REYNOLD WOLFE.

By C. SAYLE.

Read, at Cambridge, 15th July, 1914.

TWO months ago to-day a tattered copy of an early English printed book was picked up on the Cambridge market place and brought to me for identification. It turned out to be a copy of Robert Recorde's *Ground of Arts*, a fact which I was able to establish through the appearance in the letterpress of the fine initial letters first used by Reynold Wolfe (No. 20).¹ It then occurred to me that it would be a task not altogether unedifying nor lacking in amusement to trace out all the initials used by Wolfe, King's printer in Latin, Greek and Hebrew.

Wolfe appears first as a bookseller in 1530,² a foreigner; in 1536 he was admitted a freeman of the Company of Stationers; and apparently went backwards and forwards to the Frankfurt fairs and served as a messenger. A letter of 1538 says "Our friend Rayner did not come to this fair this year by reason of the death of his wife." He commenced

(1) After considerable search the actual edition still remains unidentified. The long list given in Mr. D. E. Smith's *Rara Mathematica* (1908) unfortunately does not state where copies are to be found. More than a year after the reading of this paper I found the initial L of this alphabet in use at Edinburgh in the *Book of Common Prayer* printed for Archbishop Laud in 1637 (Sig. A7 b etc.). So far as I am aware the letter was never once used by Wolfe, nor in fact by any intermediate printer. It rather points to the initial having been lost till Young had to move fresh furniture and type to Scotland. See *post* for Finlason's use of the compartment of 1571 in Scotland in 1617.

(2) For the biography of Wolfe see E. G. Duff, *Century*. There is an article upon him in *D.N.B.*

to print in 1542. The first Greek book printed in England was printed by Wolfe in the next year, and that was edited by a native of Cambridge, John Cheke, "Cantabrigiensis," aged 29.¹ In 1547 Wolfe was appointed King's printer in Latin, Greek and Hebrew; Stow says that in 1549 he purchased the chapel or charnel house at the east end of St. Paul's. He cleared away more than 1,000 cart loads of the bones of the dead, and set up a row of shops. He was Master of the Stationers' Company four times, in 1560, 1564, 1567, and 1572. He must have been a good Protestant, for under Mary he produced practically nothing. At the request of Whitgift, who had studied at Queens', and was Master of Pembroke Hall, and Master of Trinity, he prepared a chronicle which, had he lived one year more, he would have printed as Wolfe's Chronicle. As it was, it was afterwards used by Holinshed, who was one of the witnesses of his will. He died in 1573. Richard Harrison joined him in partnership over one book, and Harrison's son John married Wolfe's daughter. His type, letters and furniture passed from his widow to his son Robert, and thence to a syndicate.

Wolfe used twenty-seven founts of type, as against fifteen used by Berthelet.² A comparison of the two sets would be instructive.

Eight Roman Types: Of these four were only used for titles, or headings, to pages, or as initials, and one is only found in colophons and occasionally on title-pages.

Six Italic Types: Of these one is used for titles only, and one for marginal annotations. One other is only found in the Estienne's *Dictionariolum Puerorum* of 1552.

Six Black Letter Types: Of these one is used for titles only, and one for annotations.

(1) Cheke is supposed to have been born at the grocer's shop (now Messrs. Hallack and Bond) at the corner of the market place. He was regius professor of Greek at 26 (1540), Public Orator at 30, and Provost of King's at 34. Cheke had employed Veale to print *Homer* and *Hesiod* in 1541.

(2) See W. W. Greg in our *Transactions*, Vol. VIII, 189.

Three Gothic Types : Of these two are found on title-pages and one is used for annotations.

Four Greek Types : Of these one only is used for text, the other three for headings ; one of these latter is a Greek italic.¹

Though King's printer also in Hebrew, he possessed no Hebrew type.

Wolfe used seven title-compartments and ninety-eight ornaments. Much of his work is directly copied from Geoffrey Tory,² if it is not the actual work of that artist. One block contains his cross of Lorraine.

As to the engravers who worked for Wolfe, Chatto and Jackson claim the service of Holbein. They reproduce the portrait of Sir Thomas Wyatt, which appears in Wolfe's first book in 1542, as probably by Holbein.³ If this is the work of Holbein, we may possibly trace his hand in other work for Wolfe. The engraver "C. I." first appears in a book printed by Wolfe in 1556 (No. 32). There is the minute "G" on No. 33, if this be not the C. I. again. The work of Anton Sylvius appears in No. 31, and we see Wolfe buying from Plantin in No. 30. Certain of the initials used by Wolfe were undoubtedly first used by him, and it is useful bibliographically to be able to trace these from him to Bynneman and from Bynneman to later presses. Other initials came to Wolfe from older printers, such as Grafton, and one wishes to trace the genealogy *per ascensum*.

Various problems and minor details of interest emerge from an enquiry of this kind. In 1544 the same initial with the same breaks occurs in a book printed by Wolfe and a book printed by J. Herford

(1) I owe these statistics to the kindness of Mr. J. H. Vaughan, B.A., scholar of Corpus Christi College, now serving in the 3rd Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers.

(2) In connection with Tory's work attention may be drawn to the very handsome edition of a translation by G. B. Ives of Bernard's monograph, with profuse illustrations, printed at the Riverside Press, Cambridge, Mass., by Mr. Bruce Rogers, in 1909.

(3) Dr. Lionel Cust is unwilling to admit Wolfe's claim to Holbein's work. A. B. Chamberlain cites the Charitas mark as Holbein's and the Wyatt vignette (*Hans Holbein the Younger*, 1913).

(No. 29). The fine heraldic D (No. 33) used by Wolfe for the *Matthew Paris* in 1571, in its second issue of the same year, after the device had broken, has not only Parker's initials "M. P." inserted but the date 1570 added in an awkward manner at the foot, though he had been archbishop since 1559.¹ The mysterious William Tylle who printed a solitary book in 1549, an English *New Testament*,² used the initial T (No. 19) which was in Wolfe's possession all the time.

Wolfe had six printing marks. That of Charitas (McKerrow 97) was in use as a printer's ornament as late as 1642. At least one of these initials (No. 28) was in use in Dublin in 1729.³

We may possibly be able to establish Wolfe's claims as a binder. I was able to surmise this some years ago by finding in the Cambridge University Library a proof-sheet of one of Wolfe's books in the pad of a binding with the "R. W." roll upon it.

Mr. Duff kindly reminds me that by the Act of 1534,⁴ a year after Wolfe took out letters of denization, no books might be introduced into England ready bound. We see Wolfe a bookseller, travelling to and from Frankfurt fair. It was only natural therefore to find him binding such books on arrival in sheets.

In the University Library a small exhibition has been arranged for this afternoon's meeting, showing a complete series of title-compartments,⁵ folio, quarto, octavo and 16mo, used by him. I believe that these have

(1) There are three states of this initial: (1) "MC 1570" in *M. Paris Historia*, ed. 1. (2) Plain in the same work, ed. 2. (3) "MP 1570" when used by H. Bynneman in 1575.

(2) See F. Fry, *Bibliographical Description of the Editions of the New Testament*, London, 1878, plate 37.

(3) See Mr. A. W. Pollard on *The Transference of Woodcuts* printed in *Bibliographica*, Vol. II (1895), reprinted in *Old Picture Books* (1902). A paper was read to the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society on the transference of blocks in Scotland over a hundred years, by Mr. G. F. Johnston, recently (not yet printed).

(4) *Century*, Introduction xxi, xxii.

(5) Two of these were shown through the kindness of the Councils of Trinity College and Emmanuel College.

been exhibited to-day, side by side, for the first time in the history of English bibliography. There are also exhibited four specimens of the three "R. W." bindings (7 mm., 12 mm., 19 mm.).¹

²Mr. Aldis reminds me that the large compartment title of the *Historia Major* of Matthew Paris (1571) is the identical block, riddled with wormholes, used by Thomas Finlason at Edinburgh in 1617. To such a low ebb had the art of typography fallen in the British Isles at this date that a new book makes use of a worm-eaten block nearly fifty years old.

It is peculiarly suitable that we should be commemorating Reynold Wolfe on the occasion of the first visit of the Bibliographical Society to Cambridge. Wolfe worked for Archbishop Parker and printed his edition of *Matthew Paris*. The fine heraldic ornament printed at the back of the title of the *Common Places* of Wolfgang Musculus (1563) consists of Parker's coat of arms, and the large initial D (No. 33) also contains it.³ Nor is it possible for us as a society in this connection to pass over without mention the personal relationship which bound together the great archbishop with John Day in the production of Saxon type and a history of the University.⁴

One further link joins Cambridge and Wolfe. Nowell's *Catechism* first appeared in 1570, but the edition of 1573 (the year of Wolfe's death) contains a Greek translation, and this was written by Whitaker, the Master of St. John's College. Thus two Cambridge men, two Johnians, Cheke and Whitaker, round off Wolfe's career as a printer.

To sum up, I have made a complete schedule of all the initials and ornaments used in all the books printed by Wolfe to which I have been able to gain access. My object has been to earmark all those used by

(1) Two of these were kindly lent to me by Mr. Jenkinson.

(2) See Edinburgh Bibliographical Society *Papers*, 1904, Vol. VI.

(3) Parker survived Wolfe by two years.

(4) Parker was also the patron of Richard Jugge.

Wolfe, in order to clear the way for the study of the art work of individual printers. A paper read to this Society nearly twelve years ago¹ may be considered as a preliminary venture in this direction. I hope that we may see other presses similarly treated. "It seems to me," wrote, nearly twenty years ago, the Hon. Secretary of our Society, happily still with us here to-day, "that students of the history of English printing have hardly paid the attention it deserves to the work of the forty years from 1540 to 1580. The printers and bookmen of this period were not distinguished by much originality, or by delicate artistic taste, but they were men of considerable enterprise, and their interest in their books was great and genuine. This interest and enterprise left a distinctive mark on the types, the illustrations and the bindings of the books of the period, and though the ideas which underlie them were mostly borrowed from abroad, they were developed with a certain freedom and largeness which are not without their effect."²

(1) See *Transactions*, Vol. VII, 15-47.

(2) A. W. Pollard, *Bibliographica*, Vol. III (1896), *Old Picture Books* (1902), p. 145.

I

5 mm.

2

15-16 mm.

3

17 mm.

4

18 mm.

5

20 mm.

6

20-22 mm.

7

22-23 mm.

8

23-24 mm.

9

24-25 mm.

10

25 mm.

II

Romans.

I Corinthians.

II Corinthians.

Galatians.

Ephesians.

Philippians.

27 mm.

12

27 mm.

13

27 mm.

14

28 mm.

15

28 mm.

16

16

28-29 mm.

17

30 mm.

18

31 mm.

19

32 mm.

20 *continued.*

33 mm. *continued.*

21

33 mm.

22

33 mm.

23

33-35 mm.

24

35 mm.

25

36 mm.

26

36 mm.

27

40 mm.

28

40 mm.

29

44 mm.

30

53 mm.

31

56 mm.

32

71 mm.

33

73 mm.

87 mm.

TABLE.

1	...	White floral	...	...	5 mm.
2	...	One-line plain criblé	...	...	15-16 mm.
3	...	One-line gothic	...	...	17 mm.
4	...	Two-line white	...	...	18 mm.
5	...	Two-line white animal	...	...	20 mm.
6	...	White floral	...	...	20-22 mm.
7	...	One-line white boy	...	...	22-23 mm.
8	...	One-line criblé paté	...	...	23-24 mm.
9	...	Two-line white	...	...	24-25 mm.
10	...	One-line criblé floriated	...	...	25 mm.
11	...	Two-line white	...	...	27 mm.
12	...	One-line white	...	...	27 mm.
13	...	One-line criblé paté	...	...	27 mm.
14	...	Two-line white	...	...	28 mm.
15	...	Two-line white biblical	...	...	28 mm.
16	...	One-line azure lined	...	...	28-29 mm.
17	...	No-line criblé paté	...	...	30 mm.
18	...	One-line crible plain	...	...	31 mm.
19	...	The "Urinal of Physick" initial	...	...	32 mm.
20	...	Two-line white Renaissance	...	...	32 mm.
21	...	Two-line white "Soldier" alphabet	...	...	33 mm.
22	...	The One-line criblé (Strawberry) "A"...	...	...	33 mm.
23	...	The One-line vert "I"	...	...	33-35 mm.
24	...	The "Samnites" "S"	...	...	35 mm.
25	...	The "G" Divine ¹ ...	...	...	36 mm.

(1) 1551. See it at Lyons in the following year used by H. à Porta in an edition of Thomas Aquinas *Summa*.

26	...	One-line white floral	...	...	36 mm.
27	...	One-line criblé (Sundew) "A"	...	...	40 mm.
28	...	Two-line cornucopia white	...	...	40 mm.
29	...	Two-line white	...	...	44 mm.
30	...	White Arabesque. (Plantin)	...	...	53 mm.
31	...	The Anton-Sylvius initial	...	...	56 mm.
32	...	The "CI" initial	...	...	71 mm.
33	...	The Matthew Parker heraldic "D"	...	...	73 mm.
34	...	The "In principio" "I"	...	...	87 mm.