PRINTERS' FLOWERS AS BIBLIOGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BRITAIN
Frank Baker

[Editorial Introduction]

This extended manuscript was a major focus of Frank Baker's later years. He intended the manuscript for publication, but never reached the point of submitting it. Various versions of the essay and accompanying charts are found in Boxes 211–12 of The Frank Baker Papers, in the David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Duke University, Durham, NC. We present here the text of the essay with Baker's last surviving round of revisions (dated in late December 1985). We include in appendices the two most central illustrations that he intended for the volume. He intended other illustrations as well, but these were either unclear in content or not in sufficiently final form to be included. Scholars interested in pursuing his research further should consult the entire ten boxes of materials related to this project in Baker's papers (Boxes 211–220) in the Rubenstein Library.

PRINTERS' FLOWERS AS BIBLIOGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BRITAIN

Frank Baker

1. *The potential of printers' flowers*. Traditional thought has assumed that because cast metal flowers were available in great numbers to any printer, they had no value as bibliographical evidence.[1] To the present writer, bibliographer as well as textual editor for the thirty-five volume edition of the works of John Wesley (1703–1791), this has always seemed both an enormous deprivation and a great challenge. It may now be stated that although their use must be hedged with caution, in some circumstances printers' flowers may indeed prove of value both in identifying different editions, in approximating their dates, and in furnishing supportive evidence about their unnamed printers.

It is important from the outset to visualize simply the dimensions of our task:

1) To assemble and organize a huge and neglected mass of seemingly intractable material so that it may afford fuller information about printers and books.

2) To utilize this information so as to obtain a more detailed picture of the individual printers of the books which we study.

3) To identify printers where they are unknown.

4) To secure approximate dates for undated publications.

5) To demonstrate these possibilities within the eighteenth century by means of a representative body of books and printers in such a way that the methods may be applied to other books and printers.

Of some two thousand eighteenth-century editions of John and Charles Wesleys' four hundred and fifty publications, no fewer than fourteen are literary ephemera (quite apart from book catalogues, proposals, and similar administrative matter), of which most editions bear the name neither of author or printer, and carry no date. William Strahan's ledgers record his printing of at least eight ephemera which seem to have disappeared completely. Strahan's ledgers also, combined with textual evidence, make it clear that many more editions of these undated ephemera appeared than are now extant, although the present total of the fourteen works is 167 distinct printings. Printers' ornaments, of course, are important in identifying the printers. Some 370 of these ornaments are used in Wesley's contemporary editions of his publications. A

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[1] Ronald B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928), note on p. 114: "We may omit altogether from consideration here what are called 'type ornaments,' including not only such things as 'flowers,' leaves, etc. cast on ordinary type-bodies, but the conventional designs cast on larger bodies and used to make up into 'lacework' and other frames for type-matter. These are produced in the same way as type, and for our present purpose may be regarded rather as part of the type-page than as 'ornament.' They are, as a rule, common to many printers of a period and are seldom of much help in a bibliographical inquiry." [Footnotes are by Baker (though updated in style) unless in brackets.]

sample of some of these ornaments is given in Appendix B.[2] Most of the twenty-two printers who used ornaments in his publications, however, were forsaking them for flowers by about the middle of the century, and it seems important to squeeze the last drop of information from these fragile remaining clues. What has been found possible with this somewhat unrewarding category of evidence in the case of Wesley ephemera may prove of value to other bibliographers in similar circumstances.

2. *The history and use of printers' flowers* emphasizes the extreme caution which must be used in any attempt to utilize them as bibliographical evidence. In their article in the first number of *The Fleuron* (1923) Francis Meynell and Stanley Morison deplored the lack of information about "the decoration of books by means of *printers' flowers, fleurons, vignettes de fonte, roslein*, as they are variously called."[3] They pointed out:

> There are scores of different flowers; they can be combined in hundreds of different ways. [Baker adds: In fact we need to change "scores" to "hundreds," and "hundreds" to "thousands!"] What is common to them, what makes the system, is itself an ordinary metal type of the varying type-sizes, cast by the type-founder, set as type, and bearing, instead of a letter symbol, a formal design. … The characteristic foliation and interlacing familiar to students of historic ornament were early established in the Mussulman arts and crafts. We find identical elements in the Lashar Mosque at Cairo (built 969–972), and in the Alhambra at Granada (1120–1400). The … [motifs] were applied to metal-ware, pottery, carpets, garments, mosaics, and as a matter of course to precious manuscripts and to their no less precious bindings. Incredible ingenuity, versatility, and patience went to the making of the arabesques.[4]

Meynell and Morison discuss and illustrate at length the transmission of oriental designs to European book decoration, first in Venice, at the Aldine Press, established in 1494, and originally used to impress patterns in gold upon the binding. It was Manutius Aldus (c. 1450–c. 1515) who

> reduced the lines and curves of the arabesque into a number of component tools which he cut upon metal. … These small tools, *piccoli ferri* (or *petits-fers*, as they came to be known in France, where they found their greatest popularity), form a truly pregnant innovation. … They were counterfeited at Basle, Augsburg, Lyon, Antwerp, Paris, and in fact nearly all printing centres possessed themselves of

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[2][Baker compiled photographic copies of nearly 400 different flowers in volumes Wesley published during his life, sorted by publisher, that are now available in Boxes 211–220 of The Frank Baker Papers, in the David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Duke University, Durham, NC. This collection is open to scholars.]

[3]Francis Meynell and Stanley Morison, "Printers' Flowers and Arabesques," *The Fleuron* 1 (1923), 1–43; here p. 1.

[4]Ibid., 3, 5.

characteristic *fleuron Aldes*."[5]

During the sixteenth century the letter foundries of most European countries, including England, introduced their own imitations and adaptations of Aldine flowers, but during the seventeenth century their popularity ebbed. Joseph Moxon (1627–1700), himself a letter-cutter, furnished some for English printers, but in his *Mechanick Exercises* (1683–84), stated: "*Flowers … are now accounted old-fashion, and therefore much out of use.*"[6]

3. *The development of printers' flowers* followed the same steps as the epochal invention of movable type. The typographical artist designed individual flowers so that they would blend together in a decorative harmony similar to that of the illuminated manuscript. The punch-cutter delicately chiselled and filed away bars of steel so as to leave in relief at the top the artist's design on a rectangular body. With these dies the type-founder punched out copper matrices into which he poured hot metal for casting the individual flowers by the thousand, to be sold to printers by weight. Lastly the printer himself, thus enabled to become artist as well as craftsman, mingled his flowers as a painter did his colours, in borders, headbands, headpieces, initials, factotums, and tailpieces, at first following founders' examples, but then experimenting with his own designs, and possibly establishing a recognizable house style. Seemingly endless refinements and proliferation followed, ebb and flow in popularity, but through four centuries the process has remained essentially the same.

The early printers had for the most part designed and produced their own type from beginning to end, but during the sixteenth century they began to employ specialists at various stages, especially in the cutting of punches. Early in the seventeenth century specialist type-founders in England began to emulate those in Europe, and took over from the printers the preparation of specimen sheets of their stock.[7] Freshly cut type letters formed the bulk of their advertised ware, of course, and (if added at all) the flowers were few in number and conventional in design, based mainly upon those of Aldus, together with a few variants and additions gradually introduced in different countries.[8]

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[5]Ibid., 15, 18.

[6]Joseph Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises, or the whole art of printing*, ed. Herbert Davis and Harry Carter (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 25–26.

[7]Edward Rowe Mores, *A Dissertation upon English Typographical Founders and Founderies*, (Oxford: The Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1961), lxiii–lxv. For specimen sheets see D. B. Updike, *Printing Types, their History, Forms, and Use* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1922), 1:133–35.

[8]See, for example, those of Saber and Berner, Frankfort (1592), and Berner of Frankfort (1622)—both illustrated in W. Turner Berry and A. F. Johnson, *Specimens of Printing Types* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), facing pages xxxii, xxxviii; Joseph Moxon, London (1669), in Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises*, folding plate at end; and Elzevir, Amsterdam (1681), ibid. None has more than a dozen arabesque flowers, usually displayed as elements in borders or columns rather than individually.

4. *Classic designs*. Several designs stemming from the age of Aldus can be followed through their various manifestations in specialist studies such as Meynell and Morison's work quoted above, and John Ryder's *A Suite of Fleurons* (1956). In their greatly refined and enlarged modern manifestations they are demonstrated in Frederic Warde's *Printers Ornaments applied to the Composition of Decorative Borders, Panels, and Patterns* (1928).[9] Ryder's titles introduce us to those which constantly recur in type specimens and printed volumes during the eighteenth century; here we use as illustrations the Monotype samples and as references the numbered examples in Caslon's 1785 Specimen (see discussion of William Caslon later in this essay).

Perhaps most prevalent are the vine leaves used by Aldus about 1510, first printed in 1512.[10] Of these Meynell and Morison show twenty-five of the many stylized forms, pp. 39–43. Almost that number appear in Caslon: Great Primer 12, 13, 16; English 1, 3; Pica 10; Small Pica 2, 3, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 22, 27; Long Primer 15, 16.

Giolito's simple duplicated arabesque first appeared in 1552,[11] and has formed the prototype for many elaborations; it is not found in Caslon, but variants appear in Fry, Small Pica 9, and (with the two circular elements separated) in James, Small Pica 5 and 6.

Granjon's six-element arabesque first appeared about 1565 and in its various combinations and modifications was still in use;[12] cf. Caslon, Grand Primer 12, 13, 16, and (less obviously), Small Pica 2 and 3, already noted among the vine leaves.

An important arabesque element appearing in Christopher Plantin's *Index Characterum* of 1567 may also have been cut by Robert Granjon.[13] Modified with the shell and pearl motif this appeared in Caslon's Double Pica 2 (and also in Fry and Cottrell, and in Wilson 2 without the shell and pearl), as also Fry's and James's Two-line English 2.

An arabesque depicting overlapping vine leaves originated in Lyon about 1570.[14] This proved popular in Small Pica, and was frequently recut in the eighteenth century. One form was Caslon's English 1, but variants appeared in his Small Pica 8–11: it was copied also by James (except for 10 and 11), Cottrell (except for 12), and Fry (except for 10); it also appeared sideways in Caslon's Pica 10 and as a corner-piece, Small Pica 23a.

The acorn was apparently first cut as a printers' flower by Robert Granjon in 1570.[15] Caslon used it horizontally in Long Primer 13 (as did Wilson in his 10, as also vertically in 17).

5. *Revival of flowers: Fournier and Caslon*. Thus there were plenty of precedents awaiting the leaders of any revival of the use and development of new designs for printers'

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[9]Frederic Warde, *Printers Ornaments applied to the Composition of Decorative Borders, Panels, and Patterns* (London: Lanston Monotype Corporation, 1928).

[10]John Ryder, *A Suite of Fleurons* (London: Phoenix House, Ltd., 1956), 19–20; reproduced in Appendix C below, p. 122ff.

[11]Ibid., 21–22.

[12]Ibid., 23–26.

[13]Ibid., 27–30.

[14]Ibid., 31–32.

[15]Ibid., 33–34.

flowers in the eighteenth century. This seemed to come first in France, mainly under the influence of Jean Pierre Fournier (1706–83) and his family. Of primary significance was his younger brother Simon Pierre Fournier (1712–68), whose *Modeles des Caracteres de l'Imprimerie* (1742) portrayed 118 varieties of flowers, which in his *Manuel Typographique* (1764) had increased to 377, on thirteen bodies, from 5pt to 36pt.[16] Fournier was prompted in part by Louis Luce, punch-cutter to the King, who issued a small specimen in 1740, utilized by Fournier, but whose major work was his *Essai d'une Nouvelle Typographie*, Paris, 1771. Also important, however, was Fournier's contemporary Claude Lamesle, whose first specimen, with many flowers, appeared in Paris in 1742.[17]

England also had its pioneer in a rebirth of printers' flowers, William Caslon (1692–1766), though his first specimen (1734) contained only six recut arabesque flowers, and those issued during the 1740s lifted the total merely to twenty, although he had purchased the flower matrices from Robert Mitchell's foundry in 1739.[18] Again the revival of flowers to replace woodcut ornaments began at least partly under the influence of Fournier, though few can be traced directly to him.[19] Even so, by Caslon's death in 1766 only a further fifty-two flowers had been added, though his family continued steadily to add new designs, so that in 1785 (according to the numbering of the specimen of that year) the total had almost doubled to 127. John Baskerville of Birmingham (1706–55) left a great heritage as a typefounder and printer, but added little in the way of flowers. The apprentices of both men, however, greatly enriched the stock of printers' flowers in England, though in effect there were no more than seven notable British letter-founders casting flowers during the eighteenth century. By the end of the century their influence was waning, though it revived again generations later.

6. *Eighteenth-century resources*. As has been seen, Caslon and his contemporaries derived the impetus of their flowers largely from designs—or modifications of designs—which had been current for up to two centuries. In the case of the James foundry it seems clear that many dozens, possibly hundreds, of matrices for sixteenth and seventeenth century flowers, had been acquired but gradually lost.[20] Nor did the eccentric Edward Rowe Mores (1730–1778), who bought most of the James's "immense collection of punches, matrices, and types which had been accumulating from the days of Wynkyn de Worde to those of Mr. James,"[21] seem to care much about the flower matrices therein, though he does describe somewhat caustically their

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[16]Allen Hutt, *Fournier, the compleat typographer* (London: Frederick Muller, 1972), 34–37; cf. Updike, *Printing Types*, 1:248–66.

[17]*Epreuves Generales des Caracteres que se trouvent chez Claude Lamesle …*, reprinted by Menno Hertzberger & Co., 1965, with an introduction by A. F. Johnson.

[18]Mores, *Dissertation*, 48–49. The purchase was a joint one with Thomas James, who apparently did not desire the flower matrices.

[19]James Mosley, *A Specimen of Printing Types by William Caslon, London 1766* (*Journal of the Printing Historical Society*, No. 16, 1981/82), 75–76.

[20]Mores, *Dissertation*, 37–38, 43 (unnumbered "flower matrices" from the Oxford University Press), 49, 101, 123.

[21]Ibid., liv–lv.

miscellaneous themes:

> The flower matrices in their foundry have been divided into *old* and *new*, which to be sure is a division, but such as conveys nothing or a false idea to the understanding.
> We are to observe then that the latter, though mostly now in vogue, are mere figures of fancy, made up of circular, oval, and angular turns, contrived to look light, airy, and unmeaning, and to try the genius or patience of a compositor.
> But the former expressed some meaning, and were adapted to other purposes than barely to dress and decorate a page. They were formed from real objects natural and artificial, civil and military, as from weeds and flowers of the field and garden, leaves, branches, fruits, flower-baskets, flower-pots, urns, crosses, banners, lances, swords, and tilting spears, and other simples culled from the fields of nature and of heraldry, yet germane to the subject matter of the work.
> They were frequently emblematical and monitory; as cherubs' faces for the hymns of charity girls, hour-glasses for lugubrious orators, and *mort*-heads for the parish clerks. They were symbolical of nations, as the crown and rose, the crown and [fleur-de-]lis, the crown and harp; of dignities and orders, as diadems, crowns, mitres, and coronets; … the arms of Ulster and the anchor of hope, the Scotch thistle and sprigs of rue, both *sub*-symbolical; … of states and conditions, as the myrtle, the weeping willow, and the bugle horn, with many others which to enumerate would be tedious here.[22]

This at least exemplifies the rich resources upon which Caslon and his colleagues were able to draw in addition to the classic arabesque designs which we have already noted. Some of the "new" matrices despised by Mores were clearly not despised by all his contemporaries, and to a handful of these we may turn.

Sunray designs had long been familiar, but Fournier apparently took his initiative in creating them from Louis Luce's *Epreuve* of 1740.[23] One example in Caslon which may have developed from this motif is his Small Pica 14 (seen also in James, Cottrell, Fry, and Wilson).

The alternating star and ellipse-with-circles design dated back to the sixteenth century, but the elements were recut by Fournier about 1742.[24] This was taken into the English repertoire by Baskerville in 1759, possibly from Rosart's design (1748) rather than Fournier's, and it seems at least possible that this was cut by Isaac Moore before leaving to set up his own foundry with Fry in Bristol; see Baskerville English 1b, 1c and Fry Long Primer 1 and 2 (as separate items in the 1766 Moore specimen), and also overlined in Fry English 13 and 14 (1780). Actually it appears in the English size only because of its unique corner-piece.

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[22]Ibid., 37–38.

[23]Ryder, *Suite*, 35–36 (see Appendix C below)

[24]Ibid., p. 48 (Ryder speaks of it as an oval or flattened oval). There is a good ellipse-with-circles in Fournier's 1742 *Modeles*, for the Petit Romain body, and a poor star in the Petit Texte body.

Caslon's Small Pica 4 (an arced leaf design comparable to Cottrell 4, Jackson 4, and Fry 13), was surely derived from the Cicero flower in Fournier's 1742 *Modeles*, as suggested by James Mosley.[25] Also as Mosley points out, Caslon's Long Primer 8 (perhaps along with its parallel in Wilson 5) may have been based on one of the patterns on the last page of Fournier's 1742 specimen, though this is by no means as clear.

It may well be that two favourite stars of Caslon's (Small Pica 13 and 14, found also in Cottrell 8 and 10, James 10 and 15, Jackson 13 and 3, and Fry 21 and 22, also derived from Fournier's 1741 *Modeles*, 13 being in Fournier's Cicero, 14 in his Petit Romain.

Caslon's Great Primer 9 may well derive from Fournier's contemporary Claude Lamesle, a modified form of his Gros Romain U. See also his Brevier 1, the obelisk, or dagger (which has parallels in James [4] and Fry 13), may derive directly from Lamesle's Petit Texte X. Both are found in his first type specimen of 1742. Similarly Fry's Small Pica 29 may well be based on Lamesle's Cicero R.

The crude cherub's head with wings, as seen in Fry's Pica 13, was familiar throughout the sixteenth century, but the angel's head with wings seen in Wilson's Pica 7, probably derived from the angel of Johann Thomas Trattner of Vienna, in his specimen of 1760, Roslein 11.[26]

7. *New British punches*. On the whole, however, almost every instance noted above is one of cutting a new punch on the basis of an illustration in a book or sheet, not the result of acquiring an original punch or matrix. Even so the borrowings noted are only a small fraction of the eighteenth century British flowers studied. The inference is surely that there was much creative activity in this field from James and Caslon onwards, though it is very difficult to document. Even when punch-cutters made their own versions of a design, or even a seemingly faithful copy, it is often possible upon close scrutiny to detect minute variations. The Comparative Table of Printers' Flowers furnished in Appendix A reveals this, for instance, in the three clearly distinguishable English cuttings of Brevier 1, the obelisk, each of which in turn is different from Lamesle's possible original. Where this is true, of course, it underlines the value as evidence of such differences. Undoubtedly there was some acquisition and reuse of older matrices. Undoubtedly there was immeasurably more conscious imitation in the cutting of punches. It seems clear, however, that apart from a small nucleus of older designs recut from classic forms, the great proliferation of printers' flowers during the middle years of the eighteenth century sprang only indirectly from the work of Fournier and Lamesle in the early 1740s. Indeed French typography began to exercise a major influence in England only after John Bell began his British Letter Foundry about 1786, with his punch-cutter Richard Austin.[27]

Nor were British founders much influenced by German founders.[28] The same was true of

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[25]Mosley, *Specimen*, 76.

[26]Ryder, *Suite*, 49–50 (see Appendix C below).

[27]Berry & Johnson, *Specimens*, xlii–xliii.

[28]The samples of German flowers from Endters (1721) and Trattner (1760), given by Updike (*Printing Types*, 1:153–61), were apparently not to British taste, though we have already noted one exception in Trattner's angel, No. 11, and would add that Trattner also furnished what are at least parallels to others: Caslon's Double Pica 2 (1764) is an almost exact replica of

Dutch founders, despite the fact that Moxon gave the palm to Dutch letter-cutters, especially to Christoffel Van Dyck of Amsterdam, even though he discounted Dutch flowers (like those of others) as "old-fashion."[29] British development in decorative type, as in type generally, throughout the eighteenth century, was based chiefly upon British enterprise and skill.[30]

8. *The basic flower stock of British printers.* It would perhaps at first seem natural to believe that the whole range of printers' flowers, several thousands from every printing nation during the period 1500–1800, must be the field of inquiry in attempting to identify and date those used in any British eighteenth-century work. The history and actual usage, however, as recounted above, seems to imply that in spite of a small nucleus of classical flowers, nearly all of them recut for contemporary British founders, the vast majority of flowers *actually in use* by Wesley's printers was designed (or re-designed) and manufactured during his lifetime, 1703–1791: in 1710 the James foundry began, and in the late 1780s and 1790s the other major producers of flowers, William Caslon and Joseph Fry, had reached their zenith. The known products of the seven largest British founders during that period total fewer than a thousand flowers, even including the multiple and reversed elements and the corner-pieces, which none of them (except Wilson) numbered separately. (We ignore, of course, the many thousands of *settings* of these individual elements which are actually found in printed works, the floral ornaments which we discuss later.) It is important to note that of the seven major British typefounders, at least five (Caslon, Baskerville, Cottrell, Jackson, and Fry), were themselves craftsmen who either designed or cut punches—or both—not merely entrepreneurs.[31]

9. *Introducing the founders: the James Foundry (1710–72).* It is appropriate that each founder should briefly be introduced, in the chronological order of their foundries, which is that followed by one of the major sources of information, Reed and Johnson, *Old English Letter Foundries.*[32]

Thomas James, son of a clergyman, was apprenticed to Robert Andrews (Joseph Moxon's successor) from 1700 to 1708, set up his own London foundry in 1710 by visiting Holland and buying thousands of Dutch matrices, having a poor idea of Andrews's workmanship, though he did buy the larger part of his stock when Andrews retired in 1724.[33] On his death in 1736 the business was taken over by his son John, who doubled its size by buying Grover's foundry in 1758, thus becoming the major trading foundry in England along with Caslon and Baskerville. John James died in 1772, whereupon the foundry was purchased by the antiquarian E. R. Mores. James had begun to prepare a specimen in 1736, but never finished it.

Trattner's No. 19 (1760), and the style of his Great Primer 1 is very similar to Trattner's No. 14.

[29]Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises*, 22–26. But cf. Updike, *Printing Types*, 1:19–23 for fuller details and a corrective; though it is an error to state that the 1681 Elzevir specimen contained "many good type 'flowers.'" In fact there are a mere eight.

[30]Cf. Mores, *Dissertation*, lxxvii—lxxviii.

[31]Cf. ibid., lxxv.

[32]Talbot Baines Reed (new edn. rev. by A. F. Johnson), *A History of the Old English Letter Foundries* (London: Faber, 1952).

[33]Ibid., 186–89.

Mores sorted the matrices with the idea of completing the specimen, but died in 1778 before finishing that task or his *Dissertation* on foundries. Many matrices had already been lost, and everything was put up for auction in 1782, for which an imperfect specimen was prepared. This showed much of the stock as it was in 1772. Pages 43–48 of the 1782 *Specimen* presented the remaining flowers, without careful sorting or numbering.[34] In the Comparative Table (Appendix A) the editorially added 99 numbers for the eight sizes are enclosed within parentheses. It appears impossible except by identifying specific flowers in dated publications to be precise about their earliest uses, though the editors state that "some designs were specially cut for" John James, that this "augmentation" was in progress in 1755, and that few "were commonly used until 1760."[35]

10. *The Caslon Foundry (1720–94)*. William Caslon (1692–1766) was apprenticed to an engraver, exercised his skill on guns, but in his spare time turned his hand to cutting punches for book-binders. He was so successful that William Bowyer and John Watts saw in him the opportunity to improve English type-founding so as to dispense with the need for importing from Holland. They took him to see the James foundry, and set him up in his own business about 1720. By 1730 he was recognized as the best in London. In 1734, from his large new premises in Chiswell Street, he published his first specimen, and continued to issue them frequently—a great help to the bibliographer. In 1735 he took his son (William II), into apprenticeship. On Caslon's death in 1766 he was succeeded by his son, William II, and from 1748–1764 the specimens describe the firm as "William Caslon and Son, Letter Founders." The important 1766 specimen, however, was once again prepared for "William Caslon, Letter Founder." He also had taken his own son, another William, as an apprentice, so that when William II died in 1778, William III was able to take over without any change of name. William Caslon III prepared the 1785 Specimen which we take in our Comparative Table as the standard for the firm's production of flowers; this was also reproduced in *Chambers's Cyclopedia* for 1786. As Caslon & Catherwood, and then Caslon & Livermore, the firm continued to publish specimens at least until 1829.

The Caslons dominated the type-founding of the first half of the century, as well as raising it to a far higher level than it was in the seventeenth century. The same was especially true in the realm of printers' flowers, and theirs have been described as "better … than any type-flowers made since their period."[36] Dr. James Mosley has done us a great service in furnishing facsimiles both of the 1766 specimen and of the pages devoted to flowers in the 1785 specimen. These are greatly enriched by his own commentary, by his listing of the Caslon specimens up to 1786, and (from the bibliographer's point of view) for demonstrating the dating

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[34]Nevertheless the flowers appear to follow a fairly regular descending order of sizes, and because of this Long Primer (1) has been left as such in the Comparative Table in Appendix A, though this allocation appears to be an error. In the alphabetical digest of the Mores *Specimen* (*Dissertation*, 101) the editors show that there were over 74 flowers on various bodies for which matrices were present, 95 faces in all were illustrated, and some punches were present. (The inclusion of subsidiary elements accounts for the increased number of flowers in the Table.)

[35]Mores, *Dissertation*, 123.

[36]Updike, *Printing Types*, 2:106–7.

of the individual flowers added during the course of these many specimens.[37] Although Caslon's flowers are only half as numerous as those of Joseph Fry (152 in 9 sizes as against 324 in 11 sizes) his designs must clearly be set as the norm against which others should be assessed. Unfortunately there is a large gap in the specimens with flowers between 1746 and 1764, because one specimen of about 1750 has disappeared.[38] A further complication is the fact that the Caslon specimens lacked continuity in the numbering of flowers, both in the earlier and the later years, so that although more examples were added in the 1794 specimen, the system of numbering was once again altered. In the Comparative Table we have included the 1794 additions, but have numbered them continuously with the 1785 specimen.

11. *The Wilson Foundry (1742–89)*. Alexander Wilson. In Scotland printing was in a far more perilous condition than in England. Their saviour, Alexander Wilson (1714–86), doubtless gained entry to the *Dictionary of National Biography* for his academic attainments, as the first Professor of Astronomy at the University of Glasgow from 1760, though a secondary consideration was that he was "the father of Scottish letter-founders." As assistant to a London surgeon he happened to visit a type-foundry, and was struck by an idea for improving the manufacture of type. He returned to St. Andrews and although the bright idea did not work out, with a friend in 1742 he began a conventional letter foundry, which in 1744 removed to Camlachie, near Glasgow. He supplied type for his friends the university printers, Robert and Andrew Foulis, whose fame he thus greatly advanced. Two years later the foundry was moved nearer to the university, and two of his sons joined in this enterprise, which continued to flourish, and was enabled to continue long after his death. Although he appears to have been innovative in his type designs, it is extremely difficult to date these with sufficient certainty to be of great use, because his first public "Specimen of some of the Printing Types cast in the Foundery of Doctor A. Wilson and Sons" was not printed until 1772. Although this did not contain any list of individual flowers, it is remarkable for a border put together from eight units which here appear for the first time in any specimen, though some were similarly assembled in Jackson's specimen of about 1773. These borders had long been a major crucial point in the bibliographical studies of the present writer, forming a key feature in the printing of one of John Wesley's favourite but least known London printers. A 1783 broadsheet specimen appears in Chambers's *Cyclopedia*, but the fullest is that in book form of 1789,[39] which we take as the representative for our Comparative Table. This contains 107 flowers in 11 sizes, after some eliminations have been made to allow for Wilson's disconcerting habit of introducing some multiple settings as separate individual designs.

12. *The Baskerville Foundry (c. 1750–75)*. John Baskerville (1706–75) also achieved sufficient fame to be enshrined in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, but in his case as a printer. He was not brought up to a trade, but acquired great skill in calligraphy, and then in manufacturing japanned goods, which brought him financial success, all in the Birmingham area.

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[37]Mosley, *Specimen*, especially pp. 75–76.

[38]That dated 1763 is a composite work, most in fact coming from 1764 but some from 1774–78. See ibid., 11, 108–09.

[39]*A Specimen of Printing Types cast in the Letter Foundery of Alexander Wilson and Sons* (Glasgow: Alexander Wilson and Sons, 1789).

From this base, in about 1750 he began to experiment with printing, and then type-founding. While Caslon was bringing to perfection the old type face represented by his Dutch predecessors, Baskerville was intent on revolutionizing both the printing processes in general and the type itself, devising a new face with more calligraphic features. In 1754 he prepared the first of several specimens for a quarto edition of Virgil, which appeared in 1757. This work was the more remarkable because to secure better impressions for at least some copies Baskerville used wove paper (invented and supplied to him by James Whatman)—the first book so printed—and also hot-pressed the sheets both to smooth the paper and to set the ink, a process which might have been suggested by the technique of stoving the varnish in japanning.[40] Baskerville was successful in his typographical revolution, though its general acceptance was much slower than he had hoped. In the realm of printers' flowers his influence was negligible, except indirectly through Isaac Moore, who transported Baskerville's ideas and designs from Birmingham to Fry's foundry in Bristol. Baskerville, in fact, was only interested in flowers as the raw materials of borders, and his total output was a maximum of 21, in four sizes, which may be seen fully in his broadside type specimen of 1775, reprinted in 1777. This may be seen in the back pocket of Gaskell's *Bibliography*.

13. *The Cottrell Foundry (1757–94)*. According to Mores, Thomas Cottrell "was in the late Mr. Caslon's house, an apprentice to *dressing* but not to *cutting*," which he apparently picked up while working for Caslon, possibly clandestinely, like Joseph Jackson.[41] In 1757 Cottrell and Jackson headed a deputation to their employer seeking better pay, and upon being discharged, set up their own foundry. Two years later Jackson's mother died and he sought his fortune as a ship's armourer. Although Cottrell was quite innovative in his type-founding, cutting an engrossing hand for legal documents, and a fount for the Domesday Book, as well as some new flowers, especially in Small Pica, apparently including the earliest mosaic patterns. The handful of specimens which he left, however, are undated and poorly arranged. His flowers are scattered, incorporated sometimes in bands, sometimes in tailpieces, and none of them numbered. The specimens of c. 1766 and c. 1768 contain most of them, but they are also illustrated in Philip Luckombe's *History and Art of Printing*, 1770 and 1771.[42] We show 86 examples, in ten different sizes, the numbers editorially supplied. Cottrell died in 1785, and in 1794 the foundry passed to Robert Thorne.

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[40]See Philip Gaskell, *John Baskerville: a Bibliography* (Cambridge: University Press, 1959) 3–5, 19–22; F. E. Pardoe, *John Baskerville of Birmingham, Letter-Found & Printer* (London: Frederick Muller Limited, 1975), 28–30, 35–42, 158–68; and Ralph Straus and Robert Dent, *John Baskerville: A Memoir* (Cambridge: University Press, 1907). Cf. Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), 65–66.

[41]Mores, *Dissertation*, 77. Cf. Reed (and Johnson), *Foundries*, 289, 291, 311–12. He is, in fact, listed in *Stationers' Company Apprentices, 1701–1800*, ed. D. F. McKenzie (Oxford: Bibliographical Society, 1978), No. 5163, as apprenticed to John March I of Tower Hill in 1740. Nor is there any mention of an official link to Caslon, though one of Cottrell's specimens contains the note: "N.B. Served my apprenticeship to William Caslon, Esq." Jackson, however, had indeed been apprenticed to him, in 1748, see No. 1544 in the Stationers' records.

[42]Philip Luckombe, *History and Art of Printing* (London: Adlard & Browne, 1770, 1771).

14. *The Jackson Foundry (1757–59, 1763–92)*. We have already introduced Joseph Jackson (1733–92) as the co-founder with Cottrell of the 1757 foundry, which he left in 1759. The Caslons were very secretive about cutting punches, locking themselves into the room set aside for that purpose. Jackson apparently bored a hole through the wainscot so that he was able to study their methods and practise them at home. In 1763, at the end of the Seven Years' War, he returned to work for a few months as a typefounder with his former partner, but then set up in business for himself, aided by two partners who agreed to supply the capital while he supplied the skill. His success was rapid, and his first specimen (of about 1765) furthered his business in scholarly letter-cutting and enabled him to move to new premises. Another specimen of about 1773, which appears to be Jackson's, is preserved in St. Bride's Library, and is used as our basis for his work. After Jackson's early death the foundry came into the possession of Caslon III, who prepared a specimen in 1796, as did William Caslon IV in 1812. From them it passed into the hands of the predecessors of Stephenson, Blake & Co. Jackson's 1773 specimen contains 102 flowers in ten sizes. Some of these seem to have been based upon his collaboration with Thomas Cottrell, notably his Pica 2, which also appears in the chapter headings which Luckombe apparently used from Cottrell's fount, and was a strong feature of the decorations of Robert Hawes in 1773.[43]

15. *The Fry Foundry (1764–94)*. Easily the most prolific producer of printers' flowers was Joseph Fry (1728–87), a member of the Society of Friends who settled in Bristol as a medical practitioner, but was so imaginative and energetic that even this demanding profession could not satisfy him. He had large interests in the Bristol Porcelain Works, a chocolate factory, a soap factory, and a chemical works in Battersea. In 1764 he left his thriving medical practice to begin a type-foundry in Bristol. His partner in this enterprise was John Wesley's Bristol printer, William Pine. As their partner, manager, and punch-cutter they secured Isaac Moore, a whitesmith from Birmingham who successfully turned his hand to cutting punches which imitated Baskerville's types. Moore issued a specimen in 1766, which is in effect also the first specimen of Fry's foundry, though issued under Moore's own name.

Both Fry and Moore moved to London to set up a foundry in Queen Street, apparently in 1768, when again Moore seems to have issued a specimen in his own name, as "Isaac Moore and Co.," though the full details of their relationship are not known. It seems likely, however, that in London the energetic Fry had begun to purchase some punches and/or matrices from some other foundry or foundries, long before 1782, when he and his son Edmund are known to have purchased some from the James foundry.[44] By 1787 the Fry Foundry felt able to claim that they had "a greater variety of flowers than are to be met with in any other foundery in this kingdom."[45] Neither Berry & Johnson nor Reed & Johnson appear to have known of any earlier purchases, but at least one such purchase seems to be proven by two linked facts. Fry's 1780 specimen records for the first time ten nonpareil flowers. The natural assumption is that these were original productions. It turns out, however, that Nos. 1, 2, 8, and 9—and therefore possibly the others also—come from a much earlier collection, appearing in John Wesley's *Collection of*

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[43]For Jackson see Reed (and Johnson), *Foundries*, 289–90, 311–19.

[44]Reed (and Johnson), *Foundries*, 301–2; Mores, *Dissertation*, 97, 109 (item 35).

[45]John Smith, *The Printer's Grammar* (London: Wayland, 1787), 272.

Moral and Sacred Poems, printed by Felix Farley in Bristol, vol. 3, p. 277. Only one of these four is represented in any other of the major collections of flowers. Clearly Fry acquired these in the 1770s, probably by private treaty, possibly from the James foundry, although in some respects they seem preferable to most of the eighteen nonpareil flowers posthumously printed from the James foundry by Mores; two, Nos. (1) and (15), were very similar to Fry's No. 8.

Reed & Johnson (p. 301) suggest that Fry and Moore parted company in 1776. A separate specimen was issued from Queen Street by "Joseph Fry and Co." in 1778 and in 1780. But the title of the firm in 1785 and 1786 was "Joseph Fry and Sons." Joseph Fry had taken his sons Edmund and Henry into partnership in 1782, though neither of them had been apprenticed in the normal way, and Edmund, like his father, had been trained in the medical profession, which he left because of deafness. With the death of Joseph Fry in 1787 the firm became "Edmund Fry and Co.," though we use as our preferred standard for their flowers the specimen of 1786, in which there is little difference from the contents of that inserted in Chambers's *Cyclopedia* that same year, though dated a year earlier. This specimen contains no fewer than 294 flowers, in eleven sizes, both traditional and innovative.

16. *The need for precise bibliographical reference*. Before we can conduct an intelligent study of flowers however, as they relate to bibliography, it seems essential to settle upon some definitions and a system of classification. We showed earlier that bibliographers have rarely mentioned printers' flowers, and even then with no attempt at a standard pattern of reference, and certainly no co-ordinated body of illustrations. This is even true of the magnificent *John Baskerville: a Bibliography*, by Philip Gaskell, which supplied more bibliographical details than would normally be expected, even going the extra mile in many aspects of the study of flowers. In a pocket at the end he furnished a full-size specimen, including Baskerville's complete stock of flowers in their best form. Gaskell recognized that there were more flowers than the fourteen for which Baskerville had previously been given credit, as illustrated by Straus and Updike; he attempted some general descriptive names for some of Baskerville's flowers, and showed them in actual use on some title-pages, though in reduced facsimiles. In view of Baskerville's very limited use of flowers, therefore, one could hardly expect any more. Nevertheless if these flowers are to be identified precisely in company with those of other founders, even if they are to be used, for instance, to help discover other works printed by Baskerville, more still is needed. The needs are greatly increased, of course, if we hope to deal efficiently and confidently with a host of other printers.

That valuable and exhaustive work, the Baskerville *Bibliography*, also assists in dating the successive appearances of some (but not all) of the flowers in Baskerville's printed works. All were traditional in approach, though the 1759 dating for some of them may well have implied their first cutting in that form. This was almost certainly true of what Gaskell (followed by Pardoe) calls his favourite "lozenge and star" flower (English 1b, 1c—where only the corner-pieces were in that size), which first appeared in his 1759 Milton, and was apparently taken over to Fry's Bristol foundry by Isaac Moore, in whose 1766 specimen it appeared as two separate items, Long Primer 1 and 2, star and "lozenge"—this latter is surely a misnomer, for which "ellipse-with-circles" would be more nearly accurate.[46] Valuable though the

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[46]Gaskell, *Baskerville*, xvii, 27, Nos. 7 and 8; Pardoe, *Baskerville*, 65, 104, 115.

documentation was, it was impossible for it to achieve its full capacity of usefulness without some standard source of reference about printers' flowers.

17. *The essential apparatus for research with printers' flowers* may be described succinctly. The most important thing is a corpus of facsimile illustrations of flowers. The next is a logical system for numbering the flowers—names would certainly prove imprecise and impracticable in dealing with a thousand examples. Terminology also is important, though not all-important.

Although an illustrated listing of all the flowers used by British printers in the eighteenth century may seem like an impossible dream, an approximation is indeed practicable. If we can gather together into one view examples of most of the printers' flowers introduced by British foundries during the time of their fullest use, the last three quarters of the eighteenth century, we shall have available a powerful tool for bibliographical exploration.

18. *Typefounders' specimens*. The classic source for discovering the output of British founders is Berry and Johnson's *Specimens of Printing Types*.[47] In this work we find seven founders' specimens and two printers' specimens dated before 1700. Between 1700 and 1800 there are almost a hundred specimens by founders and fourteen by printers. A large proportion of these may be ignored, not chiefly because of their disappearance or extreme rarity, but because they record only a handful of flowers or none at all, such as that of Robert Martin of Birmingham (c. 1775), which numbered only five flowers. The Handlist of Specimens being prepared by Dr. James Mosley at the St. Bride Printing Library, London, arranges these and others chronologically, so that the general picture is clearer, though the conclusion remains the same: there remains only a minority of substantial lists of flowers. For some few founders several specimens are extant, ranging across two centuries and several owners; of these the earlier ones are more important for typography in general, but for the flowers the later specimens are more helpful, partly because they contain the largest numbers of flowers, and partly because their reproductions are far better. The successive specimens by one founder, of course, are invaluable for showing the growth of his stock between specific dates, even though the details are sometimes obscured by his incorporating later additions, not at the end of each size, but in some reordered arrangement. For reference in a comparative table, however, it seems preferable to follow the numbering of the latest specimen consulted.

I have prepared such a Comparative Table of Printers' Flowers (see Appendix A below). The surviving specimens that I judged still of value for preparing this table are the followings:

James:	1778 (published posthumously, representing the stock remaining in 1771, unnumbered by the publisher)
Caslon:	1734, c. 1740, 1742, 1746, 1764, 1766, 1774–78, 1785 (various systems of numbering; that of 1785 used)
Wilson:	1771, 1786, 1789 (numbering of 1789 used)
Baskerville:	1775 (not numbered, but the fourteen basic flower bands numbered in Straus and Dent, *Baskerville*.

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[47]W. Turner Berry and A. F. Johnson, *Specimens of Printing Types* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935).

Cottrell: 1776 (with only Small Pica flowers numbered), c. 1768 (reproduced in
                Luckombe, *Printing*, 1770, with composite patterns added to those
                given in 1766; from the various sources the flowers have been
                gathered and numbered by the editor)
Jackson: c. 1733 (numbered by the editor)
Fry: 1766 (Moore), 1768, 1770 (samples only), 1780, 1786, 1790, 1794
                (numbered in a continuous system, including Moore, 1766, but
                some recut flowers taking the same numbers as their predecessors)

Fourteen sizes of body are listed in these specimens, of which no founder used all. Baskerville used four sizes only (English, Small Pica, Long Primer, and Brevier), because he was interested in their employment for borders only. The others omitted from three to nine sizes. Occasionally the same design was recut for use in two different sizes, though it was clear from the outset that complex interacting designs would not work with very small sizes, and that some patterns were more effective with and traditionally limited to, specific larger sizes. Even with the modern ability to reproduce designs mechanically in many different sizes, it has been demonstrated that some of these reproductions are far less satisfactory in some sizes than in others.[48] The seven founders selected here are represented by examples ranging from the 22 of Baskerville to 152 by Caslon (in nine sizes) and 324 by Fry (in eleven sizes), a total of 905. A summary of the flowers advertised by the chosen printers, including mirror-pairs and corner-pieces, is here given, with the figures for Alexander Wilson reduced to accommodate for his inflationary numbering of floral groupings in addition to their individual components.

19. *A reference system for individual flowers*. A system to distinguish between individual flowers must clearly be by printers, by type-sizes within printers, and by numbered flowers within those type-sizes. In order to retain the founders' numbering, where present, we are also using a, b, c, to denote the subsidiary elements within flowers, these letters being applied in order of their appearance in the row. It seems desirable to retain the full names of the founders, though these could readily be reduced to the first three letters of each name. To save time and space, however, we use an abbreviated series of references for the flower sizes, ensuring brevity as well as precision. The system adopted uses two characters only for each size of type, and is here shown together with their approximate size in modern points, 72 to an inch:

1.	Four-line Pica	[44 point]	4P
2.	Two-line Great Primer	[36 point]	2G
3.	Two-line English	[28 point]	2E
4.	Double Pica	[22 point]	DP
5.	Great Primer	[18 point]	GP
6.	English	[14 point]	En
7.	Pica	[12 point]	Pi
8.	Small Pica	[11 point]	SP
9.	Long Primer	[10 point]	LP

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[48]See Ryder, *Suite*, 11–12.

10.	Bourgeois	[9 point]	Bo
11.	Brevier	[8 point]	Br
12.	Minion	[7 point]	Mi
13.	Nonpareil	[6 point]	No
14.	Pearl	[4.75 point]	Pe

20. *The language of ornaments and flowers*. Both *ornaments* and *flowers* are generic terms with special meanings in the realm of typography. *Ornament*, for example, is an all-purpose generic word, even in bibliography, comprising any kind of decoration of books. We propose in general to restrict its use to woodcut ornaments, unless it carries with it some qualifying word such as *metal*. We shall use the titles mostly employed by the printers themselves for the various categories of woodcut ornaments: headpiece, tailpiece (from their position on a page), and band (a more modern term) for a narrow headpiece; initial, and factotum—the block with a central hole for the insertion of any desired type letter. Because the use of printers' flowers in the eighteenth century mimicked the use of ornaments, we propose to name the various groups of flowers serving as ornaments with that title, together with a qualifier clearly indicating that instead of being single complete woodcut units they are special combinations of individual flowers. For brevity and simplicity *floral* seems preferable to *of flowers—floral ornament*, *floral factotum*, etc., rather than *ornament of flowers*, *factotum of flowers*. For some undiagnosed reason, however, *row of flowers* still sounds better than *floral row*, perhaps partly because it is used in Smith's *Printer's Grammar* (1755). Smith also uses *flower-piece* for what we propose calling a *floral ornament*, but the argument against this is that it would make awkward combinations with other technical terms, such as *flower-piece headpiece*, to which *floral headpiece* is clearly preferable. We also propose using *floral pattern* or *floral design* as alternatives to *floral ornament*. Most printers did not distinguish between the different *elements* (our word) which comprise the two mirror-image parts of many flowers, but they did use a separate word for the flower set at a 45 degree angle in order to link horizontally with vertical rows: they were *corners*, for which we prefer *corner-pieces*.

21. *The principal features of the Comparative Table*. The table shows a series of plates, each having seven columns arranged in the same order as that of the notes upon the founders given above; i.e., roughly in the chronological order of their foundry's beginnings. (The eighth column, headed "Remarks," is for occasional notes upon any component in the table, to be indicated by a superscript figure.) Across the table are displayed the flowers issued by those founders, ranging from the largest to the smallest, from Four-line Pica down to Pearl. The largest concentration is in the middle range of sizes, there being a total from all seven founders of 193 flowers in Small Pica and 165 in Long Primer. The original specimens rarely give separate numbers to the corner-pieces utilized to link together bands of flowers into frames or headpieces. The same is true when flowers come in matched pairs, one being the mirror image of the other. In this table, however, these separate elements have been numbered as subsections of the complete flower—as 5a and 5b, etc. The reverse occasionally happens in the table, however, especially with Alexander Wilson, who bestowed additional numbers on a rule of flowers when it was doubled or printed upside down, or to composite groupings of flowers where the same elements were merely arranged differently. In preparing our statistics these additional numbers have been ignored, though the corner-pieces and mirror images have been accepted as separate

items. The net results show just over nine hundred flowers issued by the major British founders between 1734 and 1794.

Caslon and Fry issued the most flowers during this period, 152 by Caslon and 324 by Fry, accounting for almost half of the total output. The attempt has been made to treat theirs as the two key columns. Although the James columns appear first, they are overshadowed by those of Caslon, presented in accordance with the numbering of the 1785 specimen. At the other end appear the Fry columns, his first examples being those cut in similar patterns to those of Caslon. Then follow Fry's remaining flowers as presented in his latest specimen of 1794. The flowers of the other five founders are again placed in the positions in their own columns opposite to similar examples in the columns of Caslon or Fry, regardless of the numbers assigned to those flowers. The remainders for each founder are then presented in the order in which the specimens were originally numbered. Where specimens were not numbered, and where flowers have been separately assembled from patterned groups of flowers, a number has been assigned to each (within parentheses) by the editor. This arrangement by reference to the two key columns, of course, necessitates breaking the sequence of the numbering (within their respective sizes) of all flowers except those in the 1785 Caslon specimen and (to a lesser degree) the 1794 Fry specimen. This minor deprivation is the less important in view of the fact that in any case some or all of the numberings for the other specimens did not originate with the founders themselves.

22. *Dating the flowers*. The dates when the different flowers first came into circulation for the most part cannot be stated exactly, and therefore their evidence for dating works is only reliable within certain limits. Nevertheless the assembly of their original appearance in a dated specimen is of major value, especially in conjunction with similar evidence from all the other major founders. It is clearly important to know exactly when each flower first appeared in a specimen. With this in mind we have added two further columns after each of those illustrating the flowers. The first of these is headed, "Sp.," and shows the year in which that flower first appeared in an extant printed specimen. Some of these specimens were certainly published soon after the creation of the flowers themselves, but where the intervals between specimens were extensive they might have been gathered together over many years. Even the dating of the specimen itself is occasionally conjectural, adding some further uncertainty. Nevertheless it is surely a mistake to ignore valuable evidence simply because it does not afford incontrovertible proof, but only probability or corroboration.

In many instances, however, it is possible to refine the evidence from the specimens, by means of dated examples of their use in printed works. Therefore a second column has been added (headed "Ex."), affording the opportunity for recording clear examples of that specific flower in dated volumes. Thus the first specimen containing all Baskerville's flowers was dated 1775, but Gaskell's *Bibliography* records the appearance of those flowers in specific works, and the first of these dates in these instances have been added in the column "Ex[ample]." Thus some of Baskerville's flowers have been taken back from 1775 to 1759. Careful study of John Wesley's numerous publications has enabled us to take back the dates of no fewer than 87 flowers at the time of writing, and it is unquestionable that this figure will be increased. Two cautions are necessary: there must be careful checking of the alternative examples, and records must be kept of the printed examples utilized for redating.

Clearly we must not expect major shifts in the dating of the majority of the flowers, though there are some. But at least minor shifts may be expected over the years in up to a quarter

or a third of them. The more exact the datings become, of course, the more precise the table will be, and therefore the more useful to bibliographers. To ensure the authenticity of the revisions, records must be kept of the printed sources upon which they have been based—book, printer, date, page. It is entirely possible in such detailed work that some confusion has arisen through a faulty flower or over-hasty identification of an apparent duplicate. Usually these revisions are based on several examples, of which, however, only one is cited. Undoubtedly continuing work should be carried out in this field in the publications of other writings besides those of Wesley, for access to these flowers was available for all. Periodical updatings of this second column should therefore be necessary. It would be foolish, however, to subject its publication to lengthy delay for this purpose: its initial value is great, even in an imperfect state, and perhaps only its actual use by others can thus add to its value.

23. *Distinguishing between similar flowers*. It is sometimes impossible to distinguish between the classical continental flowers and the same designs recut by Caslon and his successors. The proportion of these older designs, however, was rapidly being eclipsed by the flood of new designs, both imitative and innovative, which were introduced during the middle years of the century. In some instances the recut flowers by different founders seem to be exact duplicates. This is especially true in some of the classical arabesque designs. It is indeed possible that they *are* exact duplicates, from the same borrowed matrices. Yet many flowers which at first glance seem to be identical are found by careful checking to be subtly different. Indeed in some instances it is fairly simple to differentiate them into several variants. This kind of checking is difficult across seven columns, and especially difficult when the parallels are situated on different pages, even in another size, as is frequently the case. Therefore it is helpful, even essential, to prepare auxiliary groups of similar flowers, one over the other, in the closest proximity possible, in order to compare them steadily and minutely. They should be examined point by point, making written notes of the differentia, combined with direction lines indicating these distinguishing points.

This is, of course, difficult with such tiny items. Some variations may be discovered only by means of a hand microscope. It is important in this research, however, to retain the actual size of the example, for size is one of the chief criteria in comparisons. It is clearly desirable, though never simple, to work with good photocopies, neither too faint nor too dense to retain both the fine lines and the white spaces between.

It is also important to be aware of the accidents which befall metal type during the wear and tear of normal use, the chipping and bruising and bending that may change drastically the appearance of individual elements. Such accidents, of course, rarely occur in the original specimen, which must always form the point of reference, and where in any event an individual element may usually be checked against other copies in a row of flowers, but will frequently be found in printed volumes.

When such scrupulous care is taken, it is amazing to find that as many as six seemingly exact duplicates from different foundries are in fact clearly distinguishable from each other.

One further feature should be noted. As was pointed out in earlier pages, the essential creation of the flower was its cutting in a steel punch, from which was prepared a copper matrix into which the hot metal was poured to make the flowers themselves. Although the metal flowers did deteriorate with use, sometimes badly, fresh batches could be prepared from the matrices, and new matrices could be prepared from the punches. Occasionally, however, it is clear that a

founder has recut a flower, either to an improved design, or simply to restore some loss.

24. *Flowers not in the table*. Many printers continued to use flowers which they had acquired from their predecessors, of which a few had come from foreign sources, and a few from other British foundries, including some from the previous century. The evidence implies, however, that these were few, and that their output was relatively small and unimportant. It is impossible to give exact statistics, but it seems likely that these seven founders between them accounted for at least 95 percent of the flowers current in Britain during the second half of the eighteenth century. This may be tested by a study of John Wesley's many printers. The evidence of their two thousand publications for him implies that what was true of them was probably true of others, namely that the slight use of a few flowers during the first half of the century—only a dwindling proportion of which did not come from Caslon's foundry—was transformed in many works to a fairly lavish use of flowers, mainly from the new British sources, and more especially as a fashionable replacement for the older woodcut ornaments.

25. *Identifying the Printer*. The founders, of course, were producing their wares for the printers, to whom of necessity the student of the production of books must devote much thought. One of a bibliographer's more frustrating tasks is to discover the name of the printer of a work which he is studying. In any field, of course, knowing a name has an intrinsic importance in giving one a feeling of security, a sense of belonging. For the bibliographical scholar, in particular, the name of a person may furnish the key to varied kinds of information, about place, date, resources, activities, associates, workers, reputation, peculiarities. In the twentieth century we are accustomed to printers being anonymous and impersonal, clearly subsidiary to the publisher, who fills the starring role. To a large degree this was true also in the age of the hand-press, but at that time the personal skills and individual style were more obvious and more significant. Nor had publishers then gained their present stature, sometimes being little more than facilitating agents or a group of booksellers seeking a share of potential profits in return for financial support. In shaping the work the printer took second place only to the author. Yet discovering his identity is often very difficult.

Identifying a printer by his ornaments. In the search for the printer's identity his woodcut ornaments, and even his metal flowers, can be of great importance, though this has been insufficiently recognized and insufficiently catered for. The predominating woodcut ornament is the most positive as a clue to identification, and the proof of its association with one named printer can lead to a snowball effect as other works, other ornaments, by the same named printer, furnish the means of identifying the printers of still other works. This has proven of real value in studying the works of John Wesley, who employed some fifty or sixty printers from time to time throughout the British Isles. Carefully checked ornaments from twenty-three printers in eleven different cities produced between them 295 ornaments, all but a handful being unique woodcuts rather than metal ornaments [see the sample in Appendix B]. This in turn has led to the positive identification of the printers of works where he was not named in the imprint, both major writings and especially ephemera. Yet for only one of these printers was any bibliographical assistance available, in Keith Maslin's exhaustive *The Bowyer Ornament Stock*.[49] Research among hundreds of ornamented eighteenth-century volumes has too often been frustrated by

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[49](Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, Bodleian Library, 1973).

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such imprints as that on one of John Wesley's major works, his translation of Thomas a Kempis, 1735: "London: Printed for C. Rivington." Printed for! We honour Charles Rivington and the publishing house which he founded, but how we wish that he had used the phrase "Printed by!" As a result of such misdemeanours, the value of 295 ornaments pointing to specific printers in Wesley's publications is counterbalanced by the 78 ornaments which are "anonymous," or unmatched with the printers who used them.

During the first half of the eighteenth century printers' woodcut ornaments were used much more widely than printers' metal flowers, but from about 1750 onwards the pattern was reversed. Because metal flowers were not unique, however, being available in quantity to any printer who cared to purchase them, they have been generally ignored by bibliographers. Yet the identification of printers can be one of the most valuable functions of printers' flowers. A number of Wesley's printers have already been identified by means of their use of flowers in his publications, some tentatively, some positively. In this instance, of course, we are dealing with a large group of printers, many or most of whose products had already been recognized from their imprints or other evidence (such as the ledgers of William Strahan) as having been employed by Wesley. The task of recognizing printers by the flowers which they used and the way in which they used them is possible only if we secure in advance some knowledge of their stock of flowers and of their mannerisms in using them. The corollary of this is, of course, that the more we know about a printer's characteristics, the more likely we are to recognize his personal touch in whatever publication it occurs. The present writer, after an extensive study of the works printed by Robert Hawes—who used only one woodcut ornament, and used that rarely—has felt that he could recognize almost immediately any sizeable work printed by Hawes, and has been proved correct on many occasions. This was mainly because Hawes was a highly individualistic printer, especially in his use of flowers. The same thing is true, however, though perhaps to a lesser degree, of almost every hand-press printer. Therefore the search for individual characteristics is often the prerequisite for identification—as well as being important in itself.

26. *The distinguishable characteristics of a printer*. One of the most important tasks in bibliography is the preparation of a personal profile of each printer under study: his presses, his paper-stock, his founts, his stock of ornaments, his style of composing and imposing, and the features and dated periods in the development of that printing style, especially in a century—notably during its seventies—which underwent a typographical revolution in the use of capitals and italics. Other elements in this revolution were the disuse of catchwords and the gradual displacing of woodcut ornaments by metal flowers. We must therefore add to our differentiating features a printer's stock of flowers and his preferred methods of using them. If his use of flowers is to furnish clues to his identity and to his productions, we clearly need to know as much about his working life as possible—even if we remain ignorant of his birth, marriage, and death.

The potential for this kind of research has long been present as a half-realized clue. Writing about John Baskerville as a printer, Philip Gaskell's detailed bibliography mentions the paucity of the flowers which he manufactured as a founder and used in his printed works, but added a remark about his favourite "lozenge and star" ornament, a remark echoed in F. E.

Pardoe's biography of Baskerville.[50] A statement such as this might well lead someone who sought missing works by Baskerville to think: "These flowers, or his way of using them in borders, is apparently characteristic of Baskerville; I must look out for them"; or, "I must investigate the usage in this volume, which might have been printed by him"; or, "I wonder if other printers had favourite flowers, which might furnish a kind of fingerprint for them? If only there were an authoritative guide to printers and their ornaments and flowers!"

The word "favourite" is an important clue to this essential element in individualizing a printer. We need to search for anything which may be termed a favourite embellishment, a preferred practice, a characteristic method, one particular trick of the trade, anything which separates one individual printer from (literally) a hundred other British printers.[51] In this search for individuality among printers through a combination of personal traits in their working life, flowers add a completely new dimension, the possibility of becoming, not simply a competent, even an expert craftsman, but a creative artist, readily distinguishable from every other typographic artist. For the fashioning of a floral headpiece or tailpiece was indeed a work of art, albeit one which Baskerville (like others), for whatever reason, denied himself.

27. *Significant samples of printers and their flowers, from Wesley's works*. It is quite impossible, of course, for one person to secure a full listing of all the flowers used by all the printers of the works of all British authors during the eighteenth century—especially as it should be lavishly illustrated. But a comparative table of *most* of these flowers *can* be supplied, and significant samplings of their use by a group of printers associated with one or two prolific writers or publishers might offer reliable indications about the stock and practices both of these individuals in particular, and (through them as representatives) of British printers in general during this period. Much depends, of course, upon the spread of both the representative publishers and the representative printers. In this instance John Wesley is an ideal candidate. His 450 publications included a fifty-volume devotional series, a five-volume scientific primer, a three-volume verse anthology, two four-volume historical works, eight volumes of sermons, a monthly magazine, and a huge range of books and pamphlets on everything from devotion, theology, and liturgy, to hymns, music, and medicine—he even abridged a five-volume novel (Henry Brooke's *Fool of Quality*) to such good effect that it became a modest "best seller" long after his death. From our point of view here, however, his enormous output is perhaps of less importance than his dealings with so many printers in different cities, and the varying sizes of his published works.

28. *Wesley's printers*. John Wesley's printers were a strangely mixed group, ranging from those who are immortalized in the *Dictionary of National Biography* to some who are unknown to Plomer's *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers*.[52] Yet a handful of works bearing

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[50]F. E. Pardoe, *John Baskerville of Birmingham, Letter-Found & Printer* (London: Frederick Muller Limited, 1975).

[51]For the numbers and output of compositors and pressmen see Gaskell, *New Introduction*, 54–56, 139–41, and cf. Ian Maxted, *The London Book Trades, 1775–1800* (London: Dawson, 1977), p. x.

[52]Henry Plomer, et al., *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1726 to 1775* (Oxford: University Press, 1932).

the imprint of the humblest of them may furnish valuable clues to his unsigned work, provided that there exists a sufficient nucleus of signed and dated work to convey at least a sketch of his working environment. One neglected feature in that environment heretofore has been his use of printers' flowers. We can readily demonstrate the value of this neglected element in the context of John Wesley's publications and printers.

Altogether Wesley employed some forty or fifty printers during a publishing career stretching from 1733 to 1791, and his works were occasionally pirated by still other printers. Those listed below may be considered his major printers either in the number or the importance of the works which they printed for him—the dates in parentheses are those during which he employed them:

London:	William Bowyer (1736–65), 17 items (27 ornaments)
	Henry Cock (1749–68), 39 items (21 ornaments)
	Joseph Fry (1777–86), 11 items, major works (2 metal ornaments)
	Robert Hawes (1773–80), 185 items (1 ornament)
	George Paramore (1788–91), 43 items before Wesley's death
	John Paramore (1779–87) 102 items with his imprint, 128 with imprint, "Printed and Sold at the New Chapel"
	William Strahan (1740–88) 160 items, including 9 not extant, and 10 published but not in his ledgers
Bristol:	Felix Farley and family (1739–67), 150 items (66 ornaments)
	John Grabham (1758–60), 20 items
	William Pine (1760–91), 150 items (1 metal ornament)
Newcastle:	John Gooding (1743–51), 27 items (10 ornaments)
Dublin:	Samuel Powell (1737–71), 45 items (43 ornaments)
	[See the selection of ornaments for these printers in Appendix B]

This is a good representative group covering fifty-five years of printing for Wesley, and about half of his publishing activity. The members form the most likely prospects as printers for his hundreds of works both small and large which were published without the printer's name.

The selection and use of their flowers by any of Wesley's printers may furnish valuable personal evidence about them, and this may well turn out to be of general bibliographical significance. Here we will attempt a brief portrayal of two of his least known printers.

Henry Cock does not appear in Plomer's *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers*. In June 1984 the British Library Automated Information Service supplied 59 listings of works printed by him. All these were evangelical in nature, and there were several hymn-books; 14 were printed for George Whitefield, 12 for Martin Madan. Of the remainder four were published by Wesley's preaching colleagues, 24 by Wesley himself. In other words Henry Cock may be characterized as a *Methodist* printer—in the broader sense of that term. Actually in our Wesley bibliography we have a larger listing of works printed by Cock for Wesley, no fewer than 39, on the basis not only of imprints but of the use of one or more of his woodcut ornaments. Upon the evidence of his printing style, however, it seems possible that a further twenty or thirty works with the imprint, "London: Printed in the Year M.DCC.LVI," were also produced by Cock. Careful analysis of Cock's use of his limited stock of flowers, applied to these and other "anonymous"

works "sold at the Foundery," will almost certainly lead to crediting him as the printer of at least some of them.

Robert Hawes occupies a similar niche, though he was much more prolific. There is very little about him in Plomer, some of it incorrect because of a misinterpretation of mentions of "The Foundery" in his imprints. Hawes was not himself a typefounder; "The Foundery"—a disused foundery in Moorfields, London which formerly supplied the king with cannons, had been leased by Wesley in 1740 as his chief London headquarters. In this instance the British Library was able to supply a much longer list of works printed, and a more varied one. His work for Wesley, however, seemed to form the bulk of his known printing between the years 1773 and 1780. (In 1779 Wesley set up his own printing works in the Foundery, replaced for religious activities in 1778 by his New Chapel in City Road, London.) Of the 104 publications printed by Robert Hawes listed by the British Library, no fewer than 87 were for Wesley and his colleagues, including John Fletcher especially—well over 80%. The proportion is much higher than that, however, for in the new Wesley bibliography we note 185 editions printed by Hawes, though this does include a number discovered by means of his characteristic use of some uncommon flowers.

Hawes usually supplied his name in imprints, except for ephemera, the area where the clues afforded by flowers is especially valuable. Strangely enough, it proved extremely difficult to discover from which founderies he had secured his supplies until the preparation of this comparative table furnished the basic information—though two or three puzzles still remain. The characteristic features of Hawes's use of those flowers, however, were so clear and distinctive that for a time it seemed that he was completely unique. The table, however, reveals that his chief founder, Jackson, had supplied a hint for one of the favourite patterns which he developed.[53]

Joseph Fry, himself a founder also, was developing somewhat similar patterns for the printing arm of his own business. Alexander Wilson of Glasgow had also cut some flowers similar to those of Jackson, his chief outlet being the Foulis Press, but a careful survey of all Hawes's flowers implies that he never used any from Wilson's Glasgow foundry, confirming what might indeed be expected from a printer with such rich resources readily available in London.

Hawes is remarkable for a very unusual feature in his designs, the incorporation of varied inconspicuous series of figures in his bands and headpieces. Their function is uncertain, but it seems highly unlikely that they are comparable to the use of press figures to denote the pressmen responsible for printing individual sheets, for it is almost certain that Hawes owned more than one or two presses, and had no problem in keeping track of his employees. So far none of these tiny figures have been noticed in the groups of flowers used by other printers.

29. *Using the table in bibliographical research*. A table showing the British printers' flowers in visual samples, together with information about their dating, is undoubtedly a valuable tool, even without the gradually increasing precision supplied by apparatus aimed to augment differentiation between them and to secure details about their acquisition and use by

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[53][Baker intended to have a comparative illustration at this point, but the specific chart has not been located among his papers.]

printers. We have already seen some ways in which the study of these flowers may assist the bibliographer in various capacities:

a) As a means of precise bibliographical reference.

b) To add to our knowledge of individual printers. This category is capable of great and valuable expansion, as we shall see below.

c) To extend our knowledge of the individual stocks and characteristics of printers, enabling us the better to identify the printers of anonymously printed works.

d) To date undated publications.

e) To distinguish between editions with more specificity.

From time to time there is no doubt that flowers will help in many other tasks, hitherto not considered because the instrument here offered was not available.

Reconstructing a missing flower specimen. The preparation of the table, for instance, has made possible at least a partial reconstruction of one of William Caslon's missing specimens. No Caslon specimen depicting flowers is extant between 1746 and 1764. In his masterly work on Caslon, however, Dr. Mosley notes a missing specimen published "before 1752," devoted to "a great variety of curious flowers and fancies for ornamenting of title-pages, tickets, etc. "[54] The evidence in the "Example" columns of the table for Caslon shows with some degree of certainty, not only that the date for the missing specimen was not later than 1751, and may well have been much earlier, but that it was largely dedicated to filling up the huge deficiency in Caslon's offerings in the popular Small Pica size. In that size the following numbers can be back-dated from 1764 to 1751: 1, 2, 3, 4, 6 (to 1743), 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 (to 1746), 12, 14, 17, 20, 21, 22. Because Caslon, unlike Fry, did not retain his former numberings in augmented specimens, we cannot argue cogently about any intervening numbers, except that if the first of the pair, 13 and 14, was offered in 1751, it is almost certain that this was true of the second also. Others which may have been offered in that specimen were possibly GP 3, 9 (both exemplified in 1753), LP 3 (1743), Br 1 (1749) and 3 (1746); and No 4 (1743).

Re-issued gatherings. In 1743–44 John Wesley issued *A Collection of Moral and Sacred Poems*. Although this fact is not generally known, it was issued by subscription, in numbers, and as sometimes happens in that type of publication, shortage of copies in some of the numbers eventually developed. The work was printed by Felix Farley of Bristol, but (apparently much later, perhaps at intervals) some numbers were re-issued on a whiter paper, with running titles in 12pt instead of 14pt capitals and small capitals, and with metal flowers replacing woodcut ornaments. This affects Vol. I, signatures Z–2E (pp. 277–347) and Vol. II, signature A. The problem is to determine approximately the dates of the reissues, bearing in mind the evidence of Richard Viney's manuscript diary for February 23, 1744, that at least part of the *Collection* was being published in Newcastle,[55] that on November 16, 1744, William Strahan's ledger records a charge "for printing a sheet of Moral and Sacred Poems"—about six weeks after the original printing had been completed. Could the flowers used in those re-issues offer any clue to the identity of the printers of these re-issues or to the dates of printing? The use of bands on 27 of

[54]Mosley, *Specimen*, 105–113, especially 108.

[55]For Viney and his diary see *The Bicentennial Edition of the Works of John Wesley* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1984ff.), 25:583 and 26:104.

the pages shows a unity of approach, both in headbands, headpieces, and tailpieces. All appear to be from Fry's foundry, and nearly all appear in his specimen of 1766, with no evidence at present to date them earlier. The conclusion is unexpected but almost inescapable, that these re-issues were prepared by Farley's successor as Wesley's Bristol printer, William Pine, in the late 1760s. From the evidence of the flowers there is no clue to the printings by Strahan of London and Gooding of Newcastle.

30. *The development and characteristics of a printer's flower stock.* The working records both of typefounders and printers in Britain are almost non-existent, Bowyer and Strahan being the major exceptions among Wesley's printers. It is important to show any stock which they inherited, what additions they acquired, from which founders, and at what periods. Clues to these problems may occasionally be picked up from a variety of sources, but the basic method of obtaining details must remain the careful examination of the works prepared by each printer. Such information may also supply hints about whether they were conservative or progressive, failing or succeeding, but for our purposes here its chief benefit is simply to furnish dated examples of their use of specific flowers.

Without question the initial flower stock of Wesley's earlier printers contained a handful of older flowers from other founders, both British and foreign, and it would be interesting and perhaps feasible to trace them, though not essential to our eighteenth century task. They then went on to purchase selections from Caslon's specimens from 1734 onwards, and the evidence of almost all Wesley's printers up to 1750 shows that the bulk of their flower stock came from Caslon. William Strahan was one of the conservatives. He continued to treat woodcut ornaments as his basic ornaments until well past the middle of the century, and the handful of flowers that he did use (as in Wesley's *A Collection of Forms of Prayer for Every Day in the Week*, 5th edn., 1740), were uniformly pre-Caslon, and were used in their simplest forms of rows of flowers and embryonic tailpieces.

Undoubtedly at the first acquisition of new stock there was a strong tendency for compositors—unless they were very conservative—to try them all out in fairly rapid succession. Wesley's *Collection of Moral and Sacred Poems*, printed by Felix Farley of Bristol, 1743–44, seems to confirm that Farley also inherited some old flowers, to which he added many of the older Caslon stock. These he usually displayed in floral bands, relying on woodcut ornaments for more elaborate decoration. In the period 1750–51, however, it seems clear that he purchased a large supply of flowers from Caslon's new specimen. Perhaps this purchase was specifically for the huge new undertaking with which Wesley had entrusted him, the fifty volumes of his *Christian Library.*[56] Vol. 1 had been printed in 1749, and contained many "cuts," together with a handful of older Caslon flowers. The transformation in Vol. 2, 1751, is remarkable. There is a veritable flood of the new Caslon Small Pica flowers, especially in floral bands, dedicated to a succession of these flowers, with only a small proportion of repetitions. Not only so, but the compositor seemed to relish trying out a succession of experimental arrangements of these flowers, in factotums, headpieces, tailpieces, as if he had discovered an exciting and creative

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[56]John Wesley, ed. *A Christian Library: Consisting of Extracts from and Abridgments of the Choicest Pieces of Practical Divinity Which have been Published in the English Tongue*, 50 vols. (Bristol: Farley, 1749–55).

new toy. The contrast is the greater when we come to Vols. 3 and 4 (again in 1751), which eschew the new flowers for the older ones. This seems to provide evidence of the work of two different compositors, one adventurous, the other preferring the former, less imaginative but demanding approach. The Vol. 2 excitement did not quite return again, but from Vol. 5 onwards there continued to be regular experimentation with new forms, right on to Vol. 50 in 1755. To the results of this, seen in the category of floral designs, we shall return later. Farley continued faithful to Caslon's foundry. In 1762 he printed, for Charles Wesley, *Short Hymns on Select Passages of the Holy Scriptures*, in two volumes. This shows no major advance upon the stock of Caslon's flowers which he had purchased in 1751.

By that time, however, William Pine had become Wesley's major Bristol printer. For some years Pine similarly had used Caslon's flowers. In 1760, with the acquisition of John Wesley as a customer, he greatly expanded his printing enterprise. He augmented his old flower stock with some from the foundry of Caslon's apprentice, Thomas Cottrell, who had just issued his first specimen. Here again one can sense some of the excitement of securing and beginning to use his additional stock. Earlier in 1760 he had printed the first edition of Wesley's *Sermons*, Vol. IV, along with his partner for a few months, John Grabham. This depended completely for its decoration upon the familiar Caslon flowers. Later in 1760, however, Pine was once more on his own, and reprinted the work armed with his new Cottrell stock. He embellished the reprint lavishly with Cottrell's flowers: En 1, 2, 5; SP 4, 7, 10, 11, 14, 17, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28; and LP 1, 7, 10.[57] In 1764, as has been noted, Pine teamed up with Joseph Fry as typefounder, and from that date onwards their own products formed his main stock. When John Paramore took over printing for John Wesley in 1779, in the former headquarters of Methodism, the London Foundery, it seems that he purchased a supply of the flowers of Joseph Fry, and continued to use these—somewhat unimaginatively, to the end of his days in 1787, when the work was taken over by his relative George Paramore. Although such discoveries about a printer's stock of flowers may mainly be made from large works, the clues to the Cottrell purchase by Pine came from one volume only, and even the lowly pamphlet can add to our evidence.

31. *The compositor*. As we have seen in the cases of Farley and Pine, the use of flowers, especially new stock, may furnish valuable clues to the personality both of the printer and his compositors. The purchase of new stock was clearly the prerogative of the printer himself, who must certainly have expected to use that stock. Its actual employment, however, depended upon the compositor, and it was surely the conservatism of one of Farley's employees which led to the neglect of the new flowers in Vols. 3 and 4 of the *Christian Library*, just as it was the enthusiasm of Pine (and probably at least one of his compositors), which led to a change of approach in the 1760 reprint of Vol. IV of Wesley's *Sermons*. The amount of assistance given by the use of flowers in identifying compositors, however, seems unlikely to become a major factor, and certainly is not comparable to the evidence of press figures. Nevertheless it is quite possible that the correlation of the two lines of evidence may eventually prove useful in delineating some compositors more fully.

Without any doubt the compositor both benefited and suffered from the introduction of

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[57]One suspects that many of these did not appear in the c. 1760 Cottrell specimen, but were first advertised in the 1766 specimen.

flowers, as is made quite clear in John Smith's *Printer's Grammar* (1755). After writing about "the considerable augmentation which Mr. Caslon has made here in Flowers" he continued:

> But it is feared that headpieces, facs, and tailpieces of flowers will not long continue, either in France or Germany; considering that the contriving and making them up is attended with considerable trouble and loss of time; and as no allowance is made for this, it will not be strange if but few shall be found who will give instances of their fancy to detriment themselves thereby."[58]

Rare indeed would be the compositor who undertook the imaginative use of printers' flowers at his own expense!

There is no doubt that the imaginative creation of what Smith termed "flower-pieces" and the French "vignettes" was clearly in the minds of typefounders advertising their wares, as well as of typographers expounding their craft. Once he came to the art of composing in Chapter VIII, Smith offered a series of examples of flower-pieces.[59] A few founders' specimens issued during the second half of the century became more and more elaborate in the ideas which they offered to their clients, though some, like Caslon, at first simply printed rows of the different flowers in their appropriate sizes. Caslon also offered a few designs, however, in 1763, more in 1766, and a massive collection in 1785. Wilson, Cottrell, and Jackson, also offered sample designs: indeed in the cases of Cottrell and Jackson, a goodly number of their flowers can only be deduced from their floral designs. Fry also began in a small way in 1766, but continued to increase rapidly both in single flowers and in floral designs, incorporated into the 1787 *Printer's Grammar* in a small way, and into Caleb Stower's *Printer's Grammar* (1808) so lavishly that fourteen pages of flowers are balanced by thirteen pages of floral designs. Eventually, when the Monotype Corporation reproduced flowers mechanically, they became the most exuberant of all, as exemplified in Frederic Warde's *Printers Ornaments* (1928).

32. *Adherent floral designs*. John Smith had a solution for compositors who were paid by piece-work rather than by the hour. It was clearly much more complex and time-consuming to fit together a floral design consisting of a hundred or more flowers than it was to compose the same number of letters into words. But what if it were possible to create floral designs which could be used over and over again, instead of being linked together once and then being distributed to their appropriate boxes? To encourage reluctant compositors Smith recommended both more pay for work with flowers, and the preservation of its creative results: "But this might be remedied, were printers to recompense the compositor for his painful application; and then to preserve the substance of his invention entire, for occasional use; being first well secured and conglutinated (by wetting it with gum water), to keep it from breaking."[60]

In fact this was no new idea, though it may be its only mention in print. William Strahan's compositors, for instance, had been following such a practice for some time, as we shall see in a later section. This recognition of the floral pattern as an "invention," and therefore

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[58]John Smith, *The Printer's Grammar* (London, 1755), 137.

[59]Ibid., 176–77, 196, 223–24, 272, 281, 297.

[60]Ibid., 137.

uniquely belonging to one printer, if not to his compositor, clearly emphasizes its value for identifying that printer and his work.

33. *Copying floral designs*. The question naturally arises, To what degree may a printer's floral designs be considered unique when so many were available in founders' specimens, as well as in previously printed works? The assumption seemed to be that each floral design was indeed the property of the designer, yet was also (once printed) in the public domain. It was offered as a sample of what could be done, but could be copied with impunity. In common law it was apparently the property of the compositor who designed it, or (more likely) of the printer in whose paid employment and with whose equipment it was designed. This seems never to have been spelled out, however. Even the copyright law for books applied only to a small proportion of the vast output, those works which were officially registered at Stationers' Hall, and was seldom enforced. Yet John Smith's *Printer's Grammar* (along with the printing of four headpieces and one factotum) shows that it was at least considered a courtesy to acknowledge the originator of a design: "But because the construction of flowers … depends upon fancy, we willingly leave everyone to his own, and communicate here some sketches besides; for which and the two preceding ones we are obliged to a well-wisher of our undertaking."[61]

There may well have been some printers who did take for their own some previously published designs, though one suspects that this only happened with the simplest floral factotums; even there only a minor change was needed in order to claim originality—only perhaps to find that some other compositor had already used the same variant. This was like using the same words as someone else, however, for these floral designs constituted a common typographical language. The copying of punches for individual flowers themselves was commonplace, sometimes with not even the smallest visible variation. Only in the most elaborate settings, therefore, might some complaint be made, and even this was highly unlikely.

The feasibility of copying clearly implies that it is impossible to claim with absolute certainty that any floral design was unique, except with some qualifying word such as "almost." Nevertheless for our practical purpose of identifying printers and their works this is usually sufficient. And in the case, for instance, of Felix Farley's edition of Wesley's *Christian Library* even the "almost" could be dropped.

34. *Floral designs: rows of flowers*. The simplest use of flowers was that of headbands, or rows of one flower or a couple of flowers, and this seems to have been the basic approach noted by John Smith, who even suggested rules for the practice:

> They are used in miscellaneous work, where a single row of flowers is put over the head of each fresh subject, but not where two [subjects] or more are comprehended under the same title. … It ought to be a rule that a single row of them should be put over a head that begins a page, be it part, chapter, article, or any other division, in work that has its divisions separated by flowers.[62]

One of the simplest applications of this feature was for a row (either full measure or

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[61]Ibid., 196, 204.

[62]Ibid., 137–38.

short) above and below a half-title on a separate page preceding a division. In the earlier years of the eighteenth century a woodcut headband was generally used for this purpose. Examples are frequent in the collected sermons of John Wesley. Strangely enough William Strahan, who printed the first editions of the first three volumes of Wesley's *Sermons on Several Occasions* (1746, 1748, 1750), in every instance used rows of flowers for these half-title pages, even though he might use woodcut ornaments elsewhere in the volumes. On the other hand William Bowyer, who printed the second edition of Vol. I (1754), used only woodcut ornaments throughout, with two exceptions, where his woodcut headbands were replaced by rows of a predecessor of Caslon SP 10). Vols. IV–VIII, issued 1760 onwards, as well as later editions of Vols. I–III, all used rows of flowers for this half-title function.

An interesting and unexpected feature of these floral rows is their repetition by the compositor, who utilized the principle of glueing flowers together so as to be able to use them more than once. Spreading over Vols. II–III were Wesley's thirteen Discourses on the Sermon on the Mount. Either Strahan or his compositor clearly felt that it was appropriate to use exactly the same flowers for each of these thirteen linked half-titles, an upper row and a lower row. Exactly the same, that is, to the casual glance. In fact, not only are the same flowers used—each with its minute variations from the norm—but the upper rows for the first nine, in Vol. II, are all *exactly* the same (except for the differences caused by unequal inking), including an abnormality on the 16th of the eighteen flowers, including also a gradually widening gap between the 16th and 17th flowers, which began as 0.5 mm wide, gradually increased to 0.75, and at the end of Vol. II was 1.25 mm wide. This uniformity could hardly have been by coincidence, but because of a deliberate stratagem of the compositor. In Vol. III, two years later, the same flowers were used, but the stretching agglomeration had apparently been broken up; the same principle continued in operation, however, for in Discourses 11, 12, and 13, there was a faulty 17th flower in the upper row, and the same gap between the 8th and 9th flower in the lower row. Nor was this device confined to the thirteen linked sermons. In Vol. III, the half-titles to three successive sermons, on pages *134*, *147*, and *241*, there was exactly the same damage to the 8th flower in the upper row, and to the 8th and 9th flowers (flanking a different central flower) in the lower row. This, therefore, is a feature to be reckoned with in all major floral designs considerably before the time of Smith's *Printer's Grammar*.

In general the composition of rows of flowers is so straightforward that little more needs to be said about it, and examples abound from all Wesley's printers who used flowers at all. One complication is to be found, however, namely the occasional need (especially in the use of larger flowers) to insert something narrower to make up the full measure of the line. Here there is considerable diversity in the practice of printers, some apparently preferring smaller related flowers, while others used punctuation or reference marks, such as the colon, asterisks, section or paragraph signs, or the obelisk or double dagger; still others on occasion used letters.

Differentiation also occurs among printers in the combination of flowers in rows, both in the pairing and the arranging, and quite apart from the use of the products of this or that foundry. Among the favourite pairings were Caslon SP 13 and 14—and their sometimes distinguishable counterparts from other foundries. There were also differences in the manner of insertion of extraneous elements: the centre and the ends were normal positions for these, but occasionally there is no symmetrical balance, and one suspects the careless distribution of the flowers in their boxes after use. Although single rows rarely became sufficiently distinctive to point with great

likelihood to any one printer, it would be a mistake to write them off completely as useless for bibliographical purposes.

That, of course, is especially true of many of the flower rows of Robert Hawes, of which 110 distinctive ones have been collated, with from one to three rows of flowers. Even of single-line rows, however, we have located 77 patterns in Hawes, many of them distinctive because of the ornaments which he used from Jackson's foundry, especially the arced points, Jackson LP (21) and (22).

35. *Floral borders*. Both engraved and woodcut borders were an important feature of printed books in earlier centuries, but by the eighteenth century they seem to have been dying out, though revived now and then up to our own day. Joseph Moxon had said (somewhat apologetically) in 1683: "Wooden borders, if well drawn and neatly cut, may be printed in a creditable book."[63]

During the eighteenth century the opportunity of the rich palette of interchangeable flowers might well have led to an immediate increase in the use of borders in British printing. The title-page of Fournier's *Modeles des Caracteres de l'Imprimerie* (1742) was surrounded by the most lavish (and attractive) border, his preface was within triple-rule borders with corner-pieces, and the following pages all within double-rule borders. Many printer's and founder's specimens were presented within floral borders. Baskerville specialized in rows of flowers tied together with corner-pieces. Every page of Luckombe's *History and Art of Printing* (1770, 1771) was presented within a floral border, varying only in the full range of reference marks separating the two sections at the head and foot. The very existence of an elaborate set of often interchangeable corner-pieces issued by most founders implied the use of borders. In fact, however, these are rarely present—never, we believe, in Wesley. The very fact of using a border, therefore, quite apart from its components, is itself a distinctive feature for most British printers apart from Baskerville.

36. *Floral factotums*. Factotum (from the two Latin words meaning "do everything") appears in Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary* (1755) only as a general servant, though it was well known to printers throughout his lifetime as a general purpose ornament, having a hole left in the centre into which any letter of the alphabet might be inserted. Printers usually called them "facs." They are very common in Wesley's publications, and like other woodcut ornaments were imitated by metal flowers. These enlarged the options for a printer introducing a new section or chapter: he could use a large capital, taking up the depth of from two to five lines; he could use a woodcut initial; he could use a woodcut factotum; and, at least from the middle of the century, he might experiment with floral factotums. This variety is of value for the bibliographer seeking to distinguish between different editions and different printers, though very little use has been made of it. In order to derive some statistical estimate of its use, at least in smaller publications, we have compared the treatment given to five frequently printed pamphlets by Wesley, four early sermons and his extract from the *Homilies* of the Church of England.[64]

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[63]Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises*, 26.

[64]*Salvation by Faith* (1738), *The Doctrine of Salvation, Faith, and Good Works* (1738), *The Almost Christian* (1741), *"Awake, thou that sleepest"* (1742), and *Scriptural Christianity* (1744). Of these not all editions were surveyed, but only those of which xeroxes were readily

The dates in this survey ranged from 1738 to 1791, and included sixteen printers. The major discovery was unexpected, that no fewer than 75 used unadorned capital letters only, decreasing in number with their increasing size: 47 2-line caps., 19 3-line caps., 7 4-line caps., and 2 5-line caps. There were no initials (though they do appear in Wesley's publications), 7 factotums (1742–49), and 18 floral factotums (1754–79). It is of interest to note that in addition to the huge preponderance of unadorned capitals in the first half of the century, there was a return to them during the last two decades, though the latter cannot necessarily be regarded as characteristic of printers in general, but may result from the fact that this coincides with Wesley's London headquarters almost monopolizing his printing from 1780 onwards. It should again be emphasized, however, that the limited use of floral factotums does not imply the neglect of other uses of printers' flowers.

A few additional remarks may be made. Robert Hawes (in this survey) shows only two factotums, but in the remainder of his publications for Wesley he used no fewer than 35 different factotums. These may be distinguished from each other by their size, by the flowers used, and by their shapes. Most are regular squares, sometimes composed from one element, often from two. One forms a vertical rectangle, four flowers wide by five deep. Five include both an inner and an outer framework. The choice of flowers usually leaves the central hole square, whether small or quite large, but the use of Fry Br 1 and a similar heavier flower gives a scalloped effect to the centre, while in one instance a square is inserted within an outer circle. As might be expected, Hawes's use of uncommon flowers occasionally makes his factotums quite distinctive, such as three using Jackson LP (21) and (22).

Other printers followed similar practices, and used many similar designs. One pleasant design constructed from Caslon SP 14, 2a and 2b—or their equivalents in other founts—was used by several printers. A variant of it, substituting Caslon SP 17 for SP 14, turned up several times in Wesley's *General Rules*—also a possible sample for this survey: London, no printer, 8th, 1756; London, no printer, 8th, 1764; and London, no printer, 9th, 1766. This cannot be regarded as proof of their publication by the same printer, of course, because of its popularity and the ease of preparing it from the products of several different foundries; at the same time it might form a supporting element to evidence from other features. It is quite clear, nevertheless, that in spite of their relative simplicity floral factotums may frequently furnish valuable evidence for identifying both printers and editions, especially when combined with the known tendencies of an individual printer in the displaying of opening capital letters.

37. *Floral headpieces*. For most printers who used flowers the major creative effort went, not into rows, not into borders, nor even into factotums, but into headpieces. John Smith squarely faced the fact that in 1755 many printers possessed no flowers. Nevertheless, Smith urged, it was possible to prepare makeshift headpieces and tailpieces: "For want of flowers, references and other sorts belonging to a fount are sometimes made use of, to serve as well at the beginning as conclusion of work of a small size." He then gave four examples, which

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available, disregarding microfilms; the selection was thus to some extent random. One other publication thus prepared was omitted, in order to keep the number of examples down to 100, and with the same desire in mind those from unknown printers were omitted. [Unfortunately, Baker's table for these comparisons was not put in a shape to be included in this online version.]

demonstrated the basic pattern of a floral headpiece: a border; an enclosed upper line matched by an enclosed lower line; and a central portion. The elements used in these examples were rules, parentheses, square brackets, sections, asterisks alternating with obelisks, double daggers, circles, braces, and capital Vs.[65] Within a decade such substitutes were rare, though still found, and the majority of all but the smallest jobbing printers possessed at least a modest stock of flowers.

Easily the best example of the use of the more elaborate floral designs during the formative period of the 1750s is Farley's printing of Wesley's *Christian Library*, Vols. 2–50 (1751–55).[66] We have already seen a compositor's excitement over Farley's purchase of his Caslon stock, which he used mainly in rows of flowers. Consider a headpiece which first appeared in Vol. 6 (1751), and continued to appear in Vols. 7 and 8 (1751), and Vols. 13 and 14 (1752), without any change. This contained examples of eight flowers only, but no fewer than 127 elements altogether—an obvious candidate for an adherent headpiece!

Perhaps even more interesting and impressive is one which first appears in Vol. 21 (1753), and runs all the way through to Vol. 50 (1755) as an adherent headpiece, in five rows, with 76 elements.[67] But the compositor also developed three variants, the first running in Vols. 35–47, the second in Vols. 38–41, and the third in Vols. 45–48. Again the basic material for the headpiece is simple, no more than five Small Pica flowers with the mirror images of two of them (SP 2, 3, 7, 14, 20), symmetrically and artistically multiplied. This appears at least forty times at the head of pages beginning important new items or divisions, in every volume from 21 to 50 except 22, 37, 45, 47, and 48. In Vol. 21 the compositor introduced another for such important occasions, somewhat similar in general appearance, employing Caslon SP 1, 2, 3, 12, 13, and 21, three of them (2, 3, and 12) with mirror images. This appears at least seven times in Vols. 35, 36, 42, 43, 44, and 47.[68] In Vol. 38 (p. 14) appears another variant, reduced to four rows, omitting the central row, so that it was reduced to two mirror-image arabesques (SP 2, 3), along with SP 7 and 20, a total of 59 elements. This appeared five times, in Vols. 38, 39, 40, and 41. Another four-row arrangement of these same five flowers appeared in Vol. 45, and was printed four times, in Vols. 45, 46, and 48.[69] It should be noted that all these four headpieces, though similar in appearance and size, were being reprinted from Farley's stock of adherent floral designs during the same period, along with a number of others. Even leafing through these fifty volumes reveals hundreds of such designs repeated several or many times, and almost all with Caslon's Small Pica flowers forming the basic palette for blending their typographical colours. During this same period a stock of at least sixty-six woodcut ornaments was also in use, though gradually being squeezed out by these more flexible and renewable floral decorations.

38. *Floral tailpieces*. Most of what has been noted about floral headpieces as exemplified in Farley's printing of Wesley's *Christian Library*, is true also of tailpieces, including their at

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[65]Smith, *Printer's Grammar*, 138–39.

[66][The full 50-volume set is available on ECCO for scholars to consult.]

[67]For one instance, see *Christian Library*, 31:151.

[68]Cf. *Christian Library*, 35:7.

[69]Cf. *Christian Library*, 46:175.

least occasional use in adherent clusters. One typical example is found in Vols. 5, 6, 7, 10, 13, and 15—four times at the foot of the last page of items (hence strictly "tailpieces"), three times on title-pages of major items—the other prevalent use of the tailpiece.[70] This ornament again is composed solely from Caslon Small Pica flowers, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 7, 13, 14, 17, and 20, with a total of 29 elements. Three others, triangular patterns with multiple appearances in the same work, use similar flowers: in the first instance Vol. 32, twice) with the addition of SP 12a and b; in the second enlarged one (Vols. 43, 48, 50) with the further addition of SP 8; and in the third (Vols. 33, 38, 44) with the addition of a smaller star, SP 21.[71]

The same kind of thing, of course, was being done by most of Wesley's later printers, but there is little point in multiplying the examples. We have already seen some floral designs from Robert Hawes. We may end with some tailpieces from William Pine in Bristol and John Paramore in London. The first is a tailpiece constructed from Cottrell's English (1) and (5) in Pine's edition of Wesley's *Survey of the Wisdom of God in the Creation* (1763), Vol. 2, p 19. The second is from Pine's 3rd edition of Wesley's *Explanatory Notes upon the New Testament* (1761), Vol. 2, p. 349, which combines Cottrell's 15, 26, and rules. The third is from Vol. 3, p. 206 of the same work, using the familiar Caslon SP 2, 3, and 19, together with a double dagger and two sections. And finally a floral tailpiece used by John Paramore closes both Wesley's *Advice to the People called Methodists, with regard to Dress* (1780), p. 16, and his *Farther Appeal*, 5th edition (1786), p. 115, using Fry's (favourite) Grand Primer 4, his Pica 9 (in the centre), and his Long Primer 1, 2, and 6.[72]

39. *The wear and tear of flowers*. In illustrating the last floral tailpiece a 1786 example has been chosen rather than one of 1780, because the impression is better. That is apparently simply a function of the ink and the pressure, not because of any wear and tear upon the flowers themselves. Undoubtedly some deterioration did take place, and the printer occasionally had to weed out faulty flowers, and to replenish them from his typefounder's stock. This problem of deterioration was studied specifically in the fifty volumes of Wesley's *Christian Library*, in relation to Farley's new Caslon stock, used over a period of five years. During this period many flowers were in constant use, including one adherent headpiece (of 76 elements) which was certainly printed at least forty times. This implies (with a probable press run of 1500 copies each in 25 specific volumes), that this headpiece was printed a minimum of 37,500 times *in this work alone*—and it was almost certainly not restricted to this work. Yet in 1755 it looked almost as crisp as it did in 1751, nor does any damage appear during these years, only some occasional indifferent impressions, where the inking had apparently retained some specks of dust. Just as this was true of one glued group, it was surely true of the thousands of individual flowers in the stock, even though they were set up, printed, and distributed, many times. There is no evidence of any of these Caslon flowers being recut during this period, nor does it appear that Pine replenished his stock, though he did make additions to it. It is surely fair to claim that thousands of elements went through many thousands of printings with no visible wear. Although accidents did happen in the printing-house, on the whole flowers suffered no more than did letter type.

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[70]Cf. *Christian Library*, 6:157.

[71]Cf. *Christian Library*, 32:328; 43:29; 33:75.

[72][The works mentioned in this paragraph are again available on ECCO.]

40. *Epilogue. Printer's flowers as a new opportunity for research*. Human beings have developed many methods of identifying their fellows. We usually apply these in the order of their ease for us: physical dimensions and abnormalities, colour of skin, dressing of hair, of body, mannerisms of walk, of expression; in more difficult cases we may turn to teeth, to fingerprints, to blood groups, to hidden scars or peculiarities. We have an increasing number of methods for dating both human remains and human artifacts, even back to the remote millennia of man's existence upon earth. At whatever level we carry out our search, it is usually a combination of methods which makes us reasonably certain that we have secured the identity of an individual, the age of an artifact. And to what lengths we are prepared to go in applying the various methods available depends upon one question: How much does it matter to us?

Similarly with identifying a printer, dating a publication. More methods are now available for such research than our fathers used, including the statistical assistance of computers. Here we offer still another avenue of fruitful research, whose methods and results we have sought to validate. We have prepared an outline, illustrated by a comparative table and some examples of particular practices, of the way in which printers' flowers may be utilized in bibliographical research. The tool is ready to the worker's hand. It may in some instances provide speedy answers to our questions. Yet most of this kind of research inevitably depends most upon the initiative and tenacity of the researcher. It remains a question of motivation: How much does it matter to us?

A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF PRINTERS' FLOWERS

CANON, OR FOUR-LINE PICA

JAMES		CASLON		WILSON		BASKERVILLE	
No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.

TWO-LINE GREAT PRIMER

JAMES		CASLON		WILSON		BASKERVILLE	
				1a 1b	89		
				2a 2b	89		
				3	89		

TWO-LINE ENGLISH

JAMES		CASLON		WILSON		BASKERVILLE	
				1	89		
(2a) (2b)	72						
(1)	72						

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A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF PRINTERS' FLOWERS

CANON, OR FOUR-LINE PICA

COTTRELL			JACKSON		FRY		REMARKS
No.	FAC's	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.	
			4a		1a		
			4b		1b		
(1)		66		73			
			4c		1c	70	
(2)		66					
					2a		
					2b		
(3)		66			2c	90	
			3		3a		
(4)		66	2		3b		
					3c		
(5)		66	1	73		80	

TWO-LINE GREAT PRIMER

TWO-LINE ENGLISH

COTTRELL			JACKSON		FRY		REMARKS
(1)		70	1	73	1a	86	
			2	73	1b		
			(3)	73	2a	86	
					2b		
					3a		
					3b	94	

A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF PRINTERS' FLOWERS

DOUBLE PICA

JAMES		CASLON		WILSON		BASKERVILLE	
No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.

CASLON:
- 1 — 64
- 2a / 2b — 64
- 4a — 85
- 4b
- 3a / 3b — 85

JAMES:
- (4a) (4b) — 72
- (5a) — 72
- (5b)
- (2) — 72
- (1) — 72
- (3) — 72

WILSON:
- 1 — 89
- 2 a/b — 89
- 3 — 89
- 4 — 89
- 5 — 89
- 6 — 89

A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF PRINTERS' FLOWERS

DOUBLE PICA

COTTRELL			JACKSON			FRY			REMARKS
No.	Sp.	Ex.	No.	Sp.	Ex.	No.	Sp.	Ex.	
(1a) (1b)		66				3a 3b		70	
(2a) (2b)		66							
(3)		70	1		73				
			2		73				
			3		73	1a		70	
			4		73	1b		70	
			5		73	2a		70	
			6		73	2b		70	
			7		73	2a		86	
						4b		86	
			8		73	5a 5b		86	
						6a 6b 6c		90	
						7a		90	
						7b		90	
						8		94	
						9		94	
						10		94	

A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF PRINTERS' FLOWERS

GREAT PRIMER

JAMES			CASLON			WILSON			BASKERVILLE	
No.		Sp.Ex.	No.		Sp.Ex.	No.		Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.
			(1a) (1b)		66					
			2a 2b		64					
(14)		72	3		64					
(10)		72	4		40					
(2)		72	5		40					
(3)		72	6		40					
(9)		72	7		40					
			8		64					
			9		64					
			10		64					
(7a) (7b)		72	11a 11b		85					
(1)		72	12a 12b		34					
(4)		72	13a 13b		42					
(5)		72	14		34					
(11)		72	15		40					
(12)		72	16a 16b		40					
(13)		72								
(15)		72								

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GREAT PRIMER

COTTRELL		JACKSON		FRY		REMARKS
No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.	
(3)	66			19	86	
(4)	66			13	66	
(5)	66			20	86	
				22	86	
(7)	66			21	86	
				18	66	
				17	66	
		5	5	6a 6b	66	
		4	4			
		1a 1b	73			
		2	73			
		6a 6b	73			
		7	73			
		8	73	12	66	
				15	66	
				14	66	
		9	73	16	66	
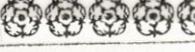
Appendix A

A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF PRINTERS' FLOWERS

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GREAT PRIMER

JAMES			CASLON			WILSON			BASKERVILLE	
No.	Sp.	Ex.	No.	Sp.	Ex.	No.	Sp.	Ex.	No.	Sp.	Ex.
(16) 72											
(6) 72											
(8) 72											

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GREAT PRIMER

COTTRELL			JACKSON			FRY			REMARKS
No.	Sp.	Ex.	No.	Sp.	Ex.	No.	Sp.	Ex.	
						1		66	
						2a 2b		66	
						3a 3b		66	
			3a 3b		73	4a 4b		66	
						4c			
			10		73	5		66	
						7a 7b		80	
						8		86	
						9		86	
						10a 10b		86	
						11		86	
						23		86	
						24		86	
						25a 25b		86	
						26		86	
						27		86	
						28		86	
						29		86	
						30		86	
						31a 31b		90	
						32a 32b		90	
						33		90	

A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF PRINTERS' FLOWERS

ENGLISH

JAMES		CASLON		WILSON		BASKERVILLE	
No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.
		1	64				
(1)	72	2	64				
		3	85				
		4	85				
		5	85				
		6a	85				
		6b					
		7	85				
		8	34	11	89		
				10	89		
				7	89		
				3	89		
				4	72		
				9	72		
				5	89		
				6	89		
(3a)	72			12a	89		
(3b)				12b			
						1a	75 59
						1b 1c	75 59
				2	89		
				13	89		
				8a	89		
				8b			

A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF PRINTERS' FLOWERS

ENGLISH
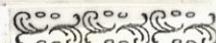
COTTRELL		JACKSON		FRY		REMARKS
No.	Sp. Ex.	No.	Sp. Ex.	No.	Sp. Ex.	
				25	86	
				1	66	
				2	66	
				3	66	
				4	66	
				5	66	
				6	66	
				7	66	
				8	66	
				9	66	
				10	66	
				11	66	
				12a	66	
				12b		
				13a 13b	80	
				14	80	
				14,13		
				15a	80	
				15b		
				16a 16b	80	
				17a 17b	86	
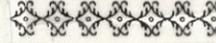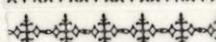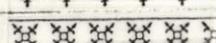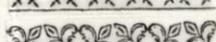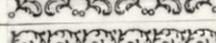
Appendix A   A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF PRINTERS' FLOWERS   45

ENGLISH

JAMES		CASLON		WILSON		BASKERVILLE	
No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.
(10)	72						
(7)	72						
(8)	72			1	89		
(2)	72						
(4)	72						
(5)	72						
(6)	72						
(9)	72						

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A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF PRINTERS' FLOWERS

ENGLISH

COTTRELL		JACKSON		FRY		REMARKS
No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.	
				18c 18a 18b	86	
				19a 19b	86	
				20a 20b	86	
				21	86	
		5	73	22a 22b	86	
		6 (+5)	73			
				23	86	
				24	86	
				26a 26b	86	
				27	86	
				28	86	
				29a 29b	90	
				30	90	
				31	90	
				32	90	
				33	90	
(5)	66			34	94	
(1)	66					
		1a 1b	73			
		2	73			
		3	73			
		4	73			
		7	73			
		8	73			
		9	73			
		10	73			
		11	73			
		11	73			
(2)	66					
(3)	66					
(4)	66					

A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF PRINTERS' FLOWERS

PICA

JAMES			CASLON			WILSON			BASKERVILLE	
No.	Sp.	Ex.	No.	Sp.	Ex.	No.	Sp.	Ex.	No.	Sp.	Ex.
			1		64	4		89		
			8/2		74-8					
			6/3		64	3		89		
			4		34					
			5		74-8					
			6		74-8					
			7		46	6		89		
			8a/8b		64	1a/1b		89		
			9		64					
			10		85					
						9 (?7)		89		

PICA

COTTRELL		JACKSON		FRY		REMARKS
No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.	
				22 / 21	86	
				22	86	
		7	73			
		5a / 5b	73			
		9	73			
				1a / 1b	66	
				2	66	
				3	66	
				4	66	
				5	66	
				6	66	
				7	66	
				8	66	
				9	66	
				(9)	86	
				10	66	
				11	66	
				12a / 12b	66	
				13	80	
				14	80	
				15	80	
				16	80	
				(16)	90	
				17a / 17b	80	
				18	80	
				19a / 19b	80	
				20	80	
				23	86	
				24	86	
				(24)	90	

A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF PRINTERS' FLOWERS

PICA

JAMES			CASLON			WILSON			BASKERVILLE	
No.	Sp.	Ex.	No.	Sp.	Ex.	No.	Sp.	Ex.	No.	Sp. Ex.
						2		72		
						10		72		
						5		89		
						7		89		
						8		89		
						11a		89		
						11b				

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PICA

COTTRELL		JACKSON		FRY		REMARKS
No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.	
				25	90	
				26	90	
				27	90	
				28	90	
				29	94	
				30	94	
		1	73			
(1)	70					
(2)	70	2	73			
(3)	70	3	73			
		4	73			
		6a 6b	73			
		8	73			
		10	73			
		11	73			
		12	73			
		13	73			

A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF PRINTERS' FLOWERS

SMALL PICA

JAMES		CASLON			WILSON			BASKERVILLE		
No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.	Ex.	No.	Sp.	Ex.	No.	Sp.	Ex.
(3)	72	1	64	54	6	89				
7a 7b	72	2a 2b	64	54	4a 4b					
18a 18b	72	3a 3b	64	54	9a 9b	89				
		4a 4b	64	54	22 (=4)	89				
		5	34							
		6	64		24 (=9)	89				
(19)	72	7	64	54						
(16) +(6)	72	8	64							
(17)	72	9	64							
		10	64	54						
		11	46							
(24)	72	12	64							
(10)	72	13	64	54	8	89				
(15)	72	14	64	54	7	89				
		15	64							
(21)	72	16	64							
(1)	72	17	64	54	16	89				
		18	74-8							
		19	85							
(22)	72	20	64	54						
(20)	72	21	64							
(8)	72	22a 22b	64	54						
		23a 23b	85							
		23a 24	85							
		23a 25	85						2a 2b		
		26a	85					2c	75	
		26b						2d		
		27a	85					3	75	61
(5)	72	27b						4	75	74
(6)	72	28	85					6	75	71
(4)	72							7	75	74
(13)	72									
(25)	72									
(2)	72									
(4) +(10)	72									

A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF PRINTERS' FLOWERS

SMALL PICA

COTTRELL		JACKSON		FRY		REMARKS
No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.	
20	66	1	73	10	80	
13a 13b	66	2a 2b	73	11a 11b	80	
6b 6a	66			12a 12b	80	
4a 4b	66	4a 4b	73	13a 13b	80	
7						
		6	73			
26	66	7	73	14	80	
25	66			17	80	
11	66			18	86	
28	66					
2	66			19	86	
				20	86	
8	66	13	73	21	86	
10	66	3	73	22	86	
5	66	15	73	24 25	86	
23	86			23	86	
17	86	17	73	25	86	
(31)	70					
(32)	70					
29	66	(20)	73	26	86	
(30)	70			27	86	
18a 18b	66			28a 28b	86	
				1	80	
				2	80	
				3	80	
				4	80	
3	66	12	73	5	80	

A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF PRINTERS' FLOWERS

SMALL PICA

JAMES			CASLON			WILSON			BASKERVILLE		
No.	Sp.	Ex.	No.	Sp.	Ex.	No.	Sp.	Ex.	No.	Sp.	Ex.
						1		89			
						2		72			
						3 (f.20)		72			
						10a		89			
						10b		72			
						11(10)					
						12		89	5a / 5b		75
						20a (f.5)		72			
						20b		72			
(12)		72				21a		72			
						21b		72			
						21a		89			
						21b		89			
						15		89			
						19		89			
						5		89			
						17		89			
						17		72			
						23		72			
						18		89			
						25		89			
						26		89			
						13		89			
						14		87			
						14		89			

A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF PRINTERS' FLOWERS

SMALL PICA

COTTRELL			JACKSON			FRY			REMARKS
No.		Sp.Ex.	No.		Sp.Ex.	No.		Sp.Ex.	
						6		80	
						7a 7b		80	
						8		80	
						9		80	
						15		80	
			(21) 19 20		73	16		80	
			20		73	29a 29b		86	
			20		73				
			5a		73	30		86	
			5b		73	31		86	
						29a 32		86	
						33		86	
			8		73				
			9		73				
			10a 10b		73				
1		66	11		73				
			14		73				
			16		73				
			18		73				
9		66							
12		66							
14		66							
15		66							
16		66							
19		66							
21		66							
22		66							
24		66							
27		66							

A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF PRINTERS' FLOWERS

LONG PRIMER

JAMES		CASLON		WILSON		BASKERVILLE	
No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.
(6 a) (6 b)	72	1a 1b	66			8a 8b	75 74
(10)	72	2	64	3	89		
(9)	72	3	64 49				
		4	74-8				
		5	74-8				
		6	46				
(12)	72	7	64	4	89		
		8	64	5	89		
(5)	72	9	64	12	89		
		10	85				
(4)	72	11	64	6	89		
		12	64				
		13	46	Cf. LP 10			
		11 14	64	11	89		
		15a	85				
		15b					
		16a	85				
		16b					
(11)	72	17	34				
		18	85				
		19	74-8				
		19	74-8				
		20	74-8				
		20	74-8				
		21	74-8				
		21	74-8				
		22	74-8				
		22	74-8				
		23	74-8				
		23	74-8				
		24	74-8				
		24	74-8				
		25	74-8				
		25	74-8				
		26	85				

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A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF PRINTERS' FLOWERS

LONG PRIMER

COTTRELL		JACKSON		FRY		REMARKS
No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.	
(1a)(1b)	66	(7a)(7b)	73	7a 7b	86	
(19a)(19b)	66					
(12)	66			5	66	
		(10)				
				11	66	
(2)	66					
(8)	66	(8)	73			
(9)	66	(9)	73	20	86	
(10)	66					
(11)	66	3	73	7	66	
See SP 21						
(3)	66					
(14)	66	(3)	73	13	80	
(16)	70					
(17)	66					
				23	86	
					86	
				24	86	
					86	
				29	86	
					86	
				30	86	
					86	
				25	86	
					86	
				26	86	
					86	
				31	86	
					86	
				34	86	

A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF PRINTERS' FLOWERS

LONG PRIMER

JAMES		CASLON		WILSON		BASKERVILLE	
No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.
		27	74-8				
		28	85				
		29	85				
		30	85				
9 *********	72						

A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF PRINTERS' FLOWERS

LONG PRIMER

COTTRELL		JACKSON		FRY		REMARKS
No.	Sp.Ex.No.		Sp.Ex.No.		Sp.Ex.	
				35	86	
				36	86	
				37	86	
				38	86	
				1	66	
				2	66	
				3	66	
				4	66	
				6a 6b	66	
				8	66	
				9	66	
				10a 10b	66	
				6a 12	66	
				12 6a		
				14a 14b	86	
				15	86	
				16	86	
				18	86	
				19	86	
				21 22	86	
				22	86	
				22	86	
				33	86	
				39a 39b	90	
				40	90	
				41	90	
				42	90	
				43	90	

A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF PRINTERS' FLOWERS

LONG PRIMER

JAMES		CASLON		WILSON		BASKERVILLE	
No.	Sp.Ex.No.		Sp.Ex.No.		Sp.Ex.No.		Sp.Ex.
				1 (14)	89		
				1			
				18a 18b	89	9	75
				13 (×16)	89		
				2	89		
				7	89		
				13 2-7	89		
				14	89		
				8	89		
				15	89		
				10	89		
				17	89		
				(18)	72		
(1)	72						
Too large for L.P. ? Composite							
(2)	72						
(3)	72						
(7)	72						
(8)	72						
(13)	72					10a 10b	75
(14a) (14b)	72						

LONG PRIMER

COTTRELL		JACKSON		FRY		REMARKS
No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.	
				44	90	
				45a 45b	90	
				50	94	
				51	94	
				46	90	
				47a 47b	94	
				48	94	
				49a 49b	94	
				27	86	
				28	86	
				32	86	
(4)	66					
(5)	66					
(6)	66					
(7)	66					
(15)	66					
(13)	66					
(18)	70					
		1	73			
		2	73			
		4	73			
		5	73			
		6	73			
		(21)	73			
		(12)	73			

A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF PRINTERS' FLOWERS

BOURGEOIS, and MINION

JAMES		CASLON		WILSON		BASKERVILLE	
No.	Sp.Ex.No.		Sp.Ex.No.		Sp.Ex.No.		Sp.Ex.

BOURGEOIS
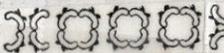
1 — 89
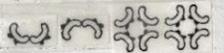
Cf. Caslon Brevier 9

MINION
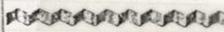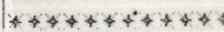
1a 1b		89
2		89
3		89
4		89
5		89
6		89
7		89
8		89
9		89
10		89
11		89
12 (12,5)		89
13 (=9)		89
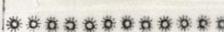
Appendix A   A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF PRINTERS' FLOWERS   62

BOURGEOIS, and MINION

COTTRELL			JACKSON			FRY			REMARKS
No.	Sp.Ex.	No.		Sp.Ex.	No.		Sp.Ex.		

1   73

Appendix A

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A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF PRINTERS' FLOWERS
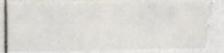
BREVIER

JAMES		CASLON		WILSON		BASKERVILLE	
No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.
(4)	72	1	64 49				
		2	46				
		3	64 54				
		4	64	4	89		
		5	85				
(2)	72	6	74-8				
		7	64				
		8	46	6	89		
		9	74-8				
		10	85				
		11	85				
		12a 12b	85				
		13a 13b	85				

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BREVIER

COTTRELL		JACKSON		FRY		REMARKS
No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.	
				13	80	
(3)	70					
				4	68	
		5	73			
				24	86	
(4)	70	1	73			
				23	86	
				1a 1b	68	
				2	68	
				3	68	
				5a 5b	68	
				6	68	
				7	80	
				8	80	
				9	80	
				10	80	
				11a 11b	80	
				14	80	
				12	80	
				15	80	
				16	86	
				17	86	
				6a 18	86	
				19	86	
				20	86	
				21	86	
				22	86	

A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF PRINTERS' FLOWERS

BREVIER

JAMES		Sp.Ex.	CASLON		Sp.Ex.	WILSON		Sp.Ex.	BASKERVILLE		Sp.Ex.
No.			No.			No.			No.		
(1a)(1b)		72									
						1		72			
						2		89			
						3		72			
						5		89			
						7		89			
						8		89			
						9		89			
									11		75.66
									12		75
									13		75
									14		75
(3)		72									
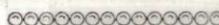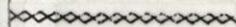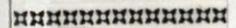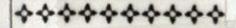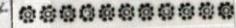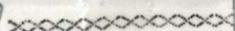
BREVIER

COTTRELL		JACKSON		FRY		REMARKS
No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.	
				25a	90	
				25b		
				26a	90	
				26b		
				27	90	
				28a	90	
				28b		
				27	90	
				28b		
				25a		
				28b	94	
				29		
				30a	94	
				30b		
				31	94	
				32	94	
(1)	70					
(1)	70					
(2)	70					
		2	73			
		3	73			
		4	73			
		6	73			
		7	73			

A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF PRINTERS' FLOWERS

NONPAREIL

JAMES		CASLON		WILSON		BASKERVILLE	
No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.

JAMES No.	Sp.Ex.	CASLON No.	Sp.Ex.	WILSON No.	Sp.Ex.
		1	74-8		
(15)	72	2	46		
(1)	72	3	74-8		
		4	64 / 47		
		5	74-8		
		6	74-8		
		7	85	11	89
		8	85		
(2)	72				
(3)	72				
(4)	72				
(5)	72				
(6a) (6b)	72				
(7a) (7b)	72				
(8)	72				
(9)	72				
(10)	72				
(11)	72				
(12)	72				
(13)	72				
(14)	72				
(16)	72				
(17)	72				
(18)	72				
				1	72
				2	89
				3	89
				4	89
				5	72
				6	89
				7	89
				8	89
				9(2)	89
				10	

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A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF PRINTERS' FLOWERS

NONPAREIL

COTTRELL			JACKSON			FRY			REMARKS
No.		Sp.Ex.	No.		Sp.Ex.	No.		Sp.Ex.	
			2	++++++++++++++	73	8	+++++++++++++	80	
						14	◆◭◹◪◸◮◆	86	
						15	▮▢▤▟▦▙	86	
(1)	◈�)◈◈◆◖◭	70	3	◀◀◀◆◆◆	73	16	◥◣◣◆◥◣◆	86	
			(5)	◡◡◡◡◡◡	73	12	◠◡◠◡◠◡	86	
(2)	▣▣▣▣▣▣▣▣	70				1	❖❖❖❖❖❖❖	80	
						2	✦✧✦✧✦✧	80	
						3	▦▦▦▦▦▦	80	
						4	❋❋❋❋❋	80	
						5	✳✳✳✳✳✳	80	
						6	✶✶✶✶✶✶✶	80	
						7	◇◇◇◇◇◇	80	
						9	✧✧✧✧✧	80	
						10	▨▨▨▨▨	80	
						11	▪▪▪▪▪▪	86	
						13	✦✦✦✦✦✦	86	
						17	∿∿∿∿∿	94	
						18	⌇⌇⌇⌇⌇	94	
			1	❀❀❀❀❀❀	73				
			4	✕✕✕✕✕✕	73				
			(6)	⚘⚘⚘⚘⚘	73				
				⚘⚘⚘⚘⚘	73				
			(7)	⟶⟶⟶⟶⟶	73				

A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF PRINTERS' FLOWERS

<u>PEARL</u>

JAMES			CASLON			WILSON			BASKERVILLE	
No.	Sp.	Ex.	No.	Sp.	Ex.	No.	Sp.	Ex.	No.	Sp.	Ex.
			1	74-8						
			2	74-8						
			3	74-8						
			4	74-8						
			5	74-8						
			6	74-8						
			7	74-8						
			8	74-8						
			9	74-8						
			10	74-8						

A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF PRINTERS' FLOWERS

PEARL

COTTRELL			JACKSON		FRY		REMARKS
No.		Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.	No.	Sp.Ex.	
			6		vvvvvvvvvvvvvvvvvv	86	
			7		ᴧᴧᴧᴧᴧᴧᴧᴧᴧᴧᴧᴧᴧᴧᴧ	86	
			8		▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮	86	
			11		◇◇◇◇◇◇◇◇◇◇◇◇◇◇◇◇	90	
			1		◇◇◇◇◇◇◇◇◇◇◇◇◇◇◇	86	
			2		▨▨▨▨▨▨▨▨▨▨▨▨▨	86	
			3		◄•••••••••••►	86	
			4		✕✕✕✕✕✕✕✕✕✕✕✕	86	
			5		✚✚✚✚✚✚✚✚✚✚✚✚✚	86	
			9		◇◇◇◇◇◇◇◇◇◇◇◇◇◇	86	
			10		⟩⟩⟩⟩⟩⟩⟩⟩⟩⟩⟩⟩⟩⟩⟩	86	
			12		ᴧᴧᴧᴧᴧᴧᴧᴧᴧᴧᴧᴧᴧᴧ	94	
			13		••••••••••••••	94	
			14		∿∿∿∿∿∿∿∿	94	

Anon. for Charles Rivington, 1735

①

②

③

④

⑤   ⑥

Anon. for Chas. Rivington, 1735

⑦

⑧

⑨

⑩

Anon. for Chas.Rivington, 1735

Anon. for Charles Rivington, 1735

11

12

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14

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16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

Anon. for Charles Rivington, 1735

24

25

26

27

28

Anon. for Charles Rivington, 1735

29

30

31

32

33

Anon. for Charles Rivington, 1735

(34)

(35)

(36)   (37)   (38)

(39)

(40)

Anon. ? Oxford. 1734
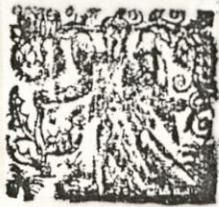
(41)

Anon. Oxford, 1738

(43)

(44)

Anon. for Oswald, 1739

ANON, Rules, 1743

45

48

46

49

M

47
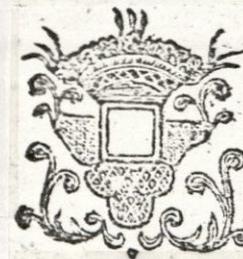
50

HYMNS FOR CHILDREN, ? 1746

(A)

59

(B)

59

Anon. Janeway, London, 1749

60

61

Anon. London. 1752

62

Anon. Tryal, 1752
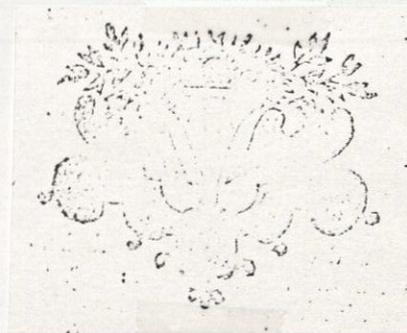
63

64

Anon., <u>Swear not</u>, c. 1753

(65)

Anon., <u>for Richardson,</u> 1758, 1760

66

67
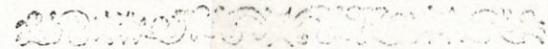
68

(69)

Anon. For Rivington, 1763

Anon, Letters...Cooper, 1764

70

74

71   72

73

William Bowyer

William Bowyer

①

②

③

④

⑤

<u>William Bowyer</u>

6

7

RENOVAN INCENDIA NIDOS

8

9

10

<u>William Bowyer</u>

11

12

13

14

15

16

(M)

William Bowyer

William Bowyer

(17)

(18)

(19)

(20)

(21)

(22)

(23)

(24)

(25)
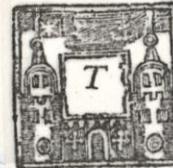
(26)

(27)

Gideon Boyle

①

②

③

Henry Cock

①

②

③

Henry Cock

④

⑤

⑥

⑦

⑧

⑨

⑩

Henry Cock

⑪

⑫

⑬
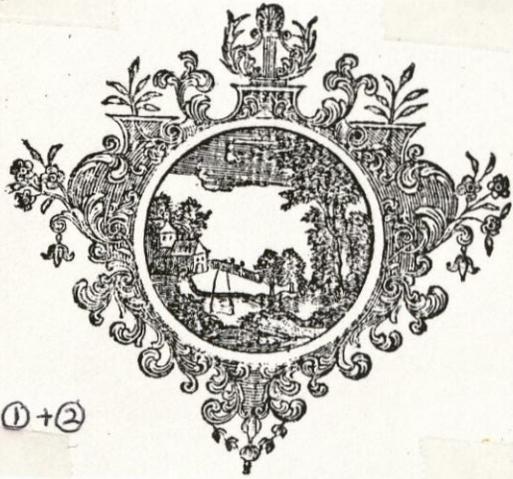
⑭

⑮

Henry Cock

⑯

⑰

⑱

⑲

⑳

㉑

Felix Farley

① + ②

Felix Farley

②

③

① + ③

④

Felix Farley

5

Felix Farley

7

6

8

Felix Farley

⑨

⑩

⑪

Felix Farley

⑫

⑬

⑭

Felix Farley

Felix Farley

Felix Farley

Felix Farley

(21)

(22)

(23)

(24)

(25)

(26)

(27)

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(32)

(33)

Felix Farley

34

35

36

Felix Farley

37

38
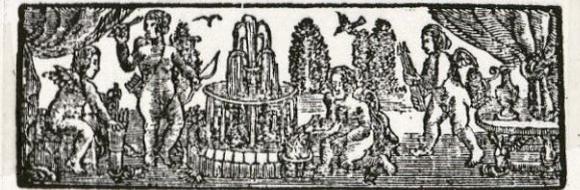
39

40

Felix Farley

41

42

(A)   (B)

43
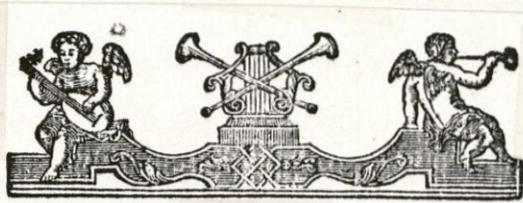
44

Felix Farley

45

46

47

48

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Felix Farley

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Felix Farley

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Felix Farley

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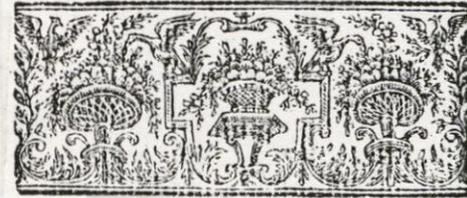
⑦

⑧

⑨

⑩

Cork, George Harrison

①

②

Cork, P. and G. Bagnell

INSTRUCTIONS

FOR

CHILDREN.

The FIFTH EDITION.
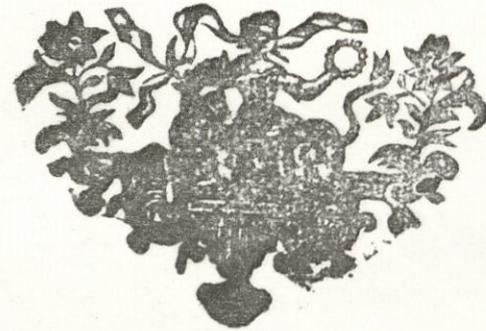
CORK:

Printed by PHINEAS and GEORGE BAGNELL,
Bookfellers, in Caſtle-Street.

①

John Lewis

John Lewis

① ② ③ ④
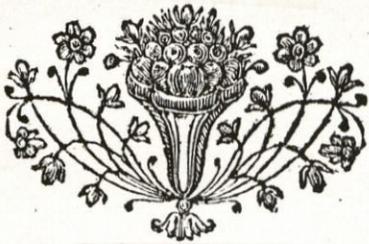
⑤ ⑥ ⑦ ⑧ ⑨ ⑩

John Lewis

11

12

13

14

John Lewis

15

16

17

18

19

20

John Lewis

21

22

23

24

25

26

27

28

John Lewis

(non-Wesley)

8A

18A

28A

26A

James Lister, Leeds

(1)

①

②
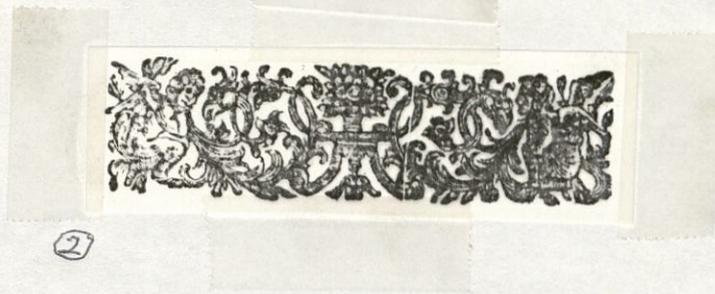
Oliver Nelson, Dublin

①

②

Samuel Powell

①

Samuel Powell

④

②

⑤

③

⑥

Samuel Powell

Samuel Powell

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

Samuel Powell

(15)

(16)

(17)

(18)

(19)   (19a)

Samuel Powell

(20)

(21)

(22)

Samuel Powell

23

25

26

Samuel Powell

27
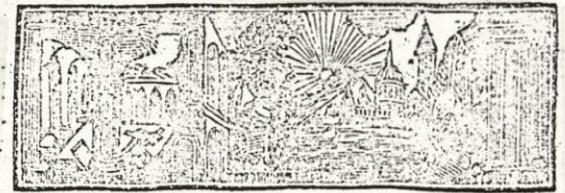
28

29

30

Samuel Powell

(31)

(32)

(33)

(34)

Samuel Powell

(35)

(36)

(37)

(38)

(39)

(40)

Samuel Powell

(41)

(42)

(43)

William Sleater

①

②

William Strahan

①
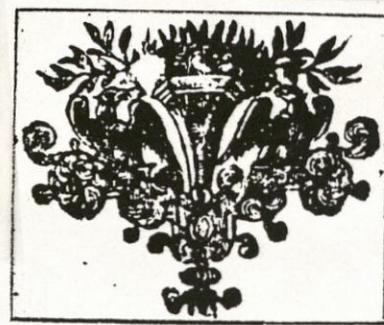
Orig.
is as
frame,
i.e.
51x41
mm.

②

③

William Strahan

④

⑤

⑥

William Strahan

7

8

(enlarged)

9

William Strahan
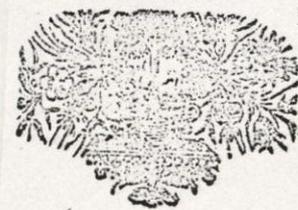
10   (enlarged)

11

12

William Strahan

(13)

(14)

(15)

(16)

William Strahan

(17)

(18)

(19)

(20)

(21)

William Strahan

22

23

24

25 (enlarged)

26

27

28

29

William Strahan

30

31

32

33

William Strahan

William Strahan

(34)

(35)

(36)

(37)

(38)

(39)

(40)

(41)

William Strahan

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44

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William Strahan

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64

Anne Ward

1.

2.

3.

4.

Anne Ward

5.

6.

7.
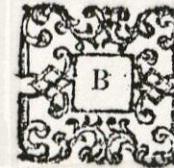
8.

Andrew Welsh, Limerick

①
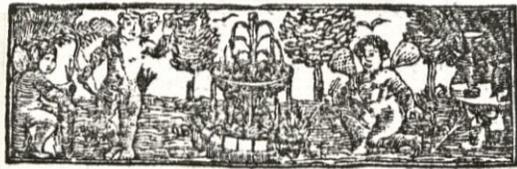
②

John White

①

②

③

A N D R E AE
A L T H A M E R I
B R E N Z I I

Annotationes in Epiſtolam
beati I-A C O B I
iamprimum editæ.

‘ , ‘

Cum Indice.

Argentorati apud Ioannem
Schottum.   1 5 2 7.

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. . . .

A certain need of decoration
expressed in commas

A SUITE OF

FLEURONS

OR

A Preliminary Enquiry
into the history & combinable
natures of certain printers'
flowers conducted by

JOHN RYDER
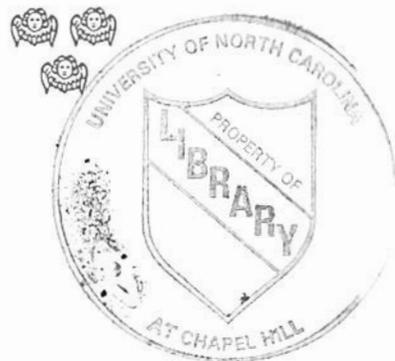
PHOENIX HOUSE LTD
LONDON

1512

THE VINE LEAF

Vine leaves appeared as types early in the sixteenth century—firstly on a Ratdolt title-page dated 1512, and the finer cutting shown above at Paris in 1527.   The design shown overleaf (223) was used at Lyon by Jean de Tournes in 1556 and by Jacques Kerver at Paris in 1557.

According to Flinders Petrie these designs existed at Rome in the first century B.C. The Venetian printers Ratdolt and Aldus revived this Roman leaf which was first cut as a binders' stamp and later recut as a printers' flower. The collective name, Aldine leaves, comes from their use on bindings of Aldus, *c.* 1510.

Vine leaves are essentially pointers serving much the same purpose as fists but they may also be used as line finishers or to terminate a tapering design.

[19]

The Vine Leaf

MONOTYPE 224 / 8, 10, 12, 14, 18, 24, 30, 36

MONOTYPE 223 / 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 18, 24, 30, 36

set 15 units

1552

A VENETIAN ARABESQUE

A typical unit of arabesque which, in slightly varying forms, has existed in the East and in Europe for centuries.

As a type unit the design shown here was to be found in the Venetian printing office of Gabriele Giolito in 1552. It has three uses: as a line finisher, as a pointer and as a combinable unit of arabesque pattern. Giolito may have cut his unit after a binder's stamp or possibly adapted it from a design in one of the many books of arabesques already published at that time.

Before the end of the sixteenth century type unit copies made their appearance at other cities in Italy, at Antwerp and at Paris. Lamesle, the Parisian founder, made a recutting in Petit Texte in 1742.
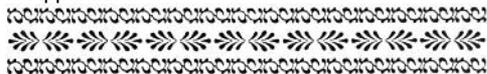
GABRIELE

GIOLITO

AT VENICE

1552
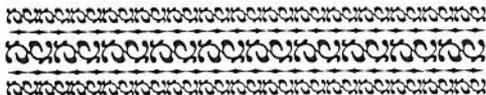
MONOTYPE 280/8, 10, 12, 14, 18, 24, 36
set 9 units
BAUER 4141 *and* MONOTYPE S4757 (→)

[22]

c. 1565

GRANJON'S ARABESQUE

Robert Granjon, the talented punchcutter of Paris and Lyon, is known to have worked at Antwerp for Plantin in 1565, and Mr Johnson of the British Museum has shown that Granjon probably cut punches for these type units in that city at that time—although perhaps not for Plantin. Guillaume Silvius, who began printing and publishing at Antwerp in 1560, may have been the first to use them for they appeared in his books printed in that city from 1567 onwards.

Two years later, in books printed at Lausanne by François Lepreux, the same fleurons appear, and in 1577 Guillaume Rouillé employed them at Lyon, an acknowledged centre of fleuron founding. Their use is recorded at Rheims in 1582, at Rome in 1590, and at Heidelberg in 1597. It is known that Granjon worked in Rome in 1588 and it might be supposed

[23]

that he retained possession of the punches (originally cut at Antwerp?) and that he subsequently sold strikes in Lausanne, Lyon, Rheims, Rome, Heidelberg and other cities.

Woodcut copies in imitation of certain arrangements of these type units appeared in London during the latter half of the sixteenth century.

The complete arabesque comprises six separate designs (*see page 26*) and has yet to be surpassed for its beauty and ingenious versatility.

* * *

Variety of arrangement is increased by cutting away parts of the design. Each of the 12 units below is modified slightly.

[24]

[25]

MONOTYPE 310
24 x 24 pts.

MONOTYPE 313
24 x 6 pts.

MONOTYPE 666
24 x 21 pts.

MONOTYPE 665
24 x 21 pts.

MONOTYPE 311
24 x 24 pts.

MONOTYPE 312
24 x 24 pts.

c. 1567

A NEGLECTED ARABESQUE

These units of arabesque appeared in Chr. Plantin's *Index Characterum* of 1567 in the setting of a complicated fleuron group using 12 different sorts. The same designs, used in a similar way, appeared on Konrad Berner's specimen sheet issued at Frankfort in 1592. As printed above the units also appeared on Berner's specimen at the ends of an arabesque strip from which the Linotype recutting (below) was made.

Its use in the building of larger arabesques seems to have obscured the integral value of this flower which may have been cut by Granjon.

LINOTYPE 272-5 / 18

The two units, as shown at the head of this page, appeared on Anton Janson's Leipzig specimen of 1678, again merely as an endpiece, but this time to an entirely

inappropriate set of flowers. Sixty-four years later these Antwerp flowers reappeared in Lamesle's specimen of 1742 where the particular arabesque in question, a very poor recutting, was printed in groups of four units. The slight enlargement reproduced by line block below shows that the

cutting was shaded as were the original flowers on Plantin's specimen.

The experimental Monotype recutting shown here has been made from Konrad Berner's sheet but with solids in place of shaded portions and with the simple leaf rendered open. It has yet to be decided, for the final version, whether or not this leaf would appear more appropriate as a solid (*see block below*).

[28]

[29]

MONOTYPE 1294-5 / 18 *set 18 units*
Modified sorts and arrangements with
240 / 36 *and* 219 / 18
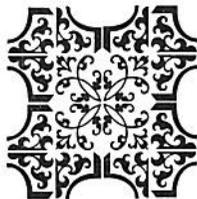
[30]

c. 1570

A LYONNAISE ARABESQUE

Lyon, according to Baudrier's *Biblio-graphie Lyonnaise*, was the place of origin of Granjon's arabesque and although this may not be true that city was certainly a centre of fleuron founding in the sixteenth century.

Guillaume Rouillé, who had worked with Giolito in Venice, opened his own printing office at Lyon. It may be that Rouillé or Pierre Roussin, perhaps with aid from Salomon or Granjon, cut this arabesque about 1570. François Lepreux used it four years later at Lausanne.

Some of the eighteenth century foundries recut this unit. Lamesle (1742) issued an alternative with the design cast vertically. Using the diagonal casting only, the nature of this flower gives it many advantages over those of Aluise and of Giolito (*see overleaf*).

[31]
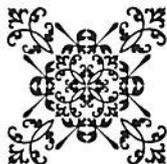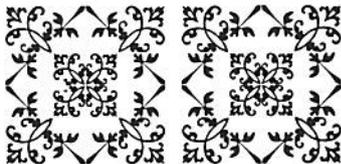
MONOTYPE 219 / 8, 10, 12, 14, 18, 24, 30, 36

set 18 *units*

WITH 274-5 & 467

see pages 46-7

[32]

1570
GRANJON'S ACORN

Acorns date back to *c.* 1520 in France as binders' stamps and are to be found in a woodcut border printed at Venice in 1478 by Ratdolt. A more stylised acorn became common on German playing cards about 1480.

This acorn may have been first cut as a type unit by Robert Granjon. A specimen produced by Granjon of Petite Antique, dated 1570, includes the acorn seen above and so does the Egenolff specimen of 1592. (Jacques Sabon of the Egenolff foundry worked at Antwerp for Plantin and met Granjon there in 1565).

The Stamperia Vaticana specimen of 1628 contains two varieties of acorn— one with a solid cup and the other with a pattern of white dots on the cup. The solid-cup acorn has a continuous curve throughout the stem & fruit, a subtlety of design which did not appear in the 1570 Antwerp specimen and which unfortunately

[33]

does not recur in later cuttings. Many bastard shapes (like No. 24 in Mozet's specimen of 1743) appeared in the eighteenth century and were perpetuated into the twentieth century.

Its uses are as limited as those of the vine leaf and yet the curved design from the Vatican specimen of 1628, with a reversed (left-to-right) companion, might have proved as interesting in combination as Fournier's oblique-cast flower which is described in a later section.
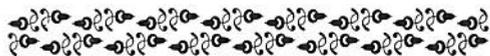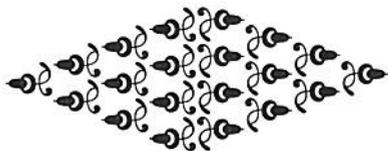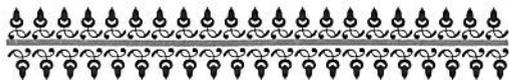
MONOTYPE 267 / 6, 12, 18, 24, 36
set 14 *units*
Exceptions: 12 x 9 pts & 36 x 27 pts

[34]

1721

A NUREMBERG ARABESQUE

The heirs of Johann Andrea Endter of Nuremberg issued a book on printing in 1733, *Die Wol-eingerichtete Buchdruckerey*, containing specimens of flowers used by Endter in his printing office *c.* 1721. One of these flowers was the arabesque printed above. In the same specimen this flower is also shown cast obliquely on a smaller body. Probably Endter was not the first printer to use this particular design which Rosart recut for Pfeiffer of Amsterdam in 1752.

Stamps of the 'Unicorn' binder, who worked at Cambridge in the late fifteenth century, closely resemble Endter's arabesque which is more useful as a single piece of decoration than as a combinable unit of pattern. As the contemporary counterpart of a *petit fer* it has been used on publishers' bindings by the Nonesuch Press in 1935 and by Phoenix House in 1954. The latter publisher cut a larger, open version in 1955.

[35]

LOUIS LUCE'S FLOWERS

MONOTYPE 240/36

set 18 units

WITH FOURNIER STAR

Louis Luce, the third punchcutter of the Imprimerie Royale, issued his miniature type specimen of eight leaves containing several ornaments and flowers in 1740. A few of these were adapted and improved by Fournier whose first (12mo) specimen appeared two years later.

Luce, however, showed considerably more interest in cutting larger ornaments as an economic replacement of woodcut vignettes and borders. His *Essai d'une nouvelle Typographie*, printed by Barbou in 1771, demonstrates this and by about that date Caslon, Fournier, Lamesle, Mozet, Gando, Enschedé, Wetstein, Briquet, Trattner and Delacolonge had already produced a vast repertoire of flowers.

Sunray designs, with and without faces, are to be found in fifteenth century woodcuts and bindings but doubtless their origin may be dated amongst the earliest

[37]

forms of decoration. As types they have been observed by Sir Francis Meynell in records of the Royal College of Arms dated 1559 and Louis Luce cut a *fleur de luce* c. 1740 which Fournier recut to his own design a year or two later.

Four of the designs in the following section may owe their origin to Luce:

although the two cruciform flowers did not appear in Luce's specimen of 1740 and in slightly different forms in the 1771 specimen. The flower and the sunray designs were somewhat crude in the 1740 specimen but may have been Fournier's models.

LUCE   FOURNIER

[38]

1736-68
FOURNIER'S FLOWERS

Pierre-Simon Fournier first began to cut punches for his own typefoundry in Paris, *c.* 1736. He died in 1768 having successfully devoted his life to this particular branch of typography, but he died not without some bitterness concerning his constant though fruitless effort to overcome a trade prejudice which denied him the right to print.

For some of the flowers in his first specimen book Fournier drew inspiration from Luce's miniature *Epreuve* of 1740 but the majority of them showed originality and skill. It is interesting to note that he eschewed the splendid vine leaves and arabesques of the sixteenth century.

Fournier's flowers earned him the admiration of the world. His second specimen book, *Modéles des Caractères de l'Imprimerie*, printed by Jean-Joseph Barbou in 1742, contains 118 *vignettes*: his *Les Caractères de l'Imprimerie* of 1764 contains 377 *vignettes* and many of these designs were quickly copied in other European foundries.

[39]

Although deprived of the right to print Fournier nevertheless set some of the formes of his specimen books (in an amazingly complicated fashion) and his followers have, in the main, 'taken leaves out of these books'. It was natural enough for the punchcutter-founder to wish to show the entire repertoire of his skill in a single headpiece but it does not follow that printers would be doing him justice by trying to emulate his examples. In fact it may be possible to pay the greatest tribute through a very different approach as the following pages intend to suggest.

The flower of this section's title, because it is cast obliquely on the typebody, is capable of many variations in arrangement. Its immediate origin may be in a crude little design of Luce but certainly binders' stamps of a similar kind existed in the sixteenth century. As a type it has rarely, if ever, had a chance to show off its potentialities, and so here, in the strips and other arrangements which follow, this silhouette flower makes a very belated début.

[These MONOTYPE designs 475-6 are available in 10, 18, 24 and 30 point sizes, *set 12 units*.]

[40]

[41]
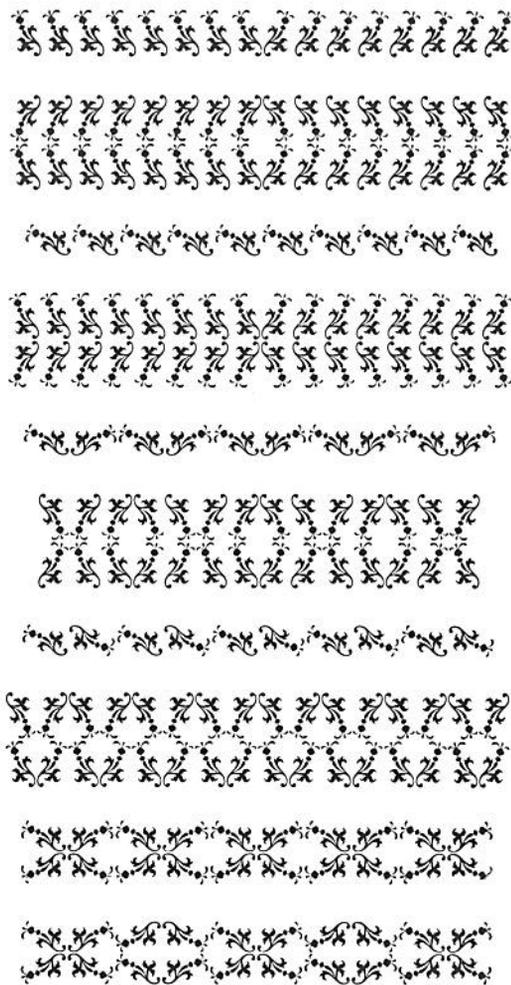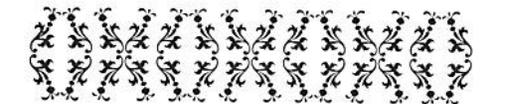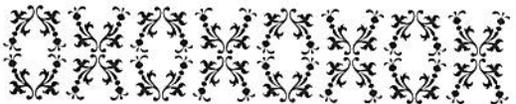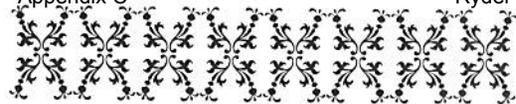
After examining the versatility of this design in strip arrangement it will not be much of a surprise to see a group of eight units forming a circle or to see the fleurons which arise from an eight-group in combination with the Lyonnaise arabesque shown in a previous section.

[42]
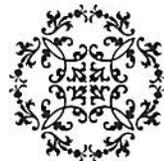
[43]

6, 10, 12 / set 9 units

This simple design cast obliquely and accompanied by a left-to-right reverse was invented by Fournier. Its value as pattern-builder has scarcely been tried— perhaps because the unit by itself looks quite insignificant. The following list of arrangements may become the basis for experiment but it is important to limit the complexity of arrangement or the use of such decorations will be banned by both

[44]
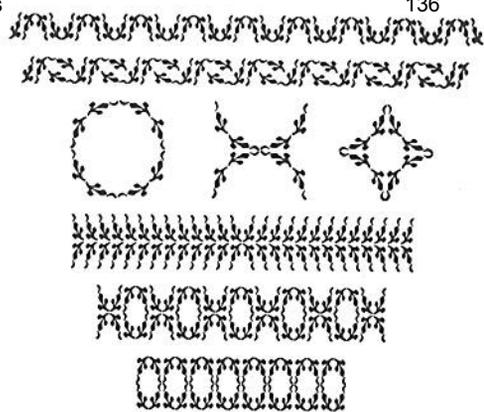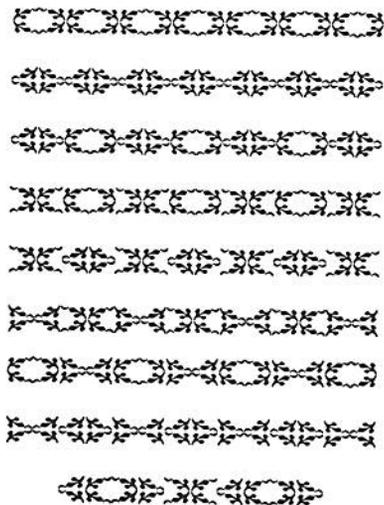
economic and aesthetic considerations. The typographical craftsman should have sufficient experience and skill in his hands to cut with some confidence an alteration on the face of a type. For instance the removal of the 'accent' on this flower (✍) may be desirable in certain instances although it would not justify the cutting of special matrices.

[45]
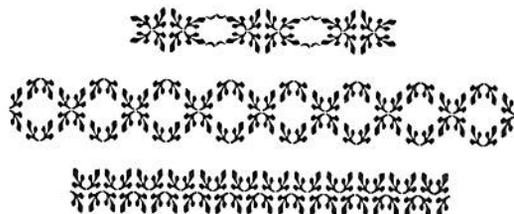
MONOTYPE 467 / 6, 8, 10, 12
set 18 *units*

This unit, cast diagonally on a square body, makes the following patterns in the familiar four-group:
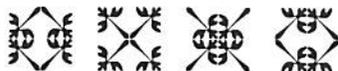
It will also combine happily with several other flowers both from Fournier's repertoire and elsewhere (*see page* 32).
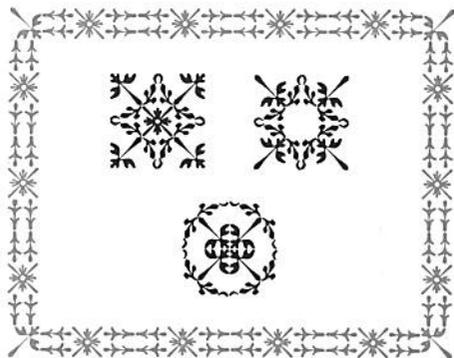
MONOTYPE 470 / 10, 12, *set* 9 *units* ↦
MONOTYPE 271 / 8, 10, 12, 14, 18, 24, 36 ✳
set 18 *units*

[46]

MONOTYPE 274-5 / 10, 12, 18, 24, 36
set 12 *units*

Although cut by Fournier this unit is alien to his style and it does not appear in the collection of 141 examples accompanying his oblong quarto specimen book of 1742. The unusual placing of the design on the
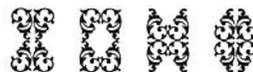
face and the left-to-right reverse both add to the versatility of pattern-building. Four-groups, strips and fleuron settings shown here give but a bare indication of 'combinable natures'.
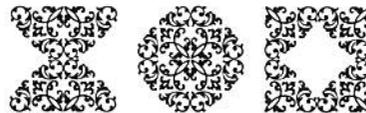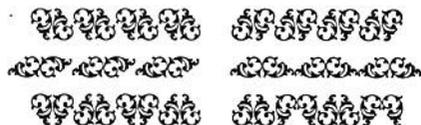
[47]

❈⬦❈⬦❈⬦❈⬦❈

MONOTYPE 480 ⬦ 8, 10, 12 *set* 15 *units*
AND 1283 ❈ 10 *set* 18 *units*

Since Fournier cut these two types, *c.* 1742, many copies have been made. Both designs appeared many years earlier—the oval ornament on a woodcut title-page printed at Salamanca, *c.* 1496, and later, on a binding by Geofroy Tory, *c.* 1531, and the star dates back to a Persian binder's stamp, *c.* 1580. [A similar star of eight arms existed at Palaikastro, *c.* 2400 B.C.] Rosart recut the ornaments for Enschedé whose specimen of 1748 shows them printed as a border. It seems likely that Baskerville, who copied this arrangement, recut them after Rosart rather than after Fournier. Another English founder, Isaac Moore of Bristol, had added both designs to his stock by 1766.

The flattened oval in the Linotype version resembles Fournier's original but a good cutting of the star has not been available in the present century until recut by Monotype in 1955.

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[48]

1760
TRATTNER'S ANGEL

Johann Thomas Trattner, in his Vienna specimen of 1760, gives two varieties of angels' heads (Röslein 11, shown above) and a smaller, simpler version with hair in solid black & crudely cut wings whose tips do not project as in No. 11.

This cruder cutting was shown in specimens issued by Joh. Enschedé in 1744, by Rosart in 1761, by Amstel in 1767, by Wilson in 1786, by Unger in 1791, and by Oomkens in 1807. It is unfortunate that the crude version should have been so frequently recut but it may justify attributing the design shown in this section to Trattner.

Bodoni cut a new design for his specimen of 1771 which shows an alternative oblique casting.

The angel's head with wings (cherub), in one form or another, has been commonly used in woodcut borders and on binding designs throughout the sixteenth century.

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Meyndert de Winter, in his foundry cata-
logue produced at Amsterdam in 1744,
offered several *viguren in't hout gesnede*
(some of which appeared in Elzevir's
specimen of 1713). Amongst the woodcut
viguren is a cherub which could have been
Trattner's model.

MONOTYPE 1029 / 18 *set* 18 *units*

WITH MONOTYPE 468-9 / 12

WITH MONOTYPE 675 / 24
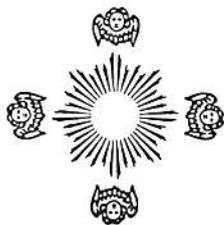
1815

THE DIAMOND SHAPE
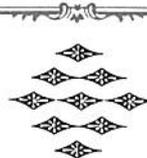
The first printers, imitating contemporary
scribes, made diamond-shaped marks of
punctuation but, after this early start,
punchcutters seem to have neglected the
diamond as an ornament until the time
of Fournier. And even Fournier, with his
very great range of *vignettes*, did little
more than employ and repeat the basic
rhomboid figure as a diapered ground in
some of his complicated headbands.

According to Flinders Petrie a shapely
diamond contained within an oval has
been found in decorative patterns from Ur,
about 3500 B.C. and at Cuma, without the
oval, *c.* 670 B.C. An Irish book satchel of
the eleventh century was stamped with a
design similar to the one found at Ur, and
several varieties of diamond-shaped stamps
are in evidence on Spanish fifteenth-century
bindings. From English bindings at the

end of the fifteenth century an interesting detail of development is shown as a tail-piece to this section. The first design, a pineapple stamp of 1479, depicts a more or less realistic fruit. The second, of a few years later, shows the pineapple in a

MONOTYPE 1282 / 18 *set* 9 *units*

MONOTYPE 24 / 6, 8, 10, 12, 18
set 18 *units*

stylized form, whilst in the third, early sixteenth century, the fruit has become a shapely diamond with a flower in reverse.

William Caslon I, in his specimen of 1798, seems to have been the first type-founder to show a diamond of fair shape. He produced three flowers on the English body all with black flowers on white grounds and two of these designs have their diamond-shapes surrounded by dotted ovals—the third retains the dots only at the points of the diamond.

Andrea Amoretti's specimen of 1811 (Parma) shows a simple black on white flower within a finely shaped diamond, &

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Nicola Pietelli (Bernardo, 1814) used a border of rhomboid units with flowers showing white on black.

In the 1815 specimen of Vincent Figgins the two diamond-shaped flowers shown above first appeared.