





THE  
L I F E  
Of M A Y S T E R  
W y l l y a m C a r t o n .  
O F T H E  
Weald of K E N T ;  
T H E  
First Printer in E N G L A N D .

In which is given  
An A C C O U N T of the Rise and Progress of  
the A R T of P r y n t y n g in *England*, during his  
Time, till 1493.

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Collected by J O H N L E W I S ,  
Minister of *Mergate* in K E N T .

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L O N D O N :  
Printed in the Year M.DCC.XXXVII.







T O T H E  
Reverend Mr. LEWIS,

Upon his writing the  
L I F E of Mr. C A X T O N .

I Ndustrious CAXTON's Name in Time to come  
I Had buried been in dark Oblivion's Tomb,  
Had you with-held your generous Aid to save  
That Name which now will never find a Grave.  
Sacred the Labour, Righteous is your Pains,  
Thus to collect the Artift's true Remains.  
KENT owes to you her Thanks upon this Score :  
And not on this alone, but † many more.  
More watchful you than EGYPT's boasting Seers ;  
For there a Pyramid now huge appears ;  
Yet loft for ever is its Builder's Name,  
To our Surprize, and *their* eternal Shame.

W. H.

† The History and Antiquities of the Isle of *Tenet*, and of the Abby of *Fauresbam*, Nunnery of *Davington*, *Maison Dieu* of *Ostfringe*, and the adjacent Parishes of *Boſton* ſubtus le *Bleyne*, &c.





T H E  
P R E F A C E.



*THE* Collector of these Papers has had it for some Time in his Thoughts and Wishes, to attempt to do Justice to the Memory of a Man, who, he thinks, deserved so well of his Country, in so early introducing into it an Art of such publick Use and Benefit as is that of PRINTING. This he was the more forward to do, on account of Mr. Caxtons's being a Native of KENT, to which the Collector is glad of all Opportunities of expressing his Gratitude; having lived in that County almost forty Years, and been treated there with great Kindness and Humanity. But his Situation in a remote Corner of this Shire, divided from the Continent, and distant from Libraries and the Conversation of learned Men, and particularly such as were skill'd in this Subject, quite discouraged him. In this State of Despondency the learned and ingenious Dr. Conyers Middleton, principal Librarian of the famous University of Cambridge, was so kind

## The P R E F A C E.

*and generous as to make the Collector a Present of his curious Dissertation concerning the Origin of PRINTING in England. Cambridge: Printed for W. Thurlbourn, over-against the Senate-House. MDCCXXXV. The Perusal of this served to revive the Thoughts of his former Design, and gave him Hopes, that he should be able, in some tolerable Measure, to compleat and execute it, with the Assistance of the Dissertation of Mr. Mattaire's Annales Typographici, reprinted at Amsterdam, 1733, and of some Friends and Acquaintance he had in London, and the two famous Universities, who favoured Researches of this Kind: And it is with these Helps that the Collector has been able to finish these Papers in the Manner he has done.*

*Mr. Caxton's Memory has not been treated with the greatest Candor and Benevolence; however, considering the publick Usefulness of the Man, and the little Provocation he has given in his Writings of such Usage. Bishop Bale represented him as a Man not quite stupid, nor benumbed with Sloth; which intimates as if he thought him almost so: And this unfair Character has been implicitly transcribed by following Writers. One of them asks, with an Air of Scorn and Contempt, if it will be any kind of Inducement to peruse the Works of an Author so recommended. But if Mr. Caxton was no more stupid than he was lazy, he may surely pass for one of the brighter Sort: Since the Books he translated and printed, at a Time of Life which naturally disposes Men to be indolent and unactive, are a Proof, that he was not of an idle Temper. What seems to have inclined this last Writer to use Mr. Caxton with so much Contempt is his printing Books of so little Value, as*

*the*

*the History of King Arthur, &c. But he should have consider'd Mr. Caxton's Time and Circumstances, and, that the Books he printed, as well as translated, were not always of his own Choice, but at the Request of others. However, they who have made so free with his Character should, one would think, have taken some Care of their own, and not in their Accounts of him written Things that confute themselves, and shew the Inventors to be surrounded with a Darknes that may even be felt.*

*In how much Uncertainty the History of the first Use of PRINTING in England is, may be seen by the following short and imperfect Detail. Some of our Almanac Makers tell us, that Printing was first used in England, A. D. 1443, about twelve Years before it was invented, or however, but three Years after: Others say, not till after 1459. The Workmen of the Printing-press, at the Theatre in Oxford, in a Paper printed by them August 23, A. D. 1729, affirm, that The noble Art and Mystery of PRINTING was first invented in the Year 1430, and brought into England in the Year 1447; a Mistake, perhaps, for 1474. The learned Mr. Collier assures us, that the Mystery of Printing appeared ten Years sooner at the University of Oxford, than at any other Place in Europe, Harlem and Mentz excepted: Which fixes the Introduction of it there so early as 1457; since it's certain, that it appeared at Rome, and elsewhere in Europe, in 1467; though by the Date, put in the Margin, he seems willing to have had it thought, that it did not appear at Oxford before 1464. The diligent Collector of the Annals of Printing, supposes*

*Rider's  
British  
Merlin.  
1706.*

*Parker's  
Ephemeris.*

*Eccl. Hist,  
Vol. I.*



*poses this Art first brought into England in 1460; and N. Bailey implicitly follows*<sup>a</sup> *Atkins's Romance of the Introduction of it in King Henry VIth's Reign, or before 1460. But the Generality of our English Chroniclers who mention it, tell us, That Printing was first practised by Mr. Caxton, in 1471, at Westminster, under the Patronage of Abbot Islip.*

*It seems a very just Observation that has been made by a late sensible and ingenious Writer, That it is not to be thought, that the Readers of such Accounts as they thought tended much to the Honour of their Country, have not been over scrupulous in examining nicely into the Truth or Probability of them: Though it is very commendable to enquire honestly into them, and renounce all such as appear fabulous and inconsistent with the Truth of History. This, it's hoped, will excuse the Attempt of the Collector, in the following Papers, honestly and faithfully to shew the true Character of our first Printer, and the particular Instances of his Probity and Diligence. In doing this, the Collector has had Opportunities enough to expose the Negligences, Ignorances, and Prejudices of some of the most learned Writers of the last Age; and could he have allowed himself, with the late Monsieur Baile, and others, to divert and make himself and his Readers merry*

<sup>a</sup> In 1664 was printed a small Pamphlet in Quarto, of four Sheets, entitled, *The Original and Growth of Printing in England, &c.* by *Robert Atkins, Esq;* in which is told a most groundless and improbable Story of *Mr. Caxton* and one *Turnour*, being sent to *Harlem* by *King Henry VI.* and *Arch-bishop Bourcbier*, and furnished by them with Money to get a Printer from thence, to teach the *English* the Art of Printing.

## The P R E F A C E.

xi

*with the Lapses and<sup>b</sup> Mistakes of Men much better, and more knowing, in other Respects, than himself, he would not have wanted sufficient Matter and Occasion. But he remember'd the good Observation of the Roman Poet :*

— Ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes  
Emollit mores, nec finit esse feros.

*The Collector has compared what is commonly called Caxton's Chronicle of England, with one of the MS. English Chronicles, which he printed, and with the Editions of it printed by de Word, 1497, and 1520 ; and by Julian Notary, 1515. By this Collation it appears, that they are the same, without any Interpolations ; only the old and obsolete Language is sometimes alter'd, to make it more intelligible : Of this a Specimen is given, by way of Proof, in the Collection at the End of these Papers ; where the History of the Monk's poisoning King John, in the MS. is compared with the Print. For the further Evidence of this, is here added a Collation of two or three other Passages in the MS. with Notary's Print.*

<sup>b</sup> One of the Writers that bears hardest on Mr. Caxton's Memory, and treats it with the most Contempt, thus writes of him : *To William Caxton, I suppose, good Mr. Fox was obliged for the Account he gives us of King Alfred's compiling a Story in the Saxon Speech, &c.* Now good Mr. Fox's Words are as follow : *Besides the historie of Beda, translated into the Saxon tongue, he also himself compiled a Storie in the same Speech called the Storie of Alfred, &c. which both bookes in the Saxon tongue I have seene, though the language I do not understande.* Can any Thing be plainer than that Mr. Fox was obliged for this Account to his own Eyes, not to William Caxton ? In Caxton's Chronicles it's only said, that ' This king *Alfred*——was a good clerke and a boke he made in ' Englyshe of adventures of kynges, and of batayles that had ben ' done in the londe'.

English

English Chronicle, *MS.*

—*This William le Rous was a luther man to god and holy cherche.*

—*That they twyne [K. Stephen and Henry] sulde departe the reame of Englonde betwene ham to, so that Henry the Empresse sone sulde have halfendel the reame, and after king Stephen's day he sulde thon haf al the hool part: and thus was bi-tuen ham the werre ces-sede, and pees criede thorough-out Englonde. And whan thaccorde was thus made bytuene ham, king Stephen began to make soo mucche sorwe, that it was wonder to wyte, for enchesoun that he had lost half Englonde, and therefore hym toke such a sorwe that broughte him to his detb, and he deide in the xix<sup>th</sup> yere and viii wokes and five daies of his regne. And he lith in the Abbay of Feure-sham that he lete make*  
in

Print, 1515.

—*This Wyllyam was a wonder contraryous man to God and holy chyrche.*

—*That they sholde departe the realme of Englonde butwene theym two, so the Henry the Empresse sholde hooly have the half of all the lond of Englonde. And thus they were accorded and peas was cryed thorough-out al Englonde. And whan the accorde was made bytwene the two Lords, kynge Stephen became so sory for by-cause that he had lost halfe Englonde, and felle into suche a maladye and deyed in the xix yere and viii wekes and v days of his regne, all in warre and in contake. And he lyeth in the Abbaye of Feuersham, the which he lete make in the xvi yere of his regne.*

—And

English Chronicle, MS.

Print, 1515.

*in the vij<sup>th</sup> yere of his regne.*

*—In the same yer the wiste gber of his regne, he [K. Henry] chaunchede the cogne of his monnes.*

—And in that yere, the fourthe yere of his regne, he chaunged his moneye.

*The late Mr. Hearne has observed, that in the Prose Additions to the MS. of Robert of Gloucester, in the Herald's Office, the Narrative of Walter Stapleton, Bishop of Exeter, in the Reign of King Edward II. building a Tower without Temple-bar, and his Funeral, differs considerably from that in Caxton's Chronicle 3 vt. b. for which Reason the following Collation is here added.*

MS.

Print, 1515.

*—And yat same tynie ye byshop hadde a faire tear a makyng without temple barre at the beyrbe yn on Themye syde and him lackyde ston. Wherfore he made his men to go to the churche of the frerys, the whiche, at yat tyme were clepyd the frerys of the pye, and ther this byshoppis men pykkyd stonys out of hure lond to perfourme his tour; and yer also he hadde mucbe sond*

—And in that same tyme the byshop had in London a fayre toure in makynge in his close upon the ryver Temse that was without temple barre, and he fayled stone to make therof an ende and he commaunded his men to go to the freres Carmes, and there they toke stone to make therwith the tour, and moche fondé and mortar and old

MS.

*sond ye which thei foun-  
den among old robelle  
yer yat yei dygged yn  
after stonys and also  
muche olde mortar yat  
was laft yer of olde tyme.  
And for the dissefe yat  
ye byfshop hadde do to  
holy churche, he and his  
two sqyres weryn buried  
in ye same sond as yey  
had noughte be cristned,  
and so yey layn yer xi  
wokys, for yat ye quene  
prayed by hure letteris  
to ye forsayd comyns of  
London, yat ye shold  
suffre ye body of ye for-  
said byfshop be buried in  
his owen churche of seynt  
Clement without Lon-  
done. And hit was no  
wonder yough ye byfshop  
deide in shynfulle deth,  
for he was a couetous  
man without pyte, and  
he counsailed the Kyng,  
as oyer dude in yuelle  
maner.*

Print, 1715.

old robous that was  
leste. And for the dyf-  
pyte the byfshop had  
done unto holy chyrche,  
he and hys two sqyres  
were buried in yat  
sonde, as thoughe they  
had ben houndes, and  
there they laye xi wekes,  
tyll that the quene  
*Isabell* sent her letters  
to the comuners,  
and prayed them, that  
they wolde suffer and  
graunt, that the byf-  
shop might be take out  
of that place, and be  
buried at *Exceter* at  
his owne chyrche, and  
so he was, and his two  
sqyres were buried at  
saynt *Clement's* without  
temple barre. And it  
was no wonder that  
byfshop deyed an evyll  
deth, for he was a co-  
vetous man, and had  
wyth him no mercy,  
and evyll counfeylled  
the kyng.



## THE PREFACE.

XV

*The Collector presumes to add, That he is not so vain and conceited as to imagine he has made no Blunders or Mistakes, or, that his Guesses are always right: But he hopes he shall be treated with Candor. It's a fine, as well as necessary Observation, made by a learned and excellent Writer, that we should even scruple to expose some kind of Faults. 'A Man, says he, has spent his Life in Study: He has ploughed up fallow Grounds, or untilled Lands. The narrow Bounds of human Minds sometimes, even in an Inadvertency, occasioned by a strict Application to what was most essential to his Subject, make him fall into a Mistake of small Moment. It may be he has fifty Volumes lying open around him: This multitude of Objects happens to dazzle and confound him. He fancies he sees and reads in one Author what is really in another, and so quotes the wrong Writer. Ought any one to exclaim against such a Writer as a Lyer, or expose him as ignorant? Should we not rather pity such a Distraction, than be pleased with the Discovery of a Mistake which we our selves might have made, had our Minds been but as much bent and upon the Stretch? This seems offending against the Laws of Justice and Christian Charity, and even those of worldly Decency and common Civility.'*

*He further begs Leave to transcribe the Words of the learned Editor of the Register of the Most Noble Order of the GARTER, and very skilful Antiquary, as serving to apologize for himself in his Conduct in the following Work as well as for him; That 'tis hoped, that those Extracts, which the Reader will find here made from the Writings of*

*' Caxton and others, will not be disrelished be-  
' cause they are inserted in their primitive Spel-  
' lings and obsolete terms, which he dares own  
' are, in his private Opinion, like the precious  
' Rust of Medals, being the Marks both of their  
' Antiquity and Genuineness.'*



T E S T I -



# TESTIMONIES

Concerning

WYLLIAM CAXTON.

JOANNES BALE Sudovolgus Anglus, Offoriensis *apud* Hybernos *Episcopus*, Anno 1559, *apud* Germanos *pro Christi professione Peregrinus*, & *postea* *Canonicus Cantuariensis apud* Anglos.

**W**ilhelmus Caxton Anglus, vir non omnino stupidus, aut ignavia torpens, sed propagandæ suæ gentis memoriæ studiosus admodum, multa aliarum gentum monumenta ad id peragendum non parvo quæsitivitate labore. Habitavit interim in *Flandria* 30 annis cum dēmina *Margareta Burgundiæ Ducissâ Regis Edwardi* sorore. Cujusdam didascalici ad *Albani* fanum conatibus postea abortis quidem, sed nondum finitis, se ad hæc instimulatum esse primo fatetur : qui, morte præventus, in schedis ac pagellis aliquot imperfectum reliquerat opus. Hoc non solum *Caxtonus* collectis foliis coacervavit, sed etiam ex *Tito Livio*, *D. Augustino*, *Gilda*, *Beda*,

B

*Isido-*

*Isidoro*<sup>a</sup>, *Cassodoro*, *Galfrido Monemutensi*, *Guilhelmo Malmesburiensi*, *Martino Carsulano*, *Theobaldo Carthusiano*, et aliis authoribus bonis addidit multa, temporum supputationibus eidem operi junctis. Incipit a Gigantibus, primis, ut ille putat, hujus terræ inhabitatoribus (\* quamvis cum suo autore anilibus decipiatur fabulis) ac definit in 23 anno *Edwardi* quarti qui est annus a Christi nativitate 1483, vocavitque suum opus, *Fructus temporum*.

\* Edit.  
1548.  
4°.

Transtulit a Gallica et Latina linguis in Anglicum sermonem.

1. *Vegetium* de re militari. *Lib.* 4.
2. *Joannitam* de ludo scaccorum. *Lib.* 4.
3. *Historiam* excidii Trojani. *Lib.* 3.
4. *Bonaventurum* de vita Christi. *Lib.* 1.
5. *Historiam* Lumbardicam. *Lib.* 1.
6. *Capgravi* Catalogum. *Lib.* 1.
7. *Illustrationes* armorum Christiani. *Lib.* 1.
8. *Obsidionem* et expugnationem *Jerusalem* per *Godefridum* de *Bullion* ad *Angliæ* Regem *Edwardum* quartum. *Lib.* 1.

JOANNES LELAND. 1550.

*Gulielmus Caxodunus*, Angliæ prototypographus, hæc aut familia his Anglicè refert in calce libelli continentis *Pub. Cornelii* et *Caii Flamini* *Orationes* de vera Nobilitate de *Tiptoto* —————

JOANNES JOSCELINUS. 1562.

*Willielmus Caxton* scripsit *Appendices* ad *Trevisam* qui incipiunt; *Prosequens* demum *præscripti operis* -----et continuantur ab anno domini 1397, in quò *Joannis Trevisæ* additiones in *Polychronicon* excipit, usque ad annum ejus 1460. Habentur ferè semper in

<sup>a</sup> There are several Writers of this Name; but it does not appear at all in the Prologue to the *Fructus temporum*. *Isidorus Hispalensis* wrote a Chronicle from the Beginning of the World to *A. C.* 626. as *Cassodorus* did to *A. C.* 519.

## WYLLYAM CAXTON.

xix

fine Anglici Polychronici. Claruit Autor sub *Edwardo* Rege quarto. Anno Domini 1463.

### JOHN STOWE. 1601.

-----*William Caxton* of London, a Mercer, brought the noble science of Printing into *England* about the Year 1471; and first practised the same in the Abby of saynt *Peter's* at *Westminster*.

### JOANNES PITS. 1600.

*Gulielmus Caxtonus*, natione Anglus, Vir pius, doctus, et multum industrius, propriæ quidem laudis nonnihil appetens, multo magis patriæ gloriæ cupidus. In *Flandria* quidem triginta annis vixit cum *Margareta Burgundiæ* Duce, Regis *Edwardi* quarti sorore. Quo toto tempore nunquam fuit otiosus, sed aut Patrias aut exterarum regionum historias in manibus semper ferè habebat. In *Angliam* demum reversus, ut ipse fatetur, historiæ cujusdam principia inchoata a quodam Prælectore Monasterii *S. Albani* qui, morte præventus, opus intentum absolvere non potuit, Chartas illas imperfectas accepit *Caxtonus*, suas illis adjecit ex optimis quibusque auctoribus collectas. Ex omnibus egregiam Historiam composuit, incipiens, ut ipse asserit, ab eo tempore quo primum insula nostra cæpit inhabitari, et usque ad vicesimum tertium, hoc est ultimum Regis *Edwardi* quarti annum, qui erat *Christi* 1483, perveniens, seriem rerum perduxit, titulum operi dedit *Fructus temporum*. Scripsit etiam Appendices ad *Johannem Trevisam* ab anno Domini 1397, ad annum 1460. Collegit omnia *Galfredi Chauceri* opera, quæ prius non nisi sparsim hinc inde reperiebantur, eaque ad justa rededit volumina, et in publicum prodire fecit, ne dispersa perirent quæ in unum compacta facilius reservarentur posteritati. *Johannes Major* libro quarto de gestis Scotorum fatetur se quasdam hujus auctoris historias ex *Anglico* in *Latinum* vertisse sermonem, et majorem Historiæ suæ partem



## Testimonies concerning

ex illo sumpſiſſe. Scripſit potiffimum ſermone patrio,

1. Chronicon Mundi vel Fructus temporum libros vii.

2. Historiam Regis *Arthuri* libros xxi.

3. Appendices ad polychronicon redditum *Anglicè* per *Job. Trevisam*.

4. Vitam S. *Edwardi* Regis et Confessoris. *Lib. 1.*

5. Ex variis compilavit *Angliæ, Scotiæ, Walliæ, Hiberniæ* Descriptionem.

6. Imaginem Mundi. *Lib. 1.*

Claruit anno 1483, regnante in *Anglia Edwardo IV.*

[GERARD JOHN VOSSIUS. 1627.

*Gaibelmus Caxtonus* Anglus, præterquam quod varia historicorum opera ex Gallica vel Lingua Latina Anglicè tranſtulerit, etiam ipſe Anglicè compoſuit plurima, quorum nonnulla a Latinis ſcriptoribus ſunt tranſlata. Edidit Chronicon libris vii. Quod *Fructus temporum* inſcripſit. In eo a gigantibus auſpicatur, quos primos *Angliam* incoluiſſe autumat. Progreditur autem ad annum 23 *Edwardi* quarti, hoc eſt annum *Chriſti* 1483. Etiam hiftoriam contexuit *Arthuri* regis, item vitam *Edwardi* Confessoris, ad hæc *Britanniæ* totius descriptionem. Idem continuavit appendicem quam *Joannes Trevisa* Polychronico addiderat. Hujus *Caxtoni* Chronicon in opere ſuo Latine tranſtulit *Joannes Scotus*, ſed reſectis quæ improbarent. Nec enim pauca ſunt quæ iudicium requirat. Unde Hiftoriæ ſuæ *Scotiæ*, *lib. iv. cap. iii.* cum narraſſet, ut *Joannes* rex a monacho quodam Cœnobii *Swinesheid*, hoc eſt capitis porcini, veneno eſſet ſublatus, ſubjungit hæc verba: *Caxtonum* Anglum Hiftoricum in hac parte ad literam initor, ſolum linguam noſtram Britannicam in Latinam interpreter. Idem, *cap. xiii.* Circa hanc materiam *Caxtonus*, Hiftoricus Anglus, ſic recitat. Ac poſtquam majorem capitis ejus partem ex *Caxtono* exſcripſiſſet, addit: Ecce *Caxtoni* Angli Hiftoriam quam de lingua Anglicanâ in Latinam convertimus.

mus. Non solum improbabilia, sed sibi haud cohærentia vir iste cudit. Omni enim probabilitate vacat, ut duos reges peterent, superiorem et inferiorem ei subiectum, Scoti eligerent aut caperent. Item, *cap. xxi.* Ecce quonam pacto res gestas illius temporis Anglus historicus, quem sequimur, recitat, paucis verbis improbabilibus a me rejectis et reprobatis. Item, *lib. v. cap. xvii.* Postea invektivam in *Robertum et Davidem Bruscos Caxtonus* fecit, quot verba tot mendacia assumens. *Caxtonum* hunc *Simlerus*, uti et, qui eum sequi solet, *Possevinus* vixisse arbitratur anno 1538, sed falli eos satis arguunt quæ diximus. Quanquam vero Anglus foret, tamen magnam ætatis partem, puta annis xxx, in *Flandria* egit apud *Margaritam Burgundiæ* Ducem regis sui *Edwardi* sororem.

*Idem.*

————— Hic *Joannes* Major Haddingtonensis Scotus, *Caxtoni* Chronographi Angli Historiam ex Lingua Anglicana convertit Latine, ut ipse refert, *lib. iv. Historiæ Scotiæ, cap. xiii.* Quod quo pacto præstitit cognoscere est ex iis quæ de *Caxtono* superius diximus.

HENRY WHARTON. 1689.

————— Versionem [*Polychronici*] ad finem perduxit *Joannes de Trevisa*, uti ex nota calci adnexâ patet, anno 1387, die 8<sup>a</sup> *Aprilis*: adeo ut palam lapsus sit, seu incuria seu errato typographico, *Caxtonus*, qui in fine versionis a se typis impressæ adnotavit eam finitam esse anno 1357. Illam enim, immutato paululum Anglicæ linguæ archaismo, et a seipso ad annum usque 1460. *Edwardi IV.* Regis primum concinnatum, typis impressam evulgavit \* *Londini* 1482. fol. \* *Westmæ* *Gulielmus Caxtonus* qui sub *Edwardo* Rege dicto claruit *nafterie*, primusque omnium Artem typographicam *Angliæ* intulit.

Archp. WILLIAM NICHOLSON. 1714.

*William Caxton* ————— was a menial Servant, for thirty Years together, to *Margaret Dutchess* of *Burgundy* (Sister to our K. *Edward IV.*) in *Flanders*. He afterwards returned into *England*; where finding, as he says, an imperfect History (begun by one of the Monks of *St. Albans*, says *John Pitts*, very unavisedly) he continued it in *English*, giving it only the *Latin* Title of *Fruetus temporum*. How small a Portion of this Work is owing to this Author, has been observed before; but he now usually bears the Name of the Whole, which begins with the first inhabiting of this Island, and ends (the last Year of *Edward IV.*) *A. D.* 1483. The Opportunities he had of being acquainted with the Court Transactions of his own Time, would encourage his Readers to hope for great Matters from him; but his Fancy seems to have led him into an Undertaking above his Strength.





THE  
L I F E  
O F  
*William Caxton, &c.*



WILLIAM CAXTON was *Recueyl of*  
born, as he himself tells *the Hist.*  
us, somewhere in the *of Troy,*  
*Wealde* of KENT; a Part  
of that large and fine  
County, so called from  
the *Anglo-Saxonic* Word  
peals, which signifies a  
Wood or Chace; this  
Tract of Land being mostly Wood. Here, he  
said, he learned the *English*, which he spoke and  
wrote; which, he observed, was then spoken  
broader and ruder there than in other Places of  
this County. By his Mother, it's said, he was *Bagford's*  
taught to read and write; which was a liberal *Life of*  
Education for those ancient Times, and for *Caxton.*  
which he afterwards devoutly thanked God,  
since by those Means he, in his old Age, got a  
Living.

## The LIFE of William Caxton.

Living. When he came to be of a fit Age, which I suppose to have been, at that Time, about seventeen or eighteen Years old, he was bound an Apprentice to one *Robert Large*, a wealthy Mercer of the City of *London*; who was chosen Sheriff of the City *Sept.* 28, 1430, and Mayor *October* 28, 1439, and died *A. D.* 1441. With him *Caxton* served out his Time, and was made a <sup>a</sup> Conjurys, or a sworn and Brother Freeman of the Company and City. After his having served his Time, he seems to have continued with his Master as a Journeyman till his Death. But, however this be, Mr. *Large*, in his last Will, remember'd his Apprentice *William Caxton*, and left him a Legacy of thirty four Marcs, a considerable Sum in those Times, and a creditable, as well as early, Testimony of Mr. *Caxton's* good Behaviour and great Integrity. His Master being dead, it seems as if he was obliged to provide for himself some other Way. He himself has intimated, That the very same Year that his Master died he went abroad, where he continued above thirty Years; for the most part in *Braband, Flanders, Holland* and *Zealand*. It has been guessed, that he was in these Countries as a travelling Agent or Factor for the Company of Mercers, and employ'd by them in the Business of Merchandise. This is not at all improbable, since in the Year 1464, we find him joined with one *Richard Whitehill*, Esq; in a <sup>b</sup> Commission from King

*Summarie  
of English  
Chron.&c.*

An. Dom.  
1441.

*Recueyl,  
&c.*

An. Dom.  
1464.  
Col. N. I.

<sup>a</sup> Conjuratio, Juratorum Conventus. Jurati et Conjurati dicuntur Cives unius Oppidi. *Du Fresne* Glos.

<sup>b</sup> The Commission stiles them *Ambassiatores, Procuratores, Nuncios et Deputatos speciales*, and gives to both, or either of them, full Power to treat, &c. See *Collect.* N<sup>o</sup>. I.



*Edward IV.* to continue and conclude a Treaty of Trade and Commerce betwixt him and the Duke of *Burgundy*, whose Son afterwards married King *Edward's* Sister, the Lady *Margaret*; or, if it was necessary, to make a new one. This shews that Mr. *Caxton* was thought, by the *English* Court, to be a thorough Master of the Trade and Commerce of that Country where he had now lived and traded three and twenty Years; in all which Time, he must, one would think, have acquired a great Deal of Knowledge and Experience.

° Four Years after this, a Match was concluded, as was just now hinted, betwixt the young Duke of *Burgundy* and the King's Sister, and the Lady sent to *Bruges*, where the Duke's Court then was, with a very splendid Retinue. Among her Servants of the *English* Nation, Mr. *Caxton*, it seems, was nominated to be one. He himself tells us, That at this Time he was a Servant to her <sup>a</sup> Grace, and received of her yearly \* Fee, and other many good and great \* Benefits; which shews he was much in her Favour. In what Rank or Quality he served the Dutchess, we do not know; but the Freedom with which she used Mr. *Caxton*, in finding

An. Dom. 1468.

\* ꝥeoh. Money, Wages.

° — Die Junii Domina *Margareta* soror Regis, per Dominum Regem ad litus Maris ducta prope insulam de *Tanet* accepit navem versus *Flandriam*, habuitque in societate sua . . . . .  
*Margareta*, quæ est apud le Dame per Episcopum *Sarum* Domino *Karolo* Duci *Burgundiæ* nupta. *Wilhel. Wyrcestre*, Ann.

<sup>d</sup> Mr. *Caxton* thus reckons her Titles: My lady *Margarete* by the grace of God suster unto the kyng of *Englond* and of *Fraunce*, duchesse of *Burgoyne*, of *Lotryk*, of *Brabant*, of *Lymburgh* and *Luxemburgh*, Countes of *Flandres*, of *Artoys* and of *Burgoyne*, Palatynce of *Heynawd*, of *Holand*, of *Zeland* and *Namur*: Marquesse of the holy empire; lady of *Fryse*, of *Salins*, and of *Mecblin*. *Recuyell*, &c.

fault with his *English*, and ordering him to correct it, &c. seems to shew, that the Place he had in her Grace's Family was no mean or ordinary one.

An. Dom. It was now about <sup>e</sup> eighteen Years since the  
1450. curious Art of Printing was first brought to Perfection, and practised at *Mentz* in *Germany*, and yet less since Printers of Books were multiplied,

An. Dom. not only in *Mentz*, but throughout the World,  
1460. as we are informed by Mr. *Caxton*, who was then abroad in the very Country, and particularly curious to know, and inquisitive after this new Invention. It seems to have been with a View to Mr. *Caxton's* learning this Art, and introducing it into her own Country, that almost immediately on his being admitted into

An. Dom. her Service, the Dutcheſs ordered him to trans-  
1468. late out of *French* into *English*, a *French* Book drawn out of diverse *Latin* Books, and called, ' *The Recuyell, or Collection, of the Histories of Troye, by Raoul le Feure, chaplain to Philip duc of Bourgogne, and newly published, 1464.* For this Undertaking, Mr. *Caxton* tells us, he thought himself so *unqualified* on account of his

<sup>e</sup> In which season, 35 *Hen. VI*, the crafte of pryntyng was fyrſte invented in the cytie of *Mens* in *Germanie*, to the great furtheraunce of all perſons deſyryng knowledge or thirſting for literature. See Mr. Fox's *Acts and Monuments*, &c.

Coll. Les perſonnes deſintereſſes eſtiment que *Strasbourg* eſt le verita-  
N<sup>o</sup>. II. ble lieu de ſa naiſſance, et en fixent l'epoque a 1440.—L'opinion la plus probable eſt, que *Guttemberg* a conçû dans *Strasbourg* les premieres idees de l'Imprimerie ; que ne pouvant pas ſeul parachever l'ouvrage, il fut a *Mayence*, ou il associa *Fauſte*, et ou ils commencerent les premieres impreſſions par un Bible en 1450, et par les Offices de *Ciceron*. Richelet *Diſtionaire*, &c. V. *Imprimerie*.

<sup>t</sup> The Reason of the Dutcheſs's pitching on this Book, ſeems to have been the Fondneſs of the *English* about this Time of deriving their Deſcent from the *Trojans*.

## The LIFE of William Caxton.

5

*unperfitness* in both Languages, *English* and *French*, he having never been in *France*, and lived out of *England* near thirty Years, that he was fully in wyll to have leste it, and accordingly laid it aside for two Years after he had begun it, or till 1470, when it fortun'd his ryght re-  
An. Dom. 1470.  
doubtid Lady sent for him, to enquire, it seems, what *Progresse* he had made in this Translation: And when she had seen, or read, five or six \* *quires* of it, she founde a defaute in his *english*; \* *leaves*; but was so far from ordering him to desist, that she commanded him to *amande*, and make an end of the residue; whose Command, Mr. Caxton said, he durst not disobey: Accordingly he proceeded in his Translation, which, he tells us, he 'begun in *Brugis*, the first of *Marche*, 'in the Yere 1468, continued in *Gaunt*, and 'finished in *Colen*, the 19th of *September* 1471.'  
An. Dom. 1471.

Having thus finished the Translation of this Book, he next, he says, 'deliberated in himself 'to take the labour in hand of printing it, together with the <sup>3</sup> third book of the destruction of *Troye*, translated of late by *John Lydgate* a Monke of *Burye* in *English* rithme.' Of this Mr. Caxton gives us the following Account, full of Complaints of the Painfulness of it to him. 'Thus, says he, end I this booke— 'and for as moche as in wrytyng of the same 'my penne is worne, myne hand wery, and 'myn \* *eyen* dimmed with overmoch lokyng \* *eyes*. 'on the whit paper—and that <sup>h</sup> age crepeth

<sup>3</sup> The History, Siege and Destruction of *Troy*, at Commandement of King *Henry* the first, 1412. in *English* Metre or Verse. *Thomas Speght's* Catalogue of *John Lydgate's* Works.

<sup>h</sup> By this it seems as if Mr. Caxton was now about 60 Years old.

‘ on me daily and feebleth all the body.—  
 ‘ and also because I have promised to dyverce  
 \* them. ‘ gentilmen, and to my frendes to addresse to \* hem  
 ‘ as hastely as I might this said book, therefore I  
 ‘ have practised and learned, at my great charge  
 ‘ and dispense, to ordeyne this said booke in prynte  
 ‘ after the maner and forme as ye may here see,  
 ‘ and is not wretton with penne and ynke as other  
 ‘ bokes ben, to the end that every man may have  
 ‘ them attones, for all the bokes of this storye na-  
 ‘ med THE RECUYELL OF THE HISTORYE OF  
 ‘ TROYE, thus emprinted as ye here see, were  
 ‘ begonne in oon day, and also finished in oon day.’

Thus, it is observed of *Faust* and *Schæffer*, the  
 very first Practicers of this Art of Printing,  
 That they used to advertise the Publick at the  
 End of their first Works from *Mentz*, that they  
 were *non atramento, plumali canna neque ærea*,  
 not drawn or written with a Pen and Ink, as  
 all Books had been before, but made by a new  
 Art or Invention of Printing, or stamping them  
 by Characters or Types of Metal set in Forms ;  
 by which Means the severall Sheets were done  
 all at once, and not Line by Line, as when they  
 are written. When the Book was finished,  
 Mr. *Caxton* tells us, he presented it to his re-  
 doubted Lady *Margaret*, who well accepted  
 the book, and largely rewarded him. This  
 seems to imply, that he was abroad some Time  
 after he had finished this Book, or made an end  
 of printing it ; since he went from *Cologne* to  
*Bruges*, and very probably staid some Time in  
 the Dutcheffes Family, as the Winter was then  
 approaching.

By the following Rhymes at the End of an  
*English* Edition of *Bartholomeus de proprietati-*  
 bus,

## The LIFE of William Caxton.

7

bus, printed by *De Worde*, at the Prayer and Desire of *Roger Thorney*, Mercer, it is affirmed, That Mr. *Caxton* staid long enough at *Cologne* to print there that Book in *Latin*, the Language wherein it was written by the Author.

*And also of your charite bear in remembraunce  
The soule of William Caxton first printer of this boke  
In laten tongue at Coloyne himself to advaunce  
That every wel disposyd man may thereon loke.*

But in another *English* Edition of this Book, by Dr. *Stephen Bateman*, it is thus noted; ‘ That *Bartholomew Glanville* (descended of the noble Familie of the Earls of *Suffolk*, and a *Franciscan* Frier) wrote this worke in *Edward III* time, about the year of our Lord 1360: that in the year 1397 was this work translated into *English*, and so remained by written copy until *A. D.* 1471, at which time <sup>i</sup> Printing began first in *England*.’ By this it should seem as if the *English* Translation of this Book was first printed in 1471; but its having a *Latin* Title might, possibly, deceive *De Worde*, and make him think it was printed in *Latin*. However this be, it does not appear, that any Edition of it printed by *Caxton*, or any one else, either in *Latin* or *English* this Year, is now in being. We have an Account of an Edition of it in <sup>k</sup> *Latin*, printed at *Cologne* the Year before,

<sup>i</sup> This is the current Tradition of our *English* Chroniclers. Thus the *Summary* of them, p. 376.—*William Caxton* of London, a Mercer, brought Printing into *England* 1471, and first practysed the same in the Abby of Saynt *Peter's* at *Westminster*.

<sup>k</sup> In the Library of *Bennet* College in *Cambridge*, is an Edition of this Book in *Latin*, in a large Folio. It is an exceeding fair Book; the Types are very ancient, but well cut; and it is printed without any Signatures, Date, or Name of the Place or Printer.

viz. 1476. by Jo. Koelhof, and of another, by the same Printer, 1481. And as the former of these Editions might be whilst Mr. Caxton was at *Cologne*, learning and practising the Art of Printing, he might, possibly, be assisting to *Koelhof* in printing this Book, or in the Expence of it, and so be remember'd by *De Worde* as the Printer.

Before the taking of the City of *Mentz*, A. D. 1462, some of *Faufst's* Servants had left him, and settled themselves at *Cologne*, which is but a little way from *Mentz*. But notwithstanding, it seems this City did not abound with any great and celebrated Printers till about A. D. 1500, near thirty Years after Mr. Caxton's learning and practising the Art here. This, perhaps, may account, in some Measure, for the Rudeness of Mr. Caxton's first printed Books: It being observed of this Book of his, *The Recuyell*, &c. which he printed at *Cologne*, that it has all the common Marks of earlier Antiquity; that 'the Letter is rude, the Language incorrect, and that there is a greater Mixture of *French* Words in it than in his later Pieces done after his return to *England*; and, that this is one Proof of this being the first Book that Mr. Caxton printed, though not the first he printed in *England*.'

Palmer's  
Hist. &c.

Dr. Middleton's  
Dissertation,  
&c.

Whilst Mr. Caxton resided at *Cologne*, it's not unlikely that he became acquainted with *Wynkyn De Worde*, *Theodoric Rood*, a Native of the Place, and *Thomas Hunte*, his own Countryman, who were all Printers. The first of these seems to have come over with Mr. Caxton to assist him in the Practice of Printing, and continued with him to the Time of his Death. The other

## The LIFE of William Caxton.

9

other two were not long after him, and set up a Press at *Oxford*, where they printed in *Latin*, as will be shewn by and by.

At what Time Mr. *Caxton* left *Cologne* or *Bruges*, to return to *England* and set up the Trade or Craft of Printing there, is uncertain. Toward the latter End of the Year 1468, the Earl of *Warwick*, on some Disgust taken by him, formed a powerful Conspiracy to dethrone King *Edward*, and restore the late King *Henry* to the Throne; and accordingly he took up Arms, in which he was so successful, as to force King *Edward* to leave the Kingdom, and fly for Refuge into *Flanders*, to his Brother in Law the Duke of *Burgundy*. But the King being supplied by him with Forces, and obtaining this Year, 1471, a compleat Victory over the Earl, who lost his Life in the Battle; the Consequence of this was, the violent Death of King *Henry*, and of the Prince his Son, by which Means King *Edward* was again settled on the Throne, and the Kingdom restored to its full Peace and Tranquility: Of this Mr. *Caxton* took Notice in his Epilogue to a Book which he printed nine Years after, called *thymage or myrror of the world*; in which he besought Almighty God to be the Kinge's protectour and defendour agayn alle his enemyes, and gyve Him grace to subdue them, and in especiall them that had late enterprysed, agayn right and reson, to make warre within His royaume. This was a Providence very favourable to Mr. *Caxton*, who seems to have been desirous of an Opportunity of practising, in his own Country, the Art of Printing, which he had newly learned at *Cologne* at so great an Expence. He was not unknown

An. Dom.  
1480.

to the King, having been employed by him in executing a very honourable Commission to the late Duke of *Burgundy*, and was in great Favour with his Mistress, the King's Sister, who, very probably, recommended him to her Brother. Accordingly, in the Epilogue above-mentioned, he very gratefully acknowledged, that *he acted under the shadowe of the King's noble Protection*. In the middle of *September*, 1471, he was at *Cologne*; from whence he went, some Time after, to the Dutcheffes Court, to present her with his printed Book. If he printed at *Cologne Bartholomeus de Proprietatibus, &c.* he must have returned thither again, and continued there a great Part of, if not all, the next Year, 1472. However this be, it's certain it must require some Time for him to come over from *Cologne* into *England*, and settle himself here, and provide all the necessary Materials for a Printing-house. So that, supposing he came from *Cologne* or *Flanders*, sometime in the Years 1472 or 3, we cannot well imagine him to be at work any where in *England* much before the latter end of 1473, or beginning of 1474; or however, not to finish any Book of Consequence till this last mentioned Year. It has been observed, indeed, That Mr. *Caxton* was at work several Years without telling us *where* and when he printed the several Books he was at work upon; since the first Book we have of *his*, which has *any Date* to it, is said to be printed at *Westminster* six Years after 1471. But Mr. *Caxton* himself tells us, That *the book or game of Chess*, was printed, or finished, the last Day of *March*, 1474; though he does not name the Place. Elsewhere he intimates this



## The LIFE of William Caxton.

II

to have been the *second* Book of his Printing, in the following Recital of his printed Works, if it might be depended on as exact and punctual in the order of Time in which he printed them. ‘*Whan, says he, I had accomplishid* <sup>Legend</sup> ‘*dyvers werks and bystoryes translated out of* <sup>d<sup>ore</sup>,</sup> ‘*Frenshe into englishe, at the requeste of cer-* <sup>1483,</sup> ‘*tayne lordes, ladyes and gentylmen, as the re-* ‘*cuyel of thistoryes of Troye; the booke of* ‘*Cheffe; thistory of Jason; thistorye of the* ‘*mirroure of the worlde; the xv bookes of* ‘*Metamorphoses in which ben conteyned the* ‘*fables of Ovyd; and thistorye of godefroye of* ‘*boloyne in the conqueste of Jerusalem.*’—

But in this Recital are no fewer than *six* Books of *Caxton's* printing unmentioned, which were all printed before the thistorye of *godefroye of boloyne*. Even *the Dictes of the Philosophers* is omitted. Because there is no Name of any Place where this *book of Cheffe* was printed, it has been doubted, whether or no it was printed in *England*. But, in the Dedication of it to the Duc of *Clarence*, Mr. *Caxton* tells him, that he had made this Book *in the name and under the shadow of* his noble Protection; which seems very strongly to imply, that he was then in *England*; since, how could he be under *his* Protection out of it? Besides, if it was not printed *here*, it must have been printed at *Cologne*, or somewhere abroad; and it is not very probable, that Mr. *Caxton*, who tells us, That in 1471, he had Leisure at *Cologne*, should be there *six* Years without doing any Thing besides translating and printing this Book and the *Recuyel*, beforementioned: Whereas this is easily accounted for, if we suppose him, during this

C

Time,

## The LIFE of William Caxton.

Time, to be removing into *England*, and setting up a printing Press there. I am therefore inclinable to be of Mr. *Bagford's* Opinion, That this was the first Book printed by Mr. *Caxton*, after his Return to *England* in 1472 or 3. To keep up the Memory of this, Mr. *Caxton* seems to have made Use of the Cypher of '74, to fix at the End of the Books which he printed, which we are sure he used as early as 1480, if not before. However this be, we have no Books of his printed with any Date after this till 1477. It is not improbable, that during this Time, he printed some of his undated Books, as, the Collection of *Chaucer's* and *Lydgate's* Poems; *Chaucer's* Translation of *Boetius de consolatione Philosophiæ*, &c. which have all the Signs of their being some of his first, or most early Performances.

An. Dom.

1477.

Be this as it will, it is however certain, that in 1477, Mr. *Caxton* printed at *Westminster*; since in that Year was printed there his Book called *the dictes or sayengis of the Philosophers*. But as it is not said, that it was printed in the *Abby*, it has been doubted whether Mr. *Caxton* printed there or in the Town of *Westminster*, at his first coming into *England*. The first Book which we have of his, that is expressly said to be printed in the *Abby*, is that called *The Cronycles of England*, 1480. But it's very well known, that the first Printers often omitted putting the Name of the Place, as well as the Date, to their Books; which is one Reason why their History is so obscure and intricate. In the Catalogue of the Books printed by Mr.

! Quâ figurâ eum puto suæ typographiæ epocham 74 id est annum 1474 indicasse. *Annales Typogra.* Vol. I.

## The LIFE of William Caxton.

13

*Caxton*, which I have been able to make, there will be found, if I have not misreckon'd, but ~~is~~ said to be printed at *Westminster*; one by *W. Caxton* of *Westminster*; one translated at *Westminster*; one by *W. Caxton* dwelling in *Westminster* besides *London*; two enprynted in thabbaye of *Westminster*, and in thabbaye of *Westminster* by *London*; and two translated in thabbaye of *Westminster*: the remaining Books have no Name of any Place. What are we now to conclude from hence? that Mr. *Caxton* printed no more than six of his Books at *Westminster*, and but three in the *Abby* there? Notwithstanding then it is not said, in so many plain and exprefs Words, that Mr. *Caxton* printed at *Westminster* 1474, or before the Year 1477, or in the *Abby* there, till 1480, it appears very probable, that the first, if not the last Place, where he printed here in *England*, was the *Abby* of *Westminster*; except, perhaps, his own House, in the last Year or two of his Life.

At this Time, 1474, the learned Dr. *Thomas* <sup>m</sup> *Milling* was Abbat of this wealthy House  
of

<sup>m</sup> It's generally said, That it was Abbat *John Islip*, who was Mr. *Caxton's* Patron. *Hearn* tells us, without any Authority, That this Abbat had known *Caxton* before, and employed him to transcribe and translate several old Pieces for his Use. But it is pretty certain, that *Islip* was not Abbat here till after *Caxton's* Death, viz. 1498. Our Writers, indeed, are in great Confusion about the Succession of these three Abbats, viz. *Thomas Milling*, *John Estney*, and *John Islip*. But it's very sure, that *Milling* was Abbat 1470, and made Bishop of *Hereford* 1474, when he seems to have held this *Abby* in *Commendam*; that he was succeeded by *Estney*; who, according to the Inscription on his Tombstone, died 1498, and was then succeeded by *John Islip*. The Copy of the Inscription, as preserved by Mr. *Cambden*, is, as follows: *Hic jacet dominus Johannes Estney quondam Abbas hujus loci*  
C 2  
qui

## The LIFE of William Caxton.

of Religion. Our famous Antiquarian, *John Leland*, gives this Character of him; that there were, in his Time, those who thought him an elegant Writer for the Time in which he lived; that, however, if what was related of him was true, he had, what was then common to but few Monks, the Knowledge of the *Greek Tongue.* It is not at all improbable, that when Mr. *Caxton* had made himself known here in *England* by his printing *The Recuyel*, &c. he should be invited by one of this Character, who was himself a Man of Letters, and a great Lover of Learning, to exercise his Art in his *Abby*. Or, perhaps, this, as a convenient Place for him to print in, may have been procured by some of those many Gentlemen and Friends of Mr. *Caxton*, whom he mentions as expecting his fulfilling his Promise to them of his Translation of *The Recuyel* in print. However this be, it's said he had the Ambry, or Almonry, which was commonly at the Entrance of the *Abby*, assigned to him by the Abbat for a Printing-house; and, that from hence the Printing-room is, to this Day, called a *Chapel*.

An. Dom. 1474. *The Game of the Chefs*, which, I suppose, was the first Book printed by Mr. *Caxton* in *England*, was dedicated by him, *To the right noble, right excellent, and virtuous prince GEORGE Duc of Clarence, erle of Warwic and of Salisbury, great Chamberlain of England, and Lieutenant*

*qui obiit 24<sup>o</sup> die mensis Maii anno dom. Mcccclxxxviii. Cujus anime propicietur deus, Amen. Exultabo in Deo Jesu meo, Amen. Reges, Reginae, &c. in Ecclesia Coll. B. Petri Westmo. sepulti, 4<sup>o</sup>. 1606.*

of

## The LIFE of William Caxton.

15

of Ireland, *oldest Brother of King Edward IV.* This Duke was second Brother to King *Edward*, and had, by him, been promoted to the great and honourable Places above-mentioned. But this, it seems, did not hinder his joining with the Earl of *Warwick* in the unnatural Design of dethroning the King his Brother, and therefore he forfeited them: But repenting of his Treason and Rebellion, and his Repentance and Return to his Duty proving the King's Preservation, he was pardoned, and restored to his Places. This was in 1472. However, this Behaviour of the Duke's very strongly prejudiced the King against him. Of this the Duke's Enemies, and particularly his younger Brother, the Duke of *Gloucester*, who wanted to get rid of him, that he might come to the Crown, as he afterwards did, by the Name of *Richard III*, made their Advantage; so that he was impeached in Parliament, and had Articles of High Treason exhibited against him; of which, being neglected by the King his Brother, he was found guilty; and, at his own Desire, to avoid appearing publickly on a Scaffold, was suffocated within the Tower, in a Butt of *Malmesey Wine*, *Anno 1478*. In this Dedication Mr. *Caxton* tells the Duke, That  
' he had put himselfe in devoyr to translate a  
' lityll book late comen into his handes out of  
' frenshe into englishe, in which he founde  
' thauctorites, dictes and stories of auncient do-  
' ctoures, philosophers, poetes, and of other  
' wyse-men which ben recounted and applied  
' unto the moralitie of the publique Wele, as  
' well of the Nobles as of the comyn peple, after

‘ the <sup>n</sup> game and playe of the Chesse, — and,  
 ‘ that for more clerely to procede in this sayd  
 ‘ boke, he had ordyned, that the chapiters been  
 ‘ sette in the begynnyng, to thende, that the  
 ‘ readers might see more plainly the matter  
 ‘ wherof the booke treated.’ To which he ad-  
 ded, That ‘ the Booke was fynysht of the last  
 ‘ day of Marche the yer of our Lord God a  
 ‘ thousand foure hunderd and LXXiiii.’

The *thirde* booke mentioned by Mr. Caxton as translated out of *Frenshe* into *English* and printed by him, is *this* storye of ° Jason. It has no Date; but if the Observation be well grounded, that the ancient Printers used to print second Editions of their Books not till about ten or twelve Years after the first, probably this Booke, of which there was a second Edition in 1492, might be first printed about the Year 1475 or 6.

However this be, in 1477, Mr. Caxton print-  
 ed a Booke entitled, *The dictes or sayengis of Phi-*  
*losophers and of Socrates, at Westminster.* This  
 is one of the Books omitted by Mr. Caxton, in  
 his Recital of his more early or first Perform-  
 ances. It was translated out of *Latin* into  
*French* by *William de Tignonville*, or *Thignon-*  
*ville*; who entitled it, *Les dictes moraux des Phi-*  
*losophes, les dictes des sages, et les secrets de Ari-*

<sup>n</sup> The Author of this Booke was *Jacobus de Theffalonia*, who entitled it *De ludo Scaccorum*.

<sup>o</sup> See *Thesauri Linguae Latinae compendiarium pars extrema, nomina propria tradens et explicans*, by *Robert Ainsworth*, V. *Jason*. 1736. The History of the Knight *Jason*, by *Gerard de Leew*, Fol. *Andewarp*, 1480. The same Printer empynted The Cronycles of the Reame of England with their apperteignances. *Annales Typograph.*

stote. He was Provost of the University of *Paris*, 1408. Mr. *Caxton* calls him *John de Teonville*, and tells us, It was translated from the *French* into *English* by the noble and puissant lord *Antoine Wydewill*, and by that lorde given to him to print. He was Sir *Anthony Wideville*, or *Wydewyll*, the Son of <sup>P</sup> Sir *Richard Wideville*, the first Earl *Rivers*, and Brother to King *Edward's* Queen. Mr. *Caxton* stiled him, 'erle *Rivers*, lorde *Scales*, and 'of the Isle of *Wight* defendour and director of the Siege Apostolique for our holy Fader the Pope in the Royaume of *England*, 'Uncle and Governour to my Lord Prince of *Wales*.' After King *Edward's* Death, by the Wiles of the Duke of *Gloucester*, he was seized as he was conducting the young King, his Pupil, to *London*, and committed Prisoner, with other Lords in the King's Interest, to the Castle of *Pontefract*, where he was beheaded by his Order, *A. D.* 1483. In the Library of *Lambeth*; is a Manuscript of this Book, written in such a fine *Roman* printed Letter, that it equals any print of the later Ages. At the

Anthony.

Coll. J.  
Anstis,  
Esq;

<sup>P</sup> Sir *Richard Wydewyll*, or *Wydewylle*, the first Earl of *Rivers*, was beheaded by the *Northampton* Mutineers, *A. D.* 1469. In King *Edward's* Proclamation for making Knights of the *Bath*, dated 18 April, 15 *Edward* IV. or 1475, the Name is spelt *Widewil*; some of our Writers have changed it to *Woodville*. In the following Memorandum of *William de Wyrcestres*, it's spelt *Widwele*; 'Cito post dictum Festum Nativitatis Domini 1459, *Johannes Denbam* cum aliis de *Calesia* secrete intravit *Sandwyicum* ac ibidem cepit dominum de *Reverys* et *Antonium Widwele* filium ejus cum multis magnis navibus, et adduxit *Calisie* Comitibus *Marchie* et *Warrenici* et *Sarum Calisie* existentibus.' Sir *Thomas More* gave the following Character of him in his Life of King *Richard* III. Moderator Pueritiæ datus est *Antonius Vodevilus*, cognomento *Riverus*, reginæ frater, vir haud facile discernas manum aut consilio promptior.

## The LIFE of William Caxton.

End of it are these Words: *Thus endeth this booke of the dictes and notable sayengs of the Philosophers late translated, &c. which was fynished the 18th day of the moneth of November and the seventeenth yere of the regne of Kyng Edward the fourth, &c.* To it is prefix'd a most beautiful Painting, representing King *Edward*, his Queen, the Duke of *Clarence* and his Children, and the Earl in his Surcoat of Arms, presenting the Book.

1477.  
17 Edw.  
IV.  
Oudin de  
Script.  
Tom. III.  
Col. 2220.

The latter End of the same Year, viz. February, Mr. Caxton printed a Book, called *The Moral Proverbs of Chrystine of Pyse*. This is an *English* Translation of a Book written in *French*, with this Title; *Les proverbes moraux et le livre de prudence par Christine de Pisan fille de M. Thomas de Pisan, autrement dit de Bologne*. This learned Lady was an *Italian*, born at *Pisa*, and stiled her self a woman *ytalien*: But, her Father removing to *Bologne* in *France*, she wrote her Books in the Language of that Country and flourished about the Year 1400.

At the End of this Book, which is but two Sheets in Folio, are these Rhymes, after *Explicit*.

*Of these sayynges Cristyne was aucteuresse  
Whiche in makynge hadde suche Intelligence  
That therof she was mireur and maistresse  
Hire werkes testifie th experience  
In Frensh language was written this sentence  
And thus Englished dooth hit rebers  
Antoin Wideuyll ther! Riuers.*



*Go thou lital<sup>a</sup> quayer, and recommaund me  
Unto the good grace of my special lorde  
Thele Ryueris, for I have enprynted the  
At his commandement following eury worde  
His cople, as his Secretary can recorde  
At Westmestre, of Feuerer the xx daye  
And of kyng Edward the xvii yere vraye.*

*Enprynted by Caxton  
In feurerer the colde season.*

In 1478, the 19th of Edward IV. Mr. Caxton printed, in Quarto, or a small Folio, a Book entitled, *Memorare novissima*, which 'en-  
'treated of the four last thinges; the first of  
'death; the second of the laste judgment; the  
'third of the paines of Hell; and the fourth of  
'the joyes of Heaven.' This Book, Mr. Caxton tells us, was likewise translated out of French by the abovesaid Sir *Anthony Wydeville*.

An. Dom.  
1478.

It seems as if, about this Time, Mr. Caxton buried his aged Father, who lived with him at *Westminster*. In 'thaccompte of the Wardens

<sup>a</sup> *Quayer*, or *Quayer*, a Piece of a written Book divided into equal Parts. *Cotgrave's Fr. Dict.* Here it signifies a little Book or Pamphlet. So *Chaucer* uses it in his *Complaint of the black Knight* :

*Go lital quaire unto my livis quene,  
And to my very hertis sowerayne,  
And be right glad, for that she shal the sene.  
Soche is thy grace.——*

Though, as *Caxton* uses it before, when he tells us, the *Dutchess of Burgundy* perused five or six *quaires* of his Translation of the *Requeyl*, &c. it seems to mean only a Leaf, or Piece of his Translation. However this be, we have here a Specimen of Mr. *Caxton's* great Accuracy and Exactness in printing, in that he followed every Word of the Copy given him, and had witness of his doing so.

## The LIFE of William Caxton.

‘ of the Parifhe Church of Seynt *Margareta*  
 ‘ of *Westminster* in the fhire of *Middx.* from  
 ‘ the vij daye of the Monyth of *Maye* in the  
 ‘ Yere of our Lord God 1478 anno Regni  
 ‘ 18 *Edw.* IV. unto the 18th day of *Maye* in  
 ‘ 1480 Anno Regni 20 *Edw.* IV.’ is the fol-  
 lowing Article :

‘ *Item*, The day of bureyinge of *William Caxton*,  
 ‘ for ij Torchés and iiii Tapers — — xx<sup>d</sup>

An. Dom. 1479. However this be, in 1479 came out of Mr. *Caxton's* Préfs, a Book named *Cordiale*. Fblío. This Book, he tells us, was likewise translated by the abovesaid *Anthony erle Rivers*, and delyuered to Mr. *Caxton*, to be printed on the fecond of *Feurer* 1478, and fynyshed on the ven of *thannunciacion*, the 24th of *Marche* 1479.

An. Dom. 1483. But I fufpect this and *Memorare noviffima* to be the fame Book; fince I obferve, printed at *Cologne*, by *Barthol. de Unckle*, a *Latin* Book, with this Title, *Cordiale quatuor noviffimorum*.

Whilft Mr. *Caxton* was thus printing Books in *English*, at *Westminster*, and fo much favour'd and encourag'd by the Court, and the principal Nobility and Gentry, there feems to have been fet up, by fome Foreigner, or one who had learned the Art abroad, another Préfs at *Oxford*, to print Books in *Latin*. Who this Printer was, we do not certainly know, he having omitted to put his Name to thofe Books of his printed here, which are preferved. But by fome *Latin* Verfes at the End of one of the Books printed here, it feems to be intimated, that the Practice of this Art was firft introduced at *Oxford*, by one *Thomas Hunte* an *Englifh-*  
*man,*

## The LIFE of William Caxton.

21

man, who was afterwards Partner with *Theodoric Rood*. However this be, the three following Books, which are in the Royal Library at *Cambridge*, the *Bodleian* at *Oxford*, and in other private Libraries, it's plain, were printed at *Oxford* this and the next Year.

1. *Expositio Sancti Jeronymi in simbolum Apostolorum ad papam Laurentium* — impressa Oxonie et finita Anno Domi Mcccclxviii. xvii die Decembris.

2. *Textus ethicorum Aristotelis per leonardum arretinum lucidissimè translatus, correctissimeque impressus, Oxoniis Anno Dni Mcccclxxix.*

3. *Tractatus brevis et utilis de originali peccato editus a fratre Egidio Romano ordinis fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini. Impressus et finitus Oxonie A nativitate dni Mcccclxxix. xiiii die mensis Marcii.*

These three Books are all printed with the same *German Types*. The *Oxford Antiquarian* says, *Perspicuis magis et pulchrioribus quam recentiores nonnulli*, more plain and beautiful than some more modern ones. They have all of them a very regular Page; the Signatures are placed at, or under the End of the bottom Line, thus, a i. a ii, &c. and there is no Direction or Catch-word, and the Leaves are not number'd.

The first of these Books is plainly dated Mcc clxviii. which is about eight Years after the Time, when the Printers at *Mentz* were dispersed, and carried the Art of Printing to other Parts of *Europe*. This Circumstance,  
joined

## The LIFE of William Caxton.

joined to that of the Type or Letter used by this Printer, which is imagined to be nearly the same with that used by *Fust*, the first Printer, though somewhat different, has inclined some to think, that one of those Printers might come over to *England*, and follow his Profession at *Oxford*. But this is very early for a Printer to be settled so far from *Mentz*. Excepting at *Rome*, where two *Germans*, *Conrard Sweynheim* and *Arnold Pannarts*, set up a Printing-house *Anno* 1466; it does not appear, that any more than single Books were printed any where so soon after the Dispersion of the first Printers.

1 Rich.  
III.

In 1483, but four Years after the latest of the three Books of this anonymous Printer at *Oxford*, an Act of Parliament was passed, whereby Leave was given to ‘any artificer or merchaunt straunger, of what nation or countrey he was or should be of, to bring into the realme, and sell, by retaile or otherwise, anie books written or printed.’ The Reason of this is, by another Act, said to have been, that there were ‘but <sup>r</sup> few Printers within the Realme which could well exercise and occupie the science and crafte of Printing.’ This has not the Appearance of this Art having been introduced and practised here so long as fifteen Years before by so great a Master of it. It has therefore been observed, that the early Date of this first printed Book at *Oxford*, is contradicted by the more modern Improvements in Printing,

25 Hen.  
VIII.

<sup>r</sup> All that we have any Account of, were *Caxton* at *Westminster*, *Rood* at *Oxford*, an anonymous one at *St. Albans*, and *Lettow* and *de Machlinia* at *London*; and their Impressions were not very elegant.

which

## The LIFE of William Caxton.

23

which appear in the Book it self, as the Neatness of the Letter, and the Regularity of the Page, above the Performances of *Caxton*, or, however, his more early ones, and the Use of Signatures: For it is a perfect Paradox, that the Art of Printing was almost, in its Infancy, brought to Perfection. The longer Mr. *Caxton* printed, the more we see him improved in his Art. If we may believe Mr. *Palmer*, a Printer himself, and uncommonly skilled in the Business, de *Worde* improved the Art to a very great Perfection, and was a very curious Printer; and *Pinson* was become a thorough Master of the Art: which seems to imply, that they both excelled their Master *Caxton*. Besides, if a Printer, superior to them all, was settled at *Oxford*, at least six Years before the earliest of them, is it not natural to suppose, that they who occupied this Science, would have been more increased than it's intimated by the Act above-mentioned they were?

It is owned to be difficult to account for this single Book's being printed at *Oxford* so early as 1468, and no other being printed there till 1479, eleven Years after; and then two others being printed there with the same Types, and in the same Manner. As Printing was, I presume, this Printer's Livelihood and Subsistence, how is he to be supposed to live ten or eleven Years without it? It is plain there have been some curious Persons who have collected and preserved such Books, otherwise we should not have had those we have; and it seems odd, if there were so many printed, as we may reasonably suppose there were in eleven Years Time, that not so much as one of them should fall in  
*their*

## The LIFE of William Caxton.

*their* way; but, that they should all light upon only Copies of these three Books. To suppose that this anonymous Printer, after having printed a single Book, in two Years time, at *Oxford*, shut up his Press, 1470, on account of the Rebellion of the Earl of *Warwick*; because *he* and his Readers might be otherwise engaged, and not open it again till 1479, that is, till eight Years after the Rebels were defeated, and the Kingdom restored to its former Peace and Tranquillity, seems surprisngly romantic. Why could not *he* employ his Press at *Oxford*, as well as Mr. Caxton his at *Westminster*? So that, on the Whole, I do not know a better Solution of this Difficulty, than to suppose, with the learned and ingenious Dissertator, that instead of Mcccclxviii, the Date should be Mccccclxxviii, an x being dropped, either by Design or Chance, as was very common with our early Printers.

Whether this Printer died, or, for want of Encouragement, removed from *Oxford* to some other Place, is not now known. But in the Year 1480, we find another Printer at *Oxford*, one *Theodoric Rood*, a Native of *Cologne* in *Germany*, where I have supposed Mr. Caxton to have known him. He continued printing here till 1485; but how much longer we do not know. By some † *Latin Verses*, printed by him

† Hoc *Theodoricus rood* quem *collonia* misit  
 Sanguine *germano* nobile pressit opus.  
 Atque sibi socius *thomas* fuit *anglicus* hunte  
 Dij dent ut venetos exuperare queant.  
 Quam *ienfon* venetos docuit vir *gallicus* artem,  
 Ingenio didicit terra *britannia* suo.

## The LIFE of William Caxton.

25

him at the End of *Aretin's Latin Translation of Phalaris's Epistles*, it appears, that he had a Partner, one *Thomas Hunte*, an *Englishman*; and it is intimated as if, by *his Means*, the Art of Printing was introduced into *England*. That *Art*, say the *Verses*, which *Jenson*, a *Frenchman* taught the *Venetians*, the *British Nation* has learned by its own *Ingenuity*, or the *Genius* of one of its own *Natives*. *Nicholas Jenson* printed at *Venice* in 1470; which being, at most, but the Year after the two *Spires* settling there, *Rood* ascribes to *him* the teaching the *Venetians* the Art of Printing. So here *Hunte* printing at *Oxford*, so soon as four Years after *Mr. Caxton* began to print at *Westminster*, *Rood* seems to mention *him* as the first that taught the *English* this Craft. But if what is here said does not any wise relate to *Hunte*, it must to *Caxton*, since they are the only *Englishmen* who were *Printers* at this Time. But, that *Hunte* is the *Person* meant, seems pretty plain from its being added, that the Art of printing *Latin*, which was first known to the *Venetians*, was now found by them at *Oxford*: Whereas *Caxton* printed chiefly *English* Books. It is added, that the *English* had a Taste of, and were pleased with the *Latin* Tongue, and that *Hunte* and *Rood* printed so many Books as to export or send them abroad, or however, to supply all Demands at home; so that there was no Occa-

Celatos, *veneti*, nobis transmittere libros,  
Cedite, nos aliis vendimus, o *veneti*.  
Que fuerat vobis ars primum nota *latini*  
Est eadem nobis ipsa reperta premens.  
Quamvis semotos toto canit orbe *britannos*  
*Virgilius*, placet his lingua *latina* tamen.

tion

tion for the *Venetians* to send any of their printed Books hither, as they had used to do. But, though this might be so, the Care and Diligence of curious and inquisitive Persons have, so far as I know, preserved but four of the Books printed by these two Printers, and one even of *them* was not known till very lately, 1735. Unless we suppose *Hunte* to be the Printer of the three anonymous Books in 1468 and 1479.

An. Dom.  
1480.

\* *Cytezeyn  
and Alder-  
man of  
London.*

To return to Mr. *Caxton*; In 1480 he printed <sup>u</sup> *Thymage or mirrour of the worlde*, Fol. This, he tells us, he translated out of *Frenche* into *English*, at the *requeste, cost and expence* of the honourable and worshipful \* *Hughe Brice*, Goldsmith, who was *Sheriffe* of *London* 1475, and afterwards Knighted, and Mayor of the City *Anno* 1485. At the End of this Book is printed an Epilogue with Mr. *Caxton's* Cypher, as represented under his Picture, which shews he used it not above six Years after. I have supposed him to have first printed in *England*; though it's not unlikely that he used it sooner, only, as is very common with other old Books, this Leaf has been torn out and made away with. In the Epilogue above-mentioned, Mr. *Caxton* tells us, That Sir *Hughe's* Design in procuring this Book to be translated and printed, was, to make a present of it to the 'puiffaunt, noble  
' and vertuous lorde *Hastynge's* Chamberlayne  
' unto the Kynge, and his lieutenant of the  
' toun of *Calais* and marches thereof;' That

<sup>u</sup> Another edition of this book was printed without date, by *Laurence Andrew* dwellynge in *Fletestreete* at the sygne of the Golden Crosse by *Fletebridge*. At the Conclusion of the Table and Prologue prefix'd, is, *Caxton me fieri fecit.*



he owned the Translation to be rude and simple; but that he had, to his Power, followed his Copy, and as nigh as to him was possible, made it so plain, that every reasonable Man might understand it, if he advisedly and attentively read or heard it: Though the Translation abounds in *French Words*; such as *ottroye*, *emprised*, *ententyffy*, *arrette*, &c. which, at this Time, are not commonly understood by *English Readers*. He added, That this Book he began  
 ‘ firste to translate the second day of *Janyuer*  
 ‘ the yere of our lorde Mccccxxx and finyshed  
 ‘ it the eighth day of *Marche* the same yere,  
 ‘ and the xxi yere of the Regne of the most  
 ‘ Crysten Kynge, Kynge *Edward* the fourthe.’

¶ Caxton me fieri fecit.

Next after this, is mention'd by Mr. *Caxton* <sup>Legendè</sup> himself, as translated out of *French*, and printed by him, ‘ the xv bokes of *Metamorphoses* <sup>D'oree,</sup>  
 ‘ in which ben contaynid the fables of *Ovid*.’ *Ouduin* places this Book in this Year. *Libri xv Metamorphoseon Ovidij in Anglicam prosam per Caxtonum conversi*, A.D. 1480. In Mr. Secretary *Pepys's* Library in the College of *St. Mary Magdalen*, in the University of *Cambridge*, is a Manuscript, which seems to be a Copy of a Part of this Book: The Title is, *A prose translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses, beginning at the 10th book*. In the first Page is written in red Letters;

‘ Here followeth the x booke of *Ovyde*,  
 ‘ whereof the first fable is of the marriage of  
 ‘ *Orpheus* and *Euridice* his Love.’ At the End is this Colophon:

D

‘ Thus

‘ Thus endeth *Ovyde* his booke of *Metamor-*  
 ‘ phose translated and fynished by me *Willm*  
 ‘ *Caxton* at *Westmestre* the xxii day of *Apryll*

‘ the Yere of our Lord miiii lxxx. and the  
 ‘ xx yere of the Regne of Kyng *Edward* the  
 ‘ fourth.’

\* Juyne  
 10th.

About the \* Middle of this Year 1480, Mr. *Caxton* finished at his Press, his Book called *The Chronicles of England. Folio.* This, he tells us, he attempted to do at the requeste of diverse gentilmen; and, that he enprinted it in the Abby of *Westminster*, by *London.* Before these *Chronicles* is a Table of the Contents, to which is prefixed the following short Prologue.

‘ In the yere of thyncarnacyon of our Lord  
 ‘ *Jhu Crist* 1480 and in the 20 yere of the  
 ‘ regne of Kyng *Edward* the 4th, atte re-  
 ‘ queste of dyvers gentilmen, I have ende-  
 ‘ voured me to enprunte *the Cronicles of Eng-*  
 ‘ land, as in this boke shall, by the suffe-  
 ‘ raunce of GOD follow. And to thende,  
 ‘ that every man may see and shortly find  
 ‘ suche mater as it shall please him to se or  
 ‘ rede, I have ordeyned a table of the maters  
 ‘ shortly compiled and chapitred, as here  
 ‘ shall followe, which booke begyneth at *Al-*  
 ‘ byne and endeth at the begynnyng of the  
 ‘ regne of our said soverayn Lord Kyng  
 ‘ *Edward* the IIII.’

Then follows the *Table, &c.* which thus begins:

*Fyrst is conteyned how Albyne with hir sisters  
 entred into this Isle and named it Albyon.*

The

## The LIFE of William Caxton.

29

The Book is divided into VII Parts, and cclxiii Chapters. The Title of the first Capitulum, is, *The names of this londe*; and the Chapter begins thus :

*In the noble londe of Sirrie ther was a noble Kyng and myghty.*—Which seems to intimate as if Mr. Caxton printed these Chronicles from a Manuscript Copy, compiled by some body else, which begins in this Manner, as I shall have Occasion to observe more particularly hereafter. The Title of the last Chapter is the very same with that in the Chronicles printed with the *Fruetus temporum*, by *Fulyan Notary*, 1515. *Of the depoficion of Kyng Henry VI. and how Kyng Edward the IIII took poffeffion, and of the bataile on Palme-sonday, and how he was crowned.* At the End is this Colophon :

‘ Thus endeth this present book of the chronicles of *Englond* emprinted by me *William Caxton* in thabby of *Westmynster* by *London*. Fynnyshid and accomplyshid the x day of *Juyn* the yere of thincarnation of our Lord God mccccxxx and in the xx yere of the regne of *Kyng Edward* the fourth,’

On occasion of Mr. Caxton's printing this Manuscript *English* Chronicle, and the Continuation of it to his own Time, many Reflections have been made on him. *John Major*, the *Scotish* Historian, observed, that ‘ he has coined not only Improbabilities, but great Inconsistencies; and, that in particular the Invective against *Robert* and *David Bruce* has as many Lyes in it as Words.’ But he should have known, that Mr. Caxton was only the Printer, not the Author of these Chronicles. The same Consideration somewhat abates the Reflection of

*De Historiis Latinis.*

Mackenzie's *Lives of the Scotch Writers*, Vol. II. p. 315. English Historical Library.

the learned *Gerard John Vossius*, That there are not a few Things in these Chronicles that shew a want of Judgment. It has been observed of *Major*, That as he all along mixes the Chronicles or History of *England* and *Scotland*, he takes the greatest Part of what concerns his own Nation from the *English* Writers, among whom his principal Authors are *Bede*, *Caxton*, and *Froissard*: That he owns himself, he often literally translated *Caxton*, though he takes Occasion to quarrel with his History, and especially for its asserting the Dependance of the Crown of *Scotland* upon that of *England*. But it is still a more severe Reflection which the last of these Writers has thought fit to make on Mr. *Caxton* and his History, as encouraging his Readers by the Opportunities he had of being acquainted with the Court Transactions of his own Time, *viz.* King *Edward IV*, to hope great Matters from him, when his Fancy only led him into an Undertaking above his Strength: Though Mr. *Caxton* tells his Readers, at the very Beginning of these Chronicles, as has been shewn before, that they ended at the Beginning, and not at the End of King *Edward's* Reign.

Bale, Pitts, &c.

It has been likewise reported, That Mr. *Caxton*, at his Return to *England*, found the beginnings or rough Draught of a certain History, begun by one who was a Lecturer or Reader of History in the Monastery of *St. Albans*; others say a learned Schoolmaster of the Town, who had laid the Foundation of a compleat Body of *English* History, but died before he could finish his intended Work; and, that Mr. *Caxton* took those imperfect Papers, and added to them his

own

own Collections from some of the best Authors; as *Livy*, *St. Austin*, *Bede*, &c. the same which the Compiler of the *Fructus temporum* tells us he used, and called it *Fructus temporum*. But this Mistake seems owing to these Reporters having never seen the *English* Chronicle printed by Mr. *Caxton* three Years before the *Fructus temporum* was printed at *St. Albans*. But this Chronicle being afterwards reprinted with the *Fructus temporum*, gave occasion to the confounding these two Histories, and calling \* *The Chronicles of England*, which is confined to that Kingdom, by the Name of *Fructus temporum*, or *the Fruits of Times*; which treats of Scripture and foreign History, as well as of *English*, as will be shewn more particularly by and by.

It has been further remarked, That though Mr. *Caxton*, in his Colophons at the End of the Books printed by him in King *Edward IVth's* Reign, supposes the Beginning of it to have been *A. D. 1460*; yet in these Chronicles he says, he was proclaimed through the City the fourth day of Marche the yere of our Lord God 1459. But I suppose, he here reckons according to the Ecclesiastical Account, which begins the new Year at *Lady-day*. However this be, it has been observed, That in the *English* Hi-<sup>Speed,</sup>stories there is a continual Anachronism of a <sup>or</sup> Year, and sometimes of two, from this Year 1460, to the End of this Reign; and, that the *Difference of Authors bath here bred some Confu-*

\* — As sayth *Caxton* in his Chronicle, which he calls the *Fruit of tyme*. *Grafton's Hist. of England*, Vol. II.

— It is recorded and found in the Chronicle of *William Caxton*, called *Fructus temporum*. *Fox's Acts and Monuments*, Fol. 69. a. Ed. 1563.

*tion of Years.* This will sufficiently appear by the following Detail. In the Chronicle printed with the *Fruetus temporum*, 1515, it is said, that the 'fourthe daye of *March* 1459 he was 'proclaimed thugh the Cyte, of *London*, King 'Edward the fourthe by name: and about 'Mydsomer after, the yere of our lorde 1460 'and the firste yere of his regne, he was crown- 'ed at *Westminster.*' Our old printed Statute Books, in *French* and *Latin*, record the Beginning of this Reign thus: *Edwardus quartus incepit regnare quarto die Marcij anno domini 1460 — coronatus fuit 28 die Junij.* The same is affirmed in the *Summarie of the Ckronicles*, &c. that he *began to reigne the 4th day of Marche by the name of Edward the fowerth 1460 — and on the 28th of June he was crowned at Westminster.* But *Speed* intimates, that he was proclaimed the fourth of *March* 1461. *Hall* informs us, That 'the 4th day of *March* 'he, as Kyng, rode to the Church of *St. Paule*, 'and there offered, and on the-morrow, *March* 'the 5th, he was proclaimed Kyng by the 'name of *Edward* the 4th throughout the ci- 'tie, in the 39th yere of King *Henry VI*, and 'the 29th daie of *June* was at *Westminster* 'with all solempnitie crowned and anoynted 'kyng *Edward* the 4th after *Willyam* the Con- 'queror, which was in the Yere of *Christes* in- 'carnation 1461.' *Polydore Virgil* says, '*Ad* '3 *calend. Julij* [June 28.] 1461, *rex creatur.*' The Writer of the *History of England*, in 2 Vol. 8°. of which a fourth Edition was printed, *A. D.* 1715, says, 'he was proclaimed 'King of *England* upon the 4th of *March* '1460, and crowned the 28th of *June.*' Mr. *Echard*

By Red-  
man.

John  
Stowe.

*Echard* tells us, That 'from the fourth Day of *March*, 1461, according to the common Computation in those Days, commenced the Reign of King *Edward IV*; and that on the 28th Day of *June* he was, with great Solemnity, crowned at *Westminster*.' Mr. *Collier* says, 'he was proclaimed *March* 4, 1461, and crowned *June* 26th.' And *Rapin*, different from every Body else, tells us, That '*Edward* was proclaimed the 5th of *March* 1461, and his Coronation fixed to *June* the 20th.' To name no more, the learned *Du Pin* observed, That '*Edward IV* was declared King of *England* in the Month of *June* 1461.'

In these Chronicles King *John* is reported to be poisoned at the Abby of *Swinestred* near *Lincolne*, by a Monk of that House. This Account of that Prince's Death, together with the different Relations of it by others, the learned and industrious Mr. *Fox* inserted in the first Edition of his *Acts and Monuments*, &c. to which was added, in some of the after Editions, particularly in the *Seventh*, printed 1632, a Cut, describing the poisoning of King *John* by a Monk of *Swinstead* Abby, in *Lincolnshire*. In this Description the Monk is represented as being first absolved by the Abbat, then presenting King *John*, sitting at a Table in his Robes, with his Crown on his Head, with a Cup of Poison, drinking himself of it to the King, and saying, \**Wassail my liege*, the King \* *I wish you Health*, and the Monk both lying dead, and the perpetual Mass sung daily for the Monk. This Ac-

† This must be an impropriety, if, as our Historians tell us, the King lost his Crowne in the Washes or River *Wellstream*, before he came to the *Abby*.

Coll.  
N<sup>o</sup>. III.

count, given by Mr. *Fox*, of this Matter, varies from that given by the Author of the Chronicle which Mr. *Caxton* printed in these two Particulars. 1. The Occasion of the Monk's being so incensed against the King; which, according to *Fox*, was *certaine talke that the King had at his table concerning Ludouike the French king's son whiche then had entered and usurped upon him*; whereas *Caxton's* Chronicle ascribes it to the King's Speech of the Monk's too large Provision, and swearing, That if he lived but half a Year longer, he would make a half-penny Loaf worth twenty Shillings. 2. The Place of the King's Burial, which Mr. *Fox*, with the generality of our Historians, says, was at *Worcester*, and the Chronicle printed by *Caxton*, at *Wynchester*; which Difference, perhaps, might be occasioned by the old spelling the Names of these two Places, thus, *Wyncestre* and *Wyncestre*, and the one being mistaken for the other.

\* English  
Edit. 8<sup>o</sup>.  
Vol. III.  
p. 242.

However this be, Father *Robert Parsons*, the Jesuit, charged Mr. *Caxton* with being the first Author of this Story: And a later Writer of Notes on \* *Rapin's* History of *England*, as the first that mentions it in *English*; withal adding, That it is not mentioned by any Historian that lived within sixty Years of King *John's* Death, or before *A. D.* 1276; when his being poison'd is mentioned in a *Latin* Chronicle wrote by *John*<sup>2</sup>, Abbat of *Peterburgh*, which ends 1259. But to obviate these Mistakes and Reflections, it will be sufficient to transcribe what the learned and judicious Dr. *John Barcham*, Dean of

<sup>2</sup> Rex—cædibus et incendiis vacans de Northfolk versus Lyndesey per abbathiam Swyneshevede venit; ubi, secundum quosdam, potionatus transiit Slafford.



## The LIFE of William Caxton.

35

*Bocking, A. D. 1623*, has said of them in his *Life of this unhappy Prince*, printed by *J. Speed*.

‘ This, *says he*, being the Catastrophe of his  
 ‘ tragical Reigne, might also have been the  
 ‘ close of his Story, had not the suddeness of  
 ‘ his Death exacted some search into the cause  
 ‘ of his sickness. Such Authors as touch the  
 ‘ matter but in general content themselves with  
 ‘ saying, he died of <sup>a</sup> grief, or of a <sup>b</sup> feavour, or  
 ‘ a <sup>c</sup> flux, or a <sup>d</sup> surfeit. But those who have  
 ‘ entred into particulars, insist on such a surfet  
 ‘ as whereof both grief, feavour and flux were  
 ‘ most probable effects and symptomes. For,  
 ‘ coming, say <sup>e</sup> they, from the Washes to *Swin-*  
 ‘ *shed* Abby (being of the *Cisteaux* Order which  
 ‘ of old he had much incensed) he added new  
 ‘ matter of offence as he sate at meat, when, in  
 ‘ speech <sup>f</sup> of his enemies too large provision, he  
 ‘ sware, if He lived but half a year longer, he  
 ‘ would make one half penny loaf as deare as  
 ‘ <sup>g</sup> twelve: which to prevent, a Monk that had  
 ‘ Holy Habit, whether in love to *Lewis*, or  
 ‘ hate to the King, or pity to the land, present-  
 ‘ ing Him with an envenomed Cup, whereof  
 ‘ the King commanded him to be his Taster,  
 ‘ became the Diabolical instrument of his own  
 ‘ and his Sovereign’s destruction. This Rela-  
 ‘ tion, delivered by Monks, and Men of Mon-

<sup>a</sup> *Jo. de Walling.*

<sup>b</sup> *Polydor. Verg.*

<sup>c</sup> *Tho. Otterburne.*

<sup>d</sup> *Mat. West.*

<sup>e</sup> *Chronicle of St. Albans MS. Sundry English Chronicles MS. Caxton’s Chronicle.*

<sup>f</sup> *English Chron. MS. Eulogium MS.*

<sup>g</sup> As deare as twelve half-penny loaves, *Leicestrensis.* As 22 pence, *Otterburn.* As 20 d. *Polychroni.* As 20 s. *Caxton’s MS.* 1 pound of bread, 1 pound of silver, *Eulogium MS.*

‘ kish

' kish humour as a thing so undeniable, that  
 ' they avow, at what time they wrote this, <sup>h</sup> five  
 ' Monks in that Abby did sing for this their bro-  
 ' ther's soule specially, and so should whiles the  
 ' Abbey stood, which, if it had been forged,  
 ' every child might easily have refuted; and  
 ' the rehearſal of all circumstances therof, (of  
 ' the King's Speeches, of the Monk's conference  
 ' with the Abbat, of his preparing the drinke  
 ' with the Toad in the garden, of his dying in  
 ' the Infirmary) might deserve credit with the  
 ' greatest Patrons of Monkery: Yet <sup>i</sup> one of  
 ' them (as if by acquitting *Simon of Swinshed*  
 ' all other of such Orders were cleared from  
 ' affaffinating of Princes, tho' *James Clement* did  
 ' kill *Henry III* of *France*) ſtriveth eagerly to  
 ' asperſe ſome late <sup>k</sup> Relaters hereof with the  
 ' blots of both *Malice and Forgery*. Wherein  
 ' is the *Malice*? in adding to the Narrations  
 ' *Pictures alſo of the fact, ſo to move hatred to*  
 ' *Monkes and their Religion*. Whereas, of truth,  
 ' either Monkes, or men of that Religion, were  
 ' the very firſt who not only ſo *depicted*, but  
 ' alſo lively and richly *depainted* in their good-  
 ' lieſt Manuscripts, particularly the MS of  
 ' *St. Alban's* in the Library of the Archbiſhop  
 ' of *Canterbury*, and a Manuscript written in  
 ' the time of King *Edward I*, in Mr. *Selden's*  
 ' Library; where the King is limmed with His  
 ' Crowne and rich robes fitting at a banquet,  
 ' and foure Monks in their habits coming to  
 ' him, wherof one preſents Him with the poi-

<sup>h</sup> Chron. of *St. Albans*, MS. *Caxton et alii. Eulogium ſaith,*  
*Tres Monachos ex conſenſu Capituli generalis.*

<sup>i</sup> *F. Parſon's* Warn word Enc. 2. c. 15.

<sup>k</sup> *J. Fox, Sir Fran. Haſtings,*

'soned Cup. Wherin then the Forgery? In  
 'Fox's adding to Caxton<sup>1</sup>, that his Abbat gave  
 'him Absolution for the same before-hand, there  
 'being no such matter at all, nor mention thereof  
 'in the Story. No! let the very Story speak<sup>m</sup>:  
 'The Monk went to the Abbat, and was shruiven  
 'of him, and told the Abbat all the King had  
 'said; and prayed his Abbat to assoyle him, for  
 'he woulde give the King such a drinke that all  
 'England should be glad thereof and joyful. Tho  
 'yode-the-Monke into the garden, &c. Yea one  
 'Monk, Lecestrensis, alledgeth an inducement  
 'for the Abbat's assent therto, for that the  
 'King had sent for the Abbat's Sister, a faire  
 'Prioresse, with purpose to have defloured her.  
 'Yea, but the Story it self is charged with No-  
 'velty, the " first author thereof being but Anno  
 '1483, and all other former writers making no  
 'mention of it. This, if true, were somewhat  
 'and doubtlesse it is as true as the former. For  
 'how could he, Caxton, be the first author, sith  
 'the Latine History entituled ° Eulogium, whose  
 'author died about 1366, hath all particulers  
 'more exactly set downe than that English one  
 'hath, and expresly, that the Monke conferred  
 'with his Abbat of his whole purpose, and shrived,  
 'or confessed, himself how he woulde suffer this  
 'voluntary Martyrdome, as Caiaphas said of  
 'Christe, better one perish than a Nation. At  
 'which constancy of the Martyr the Abbat wept  
 'for joy, and prayesed G O D: So the Monke be-  
 'ing absolved by the Abbat was undaunted, and  
 'took the Cup, &c. And not only Ranulph the

<sup>1</sup> F. Parson's Warn word.

<sup>m</sup> Caxton's Chron.

<sup>n</sup> F. Parson's ibid.

<sup>o</sup> MS. in biblio. D. Rob. Cotton.

## The LIFE of William Caxton.

' Monk of *Chester*, author of the *Polycronicon*;  
 ' who was born in the reign of *Henry III*, the  
 ' very next reign to that of King *John*, *John*  
 ' of *Tynmouth* who flourished 1336, and *Thomas*  
 ' *Otterbourne* the *Franciscan* Frier who ended  
 ' his story *Anno* 1420, recorded it as *Fama*  
 ' *vulgata*, a Fame generally received; but sun-  
 ' dry other ancient stories, as *John* of *Lich-*  
 ' *field*, the Monke of *Leicester*, and *Scala Mundi*,  
 ' to omit other namelesse authors before *Anno*  
 ' 1483, as *Hist. de gestis Reg. Joh.* MS, and  
 ' *English Chronicles* MS before *Edward III*, so  
 ' confidently avouch his poisoning at *Swinshead*,  
 ' that impartial after <sup>p</sup> Writers, though friends  
 ' to Monkery, make no scruple to believe it.  
 ' And why should they not? sith an author  
 ' more ancient and unexceptionable than all the  
 ' rest, even King *John's* son and successor in His  
 ' Kingdom, averred it, when the Prior of *Cler-*  
 ' *kenwell* saucily telling Him, being in that  
 ' House, that *as soon as he ceased to do justice to-*  
 ' *wards His Prelates, he should cease to be a*  
 ' *King*; the King, enraged with his traito-  
 ' rous threate, replied <sup>q</sup>, *What? meane you*  
 ' *to turne me out of my Kingdom, and after-*  
 ' *ward to murder me, as my Father was dealt*  
 ' *with?*'

By all this it sufficiently appears, That, whe-  
 ther this Story be true or not, it was not a Sto-  
 ry of Mr. *Caxton's* making, and that *he* was not  
 the *first* who mentioned it in *English*. He only

<sup>p</sup> *William Caxton, John Major, Geo. Lilius et alii.*

<sup>q</sup> O quid tibi vult istud, vos Anglici, vultisne me, sicut quon-  
 dam patrem meum, a regno precipitare, atque necare precipita-  
 rum? *Mat. Paris Histo. Major. p. 854.*

copied it from an <sup>r</sup> *English* Chronicle in Manuscript; and the most that can be said of *him* is, that *he was the first who printed it*. As for *F. Parsons*, he seems not to have known of this Edition of the *Chronicles of England, A. D. 1480*; that to which *he* refers being the Edition at *St. Albans* three Years after. However this be, if we may credit *Mr. Fox*, of the Writers concerning the Death of this Prince, the most agree in this, That he was poisoned by the Monk above-named. But to return to *Mr. Caxton*.

About *three Months* after his printing these An. Dom. 1480. *Chronicles of England*, he printed a little Tract in Folio, of the same Size with the *Chronicles*, which he called *The description of England, Wales and Scotland, and also Yrlond*; which, he said, ‘was fynished by him the 18th day of *August* the yere of our lord god 1480 and the 20 yere of the regne of King *Edward IVth.*’ This was printed from *John Trevisa’s English Translation of Ranulph Higden*, the Compiler of the *Polychronicon*, and afterwards reprinted with the *Fructus temporum*, &c. In the Edition of it by *Julian Notary*, 1515, the following Rubrics are prefixed to it.

¶ Here foloweth a lytell treatyse the which treateth of the description of this londe whiche of olde thyme was named *Albyon*, and after *Britayne*, and now is called *Englonde* and

<sup>r</sup> The Manuscript of this Chronicle, which I have seen, ends with the 6th of *Edward III, A. D. 1332*. But another Manuscript Copy of it in *Bennet Coll. Library*, ends with that Reign, *A. D. 1377*: a Part of the last Sentence being—*the which kyng Edward when he had regned li yere and more— he deide at Shene— on whos soule god have mercy Amen*. As it is printed.

speaketh

## The LIFE of William Caxton.

speaketh of the nobleſſe and worthineſſe of the ſame.

¶ It is ſoo, that in many and diuerſe places the comyn Cronycles of *Englond* ben had, and alſo nowe late enprynted. And forasmoche as the dyſcrypcyon of this londe whyche of olde tyme was named *Albyon*, and after *Brytaine* is not deſcryved ne comynly hadde, ne the nobleſſe and worthyneſſe of the ſame is not knowen; therefore I entende to ſette in this booke the deſcrypcion of this ſayde yle of *Brytaine* and with the commodytes of the ſame.

Then follows a Table of the Contents; by which it appears, that this *Description*, &c. conſiſts of twenty nine Chapters. It has been obſerv'd, That ' from the Conqueſt, down to the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth, our *Engliſh* Geographers have either been very few, or the want of Printing has occaſioned the Loſs of moſt of them; and that this of *Caxton's* is the only Thing in its Kind which we have.' And yet, it's certain, this is not *Caxton's*, but *Higden's*, and only printed by him from *Treviſa's* Tranſlation of it into *Engliſh*, as has been hinted before.

Engliſh  
Historical  
Library.

An. Dom.  
1480.

It ſeems as if about this Time, or a little before, a third Printing Preſs was ſet up in the Town of *St. Albans*, about twenty Miles from *London*, by one whoſe Name, Sir *Henry*

' The Time of ſetting up this Preſs is ſaid, by Sir *Henry Chauncey*, to have been whiſt *William Alban* was Abbat; who, according to him, died *July 1, 1476*, the 16th of *Edward IV.* But this ſeems as much or more too early for *Infomuch's* printing here, if that was the Name of the Printer, as 1471 is for *Caxton's* printing in the Abby of *Westmiſter*.

*Chauncey*

## The LIFE of William Caxton.

41

Chauncey says, was *John Insomuch*, who is by Bishop Bale said to be a School-master, and by Pits, a Prælector, or Reader of the Abby of that Place. But however this be, the following Book, printed here in *Latin* this Year 1480, is said to be imprinted at the Town of St. Albans. According to the printed Catalogue of the late Bishop More's rare and uncommon Books, it bore this Title: *Rbetorica nova Fratris Laurentii Gulielmi de Saona ordinis minorum compilata in alma Universitate Cantabrigiæ ann. 1478, impressa apud Villam Sti Albani 1480.* Though, it seems, the Copy of this Book, which is in Bennet College Library, has neither, at the Beginning or End, any Account of the Printer's Name, or of the Place or Time where or when it was printed.

However this be, it seems pretty certain, That in the Year 1483, there was printed here another Book, entitled, *Fructus temporum with the cronycle of Englund.* In the Prologue to it we are told, That 'in the yere 1483, at saynt *Albons*, so that men may know, thactes, 'namely of oure noble kyngs of *Englund*, is 'compylid togeder in oo boke.' *De Worde* thus speaks of it, in a Colophon at the End of his Edition of it, 1497. *Here endyth this present cronycle of Englund with the Fruyte of tymes compyled in a booke and enprynted by one sometime scolemaster of St. Albans.*—This Book begins with a Table of Contents. Next follows a Prologue, which begins thus: *Insomoché that it is necessary to all creatures of Cbrysten relygyon, or of fals relygyon, or gentyles or Machomytes, to knowe ther Prince or Pryncis that regne upon them, and them to obey: so it is commodious*

## The LIFE of William Caxton.

modious to knowe ther noble actes and dedes, and the circumstance of their lives.—After intimating, as above, the Time when, and Place where these Actes were compiled, it is added, That moreover is translated out of latyn into englishe fro the begynnyng of the worlde the lygnage of *Cryst* — The foure pryncypall reames of the worlde, that is to saye, of *Babylon*, of *Percees*, of *Grekes*, and of *Romayns*, And all the Emperours of *Rome*, or Popes, by ordre and theyr names, and many a notable fader with certen of their actes.— Next are reherfed the names of the Auctours, of whome these Cronycles been translated moost. Namely, *Galfridus Munmoth* monk in his booke of *Brute*: *S. Bede* in the actes of *Englonde*, in his boke of tymes: *Gildas* in the actes of *Brytayne*; *William Malmsbury* monke in the actes of the kynges of *Englonde* and byshops; \* *Cassiderus* of the Actes of Emperors and Bishops, *St. Austin* de civitate Dei; *Titus Livius* de gestis Romanorum; *Martyn*, penitentiary to the Pope, in his cronycles of Emperors and bishops; and namely *Theobaldus Cartusienfis* conteynyng in his boke the progresse of all notable faders from the begynnyng of the world unto our tyme with the notable actes of the same. Next it is intimated as if it was the first Design of the Compiler of this Book to have continued the History to the Year 1483, or the End of King *Edward IV* Reign. In this new translation, saïs the Writer, are

\* Marcus, Aurelius, Cassiodorus.

† *Theobaldus Anglicus*—claruit anno 1320. opus condidit de progressu Sanctorum Patrum. Eo volumine complexus est gesta Sanctorum omnium, quos vel in sacris bibliis, vel historiis Ecclesiasticis, reperisset. G. J. Vossii de Histor. Lat. lib. III.



‘ conteyned many notable and marveyulous things:  
 ‘ and those ben alleged by auctoryte of many  
 ‘ famous clerks\*. And, that every man may <sup>\* learned</sup>  
 ‘ knowe howe thys cronycles ben ordered, ye <sup>men or</sup>  
 ‘ shall understonde, that this boke is devyded <sup>scholars,</sup>  
 ‘ into vij partes. — the *seventhe* parte fro the  
 ‘ *Normans* unto oure tyme, whyche is under the  
 ‘ regne of Kynge *Edward* the fourth 23 yere  
 ‘ whoos noble cronycles by custome may not be  
 ‘ seen:’ or are not commonly known. From  
 hence have some of our learned Writers a little  
 too hastily concluded, that this Chronicle,  
 printed by *Caxton*, ended with the End of King  
*Edward’s* Reign. But, whether by Death or  
 any other Means the Compiler of it was hindred  
 from executing his Design, it’s plain enough,  
 that the Part of it which belongs to *Britain*  
 ends with the Beginning, instead of the End,  
 of King *Edward’s* Reign, *A. D.* 1460. What  
 seems to make it probable, that this was owing  
 to the Compiler’s dying before he had finished  
 what he undertook is, That in an Edition of  
 this Book in *Bennet* Col. Library, in the Con-  
 tents of the *seventh* and last Part, these Words  
 are used: *Here begynnys the vij part continuing*  
*to our dais that is to say to the regne of King*  
*Edward the iiiii, the xxiii yere.* However this  
 be, at the End of this *Prologue* is printed,

¶ *Explicit Prologus.*

¶ *Hic incipit fructus temporum.*

‘ Bycause of this boke’s made to tel what  
 ‘ tyme of any thyng notable was, therefore the  
 ‘ begynnynge of all tymes shortly shall be  
 ‘ touchid:’ And, accordingly the History of the

E

Crea-

The LIFE of William Caxton.

Creation of the World is here related. When this Writer comes to speak of *Ascanius* the 7th kynge of *Ytaly*, having told his Readers, that he was Son to *Eneas*, and built the City of *Albyon*, and was called the kynge of the *Albans*, that he gate *Sylvius* the 8th kynge of *Italy*, and, that *Sylvius* was Father unto *Brute* kynge of *Brytaine* nowe called *Englonde*, he adds, *I leve of the kynges of Ytaly, for they dyd but lytell noble thynges, tyll it becomen to Romulus and Remus that buylded Rome.*——— *And now to proceed to the cronycles of Englonde, for the whiche namely this boke is made.* Then follows:

¶ *Incipit regnum Britanie nunc dict. Anglia.*

Here this Writer seems to have had the Assistance of one of our MS. *English* Chronicles (the same that *Caxton* printed, if he did not print from that) from whose Sense he no wise varies, though the language and expressions are not always just alike. Thus they both begin:

*MS. Chronicle.*

Here may a man hur  
how Englonde was  
fyrst callede Albyon  
and aftir who hit hadde  
that name.

In the noble londe of  
Syrrie ther was a noble  
kinge

*Fructus temporum, &c.*  
ed. 1515.

¶ *Afore that I wyll  
speke of Brute it shall  
be shewid howe the londe  
of Englonde was first  
named Albyon and by  
what encheson it was so  
named.*

*Of the noble londe of  
Sirrie ther was a ryal  
kynge*

king, a stronge man and a mighty af body and af grete name that men callid Diocletian that wel and worthely governed him through his gode chivalry. Soo that —	kynge and myghty and a man of grete renoune that was callede Diocle- syan that wel and wor- tbely him governed and ruled through his noble chivalry. Soo that —
---	---

¶ *Explicit prima pars.*

¶ Here begynneth now how *Brute* was gotten, and how he slewe first his moder, and after his father, and how he conquered *Albyon* that after he named *Brytayne* after his owne name that now is callyd *Englonde* after the name of *Engist* of *Saxonie*. ¶ This *Brute* came into *Brytayne* about the 18th yere of *Heley*. That is, according to this *Writer's Computation*, in the Year of the World 4025, and before the Birth of *Christ*, 1114.

¶ Here begynneth the *fourth* aege duryng to the transfiguration. In this part the Jewish History is mixed with that of *Britaine* to the Year of the World 4600. Then begins the *fifth* age of the worlde duryng to the<sup>a</sup> Nativitie of *Christe*: In which is intermixed the Historie of the *Jews, Persians, Romans, Greeks, Britains* and *Egyptians*. Next begins the *sixth*

<sup>a</sup> *Christus natus est ex Virgine Maria Anno Mundi 5193.* The vulgar Year of *Christ* is reckoned to be in the Year of the World 4010. and of the *Jul. Per.* 4714. by others 4001. and of the *Julian Period* 4710. *Bedford's Scripture Chronology*, p. 746. *Strauchius* says in the Year of the *Julian Period* 4714. *Breviarium Chrono.* p. 369. *Nith. Man.* 4707. *Of the true Year of the Birth of Christ*, p. 22.

## The LIFE of William Caxton.

age at *Crystys Natyvyte*, which is here placed in the Year of the World 5193, and dures to the final judgement havyng yeres as God knoweth. In this part is given an account of the Ordre of Popes of *Rome*, with whom, it is here said, God lefte his power, and of the succession and actes of the Kings of *Britaine* to about the Year of *Christ* 449. Then begyns the *fyfthe* part of the Book duryng from the coming of the *Saxons* to that of the *Danes* about the Year of our Lord 449. Then follows an account of the Roman Emperors and Popes; a Note, that *Englond* was longe time cristened afore *France*; and some account of *Mahomet*. Then comes the History of the *Danish* and *Norman* Princes with that of the Popes of *Rome* intermixed with it. *Wyllyam* bastard, Duke of *Normandy*, is here said, agreeable to the common account, to come into *Englonde*, A. D. 1066. After the History of his Reign follows that of the Popes, which is the method used in the remaining part of this book. The chronicles of *England* end with the Coronation of K. *Edward* IV. 1460. After this follows some account of Pope *Calixtus* III, of his being chosen 1455; and a Note of the increase of Printers 1457; and some account of Pope *Pius* II. who is here said to have been chosen 1458.

All this plainly relates to the reign of K. *Henry* VI. But then follows an account of *Paul* II. *Poules* a Venetian being Pope, and chosen 1464: of *Leodium* the londe of *luke* being oppressed, and in the Year 1468. utterly destroyed by *Charles* duke of *Burgundy*. Lastly, of Pope *Xyflus*. *Sixtus* IV a *Jobannes* and a frere minor, who was

was chosen 1471. and called *Franciscus de Sanona* \*. ' He, for an armye to be made agenst \* *Savona.*  
 ' the *Turke*, gave grete Indulgences of pardon  
 ' of the tresori of *the chyrche* unto all crysten  
 ' reames, that he myght ordeyne some tresore  
 ' to withstande the mysbeleved *Turke*. And in  
 ' the londe of *Englonde*, *John* abbot of *Abyng-*  
 ' *don* was the Pope's legate to dyspose this  
 ' goodli tresoure of the chyrche to every feyth-  
 ' ful man that was dysposed, and that wolde able  
 ' hym to receyve it.' He died of Grief and *Onuphrius*  
 the Gout, A. D. 1484 <sup>b</sup>. *de vitis*  
*Ponti.*

Three Years after, 1486, was printed here  
 the following Book thus entituled :

' The lynage of Coot Armuris, and how *Annales*  
 ' gentylnen shal be known from ungentilmen, *Typogra.*  
 ' —the blasyn of almaner armyes in Latyn, *Pepys's Li-*  
 ' *brary.*  
 ' Frenshe and Englyshe : the bokes of hawk-  
 ' yng and huntynge with othir plesuris diverse,  
 ' translatyt and compylt togedyr at feynt  
 ' *Albons* 1486. fol.' At the end is this co-  
 lophon.

¶ ' Here in thys boke afore are contenyt the  
 bokys of haukyng and huntynge with othir  
 plesuris dyuerse, as in the boke apperis, and  
 also of coot armuris a nobull werke. And here  
 nowe endith the boke of blasynge of armyes  
 translatyt and compylt togedyr at feynt *Albons*

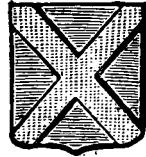
<sup>b</sup> This seems to confirm what I before intimated, that the Col-  
 lector, tho' he lived to finish the *Fructus Temporum*, yet died before  
 he could compile the History of *K. Edward's* Reign.

<sup>c</sup> Another Edition of this Book was printed by *de Warde* at  
*Westmestre*, A. D. 1396.

*The LIFE of William Caxton.*

the yere from thyncarnacyon of oure Lorde  
Jhu Crist MCCCCLXXXVI.

Hic finis diuorum pergenerosis valde utilium  
ut intuentibus patebit.



Sanctus Albanus.

It is observed of the Books printed at this Press, and particularly of this last, that they are printed with a Letter much resembling that used by Mr. *Caxton* in his first Works. From whence it has been supposed, that he and this learned Collector of foreign History, &c. were acquainted, and, that Mr. *Caxton* taught him his Art of Printing, and furnished him with a Press and Types to print at *St. Albans*.

A. D.  
1481.

About the same time that the above-mentioned Printing-Press was set up at *St. Albans*, there seems to have been two more in the City of *London* by *John Lettou* or *Letton*, and *William de Machlinia*, who by their Names should be *Germans*. They printed together and a-part. Of the Books printed by them we have the three following preserved:

1. *Jacobus de Valencia* in Psalterium. —  
excus. incivitate Londoniensi ad expensas Wil-  
helmi Wilcock per me Johannem Lettou  
MCCCCLXXXI. fol.

2. *Spe-*

2. *Speculum Christiani* — Istelibellus impressus est in opulentissima civitate Londoniarum per Willelmum de Machlinia, ad instantiam nec non expensas Henrici Urankenbergh mercatoris: Without any Date, or Name of Place.

3. *Littleton's Tenures*.—At the End of the Book is printed this Colophon.

¶. Expliciūt Tenores nouelli Impffi p̄ nos Johez lettou & Willz de machlinia in Citate Londoniare juxta ecc'az oim Scorze.

Of this Book Sir *William Dugdale* has given the following wrong and inaccurate account: Orig. Jur. ridi. p. 58. Ed. 1671.

' *Littleton's* tenures, compiled by *Thomas Littleton*, one of the Justices of the Common-Plees [it should be of the King's-Bench] Temp. *Edw. IV.* wherein he had great furtherance from Sir *John Prisot*, Lord chief Justice of the same Court [the Court of King's-Bench] Temp. *Hen. VI.* Impr. *Rhotbomagii* per *Rich. Pynson*, Temp. *Hen. VIII.* Nec non Temp. ejusdem Regis *H. 8.* in Civitate Londoniarum juxta Ecclesiam Omnium Sanctorum per *Johannem Lettow* et *Will. de Machlinia*, in folio.' It appears by this Book of Sir *William's*, that one *John Latton* was Autumn Reader of the Inner-Temple 16 and 17 *Hen. VIII.* double Reader in *Lent 24 Hen. VIII.* and Treasurer of the same Society 26 *Hen. VIII.* From hence it has been guessed, that *he* and our Printer were the same Person, or rather, that *Lettou* or *Letton* was not a Printer, but an eminent Lawyer who procured de *Machlinia* to

print this learned and useful Law-Book. But the great Objection seems to be, that *Letton* is named by himself as the Printer of *Jacobus de Valentia* in Psalterium, and, that it was then customary, when any Book was printed at the Request of any particular Person, for the Printer to intimate, that it was so printed; as we see both these Printers did. However this be, these two Printers tell us that they printed near *All-hallows Church* in *London*; but there are so many Churches in that City of this Name, that one cannot now determine from hence whereabouts their Presses were. However it is observed, that the Letter used by these two Printers is a very coarse *Gothic* one, and more rude than *Caxton's*; and, that by this it should seem, that they both came from *Mentz*, or were some of the first Printers who were not quite Masters of their Art.

After so long a Digression, to give what Account I could of these new Printing-Presses at *St. Albans* and *London*, it may be thought; perhaps, high Time I should return to *Mr. Caxton*, whom we left following his Business of Printing with his usual Application in the Abby of *Westminster*. In 1481. then he printed a Book called *Godfrey of Bologne*, or the last Siege and Conquest of *Jerusalem*, with many Histories therein comprised, *Fol.* of which some Notice has been taken before. This, *Mr. Caxton* tells us, was translated and reduced by him out of *Frenshe* into *Englishe* in thabbaye of *Westmestre*, to thende, that every cristen man, may be the better encoraged tenterprise warre for the defence of cristendome, and to recover the said cyle of



## The LIFE of William Caxton.

51

of Jerusalem.—and<sup>d</sup> presented by him unto the mooste cristen Kynge Edw. III. and ‘that it was begun the 12th of Marche, fynished the 7th day of Juyn and enprynted the 20th of Novembre 21 yere of Edw. III.’ The cronycles of *Englond* printed by Mr. Caxton give us the following general Account of this Expedition, viz. ‘That in the yere 1061. Gregory VII. called a counseyll at *Turon* for the holy londe to be wonne agen, and pryvokid the peple to that matere,—and it was sayd and beleved, that two hundred thousand crysten men went to that journey. For there wente of states olde men and yonge, and also ryche and poore, and no man compellyd theym. And this passage was made by the vysyon of our ladie. And the prynces of this people were dyuerse. One was *Godfroye de Boloynes*, a full nobleman of all the worlde, and a vertuous man. And another was *Beemonde* the duke of *Naples*: And the thyrde was *Hughe* the Kynge’s brother of *Fraunce*, and many other, the whiche dyde full nobly for the fayth of god. And it were to long in this boke to reherce the glorious actes that they dyde.’

This same Year Mr. Caxton is said to have printed *thystorye of Reynard or Reynart the Fox*, 4to. of which the late Mr. Hearn of Oxford gave this Character, That it is an admirable Thing, and the Design very good, viz. to represent a wise and polite Government. In the first Page of it is Mr. Caxton’s Cipher *W. C.*

A. D.  
1481.

<sup>d</sup> *Godfrey of Bulloigne* of the Siege and Conquest of Jerusalem (being King Edward the IVth’s Book,) *Biblioth. Smithiana*, p. 275.

Caxton

## The LIFE of William Caxton.

*Caxton* gives the following Account of it, and his printing it: ‘Wherin, says he, ben wretton  
‘the Parable of good Leryng——for an ex-  
‘ample to the peple, &c. For I have not added  
‘ne mynyshed but have followed as nigh as I can  
‘my copy whiche was in Dutche, and by me  
‘*Wyllyam Caxton* translated into this rude and  
‘fymple Englyshe in the Abbaye of *Westmestre*  
‘the vith day of *Juyn* in the Yere of our Lord  
‘mccccxxx. and in the xxi yere of the reigne  
‘of kynge *Edward* the iiiith.’

xiith Day  
of Aug.  
1481.

In *August* this Year *Mr. Caxton* likewise en-  
printed into English, as he expressed himself,  
*Tully of old age*. This, he tells us, ‘was tran-  
‘slated, and thystoryes openly declared by  
‘thordenaunce and desire of the noble auncient  
‘knight *Sir Johan Faldstoff* of the Countee of  
‘*Norfolk* bannerette, lyvyng thage of four-  
‘score yeres, enduryng the fayte of armes  
‘hauntyng. And in admynstryng justice and  
‘politique governaunce under thre kynges,  
‘that is to wete *Henry* the fourthe, *Henry* the  
‘fyfthe, and *Henry* the sixthe; And was go-  
‘vernour of the duchye of *Angeou* and the  
‘countee of *Mayne*; Capytayne of many  
‘townys, castellys and fortressys in the sayd  
‘Royame of *France*, havng the charge and  
‘saufgarde of them dyuerse yeres; occupyeng  
‘and rewlyng thre hundred speres, and the  
‘bowes accustomed thenne, and yeldyng good  
‘accompt of the forsayd townes, castellys and  
‘fortresseys to the seyde kynges, and to theyr  
‘lyeutenantes, prynces of noble recommen-  
‘dation, as *Johan* regent of *Fraunce* duc of  
‘*Bedford*, *Thomas* duc of *Excestre*, *Thomas*  
‘duc of *Clarence*, and other lyutenants.’

In 1459 this great man was siezed with an hectic fever and asthma, under which he laboured for 148 days till S. Leonard's feast, November 6, when he died, and was buried in the Abby of St. Bennet of Hulme in Norwich.

*Register of the Order of the Garter,*  
Vol. II.  
p. 140,  
141.

Our Antiquary *Leland* observed, v. that the Translator of this discourse is not here named by Mr. Caxton. But a later writer tells us of a Memorial of *Wyllyam de Wyrcestre* alias *Botaner* which he has entred against the Year 1473, by which it appears, that he translated this book. To this purpose is the Memorandum in Latin: *The 20th day of August I presented to Wyllyam Waynflete Bishop of Winchester the book of Tully of old Age, translated by me into English.* This *Wyllyam Wyrcestre* was an antiquary and phisician, from whence, perhaps, he had the name of *Botaner*. or *Herbalist*, and an Astronomer of great abilities for the age he lived in. He was born in the City of *Bristol*, Anno 1415. and *sometyme seruaunte and soget withe his reuerent master John Fastolf Chevalier and exercised in the werres contynuelly above 44 yeres*: and in so grete favour with Sir *John*, that he left him one of the Executors of his last Will. He wrote a particular treatise containing Memoirs of Sir *John's* Life and Actions, which he entituled *Acta Domini Johannis*

*De scriptor.*  
*Britann.*  
*Register of the Order of the Garter,*  
Vol. II.

\* In the MS. Library of Bennet Coll. is a MS. thus entituled, *Memorarium Will. Worceter de Bristol ad Montem S. Michaelis in An-Christi, 1478.*

† In some imperfect Memorandums printed by *T. Hearne*, and called by him *William Wyrcestre's Annals of English affairs*, are only these two concerning Sir *John Fastolf*. That in the sixth and seventh Years of *Henry 4.* when *Thomas*, the King's second son who was afterward Duke of *Clarence* was made Lieutenant of *Ireland*,

## The LIFE of William Caxton.

Johannis Fastolf, but whether in *English* or *Latin* is altogether uncertain. But however, this english translation of this book of *Tully's* printed by *Caxton*, by whomsoever made, is not from the original Latin, but, as Mr. *Caxton* informs us, from the Frenshe by *Laurence de primo facto* at the commaundement of the noble Prince *Lewis* duc of *Bourbon*. Mr. *Caxton* adds, 'That this book, thus reduced into english, was with grete instaunce, labour and coste comen into his honde, and, that he advyedly had seen over, redde, and considered the noble, honeste and vertuous mater necessarily requisite unto men stepte in age, and to yonge men for to lerne how they ought to come to the same, to which every man naturally desyreth to atteyne.'

With this Book of *Tully's* of Old Age Mr. *Caxton* printed another of the same Orator's of *Friendship*. For this he gave the following Reason, 'bycause ther cannot be annexed to olde age a better thyng than good and very friendship. This book therefore he put in print, to thentent, that veray amyte and frendship may be had as it ought to be in every state and degree and vertue, without which frendship may not be had, may be encreased, and vices eschewid.' This book, Mr. *Caxton* tells us, was 'translated into our maternal english by the vertuous and noble lord *Typtoft* therle of *Worcester* which in his time flowred in vertue and cunning\*, to whom he knew none like emonge the lordes of the temporalitie in science and moral vertue,

\* Knowledge.

*Ireland*, *John Fastolf*, who was then only an Esquire was continually with him: And that 1459, the King kept his Christmas at *Leycester*, and *James Ormund* Earl of *Wilts* was during the said festival at *John Fastolf's* house in *Southwerk*.

' and

‘and which late pytously lost his lyfe.’ For being Lieutenant of *Ireland* under the Duke of *Clarence King Edward’s* Brother, and falling into the Hands of the opposite Party during the short Restoration of King *Henry VI.* Advantage was taken of that Opportunity, and he accused of exercising in *Ireland* more extreme Cruelty than princely Pity, or charitable Compassion, and in especial on two enfantes being sonnes to the erle of *Desmond*, and atteinted for treason and beheaded: Tho’ the Historian, who gives this Account of him, intimates there was a strong Suspicion, that this severe Usage of this noble and worthy Lord proceeded from malyce against him conceyved, or, that he fell a Sacrifice to party Anger and Revenge.

With these two Books of *Tully’s* were printed, by Mr. *Caxton*, two very elegant Orations of *Banatusus Magnomentanus*, supposed to be spoken by *Cornelius Scipio* and *Caius Flaminius*, who were Rivals in the Courtship of *Lucretia*, the Daughter of *Fulvius*: The Design or Argument of which, is to shew wherein honoure shoulde reste or consist. These Orations, Mr. *Caxton* tells us, were likewise translated by the right vertuous and noble therle of *Worcester*, in whose Praise he thus farther enlarges: ‘His  
‘ soule, says he, I recomende unto your spe-  
‘ cial prayers, who also in his tyme made many  
‘ other vertuous werkys which I have heard of.  
‘ O good blessed Lord G O D ! what great losse  
‘ was it of, that noble, vertuous and wel dispo-  
‘ sed lord? when I remembre and advertyse  
‘ his lyf, his science and his vertue, methynketh,

<sup>e</sup> *J. Leland*, Comm. de Script. Britann, p. 48.

' god not displeas'd, over grete a losse of suche  
 ' a man, considering his estate and conning,  
 ' and also the exercise of the same, with the grete  
 ' laboures in gooyng on pylgremage unto *Jhe-*  
 ' *rusalem*, vyfityng there the holy Places that  
 ' oure bleffyd Lord *Jhesu Crifte* halowed with  
 ' his bleffyd presence, and shedyng there his  
 ' precious blood for our redempcion, And from  
 ' thens ascended unto His Fader in heuen. And  
 ' what worship had he at <sup>h</sup> *Rome* in the <sup>i</sup> presence  
 ' of our holy fader the Pope? and so in alle  
 ' other Places unto his deth. At which deth  
 ' every man that was there might lerne to die,  
 ' and take his deth patiently, wherin I hope and  
 ' doubt not but, that G O D receyved his soule  
 ' into his everlastyng blyffe. For, as I am en-  
 ' formed, he ryght advyfedly ordeyned alle his  
 ' thynges, as well for his last Will of worldely  
 ' goodes, as for his soule's helthe, and pacyent-  
 ' ly and holyly without grudchyng in charite  
 \* <sup>Before.</sup> ' \* to fore that he departed out of this worlde,  
 ' which is gladsome and joyous to here.' Of  
 this Translation of these two Orations, made by  
 this noble Lord, *Leland* observed, That ' it  
 ' was so terse, neat and significant, that it might  
 ' well be doubted whether the Author of them  
 ' wrote, or he translated with greater Grace.'  
 Mr. *Caxton* adds, That ' this lytil Volume, a

<sup>h</sup> Nullus per aliquot secula nobilitate insignis hospes urbi [*Romæ*]  
 gratior erat *Tipetoto*: Cujus humanitas, candor, splendor etiam et  
 facundia *Ciceroniana* illa Romanorum omnium cum oculos, tum  
 mentes ita occupabant et possidebant quoque, ut cælitus illum eo  
 demissum, tanquam Numen, non modo crederent, verum etiam  
 colerent. *J. Leland, ibid.*

<sup>i</sup> Affirmat *Phreas Pium II<sup>m</sup>* Pontificem, audita ejus oratione  
 longè disertissima, qua se totum illi et purpuratorum choro patrum  
 concedidit, præ gaudio quod inde acceperat, plane incredibili,  
 lachrymas fuisse. *J. Leland, ibid.*

' thin

‘thin 4<sup>o</sup>, he had empyred temprynte under  
 ‘the Umbre and shadowe of the noble protec-  
 ‘cion of oure moost dradde soverayn and moost  
 ‘cristen kyng *Edward* the fourthe, to whom  
 ‘he moost humbly byfought to receyve the sayd  
 ‘book of him *William Caxton* his most humble  
 ‘suget and lital servant, and not to disdayne to  
 ‘take it of him so poure, ignoraunt and simple  
 ‘a persone.’

The next Year we find Mr. *Caxton* employ’d  
 in printing a celebrated Book, and often quoted  
 by our ancient Writers, entitled *Polychronicon*.  
 This was the Work of one<sup>k</sup> *Ranulph Higden*,  
 or *Hikeden*, commonly called *Ralph Cbester*, an  
*English* Benedictine Monk of the Monastery of  
*St. Werburgh’s* in *Chester*, about the Year 1357,  
 in which he ends his Collection. He is suppo-  
 sed to have been beholden, for a great Part of it,  
 to a Monk of the same House, one<sup>l</sup> *Roger*, who  
 lived about *A. D.* 1330, and wrote a large Ac-  
 count of the Affairs of this Nation, which he  
 entitled, *Polycratica temporum*, and began it  
 with the coming in of the *Romans*, others say  
 the Beginning of the World, and continued it  
 to the Year 1329. At the Command of *Thomas*

*A. D.*  
1482.

*English*  
*Histor.*  
*Library.*

<sup>k</sup> *Ranulfus Higden* Monachus *Cestrensis*, Scripsit varii generis  
 variarum que gentium historiam in septem libris, orsus a Mundi  
 origine, eamque texens ad annum Christi 1363. quo obiit, quam  
*Polychronicon* appellant, nobile opus. *J. Fosceline*, Cata. Histori.

<sup>l</sup> *Rogerus Cestriensis* *Polycratica temporum* ædedit, Opus elegans  
 ac rotundum a Mundi initio usque ad annum Domini 1327. quod  
 incipit; *Intrabo in agros priscorum sibseq.* Composuit etiam addi-  
 tiones quindecim annorum quæ incipiunt, septimo anno Regis *Ed-*  
*wardi II*, *Polycraticorum* verò primus liber post præfationem in-  
 cipit; *Julius Cæsar divinis humanisque rebus*, &c. Claruit hic  
*Cestrius*, Anno a Christi nativitate 339 quo ultimum opus finivit sub  
*Edwardo III*°. *Idem*.

Lord *Barkley*, was a <sup>m</sup> Part of this Chronicle translated into *English* by his Chaplain *John Trevisa*, a *Cornishman* by Birth, and Vicar of *Barcleye* in *Gloucestershire*, where my Lord dwelt. His Translation begins with ‘*Julius Cesar*, by counsell of the Senators of *Rome*, ordeynng wise men and ready to measure and describe all the worlde about.’ This Book Mr. *Caxton* now undertook to put in print, and added a Continuation of it to 1460, collected by himself; which was finished by him at the Press the 2d of *Juyll* 1482, in the 22d of *Edward IV*, or the last Year of his Reign. In an Epilogue printed by him at the End of this Book, he gives the following Account of it, and of the Reasons which induced him to print it.

‘ Thus, *saith he*, endeth the boke namyd *Policronycon* made and compyled by *Ranulph Monke of Chestre*, which ordeyned it in *Latyn*, and att request of the ryght worshipful lorde *Thomas lorde of Berkley* it was translated into *Englishe* by one *Trevisa* thenne *Vycarye of the Paryshe of Berkley*. And forasmochte as sythe the accomplismente of this sayd boke made by the sayd *Ranulph* ended the yere of oure lorde a thousand thre hundred

\* VII. ‘ fyfty and \* VIII, many thynges have falle whiche ben requysyte to be added to this worke; bycause mennes wytte in this time ben oblyvius and lyghtly forgetyng many

<sup>m</sup> What *Higden* wrote relating to the Times of the *Britains* and *Saxons* was not translated by *Trevisa*. It was published by Dr. *Gale* in *Latin* at *Oxford* 1691. but from a MS. which is not the best. *Englisb Histor. Library.*



\*thynges \*digne to be putte in memory; and \*worthy.  
 also there cannot be founde in thise dayes but  
 fewe that wryte in theyr regystres suche  
 thynges as dayly happe and fall; therefore I  
 Wyllyam Caxton a symple persone, have en-  
 devoyred me to wrytte first over al the sayd  
 booke of *Polychronycon* and somewhat have  
 chaunged the rude and olde englisch, that is  
 to wryte certayn wordes which in thise dayes  
 ben nother used ne understonde: and ferder-  
 more have put it in empynte, to thende, that  
 it may be hadde, and that matters therin com-  
 prised to be know. For the boke is generall  
 touchyng shortly many notable materes; And  
 also am avysed to make a nother boke after  
 this said werke, whiche shall be sette here af-  
 ter the same, and shall have his chapitours  
 and hys table aparte. For I dare not presume  
 to sette my boke ne joyne it to his for dyvers  
 causes. One is for as moche as I have not, ne  
 can gete no bokes of auctorytee treatynge of  
 suche Cronycles, except a lytyll boke named  
*Fasciculus temporum*, and another called *Au-*  
*reus de universo*, in whiche bokes I fynde right  
 lytyll matere \* syth the sayd time. And another \*since.  
 cause is, for as moche as my rude sympleness,  
 and ygnoraunte makynge ought not to be com-  
 pared, sette, ne joyned to his boke. Thenne I  
 shalle by the grace of god set my werke after,  
 a parte, for to accomplish the yeres syth that  
 he fynysshed his boke unto the yere of our  
 lord 1460, and the fyrste yere of the regne of  
 Kynge *Edwarde* the fourthe which amount to  
 an hundred and thre yere: which is agree-  
 able to the Date of the Conclusion of this  
 Chronicle, viz. 1357.

One cannot well help observing here, the great Modesty and Humility of Mr. *Caxton*, how mean an Opinion he had of himself and his Works, and with what Deference and Respect he treated others and their learned Labours. It is likewise obvious to remark what Mr. *Caxton* says of the Alteration of the *English* Language in his Time; which was so great, that there were many Words in *Trevisa's* Translation of the *Polychronicon*, which, in *his* Days, were neither used nor understood. Now it was but an hundred and twenty four Years since that Translation was made; whereas Archbishop *Parker* noted it as very strange, that our Language should be so changed in four hundred Years from his time, that the Manuscript Book of *the Lives of the Saints*, written about *A. D.* 1200, in old *English* Verse, now in *Bennet* College Library, was so written, that People could not understand it. This seems owing to the generous Endeavours of those two great Genius's, *Chaucer* and *Gower*, to polish and improve their Mother-tongue. However this be, Mr. *Caxton* tells us elsewhere, that for this Liberty taken by him in changing the old and obsolete Language of the ancient Books which he printed, he was variously censured and reflected on. 'Some gentlemen, he said, blamed him, sayeng, that in his translacyons he had overcuryous termes whiche coude not be understoode of comyn peple, and desired him to

*Catal.*  
*Lib. MS.*  
*in Bib. C.*  
*Corp. X<sup>ti</sup>*  
*Cantab.*

*Pref. to*  
*Eneydōs,*  
1490.

<sup>a</sup> He was a great mingler of *English* with *French*, unto which language, by like for that he was descended of *French*, or rather *Wallon* race, he carried a great affection. Since the time of *Chaucer* more *Latin* and *French* hath been mingled with our tongue than left out of it. *Verstegan* restitution, *Œ.* p. 222. *Ed.* 8<sup>o</sup>.

use olde and homely termes in his translacions. As he fayn wolde, he said, satisfye every man so to doo he toke an olde book and redde therein, but certaynly thenglyshe was so rude and broad, that he coude not wele understande it: also the lord abbot of *Westmynster* ded do shewe to him late certayn evydences wryton in olde englyshe for to reduce it into our englyshe then usid: but, that it was wretton in such wyse, that it was more lyke to <sup>b</sup> *ducbe* then *englyshe*, so that he coude not reduce, ne brynge it to be understonden. And certaynly, continued he, our language now used varyeth ferre from that which was spoken whan I was borne. For we Englyshe men ben borne under the domynacyon of the Mone which is never stedfaste, but ever waverynge, waxing one season, and waneth and dyscreaseth another season. And that comyn englyshe that is spoken in one shyre varyeth from another.' To explain this he tells the following Story: 'In my dayes, saith he, happened, that certayn marchauntes were in a ship in *Tamyse* for to have sayled over the see into *Zeland*, and for lacke of wynde thei tariēd atte <sup>c</sup> *Forland*, and wente to lande for to restrethe them. And one of them named *Sheffelde* a mercer, cam into an hows and axed for mete, and specyally he axyd after eggys. And the good wyf an-

<sup>b</sup> This is different from *Verstegan's* Observation, That 'the old French and old *Englysh* had 900 Years ago, or *A. D.* 700, as great affinity together as our Northern and Southern *Englysh* have at this day.' Had he said the old *Dutch* and old *Englysh*, he had been righter.

<sup>c</sup> *North Foreland*, in the Isle of *Tenet*, where, to this Day, are abundance of *Saxon* Words used. See the *History of this Island*, &c. 1737.

' swerede, that she coude speak no *Frenshe*;  
 ' And the marchaunt was angry, for he also  
 ' coude speke no *Frenshe*, but wolde have hadde  
 ' egges, and she understode him not. And  
 ' thenne, at last, another sayd, that he wolde  
 ' have <sup>d</sup> *eyren*, then the good wyf sayd, that she  
 ' understod *bym* wel.' On which Mr. *Caxton*  
 made this Remark; ' Loo what shold a man in  
 ' thise dayes now wryte, *egges*, or *eyren*? cer-  
 ' tainly it is harde to playse every man bycause  
 ' of dyversite and change of langage. For in  
 ' these dayes every man that is in any reputa-  
 ' cyon in his countre wyll utter his commyny-  
 ' cacion and maters in suche maners and termes  
 ' that fewe men shall understonde theym.' On  
 the other hand, Mr. *Caxton* informs his Readers;  
 ' That some honest and grete clerkes had ben  
 ' wyth him and desyred him to wryte the moste  
 ' curyous termes that he coude fynde. And thus;  
 ' (added he) bytwene playn rude, and curyous  
 \* *confused*, ' I stande \* abafshed. But in my judgmente the  
 out of coun- ' comyn termes that be daily used ben lyghter  
 tenance. ' to be understonde than the olde and aun-  
 ' cyent englyshe. He, therefore concluded for  
 ' a meane bytwene both, and to reduce and  
 ' translate into our englyshe not over rude ne  
 ' curyous, but in such termes as should be un-  
 ' derstanden by goddys grace according to his  
 ' copye.'

What Mr. *Caxton* here observes of the Scar-  
 city of Materials for his Design of continuing  
 the *Polychronicon*, &c. shews how little Regard  
 was had, at that Time, to the History of this  
 Kingdom. But, however he might fail in his

<sup>d</sup> See *Sewel's* Dictionary. V. *Ey*.

Search after the Registers and Chronicles of those Times, so as to light upon only the two little Books which he mentions, *John Stow*, in his *Summary of the English Chronicles*, refers to several others: As *Robert Avesbury*, Registry of the Archbishop of *Canterbury's* Court, *Thomas de la More*, *John Rouse*, or *Rosse*, *Thomas Walsingham*, *John Tinmouth's* *Historia aurea*, &c. Some of these have been since printed; and about \* five Years ago were printed \* 1732. at *Oxford*° two other old Writers of *English* Affairs, who continued their History to *Edward* the IVth's Reign; the Period chosen by *Mr. Caxton*. But some of these have been represented as a Sett of very ordinary Scriblers; as *Otterbourne*, &c. The † two little Books which *Mr. Caxton* mentions, are not, so far as I can find, in any of the Catalogues of our MS. English Libraries. However, it has been observed, that the *fifteenth* Century, or from *A. D.* 1400, to 1500, was one of the most rude and illiterate Ages; and, that therefore we are not to look for a large Harvest of Historians in a dearth and scarcity of Persons eminent in other Parts of Learning: and, particularly of the Reign of King *Edward IV*, that even the Favourers of Justice and his Cause have not known what Account to give of the Times; or how to form a regular History out of such a vast Heap of Rubbish and Confusion; which, perhaps, was

English  
Historical  
Library.

° Duo rerum Anglicarum scriptores veteres, viz. *Tho. Otterbourne* et *Joan. Whetbamstede* ab origine gentis Britannicæ usque ad *Edwardum IV.* 2 Vol. *Oxonie* 1732.

† *Josceline* mentions one entitled, *Manipulus Chronicorum*, which he said was in *Aula Gunwilli*. *Mr. Mattaire* has given us Notice of the following Book, *Fasciculus temporum*, per *Joannem Pryis* anno dñi 1487. *Argentine*, Fol.

the Reason why Mr. *Caxton* did not care to meddle with it.

In the MS. of *Trevisa's* Translation of the *Polychronicon*, he gives the following Account of the Time when he ended it. 'God be  
' thanked of all his dedes; this translation is  
' ended in a thursday, the eyghenthe day of  
' 'avril' the yere of our lord a thousand three  
' hondred fourscore and sevene, the tenthe yere  
' of King *Richard* the second after the conquest  
' of *Engelonde*, the yere of my lordes age, Sire  
' *Thomas* of *Berkly* that made me make thys  
' translation five and thrytty.' In transcribing  
this, Mr. *Caxton* wrote and printed *a thousand  
thre hundred fifty and seven, the one and thyrty  
yere of K. Edward the thyrde after the Conquest.*  
This has been reflected on as done through ei-  
ther Ignorance or Design. One would think it  
could not be done through Ignorance; and  
what Advantage it could be to Mr. *Caxton* to  
make this Alteration designedly. I cannot see.  
It seems as if he thought *Trevisa*, or his Ma-  
nuscript, mistaken, and designed to correct it;  
since the Date he mentions is the same with  
that of the Conclusion of the *Polychronicon*, or  
when that was ended; which Mr. *Caxton* seems  
to have confounded with the Time of *Trevisa's*  
ending his *English* Translation of it. However  
this be, next after it is the *Epilogue* before-men-  
tioned. Then follows, ¶ *Incipit liber ultimus*;  
to which is prefix'd this short Prologue, or  
Preface.

'Thenne following this fore wryten boke of  
' *Polychronicon*, I have enterprysed to ordeyne

¶ The *French* Word for *April*.

this newe booke bi the sufferance of almighty  
 god to contynue the sayd werke breyfly, and  
 to sette in history all thynges suche as I  
 myght gete from the tyme that *he* lefte, That  
 was in the yere of oure lorde 1357, unto  
 the yere of our said lorde 1460, and to the  
 fyrste yere of the regne of kynge *Edwarde*  
 the fourthe.' This new Book consists of thir-  
 ty three little Chapters; and is thus concluded:  
 And here I make an ende of thys lytell werke  
 as nygh as I can fynde after the forme of the  
 werke to fore made by *Ranulph* monke of  
*Cheestre*. And where as there is sawte I be-  
 seeche them that shall rede it to correcte it:  
 for yf I coude have founde moo storyes I  
 woude have sett in it moo. But the sub-  
 stance that I can fynde and knowe I have  
 shortly set them in this boke, to thentent, that  
 suche thynges as have ben done syth the deth  
 or end of the sayd boke of *Polychronicon*  
 should be hadde in remembraunce, and not  
 put in oblyvyon or forgot, prayenge all them  
 that shall se thys symple werke to pardon me  
 of my symple wrytynge<sup>h</sup>.

¶ *Finis ultimi libri.*

The

<sup>h</sup> In a Catalogue of our *English* Historians, made by the learned  
*John Fosceline*, for the Use of Archbishop *Parker*, we have the  
 following Account of this *Polychronicon*; That it is in seven Books,  
 and begins at the Creation, and ends 1363, in which Year *Higden*  
 died: That *John Trevisa* translated it into *English*, and wrote  
 Continuations of it containing 55 Years from *A. D.* 1342, to  
*A. D.* 1397, in which *Trevisa* himself flourished: That *William*  
*Caxton* wrote Appendices to *Trevisa*, which are continued from  
 the Year 1397, where *Trevisa*'s Additions end, to the Year 1460.  
 The learned Mr. *Selden* observed, That this Translation of the *Pol-*  
*ychronicon*, had been twice printed [by *Caxton* and *de Worde*] and  
 continued by the Translator *John Trevisa*, even to the Beginning  
 of *Edward* the Fourth's Reign.' The most Reverend Archbishop

A. D. The next Year, Mr. Caxton printed no fewer  
1483. than the following Books.

Thores-  
by's Mu-  
seum.  
P. 544.

I. *The Pilgrimage of the Soul.* This was translated out of *Frenshe* into *English*, with somewhat of Addition, 'and empyrinted at *West-  
'mestre* and fynished the *sixth* day of *Juyn*  
'the yere of our Lord 1483, and the *first* yere  
'of the Regne of Kynge *Edward* the *fyfthe*.'  
It was written in *French* by *Antoine Gerard*,  
and entituled, by him, *Le Pelerinage de l'Ame*,  
and printed at *Paris* A. D. 1480. At the Be-  
ginning of *Caxton's English* Edition of it is  
printed,

'This booke is intytled *the Pylgremage of the  
'Sowle*, translated oute of *frenshe* into Eng-  
'lyshe, which booke is full of devoute maters  
'touchyng the *sowle*, and many questyons to  
'cause a man to lyve the better in this world,  
'and it conteyneth five bookes, as it appeareth  
'hereafter by chaptyers.'

*Usher* observed, from *Bishop Bale*, That '*Trevisa* continued the *Poly-  
'chronicon* from A. D. 1342, to A. D. 1397, in which *Trevisa* him-  
'self flourished, under King *Richard* II.' And my learned and in-  
dultrious Predecessor, Mr. *Henry Wharton*, tells us, That 'his Grace  
was led into 'the Mistake by Mr. *Caxton*, of representing *Trevisa*  
'wrong;' as if he had wrote, That he ended his Translation A. D.  
1357. instead of A. D. 1387. These are Escapes of these learned  
Men. I only add, That *de Worde*, in his *Proeme* to his Edition of the  
*English Polychronicon*, A. D. 1495, tells us, in Imitation of his  
Master *Caxton*, That he had 'added such stories as *he* coude fynde  
'fro the ende that *Ranulphe* fynished his booke which was 1457  
'unto the yere 1495, which ben an hundred and thirty eight Yere.'  
In the *Cottonian* Library is a Manuscript of the latter Part of this  
History, which ends A. D. 1326, and is continued by some un-  
known Hand, to the 15th of King *Richard* II, or A. D. 1392.

<sup>1</sup> He began to reign April 9, 1483, and was murder'd and suc-  
ceeded by his Uncle *Richard* III, June 22, the same Year.



*At the End.*

Here endeth the dreame of pylgremage of  
the soule translaticid out of frensche in to Eng-  
lish with somewhat of addicions, the yere of  
oure lorde MCCCC and thyrten, and endeth in  
the vigyle of Seynt *Bartholomew*.

Emprynted at *Westmestre* by *William Caxton*,  
and fynished, as above.

2. <sup>k</sup> *Liber Festivalis*, or *Directions for keeping Penes*  
*Feasts all the Year*, 4°. This Book begins with <sup>R. D.</sup>  
a Prologue which informs us of the Design of <sup>Water-</sup>  
this Collection, viz. That for *thelpe of suche* <sup>Archid.</sup>  
*clerkes this booke was drawn to excuse them for* <sup>Mid.</sup>  
*default of bookes and by simpleness of cunning,*  
*and to show unto the people what the Holy Saints*  
*suffered and did for GOD's sake, and for his*  
*Love, so that they should have the more devotion*  
*in GOD's Saints, and with the better will*  
*come to the Church to serve GOD, and pray*  
*His Saints of their help.* Then follow Sermons  
on nineteen Sundays and Ferials, beginning  
with the first Sunday in *Advent*, and ending  
with *Corpus Christi* Day. Next are Discourses  
or Sermons on forty three Holy-days, viz.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. St. <i>Andrew</i>                     | 8. St. <i>Innocents</i>                        |
| 2. St. <i>Nicholas</i>                   | 9. St. <i>Thomas of Can-</i><br><i>terbury</i> |
| 3. Conception of the<br>B. <i>Virgin</i> | 10. Circumcision of our<br>Lord                |
| 4. St. <i>Thomas</i>                     | 11. <i>Epiphany</i>                            |
| 5. Nativ. of our Lord                    | 12. Conversion of St.<br><i>Paul</i>           |
| 6. St. <i>Stephen</i>                    |  |
| 7. St. <i>Jahn Evangelist</i>            |  |

<sup>k</sup> About what Time this Book was composed I do not certainly know.

- |  |                                      |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 13. Purification of S. Mary            | 29. Name of <i>Jesus</i>             |
| 14. St. <i>Matthias</i>                | 30. St. <i>Laurence</i> the Martyr   |
| 15. Annunciation of S. Mary            | 31. Assumption of the <i>V. Mary</i> |
| 16. St. <i>George</i> the Martyr       | 32. St. <i>Bartholomew</i> Apostle   |
| 17. St. <i>Mark</i> Evangelist         | 33. Nativity of B. <i>Virgin</i>     |
| 18. <i>Philip</i> and <i>Jacob</i>     | 34. Exaltation of Holy Cross         |
| 19. Invention of Holy Cross            | 35. <i>Jejunia</i> quatuor temporum  |
| 20. St. <i>John</i> ante Portam Latine | 36. St. <i>Matthew</i> Apostle       |
| 21. St. <i>John Baptist</i>            | 37. St. <i>Michael</i>               |
| 22. St. <i>Peter</i> and <i>Paul</i>   | 38. St. <i>Luke</i> Evangelist       |
| 23. Visitation of S. <i>Mary</i>       | 39. St. <i>Symon</i> and <i>Jude</i> |
| 24. Translat. of St. <i>Tho.</i> Cant. | 40. All Saints                       |
| 25. St. <i>Mary Magdalen</i>           | 41. All Souls                        |
| 26. St. <i>James</i>                   | 42. St. <i>Martin</i> Archbp.        |
| 27. St. <i>Ann</i>                     | 43. St. <i>Katherine</i> the Virgin  |
| 28. Transfiguration of the Lord        |                                      |

Then follows a Sermon *de dedicatione Ecclesie*, or, on the Church Holiday; at the End of which is, *Explicit, Enprynted at Westmynster by William Caxton the laste daye of Juyn Anno domini 1483.* <sup>1</sup> After this follows <sup>m</sup> *four Sermons.* The *first* of these begins thus; *The maiester of sentence in the seconde booke and firste di-*

<sup>1</sup> Here in the *Rohan* Edition 1499, follows, *A short exortacion of to be shewed to the People, &c.* entitled, *Hamus caritatis.*

<sup>m</sup> So called in an Edition printed in *celeberrima urbe Rothomagensi, per Magistrum Martinum Morin. Anno domini Millefimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo nono, die vero vicesima secunda mensis Junii, impensis Johannis Richardi.*

*sinētion sayth, that the souerayn cause why god made al creatures in heven, erthe or water was his owne goodnes* <sup>n</sup>.—In it is the *Pater-noster*, or Lord's-prayer, the xii Articles of the Faith, <sup>Collect.</sup> and the Ten Commandments in the *English* <sup>Nº. III.</sup> Tongue, with a short Paraphrase or Comment. And yet it appears by Bishop *Longland's* Register, 1521, almost forty Years after, That 'se- <sup>Acts and</sup> veral men and women of the Diocese of *Lin-* <sup>Monu-</sup> *colne* were detected and uttered for teaching <sup>ments, &c.</sup> 'and learning the *Pater Noster* and *Creed* in <sup>Vol. II.</sup> 'English, and reciting the ten commandments 'in their own houses in *English*.' And *William Tindal* observed to Sir *Thomas More*, That the Bishop of *London*, *Fitz-James*, would have made the old, or late, Dean *Colet* of *St. Paul's*, an Heretick for translating the *Pater Noster* into *English*: Though if it was no other than what is printed in the Primer of *Salisbury* Use at *Paris*, 1532, and entitled, *The seven Petitions of the Paternoster*, by *John Colet Deane* of *Paules*, and it was not a strict Translation, but only a Paraphrase. By a Constitution of Archbishop *Peccham's*, made at *Lambith*, A. D. 1281, the Articles of Faith, which are there said to be fourteen, are set down with a Summary Brevity, that *no one* might excuse himself by pleading Ignorance: and every Priest who presided over a People, or had a Cure of Souls, is required *four* Times a Year, or once a Quarter, to expound them to the People in the Vulgar Tongue. Accordingly *Jo. Thoresby*, Archbishop of *York*, A. D. 1352, made an

<sup>n</sup> This Mr. *Palmer* mistook for the beginning of a distinct Book.

*English* Exposition of these fourteen Articles or *Pointes that falles to the truth, &c.* It began as this Sermon does; *Als that a grete clerk shewes in his bokes, et est in secundo sententiarum distinctione prima, &c.* and was ordered by the Archbishop to be read to the People. But by another ° Constitution made by Archbishop *Arundel, A. D. 1408*, it was ordain'd, That 'no body hereafter should by his own authority translate into *English* any Text of Holy Scripture, by the way of a book or little book, or treatise, nor that any one should read any such Translation, unless it was approved by the Diocesan of the Place, or, if need was, by a provincial Council, on pain of the greater excommunication, and being punished as a fautor of Heresie and Error.' That is, as *Lyndwood* glosses, 'an enquiry might be made against such, and a Purgation be indicted at the Pleasure of the enquirer, in which if they should fail, they might be condemned as Hereticks.' On this Constitution, I suppose, were the Persons mentioned in Bishop *Longland's* Register, persecuted and put to Death: But this the learned Mr. *Collier* styles *A severe Charge*, and hopes it is all a Mistake and Misinformation. But Records and publick Facts are not to be thus discredited. It appears by the *Manual*, according to the Use of *Sarum*, That Godfathers and Godmothers of Children, were to learn, or see them be learned, the *Paternoster, Ave* and *Credo*, after the *lawe of all*

*Appendix  
to Vicaria  
Leodiensis,  
p. 213.  
Ed. 1724.*

*Eccles.  
History,  
Vol. II.*

° This seems occasion'd by Dr. *John Wickliff's* Translation of the Bible into *English*; 'by which Means (*Knighton* said) the Gospel was made vulgar, and troden under foot of Swine. See *Wickliff's* Life.

*holy church*; which was, that they should be learned in *Latin*. Dr. *John White*, who lived at *Eccles in Lancashire*, has given us a Copy of the *Creed*, as it used to be repeated by the common People there in *Latin*: *Creezum zuum patrum onitentem*, &c. And for this Reason it is, that in the Office of publick Baptism of Infants in our Liturgy, *Godfathers*, &c. are required to provide that the Child may learn the *Creed*, the *Lord's Prayer*, and the *Ten Commandments in the Vulgar Tongue*. According to the Principles of some of the modern Catholics, it is much better for the People not to understand the common Service of the Church than to understand it; or that it should be in *Latin*, and not in *English*.

*Bishop  
Christo-  
ferfon's  
Exhorta-  
tion, &c.*

In the Translation of the *Creed*, which we have in this Sermon, the *fourth* Article is thus expressed; *I byleve, that he suffered payne under Ponce Pilate, &c.* The Translator understanding *Pontius* to be the name of some Place where *Pilate* was either born, or lived or governed. Accordingly in this Book is this silly Tale told. 'Themperoure, by counseyll of the Romainys, sente *Pylate* into a contree that was called *Pounce* where the People of that contree were so cursed that they slewe ony that come to be their Mayster over them. Soo when this *Pylate* come thyder he applied him to her manners; soo what with wyles and sotylytie he overcame hem, and had the maystrye, and gate his name, and was called *Pylate* of *Pounce*, and had grete domynacion and power.' According to this manner of writing, excepting sometimes *Ponce* for *Pounce*, was this Article of the *Creed* expressed in *English*, from the fourteenth

## The LIFE of William Caxton.

teenth Century down to *A. D.* 1532; when, in the Primer of *Salisbury Use*, it was altered to *Pontius Pilate*, which was followed by Archbishop *Granmer* in his Notes on the King's Book, 1538.

The ninth Article is thus render'd: *I believe in holy Churche, &c.* This seems to have been first introduced to support the new Doctrine of the Infallibility of the Church or Clergy, and to be made a Test of Orthodoxy. On a Tombstone in the high Chancel of the Church of *Fauresham* in *Kent*, is the following Inscription, in a semicircler of Brass, over the Head of the Effigies of *William Thornbury*, a Vicar of this Church, who died *A. D.* 1408. *Credo in Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam, Sanctorum Communionem.* In 1457, Dr. *Reginald Pecock*, Bishop of *Chichester*, was accused to the Archbishop of *Canterbury* holding, among other Things, that *it is not necessary to Salvation to believe in the Holy Catholick Church*, and forced to abjure, and deprived of his Bishopric. And yet *St. Austin*, as he is quoted by Bishop *Bonner*, in his *profitable and necessary Doctrine, &c.* *A. D.* 1555, observed, *Quod Ecclesiam credere, non tamen in Ecclesiam credere debemus, quia Ecclesia non DEUS, sed DOMUS DEI est.* *Erasmus* said, That he dreaded to say, *I believe in the holy Church*; because *St. Cyprian* had taught him, that we ought to believe in *GOD* only, in whom we absolutely place all our Confidence. But as to the *CHURCH*, properly so called, although it consists of the Faithful only, yet they are men who, of good Men, may become evil ones, who may be deceived themselves and deceive others. Nay in this very Book it is ob-

served,

‘ served, that to believe *to* GOD is one thing,  
 ‘ and to believe *in* GOD is another : and that to  
 ‘ believe in GOD is to cleve to GOD by love ful-  
 ‘ filling his Will.’ But it had been the Obser-  
 vation of the noble Lord *Cobham*, who suffered  
 as an Heretic, *A. D.* 1417, That ‘ in all our  
 ‘ Crede is *IN* but thrice mentioned concerning  
 ‘ belief, in *God the Father*, in *God the Son*, and  
 ‘ in *God the Holy Ghost*.—*That the Church*  
 ‘ ——— *bath not any other in.*’ Whereas in the  
*English Translation* of the Creed, printed in the  
*Salisbury Primer* 1532, the last Articles of it  
 are thus render’d: *I believe in the holy Church*  
*Catholike*—*in the remission of finnes*—*in the*  
*resurrection of the body* ——— *in everlasting*  
*life.*

In the *second* of these four Sermons is, 1. An  
 Explanation of the seven Sacraments of the  
 Romish Church. 2. Of the seven dedes of  
 Mercy bodily, the which every Man is bound  
 by the bidding of GOD to fulfil and do to his  
 Power ; that is to saye, feed the hungry ; give  
 drink to the thursty ; clothe the naked ; her-  
 berow the housless ; visit the Sick ; deliver  
 prisoners and bury the poor when they are  
 dead. 3. Of seven other ghostly deeds of Mer-  
 cy. 4. Of the seven principal Vertues that  
 every man and woman should use. 5. Of the  
 seven deadly sins. 6. The nine paynes.

In the other two Sermons are declared the  
 three Parts of Penance, *viz.* *Contrition*, *Confes-  
 sion* and *Satisfaccyon*.

Then follows, 1. *The General Sentence*, which  
 begins thus : ‘ Good men and wymmnen I do you  
 ‘ to understonde, that we that have cure of  
 ‘ your sowlys be commaunded of our ordenarys  
 ‘ and

## The LIFE of William Caxton.

and by the constitucyons and the lawe of holy Chirche, to shewe to yowe *four* tymes by the yere in eche a quarter of the yere onys, when the people is most plenary in holy chirche, the articles of the sentence of cursynge, so that nought for our defaulte no man nor woman falle therin.

Next is, ¶ *Modus fulminandi sententiam*, Prelatus alba indutus cum ceteris sacerdotibus in ecclesia existentibus cruce erecta, candelis accensis stans in pulpito, pronuncient verba que sequuntur: Ex autoritate Dei Patris omnipotentis et beate Marie Virginis, et omnium sanctorum excommunicamus et diabolo commendamus omnes supradictos malefactores.

¶ *Finita sententia extinguat lumen ad terrorem pulsatis campanis.*

¶ The bedes on the Sondag.

Ye shal knele doun on your knees and lyft up your hertes.—

Enprynted by wylliam Caxton at westmestre.

*The Leaves are not number'd, and only the Signatures used.*

To observe that by the Way, this *General Sentence* or *Excommunication*, as it is called, was first ordered by *Stephen Langton*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *A. D.* 1222, who decreed it should be published by every Parish Priest in his holy Vestments, with Bells tolling, and Candles lighted, before the whole Congregation in the Mother-tongue, four Times a Year, viz. on *Christmas-day*, *Easter Sunday*, *Whit-sunday*, and *Alballow's Day*. In a Volume of Tracts in Manuscript, said to be written by Dr. *John Wicliff*, about an hundred and fifty Years after,



is one entitled, *The great sentence of Curse expounded.* But the Form of the General Sentence in this *Exposition*, somewhat differs from that in the Constitution. The *Exposition* informs us, That ‘*First*, all Heretics agenst the faith of Holy Writt ben cursed solemnly four times in the Year, and also meyn-tenors and consenters to Heresie and Heretics in their errour.’ The *second* Article is the *first* in the Constitution, and in the General Sentence in *English*, in the following Words; ‘All those ben cursed solemnly that spoilen or taken any right of Holy Church, or defrauden holy Church of any due.’ But in the *English* Form of the General Sentence is this Article thus expressed; ‘I denounce and shew for acursyd alle tho that fraunchyse of holy chyrch breke or destrouble, or are ageyn the pees or the state of holy chirche, or there to assente wyth dede or counceyl. And also alle tho that pryve holy chirche of ony right or make of holy chirche ony lay fee that is halowyd or sanctified; And alle tho that wythholde the rightes of holy chirche, that is for to say offrynges, tythes, rentys, or fredom of holy chirche letten, or destrouble, or breke, that is to say, yf ony man flee to chirche or chirche yerde who so hym out drawyth, and al tho that therto procure or assent: And alle tho that purchase letters of ony lordes courte wherfore lettynge is made in cristen courte that processe of right may not be determynyd nor endyd.’ On this the Expounder observes, That ‘Christen men, taught in GOD’s Law, clepen Holy Church the Congregation of just men, for whom *Jesu Christ* shedd his blood, not for

‘ stones and timber and earthly muck that Antichrist’s Clerks magnifyen more than God’s righteoufness and Christen Souls, and, that then those Prelates and Curates that withdrawn the rightful Preaching of *Christ’s* Gospel fro Christen men that ben Holy Church ben open accursed of GOD and all His Saints.’ He further observes, That ‘ when the King and secular Lords perceiven well, that Clerks wasten their ancetres alms in pomp and pride glotony and other Vanites, and they wolden take agen the superfluity of temporal goods and help the lond and themselves and their tenents, these worldly Clerks crien fastly, that they ben cursed for entermitting of Holy Church goods, as if secular Lords and the Commons were no part of Holy Church, but only proud Priests full of covetisse, Symony, and Extortion, &c.’

A. D.  
1382.

If seems to be after the writing and publishing of this Tract, that Archbishop *Courtney* appointed a Court of certain select Bishops, &c. to be held in the Monastery of the Preaching Friers in *London*, to condemn some Conclusions said to be maintained by *Dr. Wiclif* and his Followers. Among these were the following ones:

1. That the Substance of material Bread and Wine remains after Consecration in the Sacrament of the Altar.

2. That the Accidents do not remain without a Subject after Consecration in the same Sacrament:

3. That Christ is not in the Sacrament of the Altar identically, verily and really in his proper corporal Presence.

To

To make therefore the stronger Impression on the Minds of the People, and raise in them a greater Abhorrence of these Conclusions, the following Article was added in this *General Sentence* which was read to the People in their Mother-tongue every Quarter, *viz.* denouncing and shewing for accursed — *al heretikes that \* leve not in the Sacrament of the aulter,\* believe that is goddes oune body in fleshe and bloude in forme of brede.*

In the forme of bidding the bedes on the Sunday, or as it was sometimes called, *The Dominical Prayer in the Pulpit*, is the following Clause: ‘Also ye shal praye for al trewe pyl-  
 ‘gryms and palmers that have taken theyr waye  
 ‘to Rome, to Jerusalem, to saynt Katheryne’s  
 ‘or to saynt James, or to ony other holy place,  
 ‘that god of his grace yeve them tyme and  
 ‘space wel for to goo and to come to the prouf-  
 ‘fyt of theyr lyves and sowles.’ By this it ap-  
 pears, That at the Time of composing this Form, these were the fashionable Pilgrimages. In a more ancient Form, no particular Places or Saints are mentioned, but this Clause is expressed as follows: ‘Ye shulle bydde for <sup>p</sup> hem  
 ‘that in <sup>g</sup> gwood wayes <sup>r</sup> beest ywent other  
 ‘wendyt, other <sup>t</sup> thenkit to wenthe heer sennys  
 ‘to bote, that our Lord *Jhesu Crist* warde and  
 ‘shild hem from all misaventryes, and gront  
 ‘hem so goon and comen, that it be hym to  
 ‘<sup>w</sup> worship, and hem in remission of here  
 ‘<sup>s</sup> synnys, for hem and for oos, and alle Christine  
 ‘folk.’ This seems to intimate as if, at the

<sup>p</sup> them.    <sup>g</sup> good.    <sup>r</sup> been gon or going.    <sup>t</sup> think to  
 go their sin to make satisfaction for.    <sup>h</sup> honour.

Time when this ancients Form was drawn the Saints *Katherine* and *James* of *Compostella*, were not in so great Request, or had in so much Veneration as they were afterwards.

About 709, an odd and surprizing Opinion of the Merit and Holiness of Pilgrimages to *Rome*, wonderfully prevailed among the *English*, inso-much that all Ranks and Degrees of every Sex and Age of the People of this Nation travelled to *Rome*, and placed a mighty Confidence in visiting the Tombs of the Apostles *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, and of such other holy Men, &c. as had there suffered for the Sake of Christ. The Consequence of this was, That about the middle of this Century, this Humour so far increased, that the *English* Nuns ran to *Rome*; and there were so many lewd Women of the *English* Nation abroad in *Lombardy*, *France*, &c. that *Boniface* Archbishop of *Mentz*, complained of them to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and recommended to him the Suppression of this Practice of Pilgrimage as of very bad and scandalous Consequence. The Practice of going in Pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*, or the *Holy Land*, was new in the *fourth* Century, when, about the latter End of it, *Gregory Nyssen* wrote a learned Letter to dissuade Christians from going thither on that Errand; and was at last here in *England*, treated with Contempt and Ridicule, as only a Pretence for <sup>u</sup> Sloth and Laziness.

<sup>u</sup> The *English* Word *saunter*, to live an idle, lazy Life; comes from the *French*, *Sainte Terre*, Holy Land, as much as to say, He is a *Saunterer* or a Pilgrim to the Holy Land.

The Saint \* *Katherine* here mentioned is, I suppose, the Saint of that Name, of *Sene* in *Italy*, who was born there, *A. D.* 1347, and canonized by Pope *Pius II.* *A. D.* 1461.

St. *James I* take to be y<sup>e</sup> St. *James* of *Compostella*, in *Spain*: Hither, it was said, the Bones or Reliques of *James*, the Brother of *John*, who was killed by *Herod*, were translated. But it does not appear, that much Notice was taken of them till *Calistus* or *Calixtus II*'s Time, who was chosen Pope of *Rome*, *A. D.* 1119: He not only wrote a Tract of the Miracles of this Saint done at *Compostella*, but advised the *English* Pilgrims, in particular, rather to go in Pilgrimage to this Saint, than to *Rome*; and promised them, on account of the Length of the Journey, that if they went twice to *Compostella*, they should have refunded to them the same advantageous Benediction which they had who went once to *Rome*.

3. *The Fables of Æsop*, *Auian*, *Alphonfus* and *Poggius*; translated out of *Frenshe* into *English*, at *Westmestre*. The Leaves of this Book are number'd thus; I°, II°, III°. and it has the Signatures, but not the Direction or catch Word, nor any Date.

4. *Confessio Amantis*, the Confession of the Lover. This Book was made, by *John Gower*,

\* Mr. *Caxton* printed her Life.

y We were wont to say, Let us go in Pilgrimage to Sainct *Peter* at *Rome*, and Sainct *James* in *Compostella*; the application and appointing of the oblation and sacrificing of Christ by the Priest alone to suche persones as the Priest would sing or say Masse for ——— to halowe and preserve them that went to *Jerusalem*, to *Rome*, to St. *James* in *Compostella*, and to other Places in Pilgrimage. *Archbishop Cranmer's Defence of the true and Catholick Doctrine of the Sacrament, &c.*

in English Verse, and enprynted by Mr. Caxton, at *Wellminster*, and fynysshed the 2d Day of *Septembre*, the first yere of *Kynge Rychard the third*. At the End of it is this Colophon :

\* Golver. *Orate pro anima Joannis \* Gower, Quicun-*

\* Golver. *que enim pro anima ipsius Johannis \* Gower, oraverit, tociens quociens mill. quingentos dies indulgencie ab ecclesia rite concessos misericorditer in domino possidebit.* Our learned Antiquarian

*DeScripto. Leland* tells us, That 'this' *John Gower* was

*Britan.* 'of the Knightly Order, and born in *Yorkshire* :  
' that he was a Lawyer by Profession, and laboured much in Poetry, and was the first Poet  
' lisher of his own countrey language, which  
' before his time lay uncultivated, and almost  
' quite rude: that he wrote many things in English,  
' lish, not only in verse, but also in prose,  
' which were read with pleasure by the learned  
' even in *his* time, the reign of *K. Henry VIII.*  
' that among his greater works are these three,  
' *Speculum Meditantis, Vox Clamantis,* and  
' *Confessio Amantis.*' He flourished in King *Richard II's* Reign, to whom he dedicated his Works; and, when he was blind, presented to him his Song in praise of Peace. He was an intimate Friend and Acquaintance of that

<sup>2</sup> The yere of our lord a thousand ccccxxxiii, i. e. CCCCLXXXIII.

<sup>4</sup> Not long after the xv day of *October* 1400, deceased the Poet

\* *It was John Gower* who lieth buried in \* *St. Mary Overies* Church or *St. originally Mary's* on the bank in *Southwarke*. He new builded a great parte of that Church, and compiled three famous books. The firste *Mary* in Latine *Vox clamantis*; the seconde in frenche, *Speculum Meditantis*: the thirde in english, *Confessio amantis* which is in prynte. *Magdalen*, but *Summarie of English Chronicles*, p. 330.

32 Hen.

VIII. it was. by Act of Parliament, united to *St. Margaret's* in *Southwarke*, and named *St. Savicur*.

eminent Poet *Geoffery Chaucer*, as he shews in this Book, and used to submit his Lucubrations to *his* Judgment, as *Chaucer* did his *Loves of Troilus*, to the Censure and Correction of *Gower* and *Strode*.

5. <sup>b</sup> *The boke of thordre of chyualrye or knyght-Penes*  
*bode.* This, Mr. Caxton tells us, he translated J. Ames.  
 out of Frenche into Englyshe at a request of a  
 gentyl and noble esquier and presented it to K.  
 Rychard III. 1483, to thende, that he commaunde  
 this booke to be had and redde unto other yong lordes,  
 knyghtes, and gentylmen within this royame, that  
 the noble ordre of chyualrye be hereafter better  
 used and honoured than hit hath ben in late days  
 passed. It is a thin Quarto, and contains eight  
 Chapters; The first of these saith, 'how a  
 'knyght beyn an Heremyte devised to the  
 'sqyer the rule and order of chyualrye. The  
 '2<sup>d</sup> the begynnyng of chyualrye: The 3<sup>d</sup> thof-  
 'fyce of chyualrye: The 4<sup>th</sup> the examinacion  
 'that ought to be made to the sqyer when he  
 'wylle enter into thordre of chyualrye: The  
 '5<sup>th</sup> in what maner the sqyer ought to receyve  
 'chyualrye: The 6<sup>th</sup> the signifaunce of tharmes  
 'longynge to a knyght al by ordre: The 7<sup>th</sup>  
 'the custommes that aperteyne to a knyght:  
 'The 8<sup>th</sup> of the honoure that oughte to be done  
 'to a knyght. At the End of this Book is an  
*Epilogue* of Mr. Caxton's own writing, which,  
 for the Rarity and Curiosity of it, I have here  
 transcribed and added.

<sup>b</sup> In a catalogue of Books for sale there is a book called, *The Harbor of Battails of the Faits of Armes and Chivalry*. Fol. by *W<sup>m</sup> Caxton* 1490. *Bently and Walford's Catal.* 1687.

¶ Here endeth the book of *thordre of chyualry*, whiche booke is translated oute of *Frenyshe* into *Englyshe* at a requeste of a gentyl and noble esquier by me *William Caxton* dwellynge in *Westminstre* besyde *London* in the most best wyse that god hath suffer'd me, and accordyng to the cople that the sayde squyer deliuered to me. whiche booke is not requysyte to every comyn man to have, but to noble gentylmen that by their vertu entende to come and entre into the noble ordre of chyualrye, the whiche in these late dayes hath ben used accordyng to this booke here to fore wretton, but forgotten, and by the exercyses of chyualry not used, honoured, ne exercysed as hit hath ben in auntyent tyme, at whiche tyme the noble actes of the knyghtes of *Englonde* that used chyualrye were renomed thurgh the universal world.

Geoffrey  
of Mon-  
mouth  
*Brit. Hist.*

As for to speke to fore thyncarnacyon of *Jhesu Cryste*, where were there ever ony lyke to *brenius* and *belinus* that from the grete *Brytayne*, now called *Englonde*, unto *Rome* and ferre beyonde, conquered many royammes and londes, whos noble actes remayne in tholde hystories of the Romaynes. And syth thyncarnacyon of oure lorde, byhold that noble kyng of *Brytayne*, kynge *Arthur*, with all the noble knyghtes of the round table, whoos noble actes and noble chyualrye of his knyghtes occupye soo many large volumes that is a worlde, or as thyng incredible to byleve. O ye knyghtes of *Englond*, where is the custome and utage of noble chyualry that was used in tho dayes? what do ye now but go to the \* baynes and playe at dyse? And some not wel advyfed use not honest and

\* *basys.*

good



good rule ageyn alle ordre of knyghthode, leve this, leve it, and rede the noble volumes of faynt *graal*, of *lancelot*, of *galaad*, of *trystram*, of *perse forest*, of *percyual*, of *gawayn*, and many mo. Ther shalle ye see manhode, curtesye and gentylnesse. And loke in latter dayes of the noble actes syth the conqueste; as in Kyng *Rychard's* days \* *cure du lyon*, *Edward* the fyrste \* *heart of* and the thyrde, and his noble fones; Syre *Robert Knolles*, Syre *Johan Hawkwode*, Syre *Johan Chaundos*, and Syre *gaultier Manuyrede Froisfart*. And also behold that vyctoryous and noble kyng *harry* the *fytthe* and the capytayns under him, his noble brethren, therle of *Salisbury*, *Montagu*, and many other whose names shyne gloryously by their vertuous \* *nobleffe* \* *nobility* and actes that they did in thonour of thordre of chyualrye. Alas! what do ye, but slepe and take ease and ar al difordred fro chyualry? I wold demaunde a question yf I shold not displease, howmany knyghtes ben ther now in *Englond* that have thuse and exercyse of a knyghte? that is to wete, that he knoweth his hors, and his hors him, that is to saye, he beyng redy at a poynt to have al thyng that longeth to a knyght, an hors that is accordyng and broken aftir his hand, his armures and \* *harnoys* mete and fitting and \* *barnefs*. so forth. I suppose \* and a due serche shold \* *if*. be made, ther should be many founden that lacke, the more pite is: and wolde it pleasyd our fouerayne lord, that twyes or thryes in a yere, or, at the lest, ones he wold do crye *Iustes of Pees*, to thende, that every knight should have hors and harneys, and also the use and crafte of a knight, and also to *tornoye* one ageynst one, or two ageynst two, and the best to have

a <sup>c</sup> Prys, a diamond or jewell, such as shold please the Prynce. This shold cause gentylmen to resorte to thauncient custommes of chyualrye to great fame and \* renomme; And also to be alwey redy to serve theyr prynce, whan he shalle calle them or have nede. Thenne late every man that is come of noble blood and entendeth to come to the noble ordre of chyualrie, rede thys lytyle boke, and doo thereafter in kepyng the \* lore and commaundementes therin comprysed. And thenne I doubte not he shall atteyne to thorder of chyualrye *et cetera*.

\* *renown.*\* *lesson.*

In this *Epilogue* we may observe with what Earnestness Mr. *Caxton* recommends to the *English* Nobility and Gentry, the reading the Histories of King *Arthur*, and the noble Knights of the round Table, one of which he afterwards printed, and of *Belinus* and *Brennius*, who, *Geoffry* of *Monmouth* tells us, besieged and took *Rome*; and several foreign Romances, of which I am not in Circumstances to give any satisfactory Account. I only therefore observe, that this way of writing is intimated by *Richelet*, to be of *Spanish* Extraction, and commonly in Verse. Thus he describes a Romance; *Terme de Poesie Espagnol*. A Sort of *Poeme* where one meets with some sad Adventure, some Event that is rare and particular, or some glorious and heroic Action. Its on Account of this last that Mr. *Caxton* recommends the Perusal of *Lancilot*, or Sir *Lancilot du lac*

*Dict. de  
Langue  
Franc.  
Tom. II.*

<sup>c</sup> The prize, reward, or honour got by, kept for, or due unto the best deserver in a Justs, &c. *Cotgrave's Fr. Dict.*

History of King *Arthur* and the Knights of the round Table, &c. on which a learned <sup>d</sup> *Spaniard* has pass'd the following Censure: That they were invented by idle Men, and full of that Sort of Lies which neither contribute any Thing to the Increase of Knowledge, or to thinking and living well, but only serve or gratify a certain vain, and present itch or tickling Pleasure.

He next recommends the glorious and illustrious Examples of the following *English* Generals and Commanders who lived not long before his Time. Of these the first mentioned is the great Sir *Robert Knolles*. This Knight is commonly represented as of mean Birth and Parentage, somewhere in *Cheshire*, but <sup>e</sup> raised by his own Merit, which gained him a Reputation equal to that of the most famed and renowned Warriors. He had signalized himself in a very extraordinary Manner in the Wars with *France*, in the Reign of King *Edward III*, and particularly in the Battle of *Poicters*: On which Occasion his Bravery is thus extolled in the Register

<sup>d</sup> ————*Ut Lancilotum et mensam rotundam Gallicam*———  
qui libri ab hominibus sunt otiosis conficti, pleni eo mendaciorum genere quod nec ad sciendum quicquam conferat, nec ad bene vel sentiendum de rebus vel vivendum, tantum ad inanem quandam et præsentem titillationem. *Lud. Vivis de disciplina Lib. II.*

<sup>e</sup> Postea vero, circa Festum Nativitatis S. *Johannis Baptistæ* 1370, rex *Edwardus* magnum exercitum de valentioribus viris et magis expertis in bello fecit sollicitè congregari: inter quos erant aliqui domini, id est, dominus *Grantsone*, et dominus *le Fitz Water*, et alii Nobiles milites valentes, quibus præfecit in eorum ducem, dominum *Robertum de Knolles*, volens, ut ejus discretione et industria, et non aliter, universi dicti exercitus uterentur, et ejus imperio in omnibus obedirent: quia in bellicis congressibus, et in exercitûs regimine fuerat satis instruendus. *Ad. Murimuth continu. Triveti. p. 124.*

The LIFE of William Caxton.

of Bermondsea. *In isto bello de Roberto Knollis milite Cestrie sic canebatur metricè.*

O *Roberte Knollis* per te fit *Francia* mollis,  
Ense tuo tollis predas, dans vulnera collis.

Which has been thus *English'd*:

O Robert Knowles, *most worthy of fame,*  
By thy Prowesse France was made tame,  
Thy manhode made the French to yield  
By dint of sworde in towne and field.

Reg. of  
Order of  
the Gar-  
ter. Vol.  
II.

By the *French* he was called, *Le veritable demon de la guerre*, The true Demon or Thunder-bolt of War. Since his Military Exploits were, beyond Imagination, illustrious; and his Enterprizes in warlike Actions of the greatest Hazards and Difficulties surprizingly successful. By these Means, it's said, he became immensely rich, and got an Estate fit for a King. In the Beginning of the Reign of King *Henry IV.* he was Seneschal of *Guienne* in *France*; but being now pretty well advanced in Years, and grown weary of a Life of so much Hurry and Action, he retired to a Seat of his in *Norfolk*, called *Scene*, or *Scone-Thorp*, where he 'died about the middle

' The same yere, 7 *Hen. IV.* Anno 1406, Syr Robert Knolles knyght a worthy warriar deyed at his maner in *Northfalk* and from thens was brought to *London* on a hors bere wyth moche torche lyght, and so he was brought unto the white freres in *Fletstrete*, and ther was do and made for him a solempne seefte and ryal enterement for tho that thyder wolde come, both ryche and poore, and there lyeth buryed by dame *Constance* his wyfe in the mydde of the body of the Church: on whoos soule god have mercy. Amen. *Caxton's Chronicle of England*, printed by *Julyan Notary* 1515. Fol. cxii. b.

of this Reign, *A. D.* 1406. and was buried with great funeral Pomp in the Church of the *White-fryers*, in *Fleet-street*, *London*, which he had built. Of the several Acts of Piety, Charity, and Munificence which he did in his Life-time; one was, his building with Stone, the Bridge over the River *Medway*, at *Rocheſter* in *Kent*.  
 This was before made of Timber, and on that Account had been ſubject to ſeveral Accidents. Thus *Anno* 1264, it was ſet on Fire and burnt, by *Simon Mountfort* the Earl of *Leiceſter*: and not full twenty Years after, *Anno* 1282, it was  
 ‘ all borne downe away by the Ice, there having  
 ‘ been ſuch a greate Froſte and Snowe from  
 ‘ *Chriſtmas* till the *Purification* of our Lady as  
 ‘ the olde men could not remember the like.’  
*Sir Robert* therefore built it with Stone, ſome- what nearer to the Caſtle Wall than the Wooden Bridge ſtood, as to a Place more fit, both for the Faſtneſs of the Soil, and the breaking of the Swiftneſs of the Stream, to build a Bridge upon; and, at the Eaſt End, built a Chapel for a Chaurtrie adjoining to his dwelling Houſe. To obſerve that by the way, either the Damage above-mentioned done to this Bridge by the Ice, was not repaired above an hundred Years after, or it was then a ſecond Time demolished by the ſame Means: Since, in 1383, *Archbiſhop Courtney* granted Letters of Collection, dated from his Manor of *Otteford*, the 23d Day of *May*, to one *John Brugge*, wherein he recited, That the Bridge was ſo broken, *per nimiam inundationem aquarum, ac turbidos incurſus glaciei et gelu hyemalis*, by an exceſſive Inundation of

Lambert's  
Peramb.  
of Kent,  
p. 382.  
Ed. 1596.

Summary  
of English  
Chron.  
10 Edw. I.

Litere que-  
ſtus, MS.

⁵ Now the *Crown Inn* in *Rocheſter*.

Waters, and terrible Attack or Shocks of Ice and Winter Frosts; that the<sup>h</sup> Estates of the Inhabitants, and those of the County, who were obliged to maintain and repair the said Bridge, were not sufficient: And to encourage them to contribute liberally to this Work, he mercifully released to them forty Days of the Penances that had been enjoined to them. Whether these Letters put Sir *Robert* on rebuilding it, is more than we now know; but, it's certain, his doing it could not be long after them; since, as we have seen, he lived but three and twenty Years after the Date of them.

Weever's  
Funeral  
Monum.  
p. 623.

Syre *Johan hawkwode* was borne at *Sibil Heueningham* or *Heningham* in *Essex*, and the son of *Gilbert Hawkwode* a tanner of that place. He was bound an apprentice to a Tailor in the City of *London*, from whence he was pressed into the Service of King *Edward III.* in the Wars with *France*. For his admired Valour he was honoured by that Prince with the Order of Knighthode. In the like Regard to his warlike Merits, *Barnabie*, the valiant Brother of *Galeafius*, Lord of *Millaïne*, Father to *John*, the first Duke of it, gave him his Daughter *Domnia* in marriage, with a Fortune of ten thousand Florins of yearly Rent. Here he did many extraordinary Exploits with the Forces which he commanded, even wonderful Things, unheard of before. The *Florentines* therefore, in Gratitude to his Memory, and for a Testimony of his surpassing Valour and singu-

Muri-  
muth,<sup>Esc.</sup>  
p. 147.

printed  
1733.

<sup>h</sup> The Petition to the King in Parliament for ascertaining the Portions and Repairs of the New Bridge of *Rocheſter*, is in the Names of *Robert de Knolles* and *John de Cobeham*.

lar faithful Service to their State, adorned him with a Statue of a Man of Arms, and a sumptuous Monument in their Cathedral. On this Account *Julius Feroldus* made the following Verses in his Praise :

*Hawkwood* Anglorum decus, et decus addite genti  
*Italicæ*, *Italico* presidiumque solo.  
Ut tumuli quondam *Florentia*, sic simulacri  
Virtutem *Jovius* donat honore tuam.

In *English* thus ;

O Hawkwood, England's Glory, sent to be  
The Bulwark and the Pride of Italy.  
A Tomb just Florence to thy Worth doth raise,  
And Jovius rears a Statue to thy Praise.

He died an aged Man in the Year 1394, the 18 *Richard II.* His Friends here in *England*, set up for him a Monument in the Parish Church where he was born, *viz.* a Tomb arched over, and in Imitation of that at *Florence*, engraven with the Likeness of Hawks flying in or through a Wood ; that being the Rebus of his Name, *Hawk-wood.*

Syre *Johan chaundos*, distinguished himself in a very singular Manner in all the Wars which King *Edward III.* waged in *France.* At the Battle of *Aulroy* in *Britain*, he was named Sovereign Captain. In 1361, he was sent by the King into *France*, with the Title and Commission of Lieutenant General, with a considerable Force and full Power to pardon all Sorts of Crimes. But in the 44th Year of this King's

A. Muri-  
muth, &c.  
Reign, p. 124.

Reign, Anno 1370, was this<sup>i</sup> renowned Hero slain, by the Enemy in *Gascony*. Sir *John Froissard* says of him, that he was a good Knight, courteous and benign, well shaped, liberal, heroic, wise and faithful in all Matters; and one who had worthily behaved himself among all Lords, Knights, Ladies and Damsels; so that there was no Knight in his Days mote generally beloved and praised of all People.

Syre *Gaultier* manyred froissart, is another of those Knights which are here mentioned and recommended by Mr. *Caxton*: But I do not find any Notice taken of him in those *English* Chronicles which I have seen. The Name is plainly *French*, and perhaps he was one of that Nation who was an Officer or Commander in King *Edward's* or King *Henry's* Armies in their Wars with *France*, where he signalized himself as the other Knights did whom he here names.

He next names therle of *Salisbury Montagu*; that is, I suppose, *William Montague*, or *Montacute*, Earl of *Salisbury*, King of the Isle of *Man*, and Marshal of *England*. To the first of these Dignities he was advanced by King *Edward III*, in the Year<sup>k</sup> 1330. In 1342, he conquered the Isle of *Man*; and, in Consideration of this Conquest, and because his Father

<sup>i</sup> Strenuus et sapiens miles. *Murimuth*, &c.

<sup>k</sup> In the Yere of our lorde a Mccccxxx—Kynge *Edwarde* made fixe erles; that is for to saye, Syr *Henry* therle of *Lancastres* sone erle of *Leycestre*; *Wyllyam* of *Bugburn* erle of *Northampton*; *Wyllyam* of *Mountagu* erle of *Salisbury*; *Huzbe* of *Awdwell* erle of *Gloucestre*; *Robert* of *Ufforde* erle of *Southfolke*; and *Wyllyam* of *Clynton* erle of *Huntyngton*. *Caxton's Chronicles*, &c. printed by Notary, 1515. Fol. lxxxv.



was married to one of the Sisters of *Orroy*, King of *Man*, was crowned by King *Edward*, King of the said Island. But two Years after, when the King appointed solemn Jufts and Tournaments to be held at *Windsor*, this noble Lord, through his immoderate Courage and Labour, for three or four Days together, was so bruised and fatigued with those boisterous Encounters, that falling into a *Feavour*, he died within eight Days after, in the 43d Year of his Age, to the infinite regret of the King and all his Court, as well Strangers as *English*. *Walsingham* observed, That it would be a Work of great Commendation to write worthily of his illustrious and valorous Acts. A. D.  
1344.

Such were the virtuous and commendable Examples which Mr. *Caxton* recommended to the following and Imitation of the *English* Nobility and Gentry of his Time: Men not only famous for their personal Courage and Warlike Conduct, but of eminent Piety, Vertue and Goodness.

Lastly, Mr. *Caxton* here proposed the revival of the ancient Exercises and Diversions of *Jufts* and *Turnaments*, which, it seems, were now growing into disuse. *Jufts* were single Combats of two Knights on Horseback, who tilted at, or ran one against the other, with their Spears or Lances, within the Lists or Bounds which were appointed to them. *Turnaments* were Exercises of Arms, in which several fought or tilted together in the way of Diversion. *Richelet* thus describes them: ‘A Combat betwixt two Parties of Horsemen well mounted, rich- Diction.  
Fran.

<sup>1</sup> See *Gul. Neubrig. Histo.* p. 501, 502. Ed. *Oxon.* 1719.

The LIFE of William Caxton.

‘ly dressed or adorned, and armed, made for  
 ‘Pleasure, and in the Presence of the Ladies for  
 ‘some publick Rejoicing, or to make themselves  
 ‘fit for the Exercise of War, and that within  
 ‘a Barriere, or Place enclosed with Rails, ap-  
 ‘pointed for these Sorts of famous Games or  
 ‘Tiltings.’ These Barrieres were boarded,  
 from whence the *French* stiled the making *Justs*  
 and *Tournaments*, *bebourde*, or boarding. Our  
 Poet *Chaucer* therefore describes his Knight  
 thus:

*Full oft timis he had the bord begon.*

Or, was the first at the *bebourd*, or the <sup>m</sup> *board*  
*barriere*, where the *Justes* and *Tournaments* were  
 held. The same Poet represents these manly  
 Games as Circumstances of Love.

*Justis, array, and all the circumstauncis  
 Of Love ———*

The Design of these Diversions being, as has  
 been intimated, in part to please the Ladies,  
 and recommend to their Favour the Comba-  
 tants, for their Dress and Manhood. But Mr.  
*Caxton* seemed to have another View in advi-  
 sing their Encouragement, namely, the em-  
 ploying the Nobility and Gentry, that they  
 might not spend their Time worse, in Gam-  
 ming and Debauchery, and preserving their  
 ancient Courage and Valour, that the Honour  
 and Security of the *English* Nation might not  
 suffer through, *their* sinking and degenerating  
 into Delicacy and Effeminacy.

<sup>m</sup> *Borde*, a little Houfe of Wood or Timber.

6. *The legende of sayntes*, called, *The<sup>n</sup> golden legend*. This he fynished the 20 day of November this Yeare. It was entituled, in *Frenshe*, out of which he translated it, *La Legend D'orce*; and is a thick Folio, printed in double Columns. Mr. *Caxton* tells us, That 'this Book 'Wyllyam Erle of *Arundel* desyred him to continue and accomplish, and promised him to take a resonable quantite of them, and sent to him a worthypful gentelman, a servaunt of his named *John Stancy*, promysing, that the sayd lorde should, during *Caxton's* life, geve and graunt to him a yerely fee, that is to note, a buck in summer, and a doo in winter.' The learned Writer of *The English Historical Library* tells us, 'That Mr. *Caxton* translated *John Capgrave's Legenda Sanctorum Angliæ*, and added to the fabulous Stories collected in this Book, that of 15,000 Men suffering with the 11000 Virgins, who are remembered in the Calendar October 21, on the Testimony of the Men of *Cologne*, where he lived sometime.' However this be, we are informed by a Note written on a spare Leaf at the End of a Copy of this Book, printed by *de Worde*, That 'Caxton's Edition had the noble Hystorye of the Exposycyon of the Masse dyvdyed into iiii parts, and the XII articles of our fayth.'

A. D.  
1483.

7. Mr. *Caxton* tells us, That he added to this boke that which is said or callid *Cathon translated likewise out of Frenshe into Englishe in*

<sup>n</sup> Quam indigna est divis et hominibus christianis illa Sanctorum historia quæ LEGENDA AUREA nominatur, quam nescio cur AUREAM appellent, quum scripta sit ab homine ferrei oris, plumbei cordis? Quid sædius dici potest illo libro. Ludov. Vivis *de disciplinis*, Lib. II. p. 91.

*thabbaye of Westmestre 23 of Decembre 1483.* It contains *Cato's* Distichs or Precepts, in *Latin*, with a Version and Comment in *English*. This Book, Mr. *Caxton* tells us, 'had been translated out of Latin into English by Master *Benet Burgh* late Archdeken of *Colchestre*, and hie Canon of *St. Stephen's* at *Westmestre*; but because of late came to his hands this boke in *Frenshe*, which reherfed many a faire learninge and notable ensamples, he had translated that into english, and presented it unto the City of *London* of which he was a Citizeyn and Conjurys.' This *Benedict*, or *Bennet* of *Burgh*, was successively Rector of *Sandon* and *Kedington*, in *Essex*, 1440 and 1450, Archdeacon of *Colchester* 1465, Prebendary of *Ealdland* and *Hedington*, in the Church of *St. Paul's*, 1472 and 1476. When he was made Canon of the Collegiate Chapel of *St. Stephen's* does not appear, but, very probably, he had this Dignity in 1476, when he resigned his Prebend of *Hedingham*. However this be, he died some time this very Year 1483.

Newcourt  
Reperto.  
Vol. II.

\* instru-  
ctions.

8. The booke of \* thenseignementes and techinge, that the knyght of the Toure made to his daughters and speketh of many fayre ensamples. Fol. This, Mr. *Caxton* tells us, was translated by him, 'out of *Frenshe* into our maternel englyshe tongue by the requeste and desire of a noble Lady whiche had brought forth many noble and fayre daughters, and for the zeal and love that she has always had to her fayre children, and yet hath for to have more knowleche in vertue had desired him to translate it into our vulgar englyshe.' But he modestly desired, 'all them that

‘ that should lerne or see ony thyng in this  
 ‘ sayd book, by whiche they should ben wyser  
 ‘ and better, that they should gyue laud and  
 ‘ thankyng to the sayd Ladyes good grace.—  
 ‘ And wheras any defaulte should be founde in  
 ‘ the reducyng and translatyng into our en-  
 ‘ glyshe tongue, that it be arretid to him  
 ‘ whiche, he sayd, was ignoraunt and not ex-  
 ‘ pert in the werke, though so be that he had  
 ‘ empyrsed heretofore to smatre him in suche  
 ‘ translacions whiche he confessed and know-  
 ‘ ledged him ignoraunt and therein to be im-  
 ‘ perfect. This booke was enprynted at *West-*  
 ‘ *minstre* the last day of *Janyver* 1 *Richard III.*  
 Fol.

The next Year 1484, Mr. Caxton printed a *A. D.*  
 Book, called, *The ryal book or book for a Kyng:* <sup>1484.</sup>  
 in Frenshe, *le livre royal:* in which ben com-  
 pryfid the x commandementes, the xii articles  
 of the faith, the vii deedly synnes, the vii pe-  
 titions of the *Pater-noster*, the [vii] yestes of  
 the holy ghoost, the vii Vertues &c. In the  
 hours of the most blessed Virgin after the use of  
*Sarum*, printed 1532 and 1555, they are thus  
 mentioned in English. The x commaunde-  
 ments, the v wittes, the vii werkes of mercy  
 bodily, the vii werkes of mercy goostly, the  
 vii gyftes of the holy goost, the vii Sacraments,  
 the viii beatitudes, with the vii dedely synnes:  
*Pryde, Envy, Wrathe, Slouth, Covetyse, Glo-*  
*thony, Lechery.* ‘ This ryal book, Mr. Caxton:  
 ‘ observed, was compiled at request of King  
 ‘ *Phelyp* \* le belle of *Fraunce* 1279, and was.\* *the fair.*  
 ‘ reduced by *himself*, out of frenche into eng-  
 ‘ lish at the requeste of a singlar frende a  
 ‘ worshipfull marchaunt and mercer of LON-

‘ DON——for a specyall book to knowe al vyces  
 ‘ and braunchis of them, and also al vertues.  
 ‘ For that this book sheweth and enseigneth it  
 ‘ so subtilly, so shortly, so perceivingly and so  
 ‘ perfectly, that for the shorte comprehension  
 ‘ of the noble Clergie, and of the right grete  
 ‘ substaunce whiche is comprysed therin, may  
 ‘ and ought to be called, above all other books,  
 ‘ *the royal book* or *book for a king*, for the holy  
 ‘ Scrypture callith euery man a Kyng whiche  
 ‘ wysely and parfytly can gouerne and dyrecte  
 ‘ hymself after vertue : and also bycause that it  
 ‘ was made at requeste of that noble kyng *Phelyp*  
 ‘ imprinted 2 *Richard II.* fol. with figures.

In 1485, Mr. Caxton printed the three following Books :

1. *The history of the noble and valyaunt knyght Paris and the fayr Vienne the daughter of the dolphin of Viennois.* This Book Mr. Caxton translated out of *Frenshe* into *English*, and finished it the last of *Auguste*, and emprinted it the 19th of *Decembre* 1485.

2. *The lyf of King Arthur, of his noble knyghtes of the round table, and in thende the dolorous detb of th. m. all.* ‘ This Book, Mr. Caxton tells ‘ us, was reduced into english by Sir *Thomas Malory* Knyght, and by himself divided into ‘ xxi books chapitred and enprinted and fynished in thabbey of *Westmestre* the last day of ‘ *Juy!* this yere.’ How great an Admirer Mr. Caxton was of the History of this Prince and all the noble Knights, &c. has been intimated before. I shall therefore only add, That this Translation by Sir *Thomas Malory* or *Maleore*, was afterwards reprinted by *Thomas East* at *London*, in Folio; and at the End of it is this  
 Note;

## The LIFE of William Caxton.

97

Note: *This translacyon fynysshed the IX yere of the reigne of Kyng Edward the fourthe by Syr Thomas Maleore knyghte, &c.*

3. *The lyf of Charles the great.* Among the Works of *Christina de Pisan*, is one Book in *French*, with this Title: *Des faits et bonnes mœurs du sage Roy Charles V. fait et composé per Christine de Pisan damoiselle, accompli le desrenier jour de Novembre l'an de grace Mcccciv.*

Mr. *Palmer* mentions a *Book of Homilies* as *History of Printing.* printed this Year by Mr. *Caxton*. But this seems to be no other than the *Liber Festivalis* before mentioned, which, through mistake, Mr. *Palmer* has multiplied into the following Books: 1. *Liber Festivalis.* 2. *Directions for keeping the Feasts of the whole Year.* 3. *An Exposition on the Lord's-prayer, belief, commandmentes, seven sacraments, seven virtues, seven deadly synnes, item the general sentence, or sentence of cursing, modus fulminandi sententiam, the beads on Sundays.* 4. A book of Homilies. The same Writer tells us, That this Year Mr. *Caxton* likewise printed *Vite Patrum*, which was not printed till after his Death.

The next Year Mr. *Palmer* tells us, he printed a Book entitled, *A Treatise against Pride.* Of this I can give no Account. A. D. 1486.

The Year following he printed *The book of good manners.* Fol. This Mr. *Caxton* tells us, A. D. 1482.  
' was compiled by the venerable Frere *Jagues le Graunt*, in Latin *Jacobus magnus, lycenyat* in Theology religious of the Order of St. *Austin*, and, that the booke is of auctorite for  
' as moche as there is nothyng sayde therein

‘but for the moost part it is alledged by scripture or ellis by sayeng of holy seyntes doctours ‘philosophres.’— It was delivered to Mr. Caxton by a special *frende* of his, a Mercer of London, named *William Praat*, and translated by him out of *Frenshe* and *fynysbed* the VIII of *Juyn* MIIII<sup>CLXXXVI</sup>.—and *enprynted* XI of *May* after, 1487.

Mr. *Caxton* must be now well advanced in Years; so that, either on that Account, or his being disabled by some indisposition, or, that the Books printed by him this Year have no Date, or for some other Reason, there do not appear any of his Books printed the next Year, 1488. Mr. *Palmer*, indeed, mentions a Book printed by him this Year, named *Dives and Lazarus, A dialogue on the decalogue*. Fol. But this seems the same Mistake which he made about the *Vite Patrum*, which was printed by *de Worde*, A. D. 1495, as this Book was by the same Printer 1496.

In the next Year were printed, by Mr. *Caxton*, the two following Books.

A. D.  
1489.

1. *The doctriual of Sapience*. Mr. *Caxton* tells us, That ‘the ryght reverend fader in ‘*GOD Guy de Roie*, by the dyvyne miseracyon ‘*Archebyshop of Sence* had doon this boke for ‘the helthe of *his soule*, and of the soules of ‘alle hys people.—and in especyall for sym- ‘ple lay-men to styr *them* up to devotion;’ and, that it was translated by him out of *Frenshe* at *Westmestre* and *fynysbed* VII of *May*, 1489. A very curious and accurate Writer has observed, That this Book is the *first* in which he had taken Notice of *Caxton’s* Cypher *W. C.* being



being applied—— as it generally is in those that he ° afterwards published. But it appears by what has been already said, that he applied it to one Book, at least, nine Years before. Mr. *Palmer* intimates, that it was applied to the Book of Chesh, the first Book, as I have supposed, printed by Mr. *Caxton* here in *England*. The Reason, perhaps, why this Cypher is not oftner met with, is, That being a Sort of Picture on a spare Leaf, at the End of the Books, it has been torn out by Children, &c. as is the known Case of other old Books.

2. *The book of the fayt of armes and chyvalrye which Christine of Pyse drew out of Vegetius de re militari.* This Book was written in *French*, and the Title of it, *Le liure des faits d' Armes et de Chevalrie par Christine de Pisan.* Mr. *Caxton* tells us, it was delivered to him by the most cristen kyng and \* redubted Prynce his Sove-\* *dreaded.* rayne lord Henry VII kyng of englond and of fraunce in his palais of Westmestre the XXIII day of Janyuere the IIII yere of his regne, who *A. D.* desyred and wylled him to translate this said *1489.* booke, and reduce it into our english and natural tonge, and to put it in Prynte.

The next Year Mr. *Caxton* printed the two following Books.

1. *The boke of Eneidos made in Latyn by A. D.* that noble Poet and grete clerk Vyrgyle. *1490.*  
This boke was <sup>p</sup> translated out of *Latin* in-

to

° It does not appear, that Mr. *Caxton* afterwards printed above three Books.

<sup>p</sup> This is not a proper Translation of this Poem of *Virgil's*, but only a History of *Eneas*, taken from thence. It begins with presupposing, that 'Troye the grete capytall cyte, and the excellentest of all the cytees of the countree and regyon of *Ashe* was constructe and  
' ede,

## The LIFE of William Caxton.

to <sup>a</sup> *French*, as Mr. Caxton tells us, by some noble clerke of *Fraunce*. To the honour of god almyghty, says he, and to the glorious vyrgyne Marye moder of all grace, and to the utylte and prouffyt of all the policye mondayne this presente booke, compyled by Vyrgyle ryght subtyl and ingenyous oratour and Poete intytuled Eneydos hath be translated oute of latyne into comyn language by some noble clerke or excellent Scholar, of *Fraunce*. It was translated by Mr. Caxton, out of *French* Prose into *English*; and finished by him the 22d Day of *Juyn* the yere of our lorde 1490 in the 5<sup>th</sup> yere of K. *Henry VII*, and presented by him unto the hye borne his to comynge naturell and soverayn lord Arthur Prince of *Walys*, duc of *Cornwall* and erle of *Chester* first bygotten sone and beyer unto our mooste dradde, natural and souerayne lord, and most crysten Kyng *Henry VII*. At the End is this Colophon :

*Here fynysbeth the boke of Eneydos compyled by Vyrgyle which hath be translated out of latyne into frenshe, and out of Frenshe reduced into englyshe by me Wyllm Caxton 4<sup>o</sup>. The Leaves are not number'd, nor is there the Direction Word, but only the Signatures <sup>e</sup>.*

This Translation, as Mr. Caxton calls it, he  
 ' prayed Mayster *John Skelton* late created  
 ' Poete laureate in the Univerfite of *Oxenforde*

' edefyed by the ryght puyffaunt, and renomed kyng *Pryamus* sone  
 ' of *laomedon* descended of thauncyent stocke of *Dardanus* by many  
 ' degrees, whiche was sone of *Jubyter* and of *Electra* his wyf after  
 ' the fytions Poetique.'

<sup>a</sup> Livre des Eneides compilè par Virgile tranflatè de Latin en Francois par Guillaume de Roy. *Lyon*. 1483.

<sup>e</sup> At the End is the same wooden Print of Mr. Caxton's Cypher as is at the End of *thymage of the worlde*.

‘ to oversee and correct, and \* taddresse and ex-<sup>\* dedicate.</sup>  
 ‘ powne, where as shall be founde faulte, to  
 ‘ theym that shall requyre it. For him, he said,  
 ‘ he knew suffycient to expowne and englyshe  
 ‘ every difficulte that is therin.’ For this he gave  
 the following Reason; ‘ That *Skelton* had late  
 ‘ translated the Epistles of *Tulle*, and the boke  
 ‘ of *Dyodorus Siculus*, and dyuerse otherwerkys  
 ‘ out of *Latyn* into *Englyshe*, not in rude and  
 ‘ olde language, but in polyshed and ornat  
 ‘ termes craftily as he that had reade *Vyrgyle*,  
 ‘ *Ovyde*, *Tullye* and all the other Poetes and  
 ‘ Oratours to him unknown.’ *Erasmus*, in a  
 Letter of his to King *Henry VIII*, stiles this  
 Poet, *Britannicarum literarum lumen et decus.* Athenæ  
 But *he*, too freely reflecting, in some of his <sup>Oxon.</sup>  
 Poems, on the Conduct of Cardinal *Wolsey*, he  
 so closely pursued him by his Officers, that  
*Skelton* was forced to take Sanctuary at *West-*  
*minster*, where, it’s said, he was kindly enter-  
 tained by the Abbat *John Islip*, and died in his  
 Sanctuary, and was buried in the Chancel of  
 the Church of *St. Margaret’s*, hard by the Ab-  
 by. Over his Grave was this Inscription put  
 soon after:

*Johannes Skeltonus Vates Pierius hic situs est.*  
*Animam egit XXI Junij an. Dom. M.D,XXIX.*

It seems as if now either Mr. *Caxton’s* Busi-  
 ness was upon the Decline, or, that *he* was  
 about leaving it off. Since he tells us, in his  
 Prologue to this Book, That ‘ after dyvers  
 ‘ werkes made, translated and \* achieved, ha-<sup>\* fin. s. d.</sup>  
 ‘ ving noo werke in honde, he sitting in his stu-  
 ‘ dye, where as laye many dyuerse paunflettis  
 ‘ and

## The LIFE of William Caxton.

‘and bookys, happened, that to his hande came  
‘this lytyl booke in *Frenshe*.’ This, I suppose,  
is the same with what is called, *The History of*  
*Eneas*.

2. *A lyttle trayte short and abreged spekyng  
of tharte and crafte to lerne well to deye*: trans-  
lated out of *Frenshe* into *Englyshe*, by William  
Caxton the xv day of *Juyn* 1490. Fol. In a  
Collection of *dyures devout treatises*, in *English*  
*Manuscript*, there is one with this Title, *Ars*  
*moriendi, or the crafte of dying*. Whether this  
be the same with that which Mr. *Caxton* print-  
ed, I have it not in my Power to examine. But  
this Tract, perhaps, Mr. *Caxton* might chuse  
to translate and print at this Time, for his own  
Use as well as that of others, being now arrived  
at a Time of Life wherein it behoved him to  
think of dying, and to make Preparation for it.  
Thus the famous Cardinal *Bellarmino* told his  
Friend, Cardinal *Francis Sfortia*, that he wrote  
his Book of *The Art of dying well*, that he him-  
self, who was now advanced in Years, might  
be prepared for Death.

Besides the forementioned Books, we find  
printed by this diligent and laborious Man se-  
veral others, without the Name of the Place, or  
any Notice of the Time when they were printed,  
Some of these have been already taken Notice  
of in the Order of Time in which I thought it  
most probable they were published. Of those  
that remain, I shall now give the best Account  
I can, and begin with those which are supposed  
to be some of his first or most early Perform-  
ances.

1. *Boecius de consolacione Philosophie*. This Mr.  
*Caxton* tells us, was translated out of Latyn into

our usual and moder tongue by the worshipful fader and first foundeur and embelisher of ornate eloquence in our English, Maister Geffrey Chaucer. It is printed with a Part of Boecius's Latin, and at the End of the Book is an Epitaph for Chaucer, in Latin Verse, made by Stephen Surigon, Poet Laureat of Milan, at the Cost and Instance of Mr. Caxton. This is printed in some of the Editions of Chaucer's Works. The Book is without any Signatures, numbring of Leaves, Date, or Place of Printing. Mr. Caxton gives us the following Account of the Reasons that induced Chaucer to translate this Book, and himself to print it. 'Forasmuche, 'says he, as the stile of it is harde and difficile 'to be understonde of simple persones, therefore 'the worshipful fader & first foundeur and 'embelisher of ornate eloquence in our English, 'I mene Mayster Geffrey Chaucer, hath transla- 'ted it out of Latyn as neygh as is possible to 'be understande. Wherin, in myne oppynon, 'he hath deservid a perpetual lawde and thanke 'of al this noble royaume of England.— Thenne 'for as moche as this sayd boke so translated is 'rare, and not spred ne knowen as it is digne 'and worthy, for the erudicion of suche as ben 'ignoraunt, atte requeste of a singuler frend 'and \* gossib of myne, I William Caxton have \* kinsman. 'done my \* devoir temprynte it in fourme as is \* endea- 'here afore made.' vour.

II. A Collection of Chaucer's and Lydgate's

' See *The works of our ancient and lerned English Poet Geffrey Chaucer, newly printed Londini impensis Geor. Bishop. Anno 1602.*

' Stephen Hawes was highly esteemed by King Henry VII. for his prodigious Memory, which did evidently appear in this, that he could repeat by heart most of our English Poets, especially *J. Lydgate*, a Monk of *Bury*, whom he made equal in some Respects with *G. Chaucer*.

## The LIFE of William Caxton.

Poems, 4°. This Book is without any Signatures, Date, or Name of Place or Printer. It contains the following Pieces.

1. *Stans puer ad mensam*: or Lessons of Behaviour to the Young.

2. An holy *Salve regina* in english. In the hours of the most blessed Virgin *Mary*, as the Book is termed, is what is there called, *A Prose concerning the blessed Virgin Mary in Latin*, which thus begins; *Salve regina misericordie, vita, dulcedo, et spes nostra, salve.* — Which blasphemous Address was in great Request with the Papists.

3. *Parvus Catho.*

4. *Magnus Catho.*

5. Fable of the Chorle and the Birde. — — — — — } By *John Lydgate.*  
 6. Fable of the Horse, the Ghoos, and the Sheep. — — — — — }

7. A list of proper terms or phrases in speaking of beasts, birds, &c.

8. The temple of glas. By *John Lydgate.*

9. *Scipio's* dream called the Parliament of Birds, or Temple of brass. By *Chaucer.*

10. A trefyfe whiche *John Skogan* sente unto the lordes and gentilmen of the kynge's hows, exortyng them to lose no tyme in their yongthe. By *Chaucer.*

11. The good counceyl of *Chaucer*; or the book of curtesy.

12. *Annelida* and *Arcyte.* By *Chaucer.*

13. *Chaucer's* complainte to his Purse.

14. <sup>u</sup> Thenuoye of *Chaucer* to *K. Henry* the fourthe.

<sup>u</sup> *Envoye.* The Envoy, or conclusion of a Ballet or Sonnet, in a short stanza by it self, and serving oftentimes as a dedication of the whole. *Cotgrave's Fr. Diction.*

The Writer of the Preface to the last Edition of *Chaucer's Works* 1721, gives the following Account of this Collection from *J. Bagford*; which shews, that neither *he* nor *Bagford* had ever seen it. '*Wylliam Caxton*, or rather *Wyn-* Page 8.  
'*kyn de Worde*, printed in 4°, among other things, several small Pieces of *Chaucer's*, as '*the counsel to Chaucer*; *Chaucer's enuoy to Scogan*; *Little John, called the book of courtesy*; *Annelyda and false Arcyte*; *the compleynt of Chaucer to his empty purse, &c.*' However, in this Edition the following six Pieces of *Chaucer's*, in this Collection, are thus recited.

1. The Assamble of foules — — p. 413
2. *Scogan* unto the Lordes and Gentilmen of the Kinge's House — — p. 546
3. Goode counsaile of *Chaucer* — 548
4. Of Queen *Annelida* and false *Arcyte*---430
5. *Chaucer* to his empty purse, p. 549. In the Edition of *Chaucer's Works* 1602, this is said to be *Thomas Occleve's*, who calls *Chaucer* his dere maister and father.
6. *Chaucer* unto the King — p. 549

III. \* *The book of fame* made by *G. Chaucer*. \* *The House of*  
fol. Emprynted by *Wylliam Caxton*. *Fame,*

IV. *Canterbury tales* by *Chaucer*. fol. explicit *Ed. 1721.*  
*per Caxton*. Of this there is an imperfect Copy in *Pepys's Library* in *St. Mary Magdalen College* in the University of *Cambridge*; the following Account of which, was kindly transmitted to me by my learned and worthy Friend *Dr. Dan. Waterland*, the present Master of it.

- I. *Prologue*. The Running Title for sixteen Leaves; wherein are contained several little

*The LIFE of William Caxton.*

little Prologues relating to the ensuing Tales.

2. *The knyghtis Tale.* For thirty Leaves.
  3. *The Myller's Prologe.* About two Pages.
  4. *The Myller's Tale.* For nine Leaves.
  5. *The Reve's Prologe.* Quantity of two Pages.
  6. *The Reve's Tale.* Six Leaves, excepting a Page.
  7. *The Cokis Prologe.* Somewhat more than a Page.
  8. *The Cokis tale.* A Page and a half.
  9. *The man of Lawys Prologe.* Three Pages.
  10. *The man of Lawys tale.* Sixteen Leaves.
  11. *The Marchante's Prologe.* One Page.
  12. *The Marchante's tale.* Fifteen Leaves and a half.
  13. *The Prologe of the Squyer.* One Page.
  14. *The Squyer's Tale.* Nine Leaves.
- \* Explicit pars secunda. Incipit pars tertia.

*Apollo whirleth up his chare so high  
A till that god Mercurius hous the fligh.*

— there is no more of the Squyer's tale.

15. *The wordes of the Frankeleyns.* A Page.
16. *The Frankeleyns Prologe.* Half a Page.
17. *The Frankeleyns tale.* Twelve Leaves.
18. *The Wyf of Bathe's Prologe.* Twelve Leaves.

\* Explicit pars secunda.

*Apollo whirleth up his chair so high  
Till that the god Mercurius house he flie.*

¶ There can be found no more of this foresaid Tale, which hath been sought in diures places. *The Workes of—* Geoffrey Chaucer. fol. 25. b. Edit. 1602.



The LIFE of William Caxton.

107

19. *The Wyf of Bathe's tale.* Five Leaves and a half.
20. *The Freris Prologe.*
21. *The Freris tale.* Five Leaves.
22. *The Sompnour's Prologe.* A little more than a Page.
23. *The Sompnour's tale.* Eight Leaves.
24. *The Prologe of the Clerke of Oxenford.* Two Pages.
25. *The Clerkis tale of Oxenford.* Eighteen Leaves.
26. *Wordes of the Hooft.* Seven Lines.
27. *Second Nonnys Prologe.* Two Leaves.
28. *The tale of the Nonne.* Seven Leaves.
29. *The prologe of the Chanon's yeman.* Two Leaves and half.
30. *The tale of the Chanon's yeman.* Ten Leaves.
31. *The tale of the doctour of Pbisick.* Four Leaves.
32. *The wordes of the Hooft.* Somewhat more than a Page.
33. *The Pardoners Prologe.* Two Leaves and one Page.
34. *The Tale of the Pardoner.* Six Leaves and half.
35. *The Tale of the shypman.* Six Leaves.
36. *Verba Hospitis.* Half a Page.
37. *The Pryoresse's Prologe.* One Page and half.
38. *The Tale of the Pryoresse.* Three Leaves.
39. *The Prologue of Chaucer's tale.* One Page.
40. *The Ryme of — Sir Thopas.* Two Leaves and half.
41. *The wordes of the Hooft.* A Page and a half; *sequitur Chaucer's tale.*
42. *The tale of Chaucer.* Twenty Leaves.
43. *The Monkes Prologue.* Three Pages.
44. *The tale of the Monke.* Twelve Leaves.

The LIFE of William Caxton.

45. *The Prologue of the Nonnys Preeft.* A Page and half.  
 46. *The tale of the Nonnys Preeft.* Nine Leaves.  
 47. *The Mauncyplis Prologue.* Two Leaves.  
 48. *The tale of the Mauncypyl.* Three Leaves and half.  
 49. *The Parsonys Prologue.* Three Pages.  
 50. *The tale of the Parson.* Prose. Thirty two Leaves.

*Explicit tractatus Galfridi Chaucer de penitencia, ut dicitur, pro Fabula Rectoris.*

ⁱ Now praye I to hem alle that herken thys lityl tretise or rede ⁊ it, &c.—

V. *Troilus and Creseide.* *Explicit per Caxton.*

VI. *The lyf of the glorious Vyrgyn and Martyr Saynt Katheryn of Sene, with the revelations of Saynt Elyfabeth the kynge's daughter of Hungarie, fol. with Mr. Caxton's Cypher W. R. C.* The first of these, Mr. Caxton tells us, is a legend compyled by a worshipful clerke, Fryer Raymond of the ordre of St. Domyng doctor of devynyte, and confessor of this holy Virgyn. In the Preface to a little Book in 4<sup>o</sup>. printed at Antwerp, 1603, with the following Title, D. Catharinæ Senensis Virginis sanctissimæ Ord. Prædicatorum Vita ac Miracula selectiora <sup>2</sup> Formis æneis

ⁱ This is omitted in Speght's Edition of the Works of Chaucer, Londini impensis Georg. Bishop. 1602. but is added in the new Edition 1721, as it is said, from MS. Ch. with some amendments out of other MSS. where the sense required it: as if the Editor had never seen this Edition of Caxton.

<sup>2</sup> There are two and thirty of these Copper Cuts. In the last of them it is affirm'd, That the 'very Hour this Catherine died, Thomas Penna, the Apostolical Prothonotary saw the Heavens open; and

*æneis expressa*, this Frier *Raymond* is mentioned as one of the Evidences of the Facts here represented, and stiled, *B. Raymundus Capuanus Doct̃or Theologus, et Dominicanæ familiæ Magister Generalis*. The other of these Tracts seems to have been an *English* Translation of the *Legend* in the *Lombardic History*, or *Golden Legend*. In a Book entitled, *Liber trium virorum et trium Spiritualium Virginum*. Emis<sup>a</sup>. *Parisiis* 1513, are four Books of the Visions and Discourses of *Elisabeth*, a Nun of *Schonbaug* in *Germany*, one of her Letters, and a *Sixth* of her Translation.

VII. *Speculum vite Christi* or the <sup>a</sup> *myrroure of the blessyd lyf of Jhesu Cryste compiled from the Latin book of D<sup>r</sup> BONAVENTURE de meditacione vite Christi*—*together with a short treatyce of the byest and moste worthy Sacramente of Christe's bleysid body and the merveylles thereof.* Fol. This is expressly said to be printed by *William Caxton*, and has his Cypher at the End. *W. C.* Then follows a devoute \* *orayson to the Holy Sacramente*, and after it \* *prayer*: this Colophon ;

*Explicit Speculum vite Cristi complete. In omni tribulatione, temptacione, necessitate et an-*

and her ascending aloft among Quiers of Angels, and that a devout Widow, named *Semia*, saw her crowned with a triple Crown, and received by Christ her Spouse sitting on a Throne.

<sup>a</sup> The booke that is clepid, *The Mirror of the blessed Life of our Lord Jesus Crist* written first in Latin by Bonaventure, as is<sup>a</sup> said, and translated into English, tho with some variation. It contains devout meditations proper for every Day of the Week. At the end some Miracles of the body of Christ appearing in the Sacrament, and a Prayer to Christ and the Virgin Mary in English. *Catalogus MSS. in CCC Cantab. p. 53.*

*gustya. succurre nobis pissima Virgo. Amen.*

*W. X. C.*

*Memorandum*, quod circa annum domini 1410, originalis copia hujus libri in anglis presentebatur Londoni per compilatorem ejusdem, reverendissimo in Christo Patri et domino *Thome Arundell Cantuariensi* Archiepiscopo, ad inspiciendum et debite examinandum antequam fuerat liberè communicata. Qui post inspectionem ejusdem per dies aliquot retradens ipsum librum memorato ejusdem libri proprie vocis oraculo in singulis commendavit et approbavit, nec non et auctoritate sua metropolitico, ut pote catholicum, publice communicandum decrevit, et mandavit ad fidelium edificationem, et hereticorum sive *Lollardorum* confutationem.

The reason given for the Title of this Book, or its being called *The myrroure of the bessyd lyf of Jhesu Criste* is, bycause the *lyf of Criste may not be fully descryued as the lyves of othir sayntes, but in a manere of lykenesse as thymage of mann's face is shewed in the myrroure or looking glasse.*

VIII. <sup>b</sup> *Directorium Sacerdotum*: sive Ordinale secundum usum Sarum, una cum Defensorio ejusdem Directorij; item *Tractatus qui dicitur* Crede michi. *Fol.* To this Book is prefixed a Callendar, at the End of which is Mr. Caxton's Cypher *W. X. C.* After this follows a Prologue, which ends thus: Nunc igi-

<sup>b</sup> Another Edition of this Book was printed by *R. Pynson*, 1503, with this Title, *Directorium Sacerdotum* sive Ordinale Sarum. In the *Breviary*, after the Use of *Sarum*, it is called, *Pica*. And in our *English* Liturgy, the *Pye*.

¶ In nomine sancte et individue trinitatis Incipit ordo Breviarii seu Portiforij secundum morem et consuetudinem ecclesie *Sariburiensis* anglicane: una cum ordinali suo: quod usitato vocabulo dicitur *PICA* sive *directorium sacerdotum*.

tur obsecro vos O dñi sacerdotes, ut hoc directorium benigne a me suscipere dignemini, et secundum illud dirigite viam domini in divinis Officiis celebrandis et dicendis; et cum bene vobis fuerit, mementote mei peccatoris scriptoris tocius hujus Ordinalis *Clementis Maydeston* sacerdotis.

Next this Prologue follows the *Directorium* and the *Defensorium Directorij*, at the End of which is this Colophon:

*Impressum est hoc Directorium cum Defensorio ejusdem per Willēlmum Caxton apud Westmonasterium prope London.*

Then follows the little Tract, called *Crede michi*; the Reason of which Name is given as follows: Quia—— in hoc opere non scribitur aliqua regula nisi sit vera secundum *Ordinale Sarum* et bene ventilata, ac peritorum virorum testimonio ac sigillis confirmata: ideo presens opusculum vocatur *Crede michi*, nam qui predictas regulas memoriter tenet vix poterit errare in servicio divino, Deo gracias.

*Caxton me fieri fecit.*

These three are the only Books that we have of Mr. Caxton's printing in *latin*, though there is a good deal of the *latin* Text intermixed with some of the Translations which he printed; as of *Boetius*, *Cato*, the *xii prouffits of tribulacyon*, *Speculum Cristi*; *tharte or craft of dying*. This, however, is a Proof, that he did not confine himself to the printing of *English* Books only.

<sup>c</sup> *Sequentes Articuli ventilati sunt et approbati per canonicos ecclesie Sarum.*

The LIFE of William Caxton.

IX. *The chastysing of Goddes chyldren*, a booke prouffyttable for manne's soule, and right comfortable to the body, and specially in aduersite. *Fol.* This Title is thus in a Copy of this Booke in Secretary Pepys's Library; *The proffyttable boke for mannes soule and right comfortable to the body, and specyally in aduersitie and trybulacyon, whiche boke is callid, The chastysing of Godde's children. At the End is this Colophon:*

This boke was lately translated oute of Frenshe into Englyshe by a right well disposed persone; for because the sayd persone thought it necessary to al devout peple to rede, or to here it rede, and also caused the sayd boke to be enprynted.

W. C.

Explicit hic liber castigacionis puerorum Dei.

X. *A booke composed of dyuerse gostly matters, Fol.* of whiche the *firste* treatyse is named *Orologium Sapiencie*, shewing seven pointes of true love of everlastyng wisdom. At *Westminstre. Fol.* This name was gyven herto, as hyt is seyde in the proheme of the boke, bycause that the mater therof was shewn to him that wrote hit, as in a visioun, under the figure and likenes of a wonder fayre *Orologe* seted and arayed with passyng fayre *Roses*, and with *Symbales* sweet sownyng, &c.

*Qui legit emendet, pressorem non reprehendat  
Wyllelmum Caxton, cui DEUS alta tradat.*

The Colophon informs us, That this booke was lately translated out of Frenshe by a right well disposed

posed person, but unperfyght in such werke, who caused the sayd book to be enprynted, and humbly besoughte the readers of their charite to pray for the soule of the translator. It consists of two other little Tracts besides this.

In the Manuscript Collection of devout *Penes me.* Tracts, in *English*, before-mentioned, is one with this Title; *Orilogium Sapiencie in maner of a Dialog* [betwixt *Disciple* and *Wysdom*] and *tretith howe we shall lerne to dye.* In this little Tract are several Texts of Scripture quoted from the Vulgar *Latin*, and translated into *English*, particularly *Psalme cxvi. 3. Circumderunt me gemitus mortis, dolores inferni circumdederunt me*; thus translated; *The weymyngtyngs of detb have umbelapped me, and the sorrowes of hell have envyrowned me.* But I have not had it in my Power to compare Mr. Caxton's Print with my Manuscript.

The *second* Treatise in this booke sheweth XII *prouffytes of tribulacion.* 'A lytill short treatise that tellyth how there were VII maysters assembled togydre everyche one asked other what thynge they myghte beste speke of that myght please GOD & were moost profitable to the peple. And all they were accorded to speke of trybulacyon.' This is likewise in the Manuscript Collection abovesaid, only with this Difference; That in the Manuscript the Title runs, *howe there were fixe masteres assembled togeder.* — —

The *thyrde* sheweth the holy rule of Saynt Benet. 'A compendious abstracte into *English* out of the holy rule of Saynte Benet, for men and women of thabyte therof the whiche understonde lytill Laten or none, to thentente,

‘ that they maye often rede, execute the hole  
 ‘ rewill, and the better kepe it than it is, ac-  
 ‘ cording to thabyte, and theyre streyte profes-  
 ‘ syon, &c. Enprynted at *Westminstre* by desy-  
 ‘ ryng of certeyn worshipfull persones.’ 4°. So  
 Dr. *John Wickliff*, for the same Reason, transla-  
 ted out of *Latin* into *English*, the *Rule of St.*  
*Francis*.

MS. in  
 Bennet's  
 Coll.

Ouduini  
 Com. de  
 Scripto.  
 Ecclesi.

XI. *The Curiale of Alan Charetier*, translated  
 out of the *French* into *English*, and printed by  
 Mr. *Caxton*. *Charetier* was a famous *French*  
 Poet and Historian, and Secretary to *Charles*  
 VI and VII. Kings of *France*. Among the  
 Books he wrote, this was one, which he enti-  
 tled *Curiale Gallicum*. He was a great Refiner  
 of the *French* Language and died *A. D.* 1458.

To these Books of Mr. *Caxton*'s printing,  
 some have added the following ones, as I sup-  
 pose, without any Name or Date.

1. *The Life of our Lady* by *John Lydgate* a  
 Monk of *Bury*. This is mentioned in the *Cata-*  
*logue of translations and poetical devises in Eng-*  
*lish Metre done by John Lydgate, &c.* at the  
 End of the Edition of *Chaucer's Works*, by  
*Tho. Speght*, Anno 1602. Mr. *Tho. Hearne* tells  
 us it is a thin Folio; but not so correct as a  
 Manuscript of this Book, which he saw. Per-  
 haps Mr. *Caxton* altered the old Language.

2. *The life of St. Edward the Confessor*.

3. *The life of St. Winifrid*. 4°. In our *Eng-*  
*lish* Libraries are several Manuscript Lives of  
 this Saint in *English*; besides that in the Col-  
 lection of the Lives of the *English* Saints, by  
*John Capgrave*. See the Life of *St. Wenefrede*,  
 by the late Bishop *Fleetwood*, *A. D.* 1713.



4. St. *Austin* the monk raising two dead Persons. 4°. In the *Cottonian* Library is a Manuscript with this Title; *Narratio mirabilis de sententia excommunicationis, B. Augustini Anglorum Apostoli, et qualiter resuscitavit duos mortuos.* This seems to have been the same Book which is said to have been printed in the Abby of St. *Austin's* near *Canterbury*, about 1525. 4°. with the following Title: *A goodly Narration how S. Augustine the Apostle of England raised two dead bodies at \* Long-Compton, collected* Warwick-shire. *out of divers authors, translated by Jhon Lydgate Monk of Bury.* Perhaps this was reprinted from Mr. *Caxton's* Copy, or printed from *Lydgate's* Manuscript. The Story is told at length by Sir *William Dugdale* \* and Mr. *Selden* †, \* *Hist. of Warwick-shire.* † *Hist. of Tithe.* *MS.* to this Purpose: That, about *A. D.* 504, *Austin* came to *Long-Compton*, in his way to the Place where he went, to confer with the *British* Bishops, called from thence *Austin's-Ac*, Bp. Kennet's Pa- roch. Aut. or *Oak*; that on his coming thither the Parish Priest met him, and complained to him of the Lord of the Mannor refusing to pay him his just Tithes. On which *Austin* convened the Knight, and finding him obstinate, threatened to excommunicate him, and accordingly went immediately to the Altar and said, *I command, that no excommunicate Person be present at Mass.* On this a former Patron of the Church, and like Offender, who lay buried at the Entrance into the Church, immediately arose out of his Grave, and went out of the

\* See Dean *Prideaux* Original, &c. of Tithes, p. 165.

† *Selden's* Hist. of Tithes, Ch. ix, x. Ed. m. d. c. xviii.

Church. *Austin* having Notice of it, as soon as he had done saying Mass, went out of the Church to him; and finding, on his Examination, that he had been excommunicated by the Parish Priest for not paying his Tithes, enquired where that Priest lay buried, and immediately went to his Grave, where he had lain above \* 150 Years, and bid him *Arise, for that he had need of him* to confront him with his Patron. Which accordingly he did.—But its very well observed, that if all the Circumstances of this Relation were true, it would prove Christianity and the Discipline of the Church to have flourished here among the *Britains* very early, and to have continued in good Order till this Visit of *Austin*, and, in particular, that the Establishment of the Payment of Tithes was ancientser than King *Offa*, the first Author of it, by above 460 Years; or however 290.

5. *The spousage of a Virgin.* 4°.

6. *The siege of Rhodes.* Fol. By \* *John Kay*, Poet Laureat to King *Edward IV.*

7. *The book of arts and sciences.* Fol.

8. *De fide et cantu famule sue.*

But now, as has been intimated before, Mr. *Caxton* seems to have been almost quite worn out, and his Labour spent. At this Time, *A. D.* 1491, he must have been of a considerable Age. Supposing him but fourteen Years old when he went Apprentice, its plain he served out his Time, and was made free, both of

<sup>f</sup> Bishop *Kennet's* Paroch. Antiqu.

<sup>g</sup> Under *Edward IV.* one *John Kay*, by the Title of his humble Poet Laureat, dedicates to him *the Siege of Rhodes*, in Prose.

the Company and the City. It is likewise very probable, that he lived with his Master some Years after; so that we cannot well reckon him less than thirty Years old when he went abroad. There he lived thirty Years; which advances his Age, in 1471, to sixty. Accordingly, as we have seen, he then complained of old Age creeping upon him, the Decay of his Sight, and his being much feebled. He must therefore be now about or above fourscore. However this be, we are informed by *de Worde*, that he still kept himself busy, though we do not find, that he printed any thing after the Year 1499. He *synysbed* at the last Day of his *lyff*, a Book called *Vite Patrum*, or the *right devout and solitarye lyfe of the aunciente or olde holy faders heremytes dwellyng in the deserts*; which was first written in *Latin* by St. *Hierome*, Cardinal, and translated by Mr. *Caxton* out of *French*. But he did not live to print it; *de Worde* printed it in his Master *Caxton's* \* House \*in King's street, Westmin-ster. three Years after his Death, which happened some time before *June 3, A. D. 1492*. 'In  
' *thaccompte of the Wardens of the Parische*  
' *Churche of Seynt Margarete Westminster in*  
' *the shire of Middlesex*' [where Mr. *Caxton* lived, and, as appears by this accompte, was at the passing it in the Years 1480, 82, 84] 'from the  
' 27th day of *Maye 1490* the 5th of *Hen. VII*  
' unto the 3d day of *June 1492* the 7th *Hen-*  
' *ry VII,*' are the following Articles, in the second Year of this *Accompte*, viz. 1492.

<sup>h</sup> In a priced Catalogue of Mr. *Richard Smith's* Books, sold by Auction 1682. *Vitas Patrum per Beatiss. Hieronymum Card. &c. Lugduni 1502. 4<sup>o</sup>.* was sold for 4d.

' *Item,*

The LIFE of William Caxton.

- ‘ Item, atte bureyng of *William Caxton* for  
 ‘ iiii Torches ————— vis. viii d.  
 ‘ Item, For the Belle atte the same burey-  
 ‘ inge ————— vi d.

By the same Book it appears, in the <sup>i</sup> *accounte* of the Receipts of the *Yeare 1497*, that he *leste* to the Parish of *S. Margaret's* thirteen of his printed *Golden Legends*, and by another <sup>k</sup> Book, containing Things relating to the Abby, that his Executors gave to it, in 1504, two *bokes of the lyfe of Seynt Katerine*, two of *the birth of our Lady*. We find no mention of any Children of Mr. *Caxton's*; so that, very probably, he lived and died a single Man.

Mr. *Caxton*, in his printed Books, expressed a great Sense of Religion, and wrote like one who lived in the Fear of God, and was very desirous of promoting His Honour and Glory. Thus in the Book of *chyvalrye or knyghthode*; ‘ Unto the praynsge and dyvyne glory of god, ‘ *says he*, whiche is lorde and souerayne kynge ‘ above and over all thynges celestyal and world- ‘ ly, we begin this booke.’ But he was so far carried away by the established Errors and superstitions of his Time, as to be an Advocate for, and Encourager of some of the worst of them; as engaging in what they then called the *Holy War*, or marching armed Forces into the Land of *Judea*, to recover that and the City *Jerusa-*

<sup>i</sup> Item, Received in Books called *Legends* of the bequest of *W<sup>n</sup>. Caxton* xiii.

<sup>k</sup> Item, iiii prynted bokes, ij of them of the lyfe of seynt *Katerine*, and other ij of the birth of our Lady, of the gift of the executors of *Caxton*.

lem, out of the Hands of the *Turks*; and going in Pilgrimage, or Sainterring, to visit that Holy Place, &c. And yet, as has been observed, whosoever turns over his printed Works, must contract a Respect for him. He made Choice of such Books to print as had a Tendency to promote Religion and encourage Virtue and good Manners: To use his own Words; 'Books in which he found many good enseign-  
'mentis and learnynges, and good ensamples  
'for al maner of peple in generally: special  
'books to know all vyces, and braunchis of  
'them, and also al vertues.' How different is this from the Practice and Usage of more modern Times! when such Books are rather chosen to be printed, as serve to please Men of corrupt Minds, and vicious Inclinations, and have a Tendency to destroy all sound and vertuous Principles, and debauch Mens Morals. But one cannot well help observing, on considering what those Books were which Mr. *Caxton* printed, at how low an Ebb Knowledge or Learning was here in *England* in his Time, and how poor and insipid the general Taste. His Performances were, we have seen, very near all in *English*, and they, for the most Part, Translations from the *French*, and not original Compositions of any of our own Country-men. Though he practised the Art of Printing near twenty Years, we do not find he printed any one Classical Writer, or any Edition of any of the *Greek* or *Roman* Poets and Historians. No, not even in the famous University of *Oxford*, where the Press was wholly employ'd in printing *Latin* Books, do we yet find any one of these printed. As for his not printing any of the

the *English* Translations of the *Old* and *New* Testament, Sir *Thomas More* has accounted for it in the following Manner. ‘ That on account of the <sup>1</sup> Penalties order’d by Archbishop *Arun-* *del’s* Constitution, though the old translations that were before *Wycliff’s* days remain’d law- ful and were in some folkys handys had and red, yet he thought no Prynter would lyghtly be so hote to put any byble in prent at hys owne charge—— and then hange upon a doutfull tryall whyther the fyrst cotype of hys translacyon was made before *Wycliff’s* dayes or synnys. For yff yt were made synnys, yt must be approued byfore the pryntyng.’ But such an Approbation, Sir *Thomas* intimates, was not then to be had.

Mr. *Caxton* appears to have been a very humble, modest and vertuous Man. He often stiles himself *a rude and simple Person*, confesses his Ignorance, and *humbly beseches the pardon of his readers, and their pacience to correct his workes*, and expresses himself in other Terms so submissive and self-abasing as are very uncommon, and more easily admired than imitated. A Proof of his grateful Temper, is his owning the particular Encouragement and Benefactions he received, and especially his Obligations to the *Cyty of London*. ‘ I *William Caxton* Cytezeyn & Conjurge of the same, of the fraternyte and felawship of *Mercery* owe of ryght my servyse and good wyll to it, and of very dute am bounden naturelly to assist and counceille her

<sup>1</sup> These were the same with those of being the Factors of Heresy, viz. The greater Excommunication and Death. See *Lyndwood, Provinciale*.

‘as fer forth as I can, as to my moder of whom  
 ‘I have receyued my noureture and lyvyng,  
 ‘and shall praye for the good prosperite and po-  
 ‘lacy of the same duryng my lyf.’

He was a Man of no more Learning than, as he ingenuously confessed, he had by his Knowledge of the *English* and *French* Languages, in which, he modestly acknowledged, he remembered himself of his Rudeness and Unperfitness. He likewise translated *Reynard* the Fox out of *Dutch*; which shews he likewise understood that Language. It is a Mistake to say, that he understood the *Latin* Tongue, and translated Books out of *that* into *English*. By the Account which has been given of his printed Books, it sufficiently appears in how great Favour and Request he was with the Princes and great Men of his own Time: Though, he owns, he was <sup>m</sup> unknown to some of them to whom he dedicated his Books. In his Book called *Eneidos*, he intimates in what Esteem he was had on Account of his knowing and understanding the ancient *English* Language; in somuch that he tells us, the Lord Abbat of *Westminster*, who, I suppose, was then *John Estney*, put into his Hands some of the ancient Deeds or Charters belonging to that Abby, written, perhaps, in the *Saxon* Character, for him to explain or copy in modern *English*, or that which was then in use: but he modestly

<sup>m</sup> In his Dedication of *the Game of Chess* to the Duke of *Clarence*, he styles himself his *humble and unknown servant*. This is not to be wonder'd at, considering he was then but very lately return'd to *England*, where he was almost quite a stranger, and, that this was the first Book which he printed after he was settled at *Westminster* 1474.

## The LIFE of William Caxton

owned his Insufficiency for such a Task : And no Wonder ; since now the *English* Language was so much altered from what it was before the Conquest, as not only to be different in the Words and Manner of Spelling, but even in the very Letter or Character ; so that the Writing used here before the coming of the *Normans*, was become illegible to the common People, and even to most of the Learned. This seems to confirm what has been already observed of his being the first Printer of *England*, or the first who introduced that noble Art into this Kingdom : since, had there been any one before him, however, so long as six Years, it's scarce credible that Mr. *Caxton* should have been so much careffed, and fully employ'd, and have flourished as he did, in the Sun-shine of the *English* Court and Nobility, and principal Gentry. Accordingly our very diligent and learned Antiquarian *John Leland*, who died at *London* 1552, but threescore Years after Mr. *Caxton*, and who, though he could not know him himself, was, very probably, acquainted with some who did, stiled Mr. *Caxton* Anglie *Prototypographus*, the first Printer of *England*. And *he*, one would think, should know, who, besides his living so near Mr. *Caxton*'s own Time, as to be almost his Cotemporary, made it his Business, with the utmost Industry and Application, to search for, and enquire after our *English* Writers.

Of all our *English* Writers, Mr. *Caxton* most admired our Poet <sup>n</sup> *Geoffery Chaucer*. ' In all  
' his

Dr. Middleton's  
Dissertat.

<sup>n</sup> *Geffery Chaucer* the most excellent Poet of *Englande* deceased the 25 day of *October*, 1400, who was buried at *Westminster* where  
of



## The LIFE of William Caxton.

123

his works, he said, he excelled, in his opinion, all other writers in our *English*. For he writeth no voide wordes, but all his matter is full of high and quicke sense: to whom ought to be given laude and pray synging for his noble making and writing, for of him all other have borrowed since and taken.' Elsewhere he stiles him, 'the worshipful father and first founder and embellisher of ornate eloquence in our *English*; the firste embellisher in making the sayd language ornate and fayre, and deserving perpetual lawde and thanke of all this noble realme of *Englonde*.'<sup>a</sup> Accordingly, as a Proof of the Respect which Mr. *Caxton* had for this great and worthy Man's Memory and Writings, and his Desire to preserve and perpetuate them, one of his most early Performances was his collecting and printing as many of his Works as he could get. He likewise procured, as has been hinted before, an Elegy to be made for him in *Latin Verse*, and caused two of the Verses, there being in all thirty four, to be inscribed on *Chaucer's Monument* in *Westminster Abby*, viz.

Galfridus Chaucer vates et fama Poësis  
Materne, hac sacra sum tumulatus humo.

Lastly, Mr. *Caxton* desired his Readers, according to the Superstition of his Time, that

of late is made over him a faire monument on the South side of the Quire. His Workes are for the most part published in printe by Sir *John Thyn* knight, somewhat increased by my travaile in the laste impression, 1532. *Summary of English Chronicles*, p. 330.

<sup>a</sup> See the Book on the Praise of the Virgin *Mary*, by *John Lydgate*. Printed by Mr. *Caxton*.

## The LIFE of William Caxton.

of their charite they would pray for the said worshipful *Geffery Chaucer*.

As to Mr. *Caxton's* printing, it has been observed, that his first Performances are very rude and barbarous. He used a Letter resembling the Hand-writing then in Use. His *d*, at the End of a Word, is very singular, thus, *W.* He used the Characteristics which we find in the *English MSS.* before the Conquest; such as *ꝛ*, for *gh*, *Ꝟꝛꝛ*, for *and*. Instead of Commas and Periods, he used a transverse or oblique Stroke, thus, / as the *Dutch Printers* do to this Day, in their *Gothic Impressions*. Mr. *Palmer* observed, That he used a Letter peculiar to himself, and which is easily known from any other, being a Mixture of *Secretary* and *Gothic* as to Shape; and sometimes of *Great Primer* as to Size; especially in printing proper Names. He had a way of joining almost any two Characters together; which, perhaps, might induce Mr. *Bagford* to suppose, that the Types which he used were not distinct, or fusile Types, made of Metal, and cast in Molds, as they are now. In his Titles he used the *German Text*, or what our Printers call the *Gothic*, of the Size of *Great Primer*, and sometimes he mix'd it with his *Secretary*, or common Print, as our Printers now do the *Italic*. Like the other Printers of his Time, he never used any Direction or Catchword, but placed the Signatures where that now stands; and rarely number'd his Leaves, but never his Pages, as has been already intimated. Mr. *Palmer* has observed, That the *Liber Festivalis*, or *Festivalis*, is the only one of his Books whose Lines are not spaced out to the End, which, he says, is an after Improvement

ment and Elegancy introduced by Mr. *Caxton*, in Imitation of foreign Printers. In most of his Books which I have seen, he only printed, as the Custom then was, a small Letter at the Beginning of his Chapters, to intimate what the Initial or Capital Letter should be, and left that to be made by the Illuminator, who wrote it with a Pen, with red, blue, or green Ink. Thus are the Initial Letters, in his Edition of the *Polychronicon*, made with red Ink: But in some of his Books he used flourished Initials, or what the Printers call blooming Capitals. As he printed long before the present Method of adding the *Errata* at the End of Books was in Use and Practice, so his extraordinary Exactness obliged him to take a great deal more Pains than can easily be imagined; for, after a Book was printed off, his way was to revise it, and correct the Faults in it with red Ink, as they then used to correct their written Books. This being done to one Copy, he caused one of his Servants to run through the whole Impression, and correct the Faults he had noted with a Stanefil, or Red-lead Pencil, which he himself afterwards compared with his own corrected Copy, to see that none of the Corrections he had made were omitted. Mr. *Bagford*, from whom I take this Account, adds, That Mr. *Caxton* translated his Books, printed, corrected, illuminated, and bound them in his Office or Printing-house: Though Mr. *Caxton* himself seems to intimate, that the first of these he did sometimes in his Study.

His Books are printed on Paper made of the Paste of Linen Rags, very fine and good, almost like the thin Vellom on which they used to

*See the Pa-  
per Marks.*

Connecti-  
on, &c.  
Part I.  
Book VII.

write their Books at that Time. When this was first invented I have not been able to find; but our learned Dean *Prideaux* informs us, That he had seen a Registration of some Acts of *John Cranden*, Prior of *Ely*, made upon Paper which bears Date in the *fourteenth* Year of King *Edward II*, that is, *Anno Domini 1320*; and, that in the Bishop's Registry at *Norwich*, there is a Register Book of Wills, all made of Paper, wherein Registrations are made; which bear Date so high up as the Year of our Lord 1370, just an hundred Years before the Time that Mr. *Ray* said the Use of it begun in *Germany*. Whether this Paper which *Caxton* used was made in *England*, I am not capable of informing my self; but *Wynten de Worde*, in his Edition of *Bartholomei opus de rerum proprietatibus*, in *English Folio*, without Date, mentions one *John Tate*, as a Maker of it, in *England*, at that Time:

*And to John Tate the younger joi mote he broke  
Which since bath in England doo make this Paper  
thinne,  
That now in our English tongue this boke is printed  
inne.*

The Ink which Mr. *Caxton* used is thorough black and lasting.

When the Printers generally used the Direction Word, and numbring the Leaves of their Books, is not, perhaps, easy to know. At *Venice* the Direction Word was not used by the Heirs of *Luke Anthony*, so long after the first Introduction of Printing there as 1560. *Henry Stevens*, who printed at *Paris* 1513, numbred his Leaves; as did other Printers of that Place,

ſo early as 1508, 10. *John Brielinger* of *Strasburg*, numbred his with *Roman Capitals*, as we have ſeen *Mr. Caxton* did the *Æſop's Fables* which he printed. *Jacob Aurick*, at *Embden*, 1534, numbred every other Leaf; and *John Luſt*, at *Witteberg*, the ſame Year, though he uſed the Signatures and Direction Word, did not number any of his Leaves. *Andrew Cratandre* and *John Frobenius*, at *Baſil*, 1521, numbred the Pages of their Books; and yet *Adam Peters*, who printed at the ſame Place, 1522, only numbred the Leaves of his: But neither he nor *Cratandre*, uſed the Direction Word. *Martin Morin*, at *Roane* in *Normandy*, 1499, uſed no Direction Word, and did not number either the Leaves or Pages of his Books, and put the Signatures only on every other Leaf of the firſt half Sheet in 4°. thus, ai, aii.

*Mr. Caxton* had a Foreman, or Journey-man, one *Wynkyn de Worde*, a *German*, who ſeems to have come into *England* with him from *Cologne*. However, he lived with *Mr. Caxton*, in his Houſe at *Weſtminſter*, and after his Death, ſucceeded him there, for ſome Time, in his printing Buſineſs and Imployment: Since, by ſome Rhymes printed by him at the End of *Walter Hilton's Scale* or *Ladder of Perfection*, 1494, two Years after *Mr. Caxton's* Death, it appears, that he printed that Book in *Mr. Caxton's* Houſe.

*And Wynkyn de Worde this hath ſet in prynt  
In Wylliam Caxton's bows. — —*

He likewiſe uſed his Maſter's Cypher, which he thus varied, W. ~~W~~. C. This was a Part  
K 3 of

Madox  
firma  
Burgi.  
p. 47.  
Augmen-  
tat. Office.  
e Coll. 1.  
Anstis,  
Eſq;

of his Sign, *The Sun and Stars*; under which he placed his own Name, *WYNKYN DE WORDE*. He was Printer to the Lady *Margaret*, Countess of *Richmond*, &c. Mother to King *Henry VII*. He seems to have died *A. D.* 1534; since, in a Survey on the Statute for dissolving Chanteries, 1 *Edward VI*, is this Certificate: ‘Under the Paroche of *St. Brid’s* in *Fleetstreet Wynkyn de Worde*, deceased XII Yeres past, willed and gave to the sayde Church in money to buy lands with the same, and with the Proffittes thereof to kepe an Obite for his soul for ever xxxvi<sup>lib</sup>.’

Mr. *Caxton* had likewise an Apprentice or Servant, one *Richard Pynson*, an *Englishman*, I suppose, who, in the Year ° 1493, the Year after his Master *Caxton* died, set up for himself at the *Temple-bar*, at the Sign of the *George*, *London*; and afterwards was Printer to King *Henry VII*. being the second of our *English* Printers who bore that Title: One *William Fanque*, who, by the Command of *K. Henry VII*, printed the *Psalter*, in *Latin*, Anno 1504, then stiling himself *Impressor Regius*. However this be, *Pynson*, in his Proheme to his Edition of *Chaucer’s Canterbury Tales*, stiles Mr. *Caxton* his worshipful Master, and tells his Readers, That ‘this boke had bin diligently ovirsene and duely examined by his Politike reason and oversight.’ Both these Printers used their Master *Caxton’s* Cypher, with some Variation; and lived toge-

° Here endith a compendiouse treatise dyalogue of Dives & Pauper, that is to say the riche and the Pore fructuously tetryng upon the X commaundementes fynyshed the V day of *Juy* the yere of oure lord god, Mccccclxxxviii. Emprinted by me *Richarde Pynson* at the temple barre of london. DEO gracias.

ther

ther in very great Friendship. Mr. *Palmer* observed of the first of these, *de Worde*, that his excellent Method of Disposition, Composition, and Press-work, shews him to have far excelled his Master *Caxton*, and even to have rivalled any of his Cotemporaries abroad: That *he* is the first *English* Printer who introduced the *Roman* Letter into *England*, which he used with his *Gothic* or black Letter, to distinguish any Thing remarkable, as we do the *Italic* with the *Roman* at this Time: That his Letter is different from most other Printers, and is cast so true, and stands so well in Line, as not to be excelled by any ever since: That the very Letter *he* made Use of, is the same that is used by all the Printers in *London* to this Day, and, he believed was struck from his Puncheons: That he is the only Printer, he could find in *England*, that used the small bodied Letters in the Infancy of the Art: And, that upon the Whole, he was a very curious, laborious and indefatigable Printer. The same knowing and ingenious Artist tells us of *Pynson*, that he was an excellent Printer, and a thorough Master of the Art of Printing. So much was this noble Art or Mystery of Printing improved and perfected here in *England*, in little more than twenty Years Time.





# APPENDIX.

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## NUMBER I.

### *Super Treugis Burgundiæ.*

Rymer's  
Fœdera,  
Tom. XI.  
p. 536.

A. D. 1464. } **R**EX omnibus, ad quos, &c.  
An. 4. E. 4. } **R** salutem. Sciatis, quod  
cum certa Appunctuamenta, Intercursum Mar-  
chandisarum inter Subditos nostros ac Subdi-  
tos carissimi consanguinei nostri Ducis Bur-  
gundiæ concernentia, sub certis modo et for-  
ma ante hæc tempora concordata fuerant et  
conclusa, sæpiusque interim prorogata, Nos,  
Appunctuamenta illa pro Parte Nostra teneri  
et observari volentes, ac de fidelitatibus et pro-  
vidis circumspeditionibus dilectorum et fidelium  
nostrorum *Richardi Whitehill* armigeri et *Wil-  
lielmi Caxton* plenius confidentes, ipsos *Richar-  
dum* et *Willielmum* nostros veros et indubitatos  
Ambaffiatores, Procuratores, Nuncios et De-  
putatos speciales facimus, ordinamus et consti-  
tuimus per præsentis: dantes et concedentes  
eisdem Ambaffiatoribus, Procuratoribus, Nun-  
ciis et Deputatis Nostris; et eorum utrique,  
plenam potestatem et auctoritatem ac manda-  
tum generale et speciale ad conveniendum, tra-  
ctandum, et communicandum cum præfato  
Consanguineo Nostro, seu ejus Ambaffiatoribus,  
Pro-



Procuratoribus, Nunciis, et Deputatis, sufficientem potestatem ab eodem Consanguineo Nostro ad hoc habentibus, de et super continuatione Intercursus prædicti, et prorogatione ejusdem, et, si necesse fuerit, de novo capienda, ap- punctuanda et concludenda, cæteraque omnia et singula quæ in præmissis necessaria fuerint et opportuna, faciendum et exercendum; promittentes, bona fide et in verbo Regio, Nos ratum, gratum et firmum pro perpetuo habituros totum et quicquid per dictos Ambassiatores, Procuratores, Nuncios et Deputatos Nostros, seu eorum alterum, in forma prædicta, actum, gestum, seu procuratum fuerit in præmissis seu aliquo præmissorum. In cujus testimonium, &c.

*Teste Rege apud Wycomb vicesimo die  
Octobris. Per ipsum Regem, et de datâ  
prædictâ.*

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NUMBER II.

*An Account of the first Invention of  
Printing, from John Fox's Acts and  
Monuments, &c.*

**I**N following the course and order of Yeares we find this Year 1450 to be famous and memorable for the divine and miraculous invention of PRINTING. <sup>a</sup> *Nauclerus*, and <sup>b</sup> *Wymfelingus* following him, referre the invention thereof to the Yeere 1440. *In Paralipo.*

<sup>a</sup> Chronicon Universale 1579.

<sup>b</sup> Epitome rerum Germanicarum 1575.

*Abbatis Ursi*. it is recorded, this faculty to be found anno 1446. *Aventinus* and *Zieglerus* do say anno 1550. The first inventor thereof, as most agree, is thought to be a *German*, dwelling first in \* *Argentine*, afterwards a Citizen in *Mentz*, named *John Faustus*, a Goldsmith. The occasion of this invention first was by engraving the letters of the Alphabet in metal: who then laying black inke upon the metall gave the form of letters in paper. The man being industrious and active, perceiving that, thought to proceed further, and to prove whether it would frame as well in words and whole sentences, as it did in letters. Which when he perceived to come well to pass, he made certain other of his counsell, one *John Guttemberge* & *Peter Schaffer*, binding them by their oath to keepe silence for a season. After ten Years *John Guttemberge*, compartner with *Faustus*, began then to broach the matter at *Strausborough*. The Art being yet but rude, in process of time was set forward by inventive wits adding more and more to the perfection thereof: In the number of whom *John Mentell*, and *John Prus* at *Strausborough* and *Adolphus Ruscius* were great helpers. *Ulricus Han*, in Latin called *Gallus*, first brought it to *Rome* 14. whereof this Epigram was made:

\* Stras-  
burgh.

A. D.  
1460.

Anser, Tarpeij custos, vigilando quod alis  
 Constrepere, Gallus decedit, ultor adest.  
*Ulricus Gallus*, ne quem poscantur in usum,  
 Edocuit pennis nil opus esse tuis.  
 Imprimit ille die quantum non scribitur Anno.  
 Ingenio, haud noceas, omnia vincit homo.

## NUMBER III.

English Chronicle, MS.

Caxton's Print.

THE lordes of Engelande had so much helpe and strengeth of Lowys the kinge's sone of Fraunce, so that he [K. John] <sup>a</sup> nyfste whider to turne. And so hit came in his thought for to have gon to Nichole, and so he come by the Abbay of Swyneshede, and there he duelled two dayes ¶ And as he sate at his mete bred was set bifor him upon the table. the king toke a lof in his hande & axede what such a lof were worth? Sire, quoth the monk, an halpenye. O god, quoth the king, here ys grete chep<sup>e</sup> of brede, but yf that may leue and haue myn bele or this half zer suche a loof sal ben worth xx<sup>s</sup>. And whenne the king had so sayde he sate stille and ofte sichede and toke and ete of the brede.

THE barons had so huge parte & helpe thorough lowys the Kynge's sone of Fraunce that kyng John wyfste not to torne ne go. And so it befell that he wolde have gone to Nycholl. And as he went thyderwarde he came by the abbaye of Swyneshede and there he abode two dayes. And as he sate at mete he axed a monke of the hous how moche that a loofe was worth that was sette before hym upon the table. And the monke sayd that the loof was worth but an half peny. O<sup>a</sup>, sayd the kynge, tho, here is greate<sup>b</sup> chepe of brede. Now, sayde he tho, and I may leue ony whyle suche a loofe shal be worth xx shelynges or halfe a yere be gone.

<sup>a</sup> wifste not.<sup>a</sup> quoth Bodlei.<sup>b</sup> chear.

Now,

And

English Chronicle, MS.

Caxton's Print.

Now, by god, quoth he, the worde that I haue sayde sal be balde. ¶ the monke that stode bifore him was sory in hert and thoughte ordeyne therfore sum remedye though he sulde suffre deth therfore. ¶ the monke anon wente to his Abbot and tolde al that the king hadde seyde and confessede him to his Abbot, and <sup>b</sup> bade him for to assoille him for he wolde geve the kinge suche a drynke that al Englonde sulde be glad therof & merye. ¶ the monke anon wente into a gardyn and fonde a grete tode & toke her up and putte hir in a cup, and <sup>c</sup> nome a prik and smote hir thorugh in meny <sup>d</sup> stedes so that the venyme com out in meny places. the monke toke a cup and fillede hit with gode ale and broughte before the king and sette him on his knees, &

And so when he sayd this worde, moche he thought, and often he syghed, and toke & ete of the brede, and sayd, by god the worde that I have spoken it shall be sothe.

¶ The monke that stode before the kyng was for this worde full sory in hys herte, and thought rather he wolde hymself suffre <sup>e</sup> deth, and thought yf he myght ordeyne therfore some maner remedye. And anone the monke wente unto hys abbot and was shryuen of him, and tolde the abbot all that the kyng had sayd, and prayed hys abbot for to assoyle hym, for he wolde yeue the kyng such a <sup>d</sup> drynke that all England shold be glad therof and joyfull. <sup>e</sup> Thoyede the monke into a gardeine, and founde a grete tode therin, and

<sup>b</sup> prayed.    <sup>c</sup> tocke.    <sup>d</sup> places.

saide

<sup>e</sup> piteous deth.<sup>d</sup> Wassaile.<sup>e</sup> tho' went.

toke

English Chronicle, MS.

Caxton's Print.

saide Sir<sup>e</sup>, Watsaille: for neuere dayes of ghoure lyf ne dronke ghe suche ale. zbegyn, quoth the king, the monke toke the cuppe & dranke a grete draught, and toke the cuppe tho to the king [who] dranke a grete draughte and set adoune the cuppe. ¶ And anon the monke wente into <sup>e</sup>fermye and anon deide of whas soule god haue mercye. And fyf monkes sullet synge for him specyally whiles that the Abbay stant. ¶ the king anon aros him op al euel at ese and commaunded to remeue the table, and anon he axed astir the monke, and men tolde the king that he was ded & bys bely also brosten and his bowelles fallen out. ¶ And when the kyng herde this he commaunded anon trusse and al hit was for nought, for he

toke her up and put her in a cuppe and prycked the tode thorough with a broche many tymes tyll that the venym came out of every syde in the cuppe. And tho tooke <sup>f</sup> the cuppe & fyllyed it with good ale, and brought it before the kyng knelynge <sup>s</sup> sayenge, Syr<sup>h</sup>, sayd he wassayll for <sup>i</sup> euer the dayes so all lyf dronke ye of <sup>k</sup> so good a cuppe. ¶ Begyne monke, <sup>l</sup> sayd the kyng. ¶ And the monke dranke a grete draught, and toke the kyng the cuppe, and the kyng dranke also a grete draught, and sette downe the cuppe. The monke anon ryght wente into <sup>m</sup> farmere and there deyed anone, on whoos soule god have mercy. Amen. And five monkes synge for his soule specyally,

<sup>e</sup> your health, q. wylsh-bele.

<sup>e</sup> the infirmary, or room appointed for sick persons.

<sup>f</sup> he the. <sup>s</sup> sayd. <sup>h</sup> quoth.  
<sup>i</sup> never. <sup>k</sup> such. <sup>l</sup> quoth.  
<sup>m</sup> the fermorie.

began

and

English Chronicle, MS.

Caxton's Print.

began to <sup>e</sup> bolne that mighte not helpe be so that withinne too dayes he deide, and was on the morowe oppon sent lucas <sup>h</sup> daye. ——— he died in the castel of Newewerke and his body was entere-de at <sup>i</sup> Wynchestre.

<sup>e</sup> blow, swell.

<sup>h</sup> October 19, 1216.

<sup>i</sup> Wyrcestre.

and shall <sup>n</sup> whyle that the abbaye standeth. The Kyng. <sup>o</sup> rose up anone full euyll at ease and commaunded to remeue the table and axed after the monke, And men tolde hym that he was deed for his wombe was broken in sondre. Whan the kyng horde this he commaunded <sup>p</sup> for to trusse <sup>q</sup>, but it was for nought for is belly began <sup>r</sup> to swelle for the drynke that <sup>t</sup> he had dronke, <sup>e</sup> and within two dayes he deyed on the morrowe after Saynt Lukys daye—— he deyed in the castell of newerke, and his body was buried at wynchestre.

<sup>n</sup> while the Abbey stand.

<sup>o</sup> arose anone. <sup>p</sup> to trufs.

<sup>q</sup> but all it. <sup>r</sup> so to. <sup>t</sup> he

drank. <sup>e</sup> that he died within two daies the——

En l'abbeye de Swynheued home l'enpufonayt. Il gist a Wyrcestre, il memes le volait Anno Domini 1216. *Peter de Langtoft*, in *French*.

Ex

*Ex Historia Anglicana, a Bartholomæo de Cotton Monacho Norwicensi anno gratiæ 1292 conscripta. MS. in Bibliotheca Cottoniana.*

Anno 1216. Die S. *Luca* Evangelistæ *Johannes* Rex obiit, veneno extinctus apud *Swinesheived* a quodam hospitali dictæ domus; et sepultus est apud *Wigorniam*.

E Chronico *Johannis Abbatis S. Petri de Burgo.*

Rex [Joannes] vero cædibus et incendiis vacans, de *Northfolk* versus *Lyndsey* per abbathiam *Swyneshewe* venit; ubi, secundum quosdam, potionatus transiit *Stafford*, ubi supra modum dissenteria vexatus, in lectica ad castellum de *Newerk* portatus obiit; cujus viscera apud *Crokeston* condita sunt, corpus vero *Wygornie* delatum, ac in ecclesia cathedrali sepultum est.

*This Chronicle ends 1259.*

*A Petegreu fro William Conqueror of the Crowne of Engelonde, &c. MS. in the Heralds Office. Printed 1724.*

In \* his tyme was gret deorthe :  
 xii<sup>d</sup> an half peny loof was worthe.  
 Then he made a Parlement  
 And swore in angre verament,  
 That he wold make such a <sup>u</sup> scante,  
 To fede alle Englonde with a <sup>x</sup> spande

\* K. John's

<sup>u</sup> scant, scarcity.

<sup>x</sup> A Spon. a chip.

And

## APPENDIX.

And eke with a whitè looff,  
 Therefore he was to God <sup>v</sup> ylothe.  
 A monke \* anone therof herde,  
 And for Engelond was fore aferde.  
 A poyfone then he ordenyd anone,  
 So was he poyfoned and deied ryght fone.

*Peter Langtoft's Chronicle.*

& Jon regned in this estre kyng auhten ghere,  
 At the abbay of *Suynesheued* ther he drank poyson,  
 At *Hauche* his lif he leued, so fay men of that toun.

*In librorum imprimendorum rationis laudem  
quidam bos cecinit versus.*

O felix nostris memoranda impressio seclis  
 Inventore \* nitet utraque lingua tuo  
 Desierat quasi totum quod fundis in Orbem  
 Nunc parvo doctus quilibet esse potest.  
 Omnes te summis igitur nunc laudibus ornent,  
 Te duce quando ars hec mira reperta fuit.

D. Hartmanni Schedel *Chronicon* Nurem-  
 bergii consummat. 12<sup>o</sup> mensis Julij anno  
 11  
 Salutis nostre 1493. fol. CCLN.

<sup>v</sup> hateful, loathsome.

\* presently.



## NUMBER IV.

*The Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments, according to the Festival.**The Lord's Prayer.*

**F**ader our that art in hevens, halowed be thi name: thy kingdom come to us; thy wyll be done in erthe as is in heven; Our euey dayes brede gyve us to day; and forgyve us our trespassis, as we forgyve them that trespassse agenste us; and lede us not into temptatyon, but de-lyuer us fro all evyll synne, amen.

*The XII artycles of the fayth.*

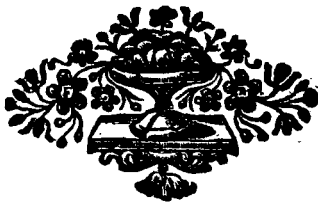
**I** Byleue in god fader almyghti maker of heuen 1.  
 and of erth; I byleue in *Jhesu Christe* his 2.  
 only sone our lorde; I beleue, that he was con- 3.  
 ceiued of the holy ghoft and borne of the vir-  
 gine *Mary*. I byleue, that he suffered payne 4.  
 under Ponce Pilate doon on the crosse, dede and  
 beryed: I byleue, that he went downe to helle: 5.  
 the thirde day arose from deth to lyfe: I by- 6.  
 leue, that he stied up into heuen and set him  
 ther on his fathers right honde: I byleue, that 7.  
 he is to come to demē the quicke and the dede:  
 I byleue in the holy ghooft: the thyrde person 8.  
 of the trinyte. I byleue in holy chirche and 9.  
 comeninge of sayntes. I byleue remission of 10.  
 synnes. I byleue ryng of body. I byleue in 11, 12.  
 everlasting lyfe.

L

*The*

*The X commaundementis of god.*

1. **T**HE *first* he commaundeth, that thou have
2. no god but him. The *seconde* is, that thou take not in vayne the holy name of god. The
3. *thirde* is, have in mynde to halowe thy holy dayes: that is to saye sondayes and other that
4. be boden. The *iiii* is worshyp thy fader and
5. moder. The *fyfthe* is, thou shalt not slee.
- 6, 7. The *vj* is thou shalt do no lechery. The *vij* commaundement is, thou shall not stelen. The
8. *viiij* is, thou shalt bere no fals wytneffe. The
9. *ix* is, thou shalt not desyre thy neyghbours
10. wif. The *x* commaundement and the last is, thou shalte not desire thy neyghboures thing, house, londe, oxe, asse, nother nothing that is his.





## Corrections and Additions.

### P R E F A C E.

**P**AGE ix. Line 17: read, *seven* Years before it was practised, or, however, but *three* after it was first thought of.

P. xi. L. 14. r. only the Manuscript is, in some Places, corrected, and the old and obsolete Language sometimes.

P. xii. Col. 2. L. 3. from bottom. In *Caxton's* own Edition of this Chronicle it is, *the whiche he leete make in the syxth yere of his regne.*

Ib. L. 3. Note. *Matthew* xviii. 32. which, in our present *English* Translation is render'd, *O thou wicked Servant*, is, in our *Saxon* or old *English*, *Eala thu lythra theowa.*

P. xiii. L. 5. The Time of this memorable Fact is differently reported by our ancient Historians. *Roger de Hoveden*, tells us, That *Anno gratiæ 1156, qui erat annus tertius regni regis Henrici — idem Henricus — novam fecit monetam, quæ sola recepta erat et accepta in regno.* *Radulphus de Diceto* and *Matth. Westmon.* mention this as done 1158, or the *fifth* of his Reign. *Matt. Paris*, and *William of Newbery*, place it to the Year 1180, or the 27th Year of this Prince's Reign. *Nova moneta in Anglia facta est — Forma monetæ publicæ, a falsariis corruptæ, mutata est in Anglia.*

### B O O K.

Page 16. Line 9. In the Preface to his *second* Edition of this Book, without any Date or Name of

L 2

Place

Place where printed, Mr. *Caxton* thus address'd his Readers:— ‘ emonge alle other good werkys, It is ‘ a werke of ryght special recomendation to enforme ‘ and to late understonde wisedome and vertue unto ‘ them that be not lernyd, ne cannot dyscerne wyse- ‘ dome fro folye. The’ne emonge whom there was ‘ an excellent doctour of dyvynyte in the royaume of ‘ *Fraunce* of the ordre of thospital of Saynt *Johns* of ‘ *Jberusalem* whiche entended the same, and hath made ‘ a booke of *the chesse moralysed*, whiche at suche ‘ tyme as I was resident in *brudgys* in the counte of ‘ *Flaunders* cam into my handes; whiche whan I had ‘ redde and ouerseen me semed ful necessarye for to be ‘ had in englishe; and in eschewyng of ydlenes, and ‘ to thende, that somme which have not sene it ne un- ‘ derstonde *Frensch* ne *latyn*, I delybered in my self to ‘ translate it into our maternal tongue. And whan I so ‘ had achyeued the sayd translacion I dyde doo sette in ‘ enprynte a certeyn nombre of theym which anone ‘ were \* depeshted and folde. Wherefore bycause thys ‘ sayd booke is ful of holsom wysedom, and requysyte ‘ unto every astate and degree, I have purposed to en- ‘ prynte it, shewyn therein the <sup>a</sup> figures of such perfones ‘ as longen to the Playe.’ The Booke is deuyded and ‘ departed into four traytes and Partyes. *Oudin* informs ‘ us, from the learned *Lambecius*’s Catalogue of the Im- ‘ perial Library, That this Booke was written originally ‘ in *Latin*, and is sometimes entituled, *Super ludo Schac-* ‘ *corum*; sometimes, *De moribus hominum, et officio no-* ‘ *bilium et popularium super ludo Schacchorum*; and ‘ *Traetatus de causa inventionis ludi Schacchorum*; that ‘ the Author of it was *Jacobus de Tbeffalonica*, of the ‘ Order of Preaching Friers. In *Anthony Senensis*’s Chro-

\* dispersed.

De script.  
Vol. III.

<sup>a</sup> These figures are very rudely cut in Wood: I shall only ob-  
setve of them, That those of the ALPHYNES, which are directed  
to be made and formed in manner of Judges sitting in a chayer with  
a book open before theyr eyes, and of the ROOKE which ben vycarys  
and legates of the Kynge, have such Caps on their Heads as Mr. *Cax-*  
*ton*’s Picture has.

nicle of this Order is the following Account given of him; *Frater Jacobus de Cezolis, Vir gravis, literaturæ egregiæ et multum venerandus, transmissit ad posteros Sermones varios et librum<sup>b</sup> moralem pro nobilibus de ludo Schaccorum.* Claruiffè fertur circa annum Domini 1295. *Lambecius* observed, That his true Name was de *Casulis*, from a City in *Italy*, called *Casali*, where he was born: That, through Corruption, it was written, de *Casolis*, *Cassalis*, and *Casallis*: Then de *Cessolis*, *Cessolis*, *Cezolis* and *Sesselis*; that again the Name was written de *Tessalis* and *Tbessalis*; and at length absurdly and foolishly changed into de *Tbessalonia* et *Tbessalonica*; and, that he flourished about the Year 1290, or 1295; *L'Abbe* says, before the Year 1200. The learned du *Fresne* supposed *Jacobus de Cessulis*, and *Jacobus de Tbessalonica*, to have been two different Men of the same Order of preaching Friars; the first to have lived about *A. D.* 1295, and the second about 1410. The same learned Person seems to have thought this Game of Chés an *Arabian* or *Persian* Game, since he derives its Name from the Word *Schach*, which, in *Arabit*, signifies a King, who is the principal Person in this Game. Out of *Latin* was this Book translated into *French*, and from the *French* into *English*, by Mr. *Caxton*, as has been said before. One *Simon Ailwardus*, an *English* Poet, who lived 1456, wrote a Poem *Of the Game of Chés*.

P. 16. L. 19. add, In the Prologue to this Book Mr. *Caxton* tells us, That it was written in *French* by *Raoul le Feure*, the Author of *The Recuyel*, &c. and presented by him unto the noble Prince in his dayes, *Philip le bon duc of burgoyne*, to whom he was Chaplain: That 'it was newe made aparte of alle thistories of the sayd *Jason*, and the historie of him which that <sup>c</sup> *Dares Frigijs* and <sup>d</sup> *Guido de Columpnys* wrote

<sup>b</sup> Fr. Jac. de Cessolis frat. ord. Prædic. liber de moribus hominum et Officiis Nobilium super ludo Schaccorum; parvo folio Mediol. 1479.

<sup>c</sup> De bello Trojano.

<sup>d</sup> Destructionis Trojæ historia. Fol. 1486.

‘ in the begynnyng of theyr bokes touchyng the con-  
 ‘ quest of the sayd *golden flese* by occasion wherof  
 ‘ grewe the cause of the second destruccion of the said  
 ‘ cite of *Troye*.’ He further intimated, That himself  
 ‘ entended to translate and enterprised to accomplish  
 ‘ this littil book for the honour and worship of K. *Ed-*  
 ‘ *ward IV.*’ who had been elected Knight of the Or-  
 ‘ der of the *Golden Fleece*, in the first Chapter of it,  
 ‘ held by his Brother in Law, *Charles Duke of Bur-*  
 ‘ *gundy*, at *Bruges*, on *Sunday, May 8, 1468*; and af-  
 ‘ terwards installed, or, as *Caxton* expressed it, ‘ had  
 ‘ taken possession therof.’ In the same Prologue Mr.  
*Caxton* described the Hangings set up by *Philip Duke*  
 ‘ of *Burgundy*, who instituted this Order of the Knights of  
 ‘ the *Golden Fleece*, with a View to the Story of *Jason’s*  
 ‘ Expedition to *Colchis*, in his Castle of *Hesdin*, in *Ar-*  
 ‘ *tois*, upon the River *Canche*, in which this Story was  
 ‘ represented: ‘ Well wote I, says Mr. *Caxton*, that the  
 ‘ noble Duc *Philippe*, first foundeur of this sayd Or-  
 ‘ dre, did doo make a *Chambre* in the Castell of *Hes-*  
 ‘ *dyn* wherin was craftyly and curyoussly depeynted the  
 ‘ conqueste of the golden flese by the said *Jason*. In  
 ‘ which *Chambre* I have ben and seen the sayd histo-  
 ‘ rie so depeynted; and, in remembrance of *MEDEA*  
 ‘ and her cunning and science, he had do make in the  
 ‘ said *Chambre* by subtyll engyn, that, when he wolde,  
 ‘ it shulde seem, that it lightned, and after thondre,  
 ‘ snowe and rayne, and all within the said chambre as  
 ‘ aste tymes and whan it shulde please him, which was

J. Anstis,  
 Esq; Gar-  
 ter Princi-  
 pal King  
 at Arms.

‘ al made for his singuler pleasur.’ A learned Friend,  
 to whom I am much indebted for these Additions,  
 observes to me, that there is no other Writer who men-  
 tions these Hangings or Paintings; and that, proba-  
 bly, they were destroyed in 1553, when the Town  
 and Castle of *Heiden* were demolished by *Philibert*  
*Emanuel*, Duke of *Savoy*, General of the Emperour  
*Charles V.* But, that *Oliver de la March*, who was  
 bred up in the Court of *Philip Duke of Burgundy*,  
 has intimated, That the Duke had a Regard to this Sto-  
 ry in his Institution of this Order; but afterwards, by  
 the

the Advice of *John German*, Bishop of *Nevers*, the first Chancellor of this Order, *Gideon's Fleece* was substituted in the Room of that of *Jason*; and, that of this Story, were very rich Hangings of Gold and Silver remaining in the Court of *Brussels*, in 1652, when *Cbisset* printed his *Breviarium Ordinis Velleris aurei*. *Monstrelet* tells us, That on the Collar of this Order was, *Appendent une toison que jadis conquest anciennement Jason en l'isle de Colchos comme on le trouve in l'Histoire de Troye*. Mr. *Caxton* mentions both these in this Prologue. 'In so much, says he, as the greatest fame and renomme standeth and resteth in the conquest of the Flese of gold wherof is founded an Ordre of Knights. — howe well some persones afferme and saye, that the sayde Ordre hath taken his Original of the flese of *Gedeon*, where in I woll not dispute.' This little Book Mr. *Caxton* presented, as he said, 'unto the moost fayr, and his moost redoubted young lord, his lord prynce of *Wales* to thentent he might be gynne to lerne to rede Englishsh:' He being now about five Years old.

P. 17. L. II, &c. Note. This Title of the Earls, of *Defendour and Directour of the Siege Apostolique*, &c. is an Intimation of an Office of which I have hitherto met with no Account, and can therefore only guess at the Nature of it. Sir *Henry Spelman* has observed, That *Defensors* are of many Kinds, and known by several Names, both in the Church and State: That, particularly, there were *Defensors* of the Patrimony of *St. Peter*, which were appointed by the Popes in the Provinces, to defend and take care of the Patrimony of the *Roman* Church, and particularly of what Legacies were left to it: That of these *Defensors* there is often mention made by the Popes, *Gregory* and *Pelagius*, in their Epistles; and, that from thence may be learn'd their Office. *Du Fresne* informs us, That these *Defensors* of the Churches, or Apostolic See, were of the Order of Scholastics, or, as I suppose, Advocates of the Canon Law; but that afterwards this Office was conferred on military Men, and those of

Glossarium, V.  
Defensor.

Glossarium, V.  
Advocatus.

Present  
State of  
Great-  
Britain.

greater Power, that there might be those to defend the Rights of the Churches; which they took into their Protection, not only with their Tongues but with their Arms. Earl Rivers was a fit Person for this Office, who, according to the Character given of him by Sir Thomas More, had a Hand to execute as well as a Head to advise. From hence I have surmised, that this Office was something like that of the King's Lord Advocate in Scotland; who, it's said, was a Person most eminent for Eloquence and Knowledge of the Laws, and to defend the King's Right and Interest in all publick Meetings, by Law and Reason. The Word DIRECTOUR seems to import the same; as if the Person invested with this Office, had the Direction or Management of what concerned the Apostolic See here in England, or of what temporal Concerns the Pope had here. It is in this Sense that the Word is still used. *Directeur, Procurator, terme de Palais: C'est une Administrateur laïque qui est choisi par le Bureau général des Pauvres, pour avoir soin du biens de quelque hôpital, et qui va un jour la semaine a cet hôpital, pour ouir les plaintes des pauvres et leur rendre justice. Richelet Diction. V. Directeur.*

P. 18. L. 10. add, In the Earl's Preface to this Book we are told, That in July 1473, he set sail from Southampton, to go to Compostella in Spain, on a Pilgrimage to St. James; where that Year was to be a Jubilee and Pardon: For this he had a royal License granted to him two Years before—*Profecturo contra incredulos fidei Christiane, &c.* who was a going against the Infidels, and in Pilgrimage, and to see the World, with a Recommendation of him to all Christian Princes. At the End of this Book is added about a Page and a Half, by Caxton, of the sayings of Socrates, against Women, which the Erle, it seems, had not translated: Of this Mr. Caxton gave the following Account: That 'the Earl desired him to oversee this Book, and whereas he sholde fynde faute to correct it, and that done to put the sayde booke in prynte. And thus, said he, obeying his request and  
' com-

Pat. xi  
law. IV.  
p. 2. m. 28.



' commaundement, I have put me in deuoir to over-  
 ' see this his booke, and beholden as nyghe as I coude  
 ' howe it accordeth with thorigynall beyng in French.  
 ' And I fynde nothyng discordaunt therin, sauf only  
 ' in the dyctes and sayengys of *Socrates*, wherin I  
 ' fynde, that my saide lorde hath left out certayn and  
 ' dyuerce concludions towchyng women, wherof I  
 ' meruaylle that my lord hath not wretton them. ———  
 ' But for as moche as I had commaundement of my  
 ' sayd lord to correcte and amende where as I sholde  
 ' fynde sawte, and other fynde I none sauf, that he  
 ' hath left out these dictes and saynges of the Women  
 ' of *Greece*. Therefore in accomplishing his coman-  
 ' dement for as moche as I am not \* in certayn whe- *sure.*  
 ' der it was in my lordis cotype or not, or ellis pera-  
 ' venture that the wynde had blowe over the leef at  
 ' the tyme of translacion of his boke, I purpose to  
 ' wryte the same saynges of that Greke *Socrates* whiche  
 ' wrote of tho women of *Grece* and nothyng of them  
 ' of this Royame, whom I suppose he neuer knewe :  
 ' For if he had I dar plainly saye, that he would haue  
 ' \* refered them in especiall in his sayd dictes. Al- *\* excepted.*  
 ' way not presумыng to put and sette them in my sayd  
 ' lordes booke, but in thende aparte in the reherfayll of  
 ' the werkis, humbly requiryng al them that shal rede  
 ' this lytyl reherfayll, that if they fynde ony faulte  
 ' \* tarrette it to *Socrates* and not to me.' *\* to place.*

P. 20. L. 28. add, Besides the translating these *three*  
 Books, if the *two* last mentioned are not the same,  
 for I have never seen them, this Earl wrote a Ballad  
 against the seven deadly Sins ; and another whilst he  
 was a Prisoner in *Pontefract* Castle, beginning

*Somewhat musying and mournyng*——

which is inserted by *John Rasse*, in his History, p. 214.

P. 21. L. 7. &c. Note. Mr. *Moses Pitt*, in the  
 second Volume of this Atlas, tells us, That he present-  
 ed this Book to the University Library.

## Corrections and Additions.

P. 22. Note. Read *Hunte* and *Roode* at *Oxford*.

P. 27. L. 16. In a Prologue to this Book, *declarynge to whom it appertayneth*, we are informed, That 'it was translaticd out of *latin* into *Frenschke* by the ordenaunce of the noble duc *John* of *Berry* and *Auerigne* the yere of our lord MCCXLV. and now at this tyme rudely translated out of *Frenschke* into *Englysh* by *William Caxton*: That it was engrossed, and in all Poyntes ordeyned by chapitres and figures in *Frenschke* in the town of *bruggis* 1464 in the month of *Juyn*, and empyrsed by him to translate and brynge it into our maternall tongue the second day of *Janyuer* 1480 in thabby of *Westmestre* by *London*.'

P. 29. L. 13. from bot. Note. '*John Raftall*, who breuely compyl'd, and empyrsed 21 *Henry viij* or A. D. 1530, *The Pastyme of People*, or *the Cronycles of dyuers realmys and most specially of the realme of Englund*, calls this *The Englysh Cronicle*.'

P. 40. L. 3. from bot. This Prefis is said by *Bagford* to have been suppressed by *Cardinal Wolsey*.

P. 47. L. last. Note, at the Word *translation*. This Book *of the blasfing of arms* contains only Abstracts from *Nicholas Upton*, who wrote four Books, *De re militari et factis illustribus*, the last of which treats, *De insignibus Anglorum Nobilium*: Or, *of the Arms of the Englysh Nobles*. At the End of this *Englysh Translation*, by *Juliana Barnes*, is *Emprinted at the exempt Monastery of St. Albans*.

P. 51. L. 2. from bot. r. A wife and politic Government.

P. 84. Note. In our Forefathers Time, when *Papistry*, as a standing Pool, covered and overflowed all *England*, few Books were read in our Tongue, saving certain Books of Chivalry, as they said, for Pastime and Pleasure; which, as some say, were made in Monasterys by idle Monks, or wanton Canons. As one for Example: *MORTE ARTHUR*, the whole Pleasure of which Book standeth in two special Poyntes, in open Man-slaughter, and bold Bawdry. In which  
Book

Book those be counted the noblest Knights that do kill most Men without any Quarrel, and commit foulest Adulteries by subtlest Shifts: As Sir *Lancelot* with the Wife of King *Arthur* his Master; Sir *Tristram* with the Wife of King *Mark* his Uncle; Sir *Lamerock* with the Wife of King *Lote* that was his own Aunte. This is good Stuff for wise Men to laugh at, or honest Men to take Pleasure in: Yet I know when GOD'S Bible was banished the Court, and MORTE ARTHUR received into the Prince's Chamber. R. Afcham, *Schoolmaster*, Book I.

P. 88. L. 13. Note. In an Act of Parliament, 9 Henry V. c. XII. A. D. 1421, this Bridge is called, *The newe bridge of ROCHESTER.*

P. 99. L. 5. from bot. ——— ‘whiche translation was finished the viii day of *Juyll* the said Yere, and enprynted the xiiii day of *Juyll* next followyng and ful fynished.’

P. 101. L. 27. The bright and accurate Author of the DUNCIAD tells us, That ‘*Caxton* translated into Prose, *Virgil's Æneis* as a History; and that he speaks of it in a very singular Manner, as of a Book hardly known.’ But this Censure is confuted by the very Copy of *Caxton's* Preface to this Book, which even this ingenious Writer has printed in his Appendix. There *Caxton* tells his Readers: ‘1. That this lytyl booke was translated out of *latyn* into *frenshe* by some noble clerke, or fine scholar, of *fraunce*. 2. That he never saw \* tofore like, this translation, \* before; ne none so playsant, ne so wel ordered; and, that this book, as him seemed, should be moche requisite to Noblemen to see. 3. That this booke is named *Eneydos*, and made in *latyn* by that noble Poete and grete clerke *Vyrgyle*. 4. That many hondred yerys passed was the sayd book of *Eneydos* with other workes made and learned daily in scolys, specyally in *ytalye* and other places, whiche historye the sayd *Vyrgyle* made in metre.’ How easy a Matter is it to create DUNCES at this Rate?

*Corrections and Additions.*

P. 103. L. 2. from bot. It appears from this Book how accurate an Editor *Caxton* was, and what an Injury has been done to *Chaucer's* Works by those who have published them since. Of this I'll give the following Instance, from the Beginning of this Book.

<i>Caxton's</i> Ed.	Ed. 1602, 1721.
—For lo rendyng muses of Poetes enditen to me things to be writen, and drery vers of wretchidnes weten my face with very teeris.	—For lo rendyng muses of Poets enditen to me things to be writen, and dreary tears.
yongthe.	youth.
wefull.	wefull.
dreynte.	drente.
unagreable.	ungreable.
wefull.	wefull.

P. 41. Note. It's not improbable, that this Name of *Insomuch*, given to the Author of this Book, entitled, *Fruetus temporum*, by Sir *Henry Chauncey*, was taken, by Mistake, from the first Word of the Prologue to it, which is, *Insomocke*.





# W R I T E R S

OF THE

## ART of PRINTING.



*Lmeloovenius* de Stephanorum Vitis.

Melchioris *Adami* Vitæ Joannis Fust et—  
Gottemburgh, inter vitas Germanorum  
Philosophorum.

John *Bagford's* Proposals and Life of Wil-  
liam Caxton. *A single Sheet.*

Pierre *Baile's* Dictionaire, &c. V. Ally.

— *Baileti* Jugemens de principaux Imprimeurs.

— *Bartoloccius* de typographiis Judæorum.

Joh. Hen. *Boecleri* Oratio habita 1640.

Christopheri *Besoldi* Differtat. Philologicarum Pentas,  
Differt. IV.

— *Boxbornij* Theatre de Hollande.

Joh. *Brodeai* Miscell. lib. II. c. 26.

Jean de la *Caille* Histoire de l'Imprimerie et de la li-  
braire 1689.

And. *Chevellerij* liber de origine typographiæ Pari-  
sienfis.

Johannis a *Chokier* Hist. Lib. I. c. 18.

J. A. *Fabricij* Notitia celebrium ante nostram ætatem  
typographorum ad finem Bibliothecæ Latinæ, Vol. I.  
1708.

John *Fox's* Acts and Monuments.

De *Gallois* Traite des plus belles bibliothèques de l'Eu-  
rope, p. 162, 185, et seq.

Hermannus *Hugo* de prima scribendi origine et rei li-  
terariæ antiquitate. Antw. 1617.

*Histoire*

*Histoire de l'Imprimerie.*

The *History of the Art of Printing, &c.* Edinburgh  
1713.

Pauli *Jovij* Novocomensis Epif. descriptio regionum  
et locorum. Basil 1561. Lib. IV.

Christiani *Liberij* Bibliotheca. Ultrajecti 1681. p. 12.

Bernardus a *Mallinckrott* Decanus Moguntiae de ortu  
ac progressu Artis Typographicæ. Col. Agrip.  
1640.

Joan. *Mentelij* ad Mallinckrott parænesis de vera ori-  
gine Typographiæ.

Mich. *Maittaire* Stephanorum Historia. 1709.

————— Annales Typographici. 1733.

Conyers *Middleton* Dissertation concerning the Origin  
of Printing in England. 1735.

————— *Moreri* Dictionnaire. V. Imprimerie.

J. *Mullerus* de incunabulis Typographiæ Lipsiensis.

Sam. *Palmer* History of Printing, and particularly in  
England. 1732.

Guido *Pancirollus* de rebus deperditis et noviter in-  
ventis: feu nova reperta veteribus incognita: cum  
comm. Henrici Salmuth 2. libris. Ambergæ 1612.

Pierre *Richelet* Dictionnaire de la langue Françoise, à  
Amsterdam 1732. V. Imprimerie.

Joannis *Schilleri* observationes in Jacobi de Konigsho-  
ven Chronicon universale et Alsatium.

Joh. *Schmidii* Hom. 3 et 4.

Adami *Schragii* liber Germaniæ scriptus de Typogra-  
phiæ Inventione.

Henrici *Stephani* Querimonia Artis Typographicæ.

Burchardi Gothelf *Struvij* Introductio ad Historiam  
Literariam, Cap. XI.

Polydore *Vergil* de rerum inventoribus, Lib. II. c. 7.





T H E  
I N D E X.

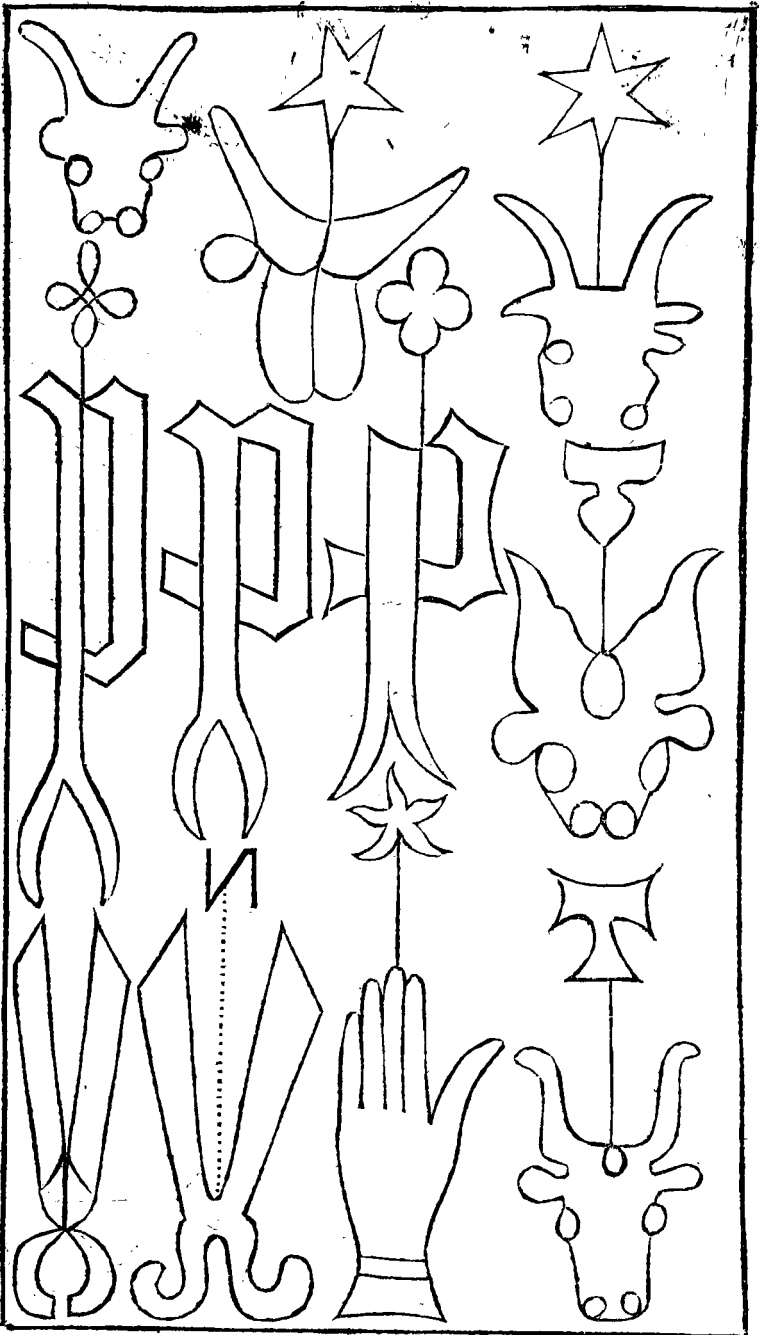
P. for *Preface.*

A.	Pages	C.	Pages
<b>A</b> lfred, <i>King</i> P. — xi		Brice, Hugh — — —	26
Atkins, Robert P. — x		Brielinger, John — — —	127
<i>Aesop's Fables</i> — — —	79	Brugge, John — — —	87
Albans, <i>St. printing there</i> 40, 48		Burgh, Bennet — — —	94
Alphonfus — — —	79	<i>Burying Torches</i> — — —	20
Anthony, Luke — — —	126		
Arthur, K. — — —	84, 96	C.	
<i>Arts and Sciences</i> — — —	116	Cathon, or Cato — — —	93
Arundel, <i>Archbb.</i> — — —	70	Caxton, William, <i>born in Kent,</i>	
Avesbury, Robert — — —	63	<i>bred a Mercer and travels, p. 1.</i>	
Arian — — —	79	<i>the King's Commissioner to the</i>	
Aulroy <i>battel</i> — — —	89	<i>Duke of Burgundy, ib. a Ser-</i>	
Aurick, Jacob — — —	127	<i>want to the Dutchess, p. 3.</i>	
Austin <i>the Monk</i> — — —	115	<i>windicated, p. 37. buried his</i>	
		<i>Father, p. 19. his Cypher,</i>	
		<i>p. 26, 98. dies, p. 117. print-</i>	
		<i>ing</i> — — —	124
B.		Cestriensis, Roger — — —	57
Baile. P. — — —	x	Charetier, Alan. — — —	114
Bailey, N. P. — — —	ib.	Charles <i>the Great</i> — — —	97
Bale, <i>Bp.</i> P. — — —	viii, xviii	<i>Chastising God's Children</i> — — —	112
Barcham, John — — —	34	Chaucer, Geoffrey, 60, 81, 103,	
Bateman, <i>Dr.</i> Steven — — —	7	122, 123	
Bede — — —	42	Chauncey, Sir Henry — — —	41
Belinus — — —	82	Chaundos, Sir John — — —	83, 89
Benet, <i>St. rule</i> — — —	113	<i>Chess, Game of</i> — — —	14, 142
Berkely, <i>Tho. lord of</i> — — —	58	Chester, Ranulph — — —	38
<i>Bidding bedes</i> — — —	74, 77	Chivalrie, <i>Order of</i> — — —	81
Boecius <i>de consolat.</i> — — —	102	<i>Christ's Nativity</i> — — —	45
Bonaventure, <i>Dr.</i> — — —	109		
Brennius — — —	82		

Chri-

	Pages		Pages
Christoferfon, Bp. — —	71	Galaad } — —	83
Christina de Pisan — —	97, 99	Gawayn } — —	83
Chronicles of England — —	28	General Sentence — —	73, 79, 80
Chronicle, Caxton. P. xi, xii, xiii		Geoffrey of Monmouth — —	84
Clarence, Duke of — —	15	Gildas — —	42
Clement, James — —	36	Glanville, Bartholomew — —	7
Collier, Jerem. P. ix. — —	70	Godfrey of Bologne — —	50
Colet, Dean — —	69	Golden Legend — —	93
Confessio amantis — —	79	Gower, John — —	60
Conjurs what — —	2	Graal — —	83
Courtney, Archbp. — —	76, 87	Grantsone, lord — —	85
Cranden, John — —	126	le Graunt, Jaques — —	97
Cranmer, Archbp. — —	79	Guttemberg, John — —	132
Cratandre, Andrew — —	127		
Crede michi — —	111	H.	
		Han, Ulricus — —	132
D.		Hastinges, lord — —	26
Dicts of Philosophers — —	16	— — — Sir Francis — —	36
Directorium Sacerdotum — —	110	Hawes, Stephen — —	103
Defensorium Directorij — —	111	Hawkwoode, Sir John — —	83, 88, 89
		K. Henry V. — —	83
E.		Higden, Ranulph — —	39, 57
Edward I, and III. — —	83, 85, 91	Hunte, Thomas — —	8, 26, 25
— — Confessor — —	114		
Elifabeth, St. — —	108	I.	
Eneidos — —	99	James of Compostella — —	77, 79
England described — —	39	Jason, History — —	16
English alter'd — —	60	Jenson, Nicholas — —	25
Erasmus — —	72	Jerusalem — —	77
Eitney, John — —	13	Image of the World — —	26
Excommunicatio — —	74	Infallibility of the Church — —	72
		Infomuch, John — —	41
F.		John, K. poison'd. P. xi. — —	35, 133
Faldstoffe, Sir John — —	52	Josceline, John. P. — —	xviii.
Fanque, William, first King's Printer — —	128	Islip, John — —	13
Fauftus, John — —	133	Justes, what — —	91
Fayt of armes — —	99	Justes of Peace — —	83
le Feure, Raoul — —	4		
Fitz-james, Bp. — —	69	K.	
Fitz-water — —	84	Katherine, St. — —	78, 79
Foreland-North — —	61	— — of Sene — —	108
Fox, John, vindicated. P. xi. — —	36	Knolles, Sir Robert — —	83, 85
Frobenius, John — —	127		
Froissard, Sir Gaultier — —	83	L.	
— — John — —	90	Lancilot du lac — —	84, 85
Fructus temporum — —	41	Langton, Archbp. — —	74
		Large, Robert — —	2
		Legende of Saints — —	93
		Leland,	







# INDEX.

155

	<i>Pages</i>		<i>Pages</i>
Leland, John — P. xviii.	56	Paris —————	96
Lettou, John —————	48	Parker, <i>Archbp.</i> —————	60
Liber <i>Festivales</i> —————	67	Parsons, Robert —————	34
Litchfield, John —————	38	Peccham, <i>Archbp.</i> —————	69
Litere <i>questus</i> —————	87	Pecock, Reginald, <i>Bp.</i> —————	72
Littleton's <i>Tenares</i> —————	49	Pereyval —————	83
London <i>Printing</i> —————	48	Perle <i>Forest</i> —————	83
Lufft, John —————	127	Peters, Adam —————	127
Lydgate, John — 5, 103,	114	Pilgrimage <i>of the Soul</i> —————	66
Lyfe <i>of our Lady</i> —————	114	Pilgrimages —————	78
Lyra <i>of coat armuris</i> —————	47	Pitts, John ————— P.	xix
<b>M.</b>		Poggius —————	79
Machlinia, William de —————	48	Poictier's <i>Battle</i> —————	85
Magnomentarius, Banatusianus	53	Polychronicon —————	58
Major, John —————	29	Praat, William —————	98
Malmsbury, William —————	40	Prideaux, <i>Dean</i> —————	126
Malory, <i>Sir Tho.</i> —————	96, 97	Primer <i>of Salisbury Use</i> —————	69
Margaret, <i>Dutch. of Burgundy</i>	3	Printers <i>multiplied</i> —————	4
Martyr —————	42	Printing <i>in England, uncertain</i>	
Mattaire, Michl ————— P.	viii	<i>Accounts of.</i> ————— P.	ix
Mentell, John —————	132	————— <i>the Bible in English,</i>	
Middleton, <i>Dr. Conyers</i> P.	vii	<i>the Penalty of</i> —————	120
Milling, Thomas —————	13	————— <i>first brought to Perfection</i>	
Montague, William —————	90	————— 40	132
More, Thomas de la —————	63	————— <i>at Oxford</i> —————	20
————— <i>Sir Thomas</i> —————	69	Prus, John —————	132
Morin, Martin —————	127	Pylate, <i>of Pounce</i> —————	71, 139
Mountfort, Simon —————	87	Pynson, Richard —————	128, 129
Munmoth, Galfridus —————	40	Pyle, Christine <i>of</i> —————	18
<b>N.</b>		<b>R.</b>	
Nicholson, <i>Abp. Will.</i> P.	xxii	Ray, John —————	126
Notary, Julian. — P. xi.	39	Raymond <i>Frier</i> —————	109
<b>O.</b>		Recuyell —————	4
Occleve, Thomas —————	105	Register <i>of the Garter</i> — P.	xv
Ormund, James —————	54	Reynard <i>the Fox</i> —————	51
Orologium Sapiencie —————	112	Rhodes, <i>Siege of</i> —————	116
Orroy <i>King of Man</i> —————	91	Richard III. —————	81
Otterbourne, John —————	38	Rochester <i>Bridge</i> —————	87
————— Thomas —————	63	Romance —————	84
Ovid's <i>Metamorphoses</i> —————	27	Rome —————	77, 78
Oxford, <i>Printing there</i> —————	20	Rood, Theodoric —————	8, 24
<b>P.</b>		le Rous, Rufus, William — P.	xii
Palmer, Samuel —————	129	Roufe, Rosie, John. —————	63
Pannarts Arnold —————	22	de Roye, Guy —————	98
Paper <i>making in England</i> —————	126	Rufcius, Adolphus —————	132
		Ryal <i>Book</i> —————	95

M

S. Scala

S.	Pages		Pages
Scala Mundi —	38	Titus Livius —	40
Schafferd, Peter —	132	Tornoye —	83
Skelton, John —	100	Trevifa, John —	39, 58
Speculum Christiani —	49	Tryfram —	83
— vite Christi —	109	Tully of Old Age —	52
Spoufage of a Virgin —	116	— Friendship —	54
Stapleton, Bp. —	P. xii	Turnaments, what —	91
Stephen, K. —	ib.	Typtoft, lord —	54
Stevens, Henry —	126		
Stow, John —	P. xix	V.	
Strode, a Poet —	81	Valentia, Jacobus de, in Pfallerium —	48
Surigon, Steven —	103	Vite Patrum —	117
Sweinheim, Conrad. —	32	Vives Ludovicus —	85
Swineshed Abby —	33	Voffius, Gerard John P. xx. —	30
— Simon of —	36		
		T.	W.
Tate, John, a Paper-maker —	126	Waynflete, William —	53
Teonville, John —	17	Weald of Kent —	1
Tharte and crafte to lerne wel to dye —	102	Wharton, Henry —	P. xxi
Theobaldus Anglicus —	40	Whethamfede, John —	63
Thignonville, William —	16	White-friers, London —	87
Thin, Sir John —	123	White-hill, Richard —	2
Thoresby, Archb. —	69	Wiclif, John —	74, 76
Thornbury, William —	72	Widewylle, Anthony —	17
Thorney, Roger —	7	— Sir Anthony —	19
Tignonville, William —	16	— Sir Richard —	17
Tynmouth, John of —	38	Winifrid, Life of —	114
Tindal, William —	69	de Worde, Wynkyn —	8, 127
		Wyrcefter, William —	53

F I N I S.

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## ERRATA.

PREFACE, Page viii. Line 9. read, *this Dissertation.* p. xv.  
l. 13. r. *makes.* Book, p. 11. l. 17. r. *historye.* p. 22. mar.  
Note, r. *Hunte and Rood.* p. 26. l. 21. r. *six Years after I have*  
*supposed* — p. 49. l. 11. r. *Londoniae.* p. 51. l. 2, from bot. r.  
*politick.* p. 58. mar. Note, l. 2. r. *Trevisa.* p. 68. l. 3. from  
bot. r. *follow.* p. 69. l. 22. dele *and.* p. 72. l. 19. r. *as bold-*  
*ing.* p. 76. l. 20. r. *It.* p. 110. l. 13, 14. r. *metropolitica.*

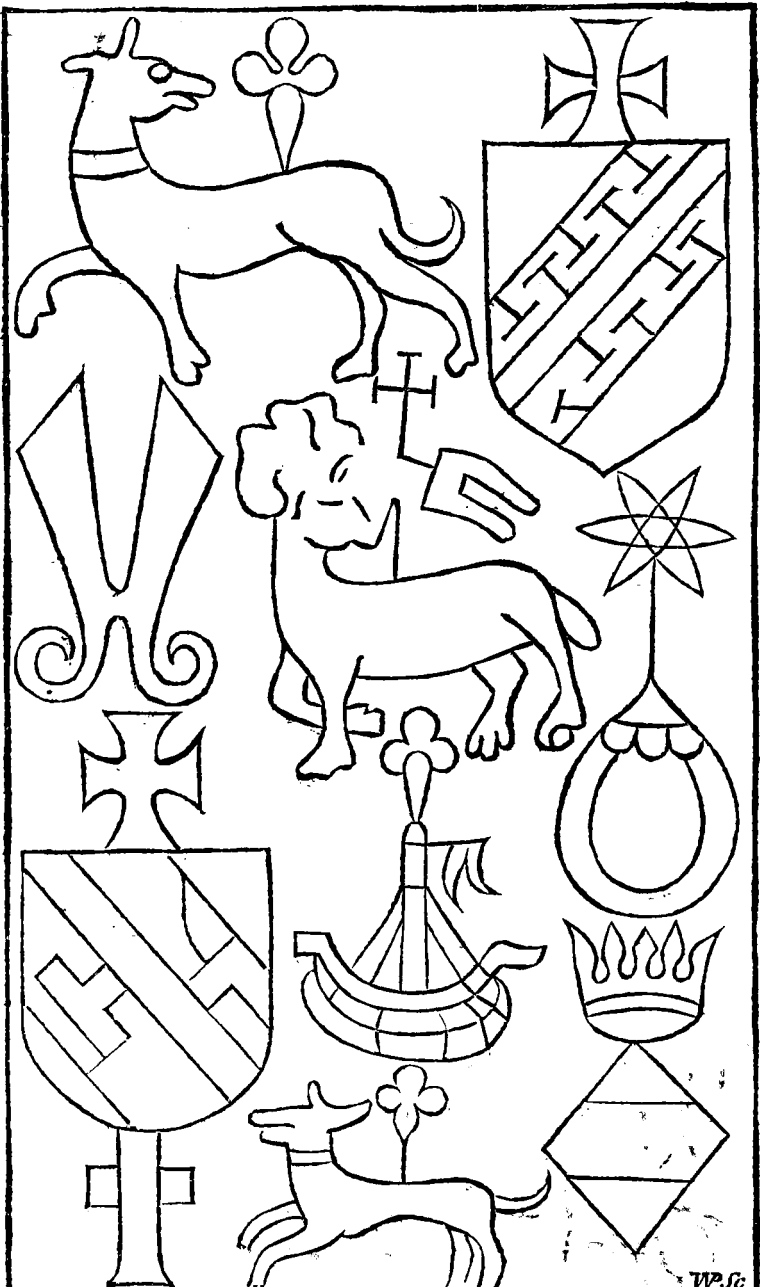
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*Preface*, P. viii. li. 21—27. r. Bishop *Bale* has done him Justice in giving him the following Character: *Vir non omnino stupidus, aut ignavia torpens, sed propagandæ suæ gentis memoriæ studiosus admodum.* — A Man by no means stupid or lazy, but very desirous of propagating, or making known, the History of his Country — This one of our learned Writers seems to have understood as if his Meaning was, that Mr. *Caxton* was not quite stupid or lazy — and accordingly asks with a seeming Air of Scorn and Contempt —

*Book*, P. 83. li. 11. r. *Syre Gaultier Manny* rede *Froissart*. P. 90. li. 10. r. *Syre Gaultier Manny* or *Sir Walter Many*, *Manny* or *de Manny* was a Native and Lord of the Town of *Manny* in the Province of *Hainault*, and attended *Philippa* of *Hainault* into *England* on her Marriage with *K. Edward III.* and being a most valiant Man at Arms was ever after retained and very much beloved and honoured by that warlike Prince. In the fifth Year of his Reign he knighted him with Ceremony, granting him Robes out of the great Wardrobe as a *Banneret*. He was afterwards advanced to the dignity of a Peer of the Realm, made a *Privy Counsellor*, and a Knight of the most noble Order of the *Gar*ter; and when, after a Life spent in the most glorious Deeds of Arms, *Sir Walter* died, *K. Edward* and his Royal Family of Heroes with the Nobility honoured the Funeral with their Presence, and attended the Corpse to the Chapel of the \* *Chartreuse* in *London*, lately founded there by him in conjunction with *Michael de Northburgh* Bp. of *London*, who by his last Will made 1361, bequeathed 2000l. for that purpose. For a farther account of these renowned Knights, Mr. *Caxton* refers his Readers to the French Historian *Sir John Froissart*, who was brought up in his Youth in *K. Edward III's* Court, and wrote very fully of the Transactions of his Reign. Rede *Froissart*.

\* *Chartreux*, A Convent or Monastery of *Carthusians*, so called from a Place in *Dauphinie* in *France* named *Chartreuse*, where they were first settled by *Hugues* Bp. of *Grenoble*.





The PAPER MARKS used by CAXTON from 1477 to 1490. JAMES de W.P.S.







