little commendation from writers on
aps less than he deserves. Updike
nd Mr. Morison refers to his design as
e Unger Frakturs have come into the
and are excellently displayed in their
Schriften. They show two sizes de-
and the later design, as well as one of
idot and the Cicero "Erster Versuch"
understand their rejection. The Petit
as some unusual capitals, notably the
apitals of the later design are more
nger rejected these capitals, no doubt,
and not because they were less legible.
Fraktur on the score of legibility, and
shed by modern tests of the legibility
letter is less easily read than roman.
nued in Germany, between the claims
ests on nationalist grounds. Unger at
as legible as any hitherto cut; in fact,
of the lower case he approached more
n, Schwabacher. But in colour he went
by copying the lightness of roman
ich is the chief ground of complaint
way principally that he left his mark
kturs of the nineteenth century are
he earlier designs.

CHAPTER TWO

Roman

THE VENETIANS AND OLD-FACE GROUP

OUR ROMAN TYPES are based on the book hand of the Renaissance humanists, which was developed, principally at Florence, in the first half of the fifteenth century. The hand is known as "humanistic" or "neo-caroline", and when translated into type received the name of "littera antiqua". Although in 1450 it was the most modern of letters, yet it was derived from a script, the Carolingian, which was more ancient than any gothic descendant. Our name roman, taken from the French, is perhaps as good as antiqua. The upper case at least is pure roman and the lower case is an immediate descendant. However, the name probably originated from the fact that the first roman used in France, that of the Sorbonne press of 1470, was copied from the fount of Schweynheym and Pannartz used at Rome from 1467. As against three main groups of gothic, there are only two divisions of roman, the formal and the bastard, otherwise italic. Formal romans fall into three families succeeding one another chronologically, fifteenth-century, old-face and modern-face romans. These divisions are well known, but recent researches have thrown some light on the historical origins and the development of the second and third groups.

When Schweynheym and Pannartz began printing Latin texts at Subiaco it was natural that they should copy the letter then in favour with the Italian humanists. It has been said that the type

they produced has semi-gothic characteristics, but it has been demonstrated by Mr. Morison[1] that they were closely following their calligraphic models and that we may call the type the first roman without qualification. It was formerly held that the earliest roman was that of Adolf Rusch at Strasbourg. This supposition was based on the occurrence of a date, 1464, in MS. in a copy of Durandus's *Rationale divinorum officiorum* printed by Rusch, which is in the Basle library. It has now been shown that the date is a mistake for 1474, and that no book by Rusch in roman can be dated earlier than 1467.[2] When the printers moved to Rome in 1467, they designed a new fount, a roman with the full serif formation, but still with some angularity in letters like the e. Of the first roman used at Venice, that of Johannes da Spira, it may be said that it was the best so far cut, but rather spoilt by a very heavy upper case, a fault found in many later romans.

Within the first decade of the history of roman types we reach the design of Nicolas Jenson, 1470, which has frequently been re-cut and has been the most highly praised of all romans (see fig. 11). The excellent composing qualities of his letters and their evenness in colour have been particularly commended, and Jenson seems to have understood that these points are of greater importance even than the design of individual letters. In fact some of his letters are not above reproach. Mr. Morison[3] has criticised the ugliness of his straight-shanked h, a form introduced by Jenson, and the undue height of his capitals. As to the h, at least the new form differentiates that letter from the b. Erhard Ratdolt, Venice, 1476, preferred the earlier h. The g also is by no means a perfect letter, and several of the capitals, apart altogether from their size, are poor in design, for instance, the M with its slab serifs, and the Q. But in spite of these defects in details, to be convinced that the Jenson roman deserves all the praises that have been lavished on it,

[1] See "Early Humanistic Script and the First Roman Type", *The Library*, June-September 1943, pp. 1–29.

[2] See V. Scholderer, "Adolf Rusch and the Earliest Roman Types", *The Library*, 1939, pp. 43–50.

[3] "Towards an Ideal Type", *The Fleuron*, no. 2, pp. 57–75.

CHABRIADIS VITA.

HABRIAS ATHENIENSIS HIC quoq; in ſummis habitus ẽ ducibus: resq; multas memoria dignas geſſit. Sed ex his eluc& maxime inuentum eius ī prœlio quod apud thebas fecit: cum boetiis ſubſidio ueniſſ&. Nanq; in ea uictoria fidentem ſummum ducem Ageſilaum fugatis iam ab eo cõducticiis cateruis reliquã phalangẽ loco uetuit cedere: obnixoq; genu ſcuto ꝓiectaq; haſta impetum excipere hoſtium docuit. Id nouũ Ageſilaus intuens progredi nõ eſt auſus: ſuosq; iam incurrentes tuba reuocauit. Hoc uſq; eo græcia fama celebratũ ẽ: ut illo ſtatu Chabrias ſibi ſtatuã fieri uoluerit: quæ publice ei ab atheniẽſibus in foro cõſtituta eſt. Ex quo factum ẽt poſtea Athletæ cæteriq; artifices his ſtatibus ſtatuis ponendis uterentur cũ uictoriã eſſent adepti. Chabrias autem multa in europa bella adminiſtrauit. Cum dux atheniẽſiũ eſſ&: in ægypto ſua ſpõte geſſit. Nã Neptenabum adiutum profectus regnum ei conſtituit. Fecit idẽ cypri: ſed publice ab atheniẽſibus Euagoræ adiutor datus: neq; prius inde diſceſſit q̃ totam inſulam bello deuinceret. Qua ex re athenienſes magnam gloriã ſunt adepti. Interim bellũ inter ægyptios & perſas cõflatũ ẽ:

Fig. 11. Jenson's Roman

one has only to open one of his folios. There is certainly something satisfying about his page.

Individuality of type design, which is a characteristic of the Incunable period, is as pronounced among the early romans as in any one group of gothic types. But from the time of Jenson until about 1495 no printer designed a roman which is of great importance for the historical development of this letter. Some printers reverted to mixed types, like the Ptolemy design of Leonard Holle of Ulm. This roman, perhaps modelled on the humanistic hand of Nicolaus Germanus, the editor of the Ptolemy of 1482, has a gothic g and a rather angular e. Others designed more calligraphic founts, like that of Gerardus de Lisa at Treviso; the g and the y, the unusually long ascenders and descenders, and the rather exaggerated serifs of this type are closer to the humanistic hand than the Jenson model.[1]

That the roman types of Aldus Manutius represent the beginnings of the old-face group is the discovery of Mr. Morison, and a discovery of some importance for the understanding of the evolution of type forms. The statement that Garamond took Jenson's roman as his model, a statement frequently repeated in the histories of printing, has stood in the way of a correct view of the origins of our principal book type. Mr. Morison[2] has examined Aldus's roman in its various states, and has found that where it differs from Jenson it agrees with Garamond. The type of the Poliphilus is comparatively condensed—it is characteristic of early romans that they consume much space—the capitals are both narrower and shorter, the lower case e has a horizontal straight to the eye, as against the oblique straight of Jenson. All these points are found in Robert Estienne's first Garamond, and when in addition we find in Garamond an M with no serif on the right limb and a G with a serif extending to the inside only, and that these rather peculiar forms occur in the capitals used in the *De Ætna* of Pietro Bembo,

[1] For a reproduction see V. Scholderer's article in *The Library*, December 1929, fig. 3.

[2] "The Type of the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili", in the *Gutenberg Festschrift*, 1925.

printed in 1495 in an earlier state of the Poliphilus roman (see fig. 12), the supposition that Garamond modelled his design on that of Aldus becomes a certainty. It may be noted that the Aldine capitals are inscriptional, like the lettering of classical Rome as

PETRI BEMBI DE AETNA AD ANGELVM CHABRIELEM LIBER.

Factum a nobis pueris eſt, et quidem ſedulo Angele; quod meminiſſe te certo ſcio; ut fructus ſtudiorum noſtrorum, quos ferebat illa aetas nō tam maturos, q̄ uberes, ſemper tibi aliquos promeremus: nam ſiue dolebas aliquid, ſiue gaudebas; quae duo ſunt tenerorum animorum maxime propriae affectiones; continuo habebas aliquid a me, quod legeres, uel gratulationis, uel conſolationis; imbecillum tu quidem illud, et tenue; ſicuti naſcentia omnia, et incipientia; ſed tamen quod eſſet ſatis amplum futurum argumentum amoris ſummi erga te mei. Verum poſtea, q̄ annis creſcentibus et ſtudia, et iudicium increuere; nóſq; totos tradidimus graecis magiſtris erudiendos; remiſſiores paulatim facti ſumus ad ſcribendum, ac iam etiam minus quotidie audentiores.

Fig. 12. Aldine Roman

found, for instance, on the Arch of Trajan. The slab serifs of Jenson's M and of the A and N of other early romans are now discarded. Our upper case is the only literally roman letter among our types. It seems probable that Aldus himself was not especially interested in the design of roman letters—his interest was in Greek literature and in the publication of the classics—and that the chief

credit should be given to his type-cutter, Francesco Griffo, an account of whom is given below. When Robert Proctor condemned the Aldine founts, Greek, roman and italic, he was unfair as to the roman, prejudiced probably by his justifiable objection to the Aldine Greek.

It is significant that Aldus had no gothic types. In Italy, by his day, there were only two classes of books which tradition required to be set in Rotunda, law books and Liturgies. But in other countries, where the revival of learning followed at least a generation behind, the new Renaissance letter was far less popular. By 1480 only ten roman founts are recorded in the presses of Germany. Their number began to increase rapidly after 1490, the printers of Basle in particular leading the way. Basle has been called the gateway by which the new learning entered Germany. Johann Amerbach, the leading printer there in the nineties, had learnt to print in Venice and had several roman types in the Venetian style. Similarly, the only printer in the Netherlands who used roman in the fifteenth century, Johann von Paderborn at Louvain (1474–96), had also worked at Venice. In other cases the influence of humanistic scholars can be traced in the introduction of roman types, where the readers were hardly ready for them. Two professors of the Sorbonne, Guillaume Fichet and Johann Heynlin, in 1470 brought the first printers into France, Ulrich Gering of Constance, Martin Kranz and Michael Friburger of Colmar. Their press was set up in the college and their type was roman, modelled on that which Sweynheym and Pannartz were using at Rome. The first book printed, the *Epistolae* of an Italian Renaissance scholar, Gasparinus Barzizius, was a text intended for students of Latin. When Gering and his partners had left the Sorbonne and set up their press in the Rue St. Jacques, they soon returned to the native gothic. It was not till after 1500 that the tide began to turn in favour of roman, again under the influence of a student of the new learning. Josse Badius, before he began to print at Paris, had studied at Italian universities and had been a press-corrector for Johann Trechsel at Lyons. Badius and his contemporary Henri Estienne, the first printer of that famous family, led the new

fashion in France and prepared the way for Tory and Garamond. In Spain, as in France, printing begins with a roman type and afterwards the native gothic prevails. Lambert Palmart, a Fleming, in 1474 printed at Valencia the *Obres e Trobes* of Fenollar in a roman type, but his example was not followed. The great majority of Spanish incunables and even of the books printed in the first

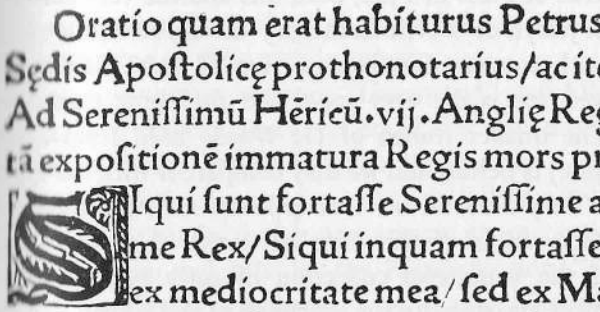
Oratío quam erat habíturus Petrus Gryphus: Sędís Apoſtolícę prothonotarius/ac íterū nūcius: Ad Sereniſſimū Hēricū. vij. Anglię Regē: Ní para tā expoſitionē ímmatura Regís mors preueniſſet. Sí quí ſunt fortaſſe Sereniſſime ac Inuictiſſi me Rex/ Síquí inquam fortaſſe ſūt/ quí nō ex mediocritate mea/ ſed ex Maximi San= ctiſſimiq; Pontifícis/ a quo venio/ ſumma dignita= te: et ex tuæ Maieſtatis ſingulari eximíaq; præſtan tia/ hunc meum ad te aduentum metiātur: expecta re eos quídem arbítror/ me primo hoc cōgreſſu ita

Fig. 13. Pynson's Roman

quarter of the sixteenth century were set in Rotunda. The few books printed in roman were generally the works of scholars interested in the new learning, such as Antonio de Lebrixa.

The roman, or as our early printers sometimes called it, the white letter, first appeared in England in 1509, and again was more probably due to the author of the book than to the enterprise of the printer. Petrus Gryphus of Pisa came to England as papal collector in February 1509. He remained there for three years, and on his return to Italy in 1512 was made Bishop of Forli. The speech which he was to have delivered at his audience before Henry VII was never spoken, owing to the death of the king, but he had the *Oratio* printed by Richard Pynson in a roman type. The dedication is dated "Idibus Maii", so that the speech may be supposed to have

preceded two other books of the same year, in which the type is found, a Savonarola tract, *Sermo Fratris Hieronymi*, with a preface dated October 8, and Alexander Barclay's translation of the *Ship of Fools*, issued on December 13. The type is used for the half-title only of the Savonarola, and for the Latin text of the *Ship of Fools*, the English being in Textura. Pynson's roman was used by Antonius Venetus at Paris in 1502; both this and the very similar letter used by Wynkyn de Worde from 1523[1] closely resemble contemporary French romans, for instance that of Josse Badius at Paris. The lower case is not very good, and the upper case distinctly poor. The smaller roman of De Worde used from 1520 (20 lines=81 mm.) is better, and we may compare it with the type which Geofroy Tory used for his *Champ fleury* and the majority of his books. One roman of this class has survived to our day, and is part of the wonderful collection of early types owned by the Enschedé of Haarlem. In the specimen of this roman issued in 1926 they attribute it to Peter Schöffer of Mainz, and consider it to be the oldest type in their collection. It came to the Haarlem firm in 1768 from one Jacobus Scheffers, a printer at Bois-le-Duc, a descendant of the Schöffers. Their dating of the type is too early, but it is at least early sixteenth century. It is first found at Cologne in 1527.[2] The third roman used in England was that of the Cambridge printer, John Siberch, or Johannes Laer de Siborch, in which he printed some ten books in the years 1521 and 1522. This roman was perhaps cut in Cologne. Siberch's roman appears condensed, but this seems to be due to the narrow bodies of the letters rather than to a condensed face; the c, however, is actually narrow in face. It may be noted that Siberch's g is without the rudimentary stroke—the ear—at the top right-hand corner, which has persisted by the force of tradition with but few exceptions.

The fact that English printers did ultimately adopt roman as their standard type seems to be almost accidental. We have noted above that Textura was still regularly employed in the seventeenth century in certain classes of books. English black letter might very

[1] See Isaac, *English and Scottish Printing Types*, vol. I, figs. 11 and 12.
[2] See Reed's *Old English Letter Foundries*, new ed., 1952, p. 88.

well be the normal letter today for books in the vernacular, just as Fraktur is in Germany. We have no black letter versus roman dispute, perhaps because in the sixteenth century our printers were conscious of their inferiority to continental printers, in particular the French, whose lead they followed. There was no English standard to be maintained. The German printers on the other hand did not forget that they had been the first to develop the art, and were naturally inclined to resist foreign innovations, at least when printing in their own language.

If the connection between "Garamond" and fifteenth-century romans was obscure, there was equal obscurity until recently as to the history of the Garamond founts themselves. The account given by earlier textbooks ran somewhat as follows: "Garamond took Jenson as the model for his new roman; about 1540 he cut several sizes of roman and italic for the King's foundry." The 1540 was due to the Imprimerie Royale who in 1845 labelled their "caractères de l'université" as "Garamond 1540". The existence of these "caractères," called Garamond on such high authority, spread confusion, since the types could not be found in any sixteenth-century book. The story that Louis Luce revised the letters in the eighteenth century is probably due to this state of uncertainty. Mrs. Warde's (Paul Beaujon) happy discovery that these famous "caractères" were not Garamond's and not even of the sixteenth century, but were cut by Jean Jannon, printer at Sedan and Paris, who issued his specimen in 1621, has cleared the way and made it possible to give a reasonable account of the Garamond roman.

In her article on Garamond which appeared in no. 5 of *The Fleuron*, Mrs. Warde has traced the new roman back to the year 1531. In that and the following year at least four printers at Paris had their "Garamond" founts. Simon de Colines printed with his Terentianus fount, so called from an edition of the *De literis Horati* of Terentianus Maurus, finished in November 1531. Colines seems to have been experimenting with the design of roman for some years; editions of the Greek medical writer, Galen, printed in 1528 show a roman which except for a few letters is the same as the type of 1531. Even as early as 1525 the roman in which

the first Tory Book of Hours was printed is an advance on the types which Colines had acquired from Henri Estienne.

The Terentianus version had already been used in two little tracts by Guillaume Bochetel, describing the entry of Queen Leonora into Paris and her coronation, issued in March and May of the same year, and published by Geofroy Tory. But

G N

Vertere Mecœnas, vlmíſque adiungere vites
Cõueniat: quæ cura boum, quis cultus habẽdo
Sit pecori: atq; apibus quãta experiẽtia parcis:
Hinc canere incipiã. Vos ô clariſſima mundi
Lumina, labentem cælo quæ ducitis annum:
Liber, & alma Ceres, veſtro ſi munere tellus
Chaoniam pingui glandem mutauit ariſta:
Poculáque inuentis Acheloia miſcuit vuis:

Fig. 14. Garamond Roman

already in January 1531[1] had appeared Robert Estienne's first book in his new roman in three sizes, the *Isagoge* of Jacques Dubois. While cutting the new sorts required for this philological work, Estienne seems to have taken the opportunity to revise the whole alphabet. In 1532 his Virgil (see fig. 14), dated September, and his handsome folio Bible, finished in November, were printed in the new letter. In March 1532 Antoine Augereau issued the *Orationes* of Andrea Navagero in his version of the revised roman, and a fourth version was used, also in 1532, by Chrestien Wechel. These four related founts cannot have been cut by one man, but that one at least was the work of Claude Garamond seems almost

[1] That the date of this book is 1531, and not 1532, appears from E. Armstrong's *Robert Estienne*, Cambridge, 1954. Other books of 1531 in the new romans are there cited.

certain. The most important of the four, historically, was Estienne's, and this is the particular "Garamond" referred to above as being derived from the Aldine romans. The lower case became the traditional French roman, and by the end of the century had the widest popularity throughout Europe. The upper case was revised about 1550, taller capitals were cut, and the unusual G and M disappeared. After this revision we get the letter shown in the specimen sheet of the Egenolff-Berner foundry at Frankfurt issued in 1592, which displays seven sizes of "romain de Garamond". Mrs. Warde suggests that Antoine Augereau, whose new roman is closely akin to Estienne's, may have been the engraver of the type used in the Dubois. Augereau[1] was an engraver of types, if we may trust Lacaille, and the shortness of his career—he was burnt as a Protestant and printer of suspected books in 1534—may account for the obscurity of his name. On the other hand, as Mrs. Warde shows, in the *Juvencus* published by Garamond himself in 1545, and in other books printed by the men especially connected with him, his son-in-law, Pierre Gaultier, and his partner, Jean Barbé, the Estienne fount was taken as a model. Further, the roman capitals of the middle size of Garamond's "grecs du roi" are the capitals of the Estienne fount (the capitals of the largest size which first appeared in 1550 are the revised capitals as in the Egenolff sheet). Either then Garamond cut the Estienne fount or he accepted it as his model. At all events he won credit with posterity for the design, as the Egenolff sheet testifies.

In the Dubois and in Estienne's folio Bible of 1532 three sizes of the new roman appear; the largest, Gros Canon, excellently displayed in the preliminaries of the Bible, has an historical importance of its own. Hitherto the lower case had not been cut in very large sizes and titles had been composed either in capitals or partly in Rotunda. But after the appearance of this Gros Canon, large sizes of lower case "Garamond" became fashionable on

[1] See J. Veyrin-Forrer, "Antoine Augereau", Paris, 1957, in *Paris et Ile-de-France*. It seems that Garamond had been apprenticed to Augereau. The article includes reproductions of Augereau's types.

titles. The title-pages of almost any French printer of the middle years of the century illustrate the point; perhaps none better than those of Jean de Tournes. Especially his large folios, the Bible in French, 1551, the Serlio, 1551, the Jacques Bassentin, 1557, and the Jean Duvet, 1561, are magnificent examples of the styles. The Italians followed suit, and in one case at any rate we know that a French type designer, Guillaume Le Bé, who was working at Venice in 1545, cut a Canon roman for Torrentino of Florence. This letter is shown in his "Spécimens de caractères Hébreux, grecs, Latins . . . gravés à Venise et à Paris (1545–92)", of which a facsimile was published in 1889 by Henri Omont. In England we find a similar title type used by Thomas Berthelet; see *A Necessary Doctrine for any Christian man*, 1543.

By the end of the century the Garamond roman had become the standard European type. French romans were purchased by Paolo Manuzio at Venice about 1557 for use in the books of the newly established Academia Veneta. Christopher Plantin at Antwerp bought types at the Garamond sale, and many of his other romans were influenced by Garamond.[1] The Paris designs were taken to Frankfurt by André Wechel, who bought part of the Garamond foundry at the sale of his stock in 1561. We have already referred to the specimen of the Egenolff-Berner foundry at Frankfurt issued in 1592. This foundry under the Luthers was the most important in Germany in the seventeenth century, and continued to display their Garamond romans in all their Latin specimens of 1622, 1664, 1702, 1718 and 1745, sometimes omitting the name of Garamond. Two centuries after Garamond's death a European printer could buy his types, nor would they have appeared as archaic revivals, though not quite in the latest fashion. The Luthers sold types in the Netherlands also. Charles Enschedé has shown that almost all the roman and italic letters displayed in the specimen of Johann Elzevier of Leyden, 1658, came from their foundry, and that a considerable number of them were those shown in the Frankfurt sheet of 1592.

[1] Cf. Harry Carter, "The Types of Christopher Plantin", *The Library*, September 1956, with a sheet of reproductions.

The roman typography of the seventeenth century differed very little from that of the sixteenth, at least for the body types. Large and heavy capitals were used for titles, and there were considerable changes in the formula for book production, but in the history of the development of type-forms the century is almost a blank. The Imprimerie Royale, established at Paris in 1640 by Cardinal Richelieu, began with types of the Garamond style, which came perhaps from the press of Sebastien Cramoisy, the first director of the Press. In 1642 the Jannon types were acquired and these with the original Cramoisy types fulfilled the needs of the Press down to the end of the century. The Jannon roman was also a copy of Garamond, but had some peculiarities of its own. Mrs. Warde in the introduction to her reproduction of the Jannon specimen has pointed out that the top serifs of the m, n, p and r are conspicuously pointed up, a peculiarity repeated in the modern copies of the "Caractères de l'Université".

In this century the Dutch book trade enjoyed its most prosperous days. The publishing and printing firm of the Elzeviers became the most famous in Europe. But neither the Leyden branch, nor the Amsterdam branch of this house, cut their own types. As already said, they were largely supplied by the Luther foundry, and the famous Dutch foundries of Cristoffel van Dijk and the Voskens were not established until 1648 and 1641 respectively. Their romans are a heavier version of the Garamond design, with stout serifs and an avoidance of anything exaggerated. The Dutch founders made their counters sufficiently large to escape any risk of choking with ink; the eye of the Garamond e, for instance, is dangerously small. Their descenders tended to be shorter and in the course of time a new style was developed of large-faced romans with distinctly abbreviated descenders. By the end of the century prefatory matter in particular was often set in large sizes of these Dutch "gros œil" as the French called them.[1] Updike says they have a rolling effect. Such

[1] On types of a large x-height, see S. Morison, "Leipzig as a Centre of Typefounding", *Signature*, no. 11, 1939, and A. F. Johnson, "The Goût Hollandais", *The Library*, 1939.

types are common in both German and English books as well as Dutch.

Turning back to trace the story of roman types in England, we find that Thomas Berthelet was using a lower case like Garamond's by 1534 (see Isaac's *English Types, 1503–58*, fig. 67). In the second half of the century French romans were in very general use. In two articles in *The Library* (June and September 1933) Col. Isaac summarised the Elizabethan romans and italics and traced them all back to continental sources. He found that the majority of them are to be found on the Egenolff-Berner sheet, 1592, or on Plantin's *Index Characterum*, 1567, or on both. There is no exception even in the case of John Day, who was so highly praised by Reed. Day's boasted double pica roman and italic, at a later date to be used in the London Polyglot Bible, came from the Low Countries. Reed's remark that the Polyglot was "wholly the impression of English types" is far from the truth. The number of English types, that is to say, types cut by English designers, before the generation of Nicholls and Moxon, must be very small. The earliest known specimen of types set up by an English printer, dating from about 1650 (reproduced in Berry and Johnson's *English Type Specimen Books*) displayed only foreign types.

It is commonly asserted that in the century preceding Caslon, Dutch types were much used in England. Joseph Moxon, in his *Mechanick Exercises*, 1683, regards the Dutch as the only possible models, and the Edinburgh printer, James Watson, in his *History of Printing*, 1715, includes a display of Dutch types. There are two series of letters extant which further illustrate their popularity, those of Thomas Marshall written to Bishop Fell from 1670–72, and those of Thomas James to his brother John, written in 1710. Marshall's letters were published by Horace Hart in *Notes on a Century of Typography at the University Press, Oxford*, 1900. Marshall was preacher to the English merchants in Holland and was employed by the Bishop to visit the Dutch foundries with a view to making purchases for the University Press. Thomas James visited Holland as a founder in 1710 and was treated with some

suspicion as a competitor. Incidentally we learn from his letters that the London printer, Jacob Tonson, had recently spent a large sum of money in the purchase of Dutch types. James dealt mainly with Johannes Rolu of Amsterdam, who had issued his *Proeven van Letteren* shortly before James's visit. These Dutch types are shown in the catalogue of the sale of the James foundry in 1782.[1]

But this assertion about Dutch types needs modification. Types or matrices may have been bought in Holland and yet be derived from French punches in the possession of a German foundry, namely the Luthers at Frankfurt. It has already been noted that much of the Elzevier material came from that house, and the same is true of some of the purchases made by Thomas Marshall for Bishop Fell. Several of the smaller sizes of roman and italic in the Oxford specimen of 1693 appear to be identical with those of the Frankfurt sheet of 1592.[2]

Such English types as were cut during this period were in the Dutch style and generally very bad in technique. One characteristically English roman may be mentioned. In 1679 a Herodotus in Greek and Latin was printed in London "typis E. Horton et J. Grover". As Grover was a founder it is possible that the type was of his own casting, if not also of his design. The book is set in double columns and the roman is a light and condensed letter, a curious forerunner of Fleischman. Probably it was designed for this very purpose, for the setting of a text in narrow columns. However, similar condensed types of a smaller size are found as early as 1648; perhaps they were first cut in connection with newspaper printing, for the "Mercuries" of the Civil War period. Attention may be called to two of the capitals; the U is of the same form as the lower case u, a practice common in the seventeenth century and almost limited to that century. The R has the curly

[1] See Reed, *op. cit.*, new edition, pp. 220–2, where a list of the exotic types is given, Rolu's being marked with the initial R.

[2] Important discoveries have recently been made at Oxford on the Fell types, but results have not yet been published. It has been established that the larger sizes were cut at Oxford by their own founder, Peter Walpergen.

tail which is generally considered to be typical of eighteenth-century types. In fact such R's are often found in English books from about 1640. It will be met with in an Oxford type, described in the specimen of 1693 as "Great Primer Roman and Italic cut by Mr. Nicholls, not good", and not shown there; a deliberate omission made good in Horace Hart's book. Another English type which had a considerable vogue was Moxon's Canon roman. This was used not only by Moxon himself, but fairly generally as a heading type in books and also in newspapers. The type was later acquired by William Caslon and is one of the few types displayed on the Caslon specimen sheet of 1734, which was not cut by Caslon himself. The only other type of Moxon's of historical interest was his Irish fount, the story of which may be read in Reed (new edition, pp. 175–8).[1]

The last of the distinguished type designers who were, consciously or unconsciously, pupils of Garamond was William Caslon. If Caslon had ever seen or heard of the "romains du roi" he was entirely uninfluenced by that modern type or by the subsequent work of Fleischman, Luce and Fournier. Born in 1696, he was about five years younger than Fleischman, but to the end of his life he ignored the new developments in type-forms introduced by the continental founders. His specimen of 1764 might have been produced a hundred years earlier. Caslon was originally a gunsmith; the punches which he cut for lettering on bindings attracted the notice of printers who persuaded him to turn his attention to letter-founding. His first type was an Arabic, cut in 1720, and was followed by a roman, according to John Nichols, cut in 1722 (cf. Reed, new edition, pp. 231, 232). It was not until 1734 that a sufficient number of letters had been cut to justify the printing of a specimen sheet. By that time the Caslon roman was accepted as the best English book type and its popularity was such that in the lifetime of the designer there was no competition. In Reed's *Old English Letter Foundries* will be found a number of contemporary references which testify to Caslon's success, and among his admirers was Baskerville. He stopped the importation of Dutch

[1] See also E. W. Lynam in the *The Library*, March 1924.

types, and even the Oxford Press could not rely on the Fell types only; the Press was buying Caslon types from 1742.[1]

Caslon took as his model the best Dutch types of the seventeenth century, and his roman has been praised for the qualities of homeliness and common sense which are found in the roman of Van Dijk. If the function of type is to be a medium and to efface itself, the Caslon roman achieved that end. The letters are pleasantly legible, combine together well, and no one letter calls attention to itself by any oddity of form. All the letters are not equally good in detail, more particularly in the upper case. The rather dumpy A and broad M are in some sizes not good. But the fact remains that the type in composition is pleasing and eminently serviceable. However, Caslon was not better than the designers he took as models. He owes his success in England, not to any originality, but to the fact that he was the first really competent engraver and caster of types in this country.

[1] See J. S. G. Simmons, "The Undated Oxford Broadsheet Specimen", *The Library*, March 1956.

CHAPTER THREE

Roman

THE EVOLUTION OF THE MODERN FACE

DURING THE EIGHTEENTH century the design of our roman types underwent a radical change, resulting in the style which we know as modern face, the type of the nineteenth century and still the type used in newspapers and many of our books. It therefore becomes important to define what we mean by modern face. A roman which embodies the three following characteristics: (*a*) flat and unbracketed serifs, (*b*) abrupt and exaggerated modelling, (*c*) vertical shading, we shall call modern face. Flat serifs, though not unknown in the history of calligraphy, were an innovation in typography about the year 1700; hitherto they had invariably been inclined, and further triangular; that is to say, the under part of the serif was not parallel to the upper part. The modelling, that is the gradation from the thick part of the stroke to the thin part, had been gradual. The thickest part of the round letters, such as c, e, g and o, did not come at the middle of the down stroke, but slightly below the middle, or, in the o and g, the two thickened parts were not horizontally opposite each other, but more or less diagonally opposite. This meant that the angle of shading ran diagonally, more or less, across the page, and not vertically up and down. This is in accordance with a script made with a pen held at an angle, the natural way. If an O is written with a broad-nibbed pen held at an angle, it will be seen that the thickest lines are diagonally opposite.

In fact the old-face roman, based on a hand-drawn letter, still shows traces of that origin. By the year 1700, the professional calligrapher, whose work was reproduced on copper-engraved plates, had begun to hold the pen at right angles to the paper, to produce vertical shading, and to reduce their thin strokes to hair-lines. In a study of Baskerville roman by Mrs. Warde, published in *The Monotype Recorder*, September-October 1927, this point was illustrated by a plate from George Shelley's *Alphabets in All Hands*, *c.* 1715, and Mrs. Warde pointed out that Baskerville, a writing-master in his earlier days, was translating into type a style that was already in vogue among the calligraphers. The whole question of the evolution of roman from old style to modern face is largely a question of technique, rather than the rejection of one design for another on a definite principle. In typography we shall find that mechanical improvements in the printing press and changes in the texture of paper allowed the engraver of types to produce effects which would have been impossible in early days. It was useless for a Garamond to cut a delicately modelled serif which the processes of reproduction available would have obscured.

The normal nineteenth-century type is modern face, showing all the characteristics of our definition, often with additional aggravations. Apart altogether from fat-faced types, the habit of producing condensed types in the modern style has made much nineteenth-century typography even more unpleasing than it need have been. The narrow capital M, for instance, of the average modern face, illustrates the tendency at its worst. The exaggerated and abrupt modelling, coupled with mathematically vertical shading, resulted in a rigid and mechanical letter which was an abomination to men like William Morris. If one may judge by the typography of our leading printers of today, one may conclude that there are few of our typographers who would defend this modern face. If we confine the term modern face to such types, it becomes difficult to label many types of the eighteenth century except by some such vague and unsatisfactory epithet as transitional. How many of the characteristics of modern face are to be present in a type before it can be classified as such? Serifs may be flat, but still bracketed;

shading may be vertical in part, that is, vertical in some round letters and not in others, and may be accompanied by modelling of various degrees of exaggeration. Any decision must be somewhat arbitrary.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century it was decided that a new series of roman and italic types should be cut for the exclusive use of the Imprimerie Royale, of which Jean Anisson had recently become director. The aid of the Académie des Sciences was called in, and in 1692 a committee of experts was appointed, with Jaugeon as chairman. A lengthy report was presented in which an elaborate construction of each letter, on a mathematical basis, was attempted. One of the squares, divided and subdivided into 2,304 small squares, which was to control the construction of each letter, was reproduced in Arthur Christian's *Débuts de l'imprimerie en France*, 1905. The account of Jaugeon in that book is set in the "Caractères Jaugeon", cut in 1904 by Hénaffe. From this re-cutting it becomes clear that Philippe Grandjean, the engraver of the Imprimerie, followed the design recommended in the report; probably he ignored the theory. By 1702 the sizes first cut were ready and the types were used for the printing of the *Médailles sur les principaux évènements du règne de Louis le Grand*. This roman has flat, unbracketed serifs, and on the ascenders of the lower case the serifs run across to the right as well as to the left. The shading is more vertical and the modelling rather more than in the old face. On the left side of the l, there is a small flick, such as at one time had been usual in gothic types. Here it was probably adopted as a distinguishing mark, and this was perhaps also the reason for the cross serifs. We may note also the bottom serif to the b, the flat bottom serif to the u, and the curly-tailed eighteenth-century R (see fig. 15). The modern face is implicit in this design, and yet to a casual observer, it would appear old face. This is because the modelling is only slightly more pronounced and because there are no hair-lines. Technique was not yet sufficiently advanced to allow of the true modern face. The modernness of the design is perhaps more evident when it is used with modern methods of printing. For example, in the Abbé de Liebersac's *Discours sur les monumens publics*, 1775, printed with Anisson-Duperon's improved press,

Il pose ce fondement tant de son histoire que de sa doctrine et de ses lois. Après, il nous fait voir tous les hommes renfermés en un seul homme, et sa femme même tirée de lui; la concorde des mariages et la société du genre humain établie sur ce fondement; la perfection et la puissance de l'homme, tant qu'il porte l'image de Dieu en entier; son empire sur les animaux; son innocence tout ensemble et sa félicité dans le Paradis, dont la mémoire s'est conservée dans l'âge d'or des poètes; le précepte divin donné à nos premiers parents; la malice de l'esprit tentateur, et son apparition sous la forme du serpent; la faute d'Adam et d'Eve, funeste à leur postérité; le premier homme justement puni dans tous ses enfants, et le genre humain maudit de Dieu; la première promesse de la rédemption, et la victoire future des hommes sur le démon qui les a perdus.

La terre commence à se remplir, et les crimes s'augmentent. Cain, le premier enfant d'Adam et d'Eve, fait voir au monde naissant la première action tragique; et la vertu commence dès-lors à être persécutée par le vice. Là paraissent les caractères opposés des frères, l'innocence d'Abel, sa vie pastorale, et ses offrandes

Fig. 15. "Romain du Roi"

and the modern revivals by Arthur Christian in his *Débuts de l'Imprimerie*, 1905.

Type-founders were forbidden to copy these "romains du roi". Consequently many romans cut by Paris engravers at later dates were less modern than this Grandjean design. But that the types of the Imprimerie were in fact copied, we know from Pierre Cot's *Essais de Caractères d'Imprimerie*, Paris, 1707, a little specimen of Oriental and Greek types; the descriptions of the types shown are set in a roman which has all the characteristic features of the "romain du roi".[1] We have also the evidence of Pierre François Didot le jeune. In 1783 that printer was accused of imitating these types, and in his defence protested against the injustice of his being accused, whereas he was only a printer and several type-founders had for years shown designs like the "romains du roi". He instances Sanlecque in 1742 and says that the same types afterwards appeared in the specimen books of Gando. He says that Madame Hérissant had printed Réaumur's *Histoire des Insectes* in a type of this style in 1742, and admits that he himself had used another in Houel's *Voyage de Sicile*, of which the first volume had appeared in 1782.[2] The type of the Houel has in fact flat serifs, the double serifs and even the flick on the l. Pierre Didot l'ainé has something to say about Grandjean and Alexandre, his successor, in the notes to his *Épître sur les progrès de l'imprimerie*, 1786. "Leurs caractères romains sont à-peu-près imités de ceux de Garamond pour la forme de la lettre; seulement ils l'ont chargé de traits horizontaux qui la défigurent." To Didot, who was then printing with the modern types of his brother Firmin, the "romains du roi" were not much removed from old face.

Grandjean's work was continued by Jean Alexandre, and finally completed by Louis Luce, who cut the smallest size, perle—there were in all twenty-one sizes of roman and italic. Luce, in addition to his work as punch cutter to the Imprimerie Royale, cut on his own account a number of other romans displayed in his *Essai d'une Nouvelle Typographie*, 1771. In the "Avertissement" of this

[1] A facsimile was published in 1924 by D. C. McMurtrie.

[2] See Bernard, *Histoire de l'Imprimerie Royale*, 1867, pp. 96, 97.

specimen Luce explains wherein his types differ from the "romains du roi". He says that his serifs are on the left side only and that they are inclined (as a matter of fact in the larger sizes they are flat). He gives as a reason for preferring the inclined serif that such was the natural stroke of the pen, and that types are derived from the hands of the calligraphers. He says, further, that his letters are more oval, that is to say more condensed, and guards himself from the charge of copying the Dutch by pointing to the delicacy of the serifs and the general harmony of his types. This is the most striking characteristic of the Luce romans, their condensation. He declares that he had published proofs of his types in 1732 and complains that his ideas had been stolen. There is clearly here an allusion to Pierre Simon Fournier, who copied not only the Luce ornaments, shown in the little specimen of the "perle" roman and italic of 1740, but also his roman and italic. Fournier was the better designer, but the idea of his "poétique", a condensed letter intended for the printing of the long verses of the French Alexandrine without breaking into a second line, was derived from Luce (see fig. 16).

Fournier was an industrious worker and offered his customers, not one St. Augustin or Cicero roman, but a whole family on the same body, all cut by himself. He has "petit œil", "œil moyen", "œil ordinaire", "gros œil", "œil serré" and "œil poétique". The "petit œil" is a small-faced type with comparatively long ascenders and descenders. This, says Fournier, leaves a greater interval between the lines, is therefore lighter in appearance but fatiguing to the eye. The "œil moyen" is heavier, therefore more readable; the "gros œil", or large face, is still heavier. In the "œil serré", or condensed face, the letters are a little less round and therefore more letters can be set in one line; the "œil poétique" is also "serré", but made lighter by lengthening the descenders. Fournier's ordinary roman, that is to say, neither "gros œil", "petit œil" nor "goût Hollandais", but yet somewhat condensed, a type which has been re-cut of late years by the Monotype Corporation, may be looked at as an example of a transitional roman of the eighteenth century. Some small points are taken from Grandjean, such as the curly-tailed R, the b, d and u with flat

bottom serifs. But on the other hand the top serifs are not flat, nor is the shading vertical (consider the e). There is more "modernity" about the upper case, but on the whole the type impresses one

N°. LII. 50

GROS-TEXTE POETIQUE.

L'Exactitude & la juſteſſe du raiſonnement ſont abſolument néceſſaires dans la profeſſion d'Avocat.

Un ancien Poëte a nommé les Avocats qui raiſonnent mal, le poiſon des Loix, parce qu'ils en infectent la ſource ; & ces corrupteurs ſont d'autant plus à craindre qu'ils ont plus de Génie, & que l'expérience ſemble leur avoir donné plus d'autorité.

Fig. 16. Fournier's Poétique

rather as an old face. Both Fournier and Luce were more "modern" in their treatment of italic.

Of the "gros œil" and the "goût Hollandais", Fournier says: "Les Hollandais ont imaginé de faire ces sortes de caractères gros œil, maigres et alongis." He is thinking of the distinguished type-founder, Johann Michel Fleischman, a German who worked in Holland (see fig. 17.) He was a famous man in his day, but is now

Text Romyn.

Lors qu'Aſpaſie étoit concubine d'Artaxerxès : On ne ſauroit lui donner moins de vingt ans à la mort de Cyrus : elle avoit donc ſoixante - quinze ans lors qu'un nouveau Roi la demande comme une grace particuliere. PLTGA

ABCDEFHIJKMNOQSU
VWXYZÆ ÆABCDEFGHIJKL
MMNOPQRSTUVWYZ ÇÉÕŷŗ
1234567890†([¶§!?åóíúñ

Text Curſyf.

Ciceron menagea toûjours Dolabella le plus doucement qu'il put. Il avoit ſans doute plus d'habileté que de fermeté, & il voioit que le parti de Pompée ſe ruïnoit de plus en plus par les contiuelles victoires de Jules

ABCDEFGHIKLMNO
PQRSTVWXYZ. UJÆ

Fig. 17. Fleischman's Roman and Italic

somewhat under a cloud. Updike says that he took the life out of all his types and can find nothing good to say of him. But his light and rather condensed St. Augustin roman, cut as early as 1732 and acquired by the Wetsteins, and later by Enschedé, was very popular in Holland, and not without reason. At any rate, when given every advantage of good printing, such as it receives in Charles Enschedé's book—it is there used for the whole text—it appears not unworthy of the praise which Johan Enschedé gives it. The Leipzig founder, Breitkopf, in his *Nachricht von der Stempelschneiderey*, 1777, in reviewing the Enschedé specimen, praises Fournier as against Fleischman, and says that the condensed letters are a mistake. It is evident that Louis Luce and Fournier derived their taste for condensed romans from Fleischman. The "gros œil" itself, that is large-faced types with short descenders, were also very much "goût Hollandais" (see above, p. 49). The second famous Dutch type-cutter of this period, J. F. Rosart, was also employed by the Enschedés, especially for the cutting of roman capitals. Those shown in figs. 275–8 of Charles Enschedé's book are entirely modern, and it may here be remarked that thin, flat serifs and vertical shading in capitals are frequently found in the first half of the eighteenth century, when the lower case was still in the state of transition. The specimens of capitals issued by the Luther firm at Frankfurt in 1716 and again in 1718 offer examples.

The house of Didot is one of the illustrious families in the annals of typography. About the year 1789 there were no less than seven members of the family engaged in the various branches of the book trade at Paris, the two brothers François Ambroise (retired in 1789) with his two sons, and Pierre François with three sons. The elder branch, l'ainé, was the more important, and the most important member of the family from our point of view was F. A. Didot's younger son, Firmin (1764–1836). The father, F. A. Didot, was both printer and type-founder, and among other appointments which he held was that of printer to the Comte d'Artois, afterwards Charles IX, whilst his brother, P. F., was printer to Monsieur, the King's eldest brother, afterwards Louis XVIII. This royal

patronage had doubtless its part in encouraging the cutting of new types. A. F. Didot (see his *Essai sur la typographie*, 1852) says that one Waflard engraved the first types of his grandfather, F. A. Didot. This Waflard, or Pierre Louis Vaflard, is mentioned by Lottin as a type-founder and pupil of Gando. But there seems to be no record of any actual type cut by him, and possibly this man has been given too much prominence in the history of the Didot types. In Thibaudeau's *Lettre de l'Imprimerie*, reproductions of Waflard's types are given (pl. 15, 16), but there seems to be no authority for the attribution. They are more probably Firmin Didot's types. There is further uncertainty in the textbooks as to the dates of the first new Didot types. M. Marius Audin, in *Le Livre*, 1924, and Updike say about 1775. The letter to the *Mercure de France* quoted in Audin, pp. 73, 74, appeared in 1783. The writer, Anisson, director of the Imprimerie Royale, extols Garamond and Baskerville as against the new Didot letters (see Coyecque, *Collection d'Anisson*, vol. II, p. 450). In that year F. A. Didot printed three French classics in quarto, seven volumes in all, intended for the use of the Dauphin, Fénèlon's *Télémaque*, a Racine and a Corneille. All are printed in a transitional roman of a very light cut. The type had appeared already in 1782 in a prospectus of a book on the engravings of E. S. Bartoli (see Updike, fig. 162). Updike's figs. 163 and 164 show similar "maigre" romans, one of them being called a "gras", notwithstanding its extreme lightness. This last was used in a book printed by P. F. Didot le jeune, who had started a foundry in 1783. An edition of the works of Fénèlon, of which the first volume was printed in 1787 by F. A. Didot, is also set in a "maigre". But already in 1784 there had appeared another type cut in the foundry of F. A. Didot, a type which is of great importance in the history of roman. We reproduce a page from the "Avis" of an edition of Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* (fig. 18), of which the first part is announced for June 1784. Following the definition of modern face given above, we must accept this type as a modern face and the first of its class. The thin, flat serifs, the verticality and abruptness of the shading (contrast the e of this type with that of any earlier roman) make this roman different only in degree of

shading from the founts which Firmin Didot was later to cut. And yet the fact that the shading is not too exaggerated, together with the great skill of the engraver, make this roman of 1784 a far better type than the later designs which the Didots themselves came to prefer. In the same year F. A. Didot printed an octavo edition of *Télémaque* in a smaller size of the roman. Whether or not these two sizes were the work of Firmin Didot, by 1786 he had certainly produced two smaller sizes of the same design. These are found in the second edition of Pierre Didot's *Épître sur les progrès de l'imprimerie* (in this second edition the *Épître* follows his *Fables nouvelles*) and Pierre expressly states that the 8 pt. roman of the text and the 9 pt. of the "Avertissement", as well as the italic of the notes, were cut by his brother. The italic in which the first edition of 1784 was printed, he says, was cut a year ago, i.e. in 1783, by Firmin at the age of nineteen (he was born April 14, 1764). This italic had already been used in the books of 1783.

In the page reproduced from the prospectus of the Tasso it will be seen that attention is drawn to the paper on which the book is to be printed, *papier-vélin*, that is, wove paper, made by the Johannot of Annonay. In most of the Didot books of this period the use of *papier-vélin* is specially mentioned. There appear to have been three French firms who were manufacturing wove paper about this time, Réveillon at Courtalin and the Montgolfier at Vidalon, besides Johannot. Pierre Didot claimed to be the initiator in this matter, and he states his case in the notes to the *Épître*, where he admits that Baskerville had printed his Virgil of 1757 on wove paper. M. Marius Audin in his article, "De l'origine du papier-vélin" (*Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1928) has shown that the Montgolfier had a better claim to be the first French manufacturers. Whether Didot states the position with strict fairness is not our concern here, but it should be noticed that the use of wove paper gave a sharper impression, a result which was imperative with the delicately cut types which the Didots were introducing. Another technical development which served a similar purpose was an improved press, now being used by both Didot and by Anisson at the Imprimerie Royale. The notes to the *Épître*, which are full of

Le prix de l'exemplaire, composé de deux volumes in-4° sur papier-vélin de la fabrique de messieurs Matthieu Johannot pere et fils, d'Annonai, premiers fabricants de cette sorte de papiers en France, et orné de quarante et une planches y compris le frontispice, sera de douze louis. Les souscripteurs ne feront aucune avance, et ne paieront qu'à mesure qu'ils recevront la partie de l'ouvrage achevée. Il sera partagé en quatre livraisons, composées chacune de dix planches et de la partie du texte correspondante.

La premiere livraison paroîtra dans le mois de juin de cette année 1784; en la recevant on paiera quatre louis. La seconde paroîtra dix mois après la premiere, et alors on paiera quatre autres louis. Les deux dernieres livraisons se feront de même de dix en dix mois successivement; et l'on paiera deux louis pour chacune. Ainsi, à-peu-près à l'époque fixée dans le premier prospectus, l'ouvrage sera complet; et l'on espere qu'il n'éprouvera plus de retard.

Fig. 18. Didot's Modern Face, 1784

interest, include a relevant passage, in which Didot asserts that Anisson had copied the principle of the press introduced by his father, F. A. Didot. The note is appended to a passage about Baskerville, which reads: "Il n'y sut réformer un vice originaire Et n'en obtint jamais qu'un tirage inégal." The vice, says Didot, was due to the two pulls necessary with the old presses, in which the platen was only half the size of the forme, so that it had to be brought down twice for the printing of one sheet. There is an interesting passage on this "two pulls to the forme", in R. B. McKerrow's *An Introduction to Bibliography*, 1927, pp. 61–3 where the author dates the change to the larger platen at about 1800. The Didots were using such reformed presses by 1784, and claimed that a better impression was thereby obtained.

The Didot modern-face roman was again used in a Latin Bible of 1785 and in an edition of Bossuet's *Discours* of 1786. In 1788 the other branch of the family, P. F. Didot, produced an edition of the *De Imitatione Christi*, in new types by Henri Didot, son of P. F., which are almost modern face; in this fount the verticality of the shading is not completely carried out, as may be seen in the e. Again attention is drawn to the *papier-vélin*. But Firmin Didot was not content to stop here. His delight at his own skill in cutting fine hair-lines led him on to an over-modelling of his types, which became a European fashion and the hall-mark of what are called classical types. The continuation can be seen in the Lucan of 1795, described as being printed "typis P. Didot", though in fact they were cut by Firmin. Pierre Didot began a foundry of his own only in 1809. The full flower of the Didot modern face can be seen in the Virgil of 1798 and the famous Louvre editions (see fig. 19). These books won universal, or almost universal, praise, and as a result Firmin Didot in 1812 was invited to reform the typography of the Imprimerie Impériale. Pierre Didot himself started a foundry and with the help of Vibert, an engraver trained by Firmin, produced the series of modern-face types shown in his specimen of 1819. These he preferred to the Baskerville letters which he had purchased as a curiosity and which, as we shall see, he was anxious to dispose of. The Didot modern face remained the

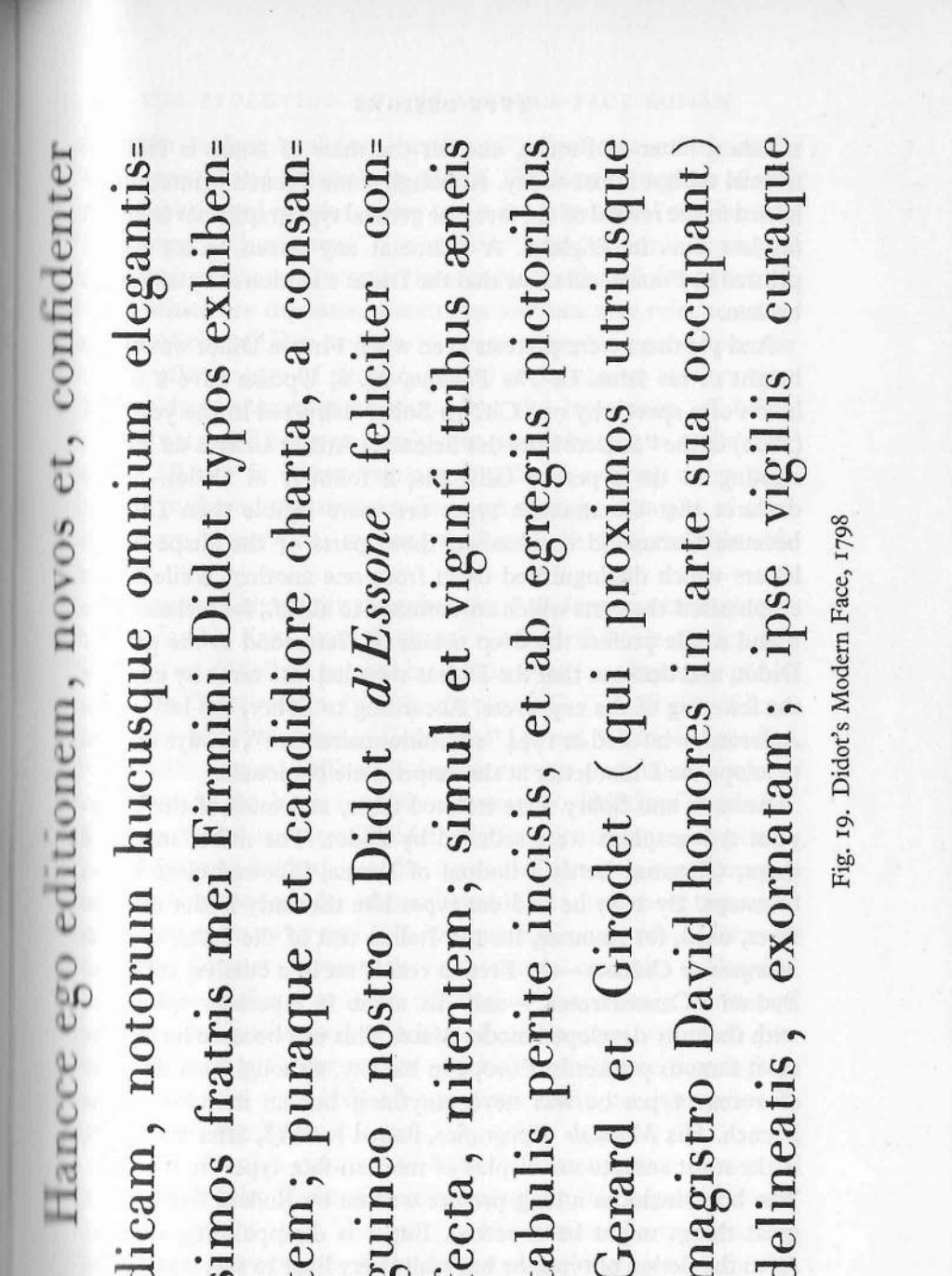

Fig. 19. Didot's Modern Face, 1798

standard letter in France, and for the mass of books is still the normal design in use today. Although some French printers have joined in the revival of old face, the general typography has changed far less than in England. A glance at any dozen recent novels printed in France will show that the Didot tradition is by no means broken.

And yet there were protests even when Firmin Didot was at the height of his fame. In *The Fleuron*, no. 6, Updike gave a translation of a speech by one Citizen Sobry delivered in the year VII (1800) to the "Société libre des Sciences, Arts et Lettres de Paris", relating to the types of Gillé fils, a follower of Didot. Sobry declares that Garamond's types are more legible then Didot's, because Garamond emphasised those parts of the shape of his letters which distinguished them from one another, while Didot emphasised the parts which are common to all; cf., for instance, the u and n. He prefers the deep colour of Garamond to the grey of Didot, and declares that the Didots were led into error by copying the lettering of the engravers. According to Sobry, the last of the Anissons, who died in 1794 "révolutionnairement", always refused to adopt the Didot letter at the Imprimerie Nationale.

Anisson and Sobry were isolated cases, and most of the European typographers were seduced by Didot. The most famous of them, Giovanni Battista Bodoni of Parma, followed close in his footsteps. By 1787 he had cut types like the early Didot modern faces, used, for instance, for the Italian text of the *Lettre à M. le Marquis de Cubières*—the French text is set in a cursive, called by Bodoni "Cancellaresca"—and his name is especially associated with the fully developed modern face. This was because he was the most famous printer in Europe in his day, although as a designer of roman types he was never anything but an imitator of the French. His *Manuale Tipografico*, issued in 1818, after his death, is the most sumptuous display of modern-face types in existence. The book includes a long preface written by Bodoni from which great things might be expected. But it is disappointing reading. As to the design of types he has really very little to say, and part of what he does say is vague. He says that types owe their beauty in

the main to four qualities: "regolarità", "nettezza e forbitura", "buon gusto" and "grazia". In Mr. H. V. Marrot's version of this preface published in 1925, these terms are translated "regularity", "smartness and neatness", "good taste" and "charm". By regularity Bodoni appears to mean the standardisation of those parts of letters which are the same. Smartness and neatness refer to technical qualities of clean casting. In the paragraph on good taste the writer talks mainly of simplicity, and as to charm he says that "letters have charm when they give the impression of being written not unwillingly or hastily, but painstakingly, as a labour of love". All this is rather vague and tells us nothing as to why Bodoni preferred the modern face and what he thought of contemporary typography, as compared with that of the fifteenth century.

In Germany, the Berlin type-founder, J. F. Unger, who is chiefly known for his light-faced Fraktur, received the sole agency for Didot types. A Sallust printed by him in 1790 is an example of his use of the Didot roman. In May of 1790, J. C. L. Prillwitz of Jena published his *Proben neuer Didotschen Lettern*, which led to disputes with Unger. Prillwitz's letters are so poor that Unger's objections might have seemed unnecessary. Brietkopf was also drawn into the discussion. The Leipzig founder seems to have been piqued because he had lost the chance of securing the agency.[1] Another German founder who imitated Didot and whose types are being used again today was J. E. Walbaum (Goslar, 1799, Weimar, 1803–36). Charles Enschedé's book shows examples of copies of Didot in Holland towards the end of the century. Anthony Bessemer, a Dutchman at work in Paris in 1795, supplied the Enschedé with a Cicero roman and italic, which are thoroughly modern face. In 1792 Hendrik van Staden had cut letters "naar de snee van Mr. Dido, à Paris".

The first English printer who modified the old-face roman in England was John Baskerville of Birmingham. He began work on his new types in 1750, and by 1754 had produced a specimen in the form of a prospectus of the forthcoming Virgil, which finally

[1] See Crous, *Die erste Probe Didotscher Lettern*.

appeared in 1757. Baskerville was well known on the Continent, and is generally said to have had much influence on Didot and Bodoni. But his influence seems to have been rather as a printer than as a designer of types. We have seen that his wove paper was copied in France, and his formula for book-production, his spaced capitals and leaded pages reappear in the books of the so-called classical printers. But in pure typography there seems to be no trace of a Baskerville school outside Great Britain, except of course in the use of actual Baskerville types. Didot proceeded from the "romains du roi", and would have so proceeded if Baskerville had never printed. Even in England, where there was a Baskerville period in typography, the modern face came from the French, and not as a development from Baskerville.

A comparison of the Baskerville and Caslon romans will show in what manner the former modified the old face. As a writing-master himself he brought the contemporary practice of calligraphers into typography. His types are rather more modelled and their shading rather more vertical than that of the Caslon letters. Contrast, for instance, the distribution of weight in the e (see fig. 20). As a result of the greater modelling the counters of the round letters are larger and the type as a whole is lighter. But the serifs are still inclined and bracketed, nor are the thin lines excessively thin; therefore the roman has in general much more the appearance of old face than of modern face. Of individual letters, the Q with its new tail and the curly-tailed R (in some sizes only) are conspicuous. In the lower case the tail of the g is not quite closed, and the w (upper case also) has no serif on the centre stroke. These are helpful as "spot" letters, especially the w in texts in English.

Baskerville died in 1775 and the fate of his stock has been a curious one. Straus and Dent (*John Baskerville*, 1904) give details of various printers at Birmingham and in the neighbourhood, including his own foreman, Robert Martin, who had strikes or matrices of the types. But the main stock was sold to Beaumarchais who intended to produce an edition of the works of Voltaire at his press at Kehl, near Strasbourg. A prospectus was issued in 1782 and the first volume appeared in 1784, the very year in which the

Didots produced the first modern face. The further history of the punches and matrices has been told by Mr. John Dreyfus in *The Survival of Baskerville's Punches*, Cambridge, 1949. Beaumarchais brought the stock back to Paris in 1790, set up a foundry and sold type to a number of French printers, including the Imprimerie Nationale. In 1818 Beaumarchais's daughters sold the material to

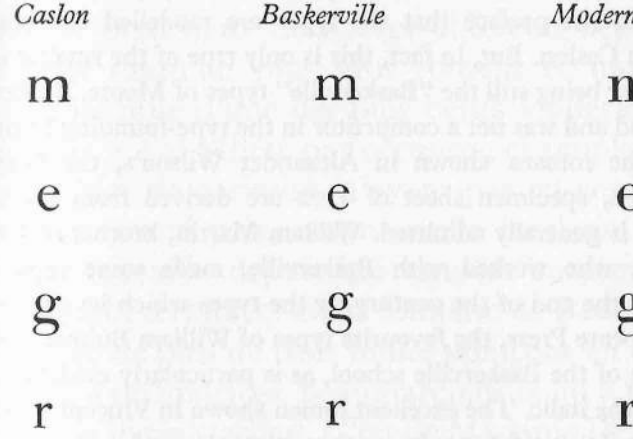

Fig. 20. Specimen letters comparing the three types.

Pierre Didot. He apparently set no value on them and offered them to Francis Egerton, Earl of Bridgewater, in a letter here reproduced (see fig. 21).[1] The offer was not accepted and the stock descended through various Paris foundries, being occasionally used and described as "Elzevier ancien". Their true source was recognised by Bruce Rogers, who about 1920 bought some type for the Harvard University Press. The original punches and matrices have been acquired from Deberny and Peignot by the Cambridge University Press.

In spite of the fact that there was not sufficient enthusiasm for the Baskerville types to secure their preservation in England, yet the leading type-founders were paying him the compliment of

[1] The letter is in the British Museum and was reproduced by Robin Flower in *The Library*, 1909, pp. 151 *seq.*

imitating his designs. The early specimens of Isaac Moore of Bristol, the type-cutter to the Fry foundry, show romans which owe much to Baskerville. The distribution of weight and the modelling, as well as minor points like the tail of the g and the pointed apex of the A, are evidence of this fact, and in John Smith's *The Printer's Grammar*, 1787, where the Fry types are shown, the debt is admitted. In the Fry specimen of 1785 it is expressly stated in the preface that the types are modelled on those of William Caslon. But, in fact, this is only true of the smaller sizes, the larger being still the "Baskerville" types of Moore. Baskerville was dead and was not a competitor in the type-founding business. That the romans shown in Alexander Wilson's, the Glasgow founder's, specimen sheet of 1772 are derived from the same source, is generally admitted. William Martin, brother of Robert Martin, who worked with Baskerville, made some reputation towards the end of the century by the types which he cut for the Shakespeare Press, the favourite types of William Bulmer. These, too, are of the Baskerville school, as is particularly evident in the case of the italic. The excellent roman shown in Vincent Figgins's first specimen of 1793 is another example, and yet another is supplied by William Caslon III, after he had separated from the original Caslon firm and had bought the foundry of Joseph Jackson. His transitional roman appears in his specimen of 1798. The last quarter of the eighteenth century might well be described as the Baskerville period in English printing, both on account of the number of Baskerville designs which had been put on the market and because his formula for book-production had been widely adopted.

In 1788 John Bell, of the British Letter Foundry, issued his first specimen of type cut by Richard Austin. Attention was called to the important and beautiful Austin letters, still in the possession of Messrs. Stephenson, Blake & Co., by Mr. Stanley Morison in an article, "Towards an Ideal Italic", in *The Fleuron*, no. 5. Mr. Morison calls it "our first independent design", and further says: "while maintaining a predominantly old-face character (it) exhibits tendencies towards the modern face". Elsewhere, in his

Le 16 Janvier 1819.

My Lord,

J'ai fait depuis peu l'acquisition de tous les types de Baskerville, c'est à dire de tous ses poinçons en acier, et de toutes ses matrices de cuivre, en nombre d'environ vingt deux caractères différents depuis le plus petit jusqu'au plus gros romain et italique. C'est l'ensemble d'une des plus belles fonderies qui existent; et je l'ai acheté par occasion, et simplement comme objet de curiosité, n'ayant pas eu envie d'y mettre un grand prix, ma nouvelle fonderie à laquelle je travaille depuis huit années consécutives étant bientôt terminée. Cette fonderie de Baskerville se compose de plus de trois milles poinçons en acier, et d'autant de matrices. Beaumarchais la lui a payée vingt mille livres sterling. C'est de Madame Delarue, fille de Beaumarchais, que j'ai fait cette acquisition, partie en argent, partie en éditions imprimées par moi. Si, comme objet de curiosité, ce bel ensemble de types anglais parait vous convenir, j'ai l'honneur de vous le proposer pour le prix de six mille francs. De plus, dans quelque pays que ce fût, cette fonderie pouvroit encore faire un état à quelqu'un que vous auriez intention de récompenser, ou d'encourager.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec respect, my Lord,
Votre très humble et obéissant serviteur.

P. Didot, l'ainé.

Fig. 21. Letter about Baskerville's types in Monotype Baskerville

John Bell, 1930, he has called it the first English modern face. It is significant that John Bell was in Paris in 1785, visiting the printers and type-founders. The only known copy of his specimen of 1788 is in the Bibliothèque Nationale in the Anisson collection. The type seems to be inspired by the Didot letter of 1784, which we have called the first modern face. There are a few reminiscences of Baskerville, for instance the Q, and some of the italic capitals, but these are minor points. Although reminding one of the early Didot, yet Austin's roman stops short of Didot in several important particulars. The serifs are flat (in the English size the serifs at the top of the ascenders are not quite flat, but they are in the larger size), but they are bracketed, and very delicately cut. The shading is not quite vertical, note the e, and is far from abrupt. The designer has supplied two K's and two R's, the curly-tailed and the earlier form, and two t's, the modern where the cross-stroke is not bracketed and the old form. He shows also a short-ranging J and modern figures. Mr. Morison seems to be justified in calling it an independent design, but according to our definition it should not be classed as a modern face, or, at any rate, not without limitation (see fig. 22). It may be added that the type was used occasionally by William Bulmer, as in Sir William Drummond's *Philosophical Sketches*, issued anonymously in 1795. The roman which Updike used for the text of his *Printing Types*, called "Oxford" and originally cut by Binney and Ronaldson of Philadelphia, seems to have some affinity with Austin's.

Austin under the pressure of fashion went on to cut several series of modern-face types, although during the years when the full modern face was becoming fashionable in England, he appears to have been engaged as an engraver of ornaments, the British Letter Foundry having failed in 1798. He cut modern types for the Wilson foundry at Glasgow and for William Miller at Edinburgh. By 1819 he had a foundry of his own in London, in Worship Street, called the Imperial Letter Foundry, and a specimen was issued in 1819. In the interesting introduction he says: "The modern or new-fashioned faced printing-type at present in use was introduced by the French, about 20 years ago; the old-shaped

letters being capable of some improvement . . . but unfortunately for the typographic art, a transition was made from one extreme to the opposite: thus instead of having letters somewhat too

The modern or new fashioned faced printing type at present in use was introduced by the French, about twenty years ago, the old shaped letters being capable of some improvement...but unfortunately for the typographic art, a transition was made from one extreme to its opposite: thus instead of having letters somewhat too clumsy, we now have them with hair lines so extremely thin as to render it impossible for them to preserve their delicacy beyond a few applications of the lye-brush, or the most careful distribution; thus may types be said to be in a worn state ere they are well got to work. The hair lines being now below the surface of the main strokes of the letters, the Printer, in order to get an impression of all parts of the face, is obliged to use a softer backing, and additional pressure...In forcing the paper down to meet the depressed part of the face, it at the same time takes off the impression of part of the sides, as is evident from the ragged appearance of printing from such types.

Fig. 22. John Bell's Type, 1788

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work. The hair lines being now below the surface of the main strokes of the letters, the Printer, in order to get an impression of all parts of the face, is obliged to use a softer backing, and additional pressure. . . . In forcing the paper down to meet the depressed part of the face, it at the same time takes off the impression of part of the sides, as is evident from the ragged appearance of printing from such types." He goes on to say that the types of thirty years ago were better, and further that the punches of the Imperial Letter Foundry will be cut in a peculiar manner, to assist this useful invention (stereotyping). What the peculiar manner is we are not told, but at any rate Austin seems to have avoided the evil results which he describes by slightly bracketing his serifs. His complaint against the modern face seems to be made on technical grounds, but at least we may draw the conclusion that he was not responsible for introducing the French new-fashioned faced types. His type of thirty years ago, the John Bell type, he would consider as belonging to an earlier and better period of letter-founding.

John Bell's newspaper, *The Oracle*, was printed in the early Austin type from 1792, and this fact seems to have influenced newspaper typography. The type was copied by Fry and later, in November 1799, *The Times* appeared in a new type from the Caslon foundry. In his article on newspaper types in *The Times Printing Supplement*, 1929, Mr. Morison shows this letter, which he describes as modern. It is like the Austin type in its bracketed serifs, gradual shading and not quite vertical colour. When compared with a type cut by Robert Thorne in 1800 the contrast is striking. In Thorne's letter we have an undoubted modern face, which so far as recorded appears to be the first to answer the definition of modern face which we have given. This letter of 1800 appeared in Thorne's specimen book of 1803, where all the letters described as new are modern face; another one is dated 1802 (see fig. 23). In the preface Thorne calls them "improved printing types". For some reason or other this new letter was highly popular and the other type-founders soon followed Thorne's example. Fry issued a specimen including some modern faces in

the same year as Thorne, 1803;[1] these, together with the new letters of the Caslon firm, were shown in Stower's *Printer's Grammar*, 1808, where regret is expressed that Figgins's new letters were not yet ready. That the Fry Foundry was following the compulsion of

GREAT PRIMER, No. 1. NEW.

Quousque tandem abutere Catilina, patientia nostra? quamdiu nos etiam furor iste tuus eludet? quem ad finem sese effrenata jactabit audacia? nihilne te nocturnum præsidium palatii, nihil consensus bonorum omnium, nihil hic munitissimus habendi senatus locus, nihil horum ora vultusque moverunt? patere tua consilia non sentis? constrictam jam omnium horum conscientia teneri conjurationem tuam non vides? quid proxima, quid superiore nocte

ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRST
UVWXYZÆŒ œ £1234567890

ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZÆ

Fig. 23. Thorne's Modern Face

fashion rather than their own wish is evident from some words of Dr. Edmund Fry, the head of the firm, in the circular issued at the time of the sale of his foundry in 1828, quoted by Reed. After referring to the revolution in the type-founding trade, he says:

[1] William Savage, in his *Practical Hints on Decorative Printing*, shows a Caslon modern face and dates it 1796; but no such specimen appears in the Caslon specimen book of 1800.

"The Baskerville and Caslon imitations . . . were laid by for ever; and many thousand pounds worth of new letters in Founts . . . were taken from the shelves, and carried to the melting-pot to be recast into Types, no doubt in many instances more beautiful; but no instance has occurred in the attentive observation of the Proprietor of this Foundry where any Founts of book letters on the present system, have been found equal in service, or really so agreeable to the reader, as the true Caslon-shaped Elzevir types." It is a curious fact that the principal type-founders—the Caslons in their specimens of 1825 refer with regret to the original Caslon types no longer shown—and connoisseurs such as Hansard in his *Typographia*, are all agreed in condemning the new fashion, and yet all were forced to follow the taste of the day. Thorne appears to have enjoyed his success and went on to further exaggerations, to the cutting of fat-faced types, which in turn were imported into France. So far as the evidence of the type specimen books goes, Thorne appears to be the founder who was responsible for sponsoring the full modern face in England.

At this very time when the fate of English typography was being settled for the next century, there was a remarkable improvement in the standard of English book production, due to the work of Thomas Bewick as an illustrator, and of William Bulmer and Thomas Bensley as printers. Although they were clearly influenced by Didot and Bodoni, it so happens that the typography of their early and best period was not modern face. The type used by Bensley for printing Macklin's Bible and for Thomson's *Seasons*, 1798, was the earliest roman of Vincent Figgins, a transitional type, while William Bulmer's favourite roman, used in many well-known books issued by the Shakespeare Press, was that of William Martin. Martin was a brother of Robert Martin, who had worked with Baskerville, and his types show the influence of that designer, more particularly in the italic. The roman is definitely not a modern face, much less so than the John Bell type. It has the eighteenth-century R, ranging figures and a modern g with a curly ear, but the serifs are not quite flat and the stress not vertical. The g, which appears to lean backwards, is perhaps the easiest letter

to recognise. No specimen seems to have been issued by Martin, but a specimen of a Liverpool printer, G. F. Harris, 1807, displays his types. Harris was successor to John MacCreery, who had used Martin's type in a poem entitled *The Press*, 1803.

CHAPTER FOUR

Roman

OLD-FACE TYPES IN THE VICTORIAN AGE

THE STORY OF the slow revolution in our book typography from the modern faces of the nineteenth century back to the old faces has not been recorded in much detail. One receives the impression that the Chiswick Press was an outstanding exception, and that the next event of importance in English typography was the founding of the Kelmscott Press. William Morris and his pupils certainly did much to raise the general level of printing, but as to the development of the book types used by the ordinary publishers they have nothing to do with the story. In 1840 our typography was without exception modern face. After that year the old faces crept in slowly, and their use gradually increased, year by year, until the picture is now reversed. This change-over would have taken place if Morris had never printed, and was in fact ensured before his first type was cut.

An account of the actual revival of Caslon Old Face by the young Charles Whittingham of the Chiswick Press may be read in the textbooks such as Updike. The reader may, however, be reminded that the story as there given is not quite complete. The printing of *Lady Willoughby's Diary*, in 1844, for Longmans, was not Whittingham's first experiment with the type. He had at the time several books in hand, to be set in Caslon, for William Pickering, and had already, from 1840, used Caslon capitals on

title-pages for that enterprising publisher. The details are given in Sir Geoffrey Keynes's *Bibliography of William Pickering*. From 1844 the Chiswick Press frequently used the type. Of many successful volumes it is pleasant to recall that gayest of all school books, the Euclid of 1847, with its illustrations in colour.

At the Great Exhibition of 1851 Whittingham was one of the jurors for printing, and in his report, issued in 1852, he writes: "Mr. Whittingham at the suggestion of Mr. Pickering first reintroduced the old letters of Garamond and Jenson, and many of the London printers have since followed." The remark about the "many" London printers is somewhat surprising at that date, for it is only rarely that one comes across a book of the forties or early fifties set in an old face unless from the Cheswick Press. Whittingham's chief follower was a publisher and printer of religious books of the Anglo-Catholic school, Joseph Masters. In 1847 Masters had a book, *A Short Account of Organs*, printed in Caslon at the Chiswick Press. In 1848 he himself printed two books in the same style and type, a *Book of Common Prayer*, and J. E. Millard's *Historical Notices of the Office of Choristers*. The *Common Prayer* he describes as being printed in the "Old Elzevir type". A third volume followed in 1849, *The Devout Chorister*, by T. F. Smith. Amongst a large number of books in modern face Masters continued to produce an occasional volume in Caslon, all charming little books not unworthy of Whittingham. In the sixties the devotional books which he printed for the Rev. Orby Shipley are among his best work. By 1860 Caslon had become a favourite type for books of that class; for example, the *Pietas Privata*, 1859, was printed by J. Unwin for Ward & Co. in Caslon. A Catholic printer, John Philp, was yet another old face enthusiast. A page from his edition of the *Garden of the Soul*, 1860, is shown in Mr. Morison's *Four Centuries of Fine Printing*. Another of Philp's publications, also of 1860, was a music book, a *Cantata on the Passion of Jesus Christ*, of Saint Alphonsus Maria de Liguori, in which the title-page and preliminaries are handsomely set in Caslon.

Among early examples of Caslon-set books of a more general

nature are R. A. Willmot's *Pleasures of Literature*, published by T. Bosworth in 1852, and an edition of Tupper's *Proverbial Philosophy*, printed in 1854 by Vizetelly for T. Hatchard. The Tupper belongs to a group of books in old faces produced for Christmas and described in the advertisements as "Elegant Presentation Books". In 1855 Clay printed for Sampson, Low & Co., editions of Keats's *Eve of St. Agnes*, Thomas Campbell's *Pleasures of Hope* and Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield*, all in old-face types. Similar volumes followed each year and a particular style of binding is associated with these books. They are all in embossed cloth covers, gaudily decorated. The advertisements in *The Publisher's Circular* become of interest on this point. This periodical was issued by Sampson, Low & Co., who no doubt were responsible for the new illustrated display pages, chiefly of Christmas books, set in Caslon capitals. The first occurrence of this new style was in 1854, although the books so advertised in that year were themselves printed in modern face. In 1855 there are half a dozen of these Caslon-set advertisements, three in 1856, none in 1857 and fifteen in 1858, most of the books being printed in old face.

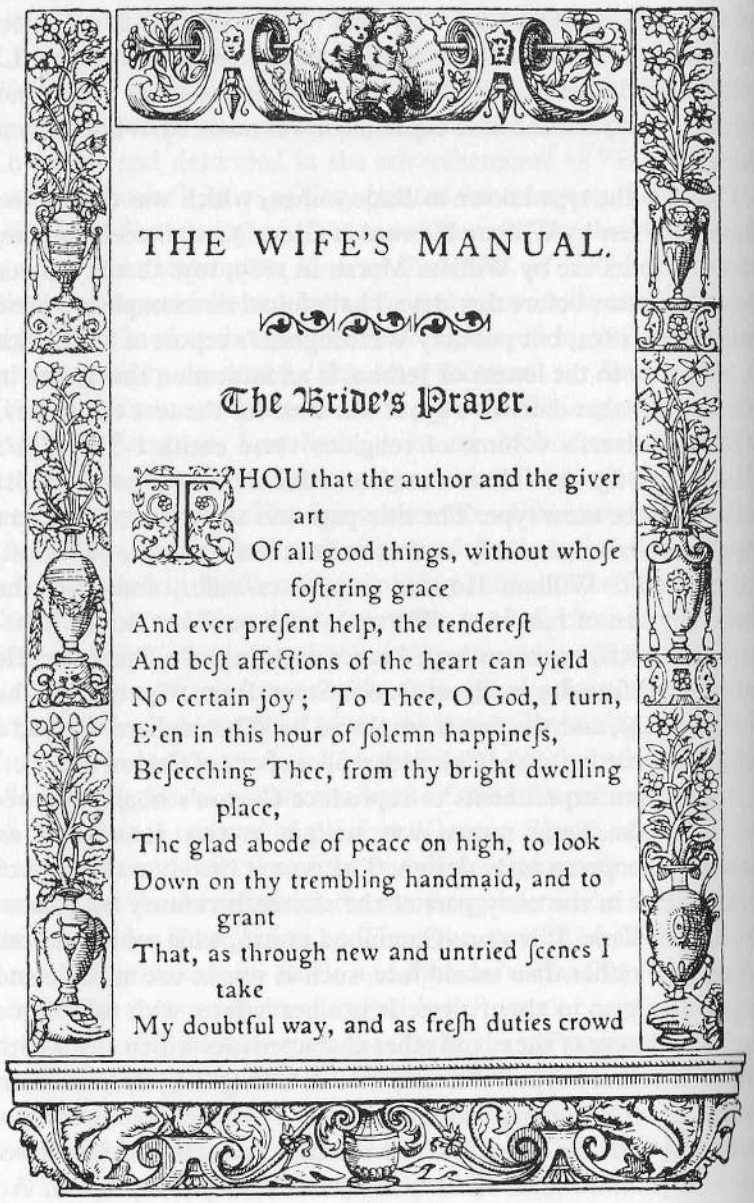
The original Caslon was not the only eighteenth-century type to be revived. The example of the Chiswick Press had led other founders to look over their old stock, and we find, for example, Vincent Figgins in a specimen book of the fifties showing a page of the original romans of the first Vincent Figgins, dated 1795. Another transitional type of the end of the eighteenth century was used by the Brothers Dalziel, the wood engravers, who started their own "Camden Press" in 1857. This type, possibly a Caslon of the 1790's, may be seen in Doyle and Planché's *The Old Fairy Tale*, 1865. The roman can be distinguished from the original Caslon by the A, with a pointed apex, the Q with the tail starting inside the counter of the letter and the curly-tailed R. The italic has some unusual letters, the *b* and *p*, for instance, and is not really an old face at all.

The ordinary publishers as yet certainly did not believe that the old faces were more legible. They were all right for books which might or might not be read, but they were not going to use them

for sensible reading matter. We may note in passing that Caslon was reintroduced into the United States in 1858, bought by L. Johnson & Co., of Philadelphia. The English founders were in no hurry to copy, and the next experiment was made by Whittingham himself.

This was the type known as Basle roman, which was cut for the Chiswick Press by William Howard of Great Queen Street. Updike, referring to its use by William Morris in 1889, says that it was cut about fifty years before that date. I have found no example of its use earlier than 1854, but possibly Whittingham's report of 1852, with its reference to the letters of Jenson, is an indication that it was in existence by that date. In 1854 it was used for the text of the Rev. William Calvert's volume of religious verse entitled *The Wife's Manual* (see fig. 24). There were later editions in 1856 and in 1861, both set in the same type. The title-page was set in Caslon, as there appears to have been only one size of the Basle roman, 10–11 pt., and no italic. William Howard was an ex-sailor, and from the account given of him in A. Warren's book on *The Charles Whittinghams*, 1896, seems to have been something of a character. He had a small foundry in Great Queen Street from 1842 to 1859 (he died in 1864), and was much employed by Whittingham. He had a hand in the cutting of the Chiswick replica of one of Caxton's types.

Apart from experiments to reproduce Caxton's books in type-facsimile, the Basle roman was unique in this country as an attempt to copy an early design. The type is based on the kind of roman used in the early part of the sixteenth century by Johann Froben, of Basle. It is a pre-Garamond roman, what we should call a Venetian rather than an old face, such as was in use at Basle and at Lyons, down to about 1550. It is a heavy face, with an oblique stroke to the eye of the e, and other characteristics which ally it with fifteenth-century types. The stress is definitely diagonal, so much so that the o has an angular appearance. The old-fashioned long s was used with the fount and the squarish terminals of this letter are conspicuous. The short s has a noticeably steep spine. An oblique stroke is used for the dot over the i, another fifteenth-century characteristic.


THE WIFE'S MANUAL.

The Bride's Prayer.

THOU that the author and the giver art
Of all good things, without whoſe foſtering grace
And ever preſent help, the tendereſt
And beſt affections of the heart can yield
No certain joy; To Thee, O God, I turn,
E'en in this hour of ſolemn happineſs,
Beſeeching Thee, from thy bright dwelling place,
The glad abode of peace on high, to look
Down on thy trembling handmaid, and to grant
That, as through new and untried ſcenes I take
My doubtful way, and as freſh duties crowd

B

Fig. 24. The Basle Roman

This type was much too exotic to appeal to printers in general, but its antique flavour attracted William Morris. In 1889 he had his prose romance, *A Tale of the House of the Wolfings*, set in Basle roman. He dropped the long s, but on the other hand he had his pages set solid—the pages of *The Wife's Manual* were leaded—which emphasised the blackness of the face. The title is in Caslon capitals, and the table of contents in an italic of earlier design. In another romance, *The Roots of the Mountains*, 1890 (the book actually appeared in 1889), Morris used the type again, but had a different e cut, one with the bar nearly, but not quite, horizontal. The only other books which I know of, set in Basle roman, are three volumes of religious verse by the Rev. Orby Shipley, *Lyra Eucharistica*, 1863; *Lyra Messianica*, 1864; and *Lyra Mystica*, 1865.

Many years after Whittingham had shown an interest in Caslon Old Face, in 1857, it made its first reappearance in a specimen book of the Caslon firm. In 1860 there appeared the first specimen of Miller & Richard's Old Style, a modernised old face. This was cut by their employee in Edinburgh, Alexander C. Phemister. In the specimen of 1860 eight sizes were shown, from great primer to pearl. The founders state that it was intended to meet the growing demand for old faces and explain that "they have endeavoured to avoid the objectionable peculiarities, whilst retaining the distinctive characteristics of the mediaeval letters". As to the word mediaeval in this connection, it is but one more example of the odd vocabulary used by founders. Old faces are certainly nearer in time to the Middle Ages than the modern faces, but to call the roman of the Italian Renaissance mediaeval is to make hay of typographic history. An examination of the type will reveal what the founders understood by the "objectionable peculiarities" of the earlier letters. It has two of the chief characteristics of the old faces, the bracketed and inclined serifs and the gradual stress.[1] On the other hand, the stress is vertical and there is a regularity and a certain sharpness of cut which are modern. The upper case is not unlike Caslon, but there is a uniformity of width about the letters which is

[1] This is not so in all versions of Old Style; for example, in Miller & Richard's No. 4 Old Style.

a relic of the modern face. For example, the H, M and W are narrower, and the bowls of the P and R wider than in Caslon. The A has a flat top (in Caslon it is oblique). The curves of the C and G are more open, and the C has no lower serif, while the top serif is more spur-shaped. In the lower case the bowl of the a and the eye of the e are larger, and the t is taller than in Caslon. These are no doubt the letters which appeared peculiar to type designers trained in the modern-face school. Perhaps the letter which differs most from Caslon is the g. The tail or loop begins with a steep inclination, a form which is possibly a reminiscence of the French Old Style or Elzevir, a type which just preceded Miller & Richard's design. However that may be, this g is a most useful "spot" letter. The italic is steeply but more regularly inclined than Caslon. Note especially among the capitals the A, V and W. In the lower-case there is one peculiarity that is easily remembered. The thin up-strokes take off from the very foot of the thick down-strokes. The main stem of the p is conspicuously tall.

This excellent face succeeded in certain quarters and found imitators before long. At least one may perhaps say "before long" on the subject of the slow-moving history of typography. Phemister, cutter of the original design, went to the U.S.A. in 1861, and by 1863 had produced for the Dickinson Foundry of Boston another version known as Franklin Old Style. He died in the United States in 1894, after a busy career as a designer of types. Genzsch & Heyse, of Hamburg, in 1868, showed their English Mediæval, for which they said they had procured matrices from a leading firm of English founders, presumably Miller & Richard. In the meantime in the *Printers' Register* for 1866 four interesting advertisements are to be seen side by side. Miller & Richard announced the completion of their series of Old Style types, while the Caslon firm assert that their Old Face is "invariably selected by the *Literati* as the only genuine Old Face Type". In September 1866 Stephenson, Blake & Co., of Sheffield, display their "New Series of Old Style Types", which differ in some small points from the original Old Style. The A has a pointed apex, the S a steeper spine, and the T spurs to its serifs. The angle of inclination

of the italic is not so great. In October 1866 Reed & Fox, the Fann Street Foundry, show their "New Series of Mediaeval Founts", a close imitation of Miller & Richard; as to the name, if the original founders could refer to the old face as mediaeval, there is some excuse for Reed & Fox. In 1868 yet a third firm, the Patent Type-founding Company (afterwards Shanks), produced an Old Style.

It is evident then that by this time Old Style had been accepted and the fact can be illustrated from the printed books of the period. For example, John Payne Collier, one of the "literati" of the day, a well-known Shakespearian scholar, published privately many reprints of tracts from early English literature. From 1862 onwards these are generally printed in Old Style. An Edinburgh firm—it will be remembered that Miller & Richard's foundry was in Edinburgh—W. P. Nimmo, used the new letter from the early sixties. John Philp, from about 1867, seems to have preferred Old Style to Caslon, for instance, in his edition of Joannes Lanspergius's *An Epistle of Jesus Christ to the Faithful Soul*, 1867, and many of his later books. He was, however, no longer his own printer, but generally employed J. Ogden. About the same time, before 1870, Hodder & Stoughton also were issuing books of a religious nature in Old Style. Again the advertisements in the *Publishers' Circular* show that from 1864 Old Style began to rival Caslon in display.

On February 7, 1865, there appeared the first number of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, set in Old Style, a revolutionary change in newspaper typography. The example was followed by three other evening papers, *The Echo* in 1868, the *St. James's Gazette* in 1880, and later by the *Westminster Gazette*.

Herbert Horne's *Hobby Horse* of 1888 has often been quoted as the classical example of the use of Old Style and as a pioneer volume in the abandonment of the modern face. A trial number of the *Hobby Horse* had been printed in 1884, in Caslon, and the first regular issues from 1886 were set in a small size of Old Style. The larger size, used from 1888, certainly displayed the good qualities of the type, but by that date it had been used for more than twenty years and often effectively used. One printer in

particular had not waited for the *Hobby Horse* to show the reading public what could be done with Old Style. This was Andrew White Tuer of the Leadenhall Press, a versatile printer and publisher whose work deserves to be better known.

Tuer (1838–1900) was born in Sunderland, educated at Newcastle upon Tyne and York, and came to London as a medical student at Guy's Hospital. He never completed his course there, and in 1862 we find him established as a wholesale stationer at 136 The Minories. In the following year he was joined by Robert Field, the firm being known as Field & Tuer. About 1868 they moved to 50 Leadenhall Street, where they printed and published *The Paper and Printing Trades Journal*, the first number of which is dated December 1872. This journal, one of the earliest of its kind, was published by Field & Tuer for nearly twenty years, being continued later by John Southward. From the first it was printed in Old Style with a display title, in the early numbers, in Old Style italic; after a few issues this titling was dropped and a block substituted. Some woodcut initials, generally reproductions from the sixteenth-century examples, were used as decoration. There is little or nothing of lasting interest in the matter of the periodical, and the advertisements are not above the average of the day, that is to say they are very poor. Even Field & Tuer's own advertisements of their Japanese papers and their "Stickphast" are no exception.

The most interesting part of Tuer's career begins in 1879 when his firm began to publish books, including a number of which Tuer himself was the author or compiler. His first book was an odd publication called *Luxurious Bathing*, in which a treatise on baths from a hygienic point of view was combined with twelve landscape etchings by Sutton Sharpe. The typography of the book was Caslon Old Face. Several other editions appeared with etchings from other hands, equally disconnected from the subject of Tuer's essay. The firm continued to publish down to Tuer's death in 1900, at first as Field & Tuer; in the course of the year 1890 Field's name dropped out and the imprint became the Leadenhall Press. Field, who died in 1891, appears to have been merely a

sleeping partner or financial backer. The publishing house could boast of a fairly extensive and somewhat unusual list. A number of their books dealt with the fashions and manners of bygone days, many were reprints of earlier books illustrated by contemporary blocks, and others reprints of early children's books. Among the authors on their list were Max O'Rell (Paul Blouet) and Jerome K. Jerome. A few of the books were printed in Caslon and a few in an old face which is not Caslon, but the great majority in Old Style. Only rarely did the Leadenhall Press think it desirable to use a modern face; one example is a lecture by Sir William Flinders Petrie printed in 1884. A few of the firm's earlier efforts might be described as "arty"; but Tuer's taste seemed to improve rapidly and the failures were few. The books were well printed, on good paper, with interesting title-pages, and decorated often with a daring quite exceptional at the time.

The most important of Tuer's own works was his life of the engraver, Bartolozzi, which appeared in two large volumes in 1882; there was a smaller edition without the plates in 1885. The text is set in Old Style, the title in a bold italic of the old-face school, and the running title in Old Style italic within rules. The title-page is well arranged and very full. Tuer never shrank from saying all that he wanted to say on the title-page and would not have approved of the anaemic fashion of the present day. The imprint is set in swash capitals, one of Tuer's failings; he was altogether too fond of these letters and his more usual imprint in lower case Old Style italic is much to be preferred. The Bartolozzi is a large quarto, the size of the page being controlled by the plates, and Tuer is very successful with the help of ruled pages, in coping with the difficulties of a large page. Another volume on an ambitious scale is Hoppner's *Bygone Beauties*, ten portraits engraved by Charles Wilkins about 1803 and printed from the original plates. The title-page shows a daring mixture of types; one line is in a large lower case old face, one in Lyons capitals, one in outline capitals, and others in italic. The text pages are decorated with head and tail pieces and woodcut initials.

Tuer's best volume is perhaps *The Follies and Fashions of our*

Grandfathers, published in 1886. The title is set in an outline italic, the chapter headings in outline roman capitals, and the text in Old Style. Some unusual small script initials are used at paragraph openings. The text consists of extracts from fashion and other journals of the year 1807, bearing on social life, with illustrations, printed, many of them, from contemporary plates. Tuer contrived to get hold of an extraordinary number of old copper-plates and made very good use of them. In an article in no. 6 of *The Fleuron* Mr. Morison noted Tuer's use of outline letters, and said that he was the only printer between Thorne and our own generation who used such letters. The roman capitals are possibly the Caslon outline capitals dating from about 1790; the italic outline letters may have been prepared at the Leadenhall Press by cutting away the centre of the strokes. Tuer was of an ingenious turn of mind, and the use of the script initials we have mentioned was another of his tricks. The smaller ones are simply the capitals of a fount of English ronde, and the larger the capitals of one of the fancy types of the age, resembling the Caslon Gutenberg series. As detached thus by Tuer from their proper founts they are not unsatisfactory.

Before Tuer's career came to an end, Caslon Old Face and Old Style had ceased to be exceptional in our typography. Yet so conservative are English printers that there was no demand for any further experiments either in the reproduction of early designs or in types of any originality. In the United States Franklin Old Style was soon followed by Ronaldson and a number of types of the same school. It is a striking fact that in this country, apart from the privately owned faces of the Kelmscott, Doves and other presses, the first acceptable book type to be cut after the Old Style of 1860 was the "Monotype" Imprint of 1913. In view of this conservatism it is perhaps not so surprising to find that today more books are actually set in Old Style than in any other type. But these are no longer the choicest books. Old Style has become the poor relation in typographical society. It is left for the cheapest kind of books, often ill-used, impressed on the wrong sort of paper, and seldom given a chance to show its best qualities. It has had its day, and in its day has played a role of some importance.

A parallel movement in France begins with the work of a printer of Lyons, Louis Perrin. Having to print a work by Alphonse de Boissieux on ancient inscriptions found in Lyons, Perrin cut a special series of capitals based on the inscriptional lettering. These were widely copied and were introduced into England by the Chiswick Press under the name of Lyons capitals. They were shown in a specimen of 1867, and, as we have already seen, were often used by Tuer. Like another famous inscriptional alphabet, the lettering of the Trajan Column at Rome, the Lyons capitals are of varying width, letters like E and M being narrower than the round letters D and O. In the modern face this sound principle of letter designing had been ignored and capitals had become of uniform width. Perrin afterwards cut a lower case for these capitals and called the fount "Caractères augustaux". In 1857 a Parisian founder, Théophile Beaudoire, followed Perrin with his type known as Elzevir, of which the upper case closely resembled the Lyons capitals and of which the lower case should more properly have been called Garamond. However, Elzevir had become the established name for French Old Style and it is Beaudoire's type which seems to have been known to Phemister, if we may judge by the similarity of the lower-case g's. In spite of these Elzevir types and the work of publishers like Jules Claye, the Didot influence has remained stronger in France than the corresponding modern face in England. The majority of French books are still set in "Didot".