# Library Records and the Stationers of London

The Bodleian Daybook, 1613-1620

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## Abstract

The Bodleian Daybook 1613 to 1620 (MS Bodleian Library Records e.9) is an archival resource for the study of the London book-trade. Kept by the staff to record the daily administrative business of the library, it has helped previous scholars to reconstruct the early history of the Bodleian and its interactions with the Oxford book-trade. This essay focuses on how the Daybook tells another history of the library involving its relationship with the Stationers of London. Through the analysis of the lists of books supplied by the Stationers, it highlights both the gifts and sales made by the trade, and their relationship with the library and its rapidly developing collections.

In autumn 1613, the Keeper of the Bodleian Library, Thomas James opened a parchment-bound blank book (now MS Library Records e.9) and recorded his first entry: "A Book of Accompts for ye | Librarie since Sr Thomas death | Ao 1613" (see Fig. 1, below). The "Sr Thomas" named here was Sir Thomas Bodley, who restored the university library at Oxford that opened its doors to scholars in 1602 and that continues to bear his name today.

Bodley's death on 28 January 1613 dramatically affected James's role as a librarian, granting him significant authority over the administration of, and responsibility for, the daily business of keeping the library in working order.<sup>2</sup> Hence, this article is concerned with the records that he, and others, kept in the *Daybook* about the procedural business of the library between August 1613 and early 1621.

<sup>1.</sup> Bodleian Library, MS L.R. e.9, f.3<sup>r</sup>. Abbreviations from the *Daybook* have been expanded.

<sup>2.</sup> On James's responsibilities after Bodley's death, see Oxford DNB, "James, Thomas", 29: 737–39; CLEMENT 1991; PHILIP 1983, 23–33; DAVIS 1970.

Figure 1. The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, MS Library Records e.9, f. 3<sup>r</sup>.

The greater part of the records in the *Daybook* appear in James's hand until his retirement from the library in 1620; other entries were made by John Verneuil, who became underkeeper in 1617, and James's immediate successor, John Rouse.<sup>3</sup> The manuscript contains a trove of bibliographical and book historical data that documents the accession of books, consignments to Oxford binders, payments for building materials and construction, pending and confirmed donations, drafts of library statutes, early shelf-lists of the library, along with notations about the many related tasks required of the Bodleian's keeper of books.

The *Daybook* has been recognized as a rich archival resource for histories of the Bodleian and the Oxford book trade. William Dunn Macray, G. W. Wheeler, and Ian Philip used the manuscript to reconstruct the Bodleian's management in the years after the benefactor's death. Likewise, Gwen Hampshire appears to have consulted the manuscript to verify payments and purchases when preparing her edition of the Bodleian *Account Book* (1613–1646), an administrative ledger that documented the library's expenses.<sup>4</sup>

More conspicuously, the *Daybook* has supported a century's worth of research on Oxford bookbinding. In *Early Oxford Bindings* (1903), Strickland Gibson turned to the wealth of binding orders in the *Daybook* and a second manuscript journal, called the "Binders Book". The binding consignments in both notebooks helped Gibson research the tradespeople who were hired to bind books for the library and identify extant Bodleian volumes still in their original bindings. Gibson's seminal research provided the foundation for David Pearson's *Oxford Bookbinding 1500–1640* (2000), which further developed criteria for the identification of bindings commissioned by the Bodleian and Oxford colleges. 6

What requires further discussion is what the *Daybook* reveals about the wider trade of books in England and the information that it holds for scholars of English bibliography and book history in the second decade of the seventeenth century. The *Daybook* does not just offer data on the Oxford book-trade and its members but is a rich source of information about the London Company of Stationers. Indeed, the quality and quantity

<sup>3.</sup> Oxford DNB, "Rouse, John", 47: 963-64.

<sup>4.</sup> Macray (1890, 50) called it a "miscellaneous register-book, in small quarto"; Philip (1983, 28–29) cites the "daybook"; see also Hampshire 1983.

Gibson 1903. The "Binders' Book" (Bodleian Library, MS L.R. e.528) is a continuation of records related to book accessions and binding from 1621 to 1624.

<sup>6.</sup> Pearson 2000.

of data on books, bought or donated to the library by the Stationers, provide a largely untapped archival resource that supplements or even revises longstanding histories of the Stationers, individual members of the company, and the Latin and secondhand book-trade.

It is well known that the Stationers entered into an agreement with the Bodleian Library in 1610 that laid the foundation for the legal depot system still in effect today. This deed granted the library one perfect copy of each new book printed in London. As will be explained in Part II, the records to be found in the Daybook nuance the history of this unique relationship and provide details about the involvement of the Stationers in the development of the library after Bodley's death. The Daybook makes abundantly clear that the Stationers sent English vernacular books to the library. What might have been considered "baggage bookes" to Bodley in 1612 were simply recorded as "London bookes": playbooks, almanacs, and proclamations — the very genres that Bodley explicitly banned — entered the library's holdings alongside poetry, news pamphlets, jest books, how-to manuals, and theological or scholarly works such as sermons, religious treatises, medical texts, law books, and classics by Greek or Roman authors.<sup>8</sup> For many of the books arriving from London, the librarians traced their movement from accession to binding to shelving to cataloguing, thereby revealing how the Bodleian handled English authors and their works from 1613 to 1621.

As shown in Part III, not only does the Daybook reveal that English books were arriving from the Stationers in these early years, it provides three lists of just over 200 English titles given to the library in 1613, 1614, and 1616. Identifying the publishers shines light on those Stationers who gifted their books to the library and with what frequency they did so (see Appendices A–C for the transcriptions). Together the three lists provide snapshots of the packets of London books arriving in the library, and so document the commercial and personal relationships involved.

Further, the Daybook confirms that John Bill was the principal intermediary in the library's early development and success. When Bodley began renovating the library, he hired the wealthy and well-connected London bookseller, John Norton (from 1603 the Royal Printer in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew), to help him fill it with scholarly texts. Correspondence between Bodley and James from 1599 to 1613 provides the bulk of evidence

<sup>7.</sup> Macray 1890, 40–50; Partridge 1938, 17–26.

<sup>8.</sup> Wheeler 1926, 219.

detailing the labors of Norton and Bill, who upon his freedom in 1601, partnered with Norton in the Latin trade.<sup>9</sup>

Bill's responsibilities included twice yearly trips to the Frankfurt bookfair as well as journeys to other cities in Europe to acquire books. His trips allowed Bodley to build a world-class library in Oxford, but little has been said about Bill's continued relationship with Thomas James. The *Daybook* documents his contributions after the deaths of Norton and Bodley, including his ability to anticipate the demands of the library. As shown in Part IV, the *Daybook* offers an extraordinarily detailed account of Bill's sales to the Bodleian. It contains lists of the books that he acquired overseas and their prices, books that he was asked to make "perfect", and books that he gifted to the library. Although other London Stationers were gaining a foothold in the Latin Trade by 1616, Bill retained his position as the library's exclusive agent for new overseas books until 1620.

The *Daybook* likewise offers a rare opportunity to study the relationship between the library and the secondhand book trade. Two orders of books purchased from the London Stationer, John Edwards, are recorded: the first from 1613, and the second from 1615. These lists offer titles, dates, and prices paid by the library for pre-owned continental books, and they show how the library depended on Stationers like Edwards to fill gaps in their collections. Further, the Bodleian's frequent removal of duplicate copies, listed in the *Daybook* as "Double Books", implies that the Bodleian Library functioned as a seller to the secondhand trade.

# Part I: The Manuscript

In 1613, James recorded the purchase of the *Daybook* within the manuscript's pages, not once but twice. The first notation is dated "22° Oct. 1613" in a memorandum of account; on that date, 5s 7d was "Layed out for books yt came from London" and 1s "for this paper book". Ten pages later, the same item, "this paper book" recurs, again for 1s, as part of a longer list of expenses, including packets of books, payments for cleaning the library, the

<sup>9.</sup> Bill was born in the parish of [Much] Wenlock, Shropshire, the son of Walter, deceased; apprenticed to Norton 25 July 1592, and freed 19 January 1601 (Arber, *Registers*, II: 182 & 727). See the many references to Bill in Wheeler 1926, 234–35.

<sup>10.</sup> Bodleian Library, MS L.R. e.9, f.13<sup>v</sup>.

binding and carrying of books, and payments to a glazier. The repetition here and elsewhere in Library Records is typical for the time. Ledgers kept simultaneously in other books and bundles of documents imply that James was establishing a paper trail for the purposes of audit.

As a ledger, the Daybook was the place where James noted the costs for goods and services and when these occurred. In it, vendors signed their names in acknowledgment of the receipt of books or of payment for their labor. James's signature appears as well, when recording receipt of reimbursements or salary. While the Daybook seems to have been first intended as a ledger for these types of financial transactions, over time its purpose shifted, becoming a source for tracing the movement of books in and out of the library as well as where each was shelved. Indeed, keeping a record of the money spent and received may have been a rather easier task for the librarians than maintaining the records of the rapidly developing holdings in a near constant state of re-organization.

Currently, the Daybook consists of 181 quarto leaves bound in an early-seventeenth century limp parchment binding. It is catalogued as "Daybooks, 1613-1620", which nearly matches the handwritten label on the book's spine "Day Book 1613–1620". This description likely originated when later cataloguers sought to differentiate this notebook from the other daybooks in administrative records.<sup>12</sup> The Daybook is the first of such library records from the seventeenth century, and from where it leaves off, the "Binders Book 1621–1624" follows. 13 The Binders Book has received far more attention than the Daybook, as it contains the binding record for the Shakespeare First Folio.<sup>14</sup> In 1905, Strickland Gibson used the binding consignment to William Wildgoose in 1624 to prove that a copy of the First Folio later owned by the Turbutt family, was indeed the original Bodleian copy that had been sent by the Company of Stationers. 15 The Daybook offers a similar opportunity for research that uses binding consignments

<sup>11.</sup> Bodleian Library, MS L.R. e.9, f.23<sup>v</sup>: the list includes four items dated 22 October and seven dated 12 November.

<sup>12.</sup> The Bodleian Library Records catalogue, prepared by Oliver House, Theodora Boorman, and Michael Hughes, see: https://archives.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/repositories /2/resources/3281.

<sup>13.</sup> McCarthy et al 2015.

<sup>14.</sup> Honey and Green 2016.

<sup>15.</sup> Gibson et al 1905.

to locate other early Bodleian copies of books that were subsequently deaccessioned or are still in the library.  $^{16}$ 

The Daybook is divided into two parts, each beginning at one end and meeting in the middle. A little over half of the manuscript (ff.1–108<sup>r</sup>) is composed of records relating to the yearly management of the library. Barring some preliminary pages with pen trials, tables, and notes, this part of the Daybook commences with records from 1613 after Bodley's death and documents administrative processes to 1620/21, using legal dating. It is organized rather like a diary with a mostly chronological arrangement of records. Running heads on the tops of pages stating "Anno 1613" (ff.3<sup>r</sup>-42<sup>r</sup>) and "Anno 1614" (ff.42v-52r) clearly divide the records by year. Thereafter, the dated headings appear more sporadically. Some headings mark records for 1615 (ff.52<sup>r</sup>-70<sup>r</sup>) and a few from 1616 (ff.70<sup>v</sup>-72<sup>v</sup>), but for the remainder of the manuscript such headings are almost entirely absent from the pages containing entries from 1617 (ff.72<sup>v</sup>-85<sup>r</sup>), 1618 (ff.85<sup>v</sup>-88<sup>v</sup>), 1618/9 (f.87<sup>v</sup>), 1620 (ff.88<sup>r</sup>–96<sup>v</sup>), and 1620/21 (f.98<sup>r</sup>).<sup>17</sup> The yearly records for 1619 are extremely sparse, and the entries for 1620, made around the time of James's retirement, appear in several hands and do not follow chronologically by the month. After a single entry from February 1620/21, the Daybook records more business from 1618 and then 1616 (ff.98<sup>r</sup>–108<sup>r</sup>). However, to read the entries on and after f.98°, the book must be turned 180 degrees, owing to the common practice of writing from both ends of a manuscript.

Almost half of the first 108 leaves of the *Daybook* are devoted to the records from 1613 and 1614, with 1613 comprising the bulk of these pages. These years represent the broadest range of library business recorded in the manuscript. Among the entries for 1613 are memoranda of expenses, binding orders that record titles sent to specific binders and when they were returned, books with missing pages (which demonstrate that copies were collated), notes on books donated or promised to the library, books bought secondhand from John Edwards with the prices paid, lists of duplicates to be exchanged or sold, library ordinances, records of books arriving from the London Stationers, books requested for purchase by scholars and curators, books acquired through John Bill from Europe, and various payments to vendors. The records kept for 1614 are similar, with specific decisions by the curators about library management, and new library ordinances.

<sup>16.</sup> For instance, the *Daybook* provides binding records for both Ben Jonson's *Epigrammes* (ca.1612) and his *Works* (1616). See Lyons 2023a, 25; Lyons 2020.

<sup>17.</sup> For some context on the scale of the London trade at the time, see Gants 2002.

Starting from the other end of the manuscript, there is first to be found scattered notes on the flyleaves and a list of eight "Delinquentes contra forma statutorum", that is those who had violated library statutes, with their colleges and penalties.<sup>18</sup> The remaining pages include a shelf-list of the library entitled "Synopfis Auctorus in Bibliotheca" (ff.108<sup>v</sup>–177<sup>v</sup>), with numbered lists of volumes identified by their authors' surnames.<sup>19</sup> Volumes with more than one title are marked with an asterisk, the first title in a sammelband serving as the point of entry in the catalogue. The shelf-list appears to have been created around 1613 or 1614, and space was left for the addition of new acquisitions, which were then inconsistently added. Similarly organized shelf-lists were produced for the curators of the library in 1614 for their yearly audit of the holdings.<sup>20</sup> The shelf-list in the Daybook appears to have been abandoned once the curators' catalogues were produced.<sup>21</sup> According to the shelf-list, manuscripts and printed books were shelved together, but James separated them sometime in 1613, eliciting a formal complaint from Brian Twyne to the library's curators the matter was resolved in James's favor, as noted in the Daybook.<sup>22</sup>

The books in the Bodleian were shelved according to their respective faculties (Theology, Law, Arts, and Medicine), and restricted materials were held under lock and key in the Archives. Books within the four faculties were divided by format, and the quartos and octavos were then arranged alphabetically by the first letter of the surnames of their author.

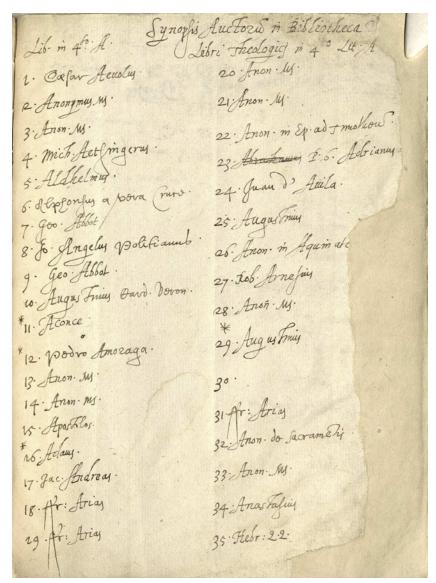
<sup>18.</sup> Bodleian Library MS L.R. e.9, f.178<sup>v</sup>: included in the list are Henry Bray, who offended on both 11 February and 24 October [1614?], William Bastin of Exeter College on 23 February [1614?] and 6 June 1614; Simon Forman who was banned for three months on 16 April [1615?], and Thomas Vicars on 11 March 1614. The final entry concerns John Baker of Exeter College on 27 March 1615. Offenders by the names of "Turnar" and "Hereford" appear for 22 March 1615. For the first names, see Foster 1891-1892.

<sup>19.</sup> For anonymous works, "Anonymous" was sometimes listed as the "author". At other times, a short title or the subject was listed for the volume.

<sup>20.</sup> The library statutes of July 1615 established that "the names of all the books which are in folio, quarto, and octavo, are to be entered in a separate book, (observing the order in which they are arranged in the library,) and the curators severally are to have copies of it subscribed by the hand of the chief keeper and the curators; and they are diligently to peruse it on the Visitation-day." See Ward & Heywood, 1845–1851, i: 269.

<sup>21.</sup> On the various kinds of catalogues produced under James, see Wheeler 1928.

<sup>22.</sup> Bodleian Library, MS L.R. e.9, f.34<sup>r</sup>. On the conflict, see Gibson 1940, 100–01; Wheeler 1914-1916, 286-87.



**Figure 2.** The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, MS Library Records e.9, f.177°.

The shelf-list (see Fig. 2, below) begins with the Theology quartos and the surnames of those authors beginning with the letter "A". 23 There are fiftyseven shelfmarks in the 4° A Th. section, with thirty-seven listed on the first page. The list begins at 4° A 1 Th., a volume by "Cæsar Aeuolus" that both the 1605 and the 1620 printed catalogues record as the 1580 Venice edition of De Divinis Attributis.<sup>24</sup> The shelf-list then proceeds through Theology octavos shelved under the letter "A". Next are quartos shelved under "B", followed by octavos, continuing through the alphabet, alternating 4° and 8°. This same system applies for the Law or "Juris" (beginning at f.147<sup>r</sup>), Arts or "Artium" (from f.139<sup>r</sup>), and Medicine or "Medici" (from f.118<sup>v</sup>). The rarer books and manuscripts locked in the Archives, were labeled "Librij reconditi in Archius" (f.109<sup>v</sup>). The shelf-list is incomplete with blank spaces at shelfmarks where books had either been removed or a space had been kept for known new accessions.

The unfinished catalogue of the library represents a snapshot of the collections in process. In conjunction with other handlists and catalogues, including the printed catalogues of 1605 and 1620, as well as James's manuscript "Appendix to the 1605 Catalogue", "A Handlist from 1602-1612", "A Catalogue of 1613", and curatorial handlists from 1614, 1616, and 1624, it offers a unique opportunity to identify approximately when a book or title was added to the shelves of the library, where it was shelved, and when it was moved or deaccessioned.<sup>25</sup> Further, the lists of titles that entered the library either through purchase or donation add vet another coordinate to the history of the Bodleian Library and its early development.

# Part II: Bodleian-Stationers' Agreements, 1610 & 1612

That there was a strained relationship between the Bodleian Library and Company of Stationers has often been alluded to in histories of the library. Further analysis of the primary sources surrounding the deed reveal how the agreement was constructed by both parties and how the Stationers may have perceived the grant. As is well known, in 1610, at the behest of Thomas James, Bodley secured an agreement with the Stationers that would freely grant the library one perfect copy of each new book printed by

<sup>23.</sup> Bodleian Library, MS L.R. e.9, f.177v.

<sup>24.</sup> James 1605, 13 & James 1620, 7.

<sup>25.</sup> Respectively, Bodleian Library, MS L.R. e.639; —, MS Bodl. 510; —, MS L.R. e.273-274; for the other handlists, see Wheeler 1928, 10-33 & 53-94.

the London trade. The official "Deed of Grant" was signed on 12 December 1610. During negotiations, the parties met at the house of the Upper Warden, William Leake, in St Paul's Churchyard. The Master at the time, Thomas Man, is also likely to have been present at this semi-private affair. It was Man who gifted the library its first book under the agreement, a copy of William Cartwright's *Christian Religion* (1611), which still bears Bodley's own inscription to commemorate the occasion. The grant was then confirmed by Convocation at Oxford on 27 February 1611. A note in the Stationers' Archives records the receipt of the sealed indenture on 14 March 1611.

In exchange for the free books, the Bodleian offered the Stationers some benefits in return. First, they were provided with access to the library and its collections, which could then be used for the copying or collating of books. Second, they had the right to borrow books donated by them for the purposes of republication; and third, the library guaranteed the preservation of those copies that it chose to keep. The extent to which the Stationers took advantage of this arrangement is unknown, but, as John Barnard has argued, there were more intangible benefits that motivated the agreement.<sup>30</sup> As a "Publicke Library", the Bodleian was conceived of as an institution in service to the English commonwealth. Its purpose was to support education in the realm, to train men for the Anglican church, and to further the political aims of the crown.<sup>31</sup> By signing the indenture, the Stationers were providing what amounted to a perpetual endowment of books, a gift that was surely expected to provide a good return on investment, politically if not financially. As Barnard writes, "As a corporate body [. . .] their support for Sir Thomas's library reflected their national standing."32

Soon after the indenture went into effect, Bodley complained about the "rubbes and delaies" in the delivery of books from the Stationers, and he

<sup>26.</sup> Jackson 1957, 48-49.

<sup>27.</sup> A facsimile of the inscription can be found in Rogers 1991, 49.

<sup>28.</sup> For a transcription of the agreement, see Partridge 1938, 289. The original is housed in Oxford University Archives, MS 1606–1611, ff.326–27. It might be noted here that the Master and Wardens of the Stationers changed every year in July. Man was Master until July 1611, when John Norton succeeded him.

<sup>29.</sup> Jackson 1957, 48-49.

<sup>30.</sup> Barnard 2008.

<sup>31.</sup> On the gift agreement and the transactional relationship between Company and Library, see Lyons 2023b.

<sup>32.</sup> Barnard 2008, 338.

told Thomas James in late 1611 that he had requested the help of John Norton, the Master, who reported that the delays resulted from the illness of the Beadle, Thomas Bushell. Norton agreed to help resolve the matter quickly.<sup>33</sup> What emerged was a revised deed, dated 18 January 1612, for the "better confirming the preceding deed of grant."<sup>34</sup> This agreement was printed, and was purportedly to be read aloud at each Quarter Day meeting, with the intent that this would reinforce the requirement.<sup>35</sup>

The 1612 bylaws were stricter and more specific about the books that were owed, the processes of book delivery, as well as the ramifications for noncompliance. The new ordinance emphasized that in addition to newly printed books, the Stationers were expected to submit titles that were newly appended or revised. Within ten days of publication, the Stationer was to present a copy to the Under Warden who then would transfer it to the chosen appointee of the Bodleian. The document further warned that any Stationer who failed to supply their copy to the library would be fined three times the cost of the book. This fine was to be collected by the Stationers to be used by the Bodleian for the purchase of books. These new ordinances were signed by the Master, Wardens, Assistants, and the Clerk at Stationers' Hall. What the 1612 ordinance clarifies is the institutional nature of the contract that would be enforced by the Company's leadership.

Norton and Bodley appear to have gone a step further to ensure the library received the Stationers' books. Attached to the 1612 grant was a commendation signed by the "King's Ministers ecclesiastical", otherwise known as the Court of High Commission for Ecclesiastical Affairs. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and seventeen other of its members signed the document. Their statement lavished praise on the Company for "its fervent zeal [. . .] to the furtherance of good learning, and for an exemplary gift and graunt to the Scholars and Students of the University of Oxford". Yet, the High Commission also warned the Company that, if required, it would help with the "due and perpetual execution" of the deed.<sup>36</sup> In effect, it offered to act as a guarantor of the agreement.

For the Bodleian, the new stipulations were designed to help facilitate the stream of English books coming to Oxford with minimal intervention from

<sup>33.</sup> Wheeler 1926, 206 & 219.

<sup>34.</sup> For the Stationers' transcript, see Stationers' Archive, MS TSC/1/E/15.

<sup>35.</sup> For the ordinance dated 8 January 1612: Oxford University Archives, SEP 9/6; STC 16786.12. For a transcript with the commendation, see Partridge 1938, 290-92.

<sup>36.</sup> Partridge 1938, 291 & 292.

library staff. For the members of the Company, the "gift" agreement may have felt like a compulsory tax. The Company's leadership had accepted the burden of gathering copies and had agreed to monitor and punish its members for noncompliance. However, the Court Records indicate that during this period, no members were disciplined for failure to supply copies to the Bodleian. Other fines were issued for other infractions, such as abusing apprentices or missing quarterly meetings, but it can be inferred that the Company's leadership saw little benefit in holding every member accountable for donating every single newly printed book.<sup>37</sup>

As the *Daybook* records, the Stationers participated in the deed, but not to the extent that the library expected. For instance, the Stationers seemingly did not deliver all of their copies to the Under Warden, so the job of gathering books for the library fell to the Beadle, Thomas Bushell, although there is no evidence that the Company paid him to do so. Rather, it was the library that seems to have stepped in to pay Bushell a quarterly gratuity of 6s 8d, as per the curators' orders, approved in Convocation in November 1613.<sup>38</sup> The first payment to him, however, was not made until 12 September 1614, when he received 26s 8d for a full year, past due since Midsummer.<sup>39</sup> During that same period, the *Daybook* shows that the library was receiving Stationers' books, and Bushell's name is attached to the lot that arrived on 28 July 1614, more than six weeks before he was paid for his time.<sup>40</sup>

Elsewhere, the *Daybook* records that in November 1614, the library attempted to take the responsibility for gathering and delivering the books away from Bushell and put it into the hands of the Under Warden of the Company — at the time, Thomas Adams — as prescribed by the 1612 bylaws. Letters that explained these demands were apparently sent to the Stationers (although there is no evidence of this in the Court Records or the Memorandum Book) with a reminder that the grant had been signed under the authority of the High Commission.<sup>41</sup> The warning from the library might have had more teeth had it actually come with a reprimand from the bishops, but no official disciplinary actions were exacted and, evidently, the letters were ignored. Rather, another temporary solution emerged.

<sup>37.</sup> Jackson 1957, 438-90.

<sup>38.</sup> Macray 1890, 50.

<sup>39.</sup> Hampshire 1983, 12.

<sup>40.</sup> Bodleian Library, MS L.R. e.9, f.44<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>41.</sup> Bodleian Library, MS L.R. e.9, ff. 52<sup>r</sup>–53<sup>v</sup>; Wheeler 1928, 87–88 summarizes the ordinances, which appear in Latin in the *Daybook*.

# Part III: The Daybook's Lists of Stationers' Gifts

### 15 November 1613

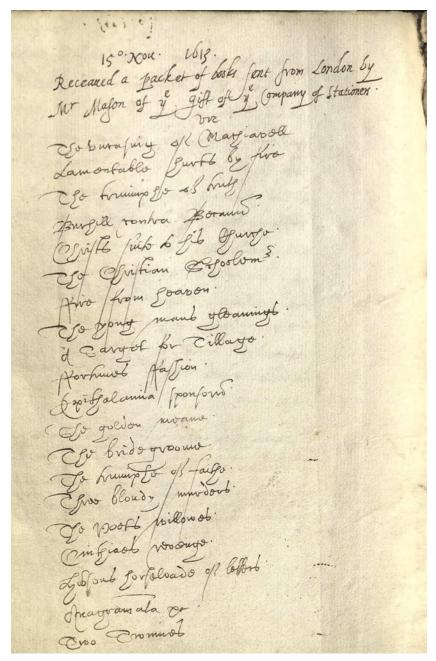
On 15 November 1613, Thomas James recorded the receipt of "a packet of books fent from London by m<sup>r</sup> Mason of y<sup>e</sup> gift of y<sup>e</sup> Company of Stationers", containing forty-one titles, all printed in London in 1613.<sup>42</sup> As Figure 3 (below) illustrates, James relied on short titles for each book, only providing an author's name in a handful of cases to better identify the work. The single-column of titles covers two facing pages (ff.30<sup>v</sup>-31<sup>r</sup>), and there does not appear to be any organizational principle at work in the order that they are listed. Although it may be a coincidence, the first title in the list, Nicholas Breton's The Vncasing of Machiuils instructions to his sonne (1613), was published by Thomas Bushell, the Beadle.<sup>43</sup>

Yet, it is not Bushell who is named for sending the packet of Stationers' books that day, but someone called "Mason". There was not a Stationer by that surname at the time; however, between 1611 and 1616, Henry Mason served as chaplain under the Bishop of London and acted under his authority to allow books for the press.<sup>44</sup> As the Stationers' Register shows, Mason allowed manuscripts for eight of the books in the November 1613 shipment and ten of the books in the July 1614 shipment to the Bodleian, meaning that he was in a working relationship with individual Stationers — such as George Norton, John Barnes, John Budge, William Welby, John Bill, Robert Wilson, Francis Burton, William Barrett, William Jones [2], Samuel Macham, Roger Jackson, and William Aspley — to provide the

<sup>42.</sup> See Appendix A for a full transcription and bibliographical information on the titles. For the forty-one titles, nearly all are confirmed to have appeared in print in 1613, according to the STC. Since this list of books does not include dates of publication, it is possible, although unlikely, that some titles represent earlier editions. For instance, the STC records two editions of John Moore's A Target for Tillage: the first was published in 1612 (STC 18058; entered 18 September) and the second in 1613 (STC 18059), and either edition might have been in the shipment. The 1620 catalogue, however, shows that it was the 1613 edition that was in the library by this time (JAMES 1620, 341).

<sup>43.</sup> STC 3704.3-3704.5 (1613). The STC number and the publishers for each title are identified in Appendix A.

<sup>44.</sup> Greg 1962, 66; on allowance, license, and entrance, see Blayney 1997, 396-404.



**Figure 3.** The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, MS Library Records e.9, f.30°.

required ecclesiastical allowance. 45 By 1613, Mason was living and working in London, as the rector of St. Andrew Undershaft — a parish with which some Stationers were affiliated.<sup>46</sup> In 1616, he was promoted to canon of St. Paul's (prebendary of Wilsden), and his last allowance of a manuscript appears in the Stationers' Register on 8 October 1616.<sup>47</sup>

Mason matriculated at Brasenose, Oxford, graduating B.A. in 1596, and M.A. in 1603 from Corpus Christi, serving as Chaplain there from 1602, and then graduating B.D. in June 1610. This confluence of associations between the Stationers, Oxford, and the ecclesiastical authorities may have suggested Mason as a suitable choice to guarantee that the donations made it to the Bodleian. John King, the Bishop of London, had, in his prior role as Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, helped Bodley secure his endowments to the library. 48 Inviting Mason to act on behalf of all parties offered an elegant resolution to the issues arising in this matter between them.

Bodley's bequest ensured that the library continued to grow after his death; however, the books in the 13 November 1613 shipment confirm that a broader range of material was being added to the collections. Among those received that November were John Stephen's play Cinthia's Revenge and Thomas Middleton's mayoral entertainment The Triumph of Truth; other works of poetry, such as Richard Brathwait's The Poet's Willow, or the Passionate Shepherd, and William Browne's Britannia's Pastorals, were also included.<sup>49</sup> These books were recorded in the same manner as scholarly Latin texts, such as Dr. Robert Abbott's reply to a Catholic apologist, Antilogia adversus apologiam Andreæ Eudæmon-Ioannis Iesuitæ and Dr. James Ussher's antiquarian history of reformed churches, Gravissimae auæstionis, de Christianarum Ecclesiarum.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>45.</sup> In Appendices A-C, titles allowed by Mason are marked with an asterisk. These entries in the Stationers' Register include Mason's name: for instance, when Samuel Macham entered his copy of Joseph Hall's Contemplations (STC 12650) on 9 September 1612, it was under the hands of "Henry Mason and the wardens": Arber, Registers, III: 495.

<sup>46.</sup> Oxford DNB, "Mason, Henry", 37: 172-73. Alice Byng died on 21 May 1616 and was buried at St. Andrew Undershaft. She was married successively to three Stationers: Richard Waterson, Francis Coldock, and Isaac Byng. Simon Waterson, who became Master in 1616 was her son: Plomer 1903, 37.

<sup>47.</sup> Arber, Registers, III: 596.

<sup>48.</sup> Macray 1890, 402–18.

<sup>49.</sup> STC 23248-23248a, 17903-17904 (ent. 13 November), 3578, 3914 (ent. 15 November) [1613].

<sup>50.</sup> STC 45 (ent. 3 July), 24551 (ent. 4 August).

As well as literature and controversy, the shipment included English vernacular sermons by Thomas Myriell, Samuel Hieron, Sampson Price, and Abraham Scultetus, as well as Christian conduct books, such as John Downame's Consolations for the Afflicted and William Cowper's Good News from Canaan.<sup>51</sup> From this packet, the Bodleian also acquired newsbooks, such as A wonderfull and most lamentable declaration of the great hurt done [. . .] by fire [. . .] in Errford, as well as more sensational crime pamphlets, including Three bloodie murders (1613), its title page featuring a gruesome bodily dismemberment, and John Hilliard's Fire from heaven. Burning the body of one Iohn Hittchell (1613), its title page inviting customers to "read and tremble" about a man who spontaneously combusted. 52 The 1613 packet of books was clearly filling wide gaps in the collections, and Thomas James had every intention of keeping these topical small works. The Daybook shows that the librarian proceeded to send many of these titles for binding on 7 February 1614 with other recently printed English books, presumably also gifts from the Stationers.<sup>53</sup>

## 28 July 1614

On 28 July 1614, another shipment of books was recorded in the *Daybook*: "Receaued from M<sup>r</sup> Bushell & M<sup>r</sup> Mason these books following". This single-column list of seventy-two titles takes up three full pages and spills over onto the fourth (ff.44<sup>r</sup>–45<sup>v</sup>). James starts the list with these five folios indicating that some of the shipment had been hastily sorted by format:

Synopfis Papifmi
The historie of Leawes by Grimston
Hectors life & death
Senecaes workes
The 10. part of ye Lo: Cookes reports.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>51.</sup> STC 18322 (ent. 6 December), 13392 (ent. 1 November), 20333 (ent. 14 October), 22125 (ent. 3 July), 7140 (ent. 26 June), 5919 (ent. 19 May) [1613]. Appendix A lists the subtitle of Downame's Consolations: The Christian Warfare Part 3.

<sup>52.</sup> STC 10511.7 (ent. 17 August), 18287, 13507–13507.3 (ent. 14 August) [1613].

<sup>53.</sup> Bodleian Library, MS L.R. e.9, ff.34v-38r.

<sup>54.</sup> See Appendix B for a full transcription and bibliographical information on the titles.

lames then enumerated the remaining books in smaller formats, with one exception — the second edition of *Purchas his pilgrimage*, published in 1614.

Of the six folios, Andrew Willet's Synopsis Papismi, that is, a generall view of papistrie was both an expensive book to produce, and one that had gone through several enlargements and reprints. A painstaking critique of every level of Catholic doctrine, the fourth edition by 1614 had grown to 361 sheets (1444 pages) of crown folio. 55 Its polemical value made it an essential reference tool for sermons and the kind of theological controversy that was prevalent in ecclesiastical and academic scholarship at the time. In other words, it was exactly the kind of book that the Bodleian would have had to purchase had it not formed an agreement with the Stationers.

Thomas Man, the publisher of Synopsis Papismi, had once again been elected Master on 2 July 1614. That a shipment of books was delivered to the Bodleian within four weeks of his elevation was not a coincidence. As with his gift of Cartwright's Christian Religion in 1611 that commenced the delivery of books to the Bodleian, the inclusion of Synopsis Papismi, and its importance to the library, marks his commitment as Master to honor the arrangement.<sup>56</sup> Notably, the Bodleian already owned a copy of the 1600 edition of Synopsis Papismi.<sup>57</sup> Thus, Man's gift of a new enlarged edition confirmed not only his continued support for the original agreement but also the bylaws of 1612, which added that revised editions be sent. Of the five titles that Man published in 1614 that were due to the Bodleian under the indenture, all can be located in the early records of the library.<sup>58</sup>

In addition to Willet, the shipment included the enlarged second edition of Purchas His Pilgrimage published by Henry Fetherstone.<sup>59</sup> As James's autograph catalogue records, the library already had the 1613

<sup>55.</sup> STC 25699–99a (1613–1614). A copy valued at 18s is recorded in the inventory of the York bookseller John Foster in November 1616: BARNARD & BELL 1994, 94; Davies 1868, 343.

<sup>56.</sup> The imprint reads "Printed by Felix Kyngfton for Thomas Man, to be fold by Henry Fetherston". It is, of course, possible that Fetherstone supplied the copy on Man's behalf.

<sup>57.</sup> James 1605, 159; Bodleian Library, MS L.R. e.274, f.164v.

<sup>58.</sup> The titles from 1614 can be found in the Daybook or the 1620 Catalogue: Willet's Synopsis Papismi (STC 25699a), Robert Bruce's Sermons upon the sacrament of the Lords Supper (STC 3921.5-3922), Mathurin Cordier's Dialogues Translated Grammatically (STC 5762), Robert Cleaver's Exposition of the First and Second Chapters of the Proverbs of Salomon (STC 5390), and Henry Smith's Sermons (STC 22729).

<sup>59.</sup> Bodleian Library, MS L.R. e.273, f.44v.

edition; nevertheless, the shipment included the 1614 edition as well.<sup>60</sup> The Bodleian apparently wanted both copies, with the second described as "enlarged with additions" — both were in the 1620 catalogue.<sup>61</sup> As explained below in the section on "Double Books", the Bodleian often deaccessioned duplicates and replaced older copies with revised editions, but for *Purchase His Pilgrimage* as with *Synopsis Papismi*, the library was looking beyond the book as information and rather preserving variant versions as witnesses to the historical record — only because of, and through the agreement that provided the library with copies *ex gratia*.

The role of Fetherstone in the development of the library requires some acknowledgment as well. As Bonham Norton's former apprentice, he had expertise in the Latin trade, and by 1620 succeeded Bill as the Bodleian's primary book buyer. The copies of the Purchas folios would only have reinforced his status, along with his ability to acquire rare and unusual material. As for Bushell, his only publication from 1614, Nicholas Breton's *I would and would not*, also appears in this list. Even if he was not the first choice of agents from whom the library acquired books, he seems to have been conscientious about sending the smallest of his literary publications.

## 8 June 1616

A third inventory of Stationers' books in the *Daybook* is entitled, "Books receaued from London from ye Stationers 8° Jun 1616". Unlike the other two lists, this one does not record who procured the books for the library, but in 1616, there is a payment recorded in the Bodleian Account Book for 11s "for removing and recovering books among the Stationers". This expense is consistent with other book carriage expenses from London, but it seems not to have involved Thomas James retrieving the books himself.

<sup>60.</sup> On Fetherstone and Purchas, Bland 1995, 1: 193–94. The 1613 edition of *Pilgrimage* was 202 sheets of pica roman and the 1614 edition 241 sheets.

<sup>61.</sup> James 1620, 409; the 1614 edition is K4.9 Art. The binding rolls match those of John Adams: Gibson 1903, 59, Plate XL (Roll XXVII).

<sup>62.</sup> As well as London books, Fetherstone acquired continental books and manuscripts on the Bodleian's behalf, including the Barrocian library in 1629. See Macray 1890, 68–74; Philip 1983, 37.

<sup>63.</sup> Bodleian Library, MS L.R. e.9, ff.102<sup>r</sup>–104<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>64.</sup> Hampshire 1983, 18. This payment is recorded just after another transaction dated 1 July 1616, so it seems plausible that the 11s was also paid then to the agent who brought the Stationers' books in June.

A few years later, in 1618–1619, James travelled to London specifically to acquire the Stationers' books; the cost of this trip was far higher at £5.65

The ninety-one London books that arrived at the Bodleian on 8 June 1616 is unique within the Daybook, for it compiles not only the titles but also the names of the Stationers who published them. 66 For example, the imprint for John Marston's Jack Drums Entertainment (1616), indicates that copies were "Printed by W. Stansby, for Philip Knight, and are to be fold at his fhop in Chancery-lane, ouer against the Roles, 1616." Thus James recorded "Phl Knight" in the left column, as he was the Stationer who employed Stansby to print the edition.<sup>67</sup> What we can extrapolate from this list is that those responsible for providing the copies of books to the Bodleian were the publishers, and that fifty-four contributed to the June shipment. Hence, the majority of the 95 Stationers who published books in 1616 contributed in some way that year to the collections of the Bodleian. 68

The Daybook further demonstrates that the list was not intended as a record of who supplied the copy. James relied on a book's imprint to identify the name of the publisher. For instance, for Nathaniel Cannon's The Cryer, only the initials "H.R." appear in the imprint, and James recorded these in the list. Whether he knew or not that "H.R." stood for Henry Roberts, he did not try to specify the information. For books that were shared imprints, such as the third volume of Joseph Hall's Contemplations, James only entered the first publisher named — in this case, Nathaniel Butter although William Butler [2] also appeared in the imprint.<sup>69</sup> Hence, rather than a list of publishers who sent books in June 1616, the list was rather

<sup>65.</sup> The entry in Hampshire 1983 indicates that James went to London to "procure books due by the Stationers ex consensus", 25.

<sup>66.</sup> See Appendix C for the full transcription. For the distinction between the different aspects of the trade and the roles therein, see Blayney 2013, I: 30–32. Blayney defines the "publisher" as the person who "decided that making a particular text public was a worthwhile venture, and paid to have a large number of copies printed".

<sup>67.</sup> STC 7244 (1616). This was the second edition that was "newly corrected", according to the title page. The play was transferred to Knight 6 November 1615 by Elizabeth, the widow of Richard Oliff: Arber, Registers, III: 576.

<sup>68.</sup> The number of publishers is only an approximation and is based upon the STC's index of "Printers and Publishers" (III, 1-193). It includes London Stationers who published titles that year while not counting separately corporate publishers, such as the English Stock, Latin Stock, Officina Nortoniana, and Eliot's Court

<sup>69.</sup> STC 4576 (1613); 12654 (1615; ent. 8 September).

an incomplete transcript of publisher's names from the imprints of those books.

This information would have been useful to the library for two reasons. First, it could help James identify whom to contact if a book was found to be imperfect. Second, the list could help him remember the edition of a book that had been supplied on a specific date. Both the 1610 and the 1612 agreements between the Company and the Bodleian were explicit about the need for "perfect" copies to be delivered to the library. James and his librarians collated the new arrivals, and when they found a book defective, they documented the problem and asked for remedy. Such issues could arise without obvious intent and simply reflect the exigencies of early modern trade practices and the occasional errors that the Stationers had to remedy as a business, but which otherwise have not been recorded.

The *Daybook* shows that amongst a list of "Books of ye Stationers unperfect ao 1615", both the title and the publisher of the work were recorded. For example, James recorded that "The mysterie of ye Lo: Supper by Rob. Bruce for Tho. Man wants M in ye 1 Alphabet 8". To summarize, Thomas Man's publication of *The mystery of the Lords supper* by Robert Bruce was missing a single octavo sheet (M), or sixteen pages from pp. 83r–90°. The Stationer probably addressed the issue, as the entry in the list was crossed out in ink. *The mysterie* (1614) was not in the library's 1620 catalogue, but by then, the Bodleian had received Bruce's quarto collection of sermons that included the text. Bruce's *The way to true peace and rest* (1617), also published by Thomas Man, made *The mysterie* a duplicate to be deaccessioned, a fate that befell any number of single-title editions that were later published in omnibus collections.

Two other pieces of information accompany the publisher's name and title for fifty-three of the ninety-one entries on the 1616 list: the date of

<sup>70.</sup> Sometimes, whether a copy was imperfect could be difficult for a librarian to determine: books without inserts were not necessarily "imperfect" to eyes that did not know what ought to be present. This remains true of some of the records in the STC where a comparison of witnesses reveals that supposedly complete copies are nothing of the kind.

<sup>71.</sup> Bodleian Library, MS L.R. e.9, f.15<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>72.</sup> Bodleian Library, MS L.R. e.9, f.15<sup>r</sup>. STC 3921–3921.5 (1614; ent. 22 June 1614). It was entered to Thomas Man and Jonas Man.

<sup>73.</sup> James 1620, 88.

<sup>74.</sup> This is likely what happened with the 1612 octavo edition of the *Epigrammes* of Ben Jonson: see, Lyons 2023a, 24–5; Lyons 2020, 358–61. Another list of imperfect books, dated 1618, appears on Bodleian Library, MS L.R. e.9, f.98°.

publication and the format. After the first fifty-three, James likely grew weary of describing the London books in such detail; however, that he started to do so suggests that he thought this data could serve a function. When compared to the lists of 1613 and 1614, the one from 1616 has a broader range of imprint dates, from 1610 to 1616. Ideally, the books from 1612 to 1615 should have been sent earlier, but for a couple of books the tardiness of delivery was not owing to delinquency.<sup>75</sup> Robert Dowland's A Musicall Banquet (1610) and his Varietie of Lute-Lessons (1610), were printed before the indenture was signed, and thus these elegant folios were the gift of their publisher, Thomas Adams, Upper Warden of the Company in 1616.<sup>76</sup> Meanwhile, Sir Walter Ralegh's The History of the World (1614), published by Walter Burre, was suppressed by the crown soon after publication and thus its late arrival was out of the publisher's control.<sup>77</sup>

Still, the Stationers were falling behind on deliveries, as is evident from the presence of Sir Edward Coke's eleventh volume of the Reports (1615), which was published by the "Society of Stationers" as part of the English Stock.<sup>78</sup> Recording supplemental bibliographical details such as date, publisher, and format would have helped James track what was arriving and when, as a list from 1616 did not necessarily mean that all titles within the shipment were dated 1616. Looking towards the future, he seems to have been recording these books with additional bibliographical information in anticipation that it would help with the identification of which books were in the library and which were not. Moreover, by 1616, the library was five years into the gift agreement with the Stationers, and as this June list proves, some new and better editions were making the older gifts obsolete. As time passed, increasingly the Bodleian needed copy-specific publication details to keep track of its vernacular collections.

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If we consider the publishers of all 204 titles across the three lists, certain Stationers stand out among the rest. While the three lists are not a complete dataset of all books, they do offer three confirmed snapshots of English books in library shipments. The most frequent contributors

<sup>75.</sup> For further discussion, see Lyons 2023b, 439–40.

<sup>76.</sup> Bodleian Library, MS L.R. e.9, f.102r. STC 7099 & 7100.

<sup>77.</sup> For Ralegh, see Bland 1996, 181–90.

<sup>78.</sup> STC 5521 (1615).

within this sample of books are John Budge (bookseller 1607–1625), Roger Jackson (1601–1625), and Samuel Macham [1] (1606–1615) along with Joyce his widow (1615–1616). Granted, the number of books delivered depended on how many a Stationer published during the years 1613, 1614, and 1616. Still, as the librarians sorted through the books and prepared them for shelving, they also would have seen these names recurring.

John Budge's nine titles among these three lists covered a range of genres: Robert Naile's A relation of the royall [. . .] entertainment given to Queene Anne, at Bristoll, and Nicholas Breton's The good and the bade were literary texts; conduct books are represented by Staffords Heavenly Dogge: or the life, and death of Diogenes, John Norden's The labyrinth of mans life, and R.R.'s The house-holders helpe, for domesticall discipline. The remaining items were devotional and theological: Richard Niccols A day-starre for darke-wandring soules, William Cowper's Good Newes from Canaan, and his The Bishop of Galloway his dikaiologie, and Thomas Adam's Diseases of the soule.<sup>79</sup>

The relationship between the Stationers and the Bodleian was reciprocal: Anthony Stafford, author of the Staffords Heavenly Dogge, for example, was a reader at the Bodleian Library in 1609, where he conducted research for this work and others. <sup>80</sup> For Budge and other Stationers, it was in their best interests to keep the library well stocked if it encouraged the production of new and saleable texts.

Roger Jackson contributed 8 of the 204 titles among the three shipments of books to the Bodleian, including Gervase Markham's Cheape and Good Husbandry, Abraham Jackson's Sorrowe's Lenitiue, Written vpon occasion of the death of Iohn, Lord Harrington, Arthur Saul's The famous game of chesse-play, Robert Anton's The philosophers satyrs, and Thomas Gainsford's The secretaries studie: containing new familiar epistles. His theological works were Richard Web's sermon, The lot or portion of the righteous, John Hart's The Burning Bush, and Stephen Jerome's Moses his sight of Canaan. 81 As well as these eight works, the Daybook has other Jackson titles in binding

<sup>79.</sup> STC 18347 (1613: entered 8 October), 3656 (1616: ent. 29 October 1615), 23128 (1615: ent. 6 June), 18611 (1614: ent. 17 January), 20586 (1615: ent. 30 October), 18526.5 (1613), 5919 (1613: ent. 19 May, unique), 5915 (1614: ent. 12 May), 109 (1616: ent. 29 November 1614).

<sup>80.</sup> Oxford DNB, "Stafford, Anthony", 52: 38–39. See also the tribute to the Bodleian paid by Samuel Purchas in 1625, cited by Bland 1996, 151.

<sup>81.</sup> STC 17336 (1614: ent. 13 December 1613), 14296 (1614: ent. 15 March, unique), 21772 (1614: ent. 4 October 1613), 686 (1616: ent. 23 January), 11523 (1616: ent. 9 October 1615), 25151 (1616: ent. 9 October 1615), 12891 (1616: ent. 11 December

consignments: one from August 30, 1613, for instance, includes his edition of Francis Davison's A Poetical Rapsodie, and another consignment from September 15, 1614 includes John Dennys's The secrets of angling.<sup>82</sup>

With the Machams, the records demonstrate that after Samuel's death his widow continued to honor her obligation to the library. Before his death, Macham appears in the imprint of four books among the three Daybook lists: Samuel Hieron's The Bridgeroome, Daniel Jenkinson's The Triumph of Faith, William Pemberton's The Godly Merchant, and the second volume of Joseph Hall's Contemplations. After his death in July 1615, Joyce Macham is named in the imprints, and is recorded in the 1616 list, for her copies of Samuel Ward's A coal from the altar and John Brinsley's The True Watch.83 Macham was certainly not the only woman in the London booktrade involved in the donation or sale of books to the Bodleian. In fact, a separate record in another account book reveals that the wife of Thomas Badger, the Beadle who replaced Bushell upon his death in 1617, sold a manuscript to the library.84

In sum, the Daybook offers a unique opportunity to examine how the Bodleian Library received and processed the titles arriving from London. While others have demonstrated that James and his successor, John Rouse, were not satisfied with the Stationers' contributions, it has become commonplace to generalize about the books that were (or were not) delivered.85 These narratives have then exaggerated the degree of the Stationers' negligence without providing the evidence to substantiate those claims.

Ian Philip, in his history of the first two centuries of the Bodleian Library, repeated an oft-cited account of the Stationers' evasions in the early days of agreement. Using the *Daybook's* three lists of books sent — on 15 November 1613 (41 titles), 28 June 1614 (72 titles), and 8 June 1616 (91 titles) — he attempted to calculate the percentage of newly published books that reached the library from 1613 to 1616.86 Presumably, he counted the

<sup>1615</sup> as "The wrath of God laid open"), 14512 (1614: ent. 27 June 1613, the Bodleian copy lacks the final sheets).

<sup>82.</sup> L.R. e.9, f.12<sup>r</sup> & 47<sup>v</sup>. STC 6375 (1611), 6611 (1613: ent. 23 March).

<sup>83.</sup> STC 13392 (1613: ent. 1 November), 14493 (1613: ent. 1 November), 19569 (1613: ent. 10 November), 12652 (1614: ent. 8 March), 25040 (1616), 3780 (1615).

<sup>84.</sup> Macray 1890, 64; Hampshire 1983, 64. The work was described as an "old chronicle of St Albans".

<sup>85.</sup> Philip 1983, 27–29; Macray 1890, 40; Partridge 1938, 21–22; Philip & Morgan 1997, 664.

<sup>86.</sup> Ришр 1983, 27–29.

number of books printed in each year and appears to have included reprints of schoolbooks, broadsides, and liturgical books in his calculations.<sup>87</sup> Dividing the number of books in the lists by those printed from 1613–1616, he made a general assessment of the Stationers' deliveries. He found that for 1613 and 1614, the annual intake amounted to "about twenty per cent of all printed material registered in these years, and this probably amounted to no more than about fifteen per cent of the total publications".<sup>88</sup> For the years 1615 and 1616, Philip again argued that the Stationers were not actively cooperating, as books were arriving late and damaged in some cases. Ultimately, using the table of books from the Stationers from 8 June 1616, he concluded that for the years 1615 to 1616, the "Library received from the Stationers only about twenty per cent of registered publications".<sup>89</sup>

While Philip was one of the few scholars to consult the *Daybook*, the mistake he made was assuming that these lists represented the total number of books sent by the Stationers to the Bodleian. Of course, Philip does admit that his calculations are only accurate if these lists "represent the annual intake [. . .] as they appear to". However, the Daybook is replete with English books that were sent for binding and catalogued during this period. There is no reason to doubt that these books came from the Stationers, as they post-date 1611.

That there were three recorded shipments in 1613, 1614, and 1616 does not mean that these were the *only* shipments sent by the Stationers to the library. The gaps in accounts after 1614 strongly suggest that the *Daybook* was an incomplete record of library business; the year 1615 has fewer records than other years, and records for 1619 are mostly absent. The library did not just stop receiving books from the Stationers during those years. In fact, Thomas James went to London specifically in 1618–1619 to retrieve them, but there is no comprehensive list of these titles in the *Daybook*. Further, the 1620 Catalogue has many books with imprints from 1615 and 1619

<sup>87.</sup> Philip does not state his methodology, but he may have based his calculations on an early state of Philip Rider's Chronological Index that later appears in the third volume of the STC, which would have inflated the number of total publications by including reprints. On Rider's draft and later usage of the STC Chronological Index, see Blayney 2007; Blayney 1994, 403.

<sup>88.</sup> How Philip arrived at 20% is puzzling. If he had used the Stationers' Register (159 entries for 1613 and 164 for 1614), as claimed, he should have arrived at 35% (113 out of 323).

<sup>89.</sup> Philip 1983, 28. The Stationers' Register records 150 entries for 1615 and 133 for 1616 for a total of 283, which would have come to about 32%.

<sup>90.</sup> Philip 1983, 28.

published in London. To reconstruct the holdings is a difficult task, and while the Daybook helps to fill in the gaps, other account books and diaries were in simultaneous use, and the extant data represents an incomplete picture of the library's acquisitions at that time.

## Part IV: Purchasing New and Second-hand Books

### John Bill

As John Norton's apprentice, Bill received comprehensive training in the continental book-trade that shaped the trajectory of his career.<sup>91</sup> Upon Norton's death in December 1612, he became the Bodleian's primary supplier of continental books, at least through 1621; earlier that year, he signaled his departure from the continental book trade by selling his leases for £616 13s 4d, and his Latin books for £3804 18s 6d over a period of six years to the Latin Stock of the Stationers.<sup>92</sup> Thereafter, Henry Fetherstone (from 1622 to 1632), George Thomason (from 1632 to 1642), Robert Martin (from 1632), and Octavian Pullen (1639 to 1642) served as the library's international book suppliers.<sup>93</sup>

Part of Bill's success as a Stationer was owing to his willingness to travel abroad to acquire books for the London trade. Letters from Bodley to James note his buying trips to "Venice, Ferrara, Padua, Verona, Brescia, Mantua, Pauia, Milan, Florence, Pisa, Rome &c" as well as to Frankfurt, Paris, and to Seville, where apparently, the Spanish treated him poorly.<sup>94</sup> Because he knew the library's collections so well, Bill was trusted to purchase books to fill the gaps. 95 He travelled twice yearly for the Frankfurt Fair. Such trips were a necessary component of his partnership with John Norton and Norton's nephew and heir, Bonham Norton.<sup>96</sup>

<sup>91.</sup> See, in particular, the chapter "John Norton and John Bill: International Trade" in Rees & Wakely 2009, 216-41.

<sup>92.</sup> In 1627, the remnant of the deal was unwound and he returned to printing the Frankfurt Catalogues: Rees & Wakely 2009, 41–42, n47. 179–80 & 221.

<sup>93.</sup> Hampshire 1983, ix-x & 92-93.

<sup>94.</sup> Wheeler 1926, 76; see also 78, 30, 53, 57, 65, & 114.

<sup>95.</sup> For instance, see Wheeler 1926, 76. In February 1603, Bodley wrote that Bill purchased over £400 of books "as he knewe I had not".

<sup>96.</sup> See Rees & Wakely 2009, 13-18.

The frequent travels to Europe by Bill meant that he was in a position to gather information and books that were useful to James I, as well as the scholars of Oxford in their support of the Anglican church.<sup>97</sup> He appears, as well, to have taken a broader view of his engagement with scholars, the clergy, and the social elite of London, including hosting theological debates in his home.<sup>98</sup> Further, he knew of both recently published works and forthcoming publications, and prepared an English version of the Frankfurt catalogues from 1617 that curated that material for an English readership.<sup>99</sup>

The *Daybook* reveals that Bill was much more than just a supplier of internationally printed books for the Bodleian. A timeline of documented transactions between him and the Bodleian (see Table 1, below) illuminates the myriad of ways in which he supported the library from 1613 to 1620.<sup>100</sup>

Before addressing the library's purchases from Bill, it is important to understand how the library bought books. After Bodley's death, the library received an endowment that provided approximately £60 a year. This amount was supplemented by monetary donations from benefactors. In the relevant years, the sums donated to the library were: £50 in 1613, £7 in 1615, £8 in 1617, £27 15s in 1618, £8 6s in 1619, £117 12s in 1620, and £10 in 1621. According to the 1613 library statutes, book purchases required the approval of the library curators, the Vice Chancellor, and the faculty

<sup>97.</sup> Rees & Wakely 2009, 96 describe Bill as a "prime instrument in James's self-canonization" and "acted as the King's library agent" abroad "where he advertised the king's works, and kept James informed on the pamphlet wars with Rome".

<sup>98.</sup> British Library, Add. MS 72361, ff.68<sup>r</sup>–69<sup>r</sup> (15 June 1621): Edward Blount to an unknown recipient describing a debate at Bill's house. For more on Bill's inner circle, see Rees & Wakely 2009, 240–41.

<sup>99.</sup> Rees & Wakely 2009, 201-02.

<sup>100.</sup> From 1613 to 1620, Bill's donations and sales to the library were recorded simultaneously across three different Bodleian manuscripts: the *Daybook*, the *Account Book* (MS L.R. e.8), and a separate bill "To the vniuersitie Librarie" (L.R. b.36, no. 4). Table 1 gathers these dated entries into one timeline that displays both the frequency and range of services that Bill provided to the library. The first column reproduces the date or date range for the entry, and the second column offers an excerpted transcription of each entry; when Hampshire (1983) provides a transcription of the document, the citation has also been added to the Table. The third column lists the manuscript shelfmarks.

<sup>101.</sup> Philip 1983, 25. Philip reports that James calculated that the endowment in 1610 would bring in £62 15s.

<sup>102.</sup> Macray 1890, 423-24.

Table 1: John Bill in Bodleian Library Accounts

Transaction		
Date	Excerpted Entry in Library Records	Shelmarks
Ann°1613	Books vnperfect as they came from London w <sup>ch</sup> M <sup>r</sup> Bill is to make perfect [17 items listed]	L.R. e.9, ff.14 <sup>r-v</sup>
4 Dec. 1613	Receaved from m <sup>r</sup> Jo. Bill Stationer these books following w <sup>th</sup> their severall prices [12 items] £12.5s.0d	L.R. e.9, ff. 32 <sup>v</sup> –33 <sup>v</sup>
13 Dec. 1613	Receaved of m <sup>r</sup> Jhon Bill those books following [5 items] £1.3s.2d	L.R. e.9, f. 33 <sup>v</sup>
23 Dec. 1613	Receaved of Mr Vicechancellour for money due unto Mr Bill and by him payed the summe of £13.8s (Hampshire, 1983, 8)	L.R. e.8, f. 5 <sup>v</sup>
24 Jan. 1614	Receaved of M <sup>r</sup> Bill for y <sup>e</sup> Library [2 items] £1.6s.3d	L.R. e.9, f.34 <sup>v</sup>
21 Feb. 1614	Receaved of M <sup>r</sup> Bill as his gift [4 items]	L.R. e.9, f. 38 <sup>v</sup>
18 Mar. 1614	Receaved of M <sup>r</sup> Jhon Bill Mr Cafaubons booke [1 item]	L.R. e.9, f.42 <sup>r</sup>
14 June 1615	To the vniuersitie Librarie 14 June 1615 [net total: £51.15s.2d; signed:](Hampshire, 1983, 158–161)	L.R. b.36, no. 4
19 June 1615	Books fent by M <sup>r</sup> Bill from London waighing 274 <sup>ti</sup> [111 items]	L.R. e.9, ff.55 <sup>r</sup> – 57 <sup>v</sup>
27 July 1615	Extractae sunt e cista ferrea quadraginta librae solvendae Magistro Joanni Bill £30 [] (Hampshire 1983, 15)	L.R. e.8, f. 12 <sup>v</sup>
1615–1616	Item payed unto Mr Bill beyond the £40 above allowed ut patet sub manu eius 32s (Hampshire 1983, 18)	L.R. e.8, f. 15 <sup>v</sup>
8 June 1616	Books receaued from London from ye Stationers 8° Jun 1616 [John Bill identified as publisher] [6 items]	L.R. e.9, ff.103 <sup>r</sup> –104 <sup>r</sup>
20 July 1616	Summa quadraginta librarum superius specificata extracta ex cista ad satisfaciendum Magistro Bill soluta ad Magistro Bill prout liquet per billam et approbata per eosdem (Hampshire 1983, 15)	L.R. e.8, f. 12 <sup>v</sup>
5 June 1617	Books receaued from Dor. Prideaux [Purchased from Bill]	LR e.9, f.73 <sup>r</sup>
1616–1617	Payed unto Dor Prideaux for books bowght of Mr Bill £6.6s.3d (Hampshire 1983, 21)	L.R. e.8, f. 18 <sup>r</sup>
Dec 1617	For books bowght of Mr Bill by Dor Prideaux with the carriage £7.13s.4d. (Hampshire 1983, 24)	L.R. e.8, f. 20 <sup>v</sup>
16 Dec. 1617	Payed to Mr Bill for books bowght by Dor Claytons advise £8.6s. Hampshire 1983, 23)	L.R. e.8, f. 20 <sup>r</sup>
1620–1621	Item paid to Mr Bill for bookes £20.10s.0d (Hampshire 1983, 41)	L.R. e.8, f. 18 <sup>r</sup>
1620–1621	Item to Mr Bill for bookes from Christmasse last to this present £5.0s.4d (Hampshire 1983, 41)	L.R. e.8, f. 18 <sup>r</sup>

in the corresponding area of study.<sup>103</sup> James was expected to find the lowest price for each book and to record it on the volume. These purchases and prices were then to be presented to curators during their Visitation each November. <sup>104</sup> Ordinances approved on 27 July 1615 amended the process. Within one week of the arrival of the Spring and Fall Frankfurt catalogues, the Vice Chancellor would convene a meeting with the curators, and together they would decide upon new purchases. <sup>105</sup> These ordinances also streamlined the process for requesting books, which were to be entered into a book kept by the librarian who needed to acquire the written consent of one of the curators and the Vice-Chancellor before making a purchase. <sup>106</sup>

While the statutes and ordinances formally assigned purchase privileges to library administrators, the *Daybook* shows how the process worked in practice and John Bill's role in it. On 15 November 1613, Dr. John Budden, Regius Professor of Law and Curator of the Library, signed a list of nineteen titles that he approved or recommended for purchase. On that same day, a second list of book with nine titles was signed by Dr. Thomas Clayton, Regius professor of Medicine and also Curator of the Library. Three additional works, presumably authorized by one of the curators, brought the number of requests to thirty-one. Nine of these books were received by the library on 4 December 1613, and nine days later, another requested work arrived. Bill supplied all of them. In fact, one third of the order from mid-November was filled by him within two weeks, likely because he had these books in stock.

As scholars have confirmed, Bill's success in the Latin trade resulted from the large, diverse stock of new books that he acquired abroad and then sold in the London market. Purchasing this material required a large financial investment and an ability to anticipate English book buyer's habits. Bill evidently had the means to acquire that stock, and the insight to know what would sell; it is this that secured his a partnership with the Nortons from 1603. From 1600 to 1620, Bill and his partners invested

<sup>103.</sup> Ward & Heywood 1845–1851, i: 263–64. The statutes were approved on 13 November 1613.

<sup>104.</sup> Ward & Heywood 1845–1851, 1: 263.

<sup>105.</sup> Ward & Heywood 1845–1851, i: 268–69.

<sup>106.</sup> Ward & Heywood 1845–1851, i: 268–69.

<sup>107.</sup> Bodleian Library, MS L.R. e.9 ff.31v-32r.

<sup>108.</sup> Bodleian Library, MS L.R. e.9 ff.32<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>109.</sup> Bodleian Library, MS L.R. e.9 ff.32<sup>v</sup>-33<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>110.</sup> Rees & Wakely 2009, 185.

thousands of pounds in their stock and monopolized the Latin trade in all but name.<sup>111</sup>

Bill's sales to the Bodleian offer a glimpse into the stock available to his English customers. For instance, one of the most costly purchases was requested in November 1613: the Concilia Generalia Ecclesiae Catholicae (Rome, 1608-1612).112 The library paid £8 on 4 December for the fourvolume folio set, and although the entry mentions only the first "tome", the library sent the "Counsels at Rome | in 4 Volumes" for binding three days later and received all four volumes back from the binder, John Addams, on 14 December. 113 This edition of the Church Counsels was published by the Vatican and authorized by Pope Paul V. Reputedly based on manuscripts in the Vatican library, it was a reference work worth the expense for the library, and one that Bill was able to deliver in a matter of days.

As well as the librarians, faculty curators acquired books from Bill for the library. The Daybook records that on 5 June 1617, seven volumes were received by the library from Doctor John Prideaux, Regius Professor of Divinity. Two were bound, and the other five were sent to the Oxford binder, John Bluet, upon arrival. 114 The Daybook does not mention Bill, but an invoice submitted for "Bookes for the Universitye Library: bought of Mr. Bill" in the Library Records identifies the same seven titles plus one more, and the prices paid for each, totaling £7.15s.6d. 115 Prideaux's selections were theological works printed in Europe (Venice, Paris, Antwerp, Cologne, and Ingolstadt) from 1612 to 1617, except for an older folio set that was edited by Franciscus Cumel, and published in Salamanca in the 1590s. Two further entries in the Account Book indicate that Dr. Prideaux paid for the books on behalf of the library and eventually received reimbursement. 116

<sup>111.</sup> Roberts 2002, 141-73.

<sup>112.</sup> Bodleian Library, MS L.R. e.9 f.32<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>113.</sup> Bodleian Library, MS L.R. e.9 f.33<sup>r</sup>-33<sup>v</sup>. The Bodleian copies of Concilia (1608– 1612), now C16.7-10 Th., are still in their early-seventeenth century Oxford bindings — with gratitude to Tamara Atkins for confirming the binding descriptions.

<sup>114.</sup> Bodleian Library, MS L.R. e.9 f.73<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>115.</sup> Bodleian Library, MS L.R. b.36 no.4. Hampshire 1983, 168-69 provides a transcription of the document and identifies the titles. For the three bound volumes, Bill charged 2s 2d per binding.

<sup>116.</sup> Hampshire 1983, 21 & 24; Bodleian Library, MS L.R. e.9, ff.54<sup>r</sup>–57<sup>v</sup>: her note identifies "Cumel in Thomam fol." as the two-volume 1590 edition at Bodleian shelfmark, C18.1-2 Th. There were, however, four volumes in the Salamanca edition of Thomas Aquinas's Summa Theologica, with the third and fourth

The largest consignment of books from Bill in the Daybook was recorded on 19 June 1615, with the heading "Books fent by Mr Bill from London waighing 274<sup>1</sup>i" (see Fig. 4, below). This list of 111 continental books is unlike any other in the Daybook. First, it begins with the weight of the cargo, a detail that would have affected the price of carriage from London to Oxford. The titles are then arranged in a single column, ordinally numbered, with their format and price. After the first thirteen titles, James marked each title with a letter — T, L, A, or M — to designate the faculty to which each work belonged.<sup>117</sup> Of the 98 books that James categorized by faculty, there were 59 for Theology, 21 for Law, 16 for Arts, and 2 for Medicine. The list appears to have been created with an eye towards library processing. By marking both faculty and format, James was assigning books to the areas where they would be shelved; knowing whether a book belonged in 4° Med. or 8° Th. helped organize the titles that could be bound together. The inclusion of an author's name in the entry, often but not always provided, likewise supplied a key piece of information for cataloguing, while the column of amounts paid (£.s.d.) facilitated the transfer of the price to the books themselves. The Daybook exposes just how much labor was involved when the library received such a quantity of new books from Bill.

For English books, the Bodleian relied on the Stationers more broadly; for continental books, it relied on Bill. The consignment of 19 June 1615 confirms why the library needed a bookseller with overseas contacts. The shipment involved books published in 41 different cities, the vast majority in Latin, the international language of scholarship at the time. All were published on the continent, except for John Napier's *Mirifici logarithmorum canonis description*, which was published in Edinburgh by Andrew Hart. More than forty percent of the works (46 out of 111) had German imprints. The greatest number were published in Cologne (11), then Frankfurt (6) and Ingolstadt (5), with the rest from other German cities or university towns: Leipzig (3), Giessen (3), Wittenberg (3), Tübingen (3), Jena (2), Mainz (2), Munich, Freiburg, Rostock, Gera, Hanau, Heidelberg, Herborn, and Oppenheim. On the one hand, the abundance of German books reflects the quality and quantity of theological scholarship printed

volumes printed in 1594. The 1620 Catalogue has all four volumes, C18.1–4 [Th.] (James 1620, 152).

<sup>117.</sup> Bodleian Library, MS L.R. e.9 ff.55<sup>r</sup>–57<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>118.</sup> STC 18349–18349a [1614]. The numbers in the following citations correspond to the numbered titles in the *Daybook*. For Napier's *Mirifici logarithmorum canonis description*, see title 56, in Bodleian Library, MS L.R. e.9 f.56<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>119.</sup> For a complete list of the books supplied, see Appendix D.

 $\textbf{Figure 4.} \ \ \text{The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, MS Library Records e.9, f.55}{}^{\text{r}}.$ 

in the region at the time. On the other hand, the Frankfurt Mart was the epicenter of the continental trade twice per year, which increased the distribution and sale of books printed in this region.<sup>120</sup>

Presumably, Bill acquired most, if not all, of the 111 works at the Spring 1615 Fair or during his travels to or from Frankfurt, through France or the Low Countries. He was known to visit Antwerp to do business with the Plantin-Moretus house, and there were 22 books in the shipment from the Low Counties, seven from Antwerp and nine of these from Leiden. There were a similar number of books with imprints from France (24), with nearly half from Paris (10). Notably, there were twice as many Spanish imprints (8) than Italian (4), as well as six from Basel, and one from Torun, Poland. Of these, forty-two of the books purchased from Bill had imprint dates from 1615 and a further thirty-six were dated 1614, meaning some seventy percent of the total were very recent publications.

A separately filed invoice "To the Vniuersitie Librarie" signed by John Bill and dated 14 June 1615 provides further details about this order, including the total cost of the books, £54.3s.2d.<sup>122</sup> The bill is a bifolium with neatly written columns of numbered titles and the prices paid per book.<sup>123</sup> Sent to the library on 14 June, the document records how Bill enumerated the same shipment of books. Both the order of titles and their description vary from James's list. Hence, the list in the *Daybook* was not copied directly from the invoice but rather created from an examination of the volumes at hand.

Six additional titles were identified in James's inventory that were not in Bill's invoice.<sup>124</sup> In one example, the *Daybook* records three that were bound together, marked by a brace, and for which the library paid 7s.6d:<sup>125</sup>

- 97 Sylva 5um linguis helfric Emmelij 8°
- 98 Nomeclatur quadralinguis quid eiusdem 8°
- 99 8° Epitheta Antitheta et adiuncta ex Cicerone eiusdem. 8°

<sup>120.</sup> For a broader account of the continental book-trade at this time, see Maclean 2012.

<sup>121.</sup> Rees & Wakely 2009, 218–22; Roberts 2002, 160–62.

<sup>122.</sup> Bodleian Library, MS L.R. b.36, no. 4.

<sup>123.</sup> The invoice from Bill supplies the prices where this information is absent from James's list in the *Daybook*. See titles 12–17 in Bodleian Library, MS L.R. e.9 f.55<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>124.</sup> See titles 16, 21, 54, 61, 98-99.

<sup>125.</sup> Bodleian Library, MS L.R. e.9 f.57r, titles 97-99.

Written by Helfrich Emmel, a German lexicographer, the octavos were published in Basel in 1592. For the library's purposes, it was important to identify each distinct title and its format for cataloguing. For Bill, who was selling the group as a single already bound sammelband it was sufficient to make one entry for "1 Sylva s. vocabulorum 8°", the first title being an identifier for the whole volume. 126 Bill, in other words, recorded that he sold a volume and used the first title to identify the book; the library recorded the distinct parts as separate bibliographical records in order that the scholars using the library could find and identify any one of those publications within the volume as a whole.

The Bodleian did not want the volume and sent it back with six other books for a refund. On the invoice, Bill's French assistant, Abraham Segard, recorded receipt of the books and deducted the costs from the outstanding sum. 127 The Daybook entry provides the reason: "Books returned being before in ye Librarie."128 Emmel's Nomenclatur was shelved in the early library at 8° E.18 Art. and possibly with the other two titles as well, although they were not recorded in James 1613 autograph catalogue. 129 By 1620, the printed catalogue records that all three tracts were bound together at 8° L18 Art, where the volume remains today. 130

The returned titles raise the issue about how such duplicates ended up in the June 1615 shipment. It is unlikely that a curator of the library requested three titles that the library already owned. One possibility is that Bill sent the wrong volume. A better explanation, however, is that he chose books that he thought the library needed, as he had earlier for Sir Thomas. If the works were unwanted or duplicates, Bill could refund the costs without delay, as he did with the sammelband. Although the Bodleian Statutes made no allowances for Stationers to choose books for the library, the curators and faculty would have been remiss to ignore such expertise, that even the King of England relied upon. 131

<sup>126.</sup> See Hampshire 1983, 161 [100].

<sup>127.</sup> For more on Segard, see Michael 2006, 6-8; there are no apprenticeship

<sup>128.</sup> Bodleian Library, MS L.R. e.9 f. 60°.

<sup>129.</sup> Bodleian Library, MS L.R. e.273, f.182<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>130.</sup> James 1620, 177.

<sup>131.</sup> On Bill's role as library agent and informant to James I, see Rees & Wakely 2009, 96 (93-120); BARNARD 2004, 31. Bill was trusted to publish James I's Workes and Opera, as well as other crown-sanctioned editions (STC 14344-45 [1616, English], 14346–46.5 [1619, Latin]; also, 14367–68 [1616], 14384–85 [1619], 14381.5 &14383 [1620], etc). Some were published by Bill at his own expense.

Bill's gifts reveal another way that he and other booksellers were curating the Bodleian's collections. While Bill's books appear in the lists of Stationers shipments discussed above, another record from 21 Feb. 1614 indicates that his English publications were received separately. James notes the receipt of four books from "Mr Bill as his gift": John Buckeridge's De potestate papae, Edward Brerewood's De Ponderibuset pretiis veterum nummorum, Enquiries touching the diuersity of languages and religions, and John King's Vitis Palatina a Sermon. And less than a month later, on 18 March 1614, Bill sent Isaac Casaubon's De rebus sacris et ecclesiasticis exercitationes XVI. Undoubtedly, the library wanted this title. A year earlier, Casaubon had been invited to Oxford where he conducted research at the Bodleian. It was not Casaubon himself, however, who ensured that the library had a copy of his book, but rather his publisher.

In addition to supplying new books from the continent and his own from London, Bill performed other roles for the library. When they received books, either from purchase or donation, the librarians carefully collated the copies to ensure that they were "perfect". If defects were identified, they worked with the Stationers to find a remedy. In one list of "vnperfect" books from 1613, James specified that it was "Mr Bill" who was "to make" them "perfect". Seventeen titles were listed, fifteen coming from overseas (Venice, Antwerp, Wittenberg, Poitiers, Paris, Hesse, Leipzig, and Frankfurt) and the final two from London presses. All but two were recently published from 1611 to 1613. To correct these newer titles, Bill might have exchanged the defective copy for a new one from his shop or warehouse. For much older continental editions, the process may have been more difficult. For instance, James recorded that Marguerin de La Bigne's Sacra bibliotheca Sanctorum Patrum (Paris, 1589) was missing some twenty-five pages. To find a suitable replacement, Bill may have had to reach out to colleagues like John Edwards in the secondhand book-trade.

### John Edwards

The abundance of critical work on John Bill stands in stark contrast to the near absence of scholarship on the other prominently featured Stationer in

<sup>132.</sup> STC 4002 (1614), 3612 (1614), 3618 (1614), 14989.5 or 14990 (1614).

<sup>133.</sup> STC 4745 (1614).

<sup>134.</sup> Pattison 1892, 360-64.

<sup>135.</sup> Bodleian Library, MS L.R. e.9, f.14<sup>r-v</sup>.

the Daybook, John Edwards — the bookseller from whom remaindered and secondhand books were purchased by the library. The Daybook contains the titles and prices of two shipments of books purchased from Edwards in 1613 and on 17 May 1615.<sup>136</sup> A third consignment was recorded in the Account Book for 1620–1621 where "John Edwards a stationer for a parcel of bookes" was paid 17s.<sup>137</sup>

When preparing her edition of Bodleian accounts, Hampshire speculated that Edwards belonged to the Oxford book trade. <sup>138</sup> The *Daybook*, however, confirms that he was in "London", and the Stationers' Archives record that he was translated from the Joiners on 8 March 1614.<sup>139</sup> Two months later, in May 1614, he translated his apprentice, John White. He also had a son, Richard, who was admitted to the Company by patrimony on 4 October 1624.140 He was not, however, amongst the secondhand dealers listed in 1628, although he would still appear to have been trading at that time. 141

Edwards did not publish any titles and thereby does not appear on any imprints, but he was active as a Stationer. His apprentices were William Hills (bound 1 May 1618, not freed), Leonard Smith (24 June 1622, not freed), Richard Clutterbooke (30 November 1624, freed 1 March 1632), and William Sparkes (24 June 1632, freed 1 July 1640).<sup>143</sup> Elevated to the Livery in 1616, he was granted a Yeoman's part in the English Stock in 1621. Subsequently, he served with Matthew Lownes, Edward Blount, and Thomas Pavier reviewing the evidence concerning a Chancery suit between

<sup>136. &</sup>quot;A note of such Books as were bowght at London of Jhon Edwards at Second hand" (ff. 18<sup>r</sup>–23<sup>r</sup>); "Books bought at 2hand of Mr Edwards 17° May 1615"  $(ff.57^{v}-60^{r}).$ 

<sup>137.</sup> Hampshire 1983, 42.

<sup>138.</sup> Hampshire 1983, 42. In the Index (194), Hampshire includes Edwards among a list of Oxford booksellers.

<sup>139.</sup> McKenzie 1961, 66 [1246]; Jackson 1957, 454.

<sup>140.</sup> McKenzie 1961, 66 [1251, 1247]; Jackson 1957, 454.

<sup>141.</sup> The National Archives, London, SP 16/117 f.10: Adam Islip, Edmond Weaver and Humphrey Cross to Laud, 13 September 1628.

<sup>142.</sup> Another "John Edwards" witnessed the will of John Norton (21 May 1612), but he was rather a "servant" or apprentice to the Scrivener, Richard Wright. Wright also witnessed the will of William Norton, Bonham Norton's father in August 1593. Wright was a Scrivener located in St. Paul's Churchyard, and upon his death, he left his servant "John Edwards" 20s: Plomer 1903, 30–33 & 45–47; National Archives, PROB 11/83, ff.57<sup>r</sup>-60<sup>r</sup> [William Norton]; PROB 11/121, ff.37v-39v [John Norton]; PROB 11/122, ff.39r-40v [Richard Wright].

<sup>143.</sup> McKenzie 1961, 66 [1248, 1249, 1245, 1250].

John Bill and Bonham Norton in October 1624.<sup>144</sup> By 15 September 1634, he was dead and his part of the English Stock was reassigned.<sup>145</sup>

Other evidence relating to Edwards includes that of the cleric and poet William Crashaw. In a letter to James Ussher written after July 1618, Crashaw alludes to a book he lent to Ussher who, in turn, lent it to Dr. Richard Mocket, whose library then ended up in Edwards shop. When Crashaw found the shop in Duke-Lane (or Duck Lane, as it was usually called), Edwards reportedly refused to give the book to Crashaw for free. Mocket, a chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury and Warden of All Souls, Oxford, died in 1618, and from the scant evidence available, it appears that Edwards bought his library.

Similarly, the archives of Eton College record book purchases from a "Mr Edwards" dating back to as early as 1600.<sup>147</sup> This indicates that Edwards was involved in the secondhand trade more than a decade before he translated to the Stationers.<sup>148</sup> Further entries in the audit books show purchases from Edwards in 1614 and 1615.<sup>149</sup> In all instances, the books appear to have been secondhand.

The *Daybook*'s lists of Edwards's sales to the Bodleian in 1613 and 1615 demonstrate that his shop was well-stocked with books printed on the continent. This may have been Edwards's specialty, although his stock at any one time depended, in part, on the kinds of old libraries that became available for him to purchase. What is clear from these lists is that he was selling decades-old publications. Of the 271 titles in the two lists, the dates range from 1510 to 1609, with only 12 titles printed in or after 1600.<sup>150</sup>

<sup>144.</sup> Jackson, 1957, 87 & 261; Rees & Wakely 2009, 40, note 44; National Archives, Chancery Decrees 1624 C33/147/660 (Bill v. Norton).

<sup>145.</sup> Jackson 1957, 259 & 454.

<sup>146.</sup> Boran 2015, III: 1158; For a discussion of this episode and the secondhand trade, see Woudhuysen 2023.

<sup>147.</sup> For notices of these lists at Eton, see Jayne 1956, 88–89. With thanks to Daniel Haynes, Eton College Library, who kindly helped with enquiries on these matters.

<sup>148.</sup> Eton College, MS ECR/62/7, 590. The entry for expenses in 1600 includes an "Item for x books bought of Edwards vz." [10 items listed].

<sup>149.</sup> Eton College, MS ECR/62/8, 545. The entry for expenses in 1614 states, "Item paide to Mr Edwards" for [2 items listed]. Another entry for 1615, records, "Imprimis paid to Mr. Edwardes of London for bookes for the librarie praised by him as followeth" [23 items listed]: Eton College, MS ECR/62/8, 590.

<sup>150.</sup> I am grateful to Tamara Atkin, who will further discuss Edwards and the books he sold to the Bodleian in her forthcoming monograph, for sharing the dates of the editions in the lists (email correspondence, August 2022).

The majority of the books in both shipments were published in the 1570s and 1580s. These books must have filled gaps in the Bodleian's collections, supplying editions that were not available to Norton and Bill.

How the library selected and purchased books from Edward in 1613 and 1615 is not stated in the Daybook. The books recorded in 1613 were noted merely as "bowght at London." Presumably, James visited Edwards's shop and selected titles for the library. This is indicated by evidence in Library Records from 1615. First, a purchase of books from Edwards is recorded on 17 May 1615 involving 102 titles acquired for the library. 151 The funds for this purchase were provided to James in London on 10 May 1615 when he received £10 from "Mr Dor Goodwin Vice-Chancellour at London for to buye books and to be accompted for at the Accompst."152 The Daybook further records that James travelled to London on library business in May 1615 as it itemizes a payment of £3.1s.6d for the expenses of the librarian and his servant.<sup>153</sup> A similar payment appears in the Account Book for 1621 when John Rouse was the Keeper of Books: the summary accounts recording a payment of 17s to Edwards "for a parcel of bookes". In the same year both Rouse, and underkeeper John Verneuil, were in London buying books for the library.<sup>154</sup>

The Library Statutes did not make allowance for librarians to purchase books at their own discretion. The practice, however, was permitted and perhaps even encouraged as, in May 1615, it was Vice Chancellor Goodwin who provided James with money for the purchases. Further, the amounts paid to Edwards were fairly minor when compared to the other purchases around the same time. In 1613, the cost for 169 secondhand books was £5.17s; and in 1615, the 102 works were bought for £3.18s.7d.<sup>155</sup> In practice. the library's budget for books was overwhelmingly allocated to new continental editions, almost as much being paid for the Roman Concilia (£8) as for the 271 secondhand books bought from Edwards (£9.5s.7d).

<sup>151.</sup> Bodleian Library, MS L.R. e.9, ff.57v-60r.

<sup>152.</sup> Hampshire 1983, 13–14.

<sup>153.</sup> This entry is dated 2 May 1615, which may have been the start date of the journey: Bodleian Library, MS L.R. e.9, f.60v.

<sup>154.</sup> Hampshire 1983, 42. During the same trip, the library purchased books from the Stationers Henry Crips and Henry Turner, as well as from other "shoppes in London"; a payment was also made for John Verneuil, the underkeeper, for a nine-day trip to London and to John Rouse to pay for "his horse and other charges to London at Michaelmasse".

<sup>155.</sup> James recorded £5.17s in the first memoranda of expenses from 1613: Bodleian Library, MS L.R. e.9, f.3<sup>v</sup>.

Edwards offered the library an inexpensive way to supplement the collections. This is why Eton College also turned to him. Again, in 1615, the Eton Audit Book records the purchase of 23 titles for £10.7s.10*d* from Edwards. This entry is then followed by another purchase of 37 books for £38 18s 7d from Bill. The *Daybook* in 1615 similarly records consecutive purchases from Bill (111 titles) and then Edwards (102). If the lists from Eton and the Bodleian are accurate representations of how the Stationers worked, then Bill and Edwards appear to acted in concert to provide these libraries with the titles they sought for their fellows and students. In doing so, neither encroached in any significant way on interests of the other.

#### Double Books

While the majority of the entries in the *Daybook* are devoted to books entering the collections, other entries record their removal. Mindful of the aim to own the best or most complete edition of every work, the library made the removal of duplicate editions a standard practice. The 1610 Statutes made allowance for the purchase of books "which are better edited" as well as for the removal of books "which should be taken away as superfluous, or of little use". The identification of these "double books" as they are called in the *Daybook* was the Keeper's job, but the curators were responsible for deciding which copy was to be expunged, as revealed in this list from 1613: "Double books to be exchanged | according to ye pleasure | of ye Visitors". 160

Thirty-eight titles were identified in the 1613 list as duplicates, and each is provided with a short description. A typical entry included the book's author and title, city and year of publication, and the shelfmarks for both of the volumes. For some entries, James noted which copy was more deserving of being "spared": such considerations included whether one volume was bound separately, if the other was not, and thus more easily removed from the collection, and whether one volume was in a lesser binding that the other. Further, the identification of a "double book" did not mean that one

<sup>156.</sup> Eton College, MS ECR/62/8, ff.590-91.

<sup>157.</sup> Bodleian Library, MS L.R. e.9, ff.55<sup>r</sup>–57<sup>v</sup>, 60v & 57<sup>v</sup>–60<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>158.</sup>It is possible that Edwards had a part in the Latin Stock, established in 1616. The venture attempted to compete with Norton and Bill in the Latin trade: ROBERTS 2002.

<sup>159.</sup> Ward & Heywood 1845–1851, 1: 259.

<sup>160.</sup> Bodleian Library, MS L.R. e.9, ff.24<sup>r</sup>–27<sup>v</sup>.

copy was immediately removed. For instance, the library had duplicates of James I's The True Law of Free Monarchies, described in the Daybook as the 1598 Edinburgh and the 1603 London editions. 161 For the former, the Latin abbreviation "stet" (meaning "let it stand") was added to the entry. This was also true for the 1600 quarto edition of William Camden's Britannia siue Florentissimorum regnorum, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ and the folio edition of 1607: James recommended that the earlier edition could be "exchanged", however, his suggestion was rejected and both editions were kept. 162

Another entry for "Double Books in ye | library to be exchanged | for these or sold" involved duplicates that had already been selected for removal. These were listed by short title, with some entries also providing date and city of publication. 163 This undated record is divided by format: folios, quarto, and then octavos, with the first folio in the list being the same as the very expensive purchase from Bill for the "Concilia Lat. Gr. Romae. 1608". The autograph catalogue of 1613 shows that the library did not have the Rome edition of Concilia before the four-volume set was purchased from Bill in late-1613. Thus, sometime between its arrival and the creation of this list (possibly as late at 1620), another copy of Concilia arrived — possibly only the first volume, dated 1608. If so, the Bodleian might have preferred to keep their four-volume set, leaving the single volume to be exchanged.

Among these "Double Books" were also Stationers' gifts to the library under the 1610 and 1612 agreement. Joseph Hall's Workes was here identified as a folio to be deaccessioned. The Bodleian received a copy from the Stationers on 8 June 1616, and as per the list of publishers provided in that catalogue, the edition was co-published by Johnson, Macham, and Lisle. 164 That volume was sent to John Adams for binding on 13 June 1616, and below the binding consignment, James noted that volume was shelved at H2.14.165 The 1615 edition of the Works appears in the 1620 Catalogue at H2.14 Th. It seems possible then that another edition of Hall's Works was given to the library, perhaps the 1617 edition published by Henry Fetherstone, which did advertise revisions and additions to the volume. Nevertheless, the 1620 Catalogue makes no mention of a later edition.

<sup>161.</sup> Bodleian Library, MS L.R. e.9, f.24<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>162.</sup> Bodleian Library, MS L.R. e.9, f.25v. The copies are recorded in the 1620 Catalogue as Bodleian Library, 4° C.12 [Art.] [1600] and C6.9 [Art.] [1607]: James 1620, 101.

<sup>163.</sup> Bodleian Library, MS L.R. e.9, ff.104<sup>r</sup>-07<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>164.</sup> Bodleian Library, MS L.R. e.9, f.70<sup>v</sup>

<sup>165.</sup> Bodleian Library, MS L.R. e.9, f.70°.

More mystery surrounds the "Double Books" and what is meant by "exchanged or sold". The former term indicates that the library was selling duplicates to booksellers who would then give credit towards the purchase of other titles. Bartering and trading were common practices in the booktrade, and exchanging books allowed the library to acquire more relevant titles from the booksellers in Oxford or London, including booksellers such as Edwards. Whether such volumes were exchanged or simply sold, these practices returned books to the trade for others to acquire.

#### Conclusion

What the *Daybook* recalls for the modern reader is the relationship between the library and the Stationers of London. The entries are factual and dispassionate: books received, bought, sent for binding, returned, or exchanged. The *Daybook* is a document of record, not the script of a drama between altruistic librarians and recalcitrant Stationers. For their part, the Stationers behaved as one might expect of them: they took the opportunity to supply books to a customer that was building a major collection of material in the service of the church and the state. For the books that they published, the Stationers provided them gratis; for books and manuscripts from the continent, or the secondhand market, they were paid by the library. Hence, the Stationers acted both as individual booksellers with specific material from their stock, and as a corporate body that supported the library's vision.

Further, we might read the *Daybook* as evidence about the London trade and its relationship with early libraries that are now lost. For men like Sir Thomas Bodley, lost libraries inspired new ones. It was the dilapidated state of the former Oxford university library, gifted by Duke Humfrey in 1447 but bereft of books by 1598, that prompted him to rebuild the collections and secure its future with endowments. The restoration work took place not only in Oxford but in London too. Tucked away in the "gallerie" of his spacious London home, steps from St. Bartholomew Hospital, Bodley collected and stored the books that would make up the preliminary gift to the library collections. Norton and Bill undoubtedly helped him secure needed volumes, but Bodley was also

<sup>166.</sup> Macray 1890, 4–16.

<sup>167.</sup> Power 1936. The unreferenced map in Power's article is the "Coloured plan of part of the Hospital precincts, c.1604–1612". With thanks to Ginny Dawe-Woodings, Deputy Trust Archivist, who helped identify the correct map: St. Bartholomew Hospital Archives MS SBHB/HC/20/1 (an online image is available).

surrounded by old libraries coming up for sale in secondhand shops like that of Edwards in Duck Lane, a very short walk from Bodley's front door. 168 In addition to the donations of Bodley and others, the availability of secondhand books would have allowed the library to acquire thousands of continental editions at discounted prices. It is often noted that the library's collections were shaped by wealthy donors, or Bodley's "friends"; what the Daybook prompts is consideration of how the London trade made it possible for the Bodleian to become a library in the first place. 169

The Bodleian Library is a monument to learning; it preserves thousands of the books it received in these early years — some now the only copies known. However, even with records like the Daybook, the early library is still "lost" to us. The Daybook captures aspects of the institution's administration and holdings, but like any early record, it contains its own fair share of gaps and erasures. Tired eyes and the unsteady hands of overworked librarians are apparent. Further, it is important to emphasize that the Daybook should not be read as a complete record of all library business from 1613 to 1621, nor as a list of all the books that entered the collections during this period — neither is it a record of all the Stationers who contributed to its development at that time. That said, there are few bibliographical documents from this period that reveal in such detail an attention to early modern books as books, from the most expensive folio set from Rome to the sixpenny English playbook sent for free in a packet from London. The Daybook is significant largely because of the attention to detail of those who kept the books in their care — the librarians — and those who procured them on the Bodleian's behalf, the Stationers. 170

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<sup>168.</sup> Wheeler 1926, 10, 117, 129, & 131-32. For the proximity of Bodley's home to "Dacke Lane" or Duck Lane, see the "Plan of the Hospital, 1617", in Moore 1918, 260. After Bodley's death in 1613, his home passed to his son-in-law and the location is thus labelled "Sir Ralph Winwood" on the map.

<sup>169.</sup> On Bodley's friends and donors, see Adams & Ferlier 2018.

<sup>170.</sup> This research would not have been possible without the financial support of a Sassoon Visiting Fellowship in 2018 sponsored by the Bodleian's Center for the Study of the Book. For assistance with Bodleian Library Records, I wish to thank Colin Harris, Sarah Wheale, Andrew Honey, Oliver House, and Alexandra Franklin. Much gratitude is also owed to Tamara Atkin for sharing her research on Edwards's books with me and to Alan B. Farmer for providing many corrections to the manuscript and appendices. Special acknowledgment is reserved for the peer reviewers at Textual Cultures for sharing their wisdom on the London book-trade and encouraging the revision and expansion of this article.

#### Appendices

The books described in these appendices are approximations of the editions that entered the Bodleian and were recorded in the *Daybook*. The bold typeface marks text transcribed from the manuscript; abbreviations has been expanded. The standard typeface marks text added after consultation with primary and secondary sources.

For Appendices A-C, the bibliographical data — including the STC number, date of publication, and publishers — were extracted from the STC, imprints of extant editions, the Bodleian SOLO Catalogue, and the 1605 and 1620 Bodleian Catalogues. In instances when the exact edition of a title could not be determined, multiple STC numbers are provided. When no STC number is supplied, the item represents a lost edition or one not yet recorded by the STC or ESTC; footnotes offer more explanation when needed. In the tables, titles that were authorized by Mr. Henry Mason are marked with an asterisk next to their date.

For Appendix D, the entry number, titles (with format and date), and faculty are transcribed from the Daybook. The prices are also transcribed from the Daybook, except for those in brackets, which were supplied by John Bill's invoice to the library (Bodleian Library, MS L.R. b.36, no. 4), either because no price or a variant price was recorded; footnotes highlight discrepancies in price between James's list and Bill's invoice. The date and city of publication were gathered from imprints of extant editions, the Bodleian SOLO Catalogue, and the 1605 and 1620 Bodleian Catalogues. The invoice number correlates to the numbers assigned to entries in Gwen Hampshire's transcription. In the Account Book, Hampshire identified for each entry both the old (1620) and current (1983) Bodleian shelfmarks and provided details about specific copies, when available. Her work was the starting point for Appendix D, and any departures from her identifications are noted. Hampshire may have known about James's list of Bill's shipment in the Daybook, but if so, she does not mention it or use James's descriptions to produce her edition of the invoice.

## Appendix A

15° Nov. 1613 Receaued a packet of books fent from London by Mr Malon of ye gift of ye Company of Stationers viz

Title from Daybook	STC	Date	Publisher
[f.30 <sup>v</sup> ]			
The vncafing of Machiavell	3704.35	1613	Thomas Bushell
Lamentable hurts by fire	10511.7	1613	Thomas Archer
The triumphe of truth	17903-4	1613	Nicholas Okes
Burhill contra Becanum	4116	1613	Nathaniel Butter
Chrifts fuite to his Churche	18322	1613	Nathaniel Butter
The Chriftian Schoolemaste <sup>r</sup>	7433	1613	Thomas Creede
ffire from heaven	135073	1613	John Trundle
The yong mans gleanings	1064.5	1613	Benjamin Lightfoot
A Target for Tillage	18058-9	1612-13	William Jones [3]
ffortunes ffashion	21686	1613	William Jones [3]
Epithalamia fponforum	13952	1613	Richard Boyle & William Jones [3]
The golden meane	17757	1613	Jeffrey Chorlton
The bridegroome	13392	1613	Samuel Macham
The triumphe of faithe	14493	1613	Samuel Macham
Three bloudy murders	18287	1613	John Trundle
The Poets willowes <sup>171</sup>	3578?	1614?	Samuel Rand
Cinthiaes revenge	23248	1613	Roger Barnes
Hobsens horfeloade of letters	17360	1613	Richard Hawkins
Anagramata &c.	5107	1613	William Stansby

(Continued)

171. Either this entry refers to a non-extant 1613 edition of The Poet's Willow, or a copy dated 1614 was circulating in November 1613. The 1620 catalogue records the 1614 edition at 8° T 21 Art. (James 1620, 84).

Two Twinnes	1964	1613*	George Norton
[f.31 <sup>r</sup> ]			
The Dove	26130	1613	George Norton
Brittaines Paftoralls	3914	1613*	George Norton
Londons warning	20333	1613*	John Barnes
Sprints Catechifme	23111	1613	Walter Burre
The Dove & ferpent <sup>172</sup>	24394?	1614?	Laurence Lisle
Senecas Tragedies wth notes	22218	1613	William Welby
The Queenes entertaynement	18347	1613*	John Budge
A Day starre	18526.5	1613	John Budge
Good newes of Canaan	5919	1613*	John Budge
The treafure of ancient &c.	17936	1613	William Jaggard
A Sermon before y <sup>e</sup> Palfegrave &c.	22125	1613	William Welby
A relation of a voyage to Guaiana	12754	1613	William Welby
The warfar of la Christian 3 pt.	7140	1613*	William Welby
Aphorifmes Civill & Militarie	6197	1613	Edward Blount
The historie of a magitian	17854-a	[1613]	William Aspley
Declaration & cure of madde doggs	22977	1613*	John Bill
D Abbot contra Eudaem	45	1613	Thomas Adams
2 Proclamations	n/a	n/a	n/a
The Duke of Cornewals cafe	9235	1613	Robert Barker
Corona Virtutum	20563	1613	John Bill
Quæstiones vfferij	24551	1613	Bonham Norton

<sup>172.</sup> Either this entry refers to a non-extant 1613 edition of *The Dove and Serpent*, or a copy dated 1614 was circulating in November 1613. The 1620 catalogue records the 1614 edition at W 1 6 Jur (James 1620, 169).

## Appendix B

#### Julie 28 [1614] Receaued from Mr Bushell & Mr Mason these books following

	1		1
Title from Daybook	STC	Date	Publisher
[f.44 <sup>r</sup> ]			,
Synopfis Papifmi <sup>173</sup>	25699-a	1613-14	Thomas Man
The historie of Leawes by Grinston	17662	1614	George Eld
Hectors life & death	5581.5	1614	Thomas Purfoot [2]
Senecaes works	22213	1614	William Stansby
The 10. part of ye Lo: Cookes	5518	1614	Company of
reports			Stationers
Difput. Theol. de iuramento fidel	256025	1613-14	Unknown
Cottons 32. demands	5857-8	1614	John Barnes
Numeris Geometricis Bedveld	21825	1614	Richard Field
The Hogge hath lost his perle	23658	1614	Rich. Redmer
Elogies by Aug. Taylour	23721	1614	Nicholas Okes
Greenes Tu quoque	5673	1614	John Trundell
Lo: Rufsells funerall	24964	1614	John Hodgets
A heavenly portion	16924	1614*	Arthur Johnson
Cobs prophecies	5452	1614	Robert Wilson
The diuils Banquet	1105	1614	Ralph Mabb & John Budge
Bishop Of Gallowayes Dikaiologie	5915	1614	John Budge
The fword of ye fpirit	25740	1613	Edward Griffin
Christs farewell to Jerusalem	25790	1614*	Francis Burton
[f.44 <sup>v</sup> ]			
D. Whits defence of ye way to ye Church	25390	1614*	William Barrett
Censura quorundam scriptorum	5469	1614	William Barrett
Labyrinth of mans life	18611	1614*	John Budge

(Continued)

173. There is a strong probability that this entry refers to the 1614 issue, rather than the 1613 issue. The 1620 catalogue records the 1614 issue at shelfmark W.4.9 [Th.] The 1600 edition was recorded in the catalogue at W.4.1 [Th.] (James 1620, 530).

The ghost of Richard ye third	38303	1614	Laurence Lisle
Andromeda w <sup>th</sup> y <sup>e</sup> Iustification	4964	1614	Laurence Lisle
	4977	1614	Laurence Lisle
Jackfon on ye Creed 3. pt	14315	1614	William Stansby
D Raynolds letter	20611 (i-ii)	1613	Jonas Man
I would and would not	3664	1614	Thomas Bushell
The shepheards Pipe	3917	1614	George Norton
Mofes fight of Canaan	145123	1614	Roger Jackson
Cheape & good hufbandrie	17336	1614	Roger Jackson
The Philofophers banquet	22062	1614	Leonard Becket
A strange foote post	18591	1613	Edward Allde
Englands way to win wealth	11745	1614	Nathaniel Butter
Summons to iudgement	1594	1614*	William Jones [2]
A private schoole of defence	12627	1614	John Helme
The difference of hearers	128703	1614	Arthur Johnson
			or William Bladon
Bond vppon Persius	19777	1614	William Aspley &
			Nathaniel Butter
The blefsing of a good king	11841	1614	Arthur Johnson
The lands mourning for vayne swearing	11829-30a	1613	Ralph Mabb or William Arundell
Witts fitts & fancies	5740-1	1614	Edward Allde
Defensio Libertatis Anglia The travellers Calendar	20915	1613 1614	John Beale Company of
The travellers Calendar	713	1014	Stationers
Mysterie of felf deceiving	7398	1614	Ralph Mabb
[f.45 <sup>r</sup> ]			
A facred feptenarie	21074	1614	Samuel Man
A description of a maske	4539	1614	Laurence Lisle
Admonition to ye Palfgraves Churches	19129	1614	George Gibbes
The godly merchant	19569	1613*	Samuel Macham
The Christians comfort	10539	1614	Arthur Johnson
Almanacks 5 sorts for this yeare	n/a	n/a	Company of
			Stationers

The penitents finners intertaynment	13471	1614	Jonas Man
The strong helper	12986	1614	William Welby
A Christian survey of ye Confcience	26121a.7	1614	George Eld
Purchas pilgrimage	20505-6	1613-14	Henry Fetherstone
Contemplations vppon ye fcripture	12652	1614*	Samuel Macham
S <sup>r</sup> Tho. Overburies widdow <sup>174</sup>	18903.5-7	1614	Laurence Lisle
A difcourse of ye fcriptures	12975	1614	William White
Sorowes lenitiue	14296	1614*	Roger Jackson
Newhouse fermons	18493	1614	Edmund Weaver & William Welby
Prodigals teares	3579	1614	Thomas Gubbin
Schollers Medley	3583	1614	George Norton
Lightgous Travels	15710	1614	Nicholas Okes
Grounds of Diuinitie	19314	1614	Samuel Man
Rob. Wilkinfons payre of fermons	25661	1614*	William Aspley
Exposition of y <sup>e</sup> festiuall Epistles add Gofpells	3462, 3462.7	1613- 1614	William Aspley
Scourge of venus	968-9	1613-14	Nicholas Okes
Game at Chefse	21772	1614*	Roger Jackson
Miferies of Rufsia	3609	1614	John Bache
Captiuitie of Will Dauies	6365	1614	Nicholas Bourne
The maske of flowers	17625	1614	Robert Wilson
[f.45v]			
A declaration of ye Chiefe poynts in	2002	1613	Thomas Man
The Churches Lamenation for ye lofse of ye godly	23273-4	1614	John Beale or Edmund Weaver and William Welby
The blafpheming Carrier A commentarie on ye Romans by The Wilson	19120 25791	1614 1614	John Trundle William Jaggard

174. The 1620 catalogue includes the 1614 edition entitled "Wife, Characters, and newes" at 4° L 28 [Art.]. (James 1620, 366). "Characters and news" appears on STC 18904, 18905, 18906, and 18907, but not on the title page of 18903.5.

## Appendix C

# Books receaued from London from ye Stationers 8° Jun. 1616

Publisher	Title from Daybook	STC	Date
[f.104 <sup>r</sup> ]			
W. Barret	Sands relations Lond. 1615. f°	21726	1615
Tho. Addams	Godwins Catalogue of ye Bishops of	11938	1615
	England. Lond. 1615 4°		
Idem	Dowlands Muficall Banquet. Lond. 1610. f°	7099	1610
Id.	Varietie of Lute-lessons by Rob. Dow-	7100	1610
	land &c. Lond. 1610. f°		
Io Bill	Declaratio pro Jure regio Lond. 1616. 4°	14368	[1616]
Nic. Okes	A defcription of y <sup>e</sup> Table of Logarithmes. 1616 8°	18351	1616
Tho. Addams	A Concordancie of yeares by Arthur Hopton 1615 8°	13779	1615
Io. Bill	Declaration du Roy Jaques I. 1615 4°	143675	1615
Id.	Bibliotheca Scholaftica by Tho. Draxe. Lond. 1616. 8°	7174	1616
Id.	Rerum Anglicarum Annales 1616 fo	11945	1616
[ff. 103v]			
Walt. Burre	The historie of ye worlde. Lond. 1614. Fo	20637	1614
Id.	Gervase Nidds Sermons. 1616. 8°	18579	1616
Fr: Constable	Tho. Scots Philomithie 2 pts. 1616 8°	21869-	1616
		21870	
		21871a.7	1616
Nath. Butter	Contemplations 3. vol. 1615. 4°	12654	1615
Ioyce Macham	A Coale from y <sup>e</sup> altar. 1616. 8°	25040	1616*
Eadem	The true rule & watche of life. 8°175	3780	1615
Will. Iaggard	Crooks Microcosmographia 1615. fo	6062	1615
	Relations of ye most famous kingedomes		
Id.	&c. Lond. 1616. 4°	3403	1616

(Continued)

175. This entry is most likely the 1615 "seauenth" edition, which is the first edition of this title to carry "J. Macham" in the imprint. The 1620 catalogue records the 1615 edition at 8° H 65 [Th] (James 1620, 86).

Arthur Ihonson	Halls Works fo. Lond. 1615	12706-a	1615
Soc. of Stat.	11 pt. des Reports de S <sup>r</sup> Ed. Coke. Lond.	5521	1615
occ. or other	1615. f°	3321	1015
Nath. Butter	Byfield on ye Colossians. Lond. 1615. fo	4216	1615
Laur. Lisle	Characters of ye wyfe of Sr Tho. Over-	18908	1615
	bury Lond. 1615. 8°		
Io. Budge	The good & ye badd. Lond 1616 4°	3656	1616
Id.	The householders helpe. Lond 1615. 8°	20586	1615
Io. Barnes	Ephesus warning. 1616 4°	20330	1616
Math. Lawe	Monumenta la fepulchralia S. Pauli 4°	135835	[1614]
Fra. Higgebottam	Grandfire-Graybeard. 1615 8°176	n/a	[1615]
Tho. Langly	Markams method. 1616 8°	17381	1616
Io. Bill	Supplicatio ad Impatores. 4° 1613	1703-4	1613
Gu: Welby	Martialis Epigrammata Lond. 1615. 8°	17492	1615
W. Butlar	Benfitt of affliction Lond. 1616 8°	21013	1616
[ff.103 <sup>r</sup> ]			
Will: Butler	The doctrine of ye Lords Supper. 1616 8°	21014	1616
Io. Bill	Elementa Logicae. 1614. 12°	3613	1614
Tho. Man	The posing of ye parts Lond. 1615 4°	3771	1615
Sam. Macham	Sam Hierons 3 Sermons Lond. 1615 8°177	13427.5	1615
Sam. Man	Rich. Eatons funerall Sermons Lond. 1616 4°	7468	1616

- 176. An edition from 1615 is not extant, according to the STC and ESTC. It seems likely that the title was sold alongside STC 3704.7. The title entered to Thomas Lambert on 9 May 1634 and published in 1635 is STC 3704.9. The ESTC notes that the "Only known copy has a fake title page." This is Huntington Library copy, RB 62842. Stephen Tabor, Curator of Rare Books, has examined the copy and notes that the 1635 title page was "heavily washed and possibly retouched", but he would not consider the title page to be "fake". Email communication with Stephen Tabor. 28 March 2023.
- 177. James may have known that "John Smith" was a pseudonym. The title page indicates "John Smith", which the STC records as a false imprint, with Richard Woodroofe as publisher; a divisional title page shows that A Caveat and A Comfort Belieuers was published by Samuel Macham (D7<sup>r</sup>).

Rob. Wilson	A prefident for young pen-men. 1615 4°	20584	1615
Will: Stansby	Tables of Accompt.	25433.3	[1615]*
H.R.	The Crier by Nath. Cannon 4° 1613	4576	1613
Rog. Jackson	The portion of ye righteous 4° 1616	25151	1616*
Fr: Constable	Chrifts politician. Lond. 1616 4°	22074	1616
Rog. Jackson	The Philosophers Satyrs. 4° 1616	686	1616
Rich. Meighen	Worke for Cutlers. 4° 1615	25981	1615
Sam. Rand	Mans May by Peter Small. 4° 1615	22638	1615
Id.	Spencers Sermon at Pauls Crosse 4° 1615	23096	1615
Rich. Woodroffe	Smith vppon ye 6th of Hosea. 4° 1616	22847.3	1616
Nath. Butter	Io. Hoskins Sermons at Pauls Crosse 4° 1615	13841	1614*
Io. Trundle	A miracle of miracles 4° 1614	14068	1614
Io. Tappe	More knaves yet. 4° 1614	21392-3	[1613]
Io. Trundle	The Dragon of Horfam 4°	20569	[1614]
Fel. Kingston	Davids Mufick 4° 1616	1935.5	1616
Io. Budge	Staffords heavenly dogge 12° Lond 1615	23128	1615
Id.	Diseases of ye soule. 4° 1616	109	1616
Tho. Man	vse of ye globe	23672	1616
[f.102 <sup>v</sup> ]			
Will. Welby	A dutche Catechefme 8° 1615 <sup>178</sup>	n/a	[1615]
ioseph Hunt	Heavens Bleffing & Earths joy. 4° 1613	23763	1613
Io. Barnes	Treatifes of ye Eye-fight 8° 1616	1196	1616
Rap. Mabb	Expos. of ye priniciples of relegion	25158	1612
Rob Wilson	Dauids petition	23099	1616
Rob Lownes	The valiant welfh-man	16	1615
Phl. Knight	Jack Drums entertainment	7244	1616

(Continued)

178. No copy of this book has survived. It appears in the 1620 catalogue as "A Catechisme for the Dutch Church. Lond. 1615" (James 1620, 117). William Welby entered the title in the Stationers' Register on 20 January 1615 as "A Catechism for the Dutch Church called Ondersoeck des goloofs voor iongh Kinderin" (ARBER, Registers, III.562).

Will. Stansby	Retractive from ye Romish religion	1657.5-58	1616
Nath. Butter	Taylors Vrania	23806	1615
H. Bell	The teares of Love	5567	1615
Will Arondell	M. Monfarts travels	10840	1615
Walt. Dight	A book of sundry draughts	11695	1615
Rog. Iackson	The Sercretaries ftudie	11523	1616
Will. Erondell	The 2 Sons	133	1615
Fr: Faulkner	A divine Enthymeme	13909	1615
Nath. Butter	Mathew ye Publican	24560	1616
Rog. Iackson	The burning bushe	12891	1616
Ios. Harrison	Chrifts kingdome difcouered	24175.7	1616
D. Downes	God and ye king	20337.5	1616
Io. Wright	The figure of foure 2 pt. 179	n/a	[1615]
Miles Partrige	Exchang ware at ye 2 hand	1356	1615
H. Gosson	Peace betweene Denmarke & Swedeland	5193	1613
Io Wright	Murder at Putney	12630	1614
Raph. Mabb	The bitter waters of Babylon	11191	1615
[f.102 <sup>r</sup> ]			
Nic. Okes	The great Affife <sup>180</sup>	n/a	[1615- 1616]
Thorpe	Life & death of Jefus Chrift.	24997	1615
Leon. Becket	The fathers Counfell	14358	1616
Rich. Woodroffe	The honeft lawyer	21519-a	1615- 1616
Ric Hawkins	Mysterie of Christs Natiuitie	14739.2	1614

- 179. No copy of this edition appears to have survived. The title appears in the 1620 catalogue under Nicholas Breton (James 1620, 85) with a 1615 imprint. The STC records two editions for this title: 1626 (STC 3652) and 1636 (STC 3653).
- 180. No copy of this edition appears to have survived. The title appears in the 1620 catalogue, but no date of impression is recorded. (JAMES 1620, 463). The STC records ten editions for this title. STC 22847.7 (1617) is advertised as the "second impression, corrected", suggesting that the Bodleian copy in 1616 refers to the first impression printed in 1615 or 1616.

Geo. Elde	Justinian ye Emperour defended	5977	1616
Cantrell Legg	office of Christian parents	5180	1616
Ric. Redmer	The Anatomie of basenes	587	1615
Sim. Waterson	The Alleagance of ye Clergie	19088	1616
Tho. Downe	The hift. of Trebifond	115213	1616
Rich. Field	Muhammodis impofturae	17995	1615
Tho. Purfoot	The foules lamentations	15104	1614

#### Appendix D

## 19° Jun. 1615 Books fent by M<sup>r</sup> Bill from London weighing 274li

	Entry from Daybook	Fac.	Price	Date	City Inv.	(£. s. d.)
[f.55 <sup>r</sup> ]						
1	8° Recueil des Articles pour la reformation des Iefuits 8°		[0.0.8]	1615	France	35
2181	4° Opuscula Hincmari 4°		0.11.8	1615	Paris	37
3	f° Io. Lorini Tomum 2um in Pfalmos f°		1.6.8	1614	Lyons	36
4	8° Balthaf. Meifneri confultatio du fide Lutherana capeffenda. 8°		0.2.0	1611	Giessen	105
5	4° Notarum Iuris select. libris ex subcefiuis ffr: Dauydargente 4°		0.10.0	1615	Angers	34
<b>182 6</b> 182	f° Sanchez de matrimo- nio. Ant. 1614 f°		1.10.0	1614	Antwerp	104
7	f° Lexicorum iuridicum Sim. Schardij f°		0.13.9	1600	Cologne	32
8	4° Bern. Aldrede Anti- guedades de España 4°		0.11.3	1614	Antwerp	31
9	4° Nomenclator Cardinalium Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ 4°		0.4.0	1614	Toulouse	33
10	4° Hiftorie de Loys 12. 4°		0.13.4	1615	Paris	30
11	4° Io. Donner Jefuita nodofus 4°		0.1.3	1614	Jena	29
12	4° Les fecrets moraux per ffr: Loryet 4°		[1.6.8]	1614	Paris	97

- 181. Hampshire interprets Bill's notation for this title "1 Hinckmari Epistolae. 4°" as Hincmarus, Epistolae. Mog. 1602. However, the 1615 Paris edition in quarto includes both the Opuscula and Epistolae, which was in 1620, at H 3.14 Th (JAMES 1620, 254).
- 182. The symbol signals a manuscript manicule in James's list in the Daybook.

13	4° Andr. Canoniero		[0.10.0]	1614	Antwerp	98
	introduzione alla					
	Politica 4°					
14	32 Vlricus Hunnius de	L	[0.1.0]	1615	Giessen	96
	Tranfactione 32°					
15	La Toifin d'or per Salo-	M	[0.6.8]	1612	Paris	93
	mon Trifmofin 8°					
16	8° Johan de Mehun le	M	n/a	1612	Paris	n/a
	miroir d'Alquimie 8°					
17	f° Alp. de Azeuedo	L	[2.13.4]	1612	Douai	92
	in Hifpania regias					
	conftitutiones f°					
[f.55 <sup>v</sup> ]						
18	f° Tomus 3us Alp. de	L	[n/a]	[1612]	Madrid	92
	Azeuedo f°					
19	f° Tomus 4us ex quobis	L	[n/a]	[1612]	Madrid	92
	euisdem f°					
183 mm 20 <sup>183</sup>	f° Historia Pontifical y	T	3.6.8	1613	Madrid	94
	Catholica pour Gonçalo					
	de Illefias Madr. 1613 f°					
21	f° pt 2a &c. f°	Т		1613	Madri	94
22	4° La. nouuelle Troye	Α	[0.5.6]	1615	Leiden	95
	per Hen. Haefteni 4°					
23	8° Ben Winckleri prin-	L	0.1.3	1615	Leipzig	27
	cipia Iuris 8°					
24	f° Gab Vafquez in 3iam	L	0.20.0	1614	Antwerp	28
	parte S. Tho Tomus					
	3us f°					
25	f° oeconomia Leopoldi	L	0.6.0	1562	Basel	22
	Dickij Iudicij ordinarij					
	f°					
26	8° Paul Tarnovius de	T	0.3.9	1614	Rostock	23
	coniugio 8°					
27	8° Festi. Hommij 70	T	0.3.0	1614	Leiden	24
	disput. Theol. 8°					

(Continued)

183. Hampshire infers that this is the 1578 edition from Bill's invoice, but James notes that it is the 1613 edition in the *Daybook*. The 1620 catalogue records the 1613 edition under "Luys de Bauia" at G 5. 10 Th. (James 1620, 58).

28	8° Mich. Wendlandus	T	0.1.3	1615	Gera	25
	de pace et cura relig. 8°					
29	8° Praxis Episcopalis	L	0.2.0	1615	Cologne	26
	Pauli Piafecij 8°					
<b>⊯30</b>	4° Iofeph Steph. Vale-	T	0.7.6	1603	Orihuela	102
	tinius Difput. de vnica					
	relig. 1603./4°					
31	4° Jo. Borcholten in 4or	L	0.6.0	1611	Wittenberg	103
	inftit. Libros. 1611. 4°					
32	4° Jo. Alba expositiones	T	0.6.0	1613	Valencia	19
	in difficillima loca					
	vtriufque Teft. 1613.					
33	4° Irenicum Dav. Parei	T	0.3.0	1615	Heidelberg	20
	4°					
34	4° Io. Schroteri diatribæ	L	0.1.6	1615	Jena	21
	domesticæ 4°					
35	4° Laur. Arnoldi Iurisp.	L	0.6.0	1615	Frankfurt	18
	Ethica. 4°				am Main	
36	4° Trias scriptorum	T	0.3.0	1614	Ingolstadt	17
	adverfus Waldenfes 4°					
37	4° Gretferus de bene-	Т	0.1.8	1615	Ingolstadt	16
	dict. de maledict. 4°					
<b>38</b> <sup>184</sup>	4° Io. Maldonati difput.	Т	[0.7.6]	1614	Lyons	13
	de facram. 4°					
39	4° Io. Harphrectus ad	L	0.8.0	1615	Tübingen	101
	4or institut. lib Com. 4°					
40	4° Aftrologia Sacra 4°	T	0.0.9	1615	Ingolstadt	14
[f.56 <sup>r</sup> ]						
41	4° Religiosæ conftatiæ	Т	0.0.6	1615	Ingolstadt	15
	et haereticæ fraudulen-		1			
	tiæ exempla 2.4°					
42	4° S. Imperii Rom. ius	L	0.10.0	1614-	Hanau	90
	publicum 4°		1	1615		
<b>43</b> <sup>185</sup>	4° Thresor de l'historia	A	n/a	1613	Cologne	99
	des langues per Claude					
	Duret 1613 4°		1			

(Continued)

184. James records the price 7s.

185. Bill's invoice entry for this item "1 Thresor. Des. Langues. 4°" is less specific than James's; therefore, Hampshire misidentifies the title. Duret's 1613 edition was at D.2.13 [Art] in 1620 (James 1620, 173).

ı≆-44	f° Chron. del Rey don	A	0.13.4	1591	Pamplona	78
	Pedro 1591. f°				1	
45	8° Recongitio Lib. Bell. 1608. 8°	T	0.1.3	1608	Ingolstadt	84
46	8° Corvinus defen <b>s</b> io Arminij 8°	T	0.3.0	1613	Leiden	85
<b>47</b> <sup>186</sup>	4° Bogermanis Annot. in Hug. Grotium 8°	T	0.1.4	1614	Franeker	86
48	8° Originum Anacho- reticorum Sylva 8°	T	0.1.3	1615	Cologne	87
49	8° Decifiones Concilli Sacri Coun. Tridentini 8°	L	0.3.0	1615	Douai	106
50 <sup>187</sup>	4° Vltima verba Grazeri in Danielum 4°	T	0.2.6	1614	Torun	88
51	4° Psalmorum Davidis ex Arabico in Lat. translated 4°	T	1.0.0	1614	Rome	82
52	8° Amatoris Rodriguez de forma proceffus in caussis commonalibus 8°	L	0.2.0	1615	Frankfurt	81
53	f° Ian Iac. Boiffardi Tr. de divinatione et magicis praestigijs f°	A	0.11.3	1615	Oppenheim	83
54	4° Lexicon Arabicum 4° el Gra[mmer]. [Lexicon]	A	[1.3.4]	1613	Leiden	80
[54a]	[Grammatica]		[0.5.0]	1613	Leiden	79
55	f° Dictionarium Io Forstori f°	A	0.13.4	1557, 1564	Basel	91
56	4° Io. Kep[l]eri Logarithm 4°	A	0.2.0	1614	Edinburgh	77

(Continued)

186. James records 3s.4d. 187. James records 3s.4d.

57	f° Did. Canteræ quæs-	L	0.6.0	1615	Frankfurt	55
	tiones criminales f°					
58	f° Hiftoria	A	1.10.0	1614	Paris	54
	d'Angeleterre &c. f°					
59	8° Adami Contzen	T	0.2.6	1614	Mainz	39
	defensio Bell. de pec-					
	cato 8°					
[f.56 <sup>v</sup> ]						
60	8° Chrift. Iuftelli in	T	0.5.0	1614	Paris	53
	Cod. Can. observat Eccl					
	Aphricanae 8°					
<b>61</b> <sup>188</sup>	f° Seraph. Olivarij Raz-	L	0.15.0	1615	Frankfurt	56
	zalij decif. aureae f°					
62	4° Bellarmini Concio-	T	0.6.8	1615	Cologne	51
	nes 4°					
63	4° ffedeli Danieli della	T	0.7.6	1615	Milan	48
	providenza div. 4°					
64	4° Bell. De scriptoribus	T	0.2.6	1613	Cologne	43
	Ecclesiasticis 8°					
65	8° Optica regularium	T	0.3.0	1614	Cologne	45
	Servaio de Lairvelz 8°					
66	f° Bavaria Sancta Math.	T	2.10.0	1615	Munich	47
	Raderi f°					
67	f° Pet. Morales in c.	T	1.0.0	1614	Lyons	40
	1um Mathæi f°					
<b>68</b> <sup>189</sup>	f° Hist. Byzantina scrip-	Α	1.10.0	1562	Cologne	38
	tores f°					
69	4° Theatre d' historie 4°	A	0.11.0	1613	Brussels	52
70	8° Io. Filefacus de Ido-	T	0.0.8	1615	Paris	41
	lolatria Politica 8°					
71	8° Error pop. feu fabula	T	0.1.3	1614	Cologne	42
	Ioannæ Moguntinæ 8°					

(Continued)

188. Hampshire recorded "Not yet identified." James's description provides more details for identification; this title was at O 2 9 Jur. (James 1620, 361).

189. Hampshire notes a Rome edition from 1615 containing Nicephori Gregorae, Hoc est Byzantinae historiae; however, the 1620 Catalogues only identifies the 1562 edition. (James 1620, 231).

72	4° Difcursus de	L	0.0.8	1615	Frankfurt	46
	fucceffione Iuliacenfi 4°					
73190	4° Io. Bapt. Vicecomes	L	[0.0.6]	1611	Milan	49
	de Capitatione 4°					
74	4° Io. Haftæus de	L	0.1.3	1614	Brescia	50
	Iurefprudetiae methodij 4°					
75	4° Bona fides Sibr. Lubberti 4°	T	0.0.4	1613	Leiden	58
76	4° Jo. Covinis refp. ad Io.	T	[0.3.4]	1614,	Leiden	59
	Bogermanni Annot. 4°			1616		
77	4° Sib. Lubberti refp. ad	T	0.1.6	1614	Franeker	57
	pietatem Grotij 4°					
78	4° Pifcatoris refp. ad	T	0.1.4	1615	Herborn	60
	Apolog. Bertij 4°					
<b>79</b> <sup>191</sup>	4° Collatio Hagæ de praedeftinat 4°	T	0.5.0	1615	Middelburg	61
80	f° Io. Rob. Adriennalis	T	0.7.6	1615	Mainz	76
	Mystica Ezech quadriga f°					
81192	4° Hier de Medicis 1a	T	[0.15.0]	1614	Venice	74-5
	partis summæ Theol.					
	explicat. 4° 2 vol.					
[f.57 <sup>r</sup> ]						
82	4° Difp. adverfus 1[um]	T	0.1.2	1614	Wittenberg	73
	Bell. Tomum præfide					
	Meifnero 4°					
83	4° Scholaftica Theol.	T	0.4.0	1614	Tübingen	70
	Xpoforo [Chistoforo]					
	Binderi 4°					
84	4° Differtatio Theol. de	T	[0.6.0]	1615	Rotterdam	69
	2 quaeft de reconciliat					
	per mortem xpi [Christi] et Elect ex fido. 4°					

<sup>190.</sup> James records the price as viiid.

<sup>191.</sup> James records the price as 5s.

<sup>192.</sup> Bill's invoice notes 15s for the two volumes (5s for the first part and 10s for the second). James's price £1.10s.0d.

85	4° Theol. naturalis Io.	T	0.6.3	1615	[Frankfurt]	68
	Hen. Alftedii 4°					
<b>86</b> <sup>193</sup>	4° Difp de	T	0.0.8	1614	Freiburg im	63
	prædeftinatione Ian.				Breisgau	
	Hackerus. 4°					
87	4° Lud. de Ponte de	T	0.4.6	1615	Cologne	64
	xpistiani hominis per-			1617		
	fect 4°					
88	4° ffasciculus moralitatis	T	[0.5.6]	1615	Cologne	67
	Cæf. Heifterbachefis 4°					
<b>19</b> 8 <b>9</b> 194	4° Scripta adverfaria	T	[0.5.0]	1615	Leiden	62
	Collationis Hagienfis 4°					
90	4° Geo. Weinrichij	T	0.3.6	1615	Leipzig	65
	explicatio Ep. ad Colofs					
	el. Phil. 4°					
91	4° Anti-Iesuita 1[us]	T	0.1.0	1615	Giessen	66
	Herm. Samfonij 4°					
92	f° Caftillo de Bovadilla	L	3.6.8	1616	Barcelona	44
	Politica para Corregido-					
	ros Tomum 2 f°					
93	4° Ordinum Hollandiæ	T	0.1.6	1613	Leiden	89
	&c pietas per Hug.					
	Grotium 4°					
94	Elenchus Orthodoxus	T	0.1.6	1615	Deventer	71
	Io. Acronij 4°					
95	4° Christ Binderij de	T	[0.4.0]	1614	Tübingen	70
	Iefuitarum Sophiftica 4°					
96	4° Paul Tarnovius de	T	0.0.4	1615	Leipzig	72
	facramentis in gen. 4°					
97	8° Sylva 5que linguis	A	0.7.6	1592	Basel	100
	Helfric Emmelij 8°					
98	8° Nomeclater quadri-	A		1592	Basel	100
	linguis eiufdem 8°					
99	8° Epitheta Antitheta	A		1592	Basel	100
	et adiuncta ex Cicerone					
	eiusdem. 8°					

<sup>193.</sup> James notes 9d.

<sup>194.</sup> James notes 6s.

	T T		r		1	
100	f° Optica Aquillerij f°	A	1.3.4	1613	Antwerp	1
101	f° Gu. Eftius in omnes Pauli Epift. f°	T	0.16.8	1614	Douai	2
[f.57 <sup>r</sup> ]	Z www. Zp.iw i					
102	f° Com. a Lapide in Epistolas Pauli f°	T	1.6.8	1614	Antwerp	3
103 m=103	f° Fath. Sanchez Opus morale in præcepta Decalogi f°	T	0.18.9	1615	Lyons	4
104	f° Ben. Iustiniaus in Ep. Pauli f°	T	2.6.8	1612- 1613	Lyons	5
105	4° Iul. Caes. Bullingerus de Rom. Imp. 4°	A	0.16.8	1614	Paris	6
106	f° Greg. Nyfseri Opera f° 2:to f°	T	3.0.0	1615	Paris	8
107	8° Vit. Winfenii Translatis Thucydidis 8°	A	0.2.6	1580	Wittenberg	7
108	f° Did. Lopez menfa fpiritualim ciborum f°	T	1.6.8	1614	Lyons	9
109	f° Alcafar in Apoc. f°	T	2.0.0	1614	Antwerp	10
110	f° Gu. Eftius in fent. f°	T	1.5.0	1615, 1616	Douai	11
111	4° Jo Geo. Grofsij Theatrum Biblium 4°	T	0.10.0	1614	Basel	12

## Books returned being before | in ye Librarie

#### [f.60<sup>v</sup>]

[97]	Sylva 5q vocabularium 8°	0.7.6
[39]	Harprechtus super Instituta 4°	0.8.0
[30]	Jo Stephanus adversus Machabæe [] 4°	0.7.6
[31]	Borchoton super Instituta 4°	0.6.0
[6]	Sanchez de matrimonio f°	1.10.0
[4]	Meisneri consultatio 8°	0.2.0
[49]	Decisiones Concilij Trid.	0.3.0
	Summa totalis	3.04.0

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PROB 11/83, ff.57 <sup>r</sup> -60 <sup>r</sup> [William Norton], probate 1 January 1594.
———. PROB 11/121, ff.37 <sup>v</sup> –39 <sup>v</sup> [John Norton], probate 12 January 1613.
———. PROB 11/122, ff.39 <sup>r</sup> –40 <sup>v</sup> [Richard Wright], probate 8 July 1613.
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MS ECR/62/8 [Audit Book].

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- Early printed books listed in the *Daybook* are identified separately in appendices A–D. The following items are listed as they are cited separately to the contents of the *Daybook*.
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