

Foreign-Language Printing
in London 1500-1900

Edited by
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Another important figure in the history of Italian printing in London is John Charlewood, who died in 1592. He was responsible for printing six works in the Italian language by the Renaissance scholar and philosopher, Giordano Bruno of Nola (1548-1600), who has been described as one of the most modern thinkers of the Renaissance. Despite having entered the Dominican order at the tender age of sixteen, he soon fell foul of the Inquisition in 1589 and was imprisoned in Rome for eight years until his execution at the stake on 17 February 1600. Charlewood printed six of Bruno's works in London, all small octavos: first *La cena de le ceneri* (*The Supper of Ash Wednesday*), with no imprint, in London in 1584; *De la causa, principio, et vno* with the false imprint Venice, 1584; *De l'infinito vniuerso*, also with the false imprint Venice, 1584; *Spaccio de la bestia trionfante*, with the false imprint Paris, 1584; *Cabala del cauallo Pegaseo* with the false imprint Paris: by Antonio Baio, 1585; and *De gl'heroici furori*, also with the false imprint Paris: by Antonio Baio, 1585. Clearly Charlewood too found a ready market for Bruno's equally influential works.³

Space is not sufficient here to add more than this postscript. It is sincerely hoped that there will be a repetition of the very successful one-day symposium on printing in London held in the British Library in 1999 at some time in the not too distant future when we could be afforded a further opportunity to examine the work of John Charlewood and other printers in more detail.

3 Giovanni Aquilecchia, 'Lo stampatore londinese di Giordano Bruno e altre note per l'edizione della *Cena*', *Studi di filologia italiana, Bollettino dell'Accademia della Crusca*, 7 (1960), 101-62.

Barry Taylor

Un-Spanish Practices Spanish and Portuguese Protestants, Jews and liberals, 1500-1900

In this survey I shall ask three main questions: Who were the printers of Spanish and Portuguese books in London? Where in London were these Spanish and Portuguese communities? And where were the intended readers of these books: here in England or there in the Old Country?

I feel that a general survey is appropriate here because, to a large extent, this will be the same story told several times over, with different actors. It seems to me that until very late in our period – possibly only the mid nineteenth century – authors published Spanish and Portuguese books in this country because they could not be printed in the Peninsula or its empire: hence my title.¹ In the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries the motive is religious: Protestantism. The seventeenth century also sees the arrival in this country of Spanish and Portuguese-speaking Jews. And in the first half of the nineteenth comes the influx of a number of Spanish and Portuguese liberals.

It also emerges from this survey that although a fair number of books were printed in London in Spanish and Portuguese, the printers themselves are – with, I believe, the solitary exception of Marcelino Calero – unfailingly English, even though some of them may have Hispanised their names: Ricardo del Campo, who printed in Spanish from 1594 to 1600, is really Richard Field; G. A. Claro del Bosque who in 1863 printed the Protestant Juan de Valdés's *Ziento y diez consideraxiones* is Spottiswoode [BL pressmark 3902.f.13/17]. The motive of the former was certainly deception; the latter could be a *jeu d'esprit*.

1 'Spanish practices' were the Jesuitical wiles which figured so large in the negative image of the Spaniards abroad.

Elizabethan Protestants

Of the twelve editions which Gustav Ungerer identifies as Elizabethan British imprints in Spanish four are on political topics and eight religious.² The first two books printed in England in Spanish were printed at Oxford: Alfonso de Valdés, *Dialogo en que particularmente se tratan las cosas acaecidas en Roma* ('Paris', [i.e. Oxford: Joseph Barnes,] 1586) and Antonio del Corro, *Reglas gramaticales para aprender la lengua española y francesa, confiriendo la una con la otra* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1586).

Of the twelve editions which Ungerer describes for the period 1586-1600, seven are from the press of Richard Field, Ricardo del Campo as he appears in the imprints. According to the *English Short-Title Catalogue*, Field printed about 266 books between 1588 and 1624 of which eighteen are surreptitious editions in foreign languages: French, Italian, Spanish and one in Dutch.³ The term surreptitious indicates that the place of printing is either falsified, or, as in Field's case, deliberately omitted; in Spain at the time, the law required the place of publication to be stated.⁴ Field seems to have printed books of all sorts. During the period of his Spanish books he lived at Blackfriars. His last Spanish book appears to be of 1600, yet he worked on to his death in 1624. The seven books he printed in Spanish are a tiny part of his output.

One of these is Antonio Pérez, *Pedaços de historia, o relaciones* (1594). It passes itself off as 'Leon' (presumably to be taken as Leon in Spain rather than Lyons). This is a clear example of political propaganda. Pérez was Philip II's secretary of state, who being in the habit of selling state secrets and growing too fond of assassination as a tool of government was sacked in 1579 and imprisoned. In 1590 he took refuge in Aragon, where the King's powers were more restricted, and in the following year attempted to lead a revolt. These events are recounted in the *Pedaços*. He was in England in 1593-5. The edition we know was subsidised by the English government, and copies are reported

2 Gustav Ungerer, 'The Printing of Spanish Books in Elizabethan England', *The Library*, 5th ser., 20 (1965), 177-229; *Catalogue of Books Printed in Spain and of Other Spanish Books Printed Elsewhere in Europe before 1601 now in the British Library*, 2nd edition, ed. D. E. Rhodes (London: British Library, 1989), pp. 237-94; *Short-Title Catalogue of Spanish and Portuguese Books, 1601-1700, in the Library of the British Museum (the British Library - Reference Division)*, ed. V. F. Goldsmith (Folkstone: Dawson's, 1974), p. 241.

3 *English Short-Title Catalogue* <<http://www.elg.org/estc.html>>; Denis B. Woodfield, *Surreptitious Printing in England 1550-1640* (New York: Bibliographical Society of America, 1973).

4 Jaime Moll, 'Problemas bibliográficos del libro del Siglo de Oro', *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, 59 (1979), 49-107, at p. 52.

to have been sent to Aragon to foment revolution, and sent to the Low Countries for distribution. 'A newsletter written in Flanders at the beginning of 1595 stated the the *Relaciones* had been printed at the expense of the Queen of England and that a great number of copies had been conveyed into Aragon to incite that kingdom to rebellion' (Ungerer 196). William Nichols wrote to Sir Peter Hollins from the Low Countries: 'I pray you use all diligent means to get so many as ye can of those books that Anthony Perez hath made. They shall be well paid for and distributed here...' (Woodford 37)

All Field's other Spanish books appear without a place and are written or translated by the Protestant Cipriano de Valera, including the Spanish New Testament and Calvin's *Institutions* in Spanish. Valera, born c. 1532, had been a Hieronymite in the monastery of San Isidro del Campo in Seville; accused of heresy, he fled Spain in 1557, going first to Geneva and later London, where in 1583 he lived in 'Candelweeke Street Warde'.⁵ In the Geffrye Museum in London there is a rather poor portrait of 'Judith de Valera, daughter of the Spanish pastor'. In the books, Valera is either (i) unnamed or (ii) identified by initials in the prefatory matter or (iii) uniquely, named as the translator of Calvin. In 1602 he was on the Continent, publishing the complete Bible in Spanish in Amsterdam. Nothing is known for sure about his whereabouts after that. As the disappearance of Valera from history coincides with the end of Field's Spanish career, we may wonder if the printer was motivated by an exclusive arrangement with Valera.

We should not, I think, infer a special relationship between Britain, land of the free, and the Spanish dissidents. The Spanish Protestant diaspora found homes in equal or greater numbers in the Protestant Low Countries, Germany and Switzerland. The Spanish Protestant community was small, and despite a brief period when they had their own chapel in St Mary Axe were obliged to lodge with the Italian Protestants (Ungerer 216).

Who were the readership for these books? The natural inference is that they were intended for export, i.e. smuggling, to Spain and its Empire. As we saw, there is evidence of these books being taken over to the Spanish Netherlands (Ungerer 189, 190).

The seventeenth century accounts for some nine Spanish books printed in London by eleven printers: again, the sort of book produced here is much in the line of the preceding century. As we have seen, the British establishment was prepared to publish in Spanish for propaganda purposes. The year 1623 saw the publication of *Liturgia inglesa. O libro del rezado publico*

5 A. Gordon Kinder, 'Cipriano de Valera, Spanish Reformer (1532? - 1602?)', *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 46 (1969), 109-19, at p. 116.

(Augustae Trinobantum [i.e. London: printed by Bonham Norton and John Bill]) [C.25.i.2]. This was a translation of the Book of Common Prayer, put into Spanish by Fernando de Tejada, like Valera a former monk, whose other London publications are in English, such as *Texeda Retextus: or the Spanish monk his bill of divorce against the Church of Rome* (1623). The liturgy was produced at the time the future Charles I as Prince of Wales was courting the Infanta Maria and the translation was aimed at encouraging her to convert.⁶

The matrimonial alliance between Charles II and Catherine of Braganza was the occasion for what may well be the first piece of Portuguese printing in London: Sebastião da Fonseca, *Relaçam das festas de palacio, egrandesas* [sic] *de Londres, dedicada amagestade da serenissima Rainha da Gran Bretanha* (Londres: na officina de J. Martin, Ja. Allestry & Tho. Dicas, 1663) [C.125.c.2(3)], a celebratory poem dedicated to the Queen. Some doubt attaches to Salvador do Spirito Sancto, *Sermam da cinza, pregado na corte de Londres, na capella da Real Magestade da Serenissima rainha da Gran Bretanha, em oito de Fevereiro de 1665* (impresso por mandado de Sua Magestade) [C.125.c.2(6)] (fig. 1). There is no imprint, but Wing S2623A gives it to London, and the British Royal coat of arms (rather crudely rendered) appears on the title-page; however, typographically this could well be a Portuguese product: the text proper begins on quire A, while, according to Sayce, B as first text signature 'is a characteristically English feature'; and there exists an explicitly Portuguese reprint: Coimbra: na officina de Rodrigo de Carvalho Coutinho, 1673 [C.125.c.2(7)]. Frei Salvador was preacher to Kings John IV, Alphonso VI and Peter II of Portugal, and was summoned to London by Queen Catherine to lead the Franciscan house which she founded there.⁷

This pattern persists into the eighteenth century.⁸ We may note that no London printer seems to have specialised in Spanish books: none appears to be responsible for more than three items. Henry Woodfall published three

6 On Tejada, see Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles* (Madrid, 1880-2); rpt as *Edición nacional de las obras completas de Menéndez Pelayo*, vols 35-42 (Santander: Aldus, 1946-48), IV, 184-7. This remains the most extensive study of the Spanish dissidents, despite the author's blatant lack of sympathy for his subject.

John Stoughton, *The Spanish Reformers, their Memories and Dwelling-places* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1883), pp. 294-300, mentions the Spanish exiles in England.

7 R. A. Sayce, 'Compositorial Practices and the Localization of Printed Books, 1530-1800', *The Library*, 5th ser., 21 (1966), 1-45, at pp. 17-18; on Frei Salvador, see Innocêncio Francisco da Silva, *Dicionario bibliographico portuguez*, VII (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1862), p. 194.

8 For this period, the ESTC is supplemented by *Short-Title Catalogue of Eighteenth-Century Spanish Books in the British Library*, ed. H. G. Whitehead (London: British Library, 1995), III, 113.

editions of two works by Antonio Palomino (1655-1726), *Las vidas de los pintores y estatuarios eminentes españoles* (Londres: impresso por Henrique Woodfall, a costa de Claude du Bosc & Guillermo Darres, en el Mercado de Heno, 1742) [688.d.16]; 2nd edn (Londres: impresso por Henrique Woodfall, a costa de Sam. Baker, en Russel-Street, Covent Garden, & T. Payne, en Round-Court in the Strand, 1744) [1044.e.7] and *Las ciudades, iglesias y conventos de España, donde ay obras de los pintores y estatuarios eminentes españoles* (Londres: impresso por Henrique Woodfall, 1746) [1044.c.29]. The audience for these publications is obscure: Palomino's work had been published previously in Spain and so was politically acceptable to the Spanish regime; equally strangely, they were in Spanish although intended for the foreign visitor.

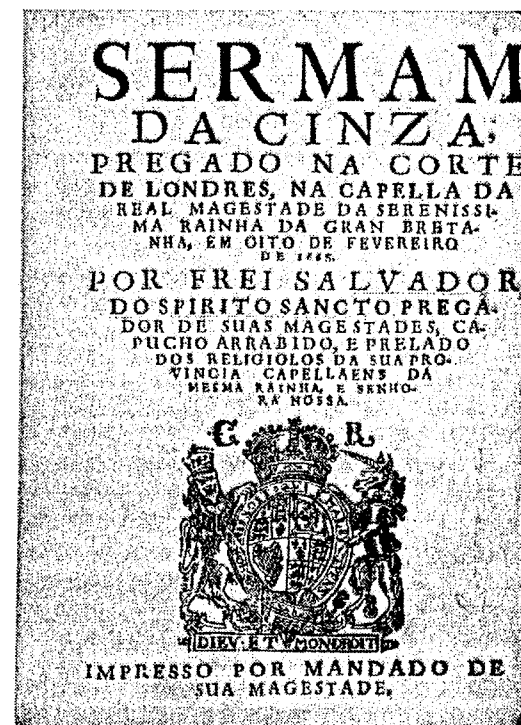


Fig. 1: Salvador do Spirito Santo, *Sermam da Cinza* (London?, 1665?), title-page. British Library pressmark: C.125.c.2(6).

Sephardic Jews

The Sephardim are the Jews of Spain and Portugal. Driven out by the Inquisition in 1492, the first generation of exiles settled in North Africa, Italy and the Low Countries. Following approaches from Menasseh ben Israel, rabbi of Amsterdam, Cromwell allowed these Jews into England in 1656, where they were permitted a degree of religious freedom. The Bevis Marks synagogue in the City of London dates from this period. A monument of Sephardic Jewry is the Old Cemetery in Mile End Road, which opened in 1657, followed in 1733 by the New Cemetery, which is now enclosed by Queen Mary College. Those who came over seem to have done so via Italy or the Netherlands. One of the more prolific Sephardic authors, David Nieto, hailed from Livorno.⁹

In a classic study, Cecil Roth catalogued sixty-nine publications in Spanish or Portuguese printed between 1649 and 1820.¹⁰ All the London publications of Hispanic Jewry address the Jewish community: they are sermons, calendars and works of polemic among Jews. It is of course possible that they were intended for export to communities in the Low Countries or, I suppose, even in Spain, but many look parochial. David Nieto, Rabbi from 1701 to 1728, is a figure who looms large in the publications of the London Sephardic Jews. To quote Roth:

One sabbath, at the close of 1703, it seems, the Rabbi delivered in the synagogue a sermon in which he expressed certain views which appeared to some of his audience to savour of pantheism. A storm broke out in the community: petitions, addresses, and counter addresses were prepared; foreign rabbis were canvassed for their opinions; and both sides committed their views to paper – none in English, a minority in Hebrew, most in Spanish. Thus James Dover, in Tower Hill, and Thomas Ilive, in Aldersgate St, had their first experience of the Spanish printing which must have provided them with a slender income for some years to come; for London was not like Amsterdam, where Jews early entered the printing business and monopolized synagogal custom (Roth 120).

Another work of Nieto's is an example of Sephardic printing in London for consumption abroad. In 1705 an *auto-da-fé* was held in Lisbon, with a sermon in which the Archbishop of Cranganor execrated the Jews. Nieto replied to this in a pamphlet in Portuguese with the false imprint Turin, but really London, 1709: the use of Portuguese (as opposed to what had been the norm

9 Meyer Kayserling, *Biblioteca española-portuguesa-judaica* (Strasbourg: Trübner, 1890), p. xv.

10 Cecil Roth, 'The Marrano Typography in England', *The Library*, 5th ser., 15 (1960), 118-28.

of Spanish) suggests very strongly that it was intended to circulate in Portugal (Roth 121).

Of the 69 publications in Spanish or Portuguese listed by Roth, Spanish easily accounts for the majority: only twelve were printed in Portuguese. The inference is that after that date the languages of the Peninsula fell into disuse among the London Sephardim: it is significant, I think, that the records of Bevis Marks synagogue were kept in Portuguese until 1819 and in English after that.¹¹

Liberals

It was Spanish politics of the early nineteenth century which gave the world the political term 'liberal'.¹² The period from the Napoleonic invasion of 1808 to the end of the First Carlist War in 1838 was particularly turbulent in both Spain and Portugal, with rapid alternation between liberal and conservative regimes. The main periods of influx into London were the reactionary reigns of Ferdinand VII of Spain of 1814-20 and 1823-33. The exiles settled very near the present site of the British Library, in Somers Town. They were vividly recalled by Thomas Carlyle:

In those years [the 1820s] a visible section of the London population, and conspicuous out of all proportion to its size or value, was a small knot of Spaniards, who had sought shelter here as Political Refugees. 'Political Refugees': a tragic succession of that class is one of the possessions of England in our time. Six-and-twenty years ago, when I first saw London, I remember those unfortunate Spaniards among the new phenomena. Daily in the cold spring air, under skies so unlike their own, you could see a group of fifty or a hundred stately tragic figures, in proud threadbare cloaks; perambulating, mostly with closed lips, the broad pavements of Euston Square and the regions about St Pancras new Church. Their lodging was chiefly in Somers Town, as I understood; and those open pavements about St Pancras Church were the general place of rendezvous. They spoke little or no English; knew nobody, could employ themselves on nothing, in this new scene. Old steel-grey heads, many of them; the shaggy, thick, blue-black hair

11 *Bevis Marks Records, Pt VI: The Burial Register (1733-1918) of the Novo (New) Cemetery of the Spanish & Portuguese Jews' Congregation London*, ed. Miriam Rodrigues-Percira and Chloe Loewe (London: The Spanish & Portuguese Jews' Congregation, 1997), p. xv.

12 OED, *liberal*, B 1 b. José Alberich, *Bibliografía anglo-hispánica 1801-1850* (Oxford: Dolphin, 1978), gathers the London publications of many of these exiles. There is much useful data in the book reviews which appeared in Bello's *Repertorio americano* of 1826-7: see Pedro Grases, *Tres empresas periodísticas de Andrés Bello: bibliografía de 'La biblioteca americana' y 'El repertorio americano'* (Caracas, 1955), pp. 44-8. A rich source for the London publications of this period is the *Catálogo colectivo del patrimonio bibliográfico español* <www.mcu.es/ccpb>, henceforth ccpb.

of others struck you; their brown complexion, dusky look of suppressed fire, in general their tragic condition as of caged Numidian lions.¹³

They certainly did not intend to stay: in the words of one, they 'kept their bags packed' (Llorens 36).

Antonio Puigblanch published two books in London: *Opusculos gramatico-satiricos* (Londres: en la Imprenta de Guillermo Guthrie, 1832-28) [12942.aaa.17] and *Prospecto de la obra ... intitulada Observaciones sobre el origen y genio de la lengua castellana* (Londres: en la Imprenta Española de M. Calero, 1828) [12942.aaa.16]. His most famous book was, however, in English: *The Inquisition Unmasked* (1813), a translation of the Cadiz original of 1811-13.

Another liberal was Vicente Salvá (1786-1849), bibliophile and bookseller. As he wrote in 1826, 'the political changes of Spain in 1823 drove me for shelter to this happy land of Civil and Religious Liberty'. He took refuge in Paris and London, where he ran a 'Spanish and Classical Library' (more properly a bookshop), at 124 Regent Street. In 1825 he published the *Obras* of Moratín father and son, printed by the Imprenta Española de M. Calero, 17, Frederick Place, Goswell Road. Marcelino Calero Portocarrero, a liberal exile from La Coruña, was a supplier for Salvá's bookshop who printed in London from 1825 to 1829, when he returned to Spain.¹⁴

Two waves of Portuguese Jacobins and masons came in 1823 and 1829-31. Some of the refugees landed at Plymouth, where they were able to print patriotic proclamations.¹⁵ The most famous of these is Almeida Garrett (1799-1854), poet, essayist in the English style, diplomat and politician.¹⁶ (He

13 Thomas Carlyle, *The Life of John Sterling*, ed. W. Hale White (London: Henry Frowde, 1907), I, ix, pp. 66-7, cited by Vicente Llorens, *Liberales y románticos: una emigración española en Inglaterra (1823-1834)* (Mexico: Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica, 1954), p. 36. Dickens, *Bleak House*, published in 1852-3 but set some time earlier, mentions them too: 'He [Harold Skimpole] lived in a place called the Polygon, in Somers Town, where there were at that time a number of poor Spanish refugees walking about in cloaks, smoking little paper cigars' (Chapter 43): see Susan Shatto, *The Companion to 'Bleak House'* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1988), pp. 4, 242-3.

14 On Salvá, see Carola Reig Salvá, *Vicente Salvá: un valenciano de prestigio internacional* (Valencia: Institución Alfonso el Magnánimo, 1972); on Calero, see Pedro Ortiz Armengol, *El año que vivió Moratín en Inglaterra, 1792-1793* (Madrid: Castalia, 1985), plate XXIII. For other books printed in London by Calero see Appendix I below.

15 For example, *Proclamação à nação portuguesa* (Plymouth: na imprensa de Evaristo Nettleton, 1828) [RB.31.b.151/3]. José Baptista de Sousa, 'Catão em Plymouth: controvérsias acerca da representação da tragédia em Inglaterra - 1829', in *De Garrett ao Neo-Garretismo: actas do colóquio* (Maia: Câmara Municipal de Maia, 1999), pp. 75-90.

16 Carlos Estorninho, 'Garrett e a Inglaterra', *Revista da Faculdade de Letras* (Lisbon), 21 (1955), 40-75; Vitorino Nemésio, *Exilados 1828-1832: história sentimental e política do liberalismo na emigração* (Lisboa: Bertrand, 1946).

owes his second surname to his Irish grandmother.) In 1823-4 and 1828-31 he spent two periods in exile in England, staying at no. 13 Oxendon St, Haymarket, using the libraries of Richard Heber and the British Museum, and dining in Liberal circles at Holland House.¹⁷ (Lord Holland was a notable Hispanophile, who wrote a life of Lope de Vega; Lady Holland kept a *Journal* of her travels in Spain in 1802-9.) Garrett continued his literary career, publishing nine books and two journals with the publishers Boosey (1); Sustenance & Stretch (4); Greenlaw, 39 Chichester Place, Grays Inn Rd (3); and C. S. Bingham, 5 Wilmot St, Russell Sq. (Estornino 73-4). And like so many of the exiles, when the political situation had cooled down at home, back he went, to a distinguished political career, dying a peer of the Portuguese realm.

London presses, such as those of Greenlaw, were occupied in printing topical political material in Portuguese, be it propaganda or translations of British parliamentary debates on Portuguese matters.¹⁸ The surgeon António de Almeida (1761-1822) published his *Tratado da inflamação...* in London (H. Bryer, 1812-13). A clear example of a book printed in Britain for export, it is dedicated to the Portuguese Regent (later John VI). Almeida was soon to return to Portugal, where he published on scientific topics in 1815 and 1825.

To put the work of the liberal emigrés in London in context, England was not their only refuge, nor Spanish their only language. Several of the exiles mentioned here also spent time in France and published in French. On the linguistic side, some authors published mainly in English during their time here: Pascual de Gayangos, for example, author of the *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Spanish Language in the British Museum* (1875-93), seems only to have published in English, while José Blanco y Crespo published in London in Spanish only at the beginning of his career, becoming so naturalised as to rename himself Joseph Blanco White. António de Vieyra (floruit 1779), Regius Professor at Trinity College Dublin, who is believed to have gone into exile for religious reasons, published in English or Latin.

Two works by Mariano Moreno, *Vida y memorias del Dr Dn Mariano Moreno, Secretario de la Junta de Buenos Ayres...*, con una idea de su revolucion, y de la de Mexico, Caracas, &c. (Londres: Imprenta de J. McCreery, 1812) [615.i.20] and *Coleccion de arengas en el foro y escritos* (Londres: Jaime Pickburn, 1836) [20012.f.1]

17 Lia Noemia Rodrigues Correia Raitt, *Garrett and the English Muse* (London: Tamesis, 1983), p. 9.

18 There is some useful raw data in 'Obras de alguma forma relacionadas com países de língua portuguesa', *Revista de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses*, 5 (1996), 9-26. For some Portuguese political pamphlets see Appendix II below.

are rare examples of the work of a Spanish American politician published in London. Pickburn is not known to have printed anything else in Spanish.¹⁹

Probably the most notable of the Latin American exiles in London was Andrés Bello, the Venezuelan-Chilean politician and writer who spent some nineteen years in London from 1810 to 1829.²⁰ Among his most important publications are two journals: *La biblioteca americana o Miscelánea de literatura, artes y ciencias, por una Sociedad de Americanos* (Londres: en la Imprenta de Don G. Marchant, Ingram Court, 1823) and *El repertorio americano* (Londres: en la librería de Bossange, Barthés y Lowell, 14 Great Marlborough Street, 1826-27; en la imprenta de G. Schulze, 13 Poland-Street).

London also played an important role in the history of the press in Brazil. The Portuguese had prohibited printing in Brazil, and the first Brazilian newspaper was the *Correio braziliense* (Londres: Officina de W. Lewis, 1808-22), edited by Hipólito da Costa. The title itself is indicative of the editor's growing consciousness of a separate Brazilian identity.²¹

Academic and literary publishing

This category overlaps considerably with the previous three, as many of these academic authors came to Britain for political or religious reasons. One of the earliest English-Spanish grammars of known authorship is by a Protestant. Juan de Luna left Spain in 1612 for France, where he settled and studied in the Protestant centre of Montauban.²² He published a Spanish-French grammar, *Arte breve, y compendiosa, para aprender, a leer pronunciar, escreuir, y hablar la lengua Española*, in Paris in 1615. Also in Paris in 1620 he published his continuation of the picaresque novel *Lazarillo de Tormes*. In 1621 the Protestant stronghold of La Rochelle fell to Louis XIII, the Declaration of Niort reduced Protestant rights and Luna moved to London, settling in Cheapside, where he continued to make a living as a teacher of Spanish. He reissued his Spanish grammar for an English readership, *Arte breve ... A Short and Compendious Art for to Learne ...*

19 Alberich, *Bibliografía anglo-hispanica* (cited in n. 12), pp. 122-43, lists very few publications by Latin American exiles in his section on 'Hispanoamérica y Filipinas'.

20 Horacio Jorge Becco, 'Bibliografía analítica de las publicaciones de don Andrés Bello en Londres', in *Bello y Londres: segundo congreso del bicentenario* (Caracas: Fundación La Casa de Bello, 1980), II, 283-321.

21 Barbosa Lima Sobrinho (ed.), *Antología do 'Correio Braziliense'* (Rio de Janeiro: Cátedra, 1977). For the various London pamphlets printed in response to articles in the *Correio*, see Rubens Borba de Moraes, *Bibliographia brasiliana*, 2nd edn (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1983), pp. 47-48, 156, 234, 561, 892.

22 Anónimo, *Segunda parte del Lazarillo, edición de Amberes, 1555; Juan de Luna, edición de París, 1620*, ed. Pedro M. Piñero (Madrid: Cátedra, 1988), pp. 67-73.

the Spanish Tongue (Londres: Juan Guillermo [i.e. William Jones], 1623) [C.33.a.45] and in 1623 he was preaching at Mercer's Chapel in Cheapside. He is thought to have died in England.

One of the masterpieces of Spanish printing in London is the Carteret *Don Quixote* (Tonson, 1738). Strangely, this is the first critical edition of Cervantes's novel, predating that of the Spanish Academy by twenty-two years. The patron of the edition was Lord Carteret (John Carteret, Earl Granville, 1690-1763), for whom in the phrase of a contemporary it was printed 'at his expense and for his entertainment' ('a su costa i por su diversion'), his intention being to 'cultivate the Spanish tongue in this country' ('cultivar la lengua española en esta tierra').²³ The text was prepared by Pedro Pineda, described by Menéndez y Pelayo (V, 121) as a 'judaizante' ('inclined to Judaism') who also published London editions of such novels as the *Diana enamorada* of Gil Polo (Londres: por Thomas Woodward, 1739) [245.e.1] and the *Fortuna de Amor* of Antonio de Lo Frasso (Londres: por Henrique Chapel, 1740) [89.a.18-19], which he chose to publish because Cervantes had praised them in the scrutiny of Don Quixote's library (see the prologues to the *Diana* and Book II of the *Fortuna*). In the latter case, according to Menéndez y Pelayo, he failed to detect the true meaning of the arch-ironist's praise. The edition also included a life of Cervantes by Gregorio Mayans y Siscar. Mayans was the Spanish Royal Librarian, an establishment figure, with no need to publish abroad. He was approached by Carteret via the British ambassador Benjamin Keene. The Tonson edition has engravings after drawings by J. Vanderbanck. Carteret expressed some reservations about these, as they were 'invented by foreigners who were incapable of capturing the customs and distinctive qualities of Spain' ('inventadas por forasteros incapaces de acertar en las costumbres y algunas particularidades de España') (Mestre xlv). Indeed, Mayans thought worthy of criticism errors 'in the chimney in Don Quixote's bedroom' ('en la chimenea en el quarto de D. Quijote'), 'the Priest's three-cornered biretta and collar and Sancho Panza's shoes and hat' ('en el bonete de tres esquinas y en la balona del cura, en los zapatos i sombrero de Sancho Panza...') (xlv). The Carteret *Don Quixote* is a turning point in the history of Spanish printing in London, as for the first time we see a work of a non-pedagogical nature produced for the interested English Hispanophile reader.

23 Gregorio Mayans y Siscar, *Vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, ed. Antonio Mestre (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1972), pp. xlii, xlv; *Tesoros de España: ten centuries of Spanish books* (Madrid: Dirección General del Libro y Bibliotecas, 1985), pp. 296-8.

The *Cancionero de obras de burlas provocantes a risa* (En Madrid: por Luis Sanchez, 1841) [G.10949] is an anthology, originally printed in 1519, of obscene poetry. The imprint is false: Sánchez was a real printer, but active in Madrid 1590-1627. The text was edited by Luis de Usoz.²⁴ Born in 1806, he became a Quaker after reading Robert Barclay's *An Apology for the True Christian Divinity* in the Spanish translation of Félix Antonio de Alvarado, *Apología de la verdadera theologia christiana ... trasladada ... ahora en Castellano por Antonio de Alvarado ... por el Bien de Todos, Especialmente de la Nacion Española* (Londres: J. Sowle, 1710) [855.i.6]. He came to London in 1839 but, like many another, returned to Spain. Although the book itself looks convincingly Spanish, it is known from Usoz's correspondence that the publisher is Pickering of London.²⁵ Pickering and his associate the printer Whittingham were adept at this sort of mimetic printing. Doubtless one of the appeals of the book for Usoz was that it was full of anticlerical verse.

The Spanish liberal exiles produced fourteen journals from 1810 to 1851 (Alberich, 22-3); the Portuguese liberal exiles twenty journals from 1808 to 1832.²⁶ One such is the *Ocios de los emigrados españoles*, a literary journal which ran from 1824 to 1827 (Londres: se vende en casa de los SS. Dulau y Compañía; y Treuttel y Wurtz, Soho-Square; Boosey e Hijo, Old Broad-Street). 'Ocios' is the Latin *otia*, meaning both 'leisure' and 'literary activity'. The editor, José Blanco White, explains that his contributors were making good use of their enforced idleness in exile to write things they would never have had time for back home. I see the *Ocios* as the forerunner of the sort of journal produced by cultural attachés' offices which explain Spanish culture to the interested British reader. In its first year it included articles on 'Spanish proverbs', and on orientalism in Spain, as well as current political comment rather than news.

The figure of George Borrow deserves mention, if only to explain why his bibliography lies outside this study. He was a traveller, philologist and student of Romany life who visited Spain and Portugal in 1835-40 with the backing of the British and Foreign Bible Society, distributing cheap Bibles. The reason I

24 Menéndez y Pelayo, VI, 319-25; *Cancionero de obras de burlas provocantes a risa*, ed. Pablo Jauralde Pou and Juan Alfredo Bellón Cazabán (Madrid: Akal, 1974), pp. xiv-xxi.

25 Bernard Warrington, 'William Pickering', in *British Literary Publishing Houses, 1820-1880, Dictionary of Literary Biography*, 106 (Detroit: Gale, 1991), pp. 245-50. As Graham Jefcoate shows in his article in this volume, Whittingham was capable of printing in *fraktur*.

26 Félix Walter, *La Littérature portugaise en Angleterre à l'époque romantique* (Paris: Revue de Littérature Comparée, 1927), p. 130.

exclude him is that, remarkably, he managed to have these Bibles printed for him by Borrego in Madrid.²⁷

When the London colleges were founded in the 1820s, they included Spanish on the curriculum. An early example of a publication for the university audience is J. de Alcalá, *A Grammar of the Spanish Language for the Use of the Students in King's College* (London: Whittaker, 1830) [627.b.25].²⁸ The first professor of Spanish at University College London, Antonio Alcalá Galiano, and of Spanish at King's College London, Pablo Mendíbil, came to Britain as liberal exiles. The chairs date from 1827 and 1829 respectively. Jiménez de Alcalá was the second professor of Spanish at King's College. Besides publishing his *Grammar*, he was also principal editor for Ackermann.²⁹ From the beginning of the century, we commonly see the names of Ackermann, Boosey and Dulau on Spanish and Portuguese books. Longman already appear in some pre-1850 books. (Nelson and Harrap, by the way, seem not to have entered the market for Spanish school-books until 1912 and 1920 respectively.) None of these publishers dealt exclusively in Spanish and Portuguese. Some of the books of this period are clearly for the British market: Iriarte, *Fabulas*, ed. A. L. Josse (Londres: Dulau, 1809) [11453.a.6], for instance, has a vocabulary appended.

Ackermann, in contrast, was 'the leading publisher of books written principally for the emergent republics in Latin America' (Ford, 'Culture and Commerce', p. 137) (fig. 2). One example of a book expressly intended for export is Sir Walter Scott's *The Talisman* (1826) here published anonymously, in Spanish translation: *El Talisman: cuento del tiempo de las cruzadas. Escrito en ingles por el autor de "Ivanhoe", "Waverley", &c.* (Publicado R. Ackermann, en Londres, Repositorio de Artes, 101, Strand, y en su establecimiento de Megico, 1826). [12604.cc.20] (The translation is anonymous because the original was also anonymous.). The availability of the book in Mexico serves

27 George Borrow, *The Bible in Spain*, ed. Peter Quennell (London: Macdonald, 1959), pp. 186-8.

28 José María Jiménez de Alcalá, *A Grammar of the Spanish Language for the Use of the Students in King's College* (London: Dulau and Co., 1833) reproduced in facsimile from the second edition (1840) with an introduction by David Hook (London: King's College London, Department of Spanish & Spanish-American Studies, 1998).

29 On Ackermann, see John Ford, 'Rudolph Ackermann: Publisher to Latin America', in *Bello y Londres* (as in n. 20), I, 197-224, and 'Rudolph Ackermann: Culture and Commerce in Latin America 1822-1828', in *Andrés Bello: the London Years*, ed. John Lynch (London: The Richmond Publishing Co. Ltd for the Venezuelan Embassy, 1982), pp. 137-52. For a selective list of Spanish books published by Dulau, Ackermann and Boosey, see Appendix III.

as a reminder that one reason why Britain backed Latin American independence was that it opened up markets to British trade.



Fig. 2: J. J. de Mora, *Gramatica latina* (London: Ackermann, 1825), title-page, detail.

British Library pressmark: 12934.b.7.

Charles Wood and Son were active as printers in Spanish from 1824 to 1857, working for Ackermann from 1824 to 1829; Wood also printed one book for Salvá: Perico de los Palotes (pseud.), *Don Termópilo ó Defensa del Prospecto del Doctor Puigblanch* (Londres: Librería de V. Salvá; Imprenta de Carlos Wood e Hijo, 1829).³⁰

The minority languages of Spain have a small presence in London printing in our period. They were of course represented in the publications of the British and Foreign Bible Society from 1806.³¹ Outside this area, I believe

³⁰ For Wood's Spanish books see Appendix IV.

the earliest book printed in London in Catalan to be a bilingual Catalan-English edition of the *Consolat de Mar, The Black Book of the Admiralty* (London: Longman and Trübner, 1874) and the earliest in Basque *Dialogues basques: guipuzcoans, biscayens, par don A. P. Iturriaga, le P. J. A. de Uriarte ...* (Londres, 1857) [12907.c.1], privately printed by W. H. Billing for the philologist Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte: both of them clearly academic publications.³²

Conclusions

In the light of this survey, we can say that at least up to 1800 no London printer seems to have specialised in Spanish, with the small exception of Richard Field. Looking back, there is a long and reasonably homogeneous history of London printing in Spanish and Portuguese, much of it due to the Inquisition. We can distinguish two periods: in the earlier, our Spanish and Portuguese have a refugee mentality, writing for their religious and political comrades either within an enclosed community of outsiders or for those they left behind in the Old Country. Towards the end of our period, we find books aimed at the interested English reader. And both these traditions survive to our own day.³³

Appendix I

Some books printed in London by Calero

- C. B. Depping, *Colección de los más célebres romances antiguos españoles, históricos y caballerescos* (1825) [G.18145]
 Real Academia Española, *Ortografía de la lengua española* (1825) [12942.aa.29]
 Anonymous, *Ensayo sobre las libertades de la iglesia española en ambos mundos* (1826) [3902.cc.29]
 Evaristo San Miguel, *Elementos del arte de la guerra* (1826) (ccpb000381723)

- ³¹ T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (London, 1911), list editions in Spanish of 1806 (no. 8491), Catalan 1832 (no. 8650); Basque 1838 (no. 1946), and Asturian 1861 (no. 8645).
³² Julien Vinson, *Essai d'une bibliographie de la langue basque* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1891), no. 232b; see also Table des lieux d'impression (I, 440), s.v. Londres.
³³ I am pleased to acknowledge the help of Elizabeth James, Nigel Roche, David Shaw and Geoff West.

- Revista del antiguo teatro español* (1826) [11725.aa.22(3)]
- José Canga Argüelles, *Diccionario de hacienda para el uso de los encargados de la suprema dirección de ella* (1826-7) (ccpb000241050)
- Alvaro Flórez Estrada, *Reflexiones acerca del mal extraordinario que en el día aflige a la Inglaterra y que más o menos incomoda ya a las naciones más industriosas de la Europa* (1827); 2nd edn, 1827 [8276.bb.7]
- Flórez Estrada, *Curso de economía política* (1828) (ccpb000313339)
- Canga, *Observaciones sobre la historia de la guerra de España que escribieron los señores Clarke, Southey, Londonderry y Napier* (1829-30) [1060.k.14]
- Canga, *Breve respuesta a la representacion de los comerciantes de Londres, y varios artículos ... del honor del monarca español: insertos en el periódico "El Times", sobre el reconocimiento de la independencia de las Américas Españolas* (1829) [1389.g.43(1)]

Appendix II Some Portuguese political pamphlets printed in London

- José Anselmo Correa Henriques, *A revolução de Portugal: tragedia, dedicada à inseparavel memoria dos portuguezes pellos seus legitimos senhores e reys da Casa de Bragança* (Londres: na Impressam de Cox, Son e Baylis, 1808) [11726.cc.21]
- Cópia da carta, que hum amigo escreveu de Lisboa ... copiada do Correio Braziliense, numero de mayo de 1817* (Londres: L. Thompson, 1819) [C.189.a.17]
- Clemente Alvares d'Oliveira Mendes e Almeida, *Correspondencia entre C.C. de O.M. e Almeida, Consul Geral do Imperio do Brasil em Portugal e os Ministros dos Negocios Estrangeiros de Sua Magestade Fidelissima* (Londres: L. Thompson, 1827) [RB.31.b.156]
- Protesto dos plenipotenciarios de Sua Magestade o Imperador do Brasil contra a usurpação, feita ao mesmo Senhor, da Coroa de Portugal* (Londres, em 8 de Agosto de 1828) [RB.23.b.4066]
- Joaquim António de Magalhaes, *Breve exame do assento feito pelos denominados estados do reyno de Portugal congregados em Lisboa aos 23 de Junho do anno de 1828* (Londres: impresso por R. Greenlaw, 36 Holborn, 1828) [8042.cc.22(1)]
- Debates no Parlamento Britanico sobre os negocios de Portugal, em sessão do 1º de Junho na Camara dos Communs, e de 19 do mesmo mes na Camara dos Pares ...* (Londres: R. Greenlaw, 1829) [RB.23.a.20140; RB.23.a.20157]
- Joaquim António de Magalhaes and Francisco da Gama Lobo Botelho, *Analyse as Observações do General Saldanha. Publicadas em Paris com a data de 13 de Novembro 1829* (Londres: impresso por R. Greenlaw 1830) [8042.g.32]
- Helcodoro Jacinto de Araujo Carneiro, *Algumas palavras em resposta ao que certas pessoas tem ditto e avançado à cerca do governo portuguez ...* (Londres: Typografia de G. Schulze, 1831) [Cup.408.tt.27]
- José Liberato Freire de Carvalho, *Reflexões sobre um paragrapho do manifesto do Senhor Dom Pedro Duque de Bragança datado a bordo da fragata Rainha de Portugal aos 2 de Fevereiro de 1832* (Londres: Bingham, 1832) [8042.aaa.24]

- Rodrigo Pinto Pizarro, *Speculum justitiae* [an account of his ill treatment by Dom Miguel] ([Londres:] Impresso por R. Greenlaw, 39, Chichester Place, King's Cross, [1832]) [8042.cc.24(3)]
- idem, *Justiça de mouros* ([Londres:] Impresso por R. Greenlaw, 39, Chichester Place, King's Cross, Londres, [1833]) [8042.cc.26(11)]
- idem, *Appellação do Coronel Rodrigo Pinto Pizarro para o tribunal dos seus concidaões* [London? 1833] [1414.h.26(2)]

Appendix III Some Spanish and Portuguese books published by Dulau, Ackermann and Boosey

- Agustín Luis Josse (ed.), *El tesoro español, o Biblioteca portatil española, que contiene poesias escogidas de los mas celebres poetas castellanos con notas para la ilustracion y mayor claridad de las voces y sentencias que hubieran podido ofrecer alguna dificultad* (Londres: se hallará en la Libreria de Dulau y Comp., Quadro de Soho, 1802) [95.i.12]
- J. B. [Boosey?], *La Floresta española, o piezas escogidas, en prosa, sacadas de los mejores autores de España ... select passages, in prose, extracted from the most celebrated Spanish authors ...* (London: printed for T. Boosey, No. 4 Old Broad-Street, Near the Royal Exchange, 1807) [1161.c.8]
- Le Sage, *Aventuras de Gil Blas de Santillana*, ed. F. Fernandez (Londres: a expensas de F. Wingrave; T. Boosey; Lackington, Allen y Co.; y Dulau y Co., 1808) [1073.i.53]
- Tomás de Yriarte, *Fabulas literarias*, ed. A. L. Josse (Londres: Dulau, 1809) [11453.a.6]
- Antonio de Solís, *Historia de la conquista de Mexico*, ed. A. L. Josse (Londres: en la imprenta de R. Juigne ... a expensas del dicho editor, se hallara, en su casa ... y en las de B. Dulau, y Co., ... T. Boosey, ... White, ... De Conchy, ... Wingrave ... Longman y Rees ... y Lackington y Allen ..., 1809) [9771.cc.15]
- Jacome Rattou, *Recordações de J. Rattou ... sobre occurrencias do seu tempo em Portugal* (Londres: H. Bryer, 1813) [1201.c.18]
- Samuel Johnson, *Ráselas, príncipe de Abisinia*, tr. Felipe Fernández (Londres: Henrique Bryer á expensas de Francisco Wingrave, y de dicho rev. traductor 1813) [12614.aa.2]
- Cervantes, *Don Quixote de la Mancha*, ed. Felipe Fernández (London: expensas de Lackington, Allen y Co ... F. Wingrave ... T. Boosey ... Longman y Co ... C. Law y Co ... Dulau y Co ... y dicho editor, 1814) [12491.b.12] (The BL copy, acquired in 1869, has the label of 'P. Rolandi, Foreign Bookseller, Circulating Library, 20, Berners St, London'.)
- William Wilberforce, *Perspectiva real del cristianismo practico*, tr. José Muñoz de Sotomayor (Londres: en la Imprenta de J. Bowman, 1827) [4407.ccc.17]
- William Henry Pyne, *Descripcion abreviada del mundo. Inglaterra, Escocia e Irlanda*, tr. Pablo de Mendibil (Londres: R. Ackermann, 1828) [C.107.bb.110]

- José Urculu, *Catecismo de mitología* (Londres: R. Ackermann, 1825?) [T.129*(5)]
Catecismo de gramática castellana (Londres; Megico: R. Ackermann, s.a.) (University College London, R 214 B 122 CAT)
- Francesco Saverio Clavigero, *Historia antigua de Megico* ... (Londres; Megico: R. Ackermann, 1826) [1061.k.17, 18]
- Cayetano Moro, *Reconocimiento del istmo de Tehuantepec*... (Londres: en casa de Ackermann y Compa, 1844) [10480.g.16(2)]
- Alvaro Flórez Estrada, *Representacion hecha a S.M.C. el señor don Fernando VII* (Londres: impreso por Enrique Bryer ... se vende en la librería de T. Boosey e Hijos ... 1818) [1141.i.13(3)]
- Alvaro Flórez Estrada, *Examen imparcial de las disensiones de la America con la España* ... (Londres: en la imprenta de R. Juigne ... se halla de venta en casa de Dulau y Compañía, ... en casa de Johnson, en casa de Boosey, ... y en casa de Deconchy, ... 1811) [8180.f.7]
- Luis Vélez de Guevara, *El diablo cojuelo* (Londres: expensas de T. Boosey, 1812) [12490.a.8]
- Damián López de Tortajada, *Floresta de varios romances sacados de las historias antiguas de los hechos famosos de los doce pares de Francia / Ancient Spanish ballads* (London: Boosey; Rodwell and Martin, 1821) [1064.k.24]
- Hipólito José da Costa Pereira Furtado de Mendonça, *Historia de Portugal*... (Londres: na offic. de F. Wingrave; T. Boosey; Dulau e Co. e Lackington, Allen e Co., 1809) [1196.b.35-37]
- El espejo de señoritas: manual de preceptos morales, artes de recreacion, ejercicios elegantes, y entretenimientos domesticos; adornado con muchos grabados*, 2a ed. (Londres: Ackermann y comp, 1835) (ccpb000379078)
- Ibarra, José Joaquín de, *No me olvides: coleccion de producciones en prosa y verso, originales, imitadas y traducidas por José Joaquín de Ibarra* (Londres: R. Ackermann, 1825) (ccpb0003800082)
- Ibarra, José Joaquín de, *No me olvides: coleccion de producciones en prosa y verso, originales y traducidas por José Joaquín de Ibarra* (Londres: R. Ackermann, 1826) [Half tp: *No me olvides: recuerdo de amistad para el año de 1826*] (ccpb0003800083)
- Ibarra, José Joaquín de, *No me olvides: coleccion de producciones en prosa y verso, originales y traducidas por José Joaquín de Ibarra* (Londres: R. Ackermann, 1827) [Half tp: *No me olvides: recuerdo de amistad para el año de 1827*] (ccpb0003800084)
- Mendibil, Pablo de, *No me olvides: coleccion de producciones en prosa i verso, orijinales, imitadas i traducidas para MDCCCXVIII* (Londres: R. Ackermann, [impreso por] Carlos Wood e hijo, 1828) (ccpb0003800081)
- Mendibil, Pablo de, *No me olvides: coleccion de producciones en prosa i verso, orijinales, imitadas i traducidas para MDCCCXXIX* (Londres: R. Ackermann, [impreso por] Carlos Wood e hijo, 1829) (ccpb0003800080)

Appendix IV Some Spanish books printed by Charles Wood

- William Davis Robinson, *Memorias de la Revolución de Megico* ..., tr. José Joaquín de Mora (Londres: R. Ackermann; impreso por Carlos Wood, 1824) (ccpb000304856)
- José de la Riva Agüero, *Exposicion de Don José de la Riva Agüero acerca de su conducta política en en tiempo que ejerció la Presidencia de la República del Perú* (C. Wood, 1824) [1202.i.23]
- Ignacio Núñez et al., *Noticias históricas, políticas y estadísticas de las Provincias Unidas del Río de la Plata; con un apéndice sobre la usurpación de Montevideo por los gobiernos portugués y brasileiro* (Londres; Megico: publicado por R. Ackermann; impreso por Carlos Wood, 1825) (ccpb000372999)
- José Joaquín de Mora, *Gramatica latina dispuesta en forma de catecismo* (Londres: lo publica R. Ackermann, Strand, y en su establecimiento de Megico: asimismo en Colombia, en Buenos Ayres, Chile, Peru y Guatemala, 1825) [12934.b.7]
- José Joaquín de Mora, *Cuadros de la historia de los árabes* ... (Londres: R. Ackermann, Strand; impreso por Carlos Wood, 1826) (ccpb000329788)
- Perico de los Palotes (pseud.), *Don Termópilo ó Defensa del Prospecto del Doctor Puigblanch* (Londres: Librería de V. Salvá; Imprenta de Carlos Wood e Hijo, 1829) (ccpb000325471)
- Agustín de Argüelles, *Apéndice a la sentencia pronunciada en 11 de mayo de 1825 por la Audiencia de Sevilla contra sesenta y tres diputados de las Cortes de 1822 y 1823. Por Don Agustín de Argüelles, uno de los comprendidos en la sentencia* (Londres: Imp. de Carlos Wood e Hijo, 1834) [1509/1332]
- Agustín de Argüelles, *Exámen histórico de la reforma constitucional que hicieron las Córtes generales y extraordinarias desde que se instalaron en la Isla de León el día 24 de setiembre de 1810, hasta que cerraron en Cadix sus sesiones en 14 del propio mes de 1813* (Londres: Imp. de Carlos Wood e Hijo, 1835) (ccpb000076122)
- Niel Arnott, *Elementos de física* ... , tr. Manuel Saenz de Buruaga (Londres: Carlos Wood, 1837) (ccbp000079640)
- Agustín de Argüelles, *Apelación a los habitantes de Europa sobre la esclavitud el tráfico de negros. Publicado en nombre de la sociedad religiosa de amigos de la Gran Bretaña* (Londres: Imp. Española de Wood, 1839) (ccpb000077555)
- Riego, Miguel del (ed.), *Coleccion de obras poeticas españolas: unas casi enteramente perdidas, otras que se han hecho muy raras y todas ellas merecedoras de ser conservadas en el Parnaso Español* (Londres: impreso por Carlos Wood, Poppin's Court, Fleet Street, 1842) [11451.g.27]
- Mayoral, Francisco, *Historia verdadera del sargento Francisco Mayoral natural de Salamanca, fingido Cardenal de Borbon en Francia escrita por el mismo y dada a luz por D. J. V.* (Londres: imprenta de Wood, 1846) (ccpb000379399)
- Mariano Torrente, *Memoria sobre la esclavitud en la isla de Cuba ... / Slavery in the island of Cuba* ... (Londres: Imprenta de C. Wood, 1853) [8155.b.73] (Wrapper: London: H. Baillere)

Manuel Martínez de Morentín, *Estudios filológicos, ó sea Exámen razonado del uso de los verbos ser y estar ...* (Londres: Trübner y Cie; [impreso por] C. Wood, 1857) (ccpb000290426)

Chris Michaelides

Greek Printing in England, 1500-1900

I. A survey

Unlike Venice, Florence, or Paris, London has never been one of the major centres of Greek printing. The vast majority of Greek books printed in England during this period were devoted to the classical Greek writers, the Bible, the Church Fathers, Church history or religious controversy. There were, however, two periods – the first half of the seventeenth century and the nineteenth century – during which the output of Greek books presents special interest either because of the circumstances of its production or its variety.

The first book in which Greek types were used in England was printed rather late, in 1521. They occur in four maxims at the end of an edition of Lucian of Samosata's *De Dipsadibus* printed in Cambridge by John Siberch.¹ This was followed in 1524 by Thomas Linacre, *De emendata structura Latini sermonis*, printed in London by Richard Pynson.²

The first book with a complete Greek text was published several years later, in 1543. It was an edition of two homilies of St John Chrysostom with a Greek transcription by Sir John Cheke followed by their Latin translation.³ It was printed by Reginald (or Reynald) Wolfe, whose device of a German shield

1 *Lepidissimum Luciani opusculū... Περὶ διψάδων... H. Bulloco interprete. Oratio ejusdem, cum... annotatōibus.* Cantabrigiæ: J. Siberch, 1521.

2 *Thomae Linacri ... De emendata structura Latini sermonis libri sex.* Apud R. Pynsonum: Londini, 1524. Both the Siberch and Pynson types are reproduced in Frank Isaac, *English and Scottish Printing Types 1501-35 [and] 1508-41*, Facsimiles and illustrations issued by the Bibliographical Society, no. 2 ([Oxford]: Oxford University Press, 1930). I am grateful to Dennis E. Rhodes for allowing me to use this information contained in his 'The First Use of Greek Type in Spain, France, the Low Countries, and England', paper given at the conference *The Greek Book, 15th-19th century* (Delphi, 16-20 May 2001).

3 *Τῶν ἐν ἀγίοις Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσσοστόμου ὁμιλίαι δύο νῦν πρῶτον ἐντυπωθεῖσαι καὶ πρὸς τὸν τῆς Ἀγγλίας ἐπιφανέστατον Βασιλέα Ἐνρίκον ὀγδοὸν εἰς Ῥωμαίαν γλῶσσαν μεταγραφθεῖσαι ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου Κήκου Κανταβριγιέως. D. Ioannis Chrysostomi homiliae duae, nunc primum in lucem adita, et ad Sereniss. Angliae Regē latinae factae, a Ioanne Cheko Cantabrigiensi.* Londini: apud Reynerum Vuolfium, 1543.