rather one a fur con  
taining 8 Gallons, being  
on a Cable or course  
that aduise pour as  
on a bed of wool, some  
of Rape-seed oyl, as well  
well may be the best,  
forming and tossing the Cor  
le oyle so and so, till  
it be well mixed, &c.  
made out to desire, and  
you it left with any  
day materials which shal  
be added thereto in flowers  
or fowles.  
A Bushell of seed will  
take about a quart of oyl

then take one quart of the flower of Beane, being first washed, of the powder of Rape-seed oyle,  
after the oyle is pressed out, of burnt dyne now from the kiln grinded at wine and sifted, ana. or some  
if them in equal parts, as may well cover and encompass the seed. These must be very well mixed and mingled  
together, which done, sown them on the bushell of oyled Corne, humbling and tossing them all together  
until the Corne have beked up and united it self with the flower and powders.  
Your seed thus ordered, (as it were) doasted with the flower and powders, may probably be sown  
or best 10, 15, or 20 dayes before it grow, or will take other harm. Probatur et.  
In, or after your sowing, if your ground be poor, & you have plenty of the said materials, you may  
press on an acre of ground about 2 Bushell more, or less, of the said materials, as you conuenie your ground  
better or worse. Probatur et. Or;  
In want of the oyle, you may take so much of the strongest wort: for the flower of Beane  
so much of the flower of barley malt ground very fine; and for the powder of Rape-seed oyle, as  
much of the powder of beagrow being dried & sifted; or of the powder of Sheeps turdies droie, or so

FIG. 1

A LOUVAIN INCUNABLE CAREFULLY ANNOTATED BY A  
17TH-CENTURY ENGLISH READER

2 CRESCENTIIIS [or CRESCENZI] (Petrus de),  
annotated by SCATTERGOOD (Anthony).

Liber ruralium commodorum.

Louvain: Johannes de Westfalia, c.1483 £28,000

Third Edition. Chancery Folio in 8s. [Text: 270 x 200 mm]. 195 leaves (of 196, lack-  
ing at blank). Collates: a-n8, ob, aa-kk8, ll6. Text printed in 2 columns, 41 lines;  
type 1B\*\*: 89/90G, blank spaces for capitals. Three stocks of paper with watermarks  
of an eight-pointed star, gothic "p", and a Habsburg crowned double-headed eagle  
displayed. Rubricated throughout in the printer's workshop (the Liege, Heidelberg  
and former Evelyn family copy all rubricated in the same style if not the same hand)  
with 2- to 6-line initials and paragraph-marks, all in red. Large copy with all the  
pin-holes intact in the fore-margins; first and last leaves a little dusty and the first  
slightly frayed at the bottom edge; occasional minor stains, marks, and a little damp  
in the inner margins, otherwise a good, fresh copy. Early 17th-century English plain  
calf over pasteboards sewn on five alum-tawed leather bands, covers panelled in  
blind and with a small flower-head in the corners, lettered in ink on the top edge  
"PETRUS de CRESCENTIA" (rebacked, parts of the original spine preserved, rather  
worn and rubbed).

ISTC ic00966500. C 1839. BMC IX 145. Bod-inc C-479. GW 7822. IGI 3262. Klebs  
310.4. First printed at Augsburg by Johann Schussler ('about' 16 Feb. 1471). This is the  
second of three editions printed in Louvain in the Low Countries by Johannes de  
Westfalia. The first is dated 9 December 1474 and the third "about 1486-87". ISTC  
records 26 holding institutions (including the present copy, formerly at Harpenden  
Rothamsted Experimental Station): Belgium 3 copies (including 1 imperfect, 1 destroyed  
[Leuven]), UK: 9 copies (inc. 1 fragment, 1 imperfect). France: 1 copy. Germany: 7  
copies. Italy: 3 copies. The Netherlands: 1 copy. Poland: 1 copy (imperfect). USA: 1  
copy (Harvard). Vatican: 1 copy. Of the first edition of 1471 ISTC records 70 holding  
institutions; of the first Louvain edition 48, and of the third 27.

An important resource nearly 200 years after it was printed: Anthony Scattergood's  
(1611-1687) annotated copy comparing Crescenzi with contemporary writers.

quinque annos seruari potest. Et habet  
virtutem confortandi ex aromati-  
citate. mundificandi ex melle. Compe-  
tenter datur flegmaticis colericis et  
Melancolicis in hyeme et estate. debi-  
litate cum mulsis facta ex aqua et mel-  
le rosato. ad mundificationem stoma-  
chi ex frigidis humoribus. mel rosa-  
tum cum aqua decoctionis seminis fe-  
niculi tribus granis salis additis.  
Vel secundum Nicholauum sic fit hoc modus  
In decem libris albi et purissimi mel-  
lis despumati succi recentium rosarum  
libra una ponatur et in cacabo ad ig-  
nem posito cum bullire ceperit viri-  
dium rosarum cum forficibus vel cul-  
tello incisarum libre quatuor addatur.  
et tunc bulliat quod ad succi consump-  
tionem redeat. et cum bullierit semper  
agitur. et in fictili vase repositus. quoniam  
magis tenebitur tanto melius erit.  
Cum aqua frigida sumptus stomachum  
confortat et constipat et cum calida. munda-  
tificat. datur in mane et in meridie.  
Eodem modo fit mel violaceum. et valde  
tipice febricitantibus cum calida aqua  
datum. Quorum rosaceum sic fit. fo-  
lia rosarum viridum pistata cum zu-  
chero bene dterantur et ponantur in  
vase vitreo per triginta dies ad solem.  
et quotidie moueantur bene misceantur.  
In quatuor libris zuchari libra  
una rosarum ponatur. et potest per tri-  
ennium seruari. Virtutem habet con-  
stringendi et confortandi. et valde contra  
dissenteriam. lienteriam. et dysarrhiam  
ex debilitate virtutis continentie fac-  
tam. Item valet contra vomitum co-  
lericum. contra syncopim et cardiacam  
passionem cum sit ex calefactione spi-  
ritualium datur cum aqua rosata. Elec-

tuarium de succo rosarum sic fit. Recipe  
zuchari succi rosarum ana libram unam  
et uncias quatuor. sandali crui generis  
ana dragmas sex. spodu dragmas tres.  
pyagrou dragmas duodecim. camphore  
dragma una. Tempera ad modum electuarii cum syrupo  
facto ex zuchero et rosarum succo. et de-  
cui aqua calida ad modum castaneima-  
tutinali hora. valet autem contra gut-  
tam calidam et coleram rubeam pur-  
gat. Et cum aulescentes tertianarios  
quotidie purgat sine molestia. et reli-  
quas malorum humorum quae ibi remanent  
serunt potenter eouit. Syrupus rosa-  
tus sic fit. Cuiusdam decoquit rosas  
in aqua et in tali aqua rosata addunt  
zucharam et faciunt syrupum. Alii au-  
tem faciunt ponere rosas in aliquo vase  
habente stricium orificium et super  
infundit aquam feruentem et dimittit  
ibi stare donec aqua sit rubea. et tunc  
faciunt syrupum. Alii conterunt ro-  
sas virides et succum exprimunt. et in  
tali succo faciunt syrupum. et hic est op-  
timus. Et nota quod syrupus factus ex  
recentibus rosis. prius aliquantulum  
laxat postea constringit. factus vero  
ex siccis in principio et in fine constringit.  
Contra fluxum ventris et vomitum  
colericum datur cum aqua plu-  
uiali vel rosata. febricitantibus post  
munitionem cum aqua frigida. potius  
datur contra syncopim similiter. Secun-  
dum Nicholauum sic fit. Recipe rosas  
recentes et pone in vase per seculum in cal-  
dario pone aquam donec bulliat. et  
bullientem super rosas ponit et infundit  
de. et postea ipsum vas rege. ne fumus  
exeat. ex quo aqua ibi refrigerat. ro-  
sas inde euice. et aliis recentibus aquam  
112

Electuarium de  
Rosarum succo  
et zuchero

Syrupus rosa-  
tus sic fit

Vna optima  
in partibus

Quatuor libris  
zuchari

FIG. 2

Pietro de Crescenzi (c.1230/35-c.1320)'s work is divided into twelve books covering planting locations, provision of water, plants in general, cultivation of fields and crops and construction of granaries, vines, fruit trees, herbs and herb gardens, meadows and woods, gardens, animals and their breeding and care (including apiculture), hunting and hawking and an agenda for works to be done in each month of the year. The most cited author is Palladius (103 citations), followed by Avicenna's *Canon* and Varro's *De re rustica*, but many others are mentioned, in many cases the knowledge being gained secondhand.

The work, as the number of manuscripts and printed editions attests, was hugely popular and widely used. There are roughly a hundred surviving manuscripts of the text. It was a book owned by kings: Edward IV had a splendid manuscript written for him in about 1480 in the Low Countries (Royal 14 E VI in the BL) which was later owned by Henry VIII, who also owned a copy of this illustrated edition (now at Windsor in the Royal Library for which it was acquired in Queen Victoria's reign). In New York the Morgan Library has a manuscript written in England 1400-1430 (MS B 17) as well as a famous illuminated manuscript made in the Low Countries (MS 232). There is also another such manuscript in the Arsenal Library in Paris (MS 5064). In the Belt Library at the University of California (MS 67) is a manuscript of the work dated 20 December 1466, and thus written not long before the first printed edition, written by his son Giovanni for Benalio di Benali (see Mirella Ferrari, *Medieval & Renaissance Manuscripts at the University of California*, Los Angeles, 1991, p. 5).

**It is noteworthy that Scattergood is using a book which had been printed almost two hundred years earlier as a source for information on horticulture in the 17th century.** Crescenzi's own work is based on much older sources and so we have here evidence of a long legacy of use. Scattergood is also clearly using his copy of Crescenzi alongside contemporary printed works by writers such as John Evelyn and Samuel Hartlib providing important evidence for the way in which a wide range of printed texts - printed over a long period of time - could be contrasted and compared. Scattergood's annotations also sit alongside much older annotations in the book (some of which appear to be in English [see below]) and these are clear evidence of the repeated use of the text as a source for information on horticulture.

**Early Provenance:** Book numbers added in ink at the head of each page in a contemporary hand. Early ink cypher which could comprise 'EHLORSTX' with associated proverb "Ars durat ars manet / fortuna recedere curat" at the head of arr. Occasional annotations in Latin [fig.2] with a few words in English in three or four 16th-century hands, probably all English; these are more frequent in Book 5 (on trees and their uses) and Book 6 (on herbs and their uses) where attention is often

much of wood past fire, and brought into powder. All  
these, or some of them mingled in equal portions with  
all or some of the former first described may be  
successfully used either in the dressing of the earth  
before, or in the sowing of the ground sown there  
with. The lesser quantities will be thus applied.

Take so much of the sudder as you purpose to use,  
and lay them down in  
in such a thickness, as  
being moistened with  
to with wine, they may  
gather a heat, and grow  
inclined to rotting,  
so as they will  
they become somewhat  
dry; then with a rake  
or some other fitting in-  
strument stir and toss  
your soil well. & after  
lay it down, and  
moisten it as before, and  
let it so rest till it grow  
again warm; and so con-  
tinue from time to time  
this course of moistening  
till you have finished the  
seed bed. All the sudder  
be thoroughly putrified  
and rotted. So as they  
fall into powder, then  
lay them down, and take  
the powder for your use.  
The clearer and more whiter  
the sudder be the  
more effectually they  
work.

Of the Rape oil and  
Cakes which may be  
made of sufficient quantity  
the same and other ac-  
cidents, any quantity of  
baked manure being of a  
servant from some of  
the oil works, may con-  
vert some of his occa-  
sion to that use, so if  
cheap quantity of  
high-bow, and the same  
great profit. In the same  
time some other of the  
former ingredients may  
be used in great quantity.

The benefits arising  
1. The trouble of sowing  
carrying of 3 and 4  
hathle of it. & the prepa-  
ring them of in parts  
may now be left to  
the fruitfulness of  
your ground.

2. A fourth part of the seed is saved, which will need, if not wholly countervail the charge of it.
3. The Crows, Rabbits and Scurrs, in compassing the seed may be kept as afore said, defendeth it from the de-  
vouring of these. Crows, Worms &c.
4. You may sow the same ground every year and so spare the more to Meadows and Pasture.
5. The poorer sort, who want Labour to breed; and money to buy seed, shall in this course be little or  
no charge supply that want.
6. Besides the general good, it will better all Crops. In Deco interm spes omnis collocanda est.

uebitur calor seminum nec iuuabitur  
humidum. 7. ideo satio no erit couei-  
ens. Si autem tempore quo e corrup-  
te senectus frigida 7 humida exis-  
tens, putrescent forte semina. 7 non  
puentet utilitas sationis. In prima  
autem accensione omnia iuuantur 7  
puentet utiliter. Et ideo dicitur vi-  
trea lapas dyan a frigidis luce suc-  
censa. Dyanam enim lumen aeris fa-  
bulantur esse poetes/ qui aer spiritua-  
liter existit i corporibus animatoz  
lampas enim huius spiritus/corpus  
lunare e. qd lucem conceptam 7 tem-  
perata a sole formate pfidit/ 7 spi-  
ritus animatoru. 7 mouet eos/ ut mo-  
ti perferant virtutes ad naturales o-  
pationes/ quas sol si per se moueret  
dissolueret ppter nimiam sui intem-  
perantiam a siccitate. Sed eni fri-  
gus lune popime obsequitur/ quia  
continet extrinsecus et accedes in-  
trifecus tempore. 7 mouet iteris spi-  
ritus ad naturales operatodes/ 7 no  
sint cosdem dissolui per euaporatio-  
nem/ qz frigus temperatu circundat  
extrinsecus reprimat 7 reflectit spi-  
ritu ut in interioribus confortentur.  
maxime autem hoc est in plantis que  
non agunt nisi naturales opationes  
7 non sensibiles. sensus enim magis  
corrotratur extra. 7 naturalia magis  
vigent in interioribus. Aduertendu  
igitur est ut in accensione luce semi-  
netur/ istis rationibus. Dportet aut  
considerare quartam circuli decluis-  
in qua mouentur lumina diuifica /  
cum in circulo declui fit generatio 7  
corruptio vegetabilium. no est tamē  
in omnibus partibus causa genera-  
tionis / sed in quarta que e ab ariete

in cancrum. Omnis ergo satio est per-  
fecta anteq sol accipiat arietem qz  
tunc semina i matricibus suis non iue-  
niens sed in matrice terre/ euocabit  
ea 7 diuifico lumine mouebit. Et au-  
tumpnales quidem sationes tuc ra-  
dicare mouebuntur in debita sue sub-  
stante quantitate. 7 florib 7 seminū  
formationem. Vernales autez semi-  
nationes etiam in matrice terre iacē-  
tes/ tunc pullulabunt 7 coadiuuant  
sole temperato florebit 7 germina-  
bunt ante tempus extime siccitatis.  
Dportet qz multum obseruentur  
venti. quonia licet auster euocet ter-  
ram 7 pullulare facit plantas / tamē  
aquitlo quando non est mortificatis  
frigiditatis/ continet semz ne euapo-  
ret 7 dissoluat. Sed plerūqz cauēduz  
est qz ager non seratur diuerso simul  
semine. sepe enim contingit qz vnum  
semen magis contrahit qz alterum.  
7 tunc unum adurit alteru. 7 aliqua-  
do per oppositum tractum vtrumqz  
impeditur a germine. Videm eni qz  
planta iuxta elleborū vel scamone-  
am posita contrahit proprietates eiz  
Et si iuxta iuxta triticum posita/ ip-  
sum adurit. Similiter facit corollis  
vel caulis vitē. 7 sic de multis. 7 sic  
etiam absqz dubio diuersitas semis  
subtile humidum quod est in agro o-  
trariis virtutibus corrūpit qz non be-  
ne pficit ad fructum domesticum. si-  
cut etiam diuersitas seminum anima-  
lium/ quando vnum coit cum semina  
alterius speciei/ corrūpit vtrumqz  
Ita qz neutruz pficit fecunditati. pro-  
pter quod cauendum est ab huiusmo-  
di diuersitate in pluribus. Cuedam  
tamen semina per experientiam inue-

niuntur se inuicē no ledere. sed simul  
sata conualescere 7 fructus ubertate  
succesiuē afferre. ueluti cuz seruntur  
tempore congruo in pastinato solo  
semina atriplicum spinatorum seni-  
culorū lactucarū petrocilli saturae  
blitis et caulium. Ex quibus primo  
euelluntur atriplices. secundo spina-  
tia. 7 ex caulibus quodam ut transplā-  
tentur uel omnes 7 nimis spissi rar-  
ficentur. 7 sarculatur/ 7 succesiuē col-  
liguntur/ remanentibus ex quolibet ge-  
nere qbuslibet ppter semina. 7 cē serū-  
tur congrue simul frumentum 7 spel-  
ta milium panicum 7 saxeoli. Et sifi-  
ter ordeum 7 frumentum. Amplius  
si ultra mensuram semina iacent in  
agro/ macilentia 7 non proficuenta  
erunt. sed si seratur ager secunduz  
p portionem cibalis humidū quod est  
in ipso/ ita qz radices dilatari 7 cō-  
fortari possint tunc etiaz planta ex-  
urgēs fortis erit/ 7 proferens fructū  
quē querit ex labore culture. hec igitur  
diligenter esse attendēda/ 7 natu-  
ralis suadet ratio/ 7 experientia cul-  
tus. Dportet etiam attendere ne forte  
vel semina ipsa iacta sint corrupta  
7 ideo p recipitur a Palatio ne semi-  
na iacta uectustiora sit qz ānuā si enī  
uectustatem habēt ultra annū/ nimis  
exsiccata sunt / 7 virtus formatiua  
proprio subiecto destituta humonis  
radicalis euauit. 7 ideo ralta raro  
proficiunt. Preterea frumentuz 7 ce-  
tera semina eligantur precipua in ea  
regione quam colimus / uel exprobe-  
mus aduēta: nam omnium sicutulorū  
vel frugū genera preclara. terris ta-  
men tuis experta committere debeat.  
In nouo autem genere seminum āte

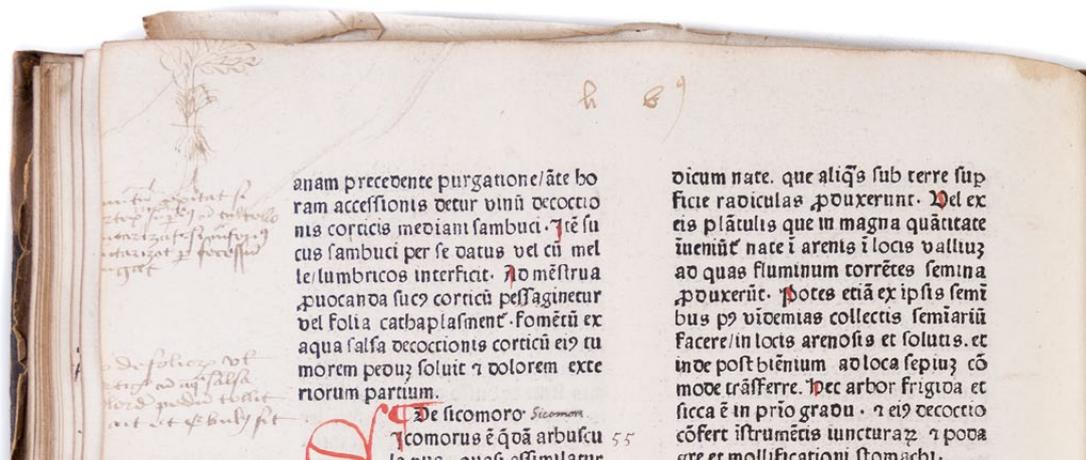


FIG. 4

drawn to their medicinal benefits, e.g. “contra tristitia et multa alia” (l8r), “nota bene hoc capitulum” (n5v), “modycwort dicto mogwort” (of Artemisia; m2v). On n4v is an ink sketch of an elder tree [fig.4]. On the blank verso of the final leaf is a mid-16th-century ink inscription: “Hoc magnum studium quod nunc floret ad vada Bourn, Ante finem feculi florebit ad vada Saxi.”, an old proverb, claimed to be a prophecy of Merlin, **concerning the foundation of Cambridge University** (“Science that now o’er Oxford holds her sway / Shall bless fair Stamford at some future day”) and would suggest a writer with a Cambridge connection.

**Later Provenance:** Rev. Anthony Scattergood, D.D. (1611-87), with his signature “Anton. Scattergood” at the head of air with a heavily-inked-out inscription beneath [fig.5]. Anthony Scattergood was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge (B.A. 1633, M.A. 1636, D.D. 1662) where he was a chaplain in 1637-40 and tutor in 1640. He was rector of Winwick, Northants. (1641-87), and rector of Yelvertoft, Northants. (1670-97). As a student he was something of a poet and his Commonplace Book is in the British Library (MS Add. 44963). In 1653 he published an anonymous Latin commentary on the Old Testament and St Paul’s Letter to the Ephesians he found in the library of John Williams, then Bishop of Lincoln. In 1662 he was appointed to work on the proofs of the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* and he was praised in his D.D. award for his work on the companion volume of *Critici sacri* to Walton’s

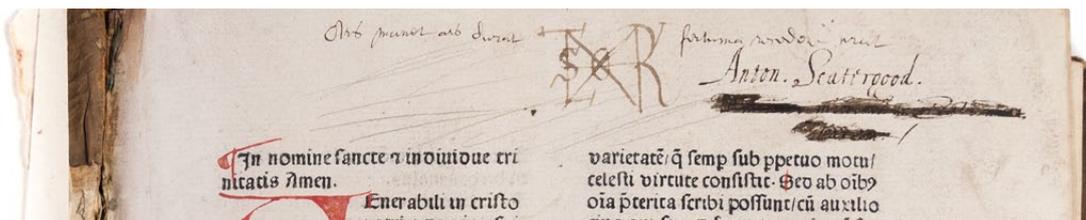


FIG. 5

Polyglot Bible, he was an expert etymologist, and published two sermons. His library passed to his son the Rev. Samuel Scattergood, D.D. (1646-96), graduate and fellow of Trinity College, Vicar of St Mary’s, Lichfield (1678-81), Vicar of Blockley, Worcs. (1681-96). Two of his sermons were published in his lifetime and there are two posthumous collections: *Twelve Sermons* (1700) and *Fifty two Sermons* (1723). The combined library was sold at auction by John Hartley on 26/7/1697 in almost 2000 lots. Largely theology, classics and etymology it also included Mercator’s and Speed’s atlases (the latter on large Paper), and a final section of “Libri Italici”. More surprisingly at the end is an unnumbered lot of “Divers other English and Italian Tracts both in Verse and Prose, together with betwixt Fourscore and an Hundred Italian Plays”. There are five incunables in his library: Valerius Maximus (Venice, 1495), Martial (Venice 1493), Virgil (Venice 1494), Aristotle (Venice 1498) and Sallust (Paris 1497).

In a tiny neat mid-17th-century hand are a series of lengthy ink marginal notes in English, all transcribed from contemporary printed books.

1: d8r-v [Book II, Chapter 22 “De sematione in communi”). “A Direction to the sowing of Corne [fig.1 & 3]. First, ye soyl being supposed to be such as with the usuall husbandries of Duning, Marling, Lyming, Folding, &c., will returne in some good measure a multiplied Crop of the Grain therein sowed. ... 6. Besides all generall good; it will better all Tiths [Tithes]. In Deo interim spes omnis collocanda est.”

This is extracted from an anonymous 22-page pamphlet addressed to Benedict Webbe (a clothier from Kingswood, near Bristol), *A Direction to the Husbandman in a new, cheape, and easie way of Fertilising, and Inriching areable grounds, &c.* (London: Augustine Mathewes, 1634; STC 6920) and comprises the bulk of the main text from B2r-C2v (the Bodley copy reproduced on EBO lacks the title-page). A manuscript transcript of the whole tract is in the Samuel Hartlib Papers at the University of Sheffield (MS Hartlib 55/24/6, reproduced online).

2: e3r-v [Book II, Chapter 24 “De insitutionibus per quas plante mutantur ad domesticarum dispositiones”). “Grafting is the artificiall placing of the Cyen, or Graft, of one kinde upon the stock of an other, so as the sap of the stock may wth out impediment come to nourish the Graft, which is performed 4 severall ways. The first and most known is grafting in the Cleft, Plums and Cherries about the new moon in Febr. ... The best time to Inoculate is in the evening of a fair day, in a dry season, for rain falling on the Buds, before they have taken, will at times destroy ym; after three weeks you may cut away the binding, and in March following the head of the stock, three fingers above the Bud, which being well grow, cut close, that the stock may cover.”

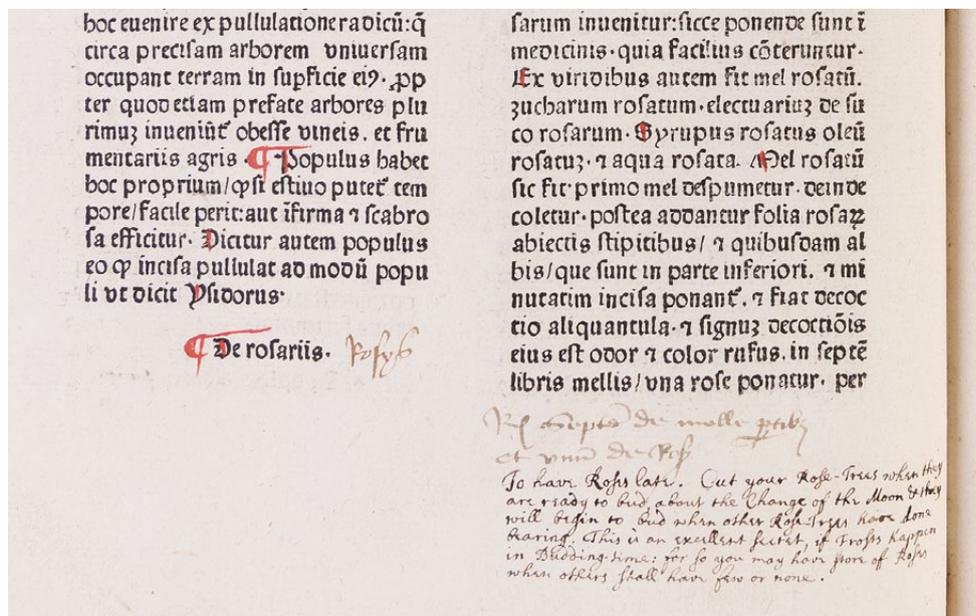


FIG. 6

This passage is from John Rea's *Flora, seu, de Florum Cultura. Or, a Complete Florilege, furnished with all requisites belonging to a Florist* (London, 1665, repr. 1676, 1702), Book III (*Pomona*), pp. 105-07.

3: nrv [Book V, Chapter 49 “De rosaria”]. “To have Roses late. Cut your Rose-Trees when they are ready to bud about the Change of the Moon & they will begin to bud when other Rose-trees have done bearing. This is an excellent secret, if Frosts happen in Budding-time: for you may have store of Roses when others shall have few or none.” [fig. 6]

This short extract is closely derived from Sir Hugh Plat, *Floraes Paradise, beautified and adorned with sundry sorts of delicate fruites and flowers* (London, 1608, pp. 90-1); repr. as *The Garden of Eden, Or, an accurate of all flowers and fruits now growing in England* (London, 1653, pp. 95-6; and later edns) which begins: “Cut your Roses when they are ready to bud in an apt time of the Moon, and they will begin to bud, when other Roses are done bearing: this is an excellent secret, if frosts happen in budding time: for so may have store of roses, when others have few or none.” This secret was also published in *Apopiroscopy: Or, a Compleat and Faithful History of Experiments and Observations: ... By T. Snow* [i.e. Richard Neve] (London, 1702, p. 1153; reissued as *Arts Improvement: ... By T.S.* (London, 1703)).

4: ll2v [Book XII “de his que singulis mensibus possunt in rure agi” (a monthly calendar of things to be done)]. “In Januarie/ Trench ye Ground and make it ready

for the Spring: prepare Soil, and use it where you have occasion: Dig borders, &c. uncover as yet Roots of trees, where Ablaqueation is requisite. ... In over wet, or hard weather, cleanse, mend, sharpen and prepare Garden-tools. Turn up your Bee-hives, and sprinkle them with a little warm and sweet wort. Fruits in Prime, or yet lasting. Apples. Kentish-pepin, Russet-pepin, ... Winter-pearmain. Pears. Winter-musk (bakes well), Winter-Norwich (excellent baked), Winter-Bergamot, Winter Bonchrestien, both Mural: the great Surrein.”

ll2v-3r: “In Februarie. 3 Prune Fruit-trees and Vines, as yet. Remove Graffs of former years grafting. Cut and lay Quick-sets. ... Lastly, half open your passages for the Bees, or a little before (if the weather invites) but continue to feed weake stocks &c. ... Fruits in Prime or yet lasting. Apples. Kentish-pepin, ... Pearmain, John-apple. Pears. Winter Bonchrestien, Winter-Peppering. Little Dagobert.”

ll3v. “In March. ...” “In April. ...”

ll4r: “In May. ...” “In June. ...”

ll5r: “In September. ...” “In October. ...”

ii5v: “In November. ...” “In December. Prune and Nail Wall Fruits, and standard Trees. You may now plant Vines, & also Stocks for Grafting. ... Turn and refresh your Autumnall Fruit, lest it taint, and open the windows where it lies, in a clear and serene Day. Fruits in Prime, or yet lasting. Apples, Russetting; Leather-Coat. ... Pears. The Squib-pear, Virgin, Gascoigne-Bergamot, Scarlet-pear, Stopples-pear, white, red and French Wardens, &c.”

These passages are all taken *verbatim* from the first (unrevised) edition of John Evelyn's *Kalendarium Hortense: or the Gard'ners Almanac; Directing what he is to do Monethly, throughout the Year*. It was published as an appendix to the first edition of *Sylva, or a Discourse of Forest-Trees* (London, 1664; lifetime reprints 1670, 1679 and 1706). Each month is divided into two parts: “To be done in the Orchard, and Olitory-Garden [Kitchen Garden]” and “To be done in the Parterre, and Flower-Garden.” For each month the first part only has been transcribed in full. The text was revised for a separate edition, *Kalendarium Hortense* (1664; much reprinted) and the second (1666) and later editions of *Sylva*.

**Modern Provenance:** The Lawes Agricultural Library, Rothamsted Experimental Research Station, Harpenden, Hertfordshire (an old typed description loosely inserted has an ink number “4709/1922” which suggests 1922 as the purchase date). The Research Station was founded on farmland owned by Sir John Bennet Lawes, 1st Baronet (1814-1900), an agricultural chemist, and the library of early agricultural books (one of the best in the world) was formed by Sir (Edward) John Russell, Kt (1872-1965), director from 1912-43; the library was sold at Forum Auctions, 10/7/2018, where this was Lot 9.

A SERIOUS  
C A L L  
T O A

DEVOUT and HOLY LIFE.

Adapted to the State and Condition of  
All Orders of CHRISTIANS.

By WILLIAM LAW, A. M.

The TENTH EDITION.

*He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.* Luke viii. 8.  
*And behold, I come quickly, and my reward is with me.*  
Rev. xxii. 12.



L O N D O N,  
Printed for G. ROBINSON, No. 25, in Pater-Noster-  
Row. 1772.

*"THIS NEVER, NEVER CAN BE THE NATURAL STATE OF A  
HUMAN BEING"*

**3** LAW (William),  
annotated by COLERIDGE (Samuel Taylor).

**A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life.** Adapted to the State and  
Condition of all Orders of Christians.

London: G. Robinson, 1772

£28,000

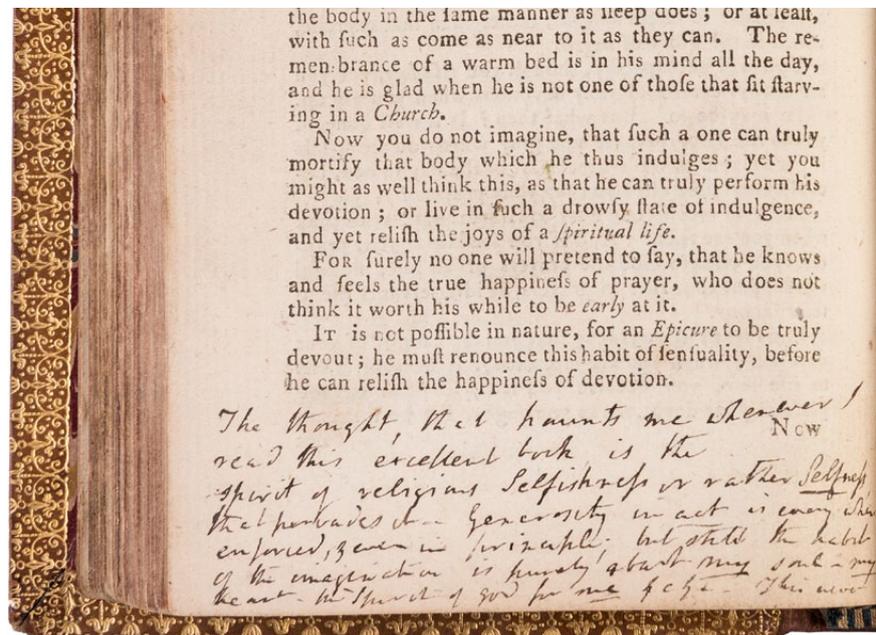
*Tenth Edition. Small 8vo (172 x 100mm). vi, 353, [1] pp. Small ink blot to the title-  
page some marking in places throughout, four circular stains to leaves F5-6. 19th-century  
blind panelled calf by Nutt of Cambridge, red and green morocco labels to the spine,  
later gilt edges (rebacked preserving the old spine).*

**"Shut not thy heart, nor thy library against S.T.C.": Wordsworth's copy annotated  
by Coleridge.**

A copy of Law's most popular work from the library of William Wordsworth  
which has been read and annotated by his friend and fellow poet, Samuel Taylor Col-  
eridge (possibly when Coleridge was staying with Wordsworth and his sister Dorothy  
between June 1809 and March 1810 at Grasmere). Coleridge's long and passionate  
annotation (approximately 90 words) covers the entire lower blank margins of p.166-7:

**"The thought that haunts me whenever I read this excellent book is the spirit  
of religious selfishness or rather selfness that prevades it. Generosity in act is  
everywhere enforced, and even in principle; but still the habit of the imagination  
is purely about my soul, my heart, the Spirit of God for me, etc etc. This never,  
never can be the natural state of a human being; it makes every movement of the  
mind too much an act of full consciousness. Even in common life we instinctively  
dislike self-conscious folks -- no odds, whether humility or pride".**

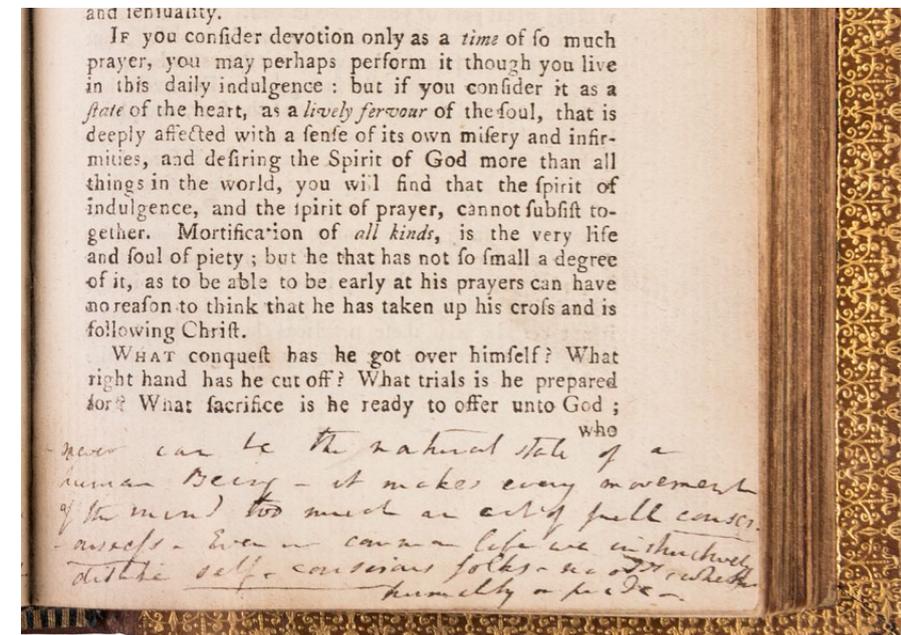
The long annotation by Coleridge was published in George Whalley's *Coleridge  
Marginalia* (Princeton University Press, 1980) from a 19th-century transcription (itself  
based on transcriptions) in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature* (2nd  
series IX (1870) p.433). **This book has been unavailable to scholars since the 19th  
century.** The modern editor ascribes Coleridge's annotation to a passage by Law on  
early rising, but it is clear looking at the book itself that Coleridge is commenting



on the text as a whole but also on the wider concerns of the passage which included the measuring of self-enjoyment, gluttony and “notorious acts of intemperance”. If this book was annotated by Coleridge when he was staying with William and Dorothy Wordsworth in Grasmere it was a period of Coleridge’s life when he was attempting to throw off his opium addiction, leaving him “unfitted by temperament for any course of action demanding application” (ODNB). With this in mind, Coleridge’s annotation and his reading of Law in general appears strikingly pertinent.

Pamela Edwards in her essay “Coleridge on Politics and Religion” notes that Coleridge “drew heavily” on Law’s work when writing *Aids to Reflection* as he attempted to establish “the foundations of true theology in distinction to false religion” (*The Oxford Handbook of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, edited by Frederick Burwick, p.243).

Coleridge read voraciously from an early age – he claimed, according to the ODNB, “to have read a book of the Bible by the time he was three, and the *Arabian Nights* when he was five”. His father was so disturbed by his addiction to romances and tales of magic that he set fire to a number of his books. Coleridge described himself as a “library-cormorant” and annotated an enormous number of books, enough to fill numerous large volumes of marginalia in his collected works and consolidate his reputation “as a brilliant writer in the minor and somewhat suspect genre of marginal commentary” (H.R. Jackson, “Coleridge as Reader”, in *The Oxford Handbook of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* ed. Frederick Burwick (2009) p. 273). Jackson goes on to argue that “the once scattered marginalia deserve to be taken into account in studies



of Coleridge’s life and writings, especially since they have now been conveniently and reliably brought together” (p.273).

**“The annotated books provide a vivid image of the working of his mind, the occasion of writing and the relative order in which the notes were written, sometimes layer on layer”** (Whalley BG).

This book is listed as No. 67 (of 141) in George Whalley’s “Coleridge Marginalia Lost” in *The Book Collector*, Winter 1968 as “In the possession of Alexander Macmillan in 1870”. It is again reported as “not located” in George Whalley’s exhaustive collected edition of Coleridge *Marginalia* (Princeton University Press, 1980) with the long annotation, “published from an appendix to C.M. Ingleby ‘On Some Points Connected with the Philosophy of Coleridge’ *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*. 2nd series ix (1870)”. A copy of Law’s *A Serious Call* is listed in the sale catalogue of Wordsworth’s library (no.223, with no date of publication given) and also in the manuscript catalogue of Wordsworth’s library at the Houghton Library (listed as “Law’s Call”). See *Wordsworth’s Library* ed. Chester Linn Shaver (1979).

**Provenance:** Alexander MacMillan (1818-1896), publisher and co-founder of Macmillan Publishers. Noted as being in the possession of Macmillan in 1870 by George Whalley in *The Book Collector* [see above]. This volume does not have Macmillan’s bookplate (which is present in another book from Coleridge’s library - Henry More’s *Philosophicall Poems* [see following item], which we purchased with this book.

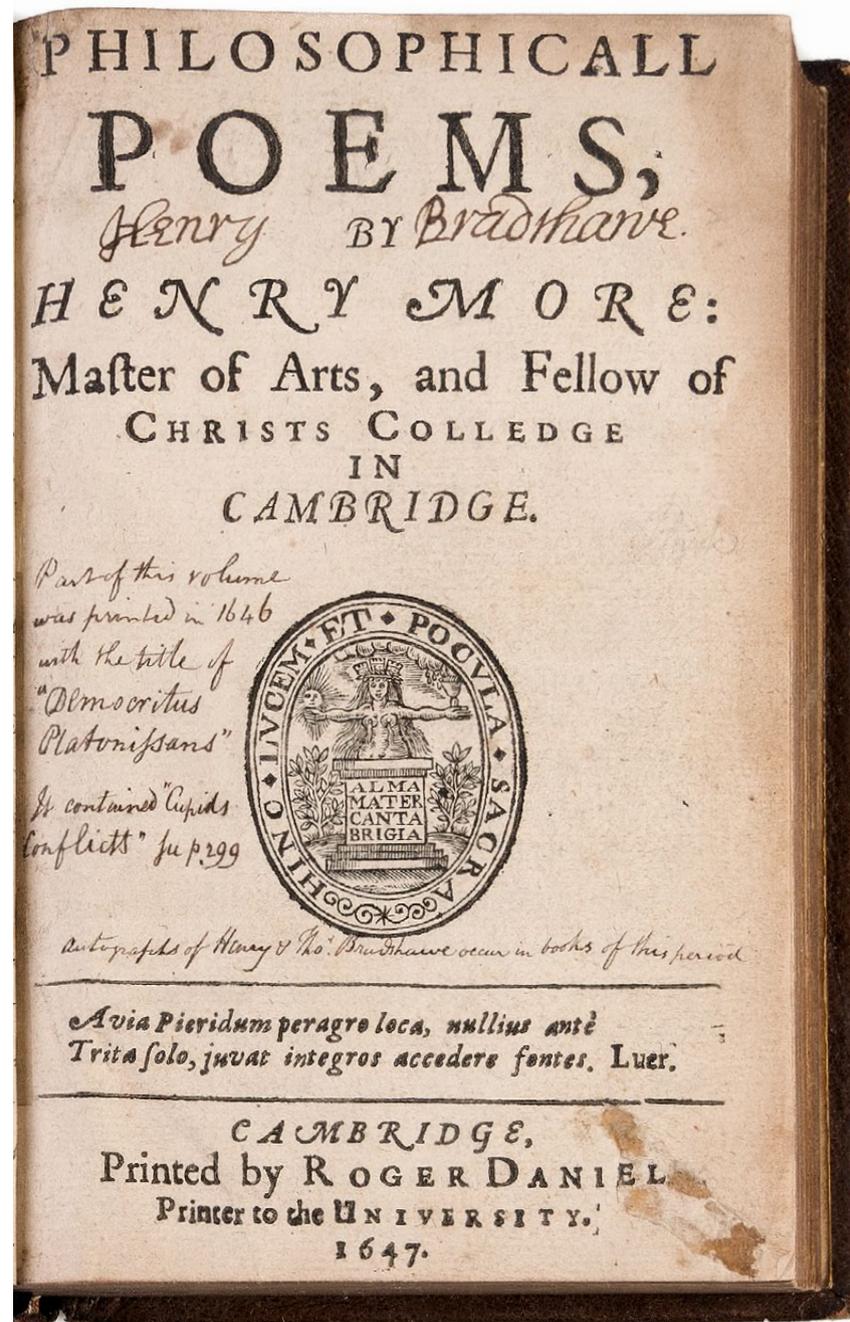


FIG. 1

*"AH! WHAT STRENGTH MIGHT I GATHER, WHAT COMFORT  
 MIGHT WE DERIVE"*

**4** MORE (Henry),  
 annotated by COLERIDGE (Samuel Taylor).

**Philosophicall Poems.**

Cambridge: by Roger Daniel, 1647

£38,000

**First Collected Edition.** *Small 8vo (160 x 101mm). [28], 37, 36-71, [7], 73-218, [8], 219-253, [5], p. 225, 256-298, [2], 299-436, [2] pp., each part has a separate title-page; numerous woodcut diagrams in the final part.*

*Title-page a little browned and with a short tear repaired to the lower fore-corner (just touching the imprint), some browning and a little marking in places throughout, closely cropped by the binder in places (occasionally just touching the catchwords, pagination etc and, in a few places, some of the annotations (without obscuring the sense)), early paper repair to upper fore-corner of E8 (just touching the page number), F5 (small repair, blank fore-margin) and some foxing to the lower margin of Bb4, original flyleaf (with manuscript annotations) preserved at the front and with another flyleaf laid down on later paper (preserving the manuscript annotations), flyleaves at end both laid down and strengthened with thicker later paper (preserving the majority of the manuscript annotations).*

*Mid-19th-century brown morocco, spine lettered in gilt, gilt edges, blue ribbon marker (a little rubbed at the edges, joints just starting).*

Wing M2670. Hayward 94.

**"Strange and sometimes uncouth as he is, there are lines and passages of the highest poetry and most exquisite beauty":** A great influence on Coleridge, extensively annotated by the poet and almost certainly the copy used by Coleridge for his heated discussion (with Southey) of More in *Omniana* (1812).

The first collected edition of More's poems, the celebrated leader of the Cambridge Platonists. The important poem "Psychozoia, or the Life of the Soul" had been first printed in Cambridge in 1642 but appears here in a much longer, revised and annotated form. It was "Psychozoia" which fascinated Coleridge but led to a heated exchange with Southey in *Omniana* - the annotations in this volume reflect that

conflict. Southey wrote of the poem: "There is perhaps no other poem in existence which has so little that is good in it, if it has anything good" (*Omniana* p.157). Coleridge countered that: "Southey must have wearied himself out with the poem, till the mists from its swamps and stagnants had spread over its flowery pots and and bowers" (*Table Talk* p.339).

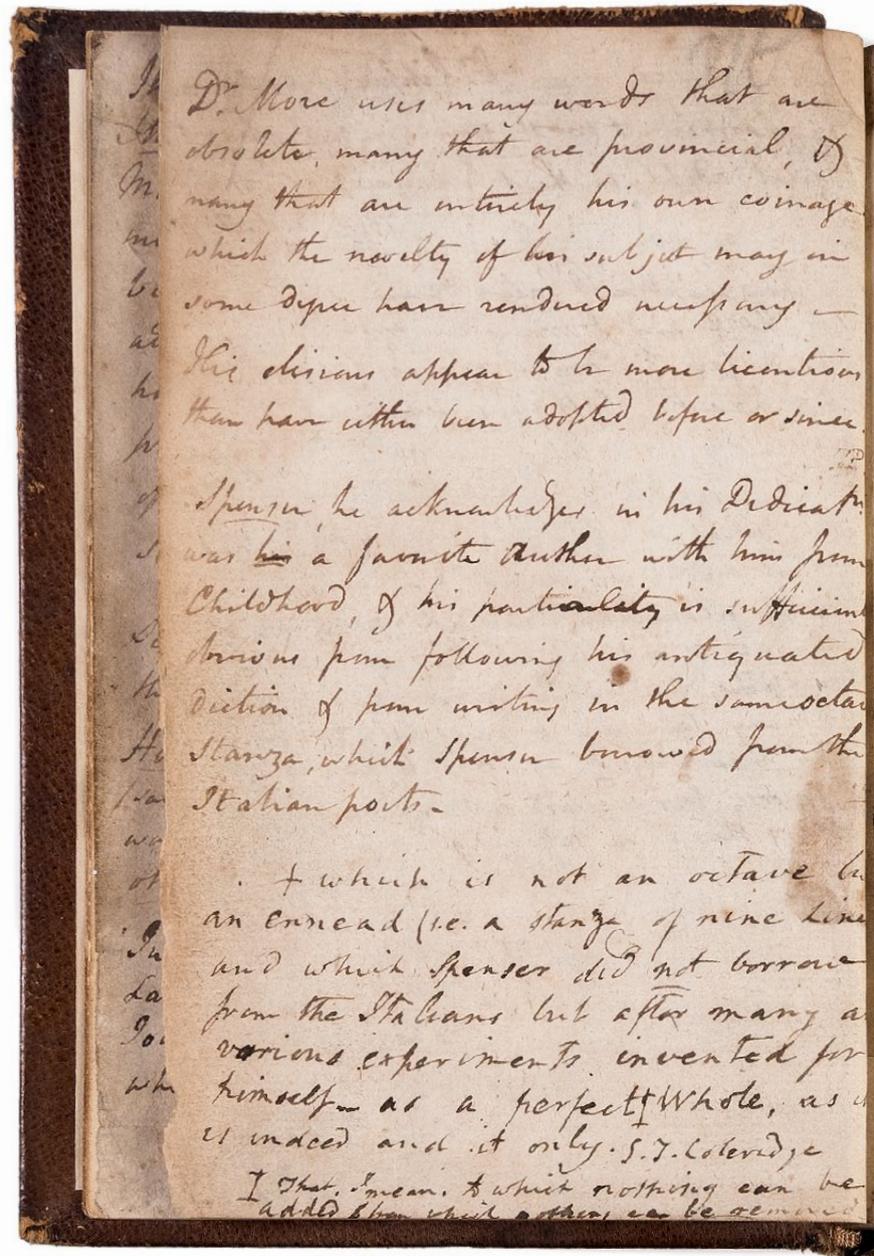


FIG. 2

In George Whalley's "Coleridge Marginalia Lost", a list of books known to have been owned by Coleridge but which have remained untraced, this volume appears as no. 79 (recording ten annotations) and stating that it was last traced in the sale catalogue of Robert Southey's library. A copy of More's *Philosophicall Poems* appears as lot 1998 in the *Catalogue of the Valuable Library of the Late Robert Southey* (1844, bought by "Petheran", presumably John Petheran, London bookseller) where it is marked with an asterix to denote ("at the particular request of some of the Friends of the late Poet Laureate") that the volume contains "his [Southey's] Autograph". This copy certainly belonged to Coleridge but does not have Southey's signature. Some of the short marginal notes may be by Southey and they certainly echo many of his feelings towards More. It appears that Whalley may have been wrong about Coleridge's copy of this book being sold in the sale of Southey's library as we have traced another copy offered for sale in 1818 which has an identical manuscript note in it [see below]. **The annotations by Coleridge are typically performative though and provide important evidence for Coleridge's reading of More and his feelings on poetry in general.**

Coleridge begins by providing a long passionate summary note of his feelings on More on the front flyleaf of this volume:

**"Ah! what strength might I gather, what comfort might we derive, from the Proclo-plotinian Platonists' doctrine of the soul, if only they or their Spinosistic imitators, the nature-philosophers of present Germany, had told or could tell us what they meant by I and we, by pain and remorse! Poor we are nothing in act, but everything in suffering".**

A number of notes [fig.2] on the following leaf (taken from 18th and early 19th-century assessments of More) describe how Spenser was "a favourite author with him [More] from childhood" and remarks on the use of "the same octave stanza, which Spenser borrowed from the Italian poets".

**Coleridge responds to this correcting the previous note: "...not an octave, but an ennead...which Spenser did not borrow from the Italians, but, after many and various experiments, invented for himself, as a perfect whole, as it is indeed, and it only".** Coleridge then signs this note boldly "S.T. Coleridge" a clear indication that his annotations were intended to be read by others and echoing Jackson's assertion that Coleridge was "a brilliant writer in the minor and somewhat suspect genre of marginal commentary" (H.R. Jackson, "Coleridge as Reader", in *The Oxford Handbook of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* ed. Frederick Burwick (2009) p. 273).

Alongside the two long notes by Coleridge on the front leaves (approximately 120 words - signed near the end of the second note "S. T. Coleridge"), there is also a long note on the recto of the rear flyleaf (approx 250 words, also signed "S.T. Coleridge") [fig.4] and a shorter three line note (referring to a section of the printed text) on the

*What mere Logomachy! 23 till is first assumed*  
*in the definition of body:*  
*and then proved by applying the Impossible of the Definition to 6 or 7 parts -ular instances of this impossibility.* 24  
 Adde unto these, that the soul would take pains  
 For her destruction while she doth aspire  
 To reach at things (that were her wofull gains)  
 That be not corporall, but seated higher  
 Above the bodies sphere. Thus should she tire  
 Her self to 'stroy her self. Again, the mind  
 Receives contrary forms. The feverish fire  
 Makes her cool brooks and shadowing groves to find  
 Within her thoughts, thus hot and cold in one she binds.  
 Nor is she chang'd by the susception  
 Of any forms: For thus her self contraire  
 Should be unto her self. But Union  
 She then possesseth, when heat and cold are  
 Together met: They meet withouten jarre  
 Within our souls. Such forms they be not true  
 You'll say. But of their truth lest you despair,  
 Each form in purer minds more perfect hew  
 Obtains, then those in matter we do dayly view.  
 For there, they're mixt, soild and contaminate,  
 But truth doth clear, unweave, and simplifie,  
 Search, sever, pierce, open, and disgregate  
 All asciticious clogging; then doth eye  
 The naked essence and its property.  
 Or you must grant the soul cannot define  
 Ought right in things; or you must not deny  
 These forms be true that in her self do shine:  
 These be her rule of truth, these her unerring line,  
*Man: These be her rule of truth, these her unerring line,*  
*eye! but this is not 26 That I mean*  
*by matter or body:*  
*or. I def y*  
 Bodies have no such properties. Again,  
 See in one cluster many arguments  
 Compris'd: She multitudes can close constrain  
 Into one nature. Things that be fluent,  
 As flitting time, by her be straight retent  
 Unto one point; she joyns future and past,  
 And makes them steady stand as if present:  
 Things distant she can into one place cast:  
 Calls kinds immortall, though their singulars do waste.  
*the truth of your definition.*

27  
 Upon her self she strangely operates,  
 And from her self and by her self returns  
 Into her self; thus the soul circulates.  
 Do bodies so? Her axle-tree it burns  
 With heat of motion. This low world she spurns,  
 Raiseth her self to catch infinity.  
 Unspeakable great numbers how she turns  
 Within her mind, like evening mist the eye  
 Discerns, whose muddy atomes fore the wind do fly.

28  
 Stretcheth out time at both ends without end,  
 Makes place still higher swell, often creates  
 What God near made, nor doth at all intend  
 To make, free phantasms, laughs at future fates;  
 Foresees her own condition, she relates  
 Th' all comprehension of eternity,  
 Complains she's thirsty still in all estates,  
 That all she sees or has no're satisfie  
 Her hungry self, nor fill her vast capacity.

29  
 But I'll break off; My Muse her self forgot,  
 Her own great strength and her foes feebleness,  
 That she her name by her own pains may blot,  
 While she so many strokes heaps in excess,  
 That fond grosse phansie quite for to suppress  
 Of the souls corporal tie. For men may think  
 Her adversaries strength doth thus her presse  
 To multitude of reasons, makes her swink  
 With weary toyl, and sweat out thus much forced ink:

30  
 Or that she loves with trampling insultations  
 To domineere in easie victory.  
 But let not men dare cast such accusations  
 Against the blamelesse. For no mastery,  
 Nor fruitlesse pomp, nor any verity  
 Of that opinion that she here destroyes  
 Made her so large. No, 'tis her jealousy  
 'Gainst witching falshood that weak souls annoyes,  
 And oft doth choke those chearing hopes of lasting joyes.

*The*

FIG. 3

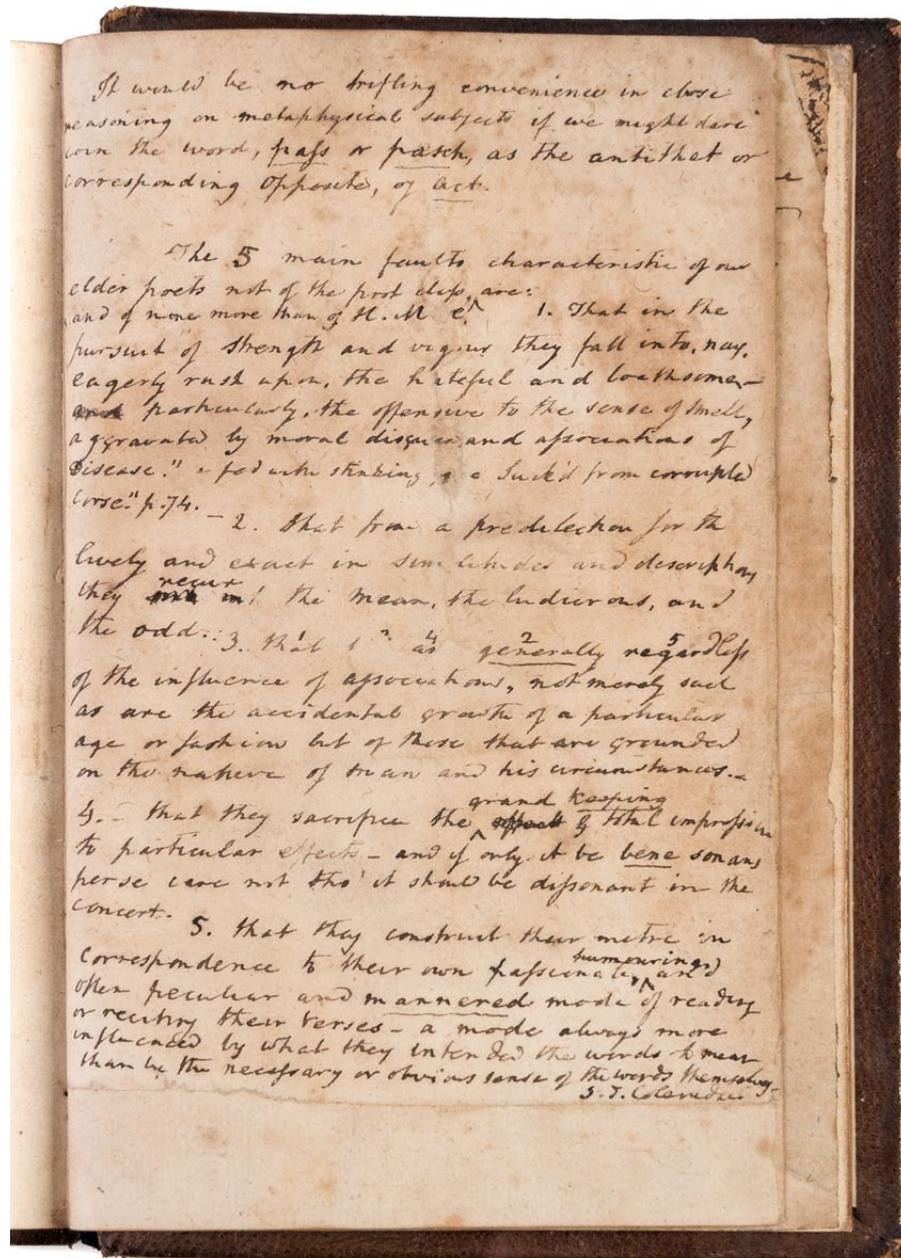


FIG. 4

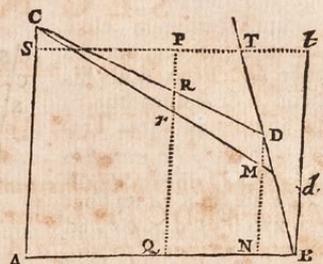
verso of the flyleaf, a five line note in the preface (Hrv) to *Psychathansia* responding to the printed text, a long annotation [fig.3] filling almost all of the blank space between the printed text on p.128 (*The Immortality of the Soul*), and a short marginal annotation a few leaves later at p.135 and a 10 line annotation in the blank space between the printed text on p.353 (*Notes upon Psychozoia*).

There are various additional notes throughout which may be by Robert Southey of which some are single words but others short notes. Southey in *Omniana* is predominantly concerned with More's borrowings from other poets and the annotations in this volume largely tend to note similarities with poets such as Milton, Spenser and Chaucer. A note on p.7 likens More's text to "Milton in Lycidas" with a note below observing a similarity to Spenser. There are other references to Spenser on p.26, 99 and 297 and Milton on p. 32 (*Comus*), 69, 96, 145 (*Comus*), 149 (*Paradise Lost*) and 244 (*Comus*).

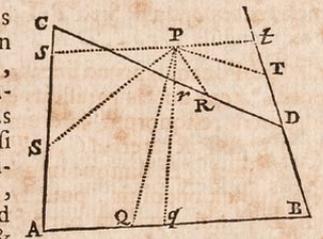
The annotations by Coleridge were published in George Whalley's *Coleridge Marginalia* (Princeton University Press, 1980) from a 19th-century transcription (itself based on transcriptions) in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature* (2nd series IX (1870) p.433). **This book has been unavailable to scholars since the 19th century**, despite the continued interest in the influence of More and the Cambridge Platonists on Coleridge's work. The annotations in the book which are not by Coleridge also require further research as they clearly provide evidence of a detailed reader of More who had a good knowledge of Milton and Spenser.

**Provenance:** 1. Henry Bradshawe (d. 1698), nephew of the regicide John Bradshaw, Lord President of the Commonwealth Council (1602-1659), signature on the title-page [fig.1] 2. Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834), poet, with numerous annotations both before and in the text (a number signed S.T.C or S. T. Coleridge). 3. This copy appears to have been offered as no. 1524 in *A Catalogue of Old Books in Various Languages* (1822) by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown which lists a copy of More's *Philosophical Poems* with a manuscript note reading: "more uses many words that are obsolete many that are provincial, and many that are entirely his own coinage", matching the note on the flyleaf of this copy. £15s. This would make it impossible to have been the copy offered in Southey's sale in 1844. 4. Alexander Macmillan (1818-1896), publisher and co founder of Macmillan Publishers, his bookplate on the front pastedown.

*Caf. 2.* Ponamus jam Trapezii latera opposita  $AC$  &  $BD$  non esse parallela. Age  $Bd$  parallelam  $AC$  & occurrentem tum rectae  $ST$  in  $t$ , tum Conicæ sectioni in  $d$ . Junge  $Cd$  secantem  $PQ$  in  $r$ , & ipsi  $PQ$  parallelam age  $DM$  secantem  $Cd$  in  $M$  &  $AB$  in  $N$ . Jam ob similia triangula  $BTt$ ,  $DBN$ ; est  $Bt$  seu  $PQ$  ad  $Tt$  ut  $DN$  ad  $NB$ . Sic &  $Rr$  est ad  $AQ$  seu  $PS$  ut  $DM$  ad  $AN$ . Ergo, ducendo antecedentes in antecedentes & consequentes in consequentes, ut rectangulum  $PQ$  in  $Rr$  est ad rectangulum  $PS$  in  $Tt$ , ita rectangulum  $NDM$  est ad rectangulum  $ANB$ , & (per *Caf. 1.*) ita rectangulum  $PQ$  in  $Pr$  est ad rectangulum  $PS$  in  $Pt$ , ac divisim ita rectangulum  $PQ \times PR$  est ad rectangulum  $PS \times PT$ . *Q. E. D.*



*Caf. 3.* Ponamus denique lineas quatuor  $PQ$ ,  $PR$ ,  $PS$ ,  $PT$  non esse parallelas lateribus  $AC$ ,  $AB$ , sed ad ea utcumque inclinatas. Earum vice age  $Pq$ ,  $Pr$  parallelas ipsi  $AC$ ; &  $Ps$ ,  $Pt$  parallelas ipsi  $AB$ ; & propter datos angulos triangulorum  $PQq$ ,  $PRr$ ,  $PSs$ ,  $PTt$ , dabuntur rationes  $PQ$  ad  $Pq$ ,  $PR$  ad  $Pr$ ,  $PS$  ad  $P s$ , &  $PT$  ad  $Pt$ ; atque adeo rationes compositæ  $PQ \times PR$  ad  $Pq \times Pr$ , &  $PS \times PT$  ad  $P s \times P t$ . Sed, per superius demonstrata, ratio  $Pq \times Pr$  ad  $P s \times P t$  data est: Ergo & ratio  $PQ \times PR$  ad  $PS \times PT$ . *Q. E. D.*



LIBER PRIMUS.  
componis, enim  
rectanguli  $PQ$  in  $Rr$   
ad  $St \times PS$  ex simi-  
libus proportionib.  
ex quib. necesse  
est.  $NDM \triangleq ANB$ .  
Parvis  $DM$  ad  $AN$   
 $Rr$  est ut  $PC$  ad  $CA$   
seu  $NA$  ad  $AQ$  vel  
ad  $PS$   
Et similia rectang.  
sunt in utroque rectan-  
gulo ut patet similit.  
ratio  $PQ$  ad  $Tt$ ,  
et  $Rr$  ad  $PS$   $DM$   
NAM sunt duæ ratio-  
nes in uno rectangulo  
quæ sunt hinc inde  
in altero, quoniam  
dissimiles inter se,  
quod nihil impedit  
ad analogiam propor-  
tionis rectangulorum.

LEMMA XVIII.

*Iisdem positis rectangulum ductarum ad opposita duo latera Trapezii  $PQ \times PR$  sit ad rectangulum ductarum ad reliqua duo latera  $PS \times PT$  in data ratione; punctum  $P$ , a quo lineæ ducuntur, tanget Conicam sectionem circa Trapezium descriptam.*

I 2 Per

BOMBARDING THE READER: HOW GIOVANNI CEVA READ HIS PRINCIPIA. ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT SURVIVING TESTIMONIES TO NEWTON'S RECEPTION IN EUROPE

5 NEWTON (Isaac), annotated by CEVA (Giovanni).

*Philosophiæ naturalis principia mathematica ... editio ultima auctior et emendatior.*

Amsterdam: Sumptibus Societatis, 1714.

SOLD

First Amsterdam Edition. 4to (245 x 187mm). [28], 484, [8]p., engraved title vignette and folding engraved plate at p.465. Evenly browned throughout, some later blue chalk marking to the final few leaves. Contemporary Dutch calf, spine tooled in gilt, red morocco label in the second panel (joints, corners and edges carefully refurbished). Preserved in a morocco-backed cloth box, lettered in gilt.

"To avoid being baited by little Smatterers in Mathematicks... he designedly made his *Principia* abstruse; but yet so as to be understood by able Mathematicians" (William Derham to John Conduitt, 8 July 1733).

A unique copy of Newton's most important work and one of the most famous books in the history of thought: copiously annotated by the Italian mathematician Giovanni Ceva (1647-1734) providing important new evidence for the reception of Newton on the Continent and within scientific circles in Newton's own lifetime.

Works of science do not stand still. Theories and hypotheses may be rejected or improved, and this is never more true than with Newton's *Principia* which, within ten years of its first appearance in 1687, Newton was radically revising, his corrections circulating around Europe in manuscript.

The interaction of text as published by the author, and the reader, whoever that may be, is the point of a book, and where we are fortunate enough to have documentary evidence of that interaction recorded by the reader - particularly in annotations in a specific copy of the book - we have a **concrete example of the effect of a book, of how it was read, and judged.** If the reader is a contemporary, so much the better. If the reader is a great *savant*, that is better still.

Reading (and understanding) Newton, for any reader, in any time period, encounters one major problem: as Elizabethanne Boran notes in the first paragraph



of her introduction to *Reading Newton in Early Modern Europe*: “the Principia...was not a reader-friendly book; nor was it designed to be. Many early readers (able mathematicians included) complained that it was too difficult even for them” (p.1).

The difficulty of reading, let alone understanding the *Principia*, has ensured that the pool of possible annotators of the text is very small therefore of those copies which were annotated only a very small number have survived and of those in turn only a few of the annotators can be identified.

“IT TRANSFORMED HIS LIFE, AND IT TRANSFORMED SCIENCE”:  
PRINTING THE PRINCIPIA

The *Principia* was first published in London in 1687 and was the culmination of two and a half years of intensive and solitary research by Newton which “kept expanding in every direction and revealing new facets” (ODNB). Edmund Halley supervised the printing of the first edition which was completed on 5th July 1687. Westfall notes: “Never in the history of civilization has a major theory been so fully, so clearly, or so influentially proved”. The book immediately caught the attention of the intellectual elite and garnered as much praise as it did criticism.

The second edition of the text was extensively revised by Newton and seen through the Cambridge University press by the classical scholar Richard Bentley (1662-

1742). Bentley wrote to Newton in 1708 stating that the revised edition, “is expected here with great impatience, & the prospect of it has already lowered ye price of ye former edition above half of what it once was”. The Cambridge edition was published in an edition of 700 copies with a number being sent to Europe for circulation amongst the intellectual elite. Newton himself drew up a list of seventy possible recipients, including Peter the Great and Abbé Bignon who were to receive 6 and 8 copies respectively. This edition quickly became rare and difficult to find, and in the summer of 1713 the *Journal Littéraire* announced an Amsterdam reprint, presumably made from one of the copies sent to Holland: “two presses are constantly in action to advance this work”. This is the present edition of 1714.

THE IDENTITY OF THE ANNOTATOR

Our volume has no marks of direct provenance but careful reading of the annotations reveals that the annotator frequently writes in the first person and refers to two books of which he was almost certainly the author. He refers firstly to his book called “statica nostra” (see p.29 “si methodum hanc quam nemo concipiat, sequi velimus... Cum statica nostra et motus geometriam edidimus.”) and in another note on p. 29 he writes “si methodum hanc quam nemo concipiat, sequi velimus... Cum statica nostra et motus geometriam edidimus.”

Giovanni Ceva had published his first and most significant work in Milan in 1678, *De lineis rectis se invicem secantibus statica constructio*, where ‘he used the properties of the centre of gravity of a system of points to obtain the relation of the segments which are produced by straight lines drawn through their intersections’ (*DSB* iii, 182). It is in this work that he gives and proves what is called Ceva’s theorem in Euclidian plane geometry (“given a triangle ABC let the lines AO, BO and CO be drawn from the vertices to a common point O (not on one of the sides of ABC) to meet opposite sides at D, E and F respectively. (The segments AD, BE, and CF are known as *c evians*)”).

Later, on p. 36, is another reference by the annotator to “nostra motus geometria”: (“Hec multo generalius et tutius deducuntur ex nostra motus geometria; etenim, ut diximus...”), and this would point to Giovanni Ceva whose *Geometria motus opusculum geometricum* had been published in Bologna in 1692. This is in two books, the first on simple motion and the second on composite motion. There is also a reference on crverso to another work by Ceva published in Mantua in 1710: *Tria problemata geometris proposita* (“Hoc nos putamus planissime ostendisse ab suo corporis interno principio, ut iam edidimus, cum tria illa problemata geometricae proposuimus”; cf. Riccardi *op. cit.* i, 342 no. 8)). This was also published in 1728 (see below). This short work discussed gravity and refers to the “centrum universi”, a topic frequently touched upon in the annotations in this book.

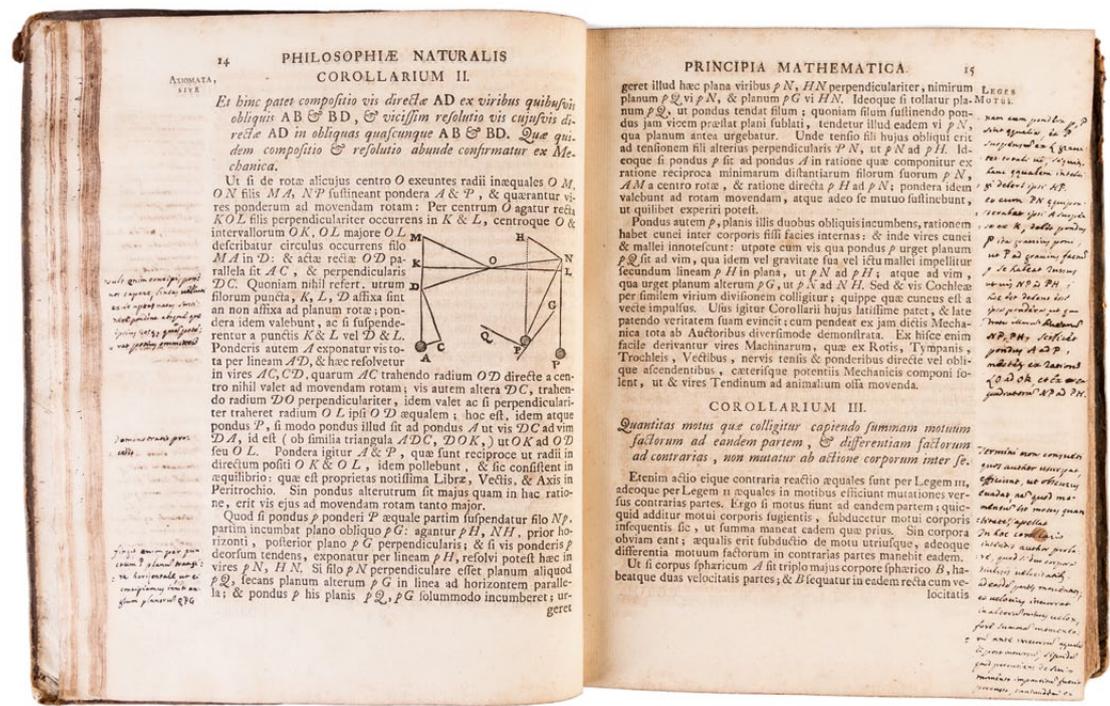


FIG. 2

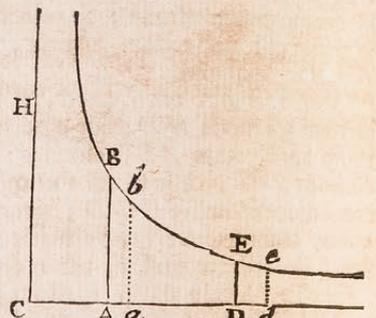
De Motu de datur punctum B per quod Hyperbola, Asymptotis CH, CD, describi debet; ut & spatium ABGD, quod corpus incipiendo motum suum cum velocitate illa AB, tempore quovis AD, in Medio similari resistente describere potest.

PROPOSITIO VI. THEOREMA VI.

Corpora Spherica homogenea & equalia, resistentiis in duplicata ratione velocitatum impedita, & solis viribus insitis incitata, temporibus quæ sunt reciproce ut velocitates sub initio, describunt semper equalia spatia, & amittunt partes velocitatum proportionales totis.

Hæc omnia genera = lineæ planarum, ac omni figuræ geometricæ naturæ. Nam compositi sunt planarum quædam figuræ, nempe per se motu; ex quibus sunt imaginariæ, ut per se motu, et hæc imaginariæ formantur velocitatis imaginariæ. Hæc uero figuræ uel opus est, diuinitat conuertunt, ut facile sit motu rationem, et datæ velocitatis, uel ex datæ temporis, aut uel: utantur imaginariis, inuentionis, tum modo ipsius uel figuræ, meth: ut inueniatur. Et datæ uera est hæc nostræ methodus, ut rectificationis inueniatur, tum curuaturæ, prout hæc geometricæ licet asperiri.

Asymptotis rectangulis CD, CH descripta Hyperbola quavis BbEe secante perpendiculari AB, ab, DE, de, in B, b, E, e, exponantur velocitates initiales per perpendicularia AB, DE, & tempora per lineas Aa, Dd. Est ergo ut Aa ad Dd ita (per Hypothesin) DE ad AB, & ita (ex natura Hyperbolæ) CA ad Cd; & componendo, ita Ca ad Cd. Ergo area ABba, DEed, hoc est, spatia descripta æquantur inter se, & velocitates primæ AB, DE sunt ultimis ab, de, & propterea (diuidendo) partibus etiam suis amissis AB-ab, DE-de proportionales. Q. E. D.



PROPOSITIO VII. THEOREMA V.

Corpora Spherica quibus resistitur in duplicata ratione velocitatum, temporibus quæ sunt ut motus primi directe & resistentiæ primæ inverse, amittent partes motuum proportionales totis, & spatia describent temporibus istis in velocitates primas ductis proportionalia.

Namque motuum partes amissæ sunt ut resistentiæ & tempora con-

conjunctionem. Igitur ut partes illæ sint totis proportionales, debet resistentia & tempus conjunctionem esse ut motus. Proinde tempus erit ut motus directe & resistentia inverse. Quare temporum particulis in ea ratione sumptis, corpora amittent semper particulas motuum proportionales totis, adeoque retinebunt velocitates in ratione prima. Et ob datam velocitatum rationem, describent semper spatia quæ sunt ut velocitates primæ & tempora conjunctionem. Q. E. D.

Corol. 1. Igitur si æquielocibus corporibus resistitur in duplicata ratione diametrorum: Globi homogenei quibuscunque cum velocitatibus moti, describendo spatia diametris suis proportionalia, amittent partes motuum proportionales totis. Motus enim Globi cuiusque erit ut ejus velocitas & Massa conjunctionem, id est, ut velocitas & cubus diametri; resistentia (per Hypothesin) erit ut quadratum diametri & quadratum velocitatis conjunctionem; & tempus (per hanc Propositionem) est in ratione priore directe & ratione posteriore inverse, id est, ut diameter directe & velocitas inverse; adeoque spatium (tempori & velocitati proportionale) est ut diameter.

Corol. 2. Si æquielocibus corporibus resistitur in ratione sesquialtera diametrorum: Globi homogenei quibuscunque cum velocitatibus moti, describendo spatia in sesquialtera ratione diametrorum, amittent partes motuum proportionales totis.

Corol. 3. Et universaliter, si æquielocibus corporibus resistitur in ratione dignitatis cuiuscunque diametrorum: spatia quibus Globi homogenei, quibuscunque cum velocitatibus moti, amittent partes motuum proportionales totis, erunt ut cubi diametrorum ad dignitatem illam applicati. Sunto diametri D & E: & si resistentiæ, ubi velocitates æquales ponuntur, sint ut D<sup>n</sup> & E<sup>n</sup>: spatia quibus Globi, quibuscunque cum velocitatibus moti, amittent partes motuum proportionales totis; erunt ut D<sup>3-n</sup> & E<sup>3-n</sup>. Igitur describendo spatia ipsis D<sup>3-n</sup> & E<sup>3-n</sup> proportionalia, retinebunt velocitates in eadem ratione ad invicem ac sub initio.

Corol. 4. Quod si Globi non sint homogenei, spatium a Globo densiore descriptum augeri debet in ratione densitatis. Motus enim, sub pari velocitate, major est in ratione densitatis, & tempus (per hanc propositionem) augetur in ratione motus directe, ac spatium descriptum in ratione temporis.

Corol.

LIBER SECUNDUS.

næ contenta est methodus nostræ de motu simplicibus. motu. agens. id de accelerati quosdam uniuersalibus. ex rati imaginariis rati simplicibus motu. Porro præter author nimis lectis ingenio motu descriptio. ostendit ut demum formæ hinc abiciat.

In cor. 1. ubi globi corporei in medio resistentis æque veloces sunt, æque partes veloces erunt in medio non resistentis, nam motus erunt æqualibus. totum per resistentiam momenta equalia, uel si globi inæqualibus fuerint. id æque veloces, ex momento ipsorum in medio non resistentis se mouent. hinc, ubi medium illis resistentis inueniunt, auferent. momenta proportionata hinc, et proportionata ad hæc æqualibus ferent, et si globi inæuales ferent, quosdam inueniunt in medio non resistentis; per hanc propositionem in medio resistentis, tardius mouebunt, id proportio velocitatis, et ad hæc erit eadem.

FIG. 3

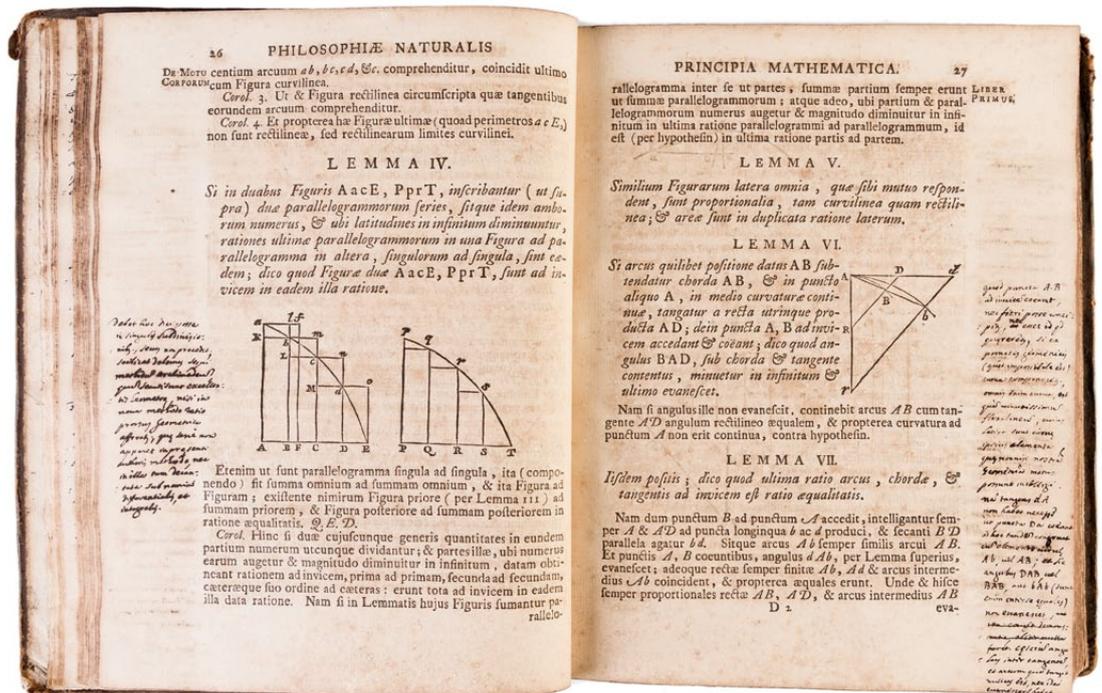


FIG. 4

**GIOVANNI BENDETTO CEVA (1647-1734)**

Ceva was the son of Carlo Francesco Ceva (1610-90), a businessman and collector of revenues for the Duke of Milan. Educated by the Jesuits at the Brera college in Milan, Ceva for a time followed in his father's commercial and administrative footsteps, but in 1670 he enrolled at the university of Pisa under Donato Rossetti (1633-1686), logician and supporter of atomic theories, and remained there for about four years. Resident in Mantua for many years Ceva was appointed as Auditor and Commissioner to Ferdinando Carlo Gonzaga, the Duke of Mantua and Montferrat, and in 1686 was appointed to the chair of mathematics at the University. Shortly after, he wrote to Lorenzo Magliabecchi in Florence about his interest and work on hydraulic engineering, stating that it would all be treated geometrically, with infallible proofs "fatte alla presenza di persone intelligente, e religiosa" (letter 28. X. 1685 quoted in Mercanti (2004) p. 43). It is clear that in 1685 he was already working on the *Geometria motus*, which was published in 1692, and of which he sent copies to Viviani and Magliabecchi.

Pietro Riccardi (*Biblioteca matematica italiana*, I, 342-343) lists ten works by Ceva published between 1678 and 1728. The last work, *Opus hydrostaticum*, 1728, contained reprints of a number of his tracts.

**Ceva's works were certainly known in England**; there were two in the Macclesfield library (see Sotheby's, *Library of the Earls of Macclesfield* part 2 (10 June, 2004) lot

51 (*De lineis rectis*, 1678) and *ibid.* part 5, lot 1415, no. 4 (*De re numaria quoad fieri potuit geometricæ tractate*, 1711), and **Newton himself owned Ceva's Italian work on hydraulic engineering**, published in Mantua in 1717 *Replica... in difesa delle sue dimostrazioni, e ragioni, per le quali non debbasi introdurre Reno in Po, contro la risposta datasi dal sign. Dottor Eustachio Manfredi* (now at Trinity; Harrison, *Library of Isaac Newton*, (1978) no. 364).

**A further work by Ceva of which no copy has ever been found** and for which there seems to be no material evidence, was advertised in *Giornale de' letterati* (1715), p. 459 as being in the press: *De mundi fabrica unico gravitatis principio innixa, deque fluminibus, quatenus eorum effectus a motu pendentes exhibentur, ac eorum decursus metiri licet*, to be dedicated to Philip Landgrave of Hesse and governor of Mantua. Mercanti (2004, p. 102-104) tells us that this "ghost" seems to have been conjured up in about 1800, and also that in the title the word "fluminibus" has been changed to "fluminibus". It may be that it was a work intended for publication, but never actually printed, possibly because of fears of trouble with the Church. Mercanti (p. 104 n. 200) refers to a letter from Grandi to Galiani (30.vi.1714) mentioning new decrees emanating from the Congregation of the Index, and stating that he preferred to keep to the Galileo line and affirm that the gravity is a constant force. **Might it be that this annotated copy of Newton may have served as something of a 'work in progress' towards De mundi fabrica, of which we have no trace?**

**THE ANNOTATIONS**

**There are approximately 160 annotations throughout the volume on 92 text leaves. The majority of the annotations are lengthy (rather than a single word or gloss) and amount to over 3000 words of manuscript text. A number of pages have the blank margins almost entirely filled with annotations. The text has been annotated throughout but with significant gaps, allowing us to see the particular sections that Ceva was interested in.**

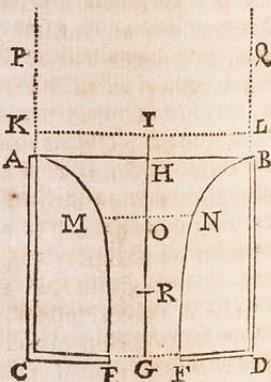
Six sections of the book have been particularly heavily annotated: the preface [fig.1], p.1-36 (the "Definitions" in which Newton explains the key technical terms used in the book [figs.2 & 4], p.47-52 (in which Newton discusses properties of motion in paths of eccentric conic-section form), p.222-225 (implications of resistance in proportion to the square of velocity [fig.3]), p.260-266 ( hydrostatics and the properties of compressible fluids) and p.299-321 (on the motion of fluids, and the resistance made to projected bodies [fig.5]).

Ceva's extensive annotations show how he drew on Newton's writing for his own shared scientific interests, but also clearly demonstrate that he vehemently disagreed with Newton on some points. He also draws comparisons between Newton and other scientists, such as Toricelli and Galileo. Ceva begins by carefully working

DE MOTU dem velocitatem acquirit in utroque casu, ut Galileus demon-  
CORPORUM stravit.

Cas. 3. Eadem est aquæ velocitas effluentis per foramen in latere vasis. Nam si foramen parvum sit, ut intervallum inter superfici-  
cies *AB* & *KL* quoad sensum evanescat, & vena aquæ horizon-  
taliter exilientis figuram Parabolicam efformet: ex latere recto  
hujus Parabolæ colligetur, quod velocitas aquæ effluentis ea sit  
quam corpus ab aquæ in vase stagnantis altitudine *HG* vel *IG* ca-  
dendo acquirere potuisset. Facto utique experimento inveni quod,  
si altitudo aquæ stagnantis supra foramen esset viginti digitorum &  
altitudo foraminis supra planum horizonti parallelum esset quoque  
viginti digitorum, vena aquæ profiliensis incidere in planum illud  
ad distantiam digitorum 37. circiter a perpendicularo quod in pla-  
num illud a foramine demittebatur captam. Nam sine resistentia  
vena incidere debuisset in planum illud ad distantiam digitorum 40,  
existente venæ Parabolicæ latere recto digitorum 80.

Cas. 4. Quinetiam aqua effluens, si sursum feratur, eadem egre-  
ditur cum velocitate. Ascendit enim aquæ exilientis vena parva  
motu perpendiculari ad aquæ in vase stagnantis altitudinem *GH*  
vel *GI*, nisi quatenus ascensus ejus ab aeris resistentia aliquantulum  
impediatur; ac proinde ea effluit cum velocitate quam ab altitudine  
illa cadendo acquirere potuisset. Aquæ  
stagnantis particula unaquæque undique  
premitur æqualiter, per Prop. XIX. Lib.  
II, & pressioni cedendo æquali impetu in  
omnes partes fertur, sive descendat per  
foramen in fundo vasis, sive horizontali-  
ter effluat per foramen in ejus latere, si-  
ve egrediatur in canalem & inde ascendat  
per foramen parvum in superiore canal-  
is parte factum. Et velocitatem qua aqua  
effluit, eam esse quam in hac Propositio-  
ne assignavimus, non solum ratione col-  
ligitur, sed etiam per experimenta no-  
tissima jam descripta manifestum est.



Cas. 5. Eadem est aquæ effluentis velocitas sive figura foraminis  
sit circularis sive quadrata vel triangularis aut alia quæcunque cir-  
culari æqualis. Nam velocitas aquæ effluentis non pendet a figura  
foraminis sed ab ejus altitudine infra planum *KL*.

Cas. 6. Si vasis *ABDC* pars inferior in aquam stagnantem im-  
mergatur,

*Ceperimentis aliquis  
parum oblationem  
ca eo quod existit  
foramen laterali,  
adipitur utrumque  
debet esse perpendi-  
culis, aut altitudo.  
Non in hanc rem  
parum insudavimus,  
invenientes demum  
momenta æquorum  
& foraminis, in la-  
teribus vasis factis,  
quæcumque per  
nial figuram habent,  
quæ tunc non erat  
ab alijs factis*

mergatur, & altitudo aquæ stagnantis supra fundum vasis sit *GR*:  
velocitas quæcum aqua quæ in vase est, effluet per foramen *EF*  
in aquam stagnantem, ea erit quam aqua cadendo & casu suo de-  
scribendo altitudinem *IR* acquirere potest. Nam pondus aquæ  
omnis in vase quæ inferior est superficie aquæ stagnantis, sustine-  
bitur in æquilibrio per pondus aquæ stagnantis, ideoque motum  
aquæ descendens in vase minime accelerabit. Patebit etiam &  
hic Casus per Experimenta, mensurando scilicet tempora quibus  
aqua effluit.

Corol. 1. Hinc si aquæ altitudo *CA* producat ad *K*, ut sit *AK*  
ad *CK* in duplicata ratione areæ foraminis in quavis fundi parte  
facti, ad aream circuli *AB*: velocitas aquæ effluentis æqualis erit  
velocitati quam aqua cadendo & casu suo describendo altitudinem  
*KC* acquirere potest.

Corol. 2. Et vis qua totus aquæ exilientis motus generari potest,  
æqualis est ponderi Cylindricæ columnæ aquæ cujus basis est fora-  
men *EF*, & altitudo  $2 GI$  vel  $2 CK$ . Nam aqua exiliens quo  
tempore hanc columnam æquat, pondere suo ab altitudine *GI*  
cadendo, velocitatem suam qua exilit, acquirere potest.

Corol. 3. Pondus aquæ totius in vase *ABDC*, est ad ponderis  
partem quæ in defluxum aquæ impenditur, ut summa circulorum  
*AB* & *EF*, ad duplum circulum *EF*. Sit enim *IO* media pro-  
portionalis inter *IH* & *IG*; & aqua per foramen *EF* egrediens,  
quo tempore gutta cadendo ab *I* describere posset altitudinem *IG*,  
æqualis erit Cylindro cujus basis est circulus *EF*, & altitudo est  
 $2 IG$ , id est, Cylindro cujus basis est circulus *AB* & altitudo est  
 $2 IO$ , nam circulus *EF* est ad circulum *AB* in subduplicata ratione  
altitudinis *IH* ad altitudinem *IG*, hoc est, in simplici ratione me-  
diæ proportionalis *IO* ad altitudinem *IG*: & quo tempore gutta  
cadendo ab *I* describere potest altitudinem *IH*, aqua egrediens  
æqualis erit Cylindro cujus basis est circulus *AB* & altitudo est  
 $2 IH$ : & quo tempore gutta cadendo ab *I* per *H* ad *G* describit  
altitudinum differentiam *HG*, aqua egrediens, id est, aqua tota in  
solido *ABNFEM* æqualis erit differentiæ Cylindrorum, id est,  
Cylindro cujus basis est *AB* & altitudo  $2 HO$ . Et propterea  
aqua tota in vase *ABDC* est ad aquam totam cadentem in  
solido *ABNFEM* ut  $HG$  ad  $2 HO$ , id est, ut  $HO + OG$   
ad  $2 HO$ , seu  $IH + IO$  ad  $2 IH$ . Sed pondus aquæ totius in fo-  
lido *ABNFEM* in aquæ defluxum impenditur: ac proinde pon-  
dus

Qq 2

*Debet subdici velo-  
citas compoſiti alti-  
tudinis IH -  
LIBER  
SECUNDUS.  
non est ita; sed ex  
velocitate, quæ com-  
poteſta altitudinis IG  
debet tanquam au-  
ferri ex velocitate, quæ  
exigebat altitudo GR,  
ipſumque experimentum  
ind, & auctor fecerit,  
de hac veritate certum  
in ſe ipſo factum eſt,  
et ſic de corol. 1. ad  
de tota velocitate ex  
capit. 6. & 16 +  
ſupponit demonſtra-  
tionem ſequente  
COR. 2.  
facilius ſic. ad  
gutta cadens ab I in  
G acquirat in G cum  
velocitate, cuius  
ſi mediæ cenſe cecidit  
effluens æquali-  
tate eandem altitu-  
dinem IG, ſequitur,  
quod & cylindrus  
foret duplicis alti-  
tudinis 1/2 cuius  
basi EF, motus  
æqualis per cantum  
altitudinis  
velocitate quæ eſt  
in G ſed ut ut  
cylindrus equalis foret  
ſolido aquæ ABFE  
in quo ad I  
quod tamen non ſolidum  
ut in ſe ipſo  
multi ſummiſſum, pro  
ultimus ſubdicitur ut  
velocitas EF, cuius  
cum velocitate.*

FIG. 5

through Roger Cotes's important Preface to the *Principia*, noting in the margin:

(*In translation*) "Analysis is a progression of calculus from both unknown and known facts leading to known quantities. Synthesis is in truth a regression from the known, or from given quantities to unknown ones, which then become known. From both of these processes arises the technique of algebra... **This is a truth which applies everywhere and further cannot be doubted**".

Of particular interest to us today is Ceva's criticism of Newton. In a long annotation concerning Newton's ideas about gravity he writes:

"That which the writer [Newton] falsely calls attractions, should be called mutual resistance of bodies which gravitate to each other, since all things on earth gravitate towards the centre of the universe. It should be known that a body insofar as it is further distant from the centre becomes thereby heavier, and from this come the equal weight of the smaller part with the larger, since otherwise according to the opinion of the writer [Newton] an equilibrium would not be made. **This is what Toricelli and Galileo both supposed in the motion of projectiles.** But this is something false which you evince from the very nature of gravity; for allowing that a body horizontal, it does not move uniformly, but gets weaker in the process, as the weight gets heavier" (B<sub>3</sub>recto).

Ceva continues, again contradicting Newton:

"We do not agree in the system of the world, and therefore we give up annotation. We have acted on no other different firm principle than gravity by virtue of which other things follow. The firmament, which is a fluid body drives the stars and planets and is itself born along by the most violent circulation of the primum mobile. Meanwhile the earth growing peaceful the regressions of the stars as they are more distant from the primum mobile, stand forth for a shorter time, because as there the firmament is thinner, it does not have that force within it of seizing those things which it has in the paragraph above as more solid or dense" (B<sub>3</sub>verso).

In certain passages, though, we see detailed and clear interaction between Newton's text and Ceva which powerfully illustrate the deep understanding between both scientists:

"The writer distinguishes force from gravity... and given that principle he follows Toricelli in the concept of the perseverance of motion, since motion generated by an external force, I do not stand against the proportions which force brings; but from that fallacious principle, as we have said above, reason dies. For motion caused by force continually wastes away so that in the end it dies. Nor do I see why the earth's atmosphere should reach as far as the moon, since the moon is carried round in the firmament, which does not pertain to the actual atmosphere of earth. + We do not disagree however that the concourses of the atmospheres of moon and earth are found in the revolutions of the moon round the earth, for it is in those that strong

perturbations at sea take place, and then it is necessary, as we shall state elsewhere that with the globes striving against each other that the moon and earth should by reason of a mechanical law approach each other, unless they had received more from their proper abysses." (B<sub>4</sub>verso).

In the most densely annotated section of the book (on the motion of fluids, and the resistance made to projected bodies) we see Ceva working closely through Newton's text and comparing it with his own work:

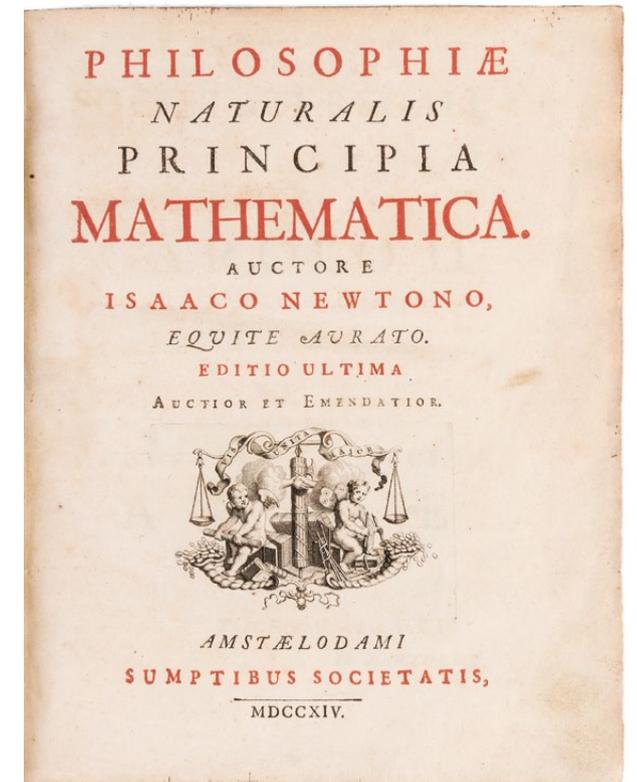
"We have discussed all of this more generally and more clearly and with every rigour in our book *Geometria motus* [Ceva's own work published in 1692, *see above*], we have produced these plane figures and this is the genesis of movement from which images of time come and from these forms we get images of velocity" (p.222).

But later in this section, Ceva's annotations note frustration at Newton and directly prove Elizabethanne Boran's thesis that the *Principia* was not designed to be "reader friendly":

"...nor is our method content to discuss the simple movements of the sun but discusses also acceleration in a universal manner... **but the author [Newton] bombards the reader with unusual definitions so that in the end the reader puts the book down tired**" (p. 223).

**Giovanni Ceva's copy of Newton's *Principia* is an important new discovery that provides detailed and extensive evidence of how difficult, controversial and fluid Newton's ground-breaking ideas were in his own time. The annotations are extensive and would warrant much further study and add greatly to a small pool of annotated copies of Newton's texts.**

**Later Provenance:** Lot 395 at Il Ponte, Milan, 22nd May 2017. The catalogue description mentioned the annotations but without identifying the name of the annotator or the significance. The book was granted an Italian export license in September 2017.



421  
 Alterations to the Pastoralls:  
 (The Solutions of the Queries are written by Mr. Walsh.)

Past. 1. lin. 1. First in these Fields I sing the Sylvan Strains,  
 Nor blush to sport on Windsor's peaceful Plains;  
 Fair Thames flows gently from thy sacred Spring,  
 While on thy Banks Sicilian Muses sing.

Objection. That the Letter is hunted too much - Sing the Sylvan - Peaceful Plains -  
 and that the word Sing is used two lines after, Sicilian Muses sing.

Alteration. First in these Fields I try the Sylvan Strains,  
 Nor blush to sport on Windsor's happy Plains. &c.

Quere. ~~If~~ Try be not proper in relation to First; as, we first attempt a thing;  
 and more modest? and if Happy be not more than Peaceful?  
 Try is better than sing - Happy does not sound right, - first by itself being  
 short, perhaps you may find a better word than Peaceful or Flowy

---

Past. 1. lin. 2? I mistake my Lamb that near the Fountain plays,  
 And his own Image from the Brink surveys.  
 O, And from the Brink his dancing Shade surveys.

Quere. Which of these 2 lines is better? The 1<sup>st</sup> line

---

Past. 1. lin. 43. Me lovely Chloris beckons from the Plain,  
 Then hides in Shades from her deluded Swain;  
 But feigns a Laugh to see me search around,  
 And by that Laugh the willing Fair is found.

Objection. That hides without the Accusative herself is not good English, and  
 that from her deluded Swain is needless.

Alteration. Me wanton Chloris beckons from the Plain,  
 Then hid in Shades, eludes her eager Swain; &c.

Quere. If wanton be more significant than lovely: If eludes be proper in this  
 case than deluded: If eager be an expressive epithet to the Swain who  
 searches for his mistress? - Wanton apply to a woman is cognate  
 therefore not proper - Hide is proper than delude. Eager is very well  
 Past.

FIG. 1

**"FROM THE SLACK AND DULL TO THE PRECISE AND LIVELY":  
 A WORKING MANUSCRIPT OF POPE'S FIRST PUBLISHED POEM**

**6** POPE (Alexander),  
 annotated by WALSH (William).

**Alterations to the Pastoralls:** (The Solutions of the Queries are written  
 by Mr. Walsh).

c.1706

£30,000

Small 4to (184 x 150mm). 4pp. Neatly folded across the centre (some pin holes along  
 the fold), recto of first leaf a little dusty, original stab-stitching holes in the inner  
 margins. Preserved in a custom-made folder and slip case, lettered in gilt on the  
 slipcase.

**A famous and important manuscript: Pope's own corrections to his Pastorals with  
 additional alterations by his most trusted literary mentor - "the Muse's Judge  
 and Friend" - William Walsh (1662-1708). A fascinating insight into the birth  
 and evolution of Pope as a poet and the shaping of his talent by Walsh. With  
 a highly distinguished provenance, having belonged to Pope's friend Jonathan  
 Richardson the Younger and later passing through five famous collections of  
 English literature: Chew-Bemis-Houghton-Garden-Davids.**

*Pastorals*, written by Alexander Pope c. 1704-6 when he was still a teenager,  
 would eventually herald his arrival as a poet and make him an instant celebrity. The  
 journey to print was long and frustrating for Pope and began with the wide circula-  
 tion of the manuscript amongst many of the new literary figures he had met on his  
 arrival in London. Pope wrote a note on the completed manuscript of the poem  
 that it had, "past thro ye hands of Mr Walsh, Mr Congreve, Mr Mainwaring, Dr.  
 Garth, Mr Granville, Mr Southern, Sr H. Sheers, Sr W. Trumbull, Ld Halifax, Ld  
 Wharton, Marq. of Dorchestr, D. of Bucks. &c...the Alterations from this Copy  
 were upon ye Objections of some of these, or my own". It was on the advice - "**espe-  
 cially of Walsh**" (ODNB) - that Pope made significant changes to many lines of  
 verse. *Pastorals* was eventually first printed in the sixth volume of Tonson's *Poetical  
 Miscellanies* in 1709.

The manuscript comprises of approximately 120 lines of poetry in Pope's  
 hand alongside 25 additional annotations by both Pope and Walsh which **correct,**

Past. 1. lin. 57. If Sylvia smile, she brightens all the Shore,  
The Sun's outshin'd, and Nature charms no more.

Whether to say the Sun is outshin'd, <sup>is</sup> too bold & Hyperbolic? (For Poetical  
any of <sup>is</sup> in <sup>the</sup> <sup>effect</sup> <sup>of</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>metaphor</sup>)  
Quere. If it should be soften'd with seems; Do you approve, <sup>the</sup> <sup>effect</sup> <sup>of</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>metaphor</sup>

Quere which of these three? { or, If Sylvia smile, she brightens all the Shore,  
All Nature seems outshin'd, and charms no more.  
Or, Light seems outshin'd, and Nature charms no more.  
Or, And vanquish'd Nature seems to shine no more.  
The last of these I like best

Past. 1. lin. 84. May tell me first what Region canst thou find,  
In which by Thistles Lillies are outshin'd?

Or, May tell me first in what more happy Fields  
The Thistle Springs to which the Lilly yields? <sup>\* This epithet refers to something going before.</sup>

Quere. Which of these Couplets are better express'd and better Numbers? and whether it's better here to use Thistle or Thistles, Lilly or Lillies, Singular or Plural? (Alluding to ye Arms of Scotland or France)  
The second Couplet is best; singular, I think better than Plural

Past. 2. lin. 1. A Shepherd's Boy (he seeks no better Name)  
Led forth his Flocks along the silver Thame.

Objection. against the Parenthesis (he seeks no better name)

Quere. Would it be any thing better to say (his Love that humble Name) or (his

A Shepherd's Boy (who sung for Love, not Fame)

Or, A Shepherd's Boy, who fed an Amorous Flame,

Led forth his Flocks along the silver Thame.

Quere which of all these is best, or are none of them good?

The first is Spenser way, & I think better than the others.

Past. 2. lin. 7. Relenting Naiads wept in ev'ry Bow'r,  
And Love consented in a silent Shaw'r.

Objection. That the Naiads weeping in Bow'rs is not so proper being Water Nymphs.  
and that the word consented is doubted by some to whom I have shewn these verses.

Alteration

Alteration. The Naiads wept in ev'ry watry Bow'r,  
And Love relented in a silent Shaw'r.

Quere. Which of these Couplets you like best? — The first upon second thought I think the second is best.

Past. 2. lin. 35. Of slender Reeds a tuneful Flute I have,  
The tuneful Flute which Dying Colin gave.

Objection. That the first line is too much transposed from the natural order of ye words: and that the Rhyme is unharmonious.

Alteration. That Flute is mine which Colin's tuneful Breath  
Inspird when living, and bequeath'd in Death.

Quere. Which of these is best? — The second

Past. 2. lin. 41. Some pitying God permit me to be made  
The Bird that sings beneath thy myrtle Shade:  
Then might my Voice thy listening Ears employ,  
& I those Kisses he receives, enjoy.

Or, Oh, were I made by some transforming Pow'r  
The Captive Bird that sings within thy Bow'r! Then might — &c.

The epithet Captive seems necessary to explain the Thought, on account of those Kisses in ye last line. Quere. If these be better than the other? — The second are best, for he's enough to permit ye to be made, but to make ye

Past. 2. lin. 67. Oh design to grace our happy rural Seats,  
Our mossy Fountains, and our green Retreats:  
While you y<sup>r</sup> Presence to the Groves deny,  
Our flowers are faded, and our Brooks are dry;  
Tho' withering Herbs lay dying on the Plain,  
At y<sup>r</sup> Return they shall be green again.

Or, Oh design to grace our happy Rural Seats,  
Our mossy Fountains, & our green Retreats:

\* Winds, where you walk, shall gently fan the Glade,

Trees, where you sit, shall crowd into a Shade,

\* Flowers, where you tread, in painted Pride shall rise,

And all things flourish where you turn your Eyes!

Quere. Which of these you like better?

The second, with the alteration on y<sup>r</sup> side

\* Or, Where'er you walk,  
Fresh Gales shall fan y<sup>e</sup>  
glade;

\* Or, Where'er you tread, the  
purple flowers shall  
rise,

**improve and amplify the text and show the working relationship between both men.** The sections are divided by ruled ink lines and include five excerpts from the first pastoral, five from the second, one from the third and three from the fourth. Pope provides his first "draft" of a particular section of the poem, then lists his "objection", provides a "quere" for Walsh and then Walsh suggests his own ideas and criticism beneath this. The first page of the manuscript [fig. 1] gives a good sense of the rest and illustrates how Pope's pastorals were very much a work-in-progress at this point:

The manuscript begins with Pope copying out the opening lines:

"First in these Fields I sing the Sylvan Strains, / Nor blush to sport on Windsor's peaceful Plains; / Fair Thames flow gently from thy sacred Spring, While on thy Banks Sicilian Muses sing". Pope then begins a new line and provides his "objection" to the passage above highlighting how the young poet is still grappling with the finished text: "That the Letter is hunted too much - Sing the Sylvan - Peaceful Plains - and that the word Sing is us'd two lines after, Sicilian Muses sing". Beneath this he then suggests his "alteration": "First in these Fields I try the Sylvan Strains, Nor blush to sport on Windsor's happy Plains, etc. Pope then writes his "quere" or question to Walsh concerning the lines above: "If Try be not proper in relation to First; as, we first attempt a thing; and more modest? and if Happy be not more than Peaceful?" Beneath this, in Walsh's own hand, he responds to Pope's queries and offers his own suggestions: "Try is better than sing - Happy does not sound right, the first Syllable being short; perhaps you may find a better word than peaceful, as Flowry". In the final version of the poem, Pope chose to use "blissful" rather than "peaceful".

"Walsh's main literary importance is as Alexander Pope's mentor. He saw manuscripts of some of Pope's pastorals, forwarded by their common friend Wycherley, perhaps as early as 1705; certainly he wrote very encouragingly to Pope in the following year; and in August 1707, when Pope visited him at Abberley, he famously advised the young poet to make correctness his study and aim. Walsh commented upon and corrected Pope's pastorals, and Pope appropriated some of his critical ideas for his "Discourse on pastoral poetry". Walsh may also have seen an early draft of the *Essay on Criticism*, a poem that seems to have been conceived under his influence and concludes with high praise of Walsh as 'the Muse's Judge and Friend' (ODNB).

The complete manuscript of the *Pastorals* (37pp) is written in Pope's distinctive typographic hand, "so perfectly beautiful, and so exactly imitated, that one can hardly believe they are not really from the press" (Jonathan Richardson). The complete manuscript was offered at Christie's New York in December 2015 (from the library of John Davidson of Chicago) where it was unsold with an estimate of \$300,000 to \$500,000. The complete manuscript and the present "alterations" had for many years been together - both were apparently given by Pope to his friend, Jonathan Richardson - until they were separated after the sale of the Garden Ltd at

Past. 4. lin. 5. Now in warm folds the tender Flock remains,  
The Cattle shumber on the silent Plains,  
While sleeping Birds forget their benefal lays,  
Let us, dear Thyrsis, sing in <sup>thy</sup> Delia's Praise.

Objction to the word remains:  
I do not know whether these following be better or no, & desire yr opinion.

Now while the Groves in Cynthia's Beams are drest,  
And folded Flocks on their soft Fleeces rest;  
While sleeping Birds —

Or, while Cynthia tips with silver all the Groves; <sup>10<sup>th</sup></sup> while the bright moon w<sup>th</sup> silver tips yr eye  
And scarce the Winds the topmost Branches move; &c. I think yr first best but might still  
<sup>not a phrase</sup> <sup>quining</sup> <sup>more</sup> <sup>even yr own mind</sup>

---

Past. 4. lin. 29. 'Tis done, and Nature's chang'd since you are gone,  
Behold the clouds have put their Mourning on.

Or, 'Tis done, and Nature's various Charms decay,  
See sable Clouds eclipse the cheerful Day.

Quere, which of these is the better? — Clouds put on mourning is too conceited  
for Pastoral. the second is better & the  
third in the dark I like better than sable

---

Past. 4. lin. 39. No rich Perfumes refresh the fruitful Field,  
which, but for you, did all its Incense yield.

Quere, will the second line be better'd by being alter'd thus?  
No rich Perfumes refresh the fruitful field,  
Nor fragrant Herbs their native Incense yield.  
The second is better

---

Past. 3. lin. 90. Thus sung the Swains, while Day yet strove with Night,  
And Heaven yet languish'd with departing light;  
When falling Dew with Spangles deck'd the Glade,  
And the low Sun had lengthen'd every Shade.

Objction. That to mention the Sunsett after Twilight (Day yet strove w<sup>th</sup> Night) is  
improper, Is the following Alteration any thing better?  
Thus sung the Swains while Day yet strove w<sup>th</sup> Night,  
The Sky still blushing w<sup>th</sup> departing light;  
When falling Dew with Spangles deck'd the Glade,  
And the brown Evening lengthen'd every Shade.

By not yr showing the 1<sup>st</sup> yr Sun being low yr lengthen'd yr Shade. otherwise yr second  
phrase is best.

Sotheby's in 1989. Both lots were purchased by Quaritch - the complete manuscript was offered in Quaritch catalogue 1120 *English Books & Manuscripts* (no.88 \$175,000) and the "alterations" sold to the English manuscript collector, Roy Davids.

**It is hard to imagine a literary manuscript which better highlights the potent emerging talent of a young writer who would go on to be the greatest poet of his generation and one of the greatest poets in the English language. Very rarely does one see the actual working practice of a writer as their work evolves.**

**Provenance:** 1. Jonathan Richardson, the Younger (1694-1771), portrait painter and writer. Thought to have been given by Pope to Richardson and still in the Richardson family collection in 1871 (according to Elwin in the *Works*). 2. Beverley Chew (1850-1924), green leather and gilt book label on the folding case, sold at the sale of the Chew Library at Anderson, New York, 8th December 1924, lot 309 \$2000 (clipped description retained with the manuscript). 3. Frank Brewer Bemis (1861-1935), large pictorial bookplate on the folding case, apparently sold by Bemis's executors through A.S.W. Rosenbach to. 4. Arthur A. Houghton Jr (1906-90), black leather and gilt label on the folding case. Sold at the Houghton sale, 11-12th June 1980, lot 380 £4500 to John Fleming. 5. The Collection of The Garden Ltd [Haven O'More], sold at Sotheby's Nov 9th 1989, lot 138 \$17,000 to Bernard Quaritch. Later in the collection of Roy Davids and sold at Bonhams, June 24th 2015 (lot 41).

*"I AM AMUSED AT SEEING THE DIFFERENT CHARACTERS  
THAT ARE ASCRIBED TO ME..."*

**7** [RICH (Obadiah)],  
annotated by TOCQUEVILLE (Alexis de).

**Vindiciae Americanae.** Letter to The Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, Bart., MP in Refutation of the Calumnious Attacks on America and her Citizens, contained in his Speech, delivered at the "Glasgow Peel Banquet", on the 13th January, 1837. By a Citizen of the United States of North America. London: James Ridgway & Sons., and [Obadiah] Rich, Red Lion Square, 1837 **£12,000**

*First edition. 8vo (220 x 138mm). 27, [1]pp. A few minor spots in places but otherwise fine, pencil annotations throughout. Stitched as issued, presentation inscription to upper wrapper (wrappers a little foxed, stitching partly broken).*

Sabin, 99832. OCLC records copies at **Newberry, Chicago, Harvard, National Library of Scotland, Cambridge** and **National Library of Wales.**

**An angry response to Sir Robert Peel's attack on the American political system which uses Tocqueville's words to advance Peel's argument. Tocqueville's own carefully read and annotated copy.**

On the 13th January 1837 Sir Robert Peel made a speech at the Glasgow Peel Banquet in which he asked the audience, "whether the state of Society in America be preferable to our own?" (to which the audience responded with "cries of no"). The printed account of the speech then notes that Peel read, "some quotations from the work of M. de Tocqueville, illustrative of the working of the American system, and showing most conclusively that the effect of the domination of the tyrant majority in that country was to prevent the minority from exercising and enjoying perfect liberty of opinion" (p.18). Peel's speech was published by John Murray as *A Correct Report of Sir Robert Peel's Speeches at Glasgow* (1837), but even before publication it was already a controversial subject.

The present pamphlet is an anonymous response (thought to be by Obadiah Rich, who is named in the imprint) to Peel's speech signed only from "A Citizen of the United states of North America" and addressed from the North American

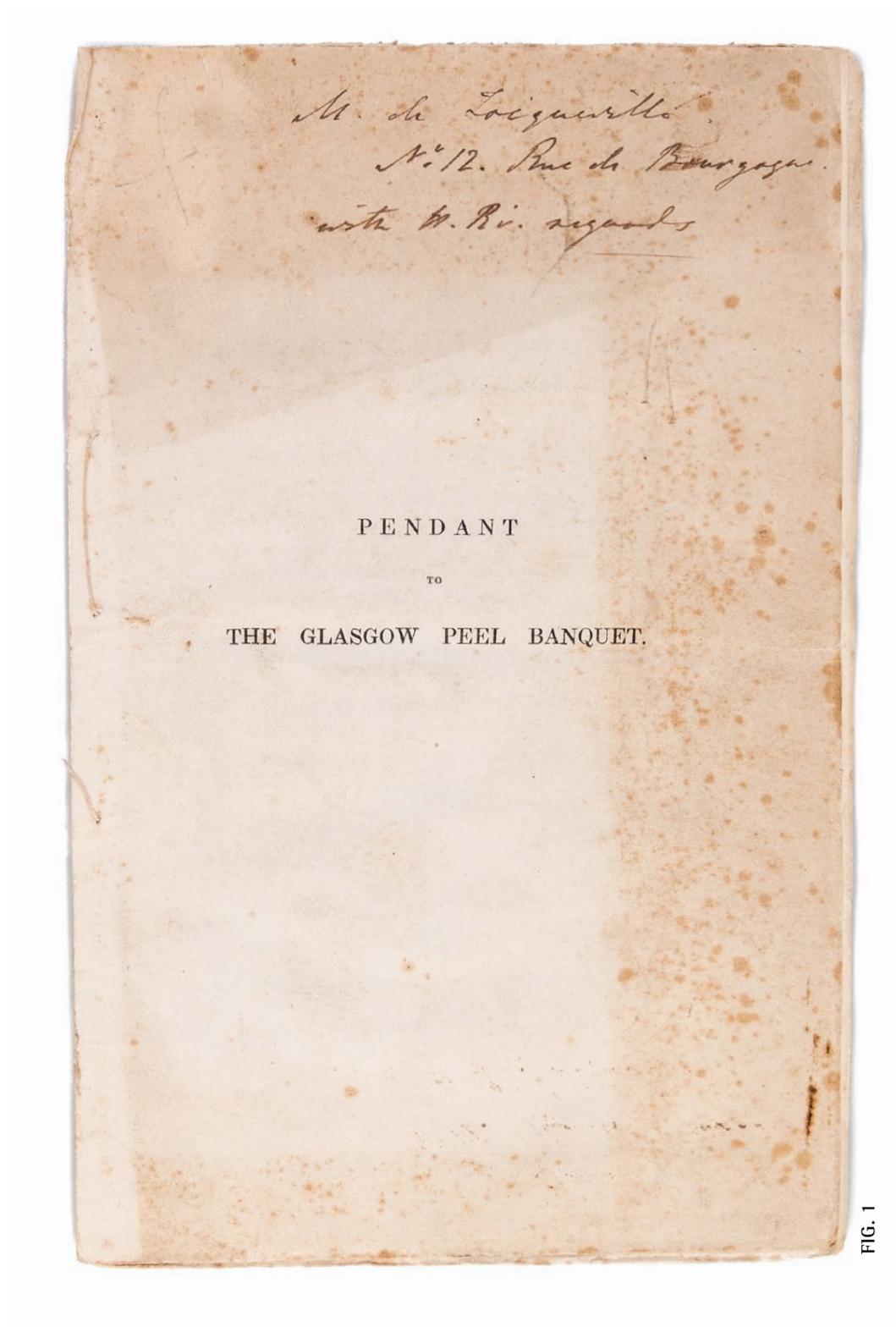


FIG. 1

Coffee House, Throgmorton Street, London, February, 1837. The author primarily objects to the way in which Peel uses Tocqueville's words to advance his own arguments in favour of the British political system over the American, writing: "...on the subject of the political principles of M. de Tocqueville, who is, however, as you are well aware, completely imbued with aristocratical prejudices, I would ask you, who claim to have read his work, whether the jumble of quotations you have given in support of your own assertions, is not a gross attempt at imposture and deception?". He goes on, "I ask you whether M. de Tocqueville does not give substantive instances showing the exercise in America of the despotic domination of this your feared and hated "tyrant majority"? He does, and you know he does..." (p.10).

**This copy was owned and annotated by Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-1859).** The presentation inscription reads: "M. de Tocqueville No. 12 Rue de Bourgogne with H.R's regards" [fig.1]. It was probably a gift from Henry Reeve, translator of Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*, which first appeared in 1836, just a year before this publication. Tocqueville clearly read this pamphlet closely and made over 140 pencil annotations in the margins. Tocqueville denotes an English word in the text with a small "+" and provides the French translation for the word in the margin, in his own hand.

Tocqueville appears to acknowledge receipt of the pamphlet in a letter to Reeve, dated March 22, 1837, and is clearly pleased and - having been subject to attack by both parties - bemused to have it: "Before your letter came **I received the speech of Sir Robert Peel and the pamphlet by an American citizen.** I do not know if I am indebted to you for them. I should be much obliged if you would always let me see any publications of this description, if more should appear. Besides being seriously interested by the opinions which other people take the trouble of forming on me, **I am amused at seeing the different characters that are ascribed to me according to the political views of the critic. I like to put them together as a series of portraits. Hitherto I have not found one that exactly represents the original.**"

The author, possibly the American diplomat and emigre Obadiah Rich, primarily objects to the way in which Peel selectively uses Tocqueville's words to advance his own arguments in favour of the British system over the American one. The author takes special exception to what he believes to be the misuse of Tocqueville's famous phrase "the tyranny of the majority." Obadiah Rich came to London in 1829 and setup as a bookseller and bibliographer of Americana being agent for Harvard and the Library of Congress.

The interpretation and the uses and misuses of Tocqueville's words was a much debated subject. In the *Edinburgh Review* in October 1840, John Stuart Mill noted that Tocqueville's famous phrase "the tyranny of the majority" had been "adopted into the Conservative dialect, and trumpeted by Sir Robert Peel...when, as booksellers'

irritated; I should almost say that they felt a repugnance, to the *first* grand step made towards the introduction of the democratic principle into the Government of Great Britain: I mean the emancipation of the Roman Catholic inhabitants of your country; the restoration of a third of the inhabitants of the British Islands to political liberty and privilege. But it was not the democratic tendency of the holy and just measure of Catholic Emancipation which caused that revulsion of honorable feeling in the minds of many of my countrymen—no, it was the conduct of *the man* by whom that measure was advocated, and carried through the British Commons House of Parliament, which irritated and provoked the “finer feelings” of my more refined and educated countrymen. They felt that by your conduct in that measure, all honorable confidence between man and man became chilled; that you had generated a suspicion of the treachery, a distrust of the integrity of public men, most hurtful to the well-being of good government. This was their sole ground of dissatisfaction with the glorious measure of “Catholic Emancipation,” or, as it may be called, the initiatory step towards democratic improvement in the government of your country.

Leaving, however, this portion of your speech, in which you have impressed American citizens as witnesses to the unimprovable *excellencies* of your boasted British Constitution, I come to that portion of your long oration where you cite a talented but prejudiced foreigner as an impartial witness to the *vices* of our American democracy.

grad

said soon

place

longer  
+ nichol  
+ danger  
+ subject

amelioration  
project

his former  
want

former

Here, after descanting on what you are pleased to style “the domination of the tyrant majority” in America, you state that you do not desire any one to take your opinions on the subject of the tyranny exercised by the majority in America, on your assertion alone, but you refer them to the testimony of a distinguished French writer (M. de Tocqueville), who has made the condition of the North American Republic the subject of his study and his pen. Here I again quote from your own words, addressed to the aristocrats of Glasgow; they are as follow: “Read what he (M. de Tocqueville) says: he is an advocate of popular principles in a most extended sense; his feelings are altogether with the present dynasty of France, as compared with the former; his testimony, as well from actual personal experience as on account of freedom from prejudice, is above exception; and this is the account he gives of the results produced by Republican institutions in the United States. ‘I know no country’ (says M. de T.) ‘in which there is so little true independence of mind, and freedom of discussion, as in America. In America, the majority raises very formidable barriers to the liberty of opinion. Within these barriers, an author may write whatever he pleases; but he will repent it, if he ever steps beyond them. In democratic States, organized on the principle of the American Republic, the authority of the majority is so absolute, so irresistible, that a man must give up his rights as a citizen, and almost abjure his

Admiral

entirement

his former

VINDICLÆ AMERICANÆ.

LETTER

TO

THE RIGHT HON. SIR ROBERT PEEL, BART., M.P.

IN REPUTATION OF THE

CALUMNIOUS ATTACKS ON AMERICA

AND HER CITIZENS,

CONTAINED

In his Speech, delivered at the "GLASGOW PEEL BANQUET,"  
on the 13th January, 1837.

BY A

CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA.

"All was false and hollow, though his tongue  
Dropt manna, and could make the worse appear  
The better reason."

LONDON:

JAMES RIDGWAY & SONS, 169, PICCADILLY;  
AND  
RICH, RED LION SQUARE.

MDCCCXXXVII.

In what particular, then, is this despotism of the American majority displayed? Simply in the choice of Legislators and Governors. Parties who, like you, profess to be opposed to the principle of the rule of the majority, need not continue in, or repair to the United States in the hope of political advancement: nor can they hope to obtain there the reward of public approbation.

In England and in France, where political power is dependant on the voice of a privileged and enfranchised minority, the unsuccessful aspirant to political eminence—the advocate of the rights of the democracy, has, at least, the reward of public approbation—the approbation of that majority whose cause he has advocated. In America, the advocate "of the rule of the minority," is excluded from Political power, and cannot look for public approbation—the approbation of that majority whose rights he has

"England upwards of a century ago; it was rejected with loathing and disgust. It was recently tried in France, and filled the country with slaughter, convulsions, and scaffolds, until it was hated and abolished. It is now on its trial in America, but every truly wise man condemns it, every good man abhors it, and every brave man would willingly draw his sword against it." The prevailing judge gave it as his opinion, that the constitutional law, and articles of our Union, give entire liberty to every citizen, to declare and maintain, by speech, writing, and printing, his opinions on the subject of law and government, and that such expression was only punishable when followed by overt acts; and the jury found accordingly. I put this in a note, as I wish to convict our libeller by his own witness.

attacked. It is these opposite effects, which have excited the prejudice of M. de Tocqueville.

The quotation you make in proof of your asserted tyranny of the majority, from Jefferson, the most illustrious advocate of democratic principles which America has ever produced, is as unfair as those you make from M. de T. When that enlightened American patriot expressed his alarm as to the dangers from the tyranny of the American legislators (the majority) he expressly limits the danger to the first years of the republic. The fears expressed by Mr. Jefferson, can now only occasion a smile: experience has demonstrated their futility. You had not the candour, like M. de Tocqueville, to tell your Glasgow auditory that the quotation you gave from Mr. Jefferson was half a century old, being expressed in a letter to Mr. Maddison, shortly after the accomplishment of the American Revolution, when democracy was in its infancy, and when the full force of its leading principle, "the rule of the majority," was not generally admitted; but was, on the contrary, controverted by many American statesmen.

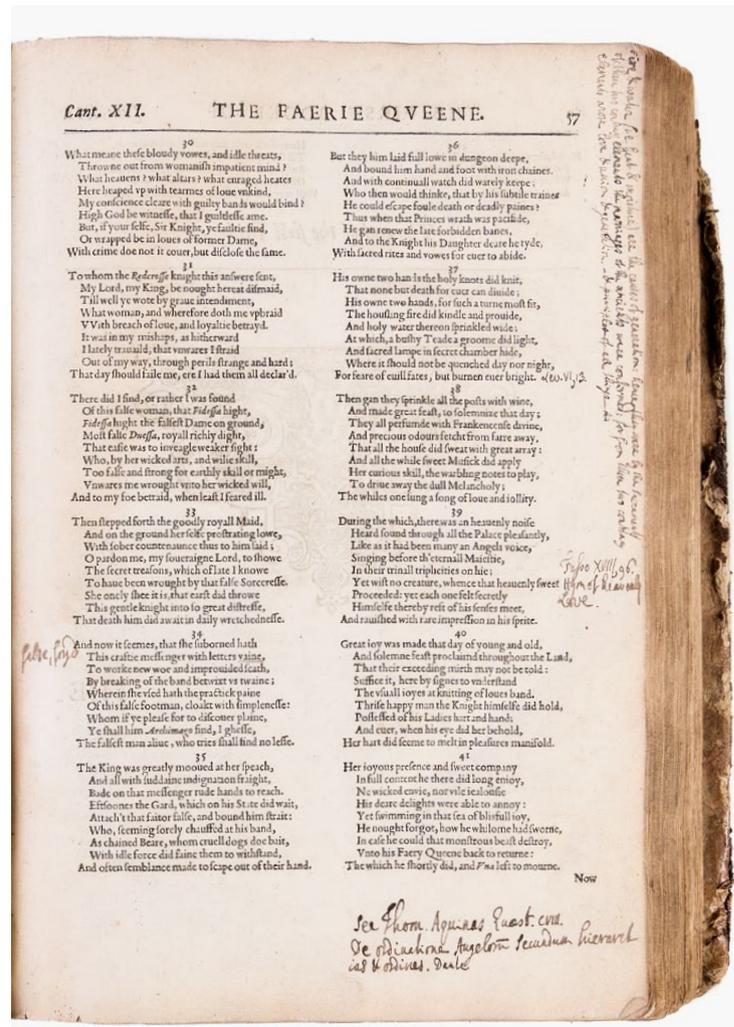
America had then only obtained, by battle and victory, her Reform bill; but, as in the case of Britain, much remained to be accomplished, and many prejudices required to be subdued, before the principles established by her successful and glorious revolution could be carried into effect.

During the period of fifty years, which has elapsed since Mr. Jefferson expressed the sentiments quoted in your speech, the American Republic has regularly

advertisements have since frequently reminded us, he 'earnestly requested the perusal' of the book by all and each of his audience. And we believe it has since been the opinion of the country gentlemen that M. de Tocqueville is one of the pillars of Conservatism, and his book a definitive demolition of America and Democracy" ("M. De Tocqueville on Democracy in America", published in John Stuart Mill *Dissertations and Discussions*, London, 1859, p.3). Booksellers did in fact use Peel's words to sell Tocqueville's books, with an advert for "Saunders and Otley, Conduit Street, Hanover-square" in *The Morning Post* for January 20th 1837 offering "M. de Tocqueville's New Work - Second Edition - in 2vols. 8vo" with a quotation from Peel's speech ending "Read what he says".

**Provenance:** Jacob Peter Mayer (1903-1992), academic, editor of the Gallimard edition of Tocqueville's works and founder of the De Tocqueville Institute at the University of Reading. His collection was dispersed at Bonhams in 2015 and included a presentation copy of John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* to Tocqueville (£115,500 incl premium). The present pamphlet was part of a lot with several other items, but only the present one had annotations by Tocqueville (11th November 2015 lot 265).





STC 23083.3. Pforzheimer 972. "Having a number of unsold copies of the 1609 *Faerie Queene* still on his hands, he [Matthew Lownes] determined to use those copies by including them in the collected edition in lieu of a 1611 reprint of the same. In order to effect this end he printed the general-title and the dedicatory leaf on a single sheet, unsigned, and so was enabled thus to make-up copies of a collected edition by cancelling the title of the 1609 edition and substituting the new general-title and dedicatory leaf and adding a 1611 edition of the remaining parts." (Pforzheimer).

**An important copy of the first collected edition of Spenser's poetry with almost 900 manuscript annotations by the celebrated 18th-century editor and critic John Upton. This "working copy" of the 1611 Folio was extensively used and cited by Upton in his 1758 edition of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. This is the only 17th-century**

edition of Spenser known to contain Upton's annotations and complements his annotated copy of the 1753 printing of his edited text of *The Faerie Queene*, in the Beinecke Library, his own copy of his complete 1758 edition with added notes and corrections made after publication, perhaps for a second edition, in the British Library and his annotated copy of Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1738) also now in the Beinecke Library.

**This volume is the only source for Upton's notes on Spenser's minor poems including the Shepherd's Calendar and Colin Clouts.**

In January 1759 J. and R. Tonson published in 2 volumes quarto an edition of Spenser's "Faerie Queene" edited by the Rev. John Upton (1707-1760), Prebendary of Rochester and Rector of Great Rissington, Gloucestershire. Although the titles are dated 1758 it was advertised as "just printed" on 1 January 1759 (*Gazeteer and London Daily Advertiser*) and "this day printed" on 11 January (*Whitehall Evening Post*). The edited text of the poem had been set and printed as early as 1753, though the notes, which comprise the second half of Vol. 2 and the prefatory matter were only printed in 1758.

Although the text of the edition of Spenser's *Works* edited by John Hughes (6 vols, 12mo, 1715; reprinted 1750 and, slightly re-edited 1758) is considered the "first attempt at a critical edition, one that makes use of the earlier printings as opposed to the later ones" (<http://spenserians.cath.vt.edu/TextRecord.php?textid=33896>) his attempts at modernizing many of Spenser's spellings were unfortunate and did not last. The text of the 1751 edition with its handsome engraved plates designed by William Kent and a life of Spenser by Thomas Birch was based, as the title claims, on "an exact Collation of the two Original Editions published by himself at London in Quarto" but contains no notes or variant readings. Upton's text was also collated with the folio editions of 1609, 1611, and 1617 and was the first to include extensive notes, not only of variant readings but also on Spenser's sources, allegories, and historical allusions, etc. Upton's lauded edition of Spenser relied on his deep interest in classical and Biblical allusion and Elizabethan history (though his knowledge of early English romances was inadequate in Thomas Warton's opinion).

By coincidence, a few days later on 22 January 1759, another critical edition of *The Faerie Queene* in 4 vols. by the Rev. Ralph Church (1707/8-87) of Christ Church, Oxford, was published by William Faden. Church used the same editorial methods, as established by Lewis Theobald for Shakespeare, as Upton and provided many variant readings from the earlier editions and some critical comments in his footnotes and, while he also reverted to Spenser's original spellings, he substantially changed the punctuation which he considered compositors' errors.

David Hill Radcliffe, in *Edmund Spenser, a Reception History* (1996), stated that: "Upton attempted to establish an accurate text along the lines of contemporary

The Authors Intention.

the other in his *Odysseis*: then *Virgil*, whose like intention was to doe in the person of *Aeneas*: after him *Ariosto* comprised them both in his *Orlando*: and lately *Tasso* disseuered them againe, and formed both parts in two persons, namely, that part which they in Philosophy call *Ethice*, or vertues of a priuate man, coloured in his *Rinaldo*: The other named *Politice* in his *Godfredo*. By ensample of which excellent Poets, I labour to pourtraict in *Arthure*, before he was King, the image of a braue Knight, perfected in the twelue priuate morall vertues, as *Aristotle* hath deuised, the which is the purpose of these first twelue bookes: which if I find to be well accepted, I may be perhaps encouraged, to frame the other part of politike vertues in his person, after that he came to bee King.

To some I knowe this method will seeme displeasent, which had rather haue good discipline deliuered plainly in way of precepts, or sermoned at large, as they vse, then thus clowdily enwrapped in Allegoricall deuises. But such, mee seeme, should be satisfied with the vse of these dayes, seeing all things accounted by their showes, and nothing esteemed of, that is not delightfull and pleasing to common sense. For this cause is *Xenophon* preferred before *Plato*, for that the one in the exquisite depth of his iudgement, formed a Common-wealth such as it should be; but the other, in the person of *Cyrus* and the *Persians*, fashioned a gouernment such as might best be: So much more profitable and gracious is doctrine by ensample, then by rule. So haue I laboured to doe in the person of *Arthure*: whom I conceiue, after his long education by *Timon* (to whom hee was by *Merlin* deliuered to be brought vp, so soone as hee was borne of the Lady *Igrayne*) to haue seene in a dreame or vision the *Faerie Queene*, with whose excellent beautie rauished, hee awaking, resolued to seeke her out: and so beeing by *Merlin* armed, and by *Timon* thoroughly instructed, he went to seek her forth in *Faery Land*. In that *Faery Queene*, I meane glory in my generall intention: but in my particular, I conceiue the most excellent and glorious person of our soueraigne the *Queene*, and her kingdome in *Faery Land*. And yet in some places else, I doe otherwise shadow her. For considering shee beareth two persons, the one of a most royall *Queene* or *Empresse*, the other of a most vertuous and beautifull *Lady*, this latter part in some places I doe expresse in *Belphebe*, fashioning her Name according to your owne excellent conceit of *Cynthia*, (*Phaebé* and *Cynthia* beeing both names of *Diana*.) So in the person of *Prince Arthure*, I sette foorth *Magnificence* in particular, which vertue, for that (according to *Aristotle* and the rest) it is the perfection of all the rest, and containeth in it them all, therefore in the whole course I mention the deedes of *Arthure* appliable to that vertue, which I write of in that Booke. But of the twelue other vertues, I make xii other Knights the Patrons, for the more varietie of the historie: Of which these three bookes containe three. The first, of the Knight of the *Redcrosse*, in who I expresse *Holinesse*: The second of *Sir Guyon*, in whom I set foorth

See B. 1. c. 9. sh. 3. bc.  
# 9. sh. 16. 13. bc.  
# compare B. 1. c. 9. sh. 15. & 13. 2. A. c. 8. sh. 20.  
see Subd. to B. 1. sh. 4. & 5.

erat inter principes Britannum Gorbis - ejus uerum Gorbis  
forma prodest Minus ad huc prout deperit. Rich. Rem. 1. p. 151.

The Authors Intention.

*Temperance*: The third of *Britomartis*, a Lady Knight, in whom I picture *Chastitie*. But because the beginning of the whole worke seemeth abrupt, and as depending vpon other antecedents, it needs that yee know the occasion of these three Knights severall adventures. For the methode of a Poet historicall, is not such as of an Historiographer. For an Historiographer discourseth of affaires orderly as they were done, accounting as well the times as the actions; but a Poet thrusteth into the midst, euen where it most concerneth him, and there recouring to the things forepast, and diuining of things to come, maketh a pleasing Analysis of all. The beginning therefore of my historie, if it were to be told by an Historiographer, should be the twelfth booke, which is the last; where I deuise that the *Faery*

B. 2. c. 2. sh. 42. 43.

Prince Arthur is said to have kept a pompous court at Camelot in his youth, who is celebrated with the name of the King of the Round Table. p. 62. with the same.

Queen kept her Annuall feast twelue daies: vpon which twelue severall dayes, the occasions of the twelue severall adventures hapned, which beeing vnder taken by twelue severall Knights, are in these twelue bookes severally handled and discoursed. The first was this: In the beginning of the feast, there presented himselfe a tall clownish young man, who falling before the *Queen of Faeries*, desired a boone (as the manner then was) which during that feast he might not refuse: which was, that hee might haue the archieument of any adventure, which during that feast should happen; that beeing granted, he rested himselfe on the floore, vsfit through his rusticitie for a better place. Soone after entred a faire Ladie in mourning weedes, riding on a white Ass, with a Dwarf behind her leading a warlike steed, that bore the armes of a Knight, and his speare in the Dwarfes hand. She falling before the *Queen of Faeries*, complayned that her father and mother, an ancient King & *Queene*, had been by an huge Dragon many yeeres shut vp in a brazen Castle, who thence suffered them not to issue: and therefore besought the *Faery Queene* to assigne her some one of her Knights to take on him that exploit. Presently that clownish person vpstarting, desired that adventure: whereat the *Queene* much wondering, and the *Lady* much gaine-saying, yet he earnestly importuned his desire. In the end, the *Lady* told him, vnlesse that *Armour* which shee brought, would serue him (that is, the armour of a Christian man specified by *Saint Paul*, v. *Ephel.*) that hee could not succeed in that enterprise: which beeing forth-with put vpon him with due furnitures therevnto, he seemed the goodliest man in all that company, and was well liked of the *Lady*. And eftsoones taking on him knighthood, & mounting on that strange Courser, hee went forth with her on that adventure: vwhere beginneth the first booke, viz.

See B. 2. c. 1. sh. 57. c. 2. sh. 42. 43.

A gentle Knight was pricking on the Plaine, &c.

The second day there came in a Palmer bearing an Infant with bloodie hands, whose Parents hee complained to haue been slaine by an Enchaunteresse called *Acrasia*: and therefore craued of the *Faery Queene*, to appoint him some Knight, to performe that adventure, which beeing assigned to

B. 2. c. 1. sh. 57. c. 2. sh. 42. 43.

This is after the Persian manner & magnificence. Once every year on the Kings Birthday they celebrate a most royal festival, during which the King is magnificently served & makes present to the Persians & according to the custom of Persia during the festival he grants every one their boon. This custom Herodotus mentions in his 10<sup>th</sup> book.  
+ no new adventure with the

work being done on Shakespeare. His edition is most remarkable for its copious notes, which differ from Wharton's *Observations* in emphasizing classical and biblical sources, and in their sustained attempt to trace the references in Spenser's poem to contemporary persons and events" (p.62).

Upton and Church's editions of Spenser remained the standard text for less than 50 years until Henry John Todd's 8-volume *variorum* edition of the *Works* published in 1805. In his preface Todd wrote: "Of the Faerie Queene two separate editions, by Mr. Upton and Mr. Church, appeared in 1758; in which the diligence and utility of collation, more especially by the latter of these gentlemen, are as obvious as they are important; in which the original orthography has been judiciously followed; in which, however, some few variations may be observed. It has therefore been a part of my business to compare and adjust the readings also of these editors. ... In late editions of the British poets, Spenser is unjustly presented in a piebald suit; for the Faerie Queene has been printed from the text of Upton, and the Miscellaneous Poems from the text of Hughes. ... A copy of Mr. Upton's text of the Faerie Queene, with his own manuscript remarks in the margins, has been also kindly entrusted to me by the reverend Mr. Dunster. But these remarks are merely intended as references to the subject of the notes, which were printed after the text; a circumstance alluded to by Mr. Upton himself. ..." [presumably this refers to the copy at Beinecke].

**The importance of Upton's edition has outlived his work on the text alone.**

In the introduction to his PhD thesis (University of Edinburgh, 1983), *John Upton's Notes on the Fairy Queen: in Four Volumes* (www.era.lib.ed.ac.uk/handle/1842/18553) and published by Garland Press (New York, 1987), John G. Radcliffe notes that although many of Upton's textual interventions and suggestions are of "obvious merit" not all have withstood the test of later Spenser scholarship: "Upton is not always persuasive of course, but some of his emendations are difficult to reject" (p. xlv).

**However, it is Upton's explanatory notes to the text that are of greater importance.** Radcliffe continues, "Upton's *Notes on the Fairy Queen* constitute his greatest contribution to the study of Spenser and English literary scholarship. They are characterized by such a rare quality of perception and breadth of erudition that one is inclined to forego comment and allow the 'Notes' to speak for themselves. In his consideration of the poem, Upton incorporates materials from poets, dramatists, critics, scholars, grammarians, theologians, antiquaries, historians, and virtually every branch of knowledge from classical times until his own day. His 'Notes' reveal him to be a master of his material who, throughout his consideration of the poem, brings his learning to bear carefully and judiciously." (Radcliffe, pp. xli-xli). ... "Despite the obvious merit of Upton's textual notes, it is **his explanatory notes which have earned him the respect and admiration of all students of Spenser.**" (p. xlvi) ... "Upton's *Notes* are the first extended study of Spenser in the history of

**English literary scholarship**, although not the first scholarly study of an English author. To Lewis Theobald [on Shakespeare] belongs that honour. Nevertheless, Upton's achievement is exceptional. ... It simply cannot be confined to statements about his original contributions to our knowledge of the historical allegory or Spenser's debt to the Chronicles. Nor can it be confined to more general statements which rightly claim that he is the first eighteenth-century scholar 'to treat the Elizabethan period as one of the major literary epochs and ... to have had a comprehensive appreciation for many of the qualities for which Elizabethan literature stands' [Earl R. Wasserman, *Elizabethan Poetry in the Eighteenth Century* (1947), p. 211, 215] or even that his is the single and most valuable contribution to our understanding of the *Faerie Queene*. Upton's notes are not just an individual's exceptional achievement. They are the product of twenty-five years of English literary scholarship which had its origins in the critical works of Richard Bentley [on Milton] and Lewis Theobald, drew on the labours of their successors and came to fruition in 'one of the best of the eighteenth-century editions of any poet' [Richard Foster Jones, *Lewis Theobald, his contribution to English scholarship* (1919), p. 243]." (p. lix).

Hazel Wilkinson, comparing Upton's edition with Ralph Church's in *Edmund Spenser and the Eighteenth-Century Book* (Cambridge, 2017), wrote: "Church emphasised his own amateurism, but judged by modern standards, he was the most sophisticated of Spenser's eighteenth-century textual editors. Upton was the first Spenserian editor confidently to present himself as a professional. His edition was the fruit of at least eight years' labour, and **his surviving draft notes give us a rare insight into an eighteenth-century editor's methodology.** As far as subsequent centuries have been concerned, **John Upton's edition of *The Faerie Queene* was by far the most influential work of Spenserian editing produced in the eighteenth century.** ... Upton's notes are a *tour de force*, and despite an edition of them by John G. Radcliffe, they have remained largely unexplored. I do not have space here for an extended study of all of Upton's complex thinking about specific words and passages. **It is hoped that the new information offered here about the production of Upton's edition will facilitate further work on this underrepresented figure.**" (pp. 125-6).

In *A Letter concerning a New Edition of Spenser's Faerie Queene. To Gilbert West, Esq.* (London, 1751) John Upton wrote of the genesis of his edition and of his intentions:

"Sir, You may remember, that when lately discoursing with you on the subject of English poetry, we very naturally were led to talk of *Spenser*, who on every account so truly deserves the name and title of poet: and whilst we were on the subject, you mentioned how much the *Faery Queene* required a good commentator and critic, ... - What my answer was then I cannot recollect, but when I returned to my study, and, turning over an old interleaved edition of *Spenser*, found I had there scribbled many

17  
There he tormenteth her most terribly,  
And day and night afflicts with mortall paine,  
Because to yield him loue she doth deny,  
Once to me yold, not to be yold againe:  
But yet by torture he would her constraîne  
Loue to conceite in her disdainfull breast:  
Till so the doe, shee must in doole remaine,  
Ne may by liuing means be thence releif:  
X What boots it then to plaine, that cannot be redrest?

18  
With this sad herfall of his heauy stresse,  
The warlike Damzell was empaioued fore,  
And said; Sir Knight, your cause is nothing lesse  
Then is your sorrow, certes if not more;  
For, nothing so much pittie doth implore,  
As gentle Ladies helpless misery.  
But yet, if please ye listen to my lore,  
I will (with proofe of last extremitie)  
Deliuere her fro thence, or with her for you die.

19  
Ah! gentlest Knight aliué, said Scudamore;  
VVhat huge heroick magnanimitie  
Dwels in thy bountious breast? what could it thou  
If she were thine, and thou as now am I? (more,  
O spare thy happy dayes, and them apply  
To better boot, but let me die that oughts  
More is more losse: one is enough to die.  
Life is not lost, said she, for which is bought  
Endlesse renowne, that more then death is to be fought.

20  
Thus, shee at length perswaded him to rise,  
And with her wond, to see what new successe  
Mote him befall vpon new enterprife.  
His armes, which he had vow'd to disprofesse,  
She gathered vp, and did about him dresse,  
And his forwardred steed vnto him got:  
So forth they both yere make their progresse,  
And march not past the mountaine of a shot,  
Till they arriu'd, where-as their purpose they did plot.

21  
There they dismounting, drew their weapons bold,  
And stoutly came vnto the Castle gate,  
Where-as no gate they found them to with-hold,  
Nor ward to wait at morne and euening late:  
But in the Porch (that did them fore amate)  
A flaming fire, ymixt with smouldry smoke,  
And stinking Sulphure, that with grisly hate  
And dreadfull horrour did all entrance choke,  
Enforced them their forward footing to reuoke.

22  
Greatly therewas Britomart dismayd,  
Ne in that stownd wist, how her selfe to beares:  
For, danger vaine it were, to haue assaid  
That cruell element, which all things feares,  
Ne none can suffer to approchen neare:  
And turning back to Scudamore, thus sayd;  
What monstrous enmitie prouoke we here,  
Foolc-hardy, as th' Earthes children, the which made  
Battell againt the Gods: so we a God invade.

dishep

that the arduis of death

Septo XIII, 26.

A wall of flames is made the safeguard  
of the world & Maketh it. Flammens alle  
some commentators say that the flaming wall was  
paradise was a flaming wall or circle of fire was  
of these in the conuersion, we read psychically of walls of fire raised by some  
of kindly errand. As is said in the book of Job the wisard Gomerus queth the  
walls of fire see Cant. XIII, 26. 27. Orca & Tancid thus goes saying an account of his adventures of 8.

23  
Danger without discretion to attempt,  
Inglorious and beast-like is: therefore, Sir knight,  
Arread what course of you is safest dempt,  
And how we with our foe may come to fight.  
This is, quoth he, the dolorous despight,  
Which carst to you I pland: for, neither may  
This fire be quenched by any wit or might,  
Ne yet by any means remou'd away,  
So mighty be th' enchantments, which the same do stay.

24  
What is there else, but cease these fruitlesse paines,  
And leaue me to my former languishing?  
Faie Amores must dwell in wicked chanes,  
And Scudamore here die with sorrowing,  
Perdy not so, said he; for, shamefull thing  
It were t' abandon noble cheuilaunce,  
For shew of perill, without venturing:  
Rather let my extremitie of chaunce,  
Then enterprised praise for dread to disauance.

25  
There-with, resolv'd to proue her vtmost might,  
X Her ample shield she threw before her face,  
And (her swords point directing forward right)  
Assaild the flame, the which estoones gaue place,  
And did it (else diuide with equall space,  
That through she passed; as a thunder-bolt  
Pearceeth the yielding ayre, and doth displace  
The soring clouds into sad showres ymolts:  
So to her yold the flames, and did their forcerevolt.

26  
Whom, when as Scudamore saw past the fire,  
Safe and vntoucht, he likewise gan assay,  
With greedie will, and enuious desire,  
And bade the stubborne flames to yield him way:  
But cruell Muliber would not obey  
His threathfull pride; but did the more augment  
His mighty rage, and his imperious sway  
Him fore' (maulgre) his fiercenesse to relent,  
And back retire, all forcheit and pittifully brent.

27  
With huge impatience he iuly swelt,  
More for great sorrow that he could not pass,  
Then for the burning torment which he felt,  
That with fell woodnesse he effierced was,  
And wilfully him throwing on the grafs,  
Did beat and bounce his head and breast full fore:  
The whiles, the Championesse now entred has  
The vtmost roome, and past the formost dore,  
The vtmost roome abounding with all precious store.

28  
For, round about, the wals yclothed were  
With goodly Arras of great maicesty,  
Wouen with gold and silke so close and nere,  
That therich metall lurked priuily,  
As faining to be hid from enuious eye:  
Yet here, and there, and euery where vntwars  
It shewed it selfe, and thone vnwillingly;  
Like a discolour'd Snake, whose hidden snares (clares.  
Through the greene grafs, his long bright burnisht back de-  
And  
X Picta lo Pido, Ennanji a se lo Mell.  
Boiardo, II. C. 8. st. 36.

The flames of lust have no rest upon it  
The flames of lust have no rest upon it

in the Met. VI. Fab. II. relates the coral (shown  
Pallas & Athena, from in the fire of the  
reputed to have been the first of the  
of the paper.  
Cant. XI.  
The FAERIE QVEENE  
179  
In a shower of gods he descended to the island where he like a  
fire ignis, (said) to a carnel flame he related the  
Toght of Asopus. IV. Met. 113.

29  
And in those Tapests were fashioned  
Many faire pourtraicts, and many a faire feate:  
And all of loue, and all of lusty-hed,  
As seemed by their semblant, did entreat;  
And eke all Cupids warres they did repeat,  
And euell battels, which he whilome fought  
Gainst all the gods, to make his empire great;  
Besides the huge massacres, which he wrought  
On mighty Kings and Kefars, into thraldome brought.

30  
Therein was writ, how often thundring Ioue  
Had felt the point of his heart-pearing dart,  
And leauing heauens kingdome, here did roue  
In strange disguise, to slake his scalding smart;  
Now like a Ram, faire Helle to peruart,  
Now like a Bull, Europa to withdrawe:  
Ah, how the fearfull Ladies tender heart  
Did liuely seeme to tremble, when she sawe  
The huge seas vnder her c'obay her seruants lawe!

31  
Soone after that into a golden shoue  
Him selfe he chang'd faire Danice to vew,  
And through the roofof her strong brazen towre  
Did raine into her lap an hony dew,  
The whiles her foolish garde, that little knew  
Of such deceipt, kept th' yron dore fast bard,  
And watcht, that none should enter nor issew;  
Vaine was the watch, and bootlesse all the ward,  
X When as the god to golden hew him selfe transfard.

32  
Then was he turn'd into a snowy Swan,  
To win faire Leda to his louely trade:  
O wondrous skill, and sweet wit of the man,  
That her in daffidillies sleeping made,  
From scorching heat her dainty limbs to shade:  
Whiles the proud Bird ruffing his feathers wide,  
And brushing his faire breast, did her inuade;  
She slept, yet twixt her eye-lids closely spide,  
How towards her he rusht, and smyled at his pride.

33  
Then shew'd it, how the Theban Semeele,  
Deceiv'd of zealous Inno did require  
To see him in his foudrairie maiestee,  
Arm'd with his thunder-bolts and lightning fire,  
Whence dearely the with death bought her desire.  
But faire Alcmena better match did make,  
Ioying his loue in likenes more entree:  
Three nights in one, they say, that for her sake  
He then did put, his pleasures lenger to partake.

34  
Twice was he seene in soaring Eagles shape,  
And with wide wings to beate the buxome ayre:  
Once when he with Asterid did scape;  
Again, when as the Troiane boy so faire  
He snatcht from Ida hill, and with him bare:  
Wondrous delight it was, there to behold,  
How the rude Shepheards after him did stare,  
Trembling through feare lest down he fallen should,  
And often to him calling, to take furer holde.

Phrycus & Helle fleeing the desings of their step-  
mother, the eunuchus to save themselves by flight  
on the back of a ram: but as they were swimming  
the narrowest passage of Helles, Helle was  
X conueno in premium deo.  
arriving safe at the king of Colchis, sacrificed the ram to Jupiter who  
pleas'd it among the Constellations. - After this manner the flocks &  
my the English tale the story. Spenser makes a story of his own.  
Jupiter was worshipp'd in olden times the figure of a ram to the Greeks  
called him Jupiter Ammon.

35  
In Satyres shape, Antiope he snatcht:  
And like a fire, when he Agen' assaid:  
A shepheard, when Mnemosyne he catcht:  
And like a Serpent to the Thracian mayd. i.e. which he had his  
Whiles thus on earth great Ioue these pageants playd, *Supra 10. 114.*  
The winged boy did thrust into his throne,  
And scoffing thus vnto his mother sayd,  
Lo, now the heauens obey to me alone,  
And take me for their Ioue, whiles Ioue to earth is gone.

36  
And thou, faire Phaebus, in thy colours bright  
Wast there enuouen, and the sad distresse  
In which that boy thee plonged, for despight  
That thou bewraidst his mothers wantonnesse,  
When the with Mars was meynyt in ioyfulnessse:  
For thy he thrild thee with a leaden dart,  
To loue faire Daphne, which thee loued lesse:  
Lesse she thee lov'd, then was thy iust defart:  
Yet was thy loue her death, & her death was thy smart.

37  
So louedst thou the lusty Hyacinth,  
So louedst thou the faire Coronis deare:  
Yet both are of thy haples hand extinct,  
Yet both in flowres do liue, and loue thee beare,  
The one a Paunce, the other a sweet beare;  
For griefe whereof, ye mote haue liuely seene  
The god himselfe rending his golden heare,  
And breaking quite his girlond euer greene,  
With other signes of sorrow and impatient teene.

38  
Both for those two, and for his owne deare sonne,  
The sonne of Clymene he did repent,  
Who bold to guide the charet of the Sunne,  
Himselfe in thousand peeces fondly rent,  
And all the world with flashing fire brent,  
So like, that all the walles did seeme to flame.  
Yet cruell Cupid, not herewith content,  
Forc't him estoones to follow other game,  
And loue a Shepheards daughter for his dearest Dame.

39  
He loued Iffe for his dearest Dame,  
And for her sake her cattell fed awhile,  
And for her sake a cow-heard vile became,  
The seruant of Admetus cow-heard vile,  
Whiles that from heauen he suffered exile.  
Long were to tell each other louely fit,  
Now like a Lion, hunting after spoile,  
Now like a Hag, now like a Falcon flit:  
All which in that fare arras was most liuely writ.

40  
Next vnto him was Neptune pictured,  
In his diuine resemblance wondrous like:  
His face was rugged, and his hoary head  
Dropp'd with brackish dew; his three-forkt Pyke  
He stearely shooke, and therewith fierce did strike  
The raging billowes, that on euery side  
They trembling stood, and made a long broad dyke,  
That his swift charet might haue passage wyde,  
Which foure great Hippodames did draw in teeme-wise tide.

Sabin celus imagine

unsuccessful  
start of love

Maia was -

a note, and many a comment, as my custom is on favourite authors; it came to my mind to send you a specimen of what you might expect, should I commence an editor in form..."

"Methinks every reader would require that the last editor should consult every former edition, and that he should faithfully and fairly exhibit all the various readings of even the least authority; he would require, too, that an editor of Spenser should be master of Spenser's learning: for otherwise how would he know his allusions and various beauties? When and in what manner to omit them, or to lay them before his reader? ..."

Upton provides a further glimpse of his source texts (and his book collecting) in the preface to his 1758 edition:

"... **There are three other editions in Folio, which I have frequently consulted, and have mentioned in the notes; printed in the years, 1611, 1617 and 1679...** I have two copies of the first edition, printed in the year 1590 and yet these had several variations; which may be accounted for, by supposing the alterations made, while the copy was working off at the press. The first edition containing the three first books, I made the groundwork of mine; and sent it to the press, with such alterations, as seemed to me the poet's own, and which have the authorities of the second edition in quarto, printed in the year 1596, and of the Folio of 1609. The most material of these alterations are mentioned in the notes. The fourth, fifth and sixth books, are chiefly printed from the edition of 1596. I have likewise two copies of this" (Preface, xxxix-xli).

Over half (some 300 pages) of the second volume of Upton's edition of Spenser is given over to his extensive notes and **the annotations in this 1611 volume were clearly a crucial stage in his preparation for this part of his work.**

In particular, Upton's published notes in his printed edition of Spenser show his great concern with collating the early printed editions. On a number of occasions he makes notes such as "This is the reading of the old quarto and Folios 1609, 1611, 1617".

In Book I, Canto 1, stanza 50, line 3 which in the 1611 edition reads, "He thought t'have slaine her in his fierce despight:" in the margin Upton notes "deest T' 1 & 2d edit" and in the note to his edition (II, p. 352) he expanded on this: "*He thought have slain her in his fierce despight.* So the first and second editions in quarto. But the folios of 1609, 1611, 1617, and Hughes' edition all read, *He thought t'have slain her* - which I am apt not to think (however proper it might appear) our poet's readings, for *to*, the sign of the infinitive mood, is often omitted by him."

As another example, in his published note for Book V, prologue, stanza 2, he writes, "The old quarto reads *degendered*, and the Folio likewise of 1609. But the Folios, 1611 and 1617 *degenerated*. The old quarto preserves, I think, the true reading" (II, p. 612). In the present copy he has part-underlined "de gendered" and noted in the margin "9 d 1617. 1611." (noting that the "d" is omitted).

Likewise, for Book IV, Canto XII, stanza 13, lines 1-2 where the 1611 edition reads "Thus whilst his stony heart was toucht with tender ruth, / And mighty courage something mollifide," he gives an alternative reading in the lower margin for the first two lines: "Thus whilst his stony heart wth t.r. / was toucht, & m. c. mollifide. Quarto." In his edition Upton uses the 4to text (I, p. 668) and prints the folio version in his note with the comment: "Thus is this verse, beyond its due measure, printed in the folio, which I have reformed from the more authentick edition, the old quarto." (II, p. 610).

On the other hand many of his more extensive notes to the printed text attract no annotations in this copy or only a small reference or quote. For example, in his note on Book II, Canto 8, stanza 5 his published note reads, "So the first quarto; the word below catching the printer's eye, but the 2d quarto and Folios read as I have given it in the context" (II, p. 560) but the present 1611 copy bears no annotation at all. Similarly, in his printed notes Upton provides a lengthy commentary on Book III, Canto 6, stanza 45 (II, p. 553-4) ending "Thus reader, you have here offered two explanations of a dark and mysterious passage" but the present 1611 copy has no marking at all.

The most frequent manuscript annotations - in a form which is repeated throughout the volume - are Upton's contracted cross-references to authors who Spenser may be alluding to. There are hundreds of these pointing the reader towards the works of Chaucer, Milton, Ariosto, Virgil, Gower, Thomas Aquinas, Sir Philip Sidney, Homer, Boccaccio, Ovid, Tasso, Dante, Lucan and many other, less obvious sources such as Richard Carew's *The Survey of Cornwall* (first published in 1602).

For example, in our copy, Book I, Canto 1, stanza 23 of *The Faerie Queene* is surrounded by six brief cross-references by Upton, the first being to Ariosto. In the printed text (II, p. 346) these brief notes have become a long discursive note concerning the Italian poet Marco Girolamo Vida (1485?-1566) and the art of poetry, although Vida is referenced elsewhere in the volume.

Occasionally Upton's notes are more discursive, such as his discussion in Book II, Canto 12, stanza 39 where he notes: "It seems to me very plain that Spenser took his description of this sacred cursed or enchanted soile from the island of Circe; as Homer & Vergil described it ^ & from the enchanted Island of Arminda. Homer says the beasts of the Island [four words crossed through] transformed from men by the witch Circe, were of gentle manners. Virgil supposes them savage & fierce. For the sake of the English reader I will transcribe the translations of Homer & Virgil". In his note to the printed text (II, p. 506) Upton notes "Spenser, I believe, had in his eye the coast of Circe, as described by Virgil, vii. 15" and quotes the *Aeneid* as translated by Dryden but suggests that, "the reader may compare at his leisure Hom[er]. Od. x. where Ulysses lands at the Circean promontory in Italy, and visits

57 Her reliques Fulgent hauing gathered, Fought with Senerus and him ouerthrew ; Yet in the chace was flaine of them, that fled ; So made them victours, whom he did subdew.

58 For Asclepiodate him ouercame, And left inglorious on the vanquisht Playne, Without or robe, or rag, to hide his shame.

59 Which when the Romanes heard, they hither sent Constantius, a man of mickle might, With whom king Coyll made an agreement,

60 Of whom he did great Constantine beget, Who afterward was Emperour of Rome ; To which whiles absent he his mind did set,

61 But wanting issue male, his daughter deare He gaue in wedlocke to Maximian, And him with her made of his kingdome heyre,

62 The weary Britons, whose war-hable youth Was by Maximian lately led away, With wretched miseries, and woe full ruth,

63 Who hauing oft in battell vanquished Those spoylefull Priets, and swarming Easterlings, Long time in peace his Realme established,

subspius

Syl. II. VI. 132. 56. IX. 820. XI. 422. 194

Η α ο δ. XI. τετραπρωδα ροιο. δακρυου γελασδα. 92. Αχαιο δ' υλλαωτ. οδ. ιδ.

63 Who hauing oft in battell vanquished Those spoylefull Priets, and swarming Easterlings, Long time in peace his Realme established,

64 Three sonnes he dying left, all vnder age: By means whereof, their vncler Fortigere Vsurpt the crowne, during their pupillage ;

65 Two brethren were their Capitaines, which hight Hengist and Horsus, well approov'd in warre, And both of them men of renowned might ;

66 But by the helpe of Fortimere his sonne, He is againe vnto his rule restor'd, And Hengist seeming sad, for that was donne,

67 By this, the sonnes of Constantine, which fled, Ambrose and Fisher did ripe yeeres attaine, And here arriuing, strongly challenged

68 After him Fisher, which Pendragon hight, Succeeding There abruptly it did end, Without full point, or other Censure right,

69 At last, quite rauisht with delight, to heare The royall Offspring of his natiue land, Cride out, Deare country, & how dearely deare

ord. F. VI. 48.

Venkyar. 126.

Venky. 138

20 Venky. p. 144

At

His 3 sons were Constantius, Ambrosius, Uther Pendragon.

Nijme p eopn seazaj in Venkyar p. 24. 142.

69 At last, quite rauisht with delight, to heare The royall Offspring of his natiue land, Cride out, Deare country, & how dearely deare

70 But Guyon all this while his booke did read, Ne yet has ended: for it was a great And ample volume, that doth far exceed

71 That man so made, he called Elfe, to weete, Quick, the first authour of all Elfin kind: Who, wandring through the world with wearie feet,

72 Of these a mighty people shortly grew, And puissant kings, which all the world warrayd, And to them elues all Nations did subdew:

73 His sonne was Elfinel, who ouercame The wicked Gobbelines in bloudy field: But Elfant was of most renowned fame,

Syl. p. 399

Then Elfar, who two brethren gyants kild, The one of which had two heads, th' other three: Then Elfinor, who was in Magick skild;

74 He left three sonnes, the which in order raignd, And all their Offspring, in their dew descents, Euen seven hundred Princes, which maintaynd

75 After all these Elficles did raigne, The wise Elficles in great Maestie, Who mightily that cepter did sustaine,

76 Great was his power and glorie, ouer all Which him before that sacred seate did fill, That yet remains his wide memoriall:

77 Bequill'd thus with delight of nouelties, And naturall desire of countries state, So long they read in those antiquities,

78 And fairly feasted, as fo noble knights she ought.

(bec. 10. 14. 67)

in. 9. ubi. 5. 4.

Uter Regina

The more of their fall is: that vpon will w. 300 may in eadend in the castle of the lord: a right fabled for the souer. & original of all light. a ray for the eu. edge of the of. 14. 67. 7. 2.

Canto



Earth & water the originals & principles of things - Horn. All' upen p. 14. 67. 7. 2. - M. Ant. p. 233.

the palace of Circe. Never was a story better suited for poetry, as it is both wonderful, and entertaining, and the allegory instructive - I believe too our poet had Ovid in his eye, Met. xiv. 255."

In a similar fashion, in Book IV, Canto II, stanza 36 Upton provides a long note about Hadrian's wall which appears in a different form in the printed edition of the *Works*. Upton notes that, "Hadrian built a wall 80 miles in length across the Island from Solway-firth, upon the Irish sea, to the mouth of Tyne by Newcastle. He layd the foundation with strong piles driven deep & fastened together ... This wall the Britons called *Gual-sever* or *Gal-sever*: the Scots Mur-sever, i.e. Severus wall: for Severus repaired wth bulwarks of stone & turrets Hadrians wall." In the printed edition (II, p. 607) Upton's note omits Hadrian's name and the methods of construction and repair, refers the reader to the latest edition of Camden and Gordon's *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, and adds a definition of the word "brazen" as "firm and strong".

A good example of the way this 1611 folio needs to be researched to see how it fits into the genesis of Upton's notes is Book I, Canto VII, stanza 16, concerning the Giant Gorgoglio, which begins: "From that day forth *Duessa* was his deare / And highly honour'd in his haughty eye." Hazel Wilkinson (p. 146) quotes in full Upton's lengthy note on the "allegory & allusions" referring to the Books of Daniel & Revelations in his annotated copy of the 1596 edition at the British Library (interleaf after F8) and commented: "Hence, Upton showed that Gorgoglio represented not just pride, but political and religious tyranny. This note was drastically shortened in the printed version [II, p. 306]: 'Now the complete scarlet whore. *She saith in her heart* I sit a queen. Rev. xviii. 7.' The single reference to Revelation reveals none of Upton's delicate and complex thinking on the stanza, and as a result it is not very helpful. Once again, it seems that having explained Spenser's allegorical complexity to himself through a process of exegesis, Upton did not feel the need to share his working in print. He seems to have imagined his readers as a congregation for whom his word had automatic authority." Here (p.30) in the lower margin which is otherwise filled with other quotes relevant to other stanzas on the page he just gives the same passage from Revelations (though at greater length and without a reference): "16.x She glorified herself & liv'd deliciously: & said in her heart I sit a queen & shall see no sorrow."

**Upton has also marked-up *The Shepherds Calender* ("collated with an Edit. printed 1597") and the additional poems (including *Colin Clouts*) at the end of this volume which he did not include in his edition of *The Faerie Queene* but which were intended for a third volume mentioned in his preface (p. ix) that was terminated by his early death in 1760.**

**There is no other source, other than the present volume, for Upton's notes on Spenser's Minor Poems.**

These notes continue in much the same detailed fashion and while many are clearly cross-references used in his editing of the *Faerie Queene*, they also include discursive comments such as his opinion on "September" in the *Calender*, that, "I never knew a pastoral less understood & so much abused as [this] IXth. Spensers pastorals have all references to himself, his friends or [?]. Hobbinoll is his friend Harvey: Diggon, some clergyman promoted in Wales, where many of the papisticall clergy had gotten possession of the conscience & families of the gentlemen of that country. - Hobbinoll seeing his Welsh friend greets him (with good humour) in his Welsh dialect. & Diggon answers in character." (p. 38 of the *Shepherds Calender*). At the beginning of *Colin Clouts*, Upton also notes the names of the characters in the poem: "The names, though seemingly shepherds mean real persons throughout this Eclogue. Colin Clout is Spenser; Tityrus, Chaucer, Hobbinoll, Gabriel Harvey. The Shepheard of the Ocean, v. 66. Sr W. Raleigh - some of them must be left to meer conjecture at this distance of time & want of proper lights" (A3r of *Colin Clouts*).

**The entire volume is meticulously marked and scattered with annotations, references and cross-references written at different times, probably over many years. The book was clearly an important part of Upton's working library and is one of the standard editions of Spenser that he must have repeatedly referred to whilst compiling his own meticulous edition of the poet's most famous work. Further research comparing the other books from Upton's library will, as Helen Wilkinson hopes, no doubt cast further light on his editing processes and the wider concerns of literary editors in the 18th century.**

Listed on the online *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts 1450-1700*, nos. SpE 86-99 are annotated copies of early editions of Spenser's *Works*, perhaps the best-known of which is Ben Jonson's copiously annotated copy now in the Wormsley Library (SpE 95). The present volume will be an important addition to this list.

**Provenance:** John Upton (1707-1760), clergyman and literary editor. His library was sold at auction by Leigh & Sotheby on 15+/11/1784: *Bibliotheca Uptoniana: or catalogue of the valuable and elegant library of the late John Upton*, ... [not examined]. There are two earlier ink pen-trial addresses ("Thorpe in Warwick upon Avon", p. 107; "To Mrs Sarah Welby in Newark", p. 134), alphabets (e.g. p. 287 & 298), and the volume could well have been defective when Upton purchased it. There are no marks of ownership after Upton.

**Later Provenance:** Krown & Spellman, booksellers, Culver City, California. Part of the Krown and Spellman stock that was sold at Heritage Auctions, Dallas, Texas, in 2015.

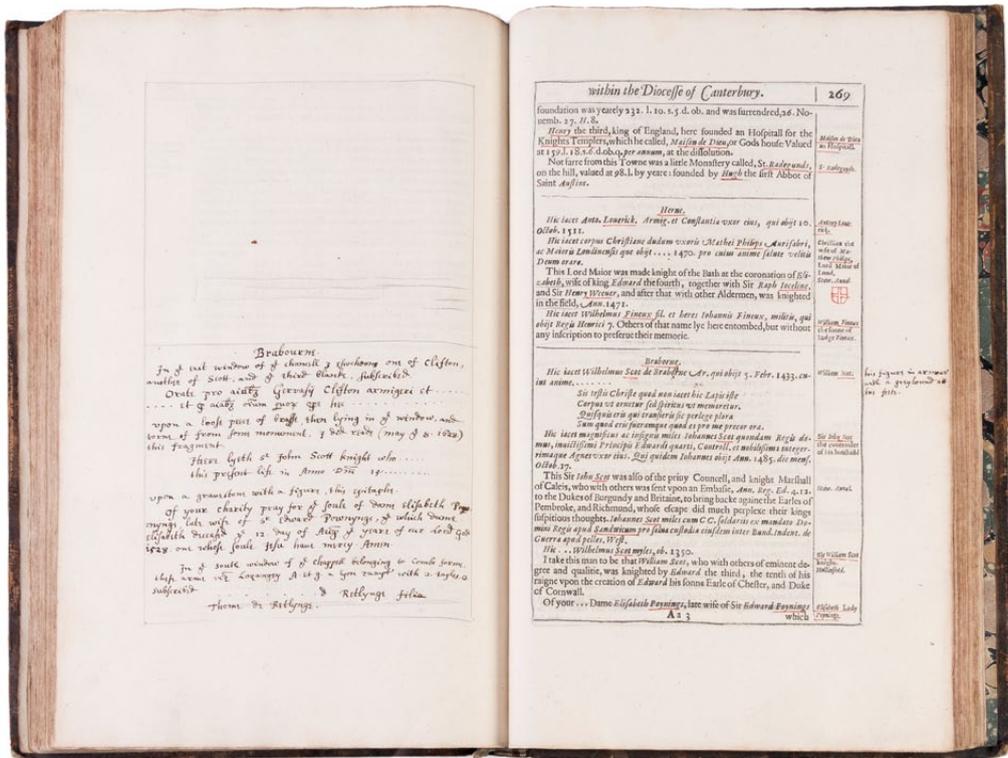


FIG. 1

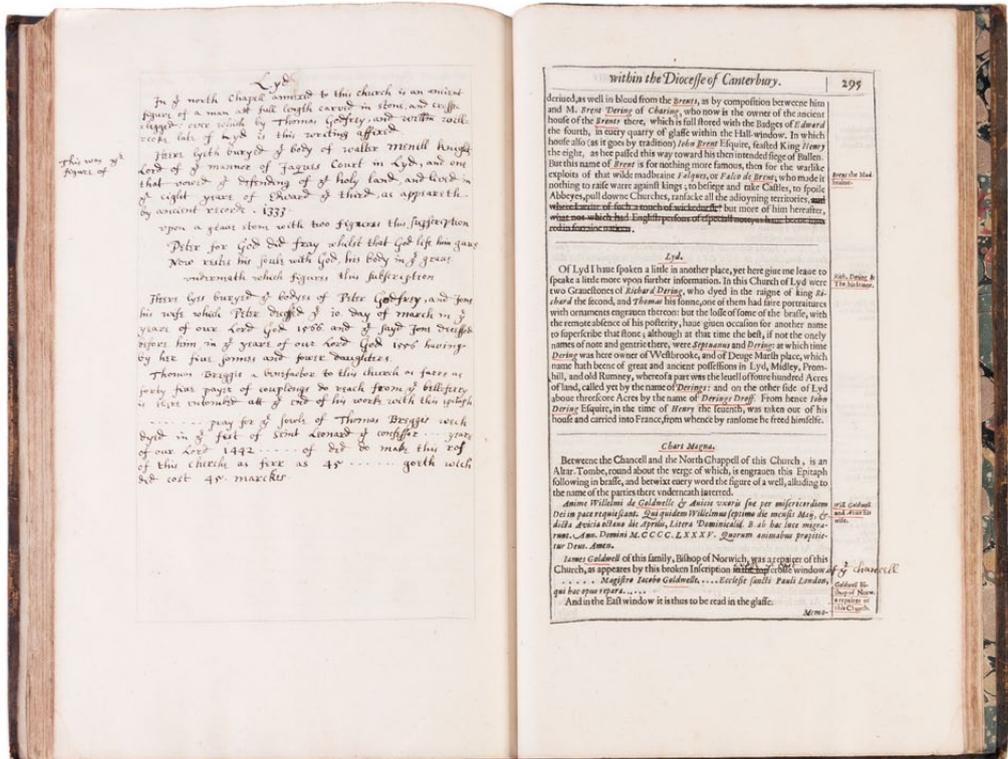


FIG. 2

*"I DID CLIMBE UP INTO A WINDOW TO DESCRIE AN IMPERFECT COAT OF ARMS"*

**9 WEEVER (John),**  
annotated by **DERING (Edward).**

**Ancient Funerall Monuments within the United Monarchie of Great Britaine, Ireland and the Islands adjacent,** with the dissolved Monasteries therein contained: their Founders, and what eminent Persons have beene in the same interred. As also the Death and Buriall of Certaine of the Bloud Royall; the Nobilitie and Gentry of these Kingdomes entombd in forraine Nations. A worke reviving the dead memory of the Royall Progenie, the Nobilitie, Gentry, and Communitie, of these his Majesties Dominions. Intermixed and illustrated with variety Historically observations annotations, and briefe notes, extracted out of approved Authors, infallible records, lieger bookes, charters, rolls, old manuscripts, and the collections of judicious Antiquaries. Whereunto is prefixed a discourse of Funerall Monuments. Of the foundation and fall of religious houses. Of religious orders. Of the Ecclesiasticall estate of England. And of other occurrences touched upon by the way, in the whole passage of these intended labours. Composed by the Studie and Travels of John Weever.

London: by Thomas Harper, 1631

£12,000

**First Edition. Folio. Large Paper (303 x 205mm). [16], [348 of 871 only] pp., with the engraved portrait of Weever and the additional engraved architectural title-page by T. Cecill (very fine impressions); partially interleaved (mostly from pp. 259-95 in the section of the monuments in the Diocese of Canterbury, otherwise occasional). Small damp stain to the blank fore-edge of the first few gatherings, some minor spotting and a little browning in places, manuscript annotations to the text and blank interleaves throughout by Sir Edward Dering [see below]. Early 19th-century tree calf by Sharpe of Warwick [small oval binder's ticket on the inside of the upper board], smooth spine tooled and ruled in gilt, black morocco label, spot-marbled endleaves, red sprinkled edges (a little rubbed in places, joints split but holding firm).**

STC 25223. Large Paper, with a crowned coat-of-arms watermark with initials “RD” in the first quarter and a lion in the 4th quarter (also found on the interleaves) of the type also found in Large Paper copies of Ben Jonson’s *Workes* (1616); 65 mm higher and 25 mm wider than an average ordinary paper copy which has a pot watermark. ESTC distinguishes only one copy as being on Large Paper (Storer collection, Eton College Library) and another at Christ Church, Oxford must be due to its size (32cm). Several copies described as Large Paper have sold at auction in the last 100 years.

**Sir Edward Dering’s extensively marked-up and annotated copy of an important work of antiquarianism derived from Weever’s research in the “inestimable Librarie” of Sir Robert Cotton.**

Weever explains in his preface that he began the research for this book in order to record the inscriptions on funeral monuments for future generations after seeing so many “broken downe, and utterly almost all ruined, their brasen inscriptions erased, torne away, and all pilfered” (see Weever’s address to the reader). He notes that he has “travailed over the most parts of all England, and some part of Scotland” collecting inscriptions but has also relied on the help of his friend, the herald and fellow

antiquary, Augustine Vincent (c.1584-1626) and “the inestimable Librarie [of] such Bookes and manuscripts” belonging to Sir Robert Cotton.

**Underlined and extensively marked-up throughout in red and black ink and with fifty-nine textual annotations ranging from a single word gloss to lengthy supplementary comments, and twenty-eight lengthy manuscript notes (sometimes covering an entire folio page) on the blank leaves by the antiquary Sir Edward Dering, 1st Baronet (1598-1644).**

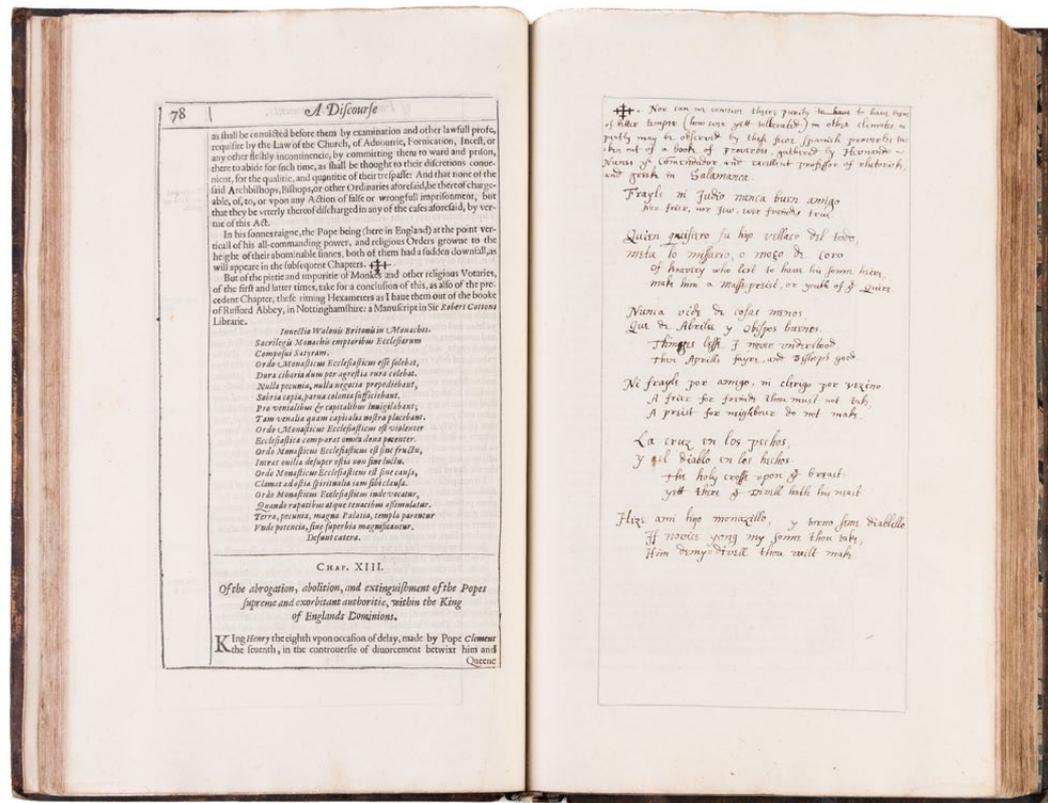
There is no direct ownership inscription by Dering (other than the initials “E.D” after one annotation) but the underlining in red ink is common to many books from Dering’s library (see for example item 81 in *Maggs catalogue 1495*). In the present volume the surnames are systematically underlined throughout, presumably as part of an indexing process by Dering. One of the first annotations (on A2r) is signed with the initials “E.D” which have three distinct flourishes passing back over the letters in a style which is identical to Dering’s signature on a letter to Robert Cotton in the British Library (Cotton MS Julius C III, f. 143, now digitized online).

One of the most extensively annotated passages of the books is the lengthy section devoted to the funeral monuments in Canterbury of the Dering family. **In this section Dering has provided extensive additional manuscript material on the blank leaves and deleted and amended sections of the printed text [fig. 1, 2 & 3].**

A copy of Weever’s book appears in Dering’s library catalogue (see *Private Libraries in Renaissance England*, Vol 1, p.181 (no4.94), Dering paid 10s for it).

Weever’s book would clearly have been an important and useful resource for Dering in his antiquarian research focussing on his native county of Kent. As well as showing how Dering extracted material from printed accounts (as he also did from manuscript sources) we also get a picture of the antiquary “in action”: one of the first lengthy annotations in the book occurs in Weever’s preface where he notes how from time-to-time his own examinations of funeral monuments have been hampered by over-zealous church wardens who denied him the opportunity to “view of the monuments as I much desired for that I wanted a Commission” (A2r). Dering notes in the margin: “The sexton or clarke of Sibertswould [a village in Kent] would (in ye like humour) have locked me up, in that church, because I did climbe up into a window to descry an imperfect coat of arms. I have no commission from his majty [Majesty] but a gnll [general] warrant from ye LL of his counsell to search all offices and places of recorde”. Further on, in a section on the Wotton family of Boughton Malherbe (Kent) Dering indicated one particular passage noting in the margin “but none of them mentioned in ye greate pedegree of ye wottons which this last yeare I saw” (p.289).

We have, so far, been unable to trace what happened to the remaining portion of this book other than a reference in the third edition of John Leland’s *Itinerary*



There was fastend into y<sup>e</sup> wallis of this chappell a figure of one of y<sup>e</sup> Deringis, in brasse, kneeling in his surcoate of armes, to which of them belonging I can not certainly affirm, but finding that one Thomas Dering was heere buried, who was slayne with an halberd, by y<sup>e</sup> Bastard Fauconbridge, in y<sup>e</sup> ii. of Ed: y<sup>e</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> at such time as y<sup>e</sup> bastard, after his Sea-pyrracyes, landing att Dover, marchid vnto London with sixtyn thousand men, against y<sup>e</sup> King: when by y<sup>e</sup> way this Thomas Dering bring sent with an expostulatory message vnto him, he had y<sup>e</sup> answer thrust into his braynes. The forme of his armour and surcoate doth suite these times. Just vnder this figure in y<sup>e</sup> corner of this chappell, was y<sup>e</sup> altar tombe of John Dering of Surrenden Dering Esq<sup>r</sup>, which gaue occasion to repute the figure also his, and y<sup>e</sup> rather because his monument was without portraict, but furnished onely with speeches and epitaphs, which none of his ancestors, did in that place want before him. This altar tombe beinge for enlarging of y<sup>e</sup> roomes layd flatt, that figure was likewise removed and placed (as his) vpon y<sup>e</sup> grauestone. His epitaph is of same it was.

Here lyeth y<sup>e</sup> body of John Dering Esq<sup>r</sup>, who deaced in August in y<sup>e</sup> yeare of our lord 1550, and of margaret Brent his wife who dyed in Anno 1562.

vpon a grauestone in y<sup>e</sup> church att y<sup>e</sup> foote of this chappell, and before y<sup>e</sup> image of S<sup>t</sup> Blaise (as his will is) are y<sup>e</sup> figures of a man armed standing vpon a horse, and beside him his wife fayrely habited, with this epitaph.

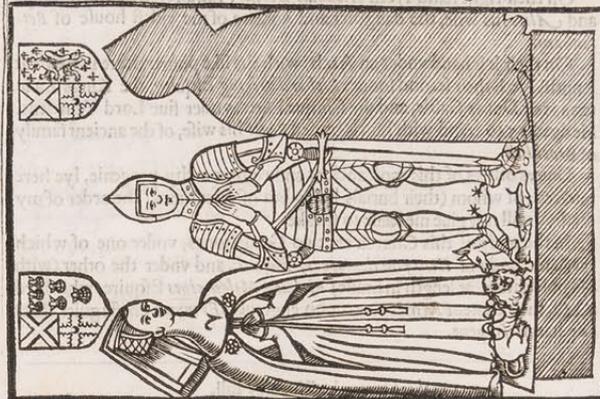
Oratio pro animabus Nicolai Dering de Surrenden Dering armigeri et Alicie uxoris eius, qui quidem Nicolaus obiit 25 die Augusti, anno Domini m. D. lxxv. Quorum animabus propicietur Deus. Amen.

This grauestone att y<sup>e</sup> making of a fayre new vault vnder y<sup>e</sup> chappell aforesayd by S<sup>t</sup> Anthony Dering kn<sup>t</sup>, 1628 was taken vp and placed in y<sup>e</sup> chappell, and both the bodies removed into y<sup>e</sup> vault: in whose grauestone the stayes and vault doore are now placed.

Next vnto this monument or rather (now) vnto y<sup>e</sup> vault doore by two grauestones, fayrely figured with inscriptions

Y<sup>e</sup>tu

Next vnto <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ lyeth entombed <sup>the</sup> ~~his~~ sonne Richard Dering in this forme, to whose memory no inscription is remaining: but his exchange from life to life was in y<sup>e</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> of Edward y<sup>e</sup> fourth.



This Richard Dering of Surrenden Dering, Esquire, gaue as I haue it by relation the hangings of rich and faire cloth of Arras, which adorne the Quire of the Cathedrall Church in Canterbury, vpon the suite of his sonne Richard Dering a Monke there; who, according to his Monkish Heraldry, hath figured in their seuerall bordures, his Rebus, or Name deuises, viz. a Dere and a Ring, in stead of Armes, although fixe embroydered Cushions, then giuen for the Priors seate, and since vsed in the Deanes Pewes, haue the Armes of Dering embroydered on them, and empaled with Bar-ign and Eyton his two wiues.

In Richard Dering the Monke, was one of the adherents to Elizabeth Barton, the holy Maid of Kent, in her fained hypocrisis, and traitorous practices.

In the same Chappell lyeth John Dering, Esquire, who was great grandchilde to the forelaid Richard Dering of Surrenden, whose Armes tombe is since laid flat. He dyed in 50. and hath there his figure in the wall, kneeling with his Surcoate of Armes; with him is buried Margarett his wife, sister and sole heire of Thomas Brent, Esquire.

Vnderneath the figure of Richard Dering, before remembred, is an Escoccheon with eight coats quartered. First Dering a Salter. 2. Haute a Crosse ingraled with a cressant. 3. Brent, a wiuer volant. 4. Fesse cotized. 5. Surrenden a Berd betweene two Cottelles nebuly on the outsides. 6. Pluckley a Flower deluce. 7. Barkley a Cheuron betweene ten crosses forme within a border. 8. Dering againe. Brent againe.

At the foote of this Chappell, within the Church, vnder foure seuerall Grauestones, euer y one inlaid with figures of brasse, the men lying in Armour, are buried as followeth.

Cc 3

John

Richard Dering

Slow. Anual.

John Dering.

An Escuchion.

FIG. 3

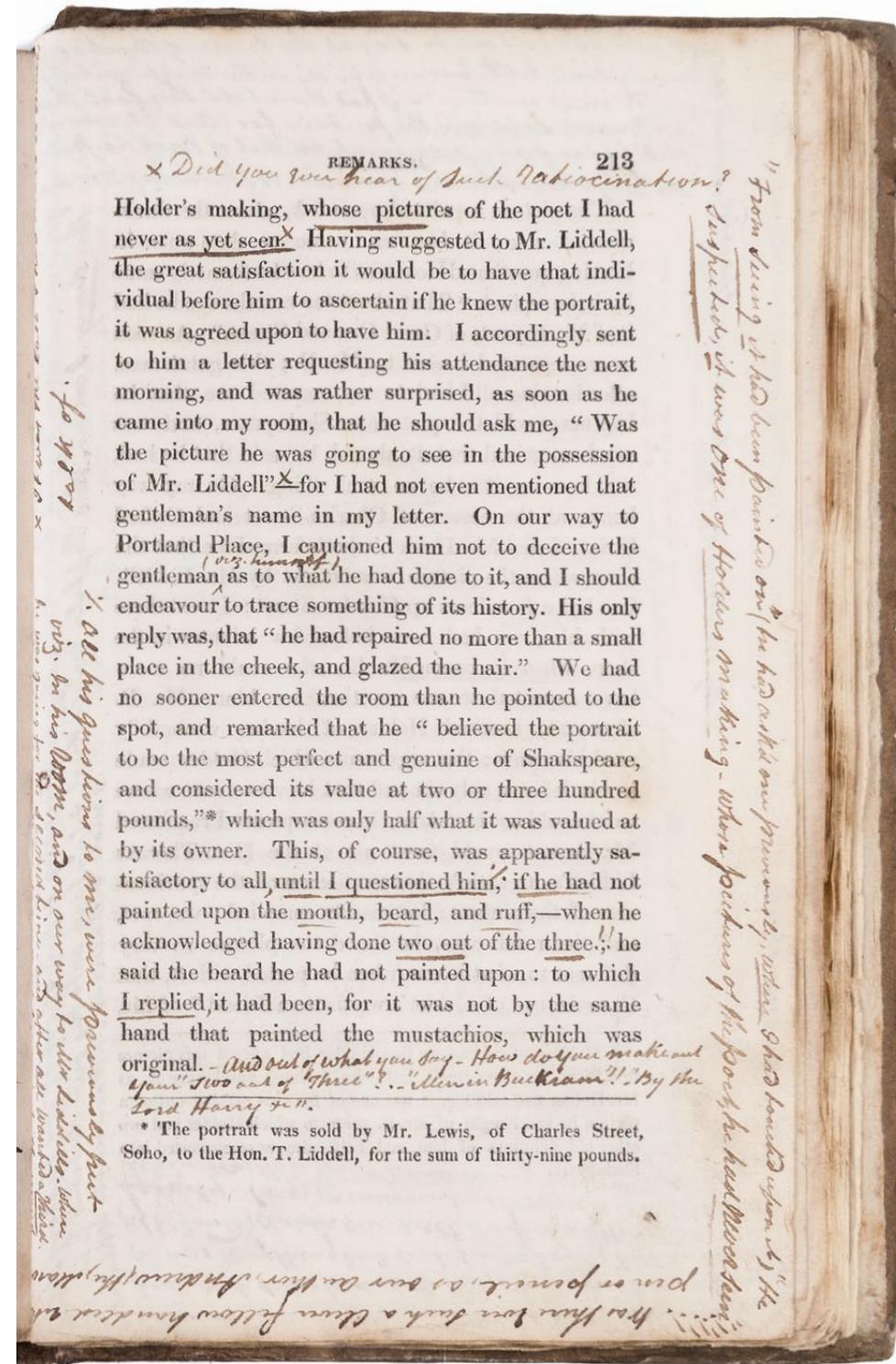


(Oxford, 1770; first published 1710, but here reprinted from a copy with Hearne's annotations) in which the editor Thomas Hearne praises Weever's book for preserving so many lost monumental inscriptions and then mentions in a footnote: "Since the writing of this Mr [Thomas] Rawlinson tells me he hath a Weever at the end

of which some few MS additions are written in the table, but at the end follow some Heraldry writing, but he cannot tell of what hand. **He says the copy was the famous Sr. Edward Dering's formerly**, as by the arms appears" (Vol. I, p.134). In part eleven of the sale of Thomas Rawlinson's library by Thomas Ballard beginning on 22 January 1727/8, lot 2240 (highlighted with a manicule - reserved for lots which Ballard thought particularly notable) was "Weever's ancient Funeral Monuments of Great-Britain and Ireland with Table and M.SS. Notes [Ch. M. Lib. rariss.] Lond. 1637" which, being Large Paper and most rare, is most surely the present volume. The interleaving of Dering's copy may have meant that this copy was bound in more than one volume and the first section would have been most pertinent to Dering as it specifically covers the monuments in the Dioceses of Canterbury and Rochester in Kent. A new section of books begins on p. 350 with the funeral monuments of London and ends with Norwich, the rest of the country being omitted. The errata leaf before the text shows that the errata were corrected by Dering throughout the *entire* book but it could be the case that the sections on other parts of England became separated. Hearne's note suggests that Rawlinson may have only had the end part of the book (including the index) and that it still remained in Dering's armorial binding (which our portion of the text does not).

The later sections of the book have many more (and many grander) engraved plates and it is quite possible that these were simply harvested at some point when the sections of the book became separated.

**Provenance:** 1. Sir Edward Dering, 1st Baronet (1598-1644), knighted 1619, created baronet 1 February 1627 (the 5th in order of precedence), antiquary and religious controversialist, of Surrenden Dering in Kent, M.P. for Hythe (1625) and Lieutenant of Dover Castle (1629-35). Many of the Dering family books were sold in a series of disposals from 1811 to the 1860's but if this volume was in Thomas Rawlinson's library then it must have left much earlier. 2. John Peyto-Verney, Baron Willoughby de Broke, with armorial bookplate [either the 14th Baron (1738-1816; succ. 1752) or his son with the same name the 15th Baron (1762-1820)]; by descent to Robert John Verney, formerly Barnard, 17th Baron Willoughby de Broke (1809-1862; succ. 1852), with his armorial bookplate. The family lived at Compton Verney, Warwickshire, sold by the 19th Baron in 1921; a selection from the library was sold by Sotheby's on 13 July 1908. 3. Charles J. Sawyer, London bookseller, their Catalogues 75 (1924), item 233m £2/10/- & 89 (1927), item 620, £3. 4. Pencil purchase date "13.II.[19]36" on the front flyleaf. 5. Anonymous sale, Forum Book Auctions, London, 6th December 2017 lot 142 "extensive annotations in an attractive 17th century hand", without further identification.



x Did you ever hear of such fabrication?

Holder's making, whose pictures of the poet I had never as yet seen. Having suggested to Mr. Liddell, the great satisfaction it would be to have that individual before him to ascertain if he knew the portrait, it was agreed upon to have him: I accordingly sent to him a letter requesting his attendance the next morning, and was rather surprised, as soon as he came into my room, that he should ask me, "Was the picture he was going to see in the possession of Mr. Liddell" for I had not even mentioned that gentleman's name in my letter. On our way to Portland Place, I cautioned him not to deceive the gentleman as to what he had done to it, and I should endeavour to trace something of its history. His only reply was, that "he had repaired no more than a small place in the cheek, and glazed the hair." We had no sooner entered the room than he pointed to the spot, and remarked that he "believed the portrait to be the most perfect and genuine of Shakspeare, and considered its value at two or three hundred pounds,"\* which was only half what it was valued at by its owner. This, of course, was apparently satisfactory to all, until I questioned him; if he had not painted upon the mouth, beard, and ruff,—when he acknowledged having done two out of the three; he said the beard he had not painted upon: to which I replied, it had been, for it was not by the same hand that painted the mustachios, which was original. — And out of what you say — How do you make out 400 out of 200? — "Allen in Buckle's?" — "By the Lord Harry &c."

\* The portrait was sold by Mr. Lewis, of Charles Street, Soho, to the Hon. T. Liddell, for the sum of thirty-nine pounds.

"From seeing it had been painted on" he had asked me previously, when I had looked upon it, "He suspected it was one of Holder's making - when I asked of the poet, he had never seen it."

fo 1787

All his questions to me, were answered by first - saying, he had seen it, and on our way to Mr. Liddell's, when he was again asked, "I should have said, after all, would it please you?"

"... The three son, such a clear fellow himself, as our former, Andrew (the) whom

"A WONDERFUL WIVAL"

10 WIVELL (Abraham), annotated by HOLDER (Edward).

An Inquiry into the History, Authenticity, & Characteristics of the Shakspeare Portraits, in which the Criticism of Malone, Steevens, Boaden, & Others, are examined, confirmed, or refuted. Embracing the Delton, the Chandos, the Duke of Somerset's Pictures, the Droeshout Print, and the Monument of Shakespeare, at Stratford; together with an Exposé of the Spurious Pictures and Prints. By Abrham Wivell, Portrait Painter.

London: by the Author, 1827 £6,000

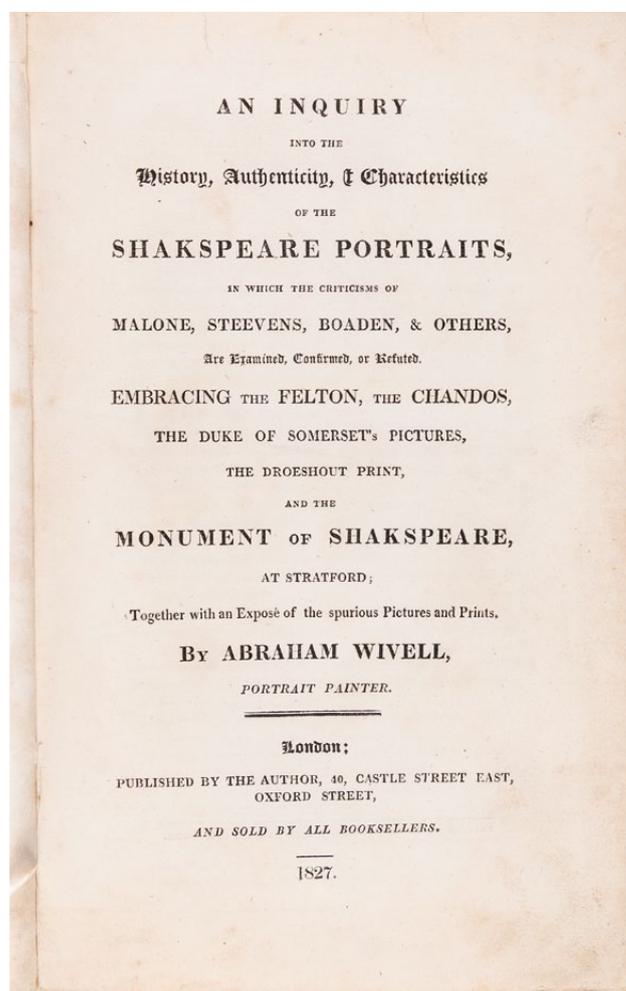
First Edition. 8vo (227 x 145mm)., [4], 254, [2]pp., with the engraved frontispiece portrait of the Stratford memorial and the seven engraved plates in the text (as listed in the instruction to the binder at the end of the work). A little browned and foxed in places, uncut edges a little chipped and torn in places, some creasing and folded corners. Original drab publisher's boards, spine with an old manuscript label reading "Shakspeare" (binding carefully restored retaining almost the entirety of the original paper spine and the paper label).

An examination into the authenticity of portraits of Shakespeare so elaborately illustrated as to reduce the author from "affluence to comparative poverty". Extensively - and angrily - annotated by an accused forger.

Abraham Wivell (1786-1849) rose to fame after the publication of his drawings of the Cato Street conspirators and later as a portrait painter to the Royal family and the aristocracy. He became interested in Shakespeare around 1825 when he made a drawing of the Stratford memorial bust which was engraved by J.S. Agar. He produced the present book two years later but the work did not sell well and the cost of the numerous plates in the publication reduced Wivell to poverty.

This copy has over 100 manuscript annotations by the fellow painter, picture restorer and accused forger, Edward Holder (1783-1865). The annotations are often very lengthy (occasionally filling all of the blank margins of a double page) and react angrily to the supposed inaccuracies of the printed text.





On a smaller tipped-in sheet before the main body of the text, Wivell has inscribed this copy:

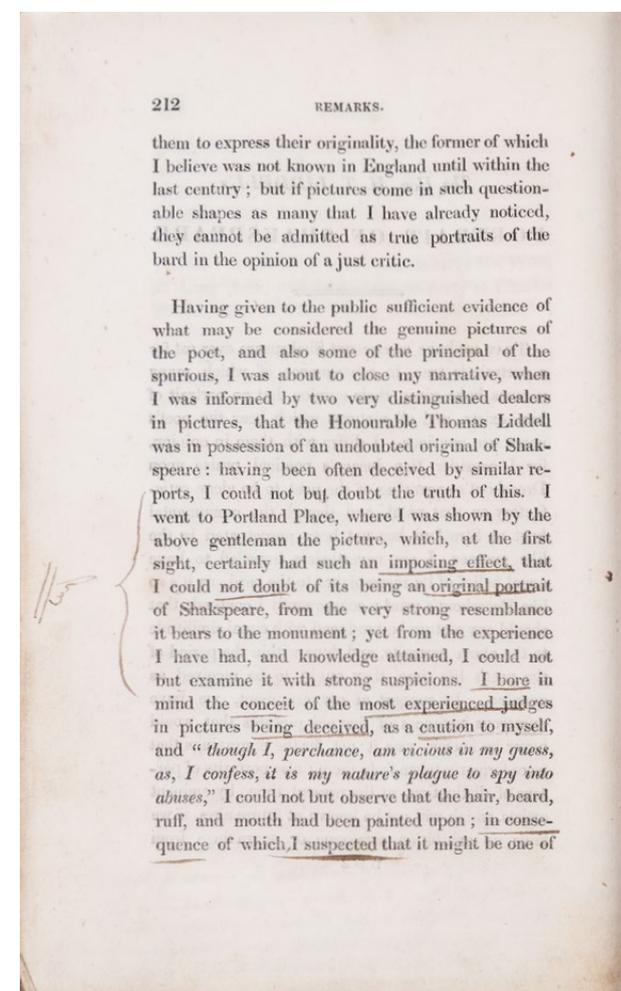
“Edw Holders - presented by A. Wival”.

The remainder of the presentation inscription has been crossed through and underneath, presumably Holder, has written:

“Wival is an author whom no one can mistake his object / to make himself popular as a painter and as a / Wonderful Wival”.

This punning and bitter inscription sets the tone for the annotations throughout the book.

Holder annotates the entire book, presumably with the intention that by denigrating Wivell’s opinion of all the known portraits of Shakespeare he could build



up an even greater justification of his innocence concerning the portrait which he himself most certainly had a hand in. Wivell discusses, for example, the Felton portrait which he believes “There is the strongest reason, therefore, to presume a forgery”. Holder, beneath this, writes “Say a strong reason - you called upon me to attend you (just for the indulgence of your whim) - I was better employed - and what then - a proof - a proof! you exultingly cry out. Fudge! Mr W. Fudge!!” (p.46).

Later in the book Wivell describes the Martin Droeshout portrait of Shakespeare as “a performance, which claims the most indubitable right to originality”. Holder replies beneath this - adding two exclamation marks to the end of Wivell’s own sentence - “and after all, has it come to this? God Lord deliver us”. (p.56). The annotations continue in this manner throughout the book with Holder making sniping

comments about Wivell's assertions and the quality of his writing. This builds up towards the end of the volume before exploding when Wivell discusses a supposed portrait of Shakespeare belonging to Henry Liddell, 1st Earl of Ravensworth.

“In the nineteenth century, a number of rogues specialized in altering portraits of other people into likenesses of Shakespeare. The master of this art, Edward Holder and F. W. Zincke, are thought to have created at least sixty Shakespeares between them in careers that spanned two decades. Holder, a sometime art dealer, is said to have altered a portrait by scraping off existing details rather than by painting on top of it. Later feeling either sadistic or repentant, he would sometimes reveal his methods to trusting buyers, but they in turn often outright ignored his confession, so determined were they to believe they had a genuine portrait...Holder claimed that he gave his buyers plenty of hints ‘I have never been inclined to dupe the world as many in my situation in life have done. I have a wife and nine children to support; and had I the advantages which others have made by my works, I should not be the poor man I am now. Holder and Zincke were quite proud of their skill in transmogrification, once demonstrating their method to Abraham Wivell, a student of iconography in the 1820s. Before Wivell's eyes, Holder neatly turned a portrait of a clergyman into a recognisable Oliver Cromwell. Zincke then took it to an art shop and sold it for £4” (Stephanie Nolen, *Shakespeare's Face: Unravelling the Legend and History of Shakespeare's Mysterious Portrait*, 2002).

