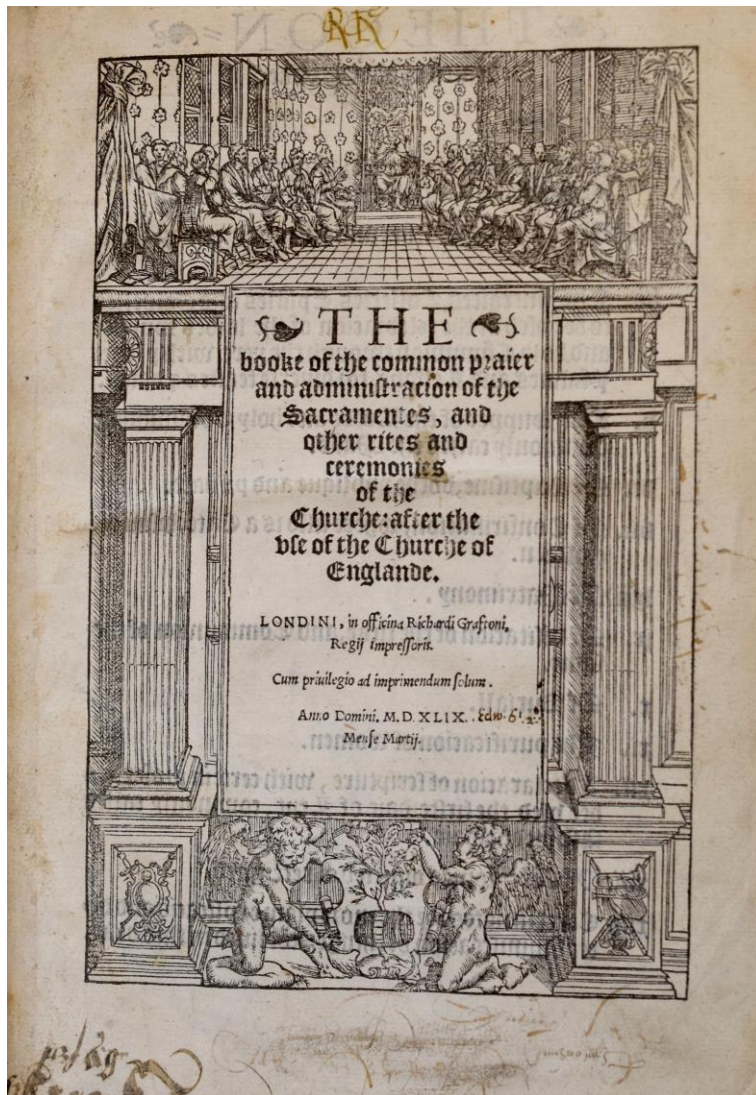


**The First Issue of the First Edition of the First Edwardian Prayer Book:  
New College Library, Oxford, BT1.131.19**

That the earliest editions of *The Book of the Common Prayer* were printed in 1549 will come as no surprise to those interested in the early history of either the Church of England or the London book trade, or to bibliophiles whose income encourages them to browse in the *Short-Title Catalogue*. During 1549–50 more than a dozen editions were printed in folio (and one in quarto) to equip the clergy of nearly 9,000 parishes. But while many religious conservatives deplored the book's departures from the rituals of the past, opposition from radicals who found it insufficiently reformed proved more influential, and in 1552 it was replaced by a substantially revised version.



New College Library, Oxford, BT1.131.19, title-page

Their obsolescence prevented many copies of the 1549 editions from being used to destruction. In 1555 Mary Tudor proclaimed that they should be called in and burnt, but in early 2021 a search of the online English Short-Title Catalogue (ESTC) showed that more than 140 'copies' survive (albeit many incomplete and a few only fragmentary). Most are institutionally owned, so private

collectors can seldom acquire one. Those most sought-after have always been the ‘first’ editions: Edward Whitchurch’s STC 16267 dated 7 March and Richard Grafton’s STC 16268 dated 8 March. That search of ESTC suggested that seventeen copies of Whitchurch’s first edition and seven copies of Grafton’s still exist, including one of each at New College. Those numbers, however, need substantial correction.

As Katharine F. Pantzer wryly observed in 1976, ‘Most bibliographers are hesitant to deal with liturgies from the period before, during, and after the Reformation’ (i.e. *all* liturgies, past, present, and future), and neither of those two celebrated editions has ever been examined really closely by experts. Nobody seems to have asked (let alone answered) the question of why Grafton dated his first colophon (on Y8<sup>r</sup> after the Communion service) while leaving his second one undated (at the end of the book after the Litany), whereas Whitchurch’s Litany follows the Communion service while *his* dated colophon is at the end of his book. And although a new book’s preliminaries were usually the very last pages to be printed, has anyone wondered how many days elapsed between each dated colophon and the imprecise ‘*Mense Martii*’ on its associated title-page?

In order to discuss the chronology I shall temporarily ignore one two-sheet quire in each edition, and divide the rest of the book into three parts. Most of the quires consist of three sheets (six leaves, or twelve pages), and all exceptions require explanation. Each edition consists of the following parts.

**Preliminaries:** Two quires. The first has only two leaves, and contains the title-page, a list of contents, and a two-page preface. Title-pages are almost never signed, so the signature (an Aldine leaf) appears on the *second* recto, but in both editions it is misprinted as 60.i. instead of 60.ii. The second quire has eight leaves and is signed A, but because the first quire of text is also signed A this one is conventionally identified as <sup>π</sup>A ( $\pi = p$  for preliminary). The first four pages explain how the Psalms and the books of the Bible are assigned to specific days of the month and year; the remaining twelve set out the liturgical calendar, one page for each month.

**Part 1:** Twenty-two quires of what can be called the ‘usual’ services whose content is determined only by the liturgical calendar.

**1a:** The order for Matins and Evensong on any day not requiring special celebration. One quire signed A, containing four sheets in Whitchurch’s edition but only three in Grafton’s.

**1b:** The Introit, Collect, Epistle, and Gospel to be used during the Communion service on each of ninety special days. Nineteen quires signed B–V (omitting J and U). Each printer’s quire K contains four sheets, and so does Grafton’s quire V.

**1c:** The Communion service. Two quires, signed X (three sheets) and Y (four sheets). The text ends on the final recto (followed in Grafton’s edition by his dated colophon) and the final verso is blank.

**Part 2:** Six quires of ‘occasional’ services.

**2a:** Five quires, signed ¶a–¶e by Whitchurch and Aa–Ee by Grafton, with services for baptism, confirmation, marriage, visitation of the sick, burial, and the churching of women.

**2b:** One four-sheet quire, signed ¶f by Whitchurch and f by Grafton. The Commination (eight pages) is followed by a four-page essay on Ceremonies. The next recto contains five ‘Certayne notes’ (both printers) followed in Whitchurch’s edition by his dated colophon. The verso either has a note on maximum retail prices (Whitchurch) or is blank (Grafton), and the final leaf is blank in both editions.

In the preliminaries it is not immediately clear which title quire was set first, but there can be no doubt that one was set from the other (not both independently from manuscript). The second printer’s title-

page did not follow the first in every particular, and the general layout could have been prescribed by the manuscript. But each starts with ‘THE’ in two-line great primer roman flanked by Aldine leaves, divides the rest of the title (differently) into nine lines of great primer textura, then uses smaller italic (english for Grafton, pica for Whitchurch) to identify himself in two lines, to claim *privilegio ad imprimendum solum* on a separate line, and then to give the date as March 1549 in two lines.<sup>1</sup> Overleaf, however, one table of contents was certainly set from the other. The spellings are not always identical, but in entries that exceed a single line in length each line divides in exactly the same place (including the redundant double hyphen in ‘Communion of the= | same’ in item ix). On the second leaf, the line-breaks in the first paragraph of the preface are necessarily different because the printers used drop capitals of different sizes (eight lines for Whitchurch, seven for Grafton). But in the remaining four paragraphs every line of the prose except the penultimate one ends after exactly the same word in each setting—and given the flexibility of Edwardian spelling and spacing, that could not happen fortuitously.

The quire containing the calendar could have been printed at any point in the proceedings, and required special skills and experience from both the compositors and the pressmen. That Whitchurch’s calendar was almost certainly printed *from* Grafton’s therefore need not imply the same about any other part of the book. The rules that divide the calendar pages into nine vertical columns and thirty-seven horizontal rows are printed by thin strips of brass—but since they cannot cross each other, either the verticals or the horizontals have to be made up from short pieces in at least approximate alignment. And because text is set in lines rather than columns, printed tables are almost always set (as here) with unbroken horizontals and carefully aligned type-high verticals.

Unlike the rest of the book the calendar quire is printed in two colours, so the presswork too was more complicated than usual. After each forme was assembled (a *forme* being the pair of pages for one side of a sheet) it was printed and proof-corrected in red. Once corrected, it was printed in red on a sheet of parchment, from which all the areas wanted in red were then carefully cut out. Next, that parchment mask (or *frisket*) was used to print however many copies were needed of the red areas (now the only areas able to contact the clean paper). The pressmen then removed the frisket from the press while the compositors cleaned the type-page carefully, took out all the words, letters, and rules that had been printed in red, and replaced them with spaces. The sheets were then put through the press again, carefully aligned, to print the black areas.

The first line of Grafton’s calendar is set in type slightly larger than the rest, with the month named in a single compartment above columns 1–3 and the headings ‘Matins’ and ‘Evensong’ above the last two *pairs* of columns (columns 6–7 and 8–9). All nine compartments in line 2 are blank, line 3 has only the heading ‘¶Psalms’ above columns 4–5, line 4 has only headings defining the first and second lessons for both Matins and Evensong, and in line 5 all compartments are blank. The remaining lines are used for as many days as the relevant month contains. Line 32 is used only three times: for the leaf-signatures ‘A.iiij.’ in January, ‘A.iiiij.’ in March, and ‘Av.’ in May, which are presumably why it was included at all.

Whitchurch’s calendar differs in only two respects. Because the month-name in line 1 is not very prominent, Whitchurch adds a large single compartment across the top of the whole grid, with the month named centrally in two-line great primer roman. And despite the presence of blank line 32, the only two signatures he includes (‘A.iii.’ and ‘A.iiiij.’) are placed below the grid rather than inside it. It is more likely that Whitchurch added the prominent month-heading than that Grafton chose to omit it, and Whitchurch’s compositor may simply have failed to realize that signatures were what line 32 was there for.

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<sup>1</sup> After the first line Grafton declines to add ornament. Whitchurch includes four fleurons with the italic lines and arranges three manicules below, pointing upwards and inwards.



<b>Marche.</b>				<b>Gatyns.</b>		<b>Euenlong.</b>	
		<b>Palmes.</b>					
				<b>i. Lesson.</b>	<b>ii. Lesson.</b>	<b>i. Lesson.</b>	<b>ii. Lesson.</b>
<b>d</b>	<b>Kalend.</b>	i	xxx	Deut. vii	Luke xii	deut. viii	Ephe. vi
<b>e</b>	<b>vi. No.</b>	ii	i	ix	xiii	x	Philip. i
<b>f</b>	<b>v. No.</b>	iii	ii	xi	xiiii	xi	ii
<b>g</b>	<b>iiii. No.</b>	iiii	iii	xii	xv	xii	iii
<b>A</b>	<b>iii. No.</b>	v	iiii	xiii	xvi	xiii	iiii
<b>b</b>	<b>ii. No.</b>	vi	v	xiiii	xvii	xiiii	Collol. i
<b>c</b>	<b>Nonas.</b>	vii	vi	xv	xviii	xv	ii
<b>d</b>	<b>viii. Id.</b>	viii	vii	xvi	xix	xvi	iii
<b>e</b>	<b>vii. Id.</b>	ix	viii	xvii	xx	xvii	iiii
<b>f</b>	<b>vi. Id.</b>	x	ix	xviii	xxi	xviii	i. Tess. i
<b>g</b>	<b>v. Id.</b>	xi	x	xix	xxii	xix	ii
<b>A</b>	<b>iiii. Id.</b>	xii	xi	xx	xxiii	xx	iii
<b>b</b>	<b>iii. Id.</b>	xiii	xii	xxi	xxiiii	xxi	iiii
<b>c</b>	<b>ii. Id.</b>	xiiii	xiii	xxii	xxv	xxii	v
<b>d</b>	<b>Idus.</b>	xv	xiiii	Josue i	ii	Josue. ii	ii. Tess. i
<b>e</b>	<b>xv. kl.</b>	xvi	xv	iii	iii	iii	ii
<b>f</b>	<b>xiiii. kl.</b>	xvii	xvi	iv	iiii	vi	iii
<b>g</b>	<b>xiii. kl.</b>	xviii	xvii	v	v	vii	i. Timo. i
<b>A</b>	<b>xii. kl.</b>	xix	xviii	vi	vi	x	ii. iii
<b>b</b>	<b>xi. kl.</b>	xx	xix	vii	vii	xii	iii
<b>c</b>	<b>x. kl.</b>	xxi	xx	viii	viii	xiii	v
<b>d</b>	<b>ix. kl.</b>	xxii	xxi	ix	ix	xiiii	vi
<b>e</b>	<b>viii. kl.</b>	xxiii	xxii	x	x	xv	ii. Tim. i
<b>f</b>	<b>vii. kl.</b>	xxiiii	xxiii	xi	xi	xvi	ii
<b>g</b>	<b>vi. kl.</b>	xxv	xxiiii	xxi	xxi	xvii	iii
<b>A</b>	<b>v. kl.</b>	xxvi	xxv	xxii	xxii	xxiiii	iiii
<b>b</b>	<b>iiii. kl.</b>	xxvii	xxvi	Judic. i	xiii	Judic. ii	Tit. i
<b>c</b>	<b>iii. kl.</b>	xxviii	xxvii	ii	xv	iiii	ii. ii
<b>d</b>	<b>ii. kl.</b>	xxix	xxviii	iii	xvi	v	Philem. i
<b>e</b>	<b>i. kl.</b>	xxx	xxix	iiii	xvii	vii	Hebre. i
<b>f</b>	<b>Idus. kl.</b>	xxxi	xxx	v	xviii	x	ii
							<b>A. iii.</b>

## I

Turning now to the main text, the first important conclusion is that Richard Grafton printed the three sections of part 1 in the order b, a, and c. The running-titles used throughout the lengthy section 1b read ‘At the Communion’. Grafton’s second and third editions (STC 16269 and 16269.5) are quired exactly as is his first, and in some copies of each, one or more sheets ‘proper’ to the other (or occasionally even to his first edition) can be found. In the copy of 16295 in the Parker Library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (shelfmark EP.V.11), the four running-titles of sheet A3:4 were likewise printed as ‘At the Communion’, although they should have read ‘Mattins’ on both sides of A3, ‘Euensong’ on A4<sup>v</sup>, while A4<sup>r</sup> should not have had a running title at all. Each headline, however, has been corrected by a contemporary paste-on printed cancel. The same is true of pages A2<sup>r</sup> and A5<sup>v</sup> in that copy, although the running titles of pages A2<sup>v</sup> and A5<sup>r</sup> are correctly printed. But a copy of 16269.5 in Cambridge University Library (Young.239) has all four running-titles on A2:5 misprinted and corrected with similar cancels.

What happened is reasonably obvious. After printing more than 130 pages with headlines reading ‘At the Communion’ (and transferred from forme to forme with the furniture when the body of each page was distributed), when the workmen turned to sheet A of the same book they failed to realize that those headlines were inappropriate for the texts of Matins and Evensong. So although they correctly changed the signatures and the foliation in the skeleton formes, sheet A3:4 had been finished and the pressmen were busy with the second forme of sheet A2:5 before the problem was noticed. Stopping the press and correcting some copies of forme A2<sup>v</sup>:5<sup>r</sup>, however, was too little and too late. Grafton evidently considered all those sheets unacceptable (at least for his first edition) and had them reprinted. But later, when he began work on a series of reprints, he decided to economize by having at least a few dozen of those sheets made ‘usable’ with paste-on cancels.

Before looking more closely at quires B–V, it is worth noticing that even if Grafton did not yet have the manuscript copy for quire A, he did at least know that it would not exceed twelve printed pages. He was therefore able to begin numbering the leaves on page B1r with ‘Fol. vii’.

The most obvious irregularity in section 1b is that quire K has eight leaves while all the others from B to V inclusive have only six. It was, moreover, evidently expected to have only six (foliated Lv–Lx), because the subsequent quires are foliated regularly from Lxi. So the extant quire K<sup>8</sup> (whose last three leaves are all foliated ‘Lx’) probably replaces an earlier quire K<sup>6</sup> that lacked approximately four pages of the present text. The Introit, Collect, Epistle, and Gospel for the Monday of Easter week occupy almost exactly four pages on K6<sup>r</sup>–8<sup>r</sup>, so presumably the texts for that day had either been misplaced in the manuscript copy or were a belated afterthought.

When Grafton reached the end of quire T, he still had enough text left to fill thirteen and a half pages: too much for the twelve pages of a six-leaf quire. If the copy for section 1c had been either available or imminently expected he could either have set its first two pages on leaf V8 or filled a quire V<sup>6</sup>, finished section 1b halfway down X1<sup>v</sup>, and begun the new section on X2<sup>r</sup>. The two and a half blank pages on V7<sup>v</sup>–8<sup>v</sup> therefore suggest that he had not yet received the copy for section 1c (Communion), and turned next to Matins and Evensong in quire A (as we have seen).

In the foregoing paragraphs I have silently assumed that at least sections 1a and 1b were printed first by Grafton rather than by Whitchurch, because they unquestionably were. In quires B–M (including the anomalous quire K) Whitchurch reprints Grafton’s text not only page for page but almost exactly line for line—and on the comparatively few occasions when lines break at slightly different points, exact agreement is very soon restored. That, of course, proves only that one of the printers used the other’s sheets as copy, but what happens thereafter reveals which was which. In quire N the two editions begin to diverge, with each of Whitchurch’s quires containing just a little more text than Grafton’s. As a consequence, Whitchurch is able to finish the section neatly on the last recto of

a six-leaf quire V, leaving only a single blank page to focus attention on the beginning of the Communion service on X1<sup>r</sup>. He could not have begun to do that without prior access to Grafton's finished quires N–V, in which he could measure and mark exactly how much text each of his own compositors had to fit into their allotted pages. Rather than racing to finish a day ahead of Grafton, Whitchurch is here *at least* twenty-five completed sheets behind him.

## II

Grafton's cancelled running-titles prove that he moved straight from section 1b to section 1a. Whitchurch's eight-leaf quire A differs materially from Grafton's six-leaf version, but the main reason for that can be more easily explained later. For now it can suffice that the evidence for Grafton's priority is unequivocal. From there Grafton went to section 1c (the Communion service in quires X<sup>6</sup> and Y<sup>8</sup>), where once again the two versions agree so closely in line-division that one must have been printed from the other. But before I turn to part 2, a hitherto unremarked peculiarity of the Whitchurch edition needs to be discussed. In all copies of STC 16267 that I have seen (admittedly only five), sheet X3:4 was printed not by Whitchurch but by the immigrant printer Nicholas Hill.

In England, the practice of shared printing (the collaboration on a single book of more than one printing house, as distinct from the sharing of costs by publishers) began on a small scale during the reign of Henry VIII. Wynkyn de Worde occasionally printed a sheet or two to help out his former apprentices, and Peter Treveris in Southwark shared a few books with Londoners John Rastell and Robert Wyer. The huge demand for books created by the Edwardian Reformation made the practice more common. Nicholas Hill helped Whitchurch with most editions of Erasmus's *New Testament Paraphrases* and with several reprints of the 1549 prayer book, while Robert Wyer contributed to three of Grafton's reprinted editions. Hill's contribution of just one sheet to Whitchurch's first edition, however, barely qualifies as 'sharing', and probably arose at the last minute when Whitchurch found a serious error that had escaped the proof-reader, and was too busy to replace the sheet himself.

## III

When we turn to part 2 of the prayer book, the difference between the Whitchurch and Grafton editions seems more striking. Each consists of five three-sheet quires followed by a final one of four sheets, and in each the quires are identified alphabetically. But Whitchurch's lower-case letters follow a pilcrow (¶[a–¶f]) while Grafton's—at least before quire f—follow capitals (Aa–Ee). The pilcrow suggests that Whitchurch may have begun work before he knew exactly what series of signatures would precede them; Grafton's doubled letters are what conventionally follow an alphabet of single capitals like that in part 1.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, Whitchurch foliated his part 2 from i to xxxvii while Grafton continued from the end of his completed part 1 (C.xxxv–C.lxx, leaving the page of 'Certain notes' unnumbered).

At first sight there is little sign of the line-for-line correspondence so common throughout part 1, although the first page of each Grafton service usually ends with the same catchword as Whitchurch's. But the drop capitals with which Grafton begins most prose passages of any length are seldom the same size as Whitchurch's, so his line-breaks do not commonly match Whitchurch's. Nor, indeed, do the page divisions—although each service occupies the same number of pages in each edition. But Grafton was able to spread the text more evenly through those pages than Whitchurch

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<sup>2</sup> The absence of Z in part 1 is no impediment: curtailed signature-alphabets ending in Y (22 letters) or V (20 letters) are quite common in books long enough to go into multiple alphabets, probably because even numbers made estimating costs much simpler.

had done, and the Whitchurch layouts sometimes seem eccentric.<sup>3</sup> Before his compositors started work Grafton must have cast off Whitchurch's printed text very carefully, but his dependence on it is perhaps best indicated by the folio number on Aa6<sup>r</sup>. That page's 'Fol. v.' in fact *misprints* Whitchurch's 'Fol. vi.'—but in Grafton's numbering it should have read 'Fol. C.xl.'

The exact nature of the differences between the two editions in section 1a (Matins and Evensong) will be explained shortly, but for now let it suffice that there too, Grafton's version is demonstrably earlier than Whitchurch's. Evidently, then, the two printers worked more or less simultaneously, one on each part, and each subsequently reprinted the rest of the book from what the other had produced. So if we can trust the dating of the colophons, Whitchurch finished part 2 on 7 March and Grafton finished part 1 the following day. But it is important to note that on neither of those days was either the all-Whitchurch STC 16267 or the all-Grafton STC 16268 anywhere near complete. If we allow Grafton a few days to print his preliminary quire (and to finish the calendar quire if it had not yet been completed), then on the day Edward gave his royal assent to the Act of Uniformity that prescribed it (14 March), the only copies of *The Book of the Common Prayer* that could have been assembled for sale would have had to consist of Grafton's preliminaries and part 1 bound with Whitchurch's part 2.

In the second paragraph of this paper I suggested that the ESTC counts of extant copies of Whitchurch's STC 16267 (seventeen) and Grafton's STC 16268 (seven) are substantially inaccurate. One alleged 'copy' of the latter consists only of Grafton's leaf Y8, with his dated colophon on the recto, bound into a copy of a later edition (whether in place of the leaf proper to STC 16269.5 or as a kind of trophy in its own right is unspecified). Another, supposedly in Keble College, Oxford (shelfmark XS (Misc.) 68) is a copy of STC 16269 lacking all before quire B, mistakenly reported to SOLO some years ago as the earlier edition. Removing those two from the total appears to leave twenty-two volumes: seventeen copies of the first edition (Whitchurch) and five of the second (Grafton). But three of the 'copies' in question are counted in both totals, because *each consists of Grafton's preliminaries and part 1 bound with Whitchurch's part 2*.

One of those volumes was acquired by the British Library in 1859 (shelfmark C.25.l.12), at which date it was not unreasonable to guess that it had been made up by a bookseller from a copy of Whitchurch's edition seriously defective at the beginning (but with part 2 nevertheless in very good shape), and a copy of Grafton's edition seriously defective at the end (but with part 1 likewise in good condition, apart from having had the signature of Humphrey Dyson on the title-page heavily deleted by a later owner). Presumed lost with Whitchurch's part 1 was a two-sheet quire ¶<sup>4</sup> that I have not yet discussed, and which is found between parts 1 and 2 in copies of STC 16267. Presumed lost with Grafton's part 2 was another two-sheet quire not yet discussed (signed with a Maltese cross), bound at the very end of copies of STC 16268.

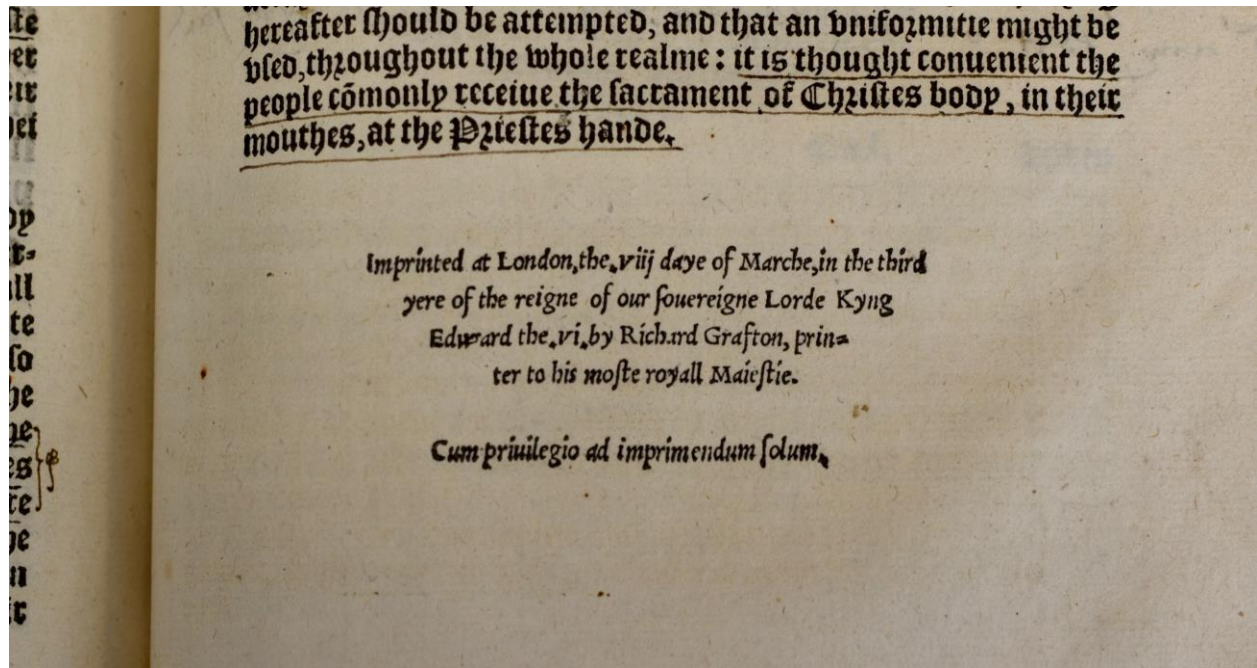
Once the British Library volume had been defined as a made-up hybrid (and catalogued as two separate items—C.25.l.12(1) and C.25.l.12(2)—bound together), when a similar volume in New College Library became more widely noticed it too was presumed to be a made-up copy. And when a third volume *almost* exactly resembling the other two was noticed in Brasenose College Library (albeit catalogued as a single item, bound with another book dated 1637) it was presumed to be yet another hybrid.

But the Brasenose copy, shelfmark Lath. R.3.18(2), is bound after a copy of the first *Book of Common Prayer . . . for the Use of the Church of Scotland*, 1637 (STC 16606). The volume in which they both reside was mentioned in the earliest surviving catalogue of that library when it was compiled *c.* 1663—

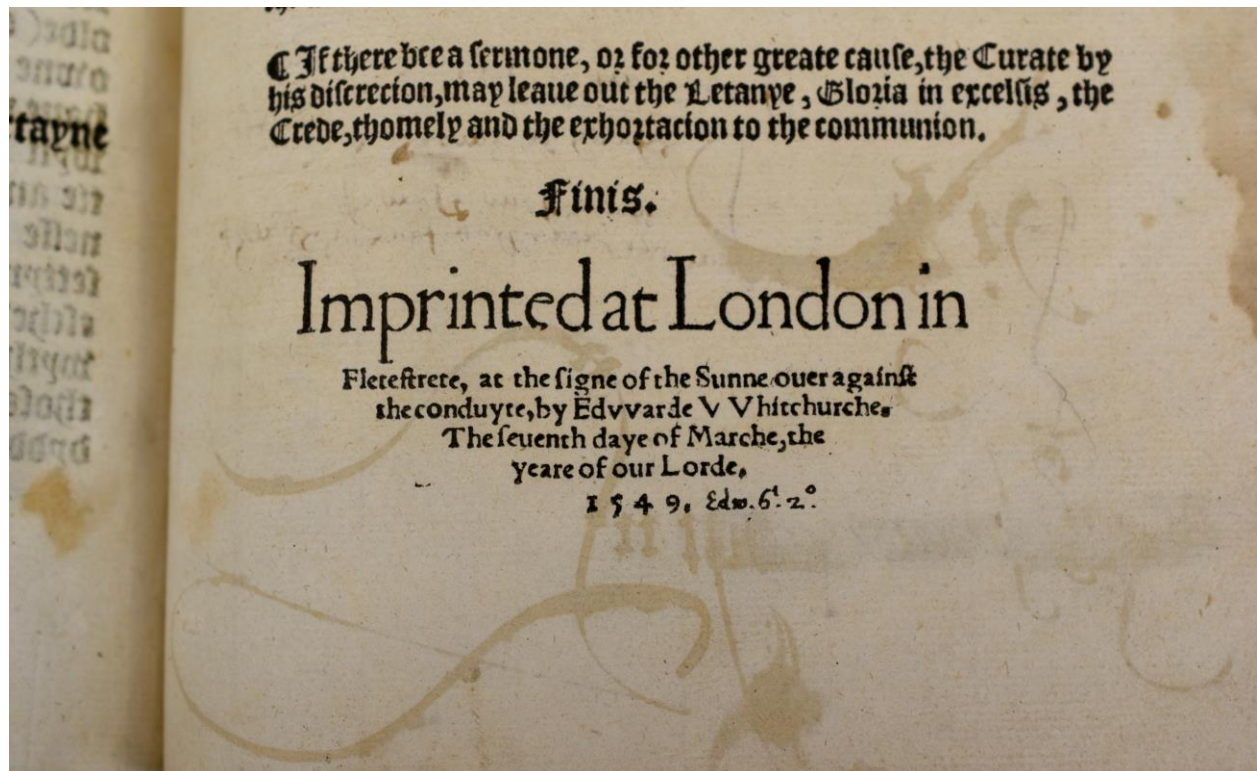
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<sup>3</sup> For example, there are five rubrics on page ¶c2<sup>r</sup>, containing respectively 1, 1, 4, 2, and 8 lines (total 16). Measuring from the left margin they are indented respectively 21, 18, 34, 37, and 50 mm. Grafton indents them respectively 14, 15, 6, 7, and 6 mm, and thus saves a total of four lines.





New College Library, Oxford, BT1.131.19, Y8r



New College Library, Oxford, BT1.131.19, ¶f7r



a date at which cobbling together hybrid copies of Edwardian prayer-books was not a common practice. The Brasenose volume, moreover, contains a crucial piece of evidence in the shape of an otherwise unknown bifolium, evidently placed between parts 1 and 2 by the binder who assembled the present volume, but documented by an earlier owner as having originally been placed at the end, *after* Whitchurch's part 2 rather than before it.

## IV

At this point we need to return to section 1a. Having left space for a three-sheet quire A before section 1b, when Grafton actually came to print the orders for Matins and Evensong he found that they filled only ten pages. Rather than leave leaf A6 completely empty he printed an *explicit* on A6<sup>r</sup>: 'Thus endeth the order of Matyns and Euensong, through the whole yere'. Whitchurch on the other hand used a four-leaf quire A, and having filled *thirteen* pages with text he printed the explicit on A7<sup>v</sup> and left both sides of A8 blank. The reason why Whitchurch's text manages to fill three more pages than does Grafton's is that while Grafton included four canticles in those two services by name only (*Te deum laudamus* and *Benedictus* in Matins; *Magnificat* and *Nunc dimittis* in Evensong), Whitchurch included their English texts in full.

Now the unique bifolium in the Brasenose volume is signed with a Maltese cross. Even without the early owner's testimony it would be obvious that this is supposed to be placed as the last quire in the book, because on its final page, after the last ten lines of the added text, appears an order by the King in Council that the book should not be sold (retail) for more than two shillings if unbound, or more than three shillings and fourpence if bound in 'past' (pasteboard) or 'bordes' (wood). That is followed by another Grafton colophon, printed from exactly the same setting of italic type used on Y8<sup>r</sup> after the Communion service, but with the date altered from the '*vij*' to the '*xvi*.' day of March. And what the bifolium contains is the text of the four omitted canticles.

Clearly, then, sometime around 14 March (when the Act received the royal assent), someone decided that the texts of those four canticles ought to be included in the book, so Grafton printed an addendum to be appended to all unsold copies and finished it on the 16th. From which we can reasonably deduce that quire A of Whitchurch's edition was printed *after* that date.

But that is not all. Grafton's STC 16268 and his next two editions also end with a quire signed with a Maltese cross, but it contains four leaves rather than two. The canticles are reprinted, but instead of filling three and a quarter pages as verse they are crushed into two pages and seven lines of prose, followed (after only a single blank line, and lacking any heading except the headlines of the next four pages) by the even more belated insertion of something else omitted from the first edition: the Litany and Suffrages. At the foot of the final page there is just room for nine leaded lines of type. The first seven repeat the official note about retail prices first found on ✠2<sup>v</sup> on 16 March—but the unbound price has now been raised by two pence and the price in paste or boards by four pence. Moreover, in the three supposedly 'hybrid' copies Whitchurch's colophon is followed by three blank pages, ¶7<sup>v</sup>–8<sup>v</sup>, whereas in all copies of his STC 16267 that I have been able to check, the price note of 16 March has been added on ¶7<sup>v</sup> (necessarily by putting sheet ¶2:7 with its colophon of 7 March through the press again). Whitchurch must have done this very soon after Grafton printed the canticles in ✠2<sup>v</sup>, but before the revised prices had been printed in the expanded quire ✠4.

Exactly when Whitchurch printed the Litany is uncertain, but when he did so he allowed six pages for the text, filling the first three leaves of a two-sheet quire he signed simply ¶. There were several places he could have placed it. Perhaps the best choice would have been between sections 1a and 1b, where it would be printed in the revised 1552 version and all its descendants. Or he could

have followed Grafton's lead and simply appended it. But the first of the rubrics that follow the 1549 Communion service (on Y7<sup>r</sup> in both printers' editions) specifies occasions on which the Litany should be said or sung. So as the ¶ signature implies, in Whitchurch's edition it is placed between quire Y and quire ¶a. Grafton's next two editions simply reprinted his tightly-packed quire ✠<sup>4</sup> at the end, but when he revised the collation of his later 1549 editions he included the canticles in Matins and Evensong where they belonged and followed Whitchurch's placing of the Litany.

## V

The pandemic has allowed me neither to examine BT1.131.19 nor to obtain images of all its pages. But both Dr Christopher Skelton-Foord and Dr William Poole have answered a variety of questions, and Anna-Nadine Pike has photographed enough selected pages (and entries from early catalogues) for me to attempt a rough sketch of the volume's history.

The presence of the rather formal initials 'RK' above the centre of the title-page border, and the early signature of a 'Richard Kittsō/' upside-down at the foot of the verso of that leaf, may perhaps suggest that Kittson was the first owner. But the only claim of actual ownership among the annotations is in the centre of <sup>r</sup>A1<sup>r</sup>, where after two practice signatures we are informed that 'Thomas Godliffe owethe this booke'.

The annotator who left the most numerous and useful early traces was the presumed clerk I think of as 'Richard frind', whose jottings include three Latin versions of 'Omnibus christi fidelibus ad quos hoc p̄ntes' (601<sup>v</sup>, Q4<sup>r</sup>, ¶d5<sup>v</sup>) and one in English as 'Be it knowen vnto all men by these p'sentēs' (602<sup>r</sup>). His surname is very far from certain. On <sup>r</sup>A1<sup>r</sup>, below one 'Richard' he has written 'hards' and 'Hard' as if he were simply practising the second half of that name—but elsewhere on the same page are examples of 'Richard Harte', 'Richard Har', and 'Richard frind Harm', while 'Richard hardā of the parishe of [*illegible*]' is found on 602<sup>r</sup>. Meanwhile, among twenty or so other examples of what appear to be the same hand, the forename 'Richard' is followed by 'francis' (601<sup>v</sup>), 'warner' (601<sup>v</sup>, 2<sup>r</sup>), 'Winter' (602<sup>r</sup>), 'Snowe' (<sup>r</sup>A1<sup>r</sup>, Q4<sup>r</sup>, ¶f7<sup>v</sup>), and 'Sanders' (Y8<sup>v</sup>).

Apart from 'Richard', the word found most often in his jottings is 'frind', always so spelled and never with a capital. Sometimes it occurs alone as in the margins of <sup>r</sup>A1<sup>r</sup> or the foot of 602<sup>r</sup>; sometimes it seems to mean no more than 'friend' (both singular and plural), perhaps recording a particular friendship as in 'S my frind' (all on <sup>r</sup>A1<sup>r</sup>). But while 'Richard frind Thomas' (twice) and 'frind Thomas' are found on <sup>r</sup>A1<sup>r</sup> and simple 'frind tho' on ¶f4<sup>v</sup>, on page ¶7<sup>v</sup> we find 'Richard frind Thō art my righteousnes lord' in which 'Thō' presumably means 'Thou'. (The same page also has plain 'Richard frind' and the unfinished 'Richard frind that would fain find thy'.) But however we interpret him, his handwriting (almost certainly Elizabethan) and his quirks can be found both on leaves printed by Grafton and others printed by Whitchurch. They completely rule out any possibility that this volume was assembled from broken copies of two distinct editions.

On two pages, in a slightly later hand and with a substantially darker ink, a writer whose initials were W. B. has drafted or copied lengthier notes. On V7<sup>v</sup> he sets out the terms of an obligation between himself and one W. Ro., while on Y8<sup>v</sup> he records a lease from one Thomas Rumbrige, yeoman. This second note is frustratingly cropped at the head, allowing 'Octobris the' to be clearly read, leaving little doubt that what followed was 'x<sup>th</sup> day Anno d', but putting the last two numerals of the year '16--' beyond certain reconstruction. Many of the annotated pages have lost parts of manuscript text from the head, foot, and or fore-edge margins, so there can be no doubt that the book was cropped on all three sides by the binder whose boards still survive. Those boards are difficult to date with any precision, but sometime between 1650 and 1750 seems likely.

As a consequence of the misprinted signature ‘60.i.’ on page 60<sup>r</sup>, one of this volume’s binders wrongly assumed that the preface (despite being correctly listed first in the list of contents on 60<sup>v</sup>) ought to be placed between the calendar and the beginning of part 1. He therefore wrapped sheet 60<sup>r</sup> around quire <sup>π</sup>A<sup>8</sup>. I suspect that it was the first binder who made that mistake in or shortly after 1549, and that the misplacement was simply not noticed when the volume was rebound.

VI

There appears to be no record of exactly when or how the book was acquired by New College, but it seems likely to have been during the eighteenth century. When catalogue LC/11 was compiled in 1729, the only English liturgy listed was an edition of 1662, but with no shelfmark recorded and an ‘x’ in the left margin beside it. To the right of that entry an undatable pencil note records an edition of ‘Lond. 1549’, and on page 149 of the 1822 catalogue (LC/15) that edition is recorded with the shelfmark B.31.13.<sup>4</sup>

At present the volume has two shelfmarks: BT1.131.19(1) and BT1.131.19(2). These reflect the mistaken belief (almost certainly 20th-century) that it is a made-up hybrid consisting of part 1 from a defective copy of Grafton’s STC 16268 (8 March 1549) and part 2 from a defective copy of Whitchurch’s STC 16267 (7 March). Nothing could be farther from the truth. It is one of only two known copies of the *original* issue of the *real* first edition (on which Grafton and Whitchurch collaborated in the interests of haste).<sup>5</sup> It lacks the full English texts of *Te deum laudamus*, *Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, and *Nunc dimittis*—not because part 1 is defective, but because the volume was assembled for sale before Grafton printed those canticles in a supplement dated 16 March. That supplement defines the sole surviving copy of the *second* issue of the first edition, (Brasenose College, Lath.R.18(2)). Neither issue includes the Litany because neither printer supplied one until even later.

By the end of March (or soon afterwards), Grafton had reprinted Whitchurch’s part 2, reprinted his canticles supplement with the Litany added, and appended them to his original part 1 as the third issue of the first edition—which has long been believed to be the *second* edition (STC 16268).<sup>6</sup> Later still, probably in early April, Whitchurch finished reprinting Grafton’s preliminaries and part 1 (with the canticles included where they belonged), added a quire containing the Litany, and issued them with the remaining copies of his original part 2 (STC 16267). Long mistaken for the first edition, the reprinted eighty percent of that book is enough to qualify it as the second.

To return to the locations recorded by ESTC, the real first edition is represented by only two complete copies of the first issue, a single copy of the second issue, and only two of the third issue. That fourteen copies of Whitchurch’s STC 16267 are recorded (albeit not all complete) suggests that he originally printed many more copies of part 2 than did Grafton of part 1. But the numbers probably also reflect how much more desirable to bibliophiles (and how much more deserving of preservation) was the book whose Whitchurch colophon of 7 March seemed to show that it was published a whole day before its less prestigious rival.

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<sup>4</sup> Before becoming BT1.131.19 it then had at least three other shelfmarks: [Omega].35.3, Auct. V.18.3, and Auct. A.44.2.

<sup>5</sup> The other is British Library C.25.l.12.

<sup>6</sup> Two known copies: Christ Church, Oxford (Gibbs.1) and Durham Cathedral (F.IV.56), each of which includes one or more leaves supplied from other copies or editions. I exclude the privately owned ‘copy’ consisting only of leaf Y8, which could have come from any one of the three issues.