

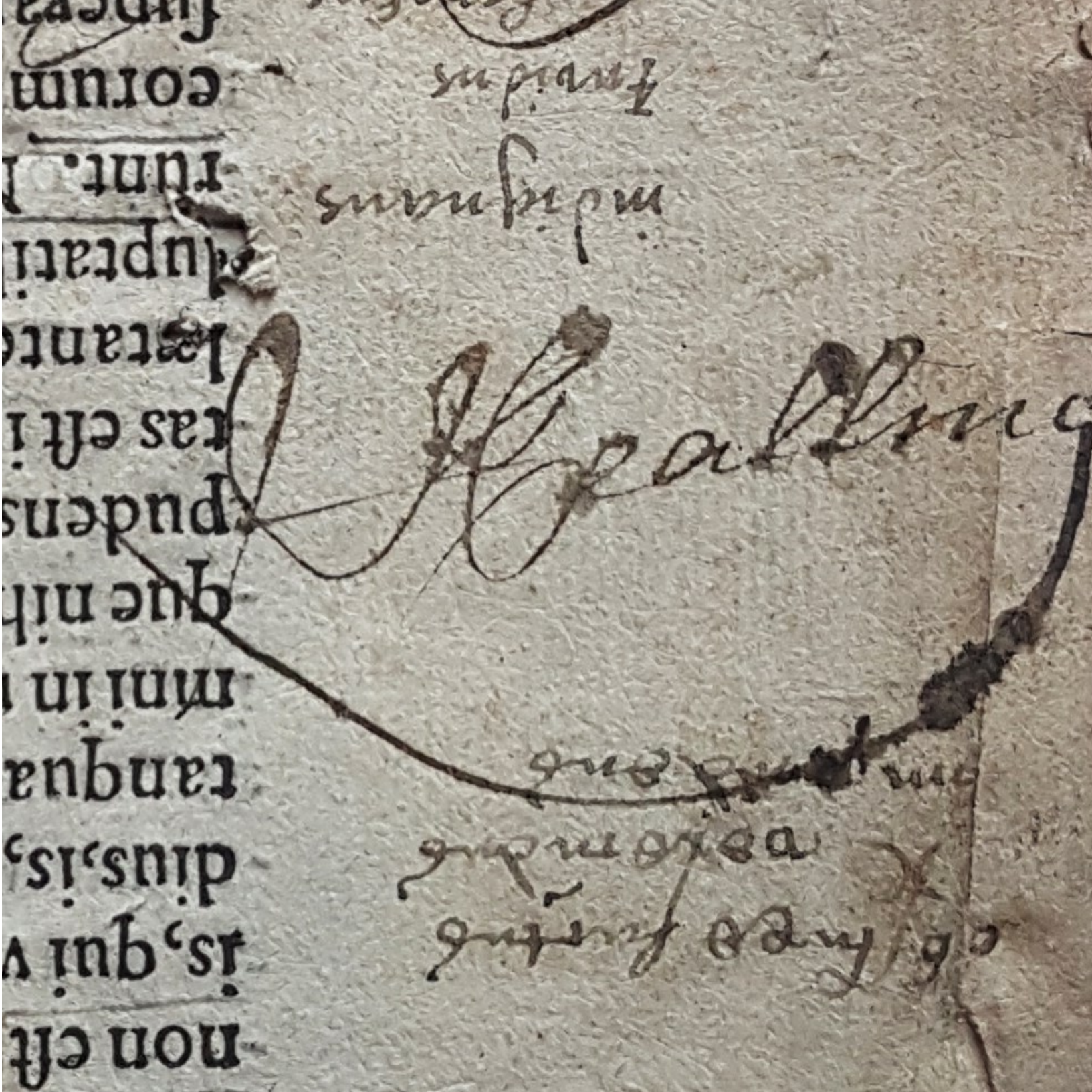
Invisibl inks:

on the social lives of manuscripts



Inner worlds:

on the private lives of manuscripts



Invisibl inks:

on the social lives of manuscripts

Centuries before social media, the human desire to connect and interact found expression in the exchange of manuscripts. Whether swapping recipes and remedies, updating a relative's monograph or writing comments directly onto the pages of a forebear's journal, writers of any era seem compelled to knit themselves into a larger social picture. The manuscripts presented here, besides their other qualities, are of great interest for the way they help to uncover social circles and personal relationships that contribute to the cultural fabric of their era. These links must often be teased out or deduced, but they are nonetheless deeply threaded into the everyday reality of life in times past.

The flipside of this catalogue, *'Inner worlds: on the private lives of manuscripts'*, reverses the polarity by exploring works that illuminate the inner life of their creators

FEVERISH YOUNG MIND

CANDLER, Sarah (1790-1816) and others *A collection of poems and letters.*

[Circa 1798-1815]. Folio and quarto. Pinned booklet, and loose-leaf letters and poems. Preserved in a sheet of marbled paper, which although itself quite fragile, appears to have kept the collection mostly intact.

Provenance: the collection came from a descendent of the Quaker family of Judkins. Caroline Sarah Judkins (1808-1877), was born in St Leonards, Shoreditch. She married James Elisha on 15 March 1849 at the parish chapel in St Pancreas. She died in 1877 in West Ham, London. The manuscripts passed by descent to the previous owner. Apart from their both being Quaker families, I have not been able to establish the nature of the connection between Candler and Judkins.

Verses occasioned by the Scarlet Fever

The centrepiece of this collection of poems and letters is the moving poetic witness by a thirteen-year-old girl of the deaths of her school friends to scarlet fever. The collection goes on to encompass her thoughts and expectations on becoming a woman, and extends to include related poems and letters by other members of the same family.

Contents:

18 poems by Sarah Candler, (pinned pamphlet of 8 poems plus a further 10 poems, usually on bifolium sheets) in the same neat cursive hand.

20 poems by Sarah Candler's relatives and others.

The author of the poems on scarlet fever was the young Sarah Candler. Originally from Suffolk, Sarah and her brother were sent to Ackworth School, a Quaker boarding school in North Yorkshire. It was established in 1779 for children “whose parents are not in affluence”. Here pupils of both sexes received equal instruction in “English language, writing, and arithmetic”, but the girls were also “instructed in housewifery, and useful needle work”. Tragically the school was struck by an outbreak of scarlet fever in 1803, during which 200 pupils fell ill and 7 of them died.

The collection is largely made up of loose sheets in the hands of Sarah Candler and others. But there is one “volume” of poems: a small gathering of sheets of paper, held together with a single pin and entitled “*Verse occasioned by the Scarlet Fever and sore Throat which prevailed at Ackworth school in the Spring and Summer of 1803. Composed by Sarah Candler aged 13 years, a Pupil at the above school.*” This handful of gathered leaves seems to embody the very fragility of existence of which it speaks.

Candler names some of the children lost to the disease, and through her poetry we see the characters briefly sketched and quickly lost to the disease. Untimely death was a normal part of 18th- and 19th-century life (“Sorrrows are daily heap’d upon my head” (p.6)), but it is clear from Candler’s solemn lines that frequency did not make it any easier to bear.

She begins,

If all were peaceful, smiling and serene,
And if nothing painful open’d to rehearse,
The Muse would never choose a mournful theme,
Nor tell her tales in melancholy verse.

But sickness dwells in every place around,
Though some may feel it in a slight degree,
But few untouched quite, may now be found,
And I myself am not entirely free.

In lines mentioning children who have died, she marks her poems with an asterisk and annotates the names in the lower margins. For example, the stanza,

A painful Fever by the first* was caught,
We know not how; but death bade pain be o’er,
In twice four days how striking is the thought,
Last Week in perfect health, but now no more.

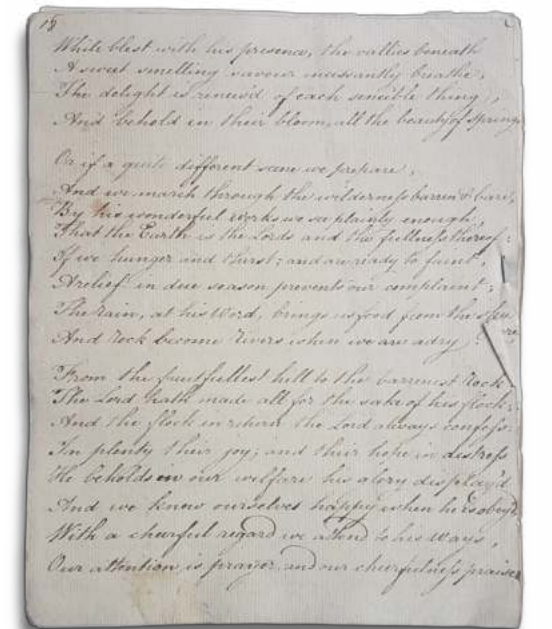
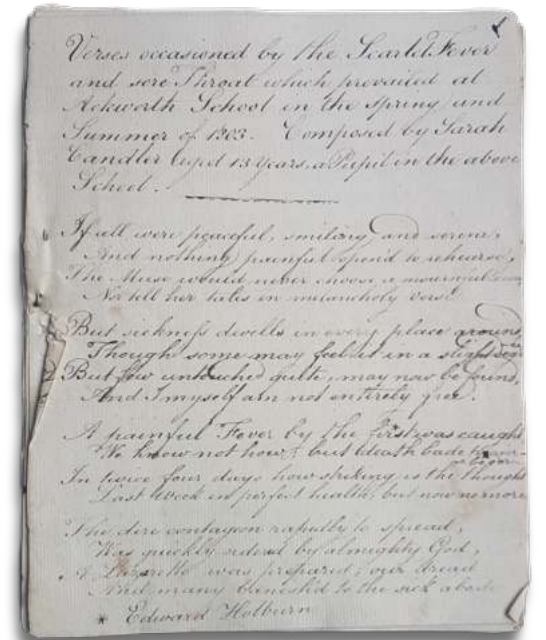
is annotated * Edward Holburn. Edward Holborn came from Sheffield and attended the school from 1802 until his death the following year.

The next* was suddenly attacked with pain
And strong convulsions led the way to death,
Physicians aid and every help was vain
For two Days after she resign’d her breath.

Sickness increases, and afflictions reign,
Sorrow are daily heap’d upon my head!
I lately saw him in the utmost pain,
Lay little William* on the dying bed.

Sorrow permeates this poetry pamphlet, which also includes “Stanza written after the disease of a most amiable Sister” where we find the lines

Not the loss of transient pleasures
Is the scene o’er which I weep
But the gentlest mental graces
Buried in eternal sleep



Similarly, in her
 Verses addressed by Sarah Candler to her brother at school.
 She writes,
 Oh come ye muses, animate my hart,
 Nor let me seek in vain the tuneful lyre,
 ...
 But now dear Isaac I must bid adieu,
 And may ever (?) rest with saints in heaven above.
 Inscribed "Sarah Candler" at end.



Although it is not clear whether all pupils were encouraged to write such poems as part of their school work, or if it was Sarah's personal choice to use poetry as a way of dealing with her powerful emotions in a turbulent time, what is certain is that she was a very skilful writer. Her youthful talent was recognised in the publication which appeared in the year of her death: 'Buds of Genius; or Some account of the early lives of celebrated characters who were remarkable in their childhood' (London. 1816).

There are echoes of *Jane Eyre* in Sarah Candler's experiences. Ackworth School is located in Charlotte Brontë's home county of Yorkshire. The Brontë children all contracted scarlet fever, but remarkably none died. In Brontë's Bildungsroman and in Candler's poems, the authors describe the terror of an epidemic raging through a school and evoke painful deaths of their friends, and in both we witness the story of the growth of a young girl into woman. Through their literature, we learn something of the ways that they understand and navigate this complex period.

A Choice of a Young Woman of Nineteen

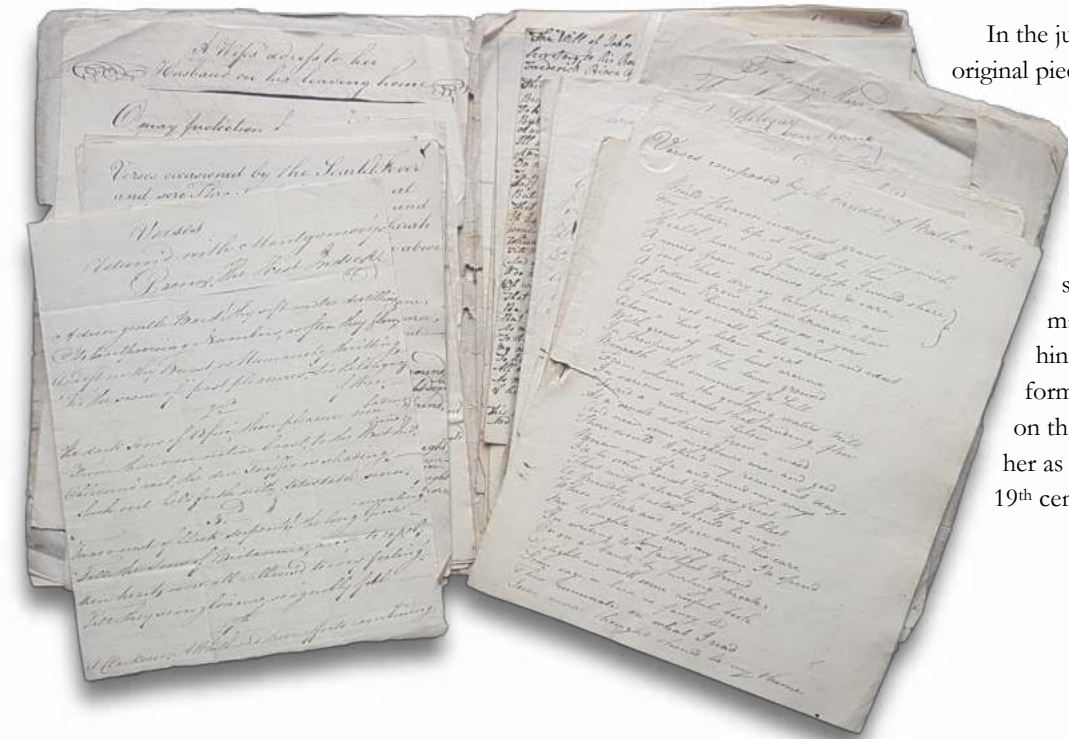
Many of the poems and letters in Candler's collection are concerned with the subject of marriage: "Lines written by a Friend in America on hearing of the intended Marriage of her Sister in England." For a young woman in the early 19th century, marriage was the accepted path to take, and although Quakers largely held more liberal beliefs on gender roles than the rest of society, it was still generally expected that a woman should marry. In one poem ("The following lines were composed by a young Woman aged 15 Years of Age"), she writes "Oh what is Life what's all its glistening Toys, / A Golden Dream a shadow but of Joys. / Oh lead me far from Vice's Flowery Trod, / And teach my Soul how to adore its God." And in another, entitled "A Choice of a Young Woman of Nineteen", (presumably copied as she would have been 11 years old at the time), the writer muses "If ever marriage be my lot in Life, / And I by Fate am destined for a Wife; / If ever to Loves power I yield my Heart, / May worth inspire and merit point the Dart".

Other poems apparently by Candler include "The Happy Villager", "The Morning Walk" and "The Dream realized". One poem, presumably a retained copy (watermarked 1808), is entitled "Verses return'd with Montgomery's Poems, The West

Indias &c.", and was written to accompany the return of James Montgomery's abolitionist book, *The West Indian*, a work she was clearly in sympathy with. Of the slavers she writes, "Their hearts were all callow'd to ev'ry feeling, / Till they so inglorious, so ignobly fell". It was written after the Slave Trade Act (1807), and shares the optimism of many that slavery was ended (this would not come till many years after): "From the African Coast no shackles ae sounding, / Ah! no Tis the scene of Fair Libertys day".

But this assortment has not been created in isolation. As well as original poems in Sarah Candler's hand, she has also copied out the work of others, which offer glimpses into what she was reading. We find examples of spiritual works ("A Divine Pastoral. by Dr Byrom"), as well as pastoral ("The Morning Walk. by J. W.") and humorous ("The Old Maid. A Parody By G Jepson"). There are, as well, some 20 poems by other writers and other hands. These include works by other members of the Candler family, e.g. "Verses composed by M. Candler of Bath". In a return to the subject of marriage, there are two copies of a poem entitled "To young Married Christians", which includes conventional views on spousal roles: "The man should rule in love, the Wife obey". And to complement Sarah Candler's fair copy of "The Morning Walk. by J. W.", there is a poem entitled "The Evening Walk by Miss Carter."

It's impossible to say whether she lacked the means, or simply the inclination, to put her writing into a bound notebook, but in this loose form, they seem analogous to the physically separate but emotionally connected social threads of Candler's existence. This is, nevertheless, a coherent body of work. Her remarkable compositions afford us privileged access to her journey into adulthood, as she graduates from the horrors of an epidemic to the challenges of a wider acquaintance with the world.



In the juxtaposition of these original pieces with her 'curated' selections, together with poems written by others, including members of her own family, she seems to be mapping her hinterland, as she formulates her thoughts on the choices open to her as a woman in the early 19th century.

£2,000 Ref: 7903

ONLY JOKING

HARRISON, John L. Captain *18th century miscellany book of letters and poems.*

[London, England. Circa 1771-75]. Small quarto (20 mm x 165 mm x 12 mm). Approximately 80 text pages (not including blanks), 1 page cut in half, some leaves excised (stubs remaining). Bound in contemporary full vellum, some soiling and small marks.

Provenance: pencilled note to paste-down states “MSS book of Capt. J. L. Harrison. London”.

April 20 72 A controversy arose between two young lady's and myself the substance of which was as follows

This lively miscellany shows the poetic ambitions of its compiler and captures a sense of friendships built through letters and the exchange of verse. Among the extracts from published works, the scribe, Captain John L. Harrison of Bishop’s Hall in Bethnal Green, has copied letters sent and received, the majority of which are in verse form.

Several names occur in the manuscript, but one appears multiple times, a “Mr A-m M-t”, whom it is clear Harrison holds in high regard. In a prefatory note to a poem he sends to A. M., he writes: “I beg you’ll point out the faults it contains of which I’m conscious there are many and communicate them and your opinion of the whole to me” (fo. 25). Harrison records verse he receives in return, with both men using the medium of poetry to foster their friendship and affirm each other’s work.

In a series of letters to and from “A M—t”, he asks his friend to help settle

A controversy [which] arose between two young lady’s and myself the substance of which was as follows

I held that in the marriage state the man Is the better half, they that the woman Is which we left to be undecided, I with the Approbation props’d it to A Gentleman of consummate knowledge in the following lines

To trouble you kind sir we’re now made bold

And hope to us this query you’ll unfold

Which is the better half the man or wife

In all concerns attending human life

We look on you as an impartial guide

And by your Answer firmly we’ll abide

A.M. does not fully agree, so Harrison replies, “I wonder sir you should give the preference to the Lady’s for I think the man is certainly the better half for he has the care of his business the getting of money to support his family and sundry other things I might mention” and marshals quotations from Virgil, Ovid, William Shenstone, Elizabeth Rowe, and John Milton.

A.M. responds with an allegory which tells of a man (aptly named “John”) who fails to understand the meaning of things. On discovering a leather purse he thinks,

Leather says he can serve some end

Old shoes perhaps may patch and mend

[...]

Regardless of the luck thus gain’d

Concerned him not what it contain’d

Harrison pens a “jocular” verse regarding women (including the line “As he the Master she should Mistress be”) and states: “Although Mr M--T agrees with me in his last line the lady’s and himself were rather Digusted”. He then confusedly defends himself, “I think you took in too confin’d A sense for I do not prise mans superiority but I think Is he the

Master, she should Mistress be” and protests that it “was A jocular Piece of raillery and as such I apprehended it would have been taken”. He concludes his apologetic letter, “This sir I hope will Attone for the misapprehensions of my former. I conclude With saying I entertain the most sincere and unfeign’st respect for them [women] and all those that defend them And remain your sincere Friend.” (ff. 17-18).

On the next page we see Harrison’s “jocular” verse in action again in a rebuke to one of his servants (we are given only their initials “C. B”). It begins

If you’re awake I pray attend

Unto the lines that I have pen’d [...]

Or else my hands would not be sore

With thumping so against your door [...]

I’ve thumpt and kickt then thumpt again

But all my labour’s been in vain

And you have laid reclin’d till eight

Beneath your drowsy sluggish weight

He appends his poem “she was our servant, and thought herself A Great Wit”. When he’s not attempting to assert the superiority of men (a subject to which he returns later in the manuscript), or

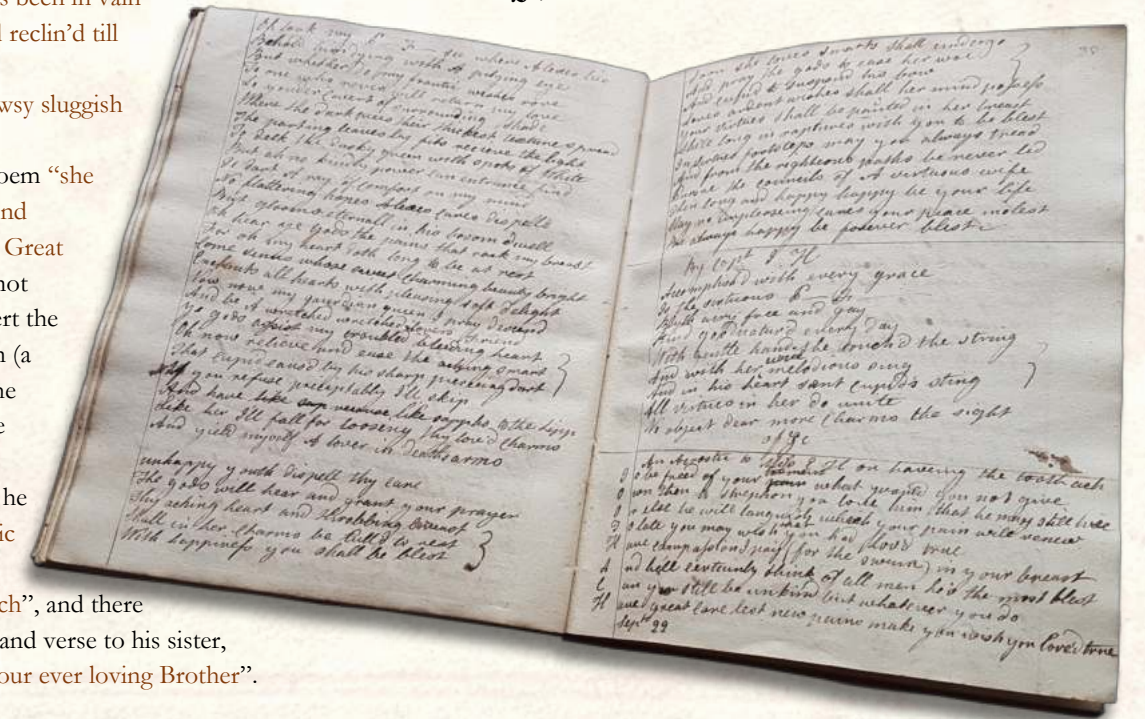
berating servants, he shares an “Acrostic to Miss E.H on having the toothach”, and there

are several letters and verse to his sister, which he signs “your ever loving Brother”.

In among the letters and verse, there are a handful of pages of accounts relating to millinery (“Mrs Brown Mare Street Hackney... To cap making Ribband”, “Mrs Conner... To ¼ Trimming... To making the Hatt”). They make a strange juxtaposition against the otherwise cohesive volume, but they are contemporary and geographically close (Hackney and Bethnal Green are neighbouring areas of London).

Throughout the manuscript there is a strong sense of Captain Harrison’s personality and passion for poetry, as well as a sense that he thinks himself quite witty. The exchanges show him to be a person who values his connections and seeks affirmation through correspondence and offerings of verse, which he memorializes in his notebook.

£1,250 Ref: 7866



MANY HEALING HANDS

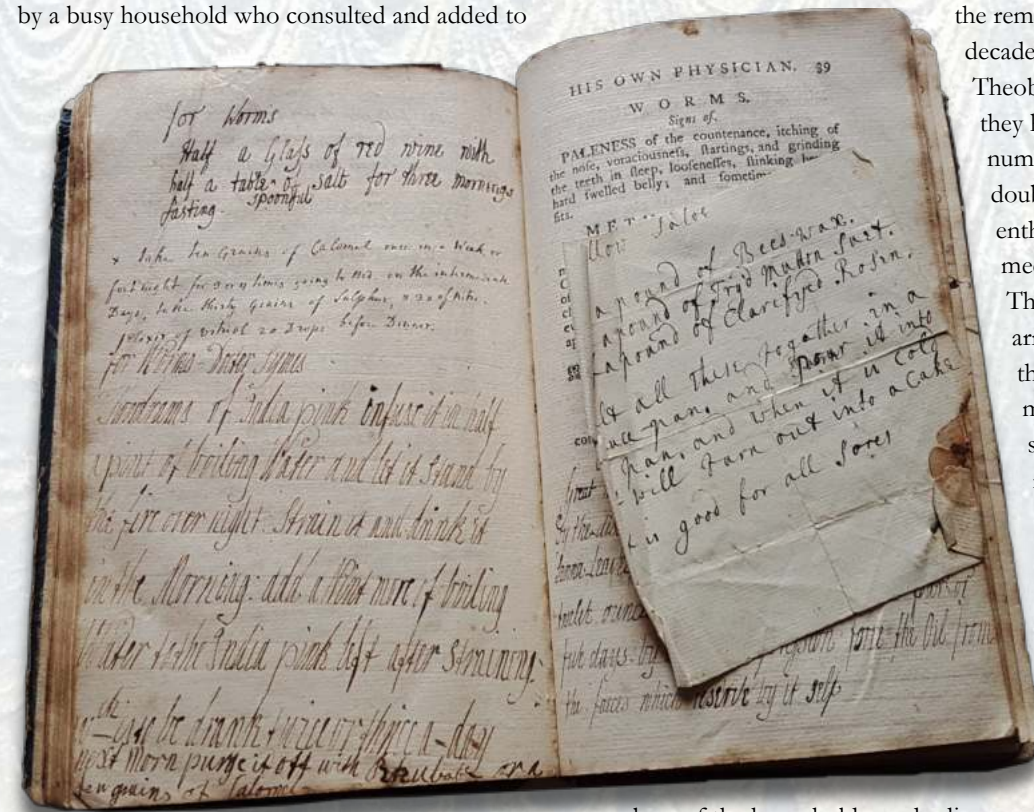
THEOBALD, John (d. 1760) *Every man his own physician. Being, a complete collection of efficacious and approved remedies, for every disease incident to the human body. With plain instructions for their common use. Necessary to be had in all families, particularly those residing in the country. By John Theobald, M.D. Author of Medulla Medicinæ. Compiled at the command of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland.*

London: printed and sold by W. Griffin, in Fetter-Lane, MDCCLXIV. [1764]. Octavo. Quarter calf, marbled boards, rubbed, corners worn. Pagination pp. [4], 51, [1]. In this copy the index (i.e. pp 49-51, [1]) has been bound at the beginning. The volume has been bound with 3 endpapers at the front and rear, and interleaved throughout. Manuscript notes to upwards of 40 pages (including endpapers) and with some additional notes secured to pages with pins.

This is an unusually interesting interleaved copy of John Theobald's important 18th-century work of medical popularisation. His 'Every man his own physician', was as radical as it was pragmatic, providing health care for the home in the form of practical remedies with clear instructions for their use by non-professionals. This copy has been embellished by manuscript remedies in at least four different hands, a few of which are dated (circa 1788 - 1828). This suggests that the volume was used by a busy household who consulted and added to

the remedies over a period of four decades. Encouraged by Theobald's textual foundations, they have greatly expanded the number of remedies, almost doubling its size. This enthusiastic household of medics begins by following Theobald's alphabetical arrangement, but over time the order of their additional material becomes less structured, and whereas four remedies for ague are conveniently located next to their printed counterpart, another finds its way to the page for 'Ulcer of the Womb' and 'Watery Gripes'.

While we do not learn the names of the members of the household, we do discover whose recipes they trusted.

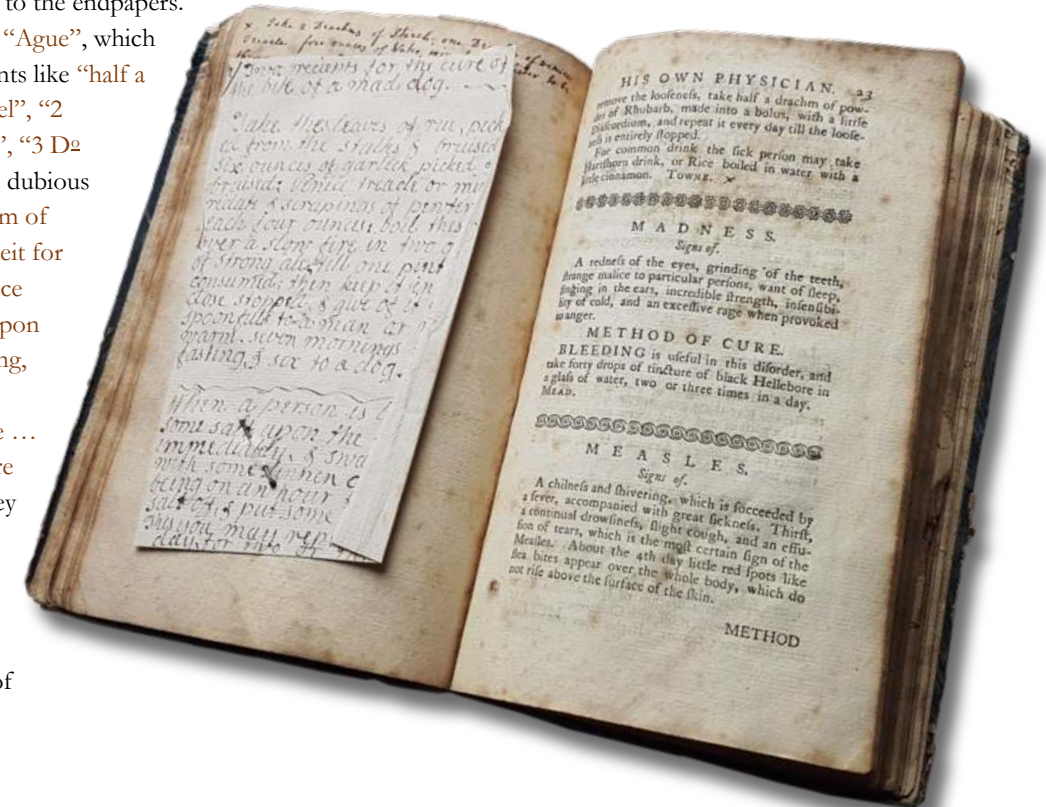


Where these are ascribed, they are mostly to women: "Mrs Green", "Mrs Stevens", "Miss Freeman", "Mrs Grimwood" all supply them with remedies for such things as "Stomach complaint", "cough", "ague". This builds a picture of connections between these household positions, that would hopefully result in some efficacy, but more certainly help affirm social relations. We also see the occasional professional intervention in the shape of a "Doctor Dobson" for a fever, and "Doctor Jebbs Jelly" (apparently to stem bleeding). But we get a sense of where trust is really placed: for example, a remedy for "costiveness" is ascribed not to its original author (the surgeon, James Scott), but to "Mrs. Dakings Book The Village Doctor" – it seems authority goes to the owner of the book, Mrs Dakings, who probably tried the remedy, rather than its author James Scott.

*Mrs. Dakings: Book
The Village Doctor.*

The manuscript additions indicate which ailments were probably causing the most trouble. The household seems to have a persistent problem with worms, as its members add four remedies to the printed method, and a further two to the endpapers.

There are six remedies for "Ague", which include nutritious ingredients like "half a dram of Seville Orange peel", "2 spoonfuls of Lemon Juice", "3 Dram mountain wine", but more dubious ingredients, such as "1 dram of bark". And "Mrs Hares receipt for Ague" recommends "Venice Turpentine, spread thick upon Leather, the size of a shilling, sprinkled over as thick as possible with frankencense ... tyed upon the pulse & wore till the Ague is cured". They experiment with several remedies for coughs and consumption which run into the margins of the printed text and a couple of sheets pinned in.



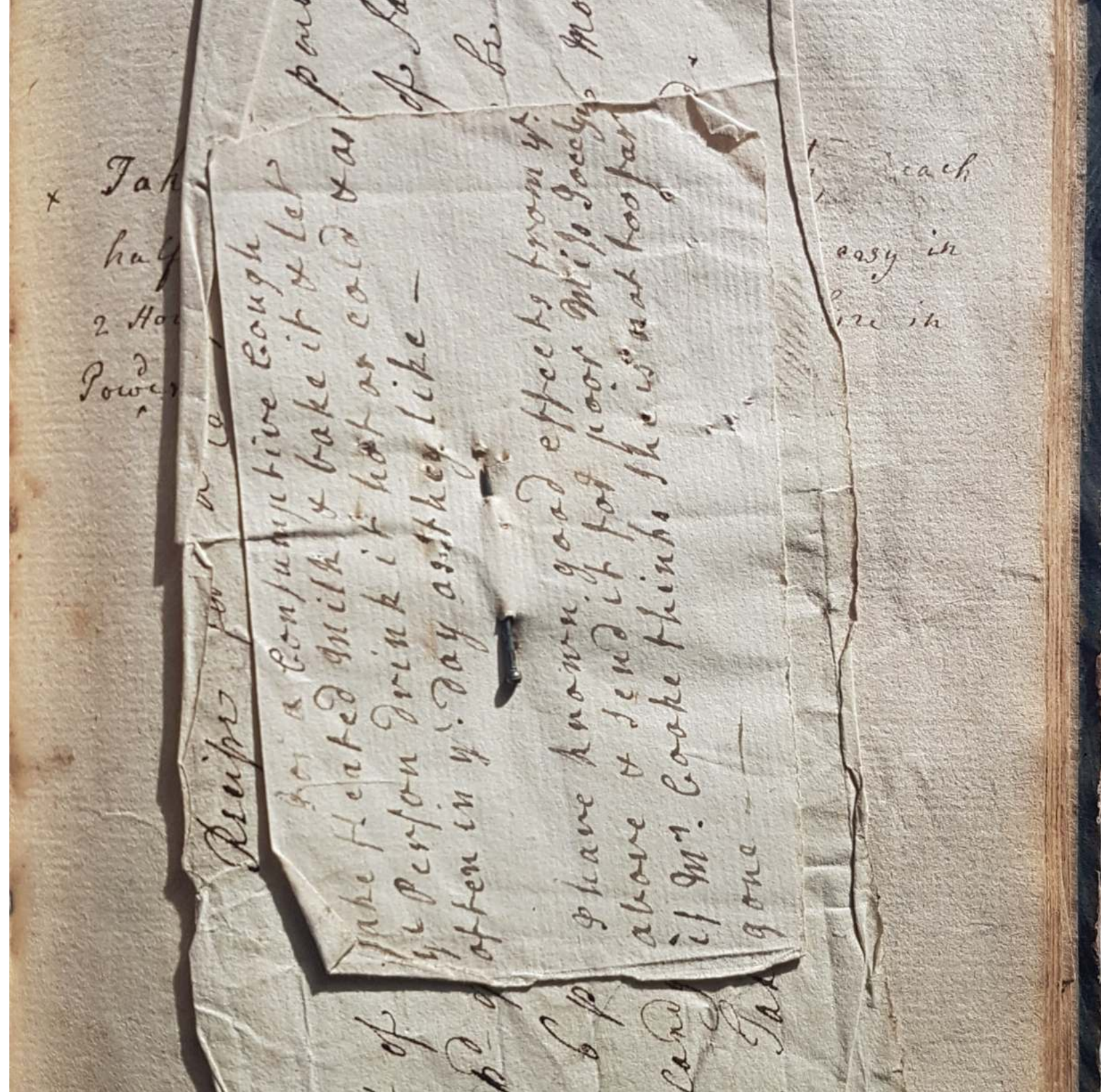
Ingredients include, “cupfull of linseed”, “sun raisins”, “p^d of brown sugar Candy”, “spoonfull old Rum”, and instructions like “is best to be added only to the quantity you are just going to take”, “drank either cold or warm occasionally”. “Dear Ann bridges” supplies a “recipe for the stone”. To Theobald’s palliatives for ‘Menstrual discharge’, they add wholesome ingredients like “Juice of Nettles, & Plaintain”, and while a “Miss Tompson” recommends soothing sounding “Honey or treacle three times a day”, perplexingly she adds “half a tea spoonful of the filings of steel”.

x Bleed, vomit, & Purge.

They are evidently trying and testing the remedies: the not uncommon “probatum est” is annotated to several recipes. Against the printed remedy for pleurisy, one annotator suggests that instead of Theobald’s recommendation, “x you will find the following more effectual. Take thirty Grains of Nitre, & three, or four of Camphire, 2, 3, or 4 times in a Day in warm Baum Teak w^{ch} drink plentifully. If this does not succeed, (w^{ch} will generally) take James’s Powder – Essence of Antimony is excellent, a teaspoonful to be taken every Night.” And one of the contributors makes the remarkable claim: “It has been found by experience that a teaspoonful of Gunpowder taken in a Glass of Wine, or Water will remove Bone immediately, if any one be choak’d with a Fish Bone : so will one Arm plung’d up to y^e shoulder in cold Water remove a Bullet, a square Piece of Lead, or Fish Bone, a Piece of Grass, or Barley”. This same contributor also confidently asserts “I have found vast Success from the Essence of Antimony in Rheumatism, Jaundice, Asthma, a continual Pain in the Bowels with Costiveness, in a hard swelled Belly, fevers”. They do not say exactly how much antimony they used but one fears, to use Francis Bacon’s words, they might ‘cure the disease and kill the patient’.

This collection, with its copious manuscript additions and interactions with the printed text, reveal how people actually used these books and their remedies, and occasionally ‘answered back’ to the medical profession. Through the numerous records of interactions and exchanges of remedies within the household and between neighbours, we learn as much about how people interacted as how they affirmed their social interactions through words and things.

£3,250 Ref: 7906



SISTERLY LOVE

[COLWELL?] *Late 18th century manuscript notebook offering advice to a younger brother.*

[England. Circa 1790]. Contemporary sheep, rubbed, joints cracked, spine split but stitching holding firm. Octavo (193 mm x 128 mm x 24 mm). 36 pages, 50 blank leaves (with 3 unfinished sketches interspersed).

Title to front board which is heavily rubbed but mostly discernible “Copy of my advice [-] Brother James this year 1790 - just before he came of age”. There is a later paper label to front paste-down which reads “Colwell”, so taking these two together it may be that the young man went by the name of James Colwell.

Books of conduct were common in the long eighteenth century, often in the form of parents giving advice to children. But this manuscript subverts the traditional paternalistic offerings which were often either male to female or female to female advice. It is written by an unnamed woman to her younger brother “James”, who “has no Father nor Mother to give you their careful and anxious advice” (f.2), so it has fallen to her to proffer wisdom as he comes of age. She begins tentatively, “1790 -- My Dear James / The time now draws very near when you will attain the age of twenty one - permit a sister to address you & offer to you a few Hints & observations which will be calculated entirely to promote your truest Welfare in the world & the next.” In a society where women were considered subordinate to men, sibling relationships could offer the space for a more equal footing than other relationships between men and women. However, it is still unusual for a woman to be advising a man, despite his being younger, and she cites her age and devoutness, and their lack of parents, to justify herself: “there are many years between us, which

will put aside any appearance of self conceit in supposing myself capable of giving you advice, & as you an Orphan it may be look'd upon as an Instance of kindness” (ff. 1).

The sister who sends you all this advice I wou'd have you remember is not an old Person —

The subsequent advice reads as a plea to conversion and devotion to God. Her writing has a poetic, biblical quality to it, permeated with a sense of morbidity (perhaps stemming from the loss of her parents or simply a preoccupation with the afterlife). She warns that “there are so many accidents & so many diseases to carry us off in the midst of youth – that it is the height of Folly to look forward to old age” (fo.2), imploring her brother to serve God in his youth and “not meanly or poorly to put Him off with the dregs of old age... when the Ear is hard with hearing & the Eye with seeing & all our feelings grow flat & vapid” (f.3).

The eighteenth century was a period rife with social and political upheaval, wars, sensational novels, and a proliferation of new and radical ideas – all things that might perturb a conservative Christian, but offer temptation to a young man finding his way in the world. She writes “straight is the Road my Dear James – you have only to place your hand upon your Heart & as whether the action you are about to do is contrary to the Law of your God – if it is – let me conjure you to turn aside from it – perhaps you may meet with companions who will laugh at those who have a sense of Religion” (fo.11). There is a sense that perhaps James has already encountered these companions: “we are absolutely commanded not to follow a multitude to do

evil... where it came to pass that we were more afraid of the censure of a wicked world than the Just Indignation of an Offended God.” (fo.12). Although the manuscript might appear to be a straightforwardly pious plea, there is a pervasive feeling that these religious outpourings are a proxy for a more specific, indeed an urgent, concern for her brother. Specific issues press upon her mind: near the top of the list is his delay in “receiving of the Holy Sacrament”, which she declares “a strange thing to put it off”.

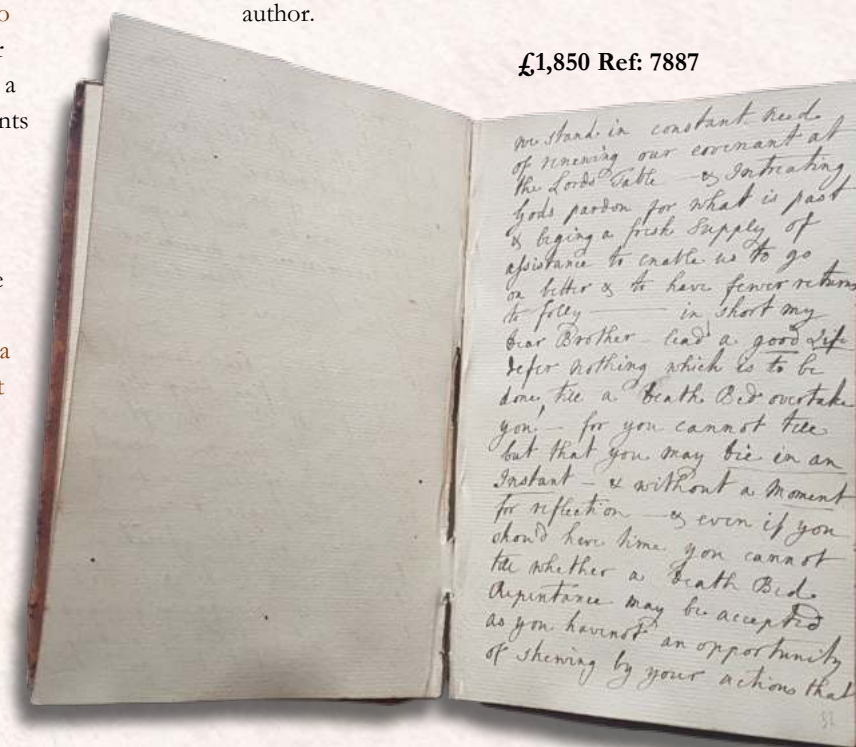
Towards the end of her entreaty, she returns to this issue, exclaiming “in short my Dear Brother – lead a good life defer nothing which is to be done till a Death Bed overtake you! – for you cannot tell but that you may die in an Instant - & without a moment for reflection - & even if you should have time you cannot tell whether a death Bed Repentance may be accepted as you have not an opportunity of shewing by your actions that you are sincere – tis too greater a risk to run” (ff. 32-3). The familiar form of religious rhetoric serves to provide a useful way of side-stepping gender constraints of her time; nevertheless, its gender role-reversal still feels transgressive.

The writer clearly considers this a kind of manual or vade mecum for her brother; she expresses the wish that he will feel inclined “to carry about with you this little Book of a Sisters faithful advice & will sometimes cast an eye over it & let it have its due Weight with you ...”. One can't help speculating as to whether James did so. There is a sense that there is already some distance between the siblings, whether physically or emotionally, and this distance may soon be furthered (“it is possible that you may be sent abroad & I may not see you of many years” (f.2)). In proffering this gift of

advice she appears to be reaching out a metaphorical hand to her brother, to forge a closer connection between them, one which might endure through physical separation.

We can glean little in the way of concrete details about these two siblings, but through this unusual connection, we glimpse something of the nature of their relationship; James' sister seems on this evidence to be earnest and loving towards her younger sibling, not to say anxious for his immortal soul. Whatever frustrations we may harbour about the lack of contextual details, it remains an object of fascination: besides its unusual reversal of gender conventions, it also shows on a personal level the reaction of established Christianity to the era's growing liberalism and upheavals. And though we have no way of knowing how James received her entreaties, this book is still a striking crie de coeur from its passionately concerned author.

£1,850 Ref: 7887



SKINS IN THE GAME

[CHARLES II] *An exceptional manuscript entitled ‘An establishment for the new raised forces begun the XXVIth of January 1660’ [i.e. 1661].*

[England. Circa 1663]. Contemporary full vellum, manuscript title with calligraphic flourishes to front cover, faded, some staining to covers, text a little dusty. Folio (415 mm x 280 mm x 8 mm). Title page, 26 text pages, 5 blank pages at end., all on vellum

Following the Restoration of the Stuart monarchy in 1660 when King Charles II returned from exile in Europe, the new king immediately realised the need for a standing army to maintain his hold on power. On 26th January 1661, with the support of parliament, he issued a warrant creating a new standing army. This politically astute move brought together Royalist units and old regiments from the New Model Army.

This monumental act was enshrined in the remarkable document, entitled *‘An Establishment for the new raised forces’*, which details the finances, the geographical location of forces, the army’s constitution and so on. It presents these formerly opposing forces as a newly unified power, forged out of the tumultuous period of the Civil War and the Protectorate. The document stands as a record of the British army’s first beginnings, and arguably it was the physical act of inscription that brought about the army’s creation. This is underscored by the use of vellum for its permanence and of fine calligraphy for its visual effect, and the fact that Charles II signed it four times. But the king needed more than a command to make it work; he needed the continued cooperation of key allies. Such an ally was General George Monck, commander of the “Regiment of Foote Guards” (later The Coldstream Guards), whose influence had been crucial to the restoration of the monarchy.

This copy of *‘An Establishment’* is also stunningly produced on vellum throughout, but without the king’s signatures. It appears to be the same copy that was auctioned in 1924 at Anderson Galleries, where it was described as “prepared for George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, the Commander-in-Chief” (see appendix), and, while I have not found further supporting evidence for the claim, it certainly seems plausible. The purpose of this second manuscript is not stated, but its effects are immediately apparent: anyone receiving such a fine artefact could not help but be impressed. More than that, it seems intended to transform its receiver through its symbolic power and bind them into a covenant. The first manuscript asserted the King’s authority, the second assured General Monck’s (if indeed it was for him) compliance.

This manuscript is a striking display of the finest materials and highest-quality workmanship. But this beautiful object with its superb calligraphy, its blue inks, its fine gold highlighting, and its witty visual puns, all inscribed upon clean sheets of seamless vellum stripped of their animal impurities, stands in marked contrast to the bloody act of war.



The contents comprise:

Our will and pleasure is That the Establishment of our Troope of Guards and Regiments hereafter expressed with all other charges therein mentioned bee continued and nothing bee offered to us for our Signature for alteration thereof but what shall be first approved by Our Right Trusty and right entirely beloved Cosens and Councillors Thomas Earle of Southampton Our Treasurer, And George Duke of Albemarle Captaine Generall of our Armies, and our Trusty and welbeloued Sr William Morrice, and Sr Henry Bennett Our Principall Secretaries of State, or any two or more of them, whereof our Treasurer, or Generall to bee one, To whome wee haue referred the Care and Consideration thereof.

Immediately following are full particulars establishing the First Life Guards, with its original three troops: the king himself captain of the first “His Maties owne Troope of Guards”; his brother, “His Highnes Royall Duke of Yorke” (later James the Second), captain of the second, and General Monck “His Grace the Duke of Albemarle his Troope of Guards”, commanding the third.

Next come details of the “Field and Staffe Officers of a Regiment of Horse consisting of Eight Troopes”, the king commanding the first, and the colonel the second.

“His Maties Foote Regiment of Guards”, are commanded by “the Hon^{ble} Colonell John Rufsell”. This is the first battalion of the Grenadier Guards. King Charles made himself captain of its first company.

“Field and State Officers of his Grace the Duke of Albemarle his Regiment of Foote Guards”, commanded by Monck. An elaborate swan-like calligraphic figure completes this section.



et simplices
 et serpentes
 et columba

S

OUR WILL and Pleasure

For the establishment of our Troop of Guards and
 for the expenses with a better charge thereof
 wherof such shall be appointed to us by our
 Treasurer and the Duke of Albemarle Captain
 General to be one to whom we have referred the
 Care and Charge of the same

	Per Diem	Per Annum	Per Quarter
The Captaine	1 10 0	42 0 0	10 10 0
Serjeant	3 0 0	24 0 0	6 0 0
Coronet	0 14 0	10 12 0	2 10 0
Quartermaster	0 9 0	12 12 0	3 0 0
Chaplain	0 6 8	9 6 8	2 10 0
A Chirurgion w th one horse to carry his Chest w ^{ch} per diem	0 8 0	11 4 0	2 10 0
Serjeant Corporall w ^{ch} at w ^{ch} per diem	1 8 0	39 4 0	9 10 0
Serjeant w ^{ch} at w ^{ch} per diem	1 0 0	28 0 0	7 0 0
Two hundred soldiers w ^{ch} at w ^{ch} per diem	40 0 0	1120 0 0	280 0 0
One hundred and fifty soldiers w ^{ch} at w ^{ch} per diem	0 5 0	7 0 0	1 10 0
Total	49 0 8	1372 18 8	342 10 0

His Highness
 the Duke of
 the Troop
 of Guards
 Viz.

	Per Diem	Per Annum	Per Quarter
The Captaine	1 0 0	28 0 0	7 0 0
Serjeant	0 15 0	21 0 0	5 10 0
Coronet	0 17 0	18 4 0	4 10 0
Quartermaster	0 9 0	12 12 0	3 0 0
Chaplain	0 6 8	9 6 8	2 10 0
A Chirurgion w th one horse to carry his Chest w ^{ch} per diem	0 8 0	11 4 0	2 10 0
Serjeant Corporall w ^{ch} at w ^{ch} per diem	1 4 0	33 12 0	8 10 0
Serjeant w ^{ch} at w ^{ch} per diem	1 0 0	28 0 0	7 0 0
One hundred and fifty soldiers w ^{ch} at w ^{ch} per diem	30 0 0	840 0 0	210 0 0
Total	36 0 8	1008 18 8	256 10 0

His Grace
 the Duke of
 the Troop
 of Guards
 Viz.

	Per Diem	Per Annum	Per Quarter
The Captaine	1 0 0	28 0 0	7 0 0
Serjeant	0 15 0	21 0 0	5 10 0
Coronet	0 17 0	18 4 0	4 10 0
Quartermaster	0 9 0	12 12 0	3 0 0
Chaplain	0 6 8	9 6 8	2 10 0
A Chirurgion w th one horse to carry his Chest w ^{ch} per diem	0 8 0	11 4 0	2 10 0
Serjeant Corporall w ^{ch} at w ^{ch} per diem	1 4 0	33 12 0	8 10 0
Serjeant w ^{ch} at w ^{ch} per diem	1 0 0	28 0 0	7 0 0
One hundred and fifty soldiers w ^{ch} at w ^{ch} per diem	30 0 0	840 0 0	210 0 0
Total	36 0 8	1008 18 8	256 10 0

20. **EXACT** veritas fons...
 21. **IN** regard to the...
 And whereas the...
 And whereas the...
 And whereas the...

**THE ESTABLISHMENT OF HIS
 MAJESTIES GARRISONS
 OF ENGLAND.**

	Per Diem	Per Annum	Per Quarter
The Captaine	0 1 4	1 17 4	2 4 8
Serjeant	0 7 0	9 16 0	12 7 0
Coronet			
Quartermaster			
Chaplain			
A Chirurgion w th one horse to carry his Chest w ^{ch} per diem			
Serjeant Corporall w ^{ch} at w ^{ch} per diem			
Serjeant w ^{ch} at w ^{ch} per diem			
One hundred and fifty soldiers w ^{ch} at w ^{ch} per diem			
Total			



dramatically flowing “A” begins “An Establishment for his Ma^{ties} Foote Regiment of Guards Comanded by the Right Hon^{ble} Thomas Lord Wentworth that came from Dunkirk, to begin from the xviith of Nouember 1662.” This is the second battalion of the Grenadier Guards. At the base of the page the date “Anno 1663” is written in reverse, which can be read through the vellum on the next page.

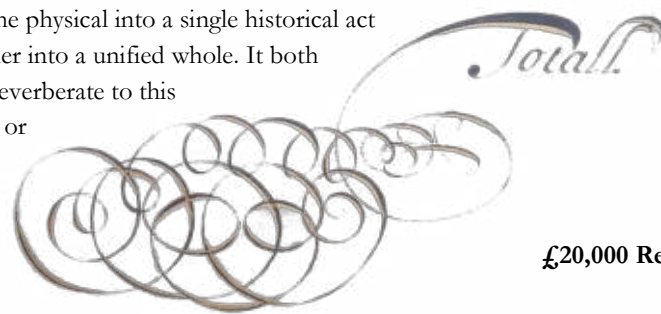
Then 21 rules opening with the first five letters in blue: “Our will and Pleasure is that the severall Order following by Us made by advice of our right Trustie and right entirely beloved Cosin and Councill^r George Duke of Albemarle Captaine Generall of our Armies for the Mustering regulating and payment of o^{ur} Established forces bee duly observed under the paines and penalties therein expressed.”

This is followed by perhaps the most decorative section of the manuscript, with the text in brown and gold as before, but with names in blue and gold.

“An Establishment of his Ma^{esties} Garrisons of England.” This occupies 10 pages, giving particulars of 31 places. At the close of the book are two pages which give a summary for financial purposes.

It has been suggested that the fine calligraphy was the work of James Hodder, ‘Master in the Art of Writing’ (see Appendix), and there is certainly a strong resemblance to his “The pen-man’s recreation” (London. 1660), but no other supporting evidence. It is, however, undoubtedly the work of a master calligrapher. The use of materials such as gold leaf for illuminating capital letters throughout and the large, unblemished sheets of vellum (15 in total) would have been enormously expensive and attest to its intended impact and longevity. The elaborate borders and textual decoration bespeak the investment of many hours of labour, probably by two or three scribes. Details such as the mottos “Memento Mori” and “Vive Le Roy” are worked into the elaborate lower borders of leaves 11 and 13. The title, written in gold, is encircled by a delicate border of decorative swirls and flourishes that include two calligraphic birds which reflect the motto “Prudentes ut serpentes et Simplices ut columba” (from Tertullian? Roughly: wise as serpents and harmless as a dove). Beneath the title is the motto “Autant de testes [sic] Autant d’humeurs” (the error is perhaps due to the scribe expanding têtes), flanked by human forms seemingly embroiled in the conundrum of so many men, of so many minds. Furthermore, the text throughout is beautifully executed in a fine scribal hand of brown and gold inks, with some titles and names in Royal blue ink and calligraphic decoration throughout.

This remarkable coalescence of the conceptual and the physical into a single historical act cleverly bound previously divided participants together into a unified whole. It both creates and marks a moment in time, whose effects reverberate to this day. Whether it was indeed given to General Monck, or another important figure, there can be little doubt that such a manuscript would only have been given to one of the few people directly involved in the establishment; they would literally and metaphorically have “skin in the game”.



£20,000 Ref: 7839

APPENDIX

The *Establishment for the new raised forces* exists in a sumptuous manuscript which Charles II signed four times. At least one further copy was made, without the king’s signatures. It has been suggested the additional copy was produced for General Monck.

The descriptions of the unsigned copies below bear strong resemblance to each other, and the timeline is consistent with their being the very same manuscript. However, whether these descriptions are indeed tracking the same manuscript and whether it was presented to General Monck, remains elusive.

[1]. On 26th May 1911, the copy signed by Charles II was sold by auction in London by Messrs. Sotheby and Co., of 34 New Bond Street: “The property of Edward Almack, Esq., F.S.A.

719 Army. An establishment for the new raised forces begun the 26 January 1660: Manuscript on vellum 26 pp. large folio, elaborately and beautifully written, all the headings and capitals engrossed in black ink, heightened with gold, signed four times by King Charles II, in remarkably fine condition, bound in blue velvet.” It realised £710 0s 0d., and was purchased by “Lorraine”--a fictitious name.

[2]. The earliest record for a copy unsigned is in 1796: Sotheby Parke Bernet & Co. 1796. The Property of Tatham Swainson, Esq.

214 Army. An Establishment for the new Raised Forces begun the 26 of January 1660: Manuscript on vellum, 26 pp. large folio, elaborately and beautifully written, all the headings and capitals engrossed in black or blue ink heightened with gold, in remarkably fine condition, bound in the original vellum

* A document of great interest relating to the original establishment of the British Army.

[3]. The next record is: Anderson Galleries, New York, 1924:

An Establishment of His Majesties Army and Garrisons of England. Specially written by James Hodder, Master in the Art of Writing, For George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, Commander-in-Chief. Folio. Illuminated MS. on vellum. 1663

This very beautifully written and illuminated Manuscript contains a full account of the constitution and pay of the various regiments and garrisons constituting the Establishment, written upon sixteen leaves of vellum, the last two being blank. The manuscript is the work of probably two, or perhaps three hands. The text is the work of a skilled calligrapher, and both the writing and marginal ornaments bear the strongest resemblance to those found in the engraved writing book issued in 1659 by James Hodder, Master in the Art of Writing. After the text had been finished the whole of the capitals in the text were illuminated with gold and elaborate gilt side-notes added. Many of the headlines, especially those of the Garrisons, are in large ornamental blue letters, heightened with gold. The whole book is most elaborately decorated, and. was prepared for George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, the Commander-in-Chief. The manuscript was written in the fifteenth year of Charles II, i.e. between 30 January, 1663, and 29 January, 1664.

[4]. And ‘An Establishment’ manuscript appears in a bookseller’s catalogue the following year: G. Michelmores & Co, Circa 1925.

Charles II. An Establishment of His Majesties Army and Garrison of England. Specially written by James Hodder. “Master in the Art of Writing” for George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, Commander-in-Chief. Folio. Illuminated MS. on vellum. 1663.

The present very beautifully written and illuminated Manuscript contains a full account of the constitution and pay of the various regiments constituting the Establishment. The regiments are described as “His Majesties owne Troope of Guards,” “His Highness Royall the Duke of Yorke his Troope of Guards”, “His Grace the Duke of Albemarle his Troope of Guards”, “his Majesties Foote Regiment of Guards Commanded by the Hon^{ble} Colonel

It seems likely that this was one and the same manuscript. Not only does it appear at auction in 1924 and in a bookseller’s catalogue in 1925, but Michelmores is known to have arrived in New York 19th April 1924. He had travelled from Southampton aboard Berengaria, and stayed at Waldorf Astoria Hotel, New York on 60-day visit.

[5]. The most recent appearance is: The Cottesloe Military Library. Sotheby’s. London. 2019. Lot 144.

An establishment for the new raised forces begun the XXVIth of January 1660. Calligraphic manuscript on vellum, title page with title in gold ink heightened in blue within an ink cartouche of swirls and flourishes, further elaborated with human forms, birds, and two mottoes (“Prudentes ut serpentes et Simplices ut columba”, and “Autant de testes [sic] Autant d’humeurs”) heightened in gold, the text throughout with engrossed capitals in blue ink, extensively heightened in gold, with further calligraphic flourishes, text listing the regiments of guards, infantry and cavalry, followed by a copy of a royal decree “for the Mustering regulating and payment of our Established forces”, also “An Establishment of his Majesties Garrisons of England”, with salaries and other costs throughout, giving a total annual cost of £223,358, 14s., 10d., 27 pages, folio (415 x 280mm.), c. 1663, contemporary vellum with (faded) calligraphic title on upper cover, covers stained, some discolouration; with related letter by J.H. Leslie and two other items loosely inserted... Lord Cottesloe appreciated the historical importance of this manuscript and rightly saw it as one of the jewels in his collection; he arranged for its publication as ‘The Earliest ‘Establishment’ - 1661 - of the British Standing Army’ in ‘The Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research, 9 (1930), 147-161 and 214-242. Catalogue slip as lot 562 in unidentified auction, c.1920s, loosely inserted.

[6]. The circa 1920s slip mentioned above by Sotheby’s reads,

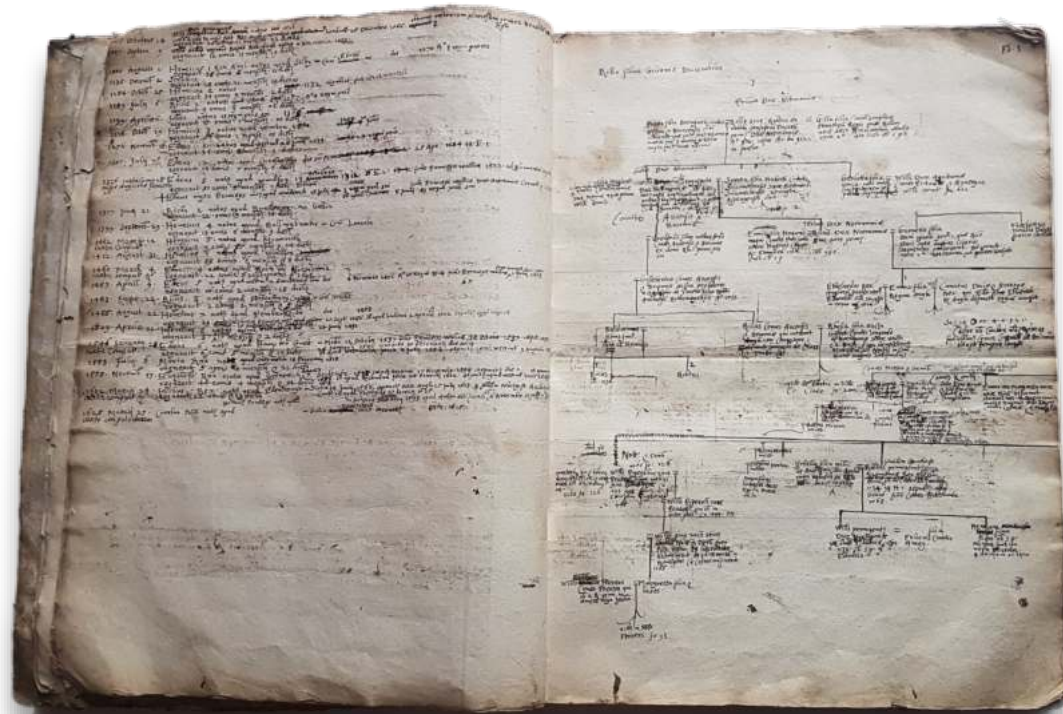
562 Charles II. an Establishment of H.M. Army and Garrisons of England. Manuscript on vellum. 1663. The Regiments are described as “His Majesties owne Troope and Guards,” “His Highness Royall the Duke of Yorke his Troope of Guards,” and others. The total cost pf the Army for the year was £223,358 14 10. The manuscript is the work of skilled calligraphers and both the writing and marginal ronamentations bear a strong resemblance to those found in the engraved writing book issued in 1659 by James Hodder, “Master in the Art of Writing.” The capitals are illuminated with gold and elaborate gilt side-notes added, folio vellum.

THE NOBILITY'S NEW CLOTHES

[JEKYLL, Thomas (1570-1652/3)] *Early 17th century manuscript entitled on spine "Barones Angliae extin[cti] 1616. Viscounts of England 1628. Knights of Ye Baro. 1625"*.

[England. Circa 1620-40]. Contemporary vellum, later spine, wear to edges, worming to spine. Manuscript title to front board "Barones Extincti"; manuscript spine title "Barones Angliae extin. 1616. Viscounts of England 162-(2? rubbed) Knights of y^e Bath 1625". Large folio (395 mm 300 mm). Foliation [ff. 7 unnumbered leaves], 221 numbered leaves. (164-208 blank and several of these excised with fo. 190 being used to repair the fore edge of first few pages).

Provenance: additional manuscript notes by the author and genealogist, Arthur Collins (1681/2-1760).



This imposing volume is impressive in its scale and ambitious in its content, but curiously unassuming in its anonymity. This is perhaps befitting of its author, Thomas Jekyll, an antiquarian who was highly regarded by his contemporaries, but chose the quietude of unpublished manuscripts for his scholarly studies. In this volume, we see Jekyll constructing the pedigrees for the origins of the nobility, ahead of Dugdale's famous work on the subject.

Despite the pride that an undertaking of this magnitude might engender, the author nowhere declares his identity. Indeed, it is only via the provenance of Arthur Collins that we can confidently identify this manuscript as the work of Thomas Jekyll. Collins carefully cites the details and page numbers of the sections he has used in this manuscript for his *The peerage of England* first published 1709. Collins was thought to have made only small additions to Dugdale, bringing it up to date, but it is clear from this manuscript that he found much that was not in Dugdale. *The peerage of England* was continued and expanded beyond his lifetime, culminating in the 1812 edition, which remained a standard work of reference.

Jekyll seems an intriguing character. He became an attorney of Clifford's Inn, London, and subsequently a secondary of the king's bench. Although he did not publish any work, he was highly industrious and seems to have been interested purely in expanding his own knowledge. As chief clerk of the paper office of king's bench, he made great use of his privileged access to documents.

There is some uncertainty regarding Jekyll's contact with fellow antiquaries, but this manuscript offers several tantalising clues. According to the ODNB he was in close contact with Dr. John Barkham, Dean of Bocking, 'who was very well versed in the knowledge of antiquity', and they also think "It is likely that Jekyll consorted with members of the Society of Antiquaries which flourished between about 1588 and about 1608. Although his name does not appear in surviving lists, it was apparently believed by his grandson Nicholas Jekyll of Castle Hedingham, Essex, as quoted by Arthur Collins in 1735, that Thomas Jekyll 'was of the Club of Antiquaries with Camden, Selden, Sir Robert Cotton, and others' (*Dartmouth MSS*)."

References in this manuscript hint at different levels of contact with such contemporaries. For example, he compares details of archbishoprics gathered from documents with those found "In Cambdens Britannia printed in Englysh 1610. are the 4 Archbyshopricks & 37 Byshopricks. Ca: 74." (fo. 213v). Other works consulted include: "Collections ... made by ffrancys Thinne Esq. 1585 & sett downe in Holinsheds Chronicle" (fo. 214v). He sets down a list of contemporary "Officers of Armes A^o 10 Jacobi [...] 1612" from "Sr William Segar" to "William Wirley" with their arms in trick. The offices of "Rougerose Pursivat at armes extraordinary" and "Blanchlyon" are left blank, so were presumably vacant at that time. And he certainly appears to have accessed documents directly from Cotton and Selden: "Ro. 5. H. 3. The state of the Churches in Leicestershire yo sett downe & recorded in an auncient Manuscript in prsent^t remayning in Sr Robert Cottons hands although the transcript thereof be in Mr John Seldens hands of the Inner Temple w^{ch} Manuscript was made 1220 5. H. 3. Hughe Wallys then Bishop of Lincoln". (fo. 216). So, while he may not have chosen the society of London and gregariousness of clubs, he appears to have quietly connected to his fellow antiquarians through an interlacing scholarly exchange.



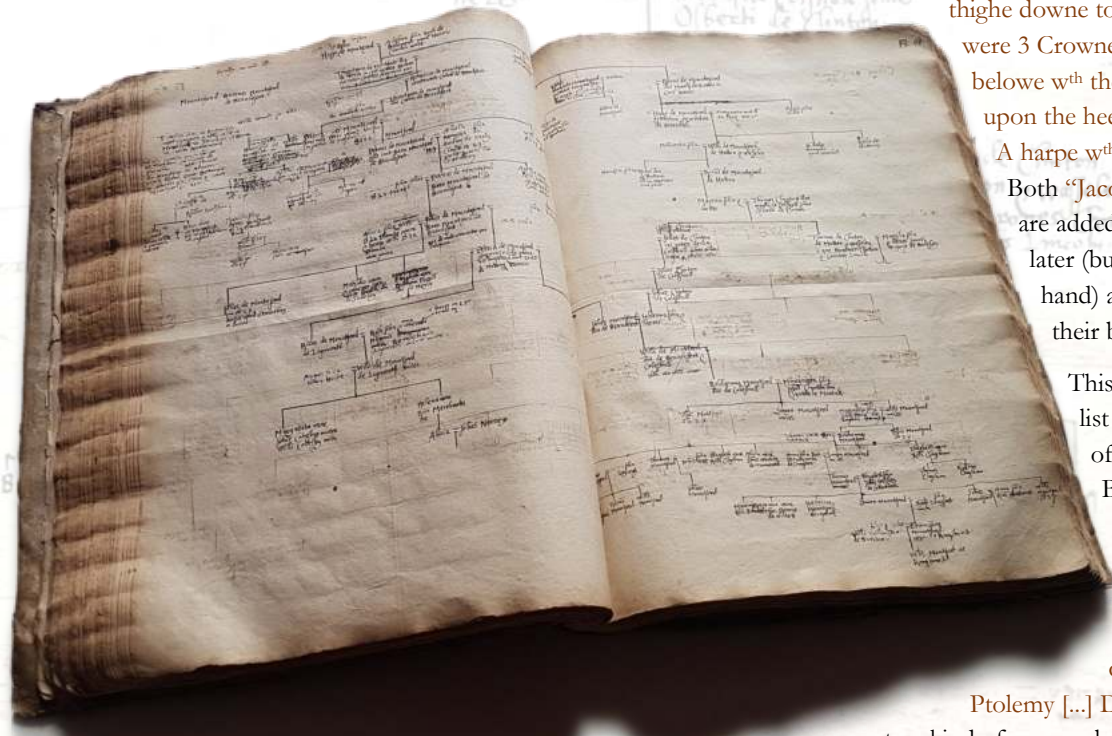
This is a strangely beautiful book, with its spidery lines following endlessly proliferating progeny. It is clearly the working manuscript of an ongoing project. Jekyll would have been compiling his research from countless dispersed documents in endless rolls and scrolls – formats suited to the emendation and addition of information. It is a work of immense antiquarian scholarship as the compiler attempts to construct the tabulated pedigrees from scratch, amending and recording additional details as he finds them. It is interesting to follow this ongoing process of revision and addition, of extrapolating from scattered sources and drawing them together into the codex. However, such fluid information is not easily suited to the codex even one of this size, and we see him squeezing information into edges or sprawling onto additional pages as he attempts to cram the details into this sometimes-unwilling format. He is at ease writing in a variety of hands including secretary, italic, and even an unusual archaized legal hand. He seems to have taken pride in varying his hand to suit the material; in all likelihood he was imitating the style of documents as he copied them. But apart from this quite scholarly attention to visual appearance, no attention has been given to aesthetics; only the contents seem to matter to its author, and its visual pleasures are inadvertent.

The volume was probably originally compiled in the early decades of the 17th century. The latest dates in the text are from the 1620s and although there is mention of Charles I, it is only very brief and appears to have been added in slightly later. The introductory text comprises textual material on the origins of the nobility. It commences with a list of monarchs (“Christæ Regum Angliæ.”), mostly abbreviated to initials and numbers, from “E[*dw*ard] 3” to “Eliz[*abeth*]” with details of their badges (e.g. “E. 3. 3 Crownes upon the middest of a sword sett upon the Cappe of Mayntenance”;

“H. 8. A whole legg from the thighe downe to the foote whereon were 3 Crownes the girder above & belowe wth the george & a spurre upon the heele. A Portcullys”; “E. 6. A harpe wth a Crowne upon yt.”). Both “Jacobus” and “Carolus” are added at the end in slightly later (but probably also Jekyll’s hand) and without details of their badges.

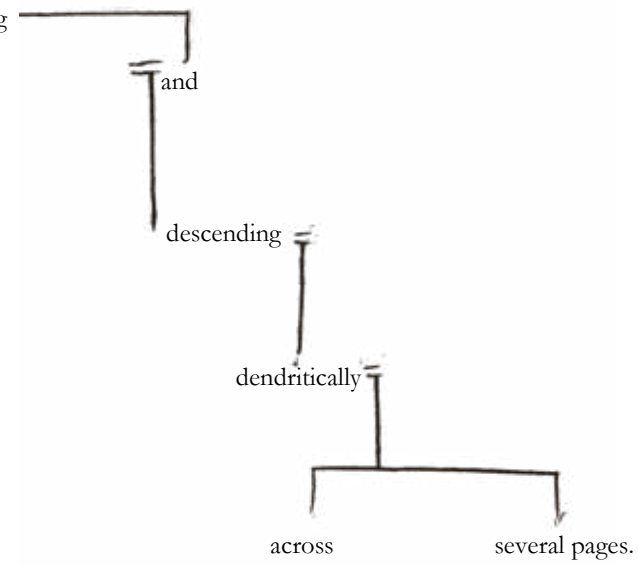
This is followed by a short list of barons, and names of the ancient peoples of Britain (“In auncient tyme the people ^{or} Britaines which inhabited [...] Cornwall, Devonshire [...] were called of Solinus


Ptolemy [...] Damnonij”). We then move to a kind of nomenclature, or what he calls “The Stile of all the Kings & Quenes of England since the



Conquest” from “Wills Conqstor. William the Conqueror com~only stiled himself Willielmus Rex and sometime Willielmus Rex Anglorum” through to, “Carolus Dei gratia magnæ Britannica Franciæ & Hibernæ Rex Eidei defensor & in tra(?) eccl^{ia} Anglicanæ Scotiæ & Hibernicæ supremū caput”. Beneath the list of “Stiles” he notes: “Some have observed that Grace was attributed to King H 4th (in a statute of A^o 2 H 4 ca: 15 where Royall Excellent grace to King H 6 Maiesty to King H 8 (although the statute of 2H4 ca 14 Royall Maiesty ys attributed to the King and Crimen lesæ maiestatis is far more ancient) yet before that tyme the King was Sovereigne Lord Liege Lord hyghnesse ...” He completes this section with a list of monarchs and their reigns from “1066. Octobris 14 Wills Dux Normandiæ ...” to “1625 Marcij 27. Carolus Rex.”

The main body of the manuscript (“fo.1 - fo.160”) comprises a series of over 200 tabulated pedigrees of extinct baronages, followed by tabulated pedigrees of viscounts and knights of the Bath. The pedigrees vary from brief notes to sprawling lines extending



It is abundantly clear that he is not copying out these pedigrees from another source but is working out the relationships anew on each page. He sometimes tells us where he is sourcing his material (“Wills~ Gem: fo: 688.” (fo.18); “Ex libro de Dunmowe” (fo.19v); “Stow in Anna libr fo: 143” (fo.25v); “Liber Rubeus” (fo.65), etc). Some of the pedigrees are tricked (“Fizallan Comites Arundell & Ba. Maltrauers” / “A: a cheife B” [...] “FitzAllan after their match wth Arundell : Gules a Lyon ramp^t or:” (fo.14); “D’ Montealto:” / “B a Lyon ramp Ar.” (fo.15)) and very occasionally he inserts a small drawing of a shield. He uses a wiggly line  to indicate “illegitimate” branches of families.

The final section (“ff. 212 - ff. 221”) is a collection of copies from his contemporaries and from older documents. These include: “A Treshonorable Sn^{rs} lez Com^{issioners} assignes per nostre Soueraigne Sn^r le Roy a receyver oyer & terminer lez Claymes p^{se} perfomance de lez services al iour de la Coronement de sa maiestie Jaques le Roy.” (fo. 209.); “A table of the ancient Inhabitants and the stiles of their possessions as they were called by Ptolemy & often since mentioned in the Romane writers. out of Speed fo: 171.” (fo. 212); “E Camdeno. Cornwall & Devonshire was a countrey which in auncient tyme was inhabited by those who were called [...] Dunmonii ofi solinus ...” (fo. 212v); “Milites Balnei creati ad Coronaconem dm Caroli dei gratia Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ ... 1625.” (fo. 213). Near the end of the volume, Jekyll creates a list of viscounts

and then records details of the Hamilton family of Scotland, “Hampton an Englishman who to auoyde the Justice of the lawfor killing of one John Spencer in King E. 3^{de} his count about 4^o 1323 fledde into Scotland where by King Robert Bruce [...] the sayde king gaue unto him the lande of Cadzow which Hampton was after by himselfe & the Scotts called Hamilton”, (fo. 217); and “Duodecim Competitores Scotiae” briefly lists and tabulates Scottish families including, “Malcolm”, “Mackbeth”, “Robtus de Bruis”. (fo. 217v).

Jekyll is known to have collected and compiled a large collection of manuscripts, including material relating to the history of East Anglia, especially Essex. However, he apparently made no provision for his collection after his death, and according to the ODNB some, “by circuitous routes, ... passed into various collections at the Bodleian Library and the British Library, some of them at the latter's foundation in 1753.” Many were used by local historians, one of whom was Philip Morant, who said that Jekyll was ‘the person who laid the first foundation’ of all their work. The herald and antiquary John Anstis (1669-1744) apparently had access to them, perhaps from Nicholas Jekyll (*d.* 1683) who probably inherited some from his father. The Holman manuscripts in the Bodleian Library include Holman's catalogue (1715) of the Jekyll manuscripts then belonging to Nicholas Jekyll of Castle Hedingham (MS. Rawl. Essex 24) and some of Jekyll's own manuscripts can be identified in this collection (e.g. the copy of the 1548 return of Colleges and Chantries, MS. Rawl. Essex 3; for Holman's acquisition of the Jekyll manuscripts see Essex Review 3, pp. 33-34). Other Jekyll manuscripts made their way in the world along different paths, including this one which came into the hands of Arthur Collins (1681/2-1760), who has added an index at the beginning, and annotations to Jekyll's text from additions of family members through to longer notes which appear to have been taken from old documents (“Nig de Alb Ralph Basset Alberic de Veer & Roger Nephew of Hubert were Witnesses to a Charter of King H. I. [...]”; “Randolph Peverell subscribed as a Witness with Osmund Chancellor Lanfranc [...] a Charter of K. W^m. y^e Conquerors Confirming to ye Dean & Chapter Church of St. Pauls...”). He also adds several pedigrees, including one in which he identifies himself (“The Pedigree of Hammond Cross of Bramington in the County of Bedford [^]Esq, Resident at Highgate in Com. Midd^x & communicated by him [^]to me Arthur Collins, August 1st 1752”). In his published works, Collins acknowledged that he used manuscripts by, among others, Dugdale and Jekyll, and he makes numerous references this particular manuscript in his *Peerage of England*, where he assiduously cites the folio numbers and details, which provide exact matches to the details and numbering in this volume, which he refers to as “Jekyl Barones Extincti, MS.”

There is evidence throughout of Jekyll returning to this text time and again to cross out, correct, add, amend, and extend his research. It is an interesting coincidence that Dugdale, who spent thirty years accumulating material towards his history of the nobility which made its first appearance in 1676, was working in the period immediately following Jekyll. This is not to suggest that he copied from Jekyll's work, only that it was clearly uppermost in the minds of these eminent 17th-century antiquaries that the task of compiling a history of the nobility was much needed.

Officers of Armes A^o 10 Jacobi. & A^o 2^{da} Martii 1612

This working manuscript is an impressive piece of scholarship that brings us into immediate contact with the working practices of an early modern antiquary and his unassuming but important connections to his contemporaries. We see how the earliest antiquaries were learning from each other in developing the methods that would shape the way future generations approached their studies. It takes the variation, change and loose ends inherent in any family history, and contrives from these unpromising elements an edifice of certainty and continuity - an approach taken up by Arthur Collins in his active use and continuation of the work, both in the pages of this volume and in its continued life among Collins' own writings.

All families, by definition, reach back into the caliginous past, and birth, marriage and death are common - indeed, inevitable - occurrences in all of them. But those with land, power and ambition try to keep their bloodline clear of the murk, by recording their ownership, in order to perpetuate it through inheritance and marriage-based transactions. This act of recording the transfer of property and status is tidied up and clothed in the visual symbolism of heraldry; translating these commonalities into elaborate symbols and obfuscatory language to create a myth of nobility. But here we encounter it before the parade, in its simplest unadorned form.

£9,500 Ref: 7786



PIETY TO PIE

HARRISON, Robert (c. 1633-1692) et al. *Manuscript miscellany of sermons, recipes, remedies, biographies, and a library catalogue.*

[Leicestershire(?) and Laceby, Lincolnshire. Circa 1660-1840]. Contemporary calf, rubbed, corners worn. Quarto (198 mm x 152 mm x 43 mm). Text to both ends. Approximately 310 text pages (not including blanks) some leaves excised. Culinary section (and a little beyond) numbered to rectos to in an 18th-century hand.



This volume began its life in the form of 17th-century manuscript annotations to Aristotle’s *Morals*, which shortly thereafter were valued as no more than binder’s waste stuffed at the end. Next, but at the opposite end (now the beginning), comes Robert Harrison, an alumnus of Christ Church College, Oxford and his deeply held religious feelings poured out in a heartfelt treatise on prayer. But the spirit needs bodily sustenance, so Harrison’s piety makes way for pies, as rabbits are fricasseed, pigeons pickled, salmon dressed, and cakes baked and eaten!

The subjects in this miscellany range from 17th-century sermons and early 18th-century culinary recipes and remedies, through to biographical notes and a record of an 18th-century library.

The earliest textual component is two printed leaves of binder’s waste. These are taken from an edition of Aristotle’s ‘*De Moribus*’ (E2-3 of an unidentified edition) and contain scholarly manuscript marginalia in two 17th-century hands. The volume was bound in the mid-17th century in plain ruled calf and with red-ruled borders throughout, presumably for its new owner, Robert Harrison, who appears to have been the only person to have noticed the borders, which he uses to make marginal notes. According to *Oxford University Alumni, 1500-1886* (Fasti. ii. 188): “Harrison Robert, Cler. fil. student of Christ Church by the visitors 1648, Matric. 15, and B.A. 17, Feb., 1652-3, M.A. 4 July, 1655 (born at Doncaster), uterine brother of Dr. Henry Wilkinson principal of Magdalen Hall.”

We learn from the title page of a published work by Harrison (Wing, H909, and H909A), that he became Rector of Wyfordby in Leicestershire.

Harrison, Robert, active 1648-1672. *Two sermons lately preached at the assizes in St. Maries church in Leicester. The former March 23. 1670. The latter July 27. 1671. By Robert Harrison M.A. late student of Christ-Church Oxon. now rector of Wyfordby in Leicester-shire.* London, 1672.

He was appointed Deacon at Wyfordby in 1660, and later became Rector, a post he held till his death in 1692. He married Katherine (surname?) and they had one child together, also named Robert, born 1666. Harrison *filis* followed his father in name, university, and career path. He matriculated at Magdalen Hall, 1683/4, graduated B.A. 1687, and returned to his native Leicestershire, where he became the Rector at Nether Broughton, and later Vicar at Humberstone, where he remained till his death in 1740.

Harrison senior’s manuscript treatise is unfinished, and although it has a similar appearance to the mise en page of printed books, we do not know whether it was intended for publication. It is entitled:

The Improvement of Prayer or A Plaine & Practicall Exposition of ye Lords Prayer being the substance of severall Sermons preached by Robert Harrison A:M: Minister of ye Gospell and sometimes Student of Ch. Ch. Oxon.

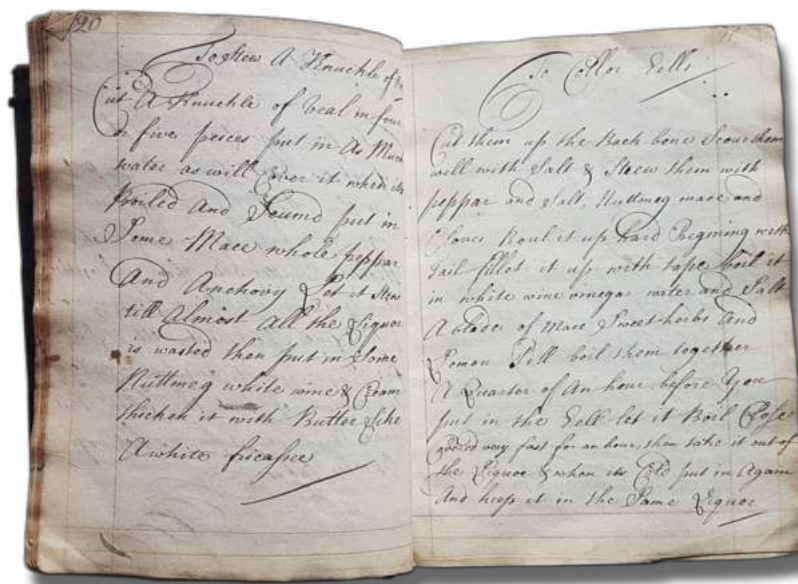
Harrison has left a blank sheet after his title page, but an 18th-century scribe has seen this attention to design as an opportunity to squeeze in a remedy: “A Receipt for Putrid Fevers”.

A Receipt for Putrid Fevers.

His “*Exposition of ye Lords Prayer*” continues for 29 pages (to rectos and versos). It begins with an introductory paragraph, followed by three chapters and the truncated beginnings of a fourth. He adds numerous marginal notes to the text and there are several corrections to the text in his hand. It appears to be fair copy (although we have located no other copies) and ends abruptly on the catchwords “*why many*” to a recto, so he appears to have stopped the moment he was about to turn the page.

This treatise is followed by six prayers of a distinctly rural aspect, fitting for a country preacher. They comprise: “*A Prayer upon the Day of ones Birth*”; “*A Prayer before Divine Service begins; At the Conclusion of Divine Service after these words, The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ &c.*”; “*A Countrey-man Prayer for fruitful Season*”; “*A prayer when the Weather is Unseasonable*”; “*A Thanksgiving for a good Harvest*”. They are in a looser hand and could be either of the Reverends Harrison, or by another, unnamed 17th-century scribe.

A prayer when the Weather is unseasonable



If we continue to follow this manuscript chronologically, then we are taken to the opposite end of the volume, where we find over 130 recipes and remedies on a similar number of pages, plus the beginnings of an abandoned index.

Written in a neat 18th-century cursive hand, the recipes and remedies are usually one to a page, but some extend to a second page (or part), and some are quite short with two recipes on a single page. Some of the later recipes are in a much looser hand. They include two recipes “To Make Queen Cakes”, which would likely date them after the reign of Queen Anne, and the hand and spelling would also support a date for the recipes to the first half of the 18th century.

There are some clusters of similar recipes, but no clear overall order. The ink colour changes several times, so they were likely written at different sittings, but the predominant hand is fairly consistent, so probably not over a long period. There are only the beginnings of an index, abandoned after only 23 entries, so locating recipes would require either a prodigious memory or laboriously leafing through until you arrived at the right page.

The volume includes many recipes for meat dishes (To- “make a Hare Pye”; “Stew Pidgeons”; “Alamode Beef”; “Make Calves feet pye”; “Make Scotch Collops”; “Hash A Calves Head”; “Make Neats foot Pudding; “A fricassey of Rabbits, Lamb or Chicken”; “Make Harts Horn jelly”; “Mumble Rabbits”), and occasionally (“Collar Eells”; “Dress A Pyke”; “Oyster Pye”).

There are numerous cakes and puddings: To Make Cake; To Make A Seed Cake; To Make “Mackrooms”; “Fritters”; “Almond Puding”; “Apple Tansie”; “Orange fool”; “Raspberry Cream”; “Quaking Pudding”), and although no vegetable dishes, there are plenty for preserved fruits (“Damascenes”, “Rasberries”, “green Pippins”, “Quinces”; “Gooseberries”; “Syrup of Mullberries”, “Red Marmallet”, “Cittern”; “Marmallet of Apricocks”) and a few drinks including “An Excellent Sack Possit”; “Cowslop Wine”; “To Make white Mead”.

The last 20 or so recipes are in two or more different hands. These probably date from later in the 18th century. The manuscript then moves to a group of early 19th-century draft letters (mostly between Christopher Robinson and his brother regarding Christopher’s inheritance from Mr and Mrs Harrison. The Harrisons died in 1804 and there seems to have been a dispute over leased land. The letters date from 1811). There are several other similar drafts of legal letters, which although not scintillating in themselves, help us to understand how the manuscript came to move from Robert Harrison’s family to the Robinson family via Christopher Robinson inheriting from Mrs Harrison, whose library we now visit in the form of:

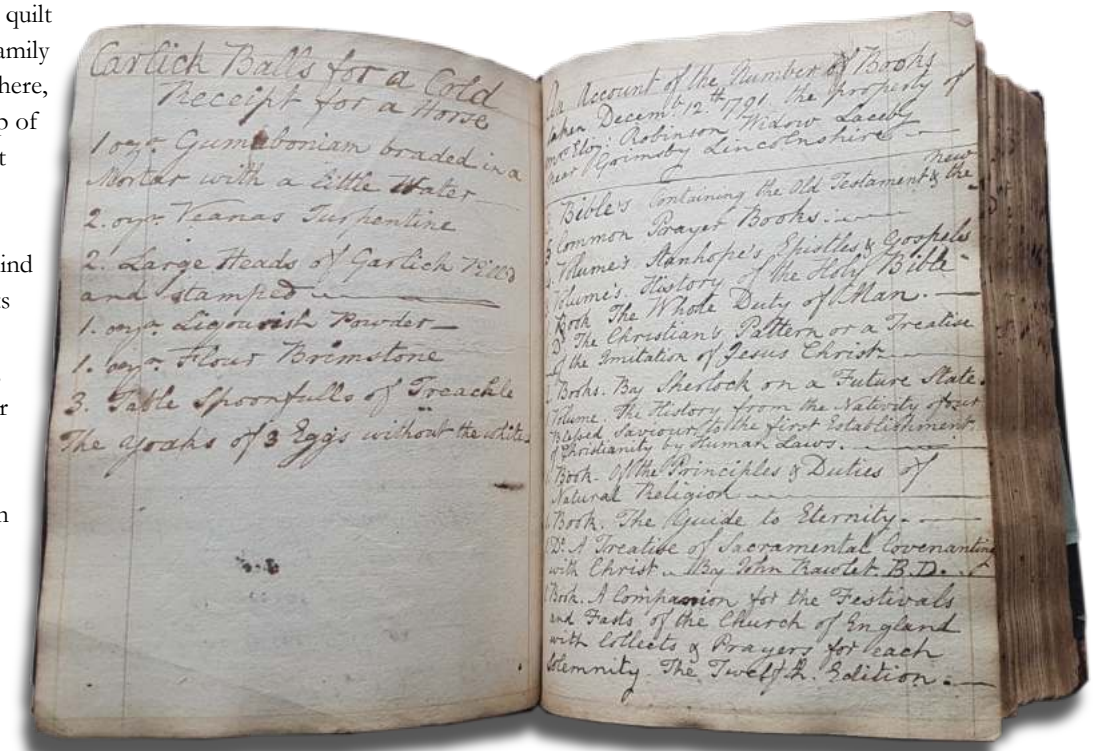
“An Account of the Number of Books taken Decem^b. 12th. 1791. The property of M^{rs}. Eliz. Robinson Widow Laceby Near Grimsby Lincolnshire.” (ff. 51-53). This is quite a rewarding read. The details reveal a small library of approximately 50 volumes. Titles are mainly devotional and moral, including “3. Bible’s. Containing the Old Testament & the New”; “5.

Common Prayer Books”; “4. Volume’s. Stanhope’s Epistles & Gospels”; “3. Volume’s. History of the Holy Bible”; “1. Book. The Whole Duty of Man”; “1. D^o. The Ladies Calling in 2 Parts”. At least one book connects directly to her recent relations: “1. Book. Counsels and Comforts for Troubled Consciences. Contained in a Letter lately written to a Friend. By Henry Wilkinson D.D. late Principal of Magadalen-Hall in Oxford (Robert Harrison’s aforementioned uterine brother). There are a few works of entertainment (“1. Book. Aesops Fables”; “7. Volumes of the Spectator”; “1. Book. The Tatler. By Isaac Bickerstaff. Esq^r.”); a clutch of household books (“1. Book. The Charitable Physician with the Charitable Apothecary”; “1. Book. The Contents, Virtues, & Uses of Nevil-Holt Spaw-Water”; “1. Book. The Family Dictionary or Household Companion”; “1. Book. The Cooks & Confectioners Dictionary or the Accomplished Housewives Companion”; a practical writing book, “1. Book. The Secretary in Fashion or An Elegant and Compendious Way of Writing all Manner of Letters” and “1. English Dictionary. By N. Bailey”; and the occasional surprise: “1. Book. Orinthia’s miscellanies or a Compleat Collection of Poems Never before Published. By Eliz. Teft of Lincoln”. According to the Orlando website of Women’s Writing in the British Isles, “Elizabeth Teft was a poet of the earlier eighteenth century whose work suggests considerable independence of mind. Many of her poems are social or occasional; some are political.” ESTC records 2 copies in the UK (BL, Bodleian) and 2 in the USA (Folger, NYPL), so it is interesting to discover this rare title making its way into remote rural communities.

The subjects in this miscellany seem to bear little resemblance to each other, as the volume has passed from one owner to the next; there’s no apparent ‘conversation’ between generations or owners. Instead, the disparate contents are drawn together by family connections and by the value of paper, as each owner sees an opportunity to write upon the available blank spaces. This arguably gives us an instructive view of manuscript culture that, perhaps, warns us not to interpret every exchange as another profound stitch in the quilt of human relations. Family is certainly important here, since family ownership of the manuscript is what has brought these subjects together, but what really seems to bind these different subjects is economics: paper’s value as a commodity, whether for binding or for writing on, makes this manuscript a fascinating paper chain of historical connections.

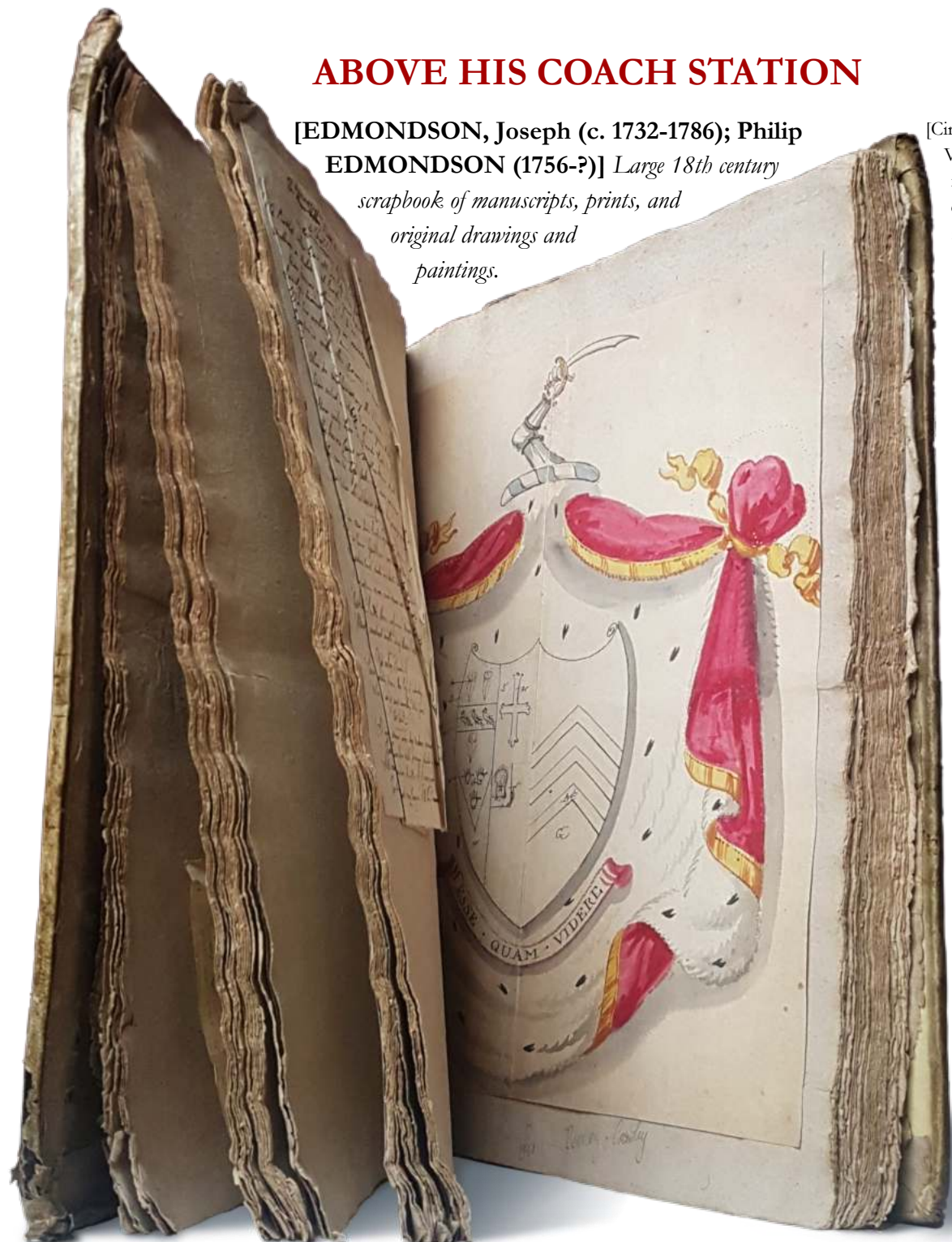
£6,000

Ref: 7889



ABOVE HIS COACH STATION

[EDMONDSON, Joseph (c. 1732-1786); Philip EDMONDSON (1756-?)] *Large 18th century scrapbook of manuscripts, prints, and original drawings and paintings.*



[Circa 1770-1810].

Vellum binding made from repurposed documents, worn, rebacked, lacks ties. Atlas folio (520 mm x 400 mm x 63 mm). Approximately 70 leaves, with pasted in plates, sketches, and letters mostly to rectos.

Joseph Edmondson (c. 1732-1786) was a herald and coach-painter. Of humble origins, he was originally apprenticed as a barber, but later became a heraldic artist, emblazoning arms on coaches. This presumably led to his interest in heraldry; by 1763 he was coach-painter to Queen Charlotte (ODNB).

He bought the great manuscript collection of peers' pedigrees known as the 'Baronagium'

(probably compiled by Simon Segar), updated it, and in 1764 began the publication of his own 'Baronagium'. The heralds at the College of Arms were displeased by this upstart's precociousness, but it brought him to the attention of the nobility, many of whom asked him to compile or revise their pedigrees.

In 1764 he was created Mowbray Herald of Arms Extraordinary, and he continued his successful coach-painting business until his death, after which it was taken up by his son Philip, though the date of the latter's death is not recorded.

Edmondson's brother officers regarded him as an ignorant and low 'mechanic'. He was not a scholar by training, but apparently one by nature, and he seems to have had an aptitude for learning new things, including draughtsmanship and he copied entire pedigrees from the college records, despite deliberate interruptions from the heralds. That Edmondson had a fierce will to succeed is clear from his progress – he was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1770.

His published works include *Tables of Precedency* (1764); *Historical and Genealogical Account of the Noble Family of Greville*, (1766); and *Companion to the Peerage of Great Britain and Ireland* (1776). In 1780 he produced his most famous work, the comprehensive *A Complete Body of Heraldry*, which included an alphabet of 50,000 coats of arms. (ODNB).

This enormous and impressive scrapbook is a rich repository of heraldic information and appears to have been compiled during the period he was producing his best work. The physical construction is interesting in itself. The pages are inexpensive sugar paper, and the binding is constructed from a couple of vellum documents, one of which is dated 1731. These relatively cheap materials indicate that, for Edmondson, its value lay in its utility rather than its beauty.

An old auction catalogue entry (tipped onto the paste-down) attributes the volume to Joseph Edmondson and states it "was originally his property and collection". Successive cataloguers including Sotheby's (1911 and 1971) and Francis Edwards (catalogues 962, 986,



1010 published 1972-1977), have repeated the attribution. This is supported by an interesting letter tipped into the volume: “Edmondson will be much obliged to Messrs Boston or Hancock to mark the Colors, of the Enclosed Arms, of Mr Casalet’s.” The recipient has granted his request by tricking the arms in pencil and adding the note “Mr. Caselet was peticular to have the Colors of the field, match’d to Burgundy Wine.” This nicely illustrates Edmondson’s requesting and receiving details, which he has pasted into his volume together with other letters or notes on tricking. The volume does not appear in the sale catalogue of Edmondson’s library (*A catalogue of the large and valuable library of Joseph Edmondson, Esq; Mowbray Herald Extraordinary*. London 1786); more concerning still is the presence of numerous inserted pieces that date from after his death. However, it is possible to address these concerns: we know that after Joseph Edmondson’s death in 1786, his son, Philip Edmondson, continued the coach-painting side of his father’s business. That the volume was retained by Philip for his professional use is also supported by the inclusion of a letter requesting information and receiving a response: “Sir, I rec^d. Your Letter Yesterday and will immediately execute your Order but will be obliged to you to favor me with the name and Colour of the 3^d Quartering The 1st . 2nd & 4th I have [...] P. Edmondson” (the letter includes a tricked shield dated 1796). These letters sent and received by Edmondson senior and junior help secure the attribution to Joseph Edmondson, but also give credence to the theory that it was passed from father to son, and suggests it was singled out from the other books and manuscripts in the “valuable library”, not for its monetary value, but for its use to Philip as he continued the coach-painting business.

It is not recorded whether Edmondson *père* received any training, but he certainly had talent. The drawings in this volume demonstrate not simply a confident hand, but one that can capture details in lively line-work. His beasts are rendered in animated flowing lines, but they are also accurate and well-proportioned. The detailing of other elements is similarly sure and exact.



There are some 70 pen and ink drawings and paintings, ranging from small ink sketches of a few centimetres, to more accomplished paintings and drawings measuring over 40 cm. The large scale of these pieces suggests they were probably templates for coach paintings.

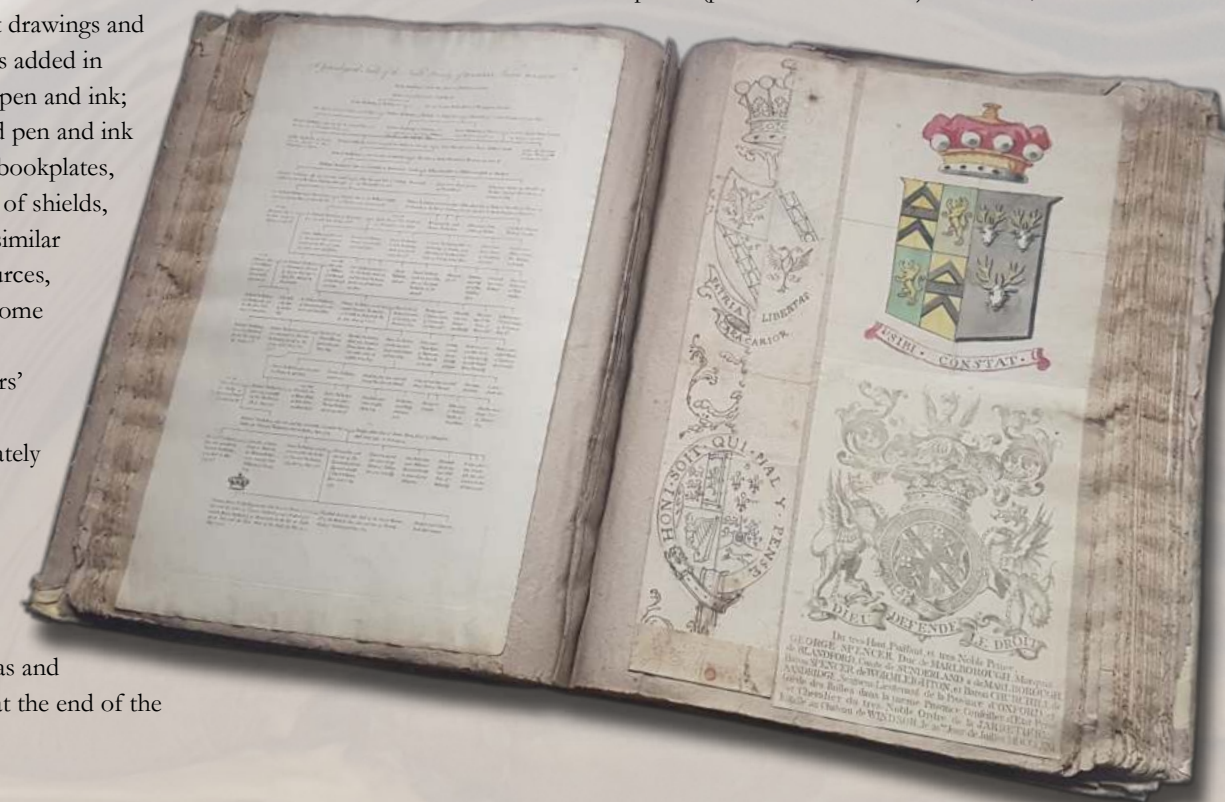
Other evidence of Edmondson’s coach painting work includes notes “For Mr. Pybus’s Carriage”

For Mr. Pybus's Carriage

which includes details of the shield “Lozenge – Paly of six Or and Gules a Bend Vairs. An Escutcheon of Pretence Quarterly”. Further research into the identification of the arms depicted could reveal their circle of clients.

Throughout the volume, there are many small pen and ink sketches of shields with tricking, others with pouncing marks, or brief jottings on heraldic devices (“The Mulletts are not on the Fess but two above & one below it”, “The Vipers to be as those on the Old Seal”). Some notes record Edmondson working through his reference material, attempting to assemble information from scattered sources (“The Arms of Clever in my Alphabet are Viz Clever or Clevere arg & Covered Cup. Sab [...] The Colour of the Stags heads in the Arms of Green and the Colour of the Crest is Wanted as they are not in the Alphabet”).

There are many unusual items pasted in, including a reversed drawing measuring 36 cm x 24 cm (perhaps for a large engraving), as well as some reversed engravings, and what were probably print proofs, judging from the quality of the inking. These latter items would no longer have been of use to a printer, but to Edmondson the scraps offered invaluable information to add to his storehouse of references. Other items include 20 blank templates (printed on 10 sheets) of shields, with manuscript drawings and annotations added in pencil and pen and ink; printed and pen and ink pedigrees, bookplates, engravings of shields, and other similar printed sources, including some sheets of “Subscribers’ Arms” (approximately 720 small shields) extracted from an early 18th-century atlas and stuffed in at the end of the volume.



Indeed, he seems to have treated this volume like a large storage chest into which he would shove the newly acquired information, with little thought of a system for later retrieval other than rifling through everything until he found the desired object. But whatever the disorder of this arrangement (or lack of it), it clearly served Edmondson well in the pursuit of his highly successful business.

If the written references illuminate Edmondson's working methods, the material traces left in his volume make them almost tactile. Many of the large paintings have been folded and then pricked with a pin on one side. It is evident from the direction of these pin pricks that he has devised an elegant method for achieving symmetrical shields; much as an artist might pounce a drawing to transfer the outlines onto a canvas, he has used this technique to carry details over from one side to the other.

The textual and material elements of this remarkable volume take us into the everyday world of these diligent and meticulous workmen. As an act of the transmission of knowledge from father to son it is revealing of where they placed value: not in the outward showiness of heraldry itself, but in the conscientious practice of its art.

£7,500 Ref: 7871

APPENDIX.

Auctions:

Old auction record pasted in which reads,
Edmondson (Joseph, F.S.A. Mowbray Herald Extraordinary, author of "Baronagium Genealogicum," etc.) An Heraldic Scrap-book originally his property and collection, containing several hundreds of Coats of Arms, large and small, in tinctures, pen and ink trickings, tracings, reverses for copper engraving, engravings of arms from old books, book-plates, etc., MS. orders to do Heraldic work, and other scraps drawn and engraved. Fastened into a large and stout scrap-book. Atlas fo, old vellum [estimate scratched out] Collected about 1780.

This is of course an unique lot; it appears to have served Edmondson for a good many years as a receptacle for any drawing or inquiry which he wished to preserve; all are fastened in except some sheets of "Subscribers' Arms," belong to an old (about 1715) atlas, these are 720 in number, nearly all of private gentlemen, and well engraved. The arms tricked are of every possible size and vary from rough pencil sketches to well-finished tintured coats, with proper mantling and crest. There are a few old pedigrees, and also a few letters addressed to Edmondson, in some cases drawings are on the blanks of old letters."

Notice in the Saturday Review, Saturday 15 July 1911 p.89 col.1:

Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge will sell by auction, at their House, No. 13 Wellington Street, Strand, W.C, on Tuesday, July 18, and Following Day, at 1 o'clock precisely, books and manuscripts, comprising the Library of Col. Montague (deceased), late of 123 Pall Mall, S.W., including important Historical, Topographical, and Scientific Works; Books on Heraldry: Heraldic Scrap Book, collected by Joseph Edmondson; a Curious and Ancient Book of Coats-of-Arms of the Time of Henry VIII. — [...]

Bonhams. March 2020.

'Edmondson's Heraldic Scrap-Book', so-titled in pencil on opening leaf, approximately 100 leaves, including approximately 70 pen and watercolour heraldic designs (380 x 290mm., and smaller), 75 pen and ink, or pencil designs and sketches, approximately 20 manuscript notes and letters (several mentioning 'J. Edmondson', including a note concerning the arms of John Ingilby of Ripley, 1785), numerous engraved illustrations, all pasted onto album leaves on recto only, old dealer/auction catalogue note describing the volume as belonging to Edmondson pasted inside upper cover, old vellum, rebacked, folio (515 x 380mm.), [late eighteenth/early nineteenth century].

Bookseller's catalogue:

Francis Edwards. Catalogues 962, 986, 1010. 1972-75.

Edmondson, Joseph, Mowbray Herald Extraordinary. An Heraldic Scrapbook formed by Joseph Edmondson, containing several hundreds of coats of arms of various sizes, including tintured drawings, pen and ink trickings, tracings, reverses for copper engravings, engravings of arms from old books, also pedigrees, and a few MS. orders and letters addressed to Edmondson, large folio, contemporary vellum, repaired. c. 1780.



YOU CAN'T STEP INTO THE SAME RIVER TWICE

[ERDESWICK, Sampson; DAVISON, Samuel (c. 1668-1743?); WILMOT, Robert (1640-1722)]

Scribal manuscript copy of Erdeswick's 'View' or 'Survey' of Staffordshire.

[Circa 1700]. Late 17th- early 18th century panelled calf, rubbed, modern reback, text spotted. Pagination [2], 84, [5], [7, index], final 10 leaves blank, an initial blank bifolium loose. Paper watermarked with two slightly different Coats of Arms. Haewood dates similar examples circa 1680-1720. Neat scribal hand, some pencil guidelines remaining.

Provenance: An inscription to the paste-down reads “R Wilmot Ex Dono Sam: Davison de Brand in Com: Salop M-(?)” (Wilmot also signs the title page and the first text leaf); armorial bookplate to paste-down, “S: Rob: Wilmot of Osmaston, Derbyshire”; modern bookplate of D. J. Wright.

This manuscript captures the flows of textual exchange in the late 17th century; how the different paths of communication converge and depart over time, and how people connect with each other through books. The story is complicated from the outset because there appear to have been at least two “originating” texts. These texts travelled on separate journeys through multiple acts of “copying”. They were adapted, extended and amended, resulting in multiple overlaps, convergences, similarities, differences, and variations.

Fittingly for a book that took its own textual journeys, the narrative is a perambulation through the county of Staffordshire following the courses its rivers. It was composed by Sampson Erdeswicke (c. 1538–1603), a recusant lawyer and antiquary. His father came from Staffordshire, his mother from Cheshire. Around 1593 he embarked on a survey of Staffordshire and had intended the work to also cover Cheshire (completing the parental connection), but he died before it was finished. Sir William Dugdale described it as “a brief but elaborate work ... compiled from public records and ancient evidences”. The journey through the county along the rivers—a method used by Camden in his *Britannia*—starts in the north at the source of the Trent and records whatever was worthy of note (genealogies, natural features, place names, architecture and archaeological remains). According to the ODNB, his “personality often comes through: he enjoys a good story and local gossip”.

This particular “copy” has taken its own interesting route, which can be partly tracked through its provenance. An inscription to the paste-down reads “R Wilmot Ex Dono Sam: Davison de Brand in Com: Salop M-(?)” and there is an armorial bookplate (also to paste-down) of, “S: Rob: Wilmot of Osmaston, Derbyshire”. The dedicator in the inscription is Samuel Davison of Brand (c. 1667-1743?), who married Barbara Bainbrigge (nee Wilmot) (d. 1715) in 1694. She was the daughter of Sir Nicholas Wilmot (1611-1682), a serjeant at law who was knighted by Charles II in 1674. The “R Wilmot” referred to in the dedication is most likely Barbara’s brother Robert Wilmot (1640-1722), who was High Sheriff of Derbyshire in 1689 and served as Member of Parliament for Derby from 1690 to 1695. Osmaston Hall was built for Robert Wilmot in 1696, so the bookplate could be no earlier. The manuscript itself was probably written at an earlier date, later finding its role within a gift economy that in its quiet way, helped seal family ties.

The Wilmot’s Osmaston estate was situated in Derbyshire, which neighbours Staffordshire, and the family had relations in both counties. It seems likely that the combination of genealogical and topographical information served up in a “learned but attractively informal” style would have made an ideal gift from Davison to his brother-in-law Robert Wilmot. The manuscript is written in a neat and legible scribal hand. The margins are annotated with the place names, forming the basis of the index. Although it would have been copied from another manuscript, it differs from other extant copies. This in itself is not unusual

because one of the notable features of Erdeswick’s book – as with manuscript culture in general during this period – is that all copies differ one from another. An edition was published in 1717 but this was considered inadequate, and manuscript copies continued to proliferate until Thomas Harwood’s scholarly edition, *A Survey of Staffordshire* (Westminster. 1820). In 1844 William Salt published *A list and description of the manuscript copies of Erdeswick's Survey of Staffordshire*, in which he attempted to collate all the extant copies of the manuscript he could find. He located 25 (and acquired several of these himself) and identified a further 15, whereabouts uncertain – but Wilmot’s manuscript was unknown to Salt.

One defining feature of this manuscript, which it does not share with other copies is its unusually verbose title page: “The Antiquities of Staffordshire. Collected in y^e Raigne of Queen Elizabeth by M^r Erdeswick of Sandon out of Publick Records, & Antient Evidences of Gentlemen y^e were y^e Owners & Lords of Estates in this County 1595. With y^e Copy of a Letter from Sir Simon Degge to M^r Digby of Sandon, upon his perusal his Manuscript View of Staffordshire”. The text begins “When Will: y^e Conq: had wholly subjected this Kgdom...” which (allowing for the contractions) is the same as Salt VII (Fran. Bassano). However, the texts diverge from that point and end quite differently.

One reason for such variations may derive from the condition of its inception. The ‘original’ (if such a thing can ever be said to have existed) has been lost and, according to Harwood, “[Erdeswick] is supposed to have made a second draught of it before his death, free from some mistakes into which he had fallen in the former.” So, from the outset there appear to have been two manuscripts circulating, and thus two branching differences. Furthermore, some copies had additions made to them by later scribes. For example, according to Harwood, “[Erdeswick’s] MSS. fell into the hands of Walter Chetwynd, of Ingestrie”, who collected related documents, including a letter by Sir Simon Degge which was appended to some copies, including this one (here dated “Feb. 20. 1669”). However, even these factors do not account for its sheer variety of forms, which, as Harwood says, cover “not only ... the orthography but ... the language, and even ... the topographical arrangement.” Perhaps it is in keeping with a text that took its shape from the meanderings of rivers that those who encountered it often felt the desire to dive in and alter its course.



£1,250 Ref: 7847

COMPREHENSIVE TO THE GENERAL

[CUSLOVE, William; Elizabeth SACKER(?); Samuel and Thomas NICHOLLS] *A Collection of 18th century manuscript recipes and remedies.*

[England. Circa 1750-1810]. Bound manuscript book, stitched booklet, with related loose-leaf manuscript recipes and remedies.

This collection of manuscripts encompasses the different forms that recipe exchange took in the 18th century, from a small vellum bound volume with multiple contributors, to a single-owner booklet, and loose-leaf circulated recipes. There are several areas of overlap, where hands can be traced across the different forms, and connecting threads, including exchanged recipes and names of recipients.



The vellum bound volume acts as a nexus for the surrounding material. It was written in the 1750s and combines several different hands. Two of the hands connect in turn to two smaller booklets or sheets written around the same time. The collection continues to thread through time as we see recipes exchanged between members of the Nicholls families in the late 18th- to the first decade of the 19th century. It is always fascinating to see how something as ephemeral as social exchange finds expression in the simple physical forms of ink and paper, but perhaps especially so when it is done through those most corporeal of subjects: food and health.

One can think of the collection as consisting of five connected elements: **[1]** a small vellum wallet binding with contributions from at least four different writers; **[2]** a booklet of stitched sheets by one of the contributors to the notebook; **[3]** a group of seven sheets extracted from another notebook by a different contributor to the vellum notebook; **[4]** 16 loose sheets by, or to, one Samuel Nicholls (who appears to have also contributed to **[3]**); this is complemented by **[5]** 14 loose sheets from various correspondents. Throughout we find names of some of those who were part of this web of connections: Elizabeth Sacker's name appears on the stitched sheets. At least we think her name is Sacker, but it has been crossed through so many times as to almost totally obscure it. Whatever her surname, Elizabeth also contributes to the bound volume, along with William Cuslove, and two anonymous writers. Alongside the main participants, numerous other names appear as the originators of recipes ("A Rect to Pickle Mushrooms: Coson Vernons"; "Captain Elds reept of for the Cacksenns in a Hors"; "Docter Radclife receipt for a colde in a horse"; "Recept from M^{rs} Bromfield for y^e Ague which neuer failes"). From the 1760s onwards, the recipes appear to have been part of a gift culture between Generals and Colonels of the Nicholls family and to have tied in with their concern with the health of a Mrs Ward. The military is a prime example of a complex social network and it is interesting to see these men reinforcing their social connections in the domestic world.



[1]. Circa 1750-60. Small vellum wallet binding, worn, some pages torn with loss, others loose. Duodecimo (147 mm x 100 mm x 14 mm). Approximately 75 text pages, plus a few only partially used and several blanks. Written in at least four hands. One of the hands writes the letter "e" at the end of a word by striking the preceding ascender. This manuscript contains at least four different hands. Hand I contributes approximately 20 recipes; Hand II contributes around 8 recipes; Hand III, which has some quite idiosyncratic letterforms, adds 4; and Hand IV runs through most of the volume with roughly 28 recipes. The hands are unevenly distributed throughout the volume, so it seems likely that the manuscript was kept by a household.

Spelling is erratic, especially the earlier hands (I and II),

for example sugar is spelt by Hand I “shugar”, shougar”, “showgear” in a single recipe, and

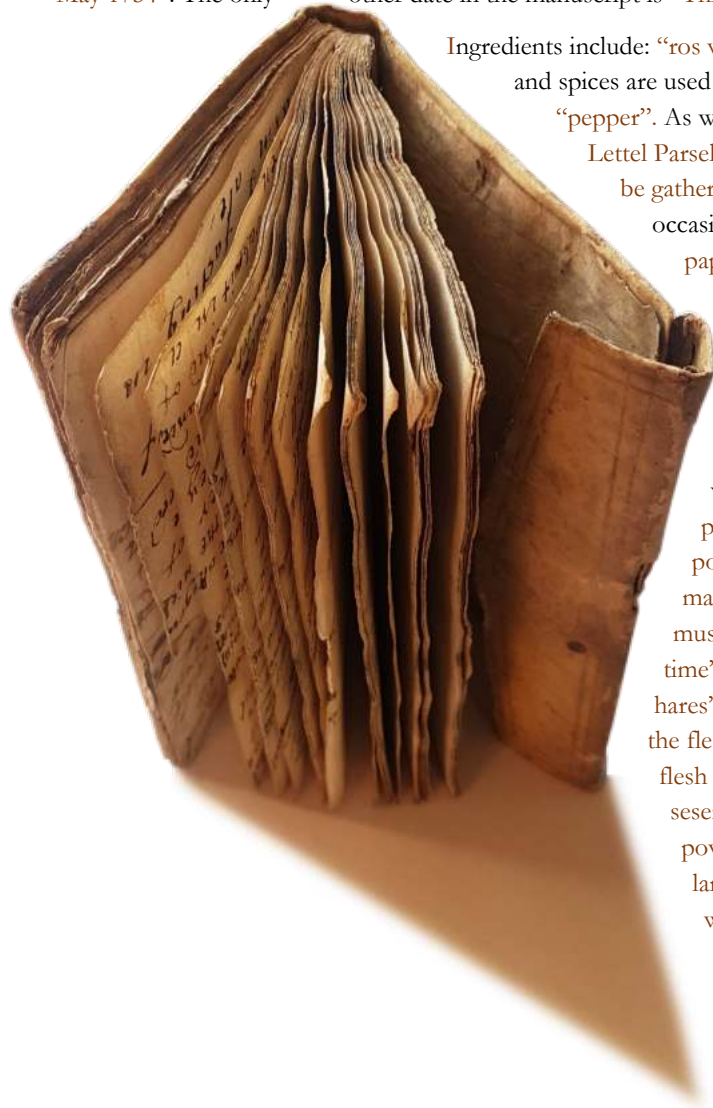
in another recipe variations of bottle and

weeks occur in the same sentence: “put it into a uissell lett it stand sixe wicks wickes be foor you bottell it eles the will brek your bottelles when you botel”. Some spellings perhaps points toward an accent e.g. “Oye Warter / Take spring Warter Half A Point”. Ingredients such as cinnamon are spelt “senement”, boil is rendered “byle”, and an hour is “anoure”. A “Promise to pay Mr Walter Yonge ... the sum of Thirty pounds” is signed “W^m Cuslove” [Hand III below]. I have not been able to find anyone of that name, so it is either a legal template or simply a casualty of erratic spelling. The entry is dated “the 10 day of May 1754”. The only other date in the manuscript is “This was publish in y^e year of our Lord 1753”.

Ingredients include: “ros watar”, “shougar”, “bowter”, “curane”, “allmones blanged” and spices are used often, including “notmege”, “cloues”, “sinement”, “mace” “pepper”. As well herbs: “som noted margram som time wenter safrey a Lettel Parsel”, with one remedy instructing you that “All the Herbs must be gathered in the Month of May, and as dry as possible”. Timings are occasionally given (“set it by the fir a quarter of an owar bouer your papar and as you pour it in stik ringar rowt and sitarn and oring pit it most there ower” “let it boyle two hours and scum it”), but more usually the instructions are imprecise, and although “boyle them up” is easily followed, other recipes state simply: “bake it”.

The recipes are quite varied (apart from the usual absence of vegetables). Savoury dishes include: “Colored Beefe”, A podeng to put in the Baley of a hare”, “olive fflorendine”, “to pot Beef”, “To dres a codes hed”, “to stew a Leg of veal”, “to make scotch colopes”, “to make calfs foot Gelley”, “to pickle mushromes”, “to make pofins of pegions”, “to make sassegs any time”. Instructions are quite thorough, e.g. “The best wa to pot hares”, you should, “Tak your hares and parbyrl them then sock of the flesh from the bones piking the stringes and skin Clen from the flesh put it in to a mortar and pownd it with a hood del of larde sesen it with pepar and solt ~~and~~ cloues and mas and notmeg pownd it as smol as it war for sosing if and be showar you poot lard e nof faw it and sesn it well then pot it and back it well whenit tis coweld melt buter and por on it and so it will kip all the ear”.

To mak a Gaak



Likewise, for “My Lade northfolkos kac-

take a growend and a halef of suga on pownd of boutar and too powend of fin flower mixe it all to gether well then tak foor yolkes of egg abd tow whietes foor spownfull of ros watar on notmeg and a litel mas on powend of coranes washed and drid work all this well to gether then flower your paper and la them a brod in smol cakes not to thin is them with ros watar and shougar your oven most not beto hot. Other cakes and puddings include: “To make an oringe puding”, “The best reset to make Shuggar kackes”, “To make the Dæowek of Yorekes Cake”, and the occasional preserve “how to preserve Oringes & Lemons”. If water cannot be trusted, there are always tasty beverages to be made (“Curslap wine the best”, “To mak Cheree wine”, “A Receipt to Brew Beer the New Way”, “to make a Quince wine”, “To make a grat Cordal”, “make maid”, “to make burch wine”). Remedies are occasionally interspersed, including “ffor a glystor”, “make Plague Water”. Some are commended for their universal properties, for example a rhyming couplet asserts, “tis good for man hors or dogg / bool, or, Cow, Sow, or, or, hogg”.

[2]. Circa 1750-60. Stitched booklet, also secured with a pin. First leaf cropped at lower border with loss of a line or two of text. Quarto (195 mm x 155 mm x 4 mm). 11 leaves (22 pages of text).

Text is very similar to **Hand II** in vellum

notebook [1]. An inscription to the second leaf has been heavily crossed through making it difficult to read the surname. It appears to be “Elizabeth Sacker”.

Savoury and sweet recipes are mixed together. They include: “To make a Carrott Puding”; “To make an Orange Puding”; “To make a Marrow pudding”; “to make a potater pudding”; “To make an Irish pudding”; “to make a pudding of huffing Cakes”; “to make a sack possitt”; “to stew a Carp”; “to do beef the dutch way”; “sauce for woodcooks”; “to make cakes of y brains”; “To make a ffrigasey of rabbitts”; “To pikle Samphyre”; “To make lemon wine”; “To make Ebulun”.



[3]. Circa 1747 (dated within manuscript). Seven sheets of recipes and remedies, most of which are the same as **Hand III** in vellum notebook [1]. The sheets appear to have been cut from another volume and folded down the centre to hold them together.



Recipes and remedies for people, horses and livestock are listed together (“Oye Warter”; “For the Mango of Scab”; “To make Cowslop Wine”; “For the Reise or a Cab in a horse”). Several are ascribed (“A Rec^t to Pickle Mushrooms: Coson Vernons”; “Captain Elds reept of for the Cacksenns in a Hors”; “Docter Radcliffe receipt for a colde in a horse”; “Receipt from Mrs Bromfield for ye Ague which neuer failes”). One recipe (“To make Grape wine”), is in a different hand. It appears to be General Nicholls, who is found in the next group.

Gen^l. Nicholls

[4]. Circa 1767-1807. Loose-leaf recipes and remedies. 14 pieces apparently in the hand of General Nicholls, together with 2 that he has docketed. These include:

Bifolium sheet with four recipes: “To make Red Raspberry Jam”; “To make black Currant Jam”; “To make Apricot-Jam”; “To make red Currant Jelly.

The following are on single sheets or small slips of paper: “Mrs. Lawrence’s Receipt for making Marrow Pomatum as done in India”; “A Specific for the Head-achs – 1767”; “A Receipt to make Peach Brandy or Ratafea” (written on the back of a sheet addressed to Nicholls); “Dr ---en’s(?) for poor Ward’s Reumatic pains ... Ward Apr 1^{mo}. 1807”; [2 different recipes] “To make Alder berry Wine”; “to make Lavender Water” (cut sheet with part address on the reverse: “Gen^l. Nicho[lls] 90 Portland Stre [et]”); “Recipe for Ginger Wine” (on reverse: “General Brodhurst” in a different hand), and a further five on small slips of paper.

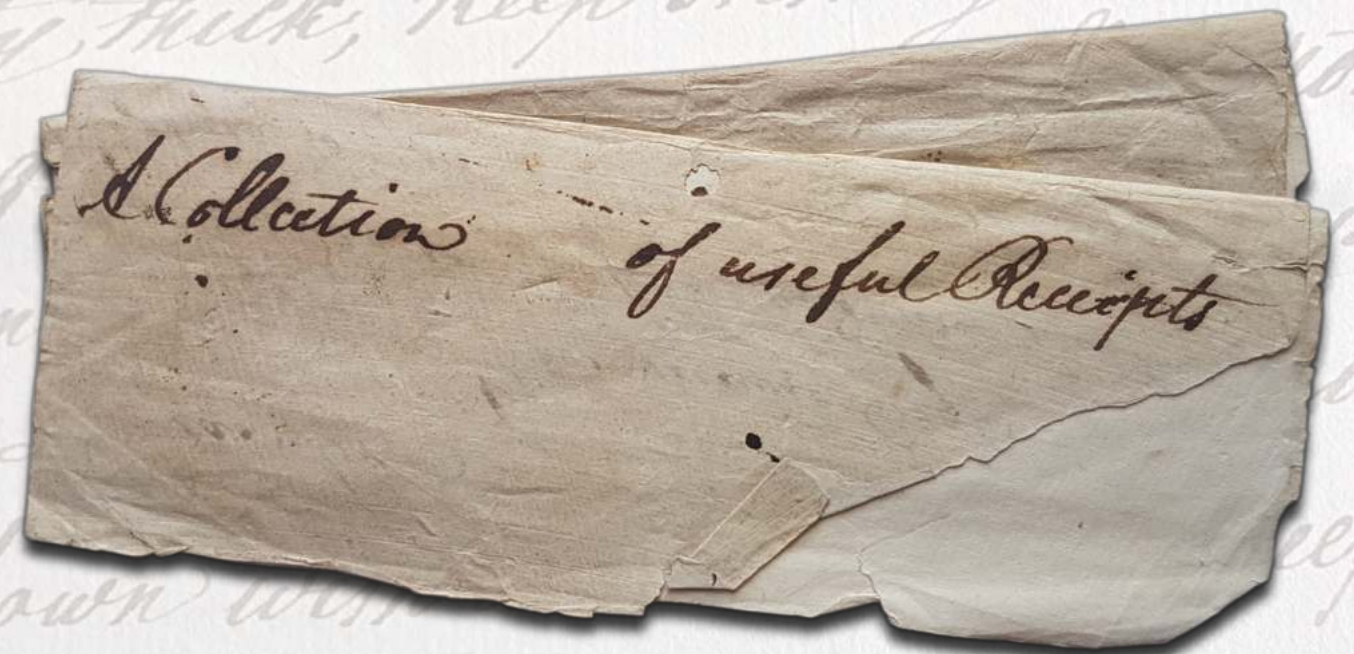
Two remedies docketed by Nicholls: “Process of preparing ingredients for a fomentation by Doctor Cootes” and “R^t. To make Orange Wine from M^s Ward”.

Accompanied by a short note dated 1802, from “Sam Nicholls” to “Col. Tho^s. Nicholls” which reads “Dear Sir, I have received Eight [torn away] by the Bearer in full and am much obliged to you” and docketed “A Collection of useful Receipts”.

[5]. Circa 1780-1806. Loose-leaf recipes and remedies. 14 pieces (single sheets or small slips of paper) with from a variety of correspondents, including: “To make Gingerbread”; “To Pot Salmon”; “The Famous American receipt for Rheumatism”; “Cowslip Vinegar”.

This collection seems an unlikely survivor from a quiet corner of the 18th century; such ephemeral and seemingly unrelated items might so easily have been separated. At first glance they are just a random group of loose sheets, booklets, and a scruffy notebook. But taken together, they form a constellation of relations that change through time and show an age-old human impulse to bond through sharing. The numerous intertwined threads illustrate how both men and women, in any era, create and continually reaffirm intricate webs of attachment, leaving traces of social connectedness.

£3,750 Ref: 7882



THE PEN IS MIGHTIER THAN THE GUN

MORTIMER, Harvey Walklate (1776-1850) *Manuscript miscellany of Georgian poetry.*

[Circa 1790-1843]. Bound in contemporary marbled boards, recent amateur reback using paper. Octavo (189 mm x 126 mm x 20 mm) Approximately 87 pages, with an index of slightly over 4 pages, plus approximately 15 blank leaves. Two pages excised in the first quire, but numbering is continuous, so this is clearly an act of curation not vandalism.

This volume was compiled by John Walklate Mortimer (1776-1850), the son of John Walklate Mortimer (1753-1819) and Alice Mortimer (nee Algar). The father and son were prestigious English gunmakers with premises on Fleet Street in London. In 1783 Mortimer senior was appointed Gunmaker to George III. They were contractor to the East India Company from 1796 until 1806. Their finely crafted weapons are still very highly prized to this day.

Mortimer's manuscript miscellany began with nicely composed pages, carefully executed in a cursive hand, with neat borders. However, after about nine pages we

see the focus shift. While still paying much attention to appearance, the compiler, John Walklate Mortimer, becomes gradually more careless. He lets lines run close to the edge and doesn't quite space the text as nicely. All that said, he retains a restrained elegance throughout.

The manuscript comprises original poems together with pieces transcribed from printed collections (e.g. "A Moral Reflection Written on the first day of 1782", from *Elegant Extracts*), including oft-copied authors such as Alexander Pope and William Congreve, but these mingle alongside

more unusual authors such as John Williams (1761-1818) ("From Anthony Pasquin Children of Thespis") and Hugh Kelly (1739-1777) ("Spatters Rambles"), and some pieces which reflect the Mortimers' Wesleyan Methodist faith ("True Use of Music... said to be written by Charles Wesley or rather composed extempore", "The Plain Gold Ring ... copied 1826"). Some pieces have been circulated among friends and family (e.g. "Mrs Mives lent it me", "This was sent to my Father by Lady. HWM Jr."), and contact continues with his maternal grandfather:

"Fragment of a Hunting Song, from

Mr Ja^s Algar's recollection – Copied Aug. 14th 1826 on his 79th birth-day".

But what really sets this collection apart is its unusual textual network. Over several pages we see what appears to be a coterie of poetic exchange among the craftsmen at the Mortimer workshop. In the poem "To Mr HWM*****" by Francis Knight of St James's St. (one of their craftsmen: "Fr^s. Knight a workman of my Fathers"), Knight commences:

And so to settle me for Life,
You're really chusing me a Wife,
He continues in this vein, to conjure an imaginary spouse:
Permit me by the muse inclin'd,
To paint the Female of my mind.
Her Height may be then five feet four,
Her age just merging on a Score,
Her Lips should with the Cherry vie,
Or with the Ruby's crimson dye.

[...]
Her Cheeks – The Rose in all its Bloom,
Diffusing round its sweet Perfume,
The Rose all moist with morning Dew,
When Sol is rising to the View

[...]
In outlining her qualities he compares her to Mortimer's deceased wife:

For these (Wake pitying Muse a sigh
That beauty should be doom'd to die)

For these I only need refer,
To fair Eliza Mortimer.

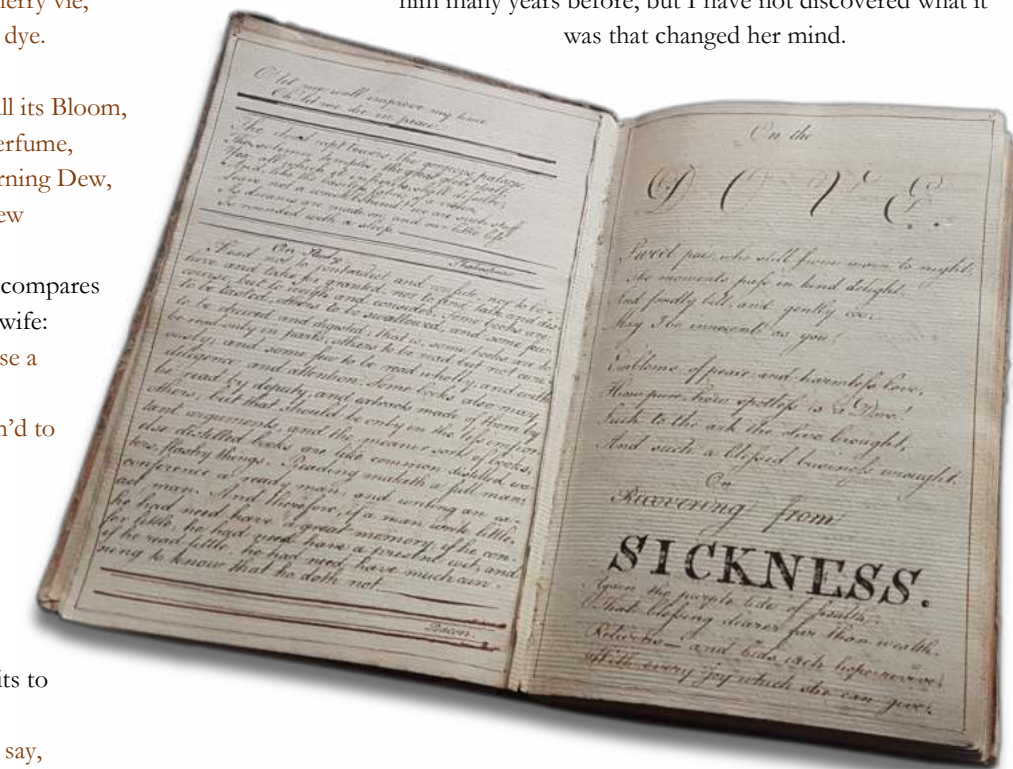
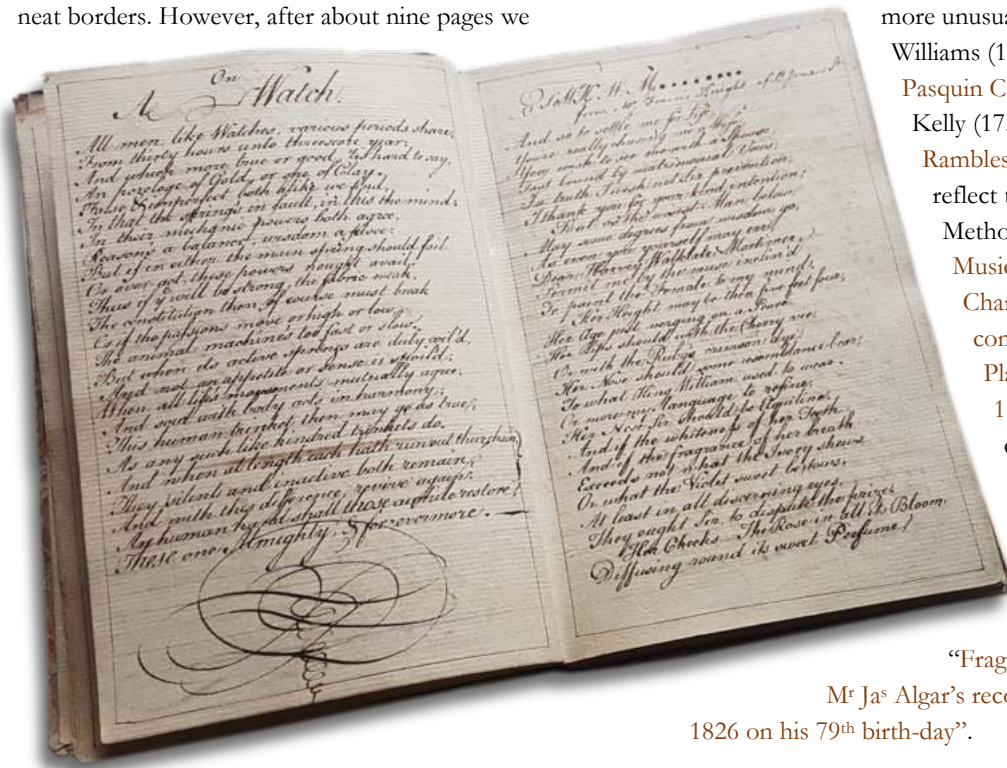
At one point he says:
My Harvey's now a single Man

Knight then sets proper limits to his vision

The same too of the Neck I say,

Where oft the sportive ringlets play,
And lower than the Neck to go,
Closely to view what lies below,
Is treading on forbidden Ground
And there the Muse must not be found.
[...]

With upward charms thy Verses deck,
But venture not below the Neck.
Eliza presumably refers to the deceased Elizabeth Mortimer (nee Ward), especially as further down the poem says "My Harvey's now a single Man" – although it is possible, but less likely, that it refers to Elizabeth Ritchie whom Mortimer married in 1801. He was at that time a widower with six children. Elizabeth had apparently refused to marry him many years before, but I have not discovered what it was that changed her mind.



Another poem (p. 23), is entitled, “Lines sent to a Lady, with Pope's Iliad of Homer”, and identified by Mortimer as being by “Mr. Knight or Mr Jones”. This poem appeared in the *New London Magazine* in September 1787, where it simply states “Anonymous”. The next poem in this manuscript is entitled “Lines sent with y^e Odyssey”. This poem appears to be unpublished. As the title suggests, it is written as a companion to the previous poem. Mortimer attributes this second to “Mr. Jones”. This is borne out by a rhyming couplet within the poem: “My favour’d friend whose genius shine so bright
By all admir’d the great _____” which has been completed in the same hand, “Francis Knight”.

Other poems in the gunsmith circle include:

Winter

The Sun withdraws his forceful ray,

In vapoury Clouds, veils his head,

[...]

Till Sol resumes his bright’ning blaze,

And Spring w^h dewy hand, awakes y^e vernal flowers.

And on page 50, an

Extract of a Letter

To Mr. H W Mortimer - - by F. Knight. Decr. 23. 1785

Harvey to thee, the youthful Muse’s Friend,

To thee, the tribute of my Lays I send.

In these chill days, when Dark December’s gloom,

Forbids the Rose to yield a sweet Perfume,

Immers’d in vapour when the Solar Ray,

Throws a pale lustre thro’ th’ungenial Day;

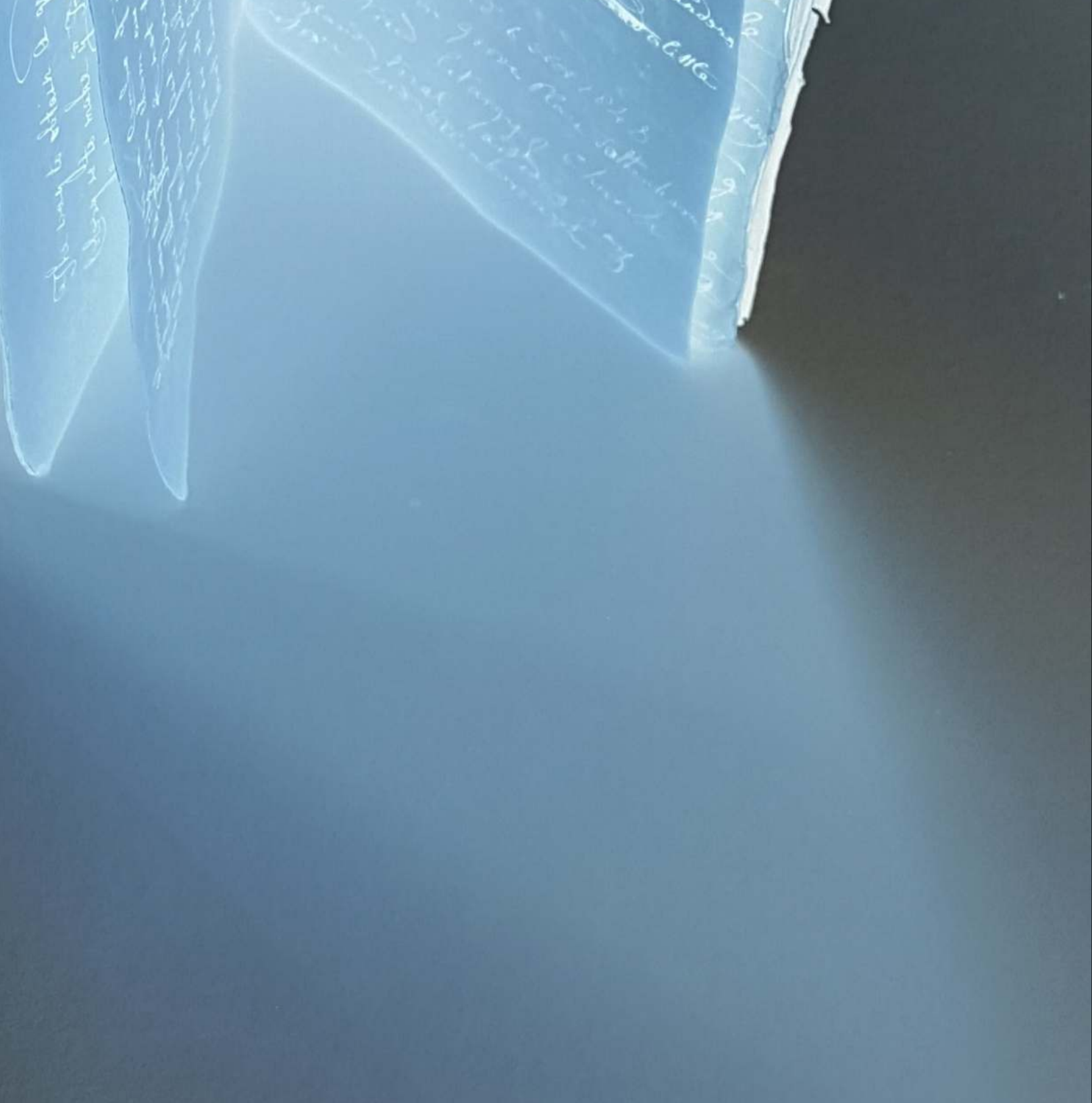
...

In what is either simple acknowledgement or displays of erudition (or could, of course, be both), Knight marks passages where he has referenced other works, e.g. at the end of his line “O’er thee may every Tempest idly rave” he adds an * and at the bottom of the page we find “* Th’Excluded Tempest Idly rave along. Thomson.” Similarly, “May Health’s soft Influence bless thy downy Bed#” is footnoted “#While easy slumbers bless my Downy bed. Rev^d. M. Pearsall.” In referencing these other works, he is acknowledging, but perhaps also putting himself in company with respected antecedents.

Francis Knight appears to have been the protagonist of this poetic exchange. Others have been drawn in as subjects (the Mortimers) or have written reply poems (Jones) while famous authors have been unwittingly excerpted into this circle of poetic gunsmiths. This literary exchange is given a further layer by Mortimer junior’s continuation and preservation through his careful transcriptions into this volume.

£1,250 Ref: 7909

the whole I said. - you'd cry out to
What will this Scribbler ne'er have
his length will he have never re
Dear Sir, the Forehead & the Ches
As Beauty you're experienced in
Witness my hand I leave to you,
Your judgment is excell'd by few.
The same too of the Neck I say,
Where oft the sportive ringlets play
And lower than the Neck to go,
Closely to view what lies below,
Is treading on forbidden Ground
And there the Muse must not be found
Still more to fix me in this plan



Inner worlds:

on the private lives of manuscripts

Whether consciously to or not, writers down the ages have given us glimpses of their inner lives - not just in journals and letters but via comments or observations in a range of other manuscripts. The effects of these personal touches help us to see the writer more clearly by shedding light on their motivations and how they saw themselves and their place in society. These manuscripts afford different vantage points from which to observe aspects of the inner lives of their creators. The examples in this seemingly disparate group share the characteristic of having been written principally for the writers themselves, creating intimate personal worlds of words and things.

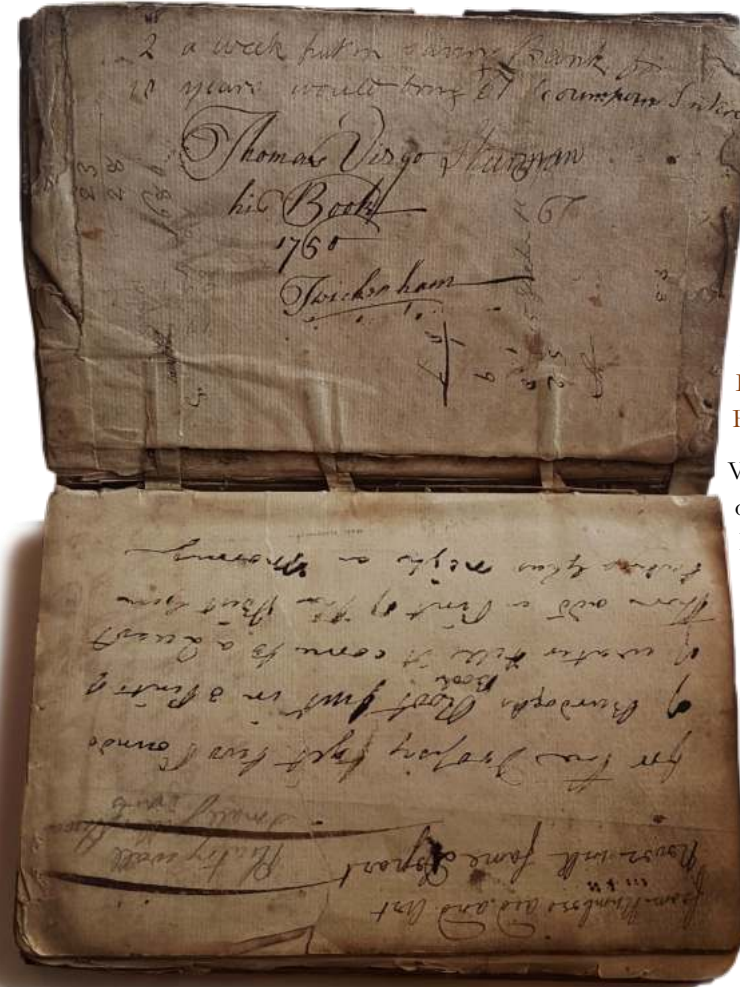
The flipside of this catalogue, *'Invisibl inks: on the social lives of manuscripts'*, travels in the opposite direction by looking at social relationships and their multifarious connected webs

EARTHLY SIGN

VIRGO, Thomas *Manuscript notebook on Gardening, Cookery, Remedies, and Miscellaneous Memoranda.*

[Twickenham. Circa 1750-58]. Octavo (190 mm x 125 mm x 22 mm). Approximately 140 pages. Original vellum, worn and lacking clasp, numerous tears, some loss, some leaves loose, stains, marks. Overall, heavily used and worn.

Thomas Virgo was a gardener apparently in the employ of one Lady Ogle at Twickenham, but also seems to have worked elsewhere (“January ye 26th. 1751 I came to serve Esqr Screase at Wimbleton in Surry & Agreed with him f £20 P^r Year”). This is his well-used notebook, which he probably took around with him as a matter of habit, judging by its condition and the profusion of apparently stray thoughts that seem to have occurred to him. A second, later hand (early to mid- 19th-century) appears part-way through, filling some of the gaps left by Virgo but without regard to his text.



After some throat-clearing (“Thomas Virgo / his Book / 1750” on the paste-down, then a page or so of pen trials and sundry notes), Virgo begins as he means to go on, with a list of 22 varieties of “Carnation whole Bloowers ye Year 50” (although 13-18 have been partly torn out) including “Henley King”, “S^r Chaloner Ogle”, “Charming Milmaide”, “Glory of Brentford”. There follow, in quick succession, a description of the “Sight” method of finding distance, notes on how “To find ye Dominical Letter” and “A Receipt to make verry Wholesome Bitters”.

Virgo jots down observations and memos on an array of topics – chief among them, naturally enough, being horticulture (“Memorandum When plums pairs or apricotts are planted where they are to remain they ought to be 3 4 or 5 Year old”), but also covering recipes and remedies, the sourcing of materials (“The Best Place to buy Matts is at Perry & Doves Partners in Thames Street” and “At the Sign of ye Weet Sheef The upper end of high Hobern You may buy Womens Stays for A 11 or 12 A Pair nott to be Distinguished from New & as Serviceable to the full”, preparations for tasks (“Nesseceries Usefull for Drawing”), and astronomical notes (“A Way to find ye Moons Age”, “The Sun’s Vertical Altitude is 5.021856 Miles from ye Earth”).

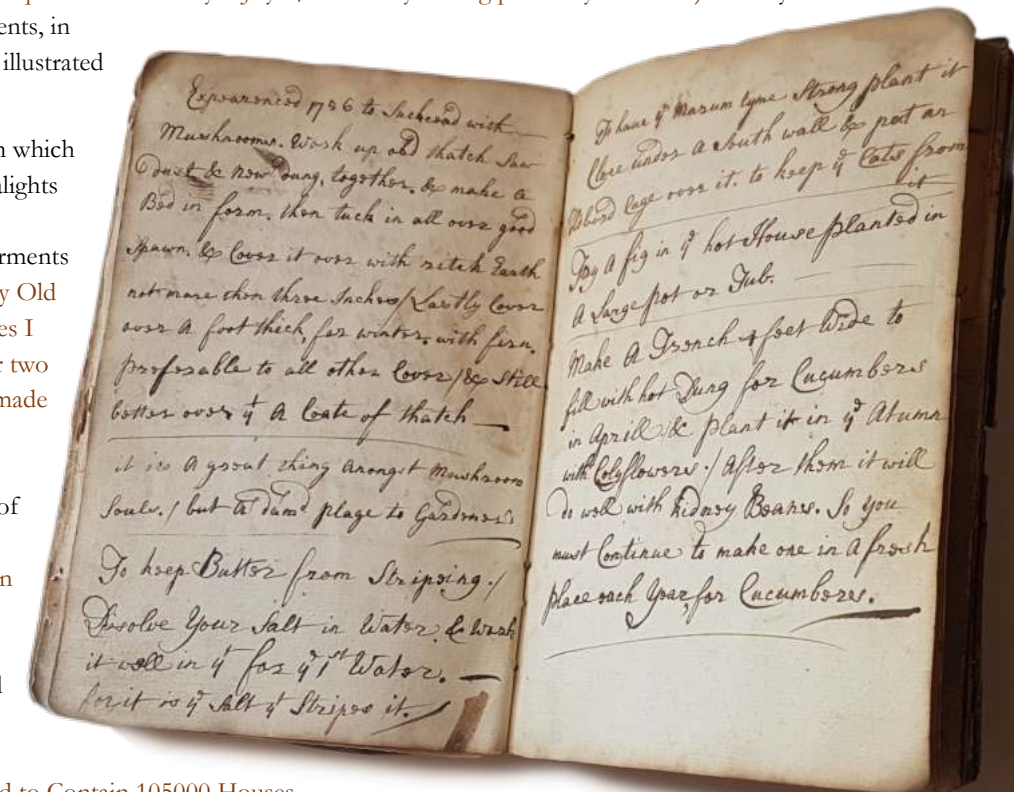


The notebook contains a miscellany of thoughts, memoranda, recipes, and remarks, building up an impressionistic picture of Thomas Virgo’s inner and outer life. There are poems, notes (“To buy Maps Cheap at ye Foy Shop the Corner of St Pauls Church Yard”), some random and rather epigrammatic remarks (“When any one asks w^t A Clock / tell him it us A Verry Neseceery thing in A House”), and some brief Biblical glosses (including the possibly self-justifying “& Moses Spake to ye people & said he y^t has no Wife may play with his Maid”).

Virgo writes vertically as well as horizontally - an arrangement sometimes used in manuscript books as a simple finding device or a way of differentiating one subject from another, but here there seems to be no organising principle involved. This adds, in a sense, to the charmingly scattershot air of the notebook.

Virgo’s concerns reach inward as much as outward: he is sufficiently haunted by the notion of death to compose a dream-poem about his corpse lying “Close by A Begers side”, but pious enough to pay tribute to the great levelling effect of mortality (“Hear we are all equal hear our Bodies Joyn / this is my Roting place & yt is thine”). Shortly thereafter he presents, in comical mode, an illustrated maths problem.

Other topics upon which his magpie mind alights include the frugal repurposing of garments (“When I have any Old Bucks skin Britches I can have a pare or two of Good Gloves made out of them.”), notable dissenters from the Church of England (“The Brownists in 1592 by Robert Brown Bower & Greenwood”) and the likely population of London (“recken’d to Contain 105000 Houses 840000 souls of these 210000 Fighting Men”).

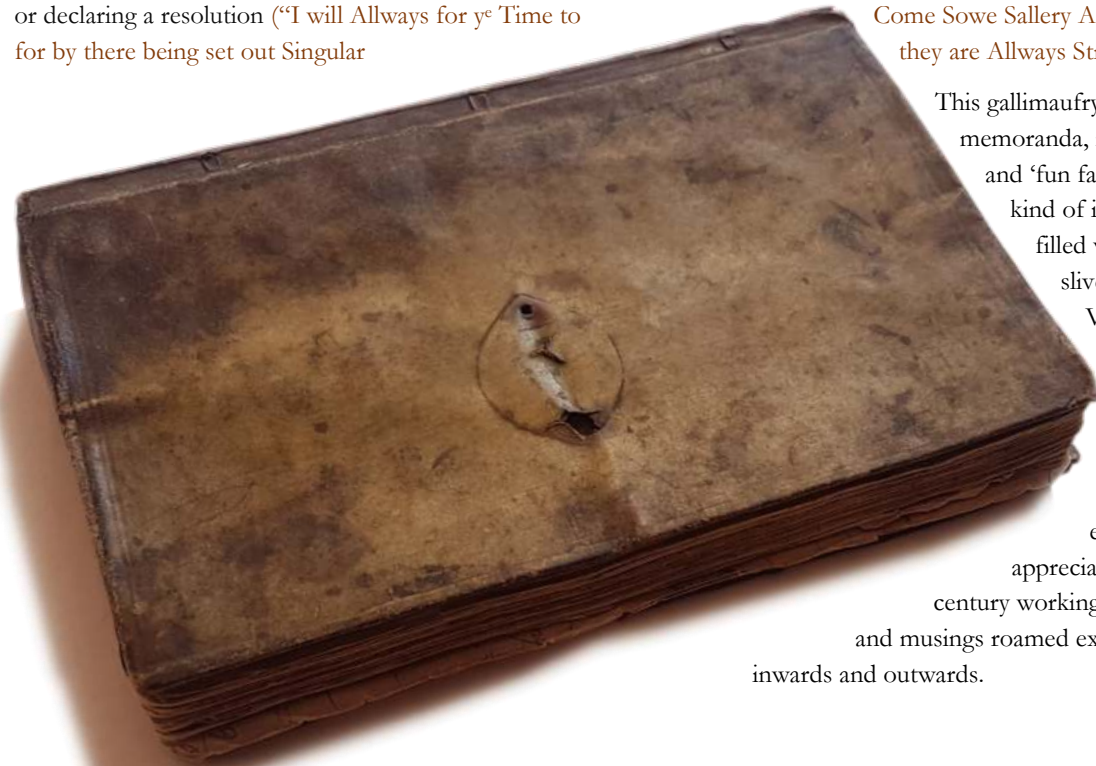


Virgo makes further sorties into the poetic, indulging his evident leanings towards the carnal by copying down some entertaining doggerel in circulation during this period:

Virginity Whereof Chaste fools
do Boste. Never is known w^t it is till
it be Lost. Let others Praise for me
I cannot tell. w^t Virtue ti's to Lead Baboons
in Hell had all dyed Maids we had
been Nothing then. for Adam had been
y^e Last as well as first of Men.

True to form, he follows this with a recipe “To cure y^e Hooping Cough” (“take flower of Brimstone one Oz & as much white sugar Candy...”).

It's to gardening, however, that Virgo most often turns, whether recommending to himself a bird-scaring tactic (“hang up A Catt or Rabets Skin...”), recording “A Catalogue of y^e frute Trees”, setting down a failsafe method “to make a pond hold”, stating an intention (“I do intend to sowe a drill of seat Pease Round ye Espalyer of ye flower Garden & to Pot a hole of Pumkins in each of ye Shrunereys), deciding upon “The Best way to Prepare a Peace of Ground for Pickling Cucumbers” or declaring a resolution (“I will Allways for y^e Time to for by there being set out Singular
Come Sowe Sallery Amongst my Onions
they are Allways Strong & Stockey”).



This gallimaufry of thoughts, memoranda, recipes, observations and ‘fun facts’ amounts to a kind of internal monologue, filled with digressions and slivers of personality. Virgo is writing for a readership of one – himself – and this well-worn volume clearly served him well. But it serves us equally well in our appreciation of an 18th-century working man whose interests and musings roamed extensively, both inwards and outwards.

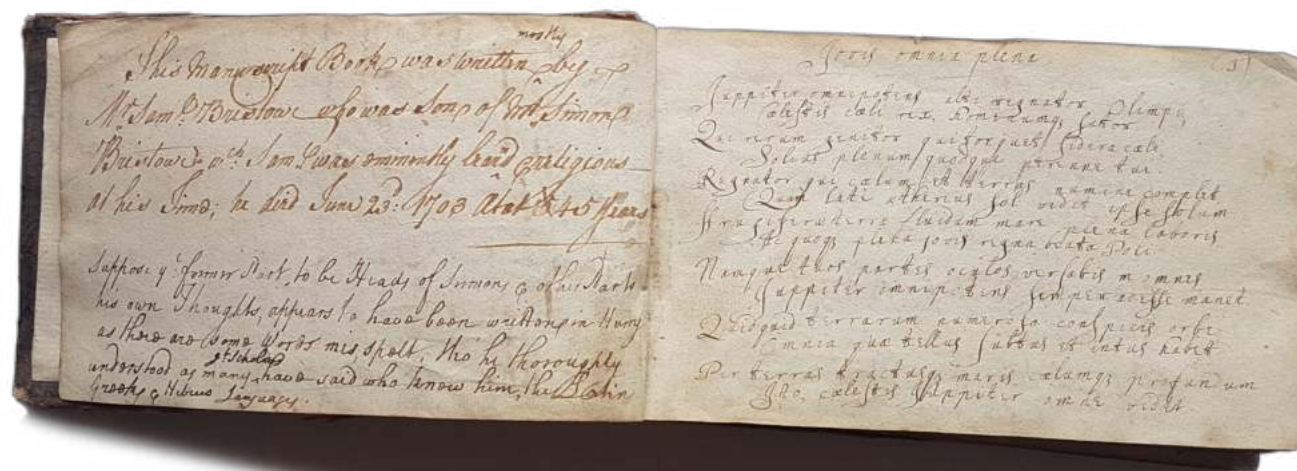


£4,500 Ref: 7885

MORE THAN ONE GOD

BRISTOW, Samuel (c. 1658-1703) 17th century manuscript notebook.

[Twyford, Derbyshire. Circa 1680]. Contemporary sheep, spine splitting, heavily rubbed and worn with loss to spine and corners. Oblong octavo (155 mm x 94 mm x 25mm). Approximately 229 text pages (excluding blanks) written from both ends.



This manuscript notebook comprises what appear to be sermon notes and copy letters in English, juxtaposed – at first glance rather incongruously – with two Latin poems in praise of Jupiter. The notes are written in a hurried and untidy hand and the spelling is quite erratic; the Latin poems are written in a clear and careful hand and the spelling is perfect. They are probably by the same scribe as the pages flow sequentially, but suggest two contrasting states of mind: the notes being a hastily written record of thoughts, and the poems probably a careful copy from a printed source.

An inscription to the verso of the first leaf, in a later hand, ascribes the notebook to Samuel Bristow (c. 1658-1703):
 This manuscript Book was written ^{mostly} by Mr. Sam^l: Bristow ~ who was son of Mr. Simon Bristow ~ w^{ch}: Sam^l: was eminently lear^d & religious at his Time; he died June 23^d: 1703 At 5 45 Years.

Suppose y^e: former Part, to be Heads of Sermons & other Parts his own Thoughts, appears to have been written in Hurry as there are some Words mis,spelt, tho' he thoroughly understood as many ^{gr}: scholars have said who knew him, the Latin, Greek & Hebrew Languages.

Samuel Bristow was a yeoman who lived in the village of Twyford, Derbyshire. The record of his birth names his parents as Simon (1615-1681) and Anna Bristow (nee Orme) (1638-1699); they had one other child, Mary, born 1663. He first married Bennit Bothom (1657-1691) and they had three children. The year after Bennit's death, he married Mary Ward (1667-1751) and they had five (or six?) children, the first of whom was Samuel (b. 1694). The Bristows appear to have been a prosperous family who amassed land and property in and around Twyford, including, in 1696, the local manor house, Twyford Hall.

The text of this manuscript appears to consist predominantly (as the later hand surmises) of sermon notes. He uses the conventional structure of a Biblical passage to illustrate a moral lesson, often via contorted logic, e.g.: Exodus 3 & the 3 & Moses said I will turne againe yt ca-- This Chapter gives us an accompt of moses delivering the people out of Egypt

The next gives the operation of the vision he had uppon moses ~~him~~ w^{ch} makes him ^{admire} & desire the knowledge thereof [...]

the bush burning & not consumed this is the condition of the church in all ages it is like a lilly like a besiged lily and a great king wth many forces & yet preserved. [...]

1 consider excellency of the sight the lovelinesse of it be y^t draw you to follow consider how he defends his church against all enimies & looke at the bush burning & not consumed

2 let the greatnesse of the sight perswade you to behold this light & to relie uppon it : o let it rejoyce all they who desire hereafter to remaine wth: eternall [...]

2 Jesus firstly represented by a flammig fire to note his superangelicall power his eyes as a flame of fire it notes alsoe his terrableness of fires moses hid his face & durst not behold

it notes alsoe his activity fire is alsoe of an active nature Heb: 2 & 3

3 The church is firstly repr: by a burning bush ~~both~~ in divine presence ^{Jesus Crist prefer} & perfect alsoe wth his church burning & not consumed

Other pieces are straightforward statements of belief e.g. Doctrine

To feare the Lord sincerely is the indispensable duty of a Christian

doct

Its but few of many that return to glorifie God for mercie The understanding must be renewd

The best course y^t a people can take its reformation y^t prevents distruction

The notes are written either vertically or horizontally with single texts running across many pages. This causes some to overlap, and from fo.24v two texts run concurrently in the same scribal hand. One text picks up from previous pages, asking: “How may we know whether we have found this dignity of crist and communion”? (This is written vertically to the versos) while a second text (written horizontally to the rectos) discusses a passage from Isaiah 22:1: “Esa 221 the burden of the valley of vision”. These texts continue in parallel for 13 pages, after which the vertical text ends. It is followed by several blank versos (the text second continues on the rectos) whereupon a new text is commenced to versos but also horizontally – and were it not for the difference in ink, they might be taken for the same. The scribe has also worked from the opposite end of the volume. He begins by writing a continuous text on the psalms horizontally to rectos and versos (“this speaks terror to all loose livers & to all manner of sinners”, “this speaks terror to the carnall minded”). This is followed by “John 19 & 41 & 2 now in the place were he was crucified there was a garden et cat. The text is part of the best history y^t ever was [...] Doc y^t Joseph af are mathew & nicode: buried the body of Jesus: there are 2 pointes of great weight 1 y^t he was crucified 2 & y^t were he was buried o the wonderfull ...”. Several further texts run consecutively but are separated by blanks.

This use of mise en page is clearly a way of differentiating texts, but it could also serve as a simple finding device, to enable locating the texts at a later date. Either way, it indicates that the scribe is making notes solely for his own use. None of the texts appear to have been developed into anything like a presentable sermon, and they would be difficult for anyone else to follow in such sketchy form.

Since Bristow does not ascribe them to anyone else, this suggests that they are draft notes of his own thought processes; a way of externalising his inner thoughts on paper so as to be able to reflect upon them more clearly.

Midway through the volume, there are two copy letters in the same hand as the sermon notes. The first discusses inheritance, and the second boarding and schooling for “little Cous:”.

Cosin Hawkes July 26th: 1680 Derby

My Cous: Will Orme & Cous: Marg: presse my Cous: John Orme for the remaining part of theire portions; he telles me he is willing to give them satisfaction; but y^t he knoweth not what is due to them for want of y^e accompy; I am likewise inform'd y^t you claim money due to you in respect of you and my Cous y^e late husbands diboursments: I give you this advice y^t love you all that you doe first(?) with come to an accompte, to w^{ch}: I find my Cous John Orme very ready & in case there shall be any differance uppon y^t accompt let it be refered to some friends to each side so moderate the difference: but wthout an Accompt there will be best a continuall ha—(?)=burning & a suite at Law may make Relaitons strangers for ever I shall e glad to be an Instrument to doe any good to unite Relations but shall be unwilling to be in anything otherwise then



yo^r Affectonate kinsman

Rich Eedis

The matter of inheritance would likely be of interest to Bristow as the Orme family were cousins on his mother's side. The second letter illustrates the movement of people in pursuit of an education.

Cousin I am hartily sorry if our house is not more convenient to the schoole for thee my Cos: should have been noe where else but I feare the journey will be too great for y Cos: ^daily to take in hand & therefore ~~inconvenient~~ will not consist wth him soe y^t ~~xxx~~(?) Litherlands house is the best blace to board at but the price is extraordinary for he board noane under 12 pounds by the yeare, there is another house hes very convenient to the scoole & honest peope were he may table very well, & the prise more reaso^e. w^{ch} I thinke will not excede 18 pounds yearly & for his scooling it is soe free y^t all England is free to it therefore they cannot demand any, but what you please god his to give ~ I doe not know what bookes my cos: Reads & therefore know not what master he will be under but w^{ch}: ever I will engage for his tender usage, & if my Cous: be apt & diligent, as I doe nor question but he is, I exa---cuse (?) him will be instrumentale for his puting forward, noe care nor kindnes whatever in any of as to my little Cous: shall be wanting Cous: we are in great hopes now to see you & my good

Cous: goe ---(?) wth: my little Cous at Easter

The Latin texts are in keeping with someone who “thoroughly understood [...] the Latin, Greek & Hebrew Languages”. But as poems written in praise of Jupiter, the heathen god of sky and thunder, they seem, on the face of it, at odds with the Christian texts surrounding them.

The first is a poem of 28 lines at the beginning of the volume:

Jovis omnia plena.
Juppiter omnipotens alti regnator olimpi,
Cœlestis coeli rex, hominumq sator
Qui rerum genitor quitor quet sidera cœli

Solius plenum quod que perenne tui?

Regnator qui coelum et terras numine complet

[...]

Sed Jove plenus.

There are a few observations to note concerning these lines. Firstly, they contain nods to Virgil: the opening line appears to quote from Book III of his *Eclogues*; and “Regnator qui coelum et terras numine complet” is a paraphrase from Book IV of his *Aeneid*. Virgil was one of the few authors of antiquity to be championed by Christian scholars (hence his key role as guide in Dante's *Divine Comedy*). What one makes of this association might merit further enquiry, but the appearance of a paean to Jupiter among the notes of a Christian versed in classical languages is not as discordant as it might appear.

The second poem runs to 12 lines, written between two sets of sermon notes, this time with no evident Virgilian influence. It has one correction to the penultimate line, which appears to be an amendment rather than an eye skip, perhaps pointing towards their being by Bristow.

Quisq canat toto divinas pectore laudas

Det gratas laudas (ore sonante) jovi

Qui regam illusorem maturo cade resolvit

Una regali nobilitas sua.

[...]

Cum totum grato ^ regnum cum rege ni issent ~~te nu ? sua corde profana~~

His manet inferno paenalu enda loco.

Bristow's manuscript has two main points of interest. Firstly it presents his first-order notes in unpolished form, complete with errors and other indications of enthusiastic haste (whether he developed any of his ideas or expanded into another book is not now possible to determine, but I have found no record of him giving sermons). Secondly, the presence of (Virgil-inflected) poetry to Jupiter among these pious Christian writings is an intriguing feature, and one deserving further investigation.



£2,750

Ref: 7898



POCKET CALCULATOR

[POCKET ALMANAC] *English 17th manuscript entitled 'An Everlasting Pocket Almanac'.*

[England. London? Circa 1685]. Bound in 17th century calf with pewter central boss and corner bosses (3 of which are missing), remnants of pewter of hinges. The name "Hoffchenger" is inscribed in an early hand to the final blank, but it is not a clear match to the text, so probably a slightly later owner. Text within rubricated borders throughout, marbled endpapers. 48 mo (89 mm x 65 mm x 11 mm). Title, 58 numbered text pages, plus blanks.

As one might hope from "An Everlasting Pocket Almanack", this exquisite little book fits snugly into the pocket. Indeed, its covers bear witness to the endless wear and tear that such a book would endure being carried around. It is bound in full calf, with marbled endpapers, elaborate and very unusual gilt tooling, featuring small birds and floral circle designs, silver metal central bosses, corners, and clasps. When it was originally bound in the 17th century, this would have been a highly decorative object, and while still hugely appealing, it has all the hallmarks of a well-used pocketbook: the three of the corner pieces are missing, the clasps are broken, and the gilding has been almost entirely rubbed off. However beautiful (and it is certainly still that) with its pretty binding, its careful, clear hand with idiosyncratic decorative flourishes and occasional rubrication, this was not a display piece, it was a well-made workman's manuscript, which in both form and content, could be used forever.

This blend of finesse and utility is carried throughout the volume. This was a man (we assume), who took great care in things. Almanacs were ubiquitous and cheap in the late 17th century and in their later iterations most had sloughed off the encumbrances of unscientific astrology, but they still retained useful celestial information like the phases of the moon or hours of sunlight, together with important calendar dates. So, it is interesting that while the information contained in this volume could have been obtained at little expense and unencumbered by superfluous sidereal speculations, the compiler felt the need to create a little volume containing solely what he required without superfluities. It seems to have been created solely for personal use, but he could not help himself but to take a pride in its production.

The first 24 pages comprise the months of the year, astrological signs, and other details arranged in columns, followed by important calendar dates ("Epiph:", "Hillary" "Conu: St. Paul", "Dog da: begins"). London is mentioned a couple of times in the text, including the recent plague ("May - Pla. Lond. 1665. 3") the Great Fire of London (Sept: - "Lon: burnt 1666") and they appear to exhibit Royalist sympathies: "Ian - K: Cha: i Mar: 30" and "May - K. Cha. 2 nat: 29", and "Octob: - K. I: 2 born 1633. 13"





This initial section is arranged in seven columns of numbers. This arrangement is explained on page 27:

The use of the Almanack.

The first Colum giues the day of the month according to the old Roman Au^t:

The second giues the day of the month after ye. Uulgar way.

the third giues the week day.

The fourth giues ye Suns place for that parte of ye month.

the 5th: and 6th: giues ye rising of the Sun.

The 7th: and 8th: giues the setting of the Sun.

The text is informative as much for what it excludes as what is includes. As noted above,

there is not the slightest hint of astrological influence. The contents are eminently practical.

Hours of sunlight are hours available for work, and as noted above, the tables provide “ye Suns place for that parte of ye month”, “ye rising of the Sun”, and “setting of the Sun”, further into the text we

learn how “To find ye Cicle of ye Sun”, and here and throughout the manuscript they

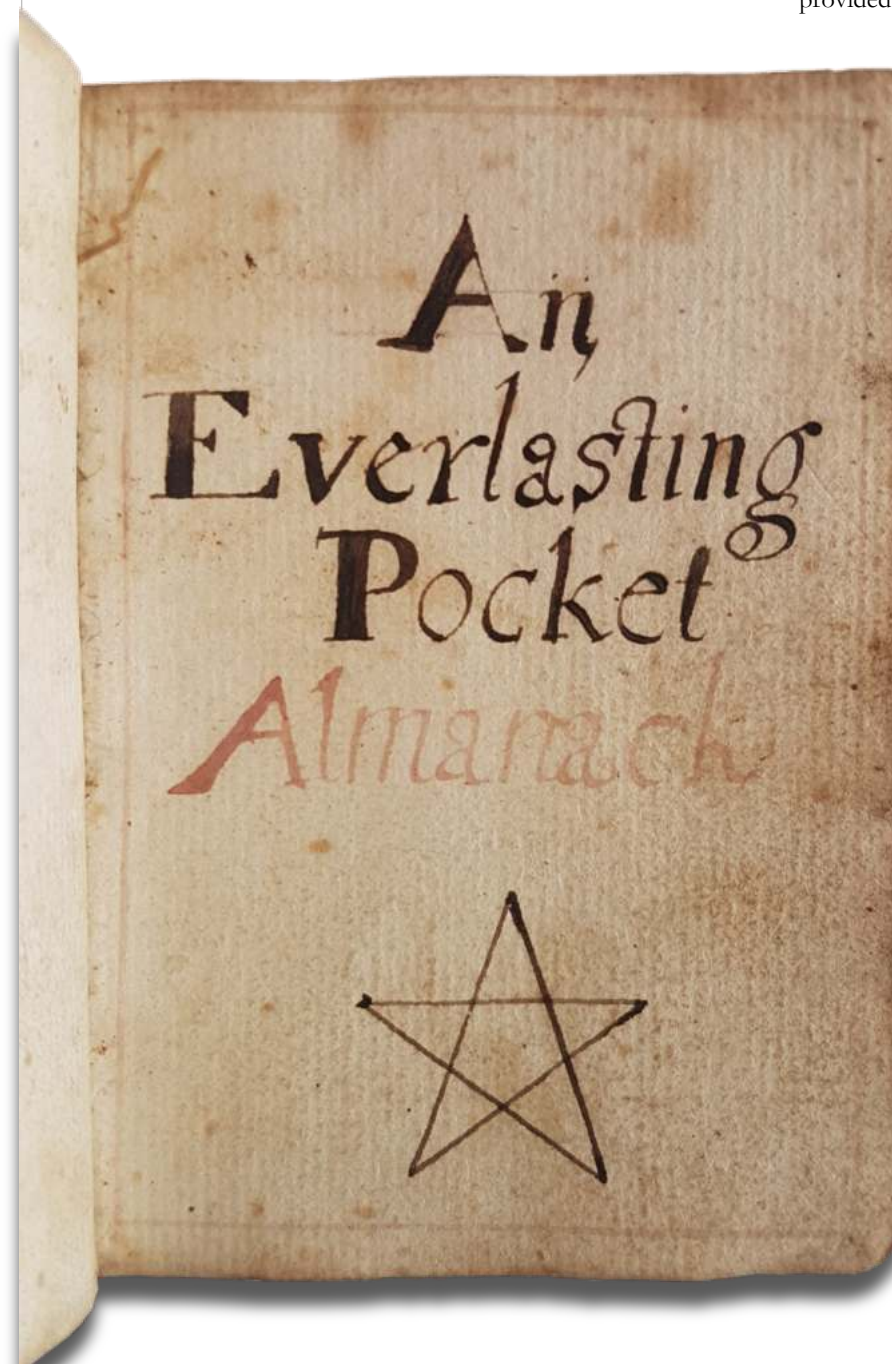
provide examples e.g. “Add 9 to the year of our lord which Diuided by 28 the remainder giues ye Cicle”. But equally useful is, “To find

ye Age of ye Moon” for this tells them not when they can work, but when can rest or pray

“Note that Shrove tuesday is allwayes the first tuesday after the first new Moon after Jan: and ye Sunday following is –

Quadragesima, and ye 6th: sunday after is Easter day, and the fifth sunday after Easter is Rogation sunday”. Other feast days are

also provided in the tables (“according to the old Roman Au^t:” and “ye. Uulgar way”), with methods of calculation and examples



provided in the text. And of course, where there is work there are tax periods, so we must know how “To find the Indiction / Add 3 to ye year of our Lord and Diuide by 15 / There rem: 8 the Indiction for that year / The uers for these 3 rules when 1, 9, 3, to the year has been added / Diuide by 19, 28, 15”.

In listing what they consider important, we glimpse their likely trade, for in a most unusual section for an almanac, they provide details of calculating brickwork.

“A table of the number of bricks in a rod of wall at any feet high from 1 to 20 for 1 and ½” is arranged in three columns: “Feet high [1-10] | at one brick thick | at one brick and ½ thick”, and it continues for different combinations up to 3. This is complemented by a table of areas in “Perch” or “feet”:

An acre containes -	160	00
A rod Containes -	40	00
an English perch -	00	16½
an Irish perch -	00	21

to reduce Irish acres into English or Contrary is in proportion as 8 is to 5”.

The simultaneously simple but highly ambitious title, “An Everlasting Pocket Almanac”, intriguingly includes a pentagram on the title page. This might simply be rudimentary decoration but taken together with textual references to building noted above, this perhaps suggests a masonic reference underscoring the utilitarian nature of this manuscript. It is evident throughout from the straightforward but articulate text and the complexity of the mathematical calculations, that its maker was a highly intelligent practitioner of his art. Such personal workmanlike artefacts are rare survivals from the early modern period; they give us a glimpse into a seldom articulated world and beautifully reflect how time was experienced through the natural rhythms that governed their lives.

GREAT-GREAT GRAND TOUR

THORNTON, John (1720-1790) *Manuscript entitled 'A short account of my Travels from Riga through Germany, Italy etc to England. With what is curious to be seen at each Place begun at Riga the 26th July 1742 N. S. or O. S. the 15th July 1742 with also the Tour of England, Scotland and Ireland.'*

[London. Circa 1742]. Contemporary marbled boards, rubbed. Quarto (24.5 mm x 20.3 mm x 18 mm). Paginated [2], 178 (text ends mid-sentence on final page). Engraved armorial bookplate of John Thornton, and pencil inscription "Melville Library" to paste-down.

The Grand Tour was a rite of passage for wealthy young men and women in the 17th and 18th centuries. It offered prestige, education, and access to classical culture first-hand, and often served as a cultural checklist of things that one should see to be considered 'cultured'. The tour would usually take them through France (and sometimes northern Europe: Belgium, Switzerland, Germany), visiting "polite society" on their way to their ultimate destination: Italy and Renaissance Culture. The author of this manuscript, appropriately enough, was 2nd great-grandfather of E. M. Forster, whose novel *A Room with a View* famously depicts a more traditional grand tour.



Described by his son as "rough, vehement and eager" (ONDB), John Thornton (1720-1790) was a merchant and philanthropist. He was reputedly the wealthiest man in Britain at his death and was said to have donated half of his income each year to charitable causes (largely evangelical); he also had links to the abolitionist Clapham Sect. He was an interesting man whose long, punctuation-sparse narrative echoes his son's characterization. His journal brims with curiosity and wry observations; it also subverts the traditional tour by beginning in Riga (formerly in East Prussia) before journeying to more well-frequented destinations. Thornton was 22 when he began his travels and would later go on to increase his inheritance greatly through Russian and Baltic trade. Although he doesn't state his reasons for being in Riga, he relates being questioned in Königsberg - "they inquired very particularly into my quality and whether I was a merchant, I told them that I had no other business, but travelling for pleasure" (p4). If his trade links to the area were not already in place, then the seeds for his successful commercial future may have been planted here.



The first 40 pages detail his journey through Prussia and offer valuable 18th-century tourist insight, as he visits places such as Memel (modern Klaipeda, in Lithuania), Königsberg (Kaliningrad), and various cities in what is now Poland, including Danzig (Gdansk) and Köslin (Koszalin). In the tradition of a grand tour he stops at places of cultural interest (castles, cathedrals, and palaces), and admires the architecture and the scenery (“I travelled through Fields of Corn, Pease & Beans, Birds singing on all sides, which was quite a new scene to me, & I thought myself in Paradise” (p4)).

The 18th century witnessed much upheaval throughout Prussia. At the same time that Thornton started his trip the Treaty of Berlin was signed, ending the First Silesian War. Although Thornton mentions the war, his focus leans more to the armories visited and sightings of garrisons and warships. He touches on some of the tensions in the country when he relays the feelings of the general public toward their King - “I believe in a very short time he will be less beloved than his Father was for he has done good to few if any, and none are contented” (p12).

After leaving Prussia, his travels resemble a more traditional grand tour, as he writes extensively about Italy and his journey back to England through France, Flanders and the Netherlands. His narrative retains its eager air and is peppered with small anecdotes and adventures alongside the more conventional cultural checklist. He takes an adventurous trip to Vesuvius (“that terrible Mountain... I found the Earth very hot, & it is though there is Fire every where thereabouts under neath” (p75)) and visits the Dog Grotto with “a Strong Vapour which is so pestilential that any Beast put in it expires in a short time. I carried with me a Viper, a Hen, & a Dog the latter was sav'd in the Agonies of Death but the other two were kill'd.”(p78).

Throughout the journal Thornton makes frequent references to two things that would hold great significance throughout his adult life: manufacturing and books (in later life he was known for his charitable work printing and distributing evangelical texts). He visits factories (“for the first time I saw the manner they make the Silver & Gold Thread to work up into Lace” (p1)), and libraries occupy his attention to an equal extent. In Berlin he saw the Bible that “King Charles the first had with him on the Scaffold, when he was beheaded...” (p11) and his own religious books caused some trouble in Rome when they “were examined afterwards by the Inquisition who had kept two of them [...] they were prohibited but if his Superior whom he named wou'd consent to it I might have them again [...] I shou'd have put them in my pocket” (p50).

Various friends and acquaintances are mentioned throughout the narrative, but it is unclear whether he travels with anyone consistently, or even what their relationship to him is. One notable meeting, in Milan, with one “Wilberforce” (either the uncle or the father of William Wilberforce), has a next-generation postscript: Thornton's son Henry (1760-1815) was later to become close friends with the younger Wilberforce, as well as an important figure in the Clapham Sect and a strong voice for the abolition of slavery.

Thornton's journal ends abruptly while he is still at The Hague, but the preceding narrative gives a strong sense of the dynamic energy of this young man destined to become a hugely successful and well-travelled merchant. Although he describes his numerous interactions, they are not given form; it seems he was writing solely for his personal interest and aide memoire. The journal is rich in descriptions from a keen and intelligent eye. It's in ostensibly private writings such as these that we find insights into the formative experiences and inner landscapes of some of the era's most prominent and influential figures.

£4,000 Ref: 7846



MIND READER

[BURTON, Edward] *Manuscript journal and commonplace book of agricultural notes.*

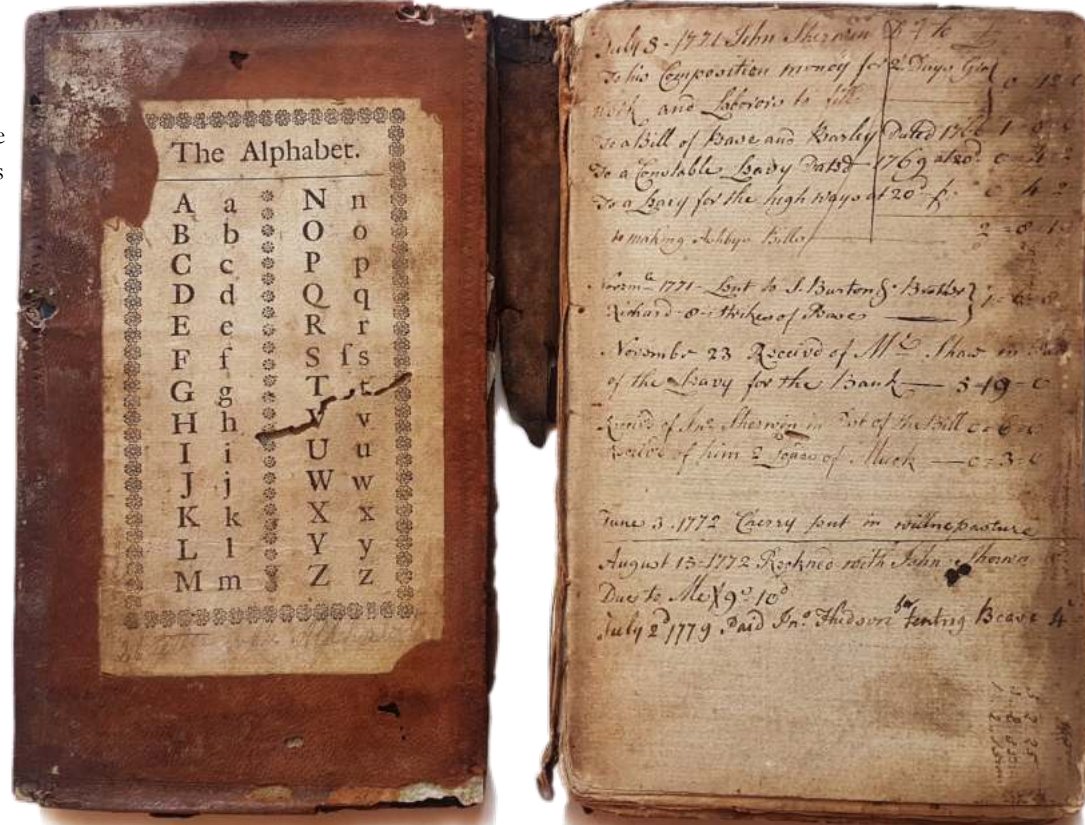
[Leicestershire. Circa 1771-98]. Contemporary wallet style calf, very heavily worn and rubbed, leather cracked, lacking half the spine, lacking clasp, text marked and damp stained. Several 19th century receipts made out to later members of the Burton family tucked into one of the pockets.

Ownership inscription to inner board “Edwd. Burton / His Book / 1798”. Printed alphabet, presumably intended for a horn book pasted to inner board.

This manuscript speaks of the aspirations and realities of an autodidact Leicestershire farmer, who creates his own library of the mind. Edward Burton appears to have been a man of natural ability but perhaps little education. Judging from his financial accounts he is not a wealthy man. But even if his income is slight, he is keen to increase his cultural capital. Burton began compiling his notebook in the early 1770s and continued adding to it over the following two decades, only later adding his ownership inscription.

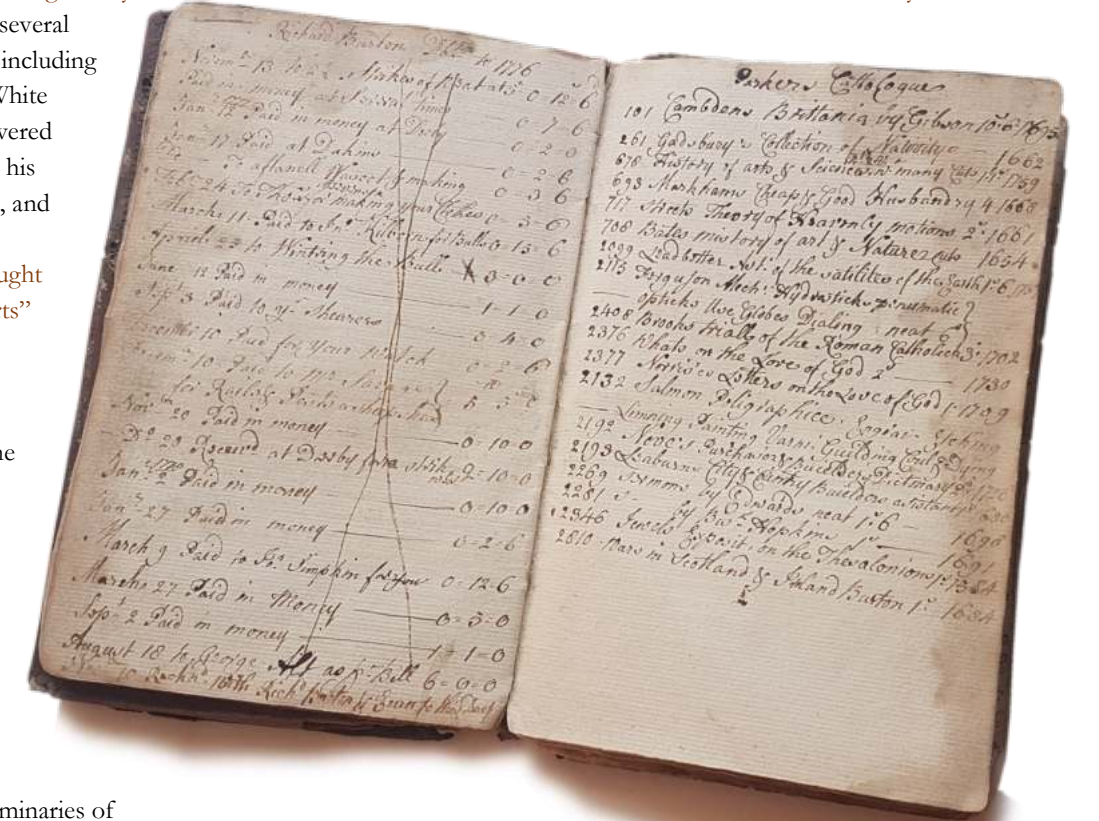
In his mission to improve himself Burton begins at the beginning, both literally and metaphorically, with a printed alphabet pasted to the inner front board. From this rudimentary start his ambitions lead him to explore the possible worlds of the printed word – in between the day-to-day matters of maintaining his livelihood.

Business matters mingle with local happenings (which cluster around the Leicestershire villages of Hemington, Castle Donington) and forays into self-education: he



records crops sold (mainly barley), labourers’ expenses paid, and the days on which neighbours began their respective harvests; he includes notes on the great flood of 1795 and the local ruminant casualties (“Mr Hull Had 48 sheep Drowned & a yearling fole [...] James Sosbery Had 41 sheep Drowned Will^m Newbold had 19 sheep & 9 Calves Drowned”); and he provides an “Account of the Charges & Expences of the Tryal of Hugh Meriman at the Session at Derby for stealing Eleven Geese of Johnath[an] Sherw[i]ns at Alverston before Sir Willm Fittsherbert in the Chair”. There are a few remedies (“1787 A Receipt for Strains”, “1784 Another for a Strain”; “A Receipt for a Quiter”), proverbs from printed sources, notes on militias (“The scotch Militia or fenceble Men of scotland to serve for the yeare 1783”; “Millitia of all the Countys of England”), blind rubbings of several coins and a note on a coin found by a William Burton (presumably a relation) “May 28: 1773 The Inscription - on a peice of Money found by Will^m. Burton on Derby Hills the peice of ^{money} hath a Us---(?) savage Image as under” beneath which, he provides small illustrations.

Burton makes lists of books and authors as if building an ideal library for himself. He notes their details, including prices (e.g. “Leadbetter Mechanic Dialing or Rays of shadow =3=6”; “Pladio Architecture 4^{to} 4s-6 - 1745”; “Liles Husbandry 4^{to} 10s=6 new 1759”), copies out several bookseller’s catalogues, including Lowndes, Parker, and White (perhaps these lists answered desires of the mind that his purse could not pursue), and compiles lists of the “Authors that Have Rought of the Seven Liberall Arts” and the “sciences”. The latter list suggests that Burton’s definition of a science is quite elastic: he includes “Architects”, “Navigation”, “Gardening”, “Sculpture”, “Farriary”, “Painting”, and “Heraldry”. He lists the leading popularisers of the period (e.g. Ferguson, Leadbetter, Martin) and the great luminaries of science (e.g. Brahe, Copernicus, Newton).





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