MONUMENTA CHARTÆ PAPYRACEÆ
HISTORIAM ILLUSTRANTIA

I

WATERMARKS

BY

EDWARD HEWOOD, M.A.
MONUMENTA CHARTÆ PAPYRACEÆ
HISTORIAM ILLUSTRANTIA
OR COLLECTION OF WORKS AND DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING THE HISTORY OF PAPER
GENERAL EDITOR: E. J. LABARRE

I
WATERMARKS
MAINLY OF THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES
BY
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"Si monumentum requiris intropice"
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PREFACE

It is with deep melancholy that I write these few words to introduce the work of the late Mr. Heawood. His death has not only deprived him of the pleasure of seeing a large proportion of the watermarks collected by him during so many years published in their natural size and appropriately indexed, but it has robbed me of the satisfaction of presenting him with a copy of the complete work in commemoration of his 85th birthday, in September 1948.

I had long known of Mr. Heawood's interest in watermarks through his friend and my former chief, Mr. W. A. Churchill, whose work, published in 1933, contained many watermarks found and recorded by Mr. Heawood. It was not till the autumn of 1944, however, that I actually came into contact with him. At the Public Library in Birmingham, Mr. H. M. Cashmore, the City Librarian, showed me a parcel of tracings that Mr. Heawood had left in his care when on a visit to him. On looking through these I immediately realized that such a collection should be published if it was to be of use to a reasonable number of searchers. I then wrote to Mr. Heawood, suggesting further elaboration with a view to possible publication. Circumstances were, however, not favourable for the execution of such an idea. The war was still on and I had but recently returned from more than four years' internment, so that I could not take any definite action until I returned to my home in Holland.

Since that date, however, I have been in constant correspondence with Mr. Heawood and, after he had furnished me with a historical review of watermarks for the second edition of my Dictionary of Paper & Paper-making, I suggested that he should furnish me for my own use with a collection drawn from his stock of tracings, covering the field as far as possible without becoming too voluminous.

When in September 1948 I received these drawings and notes, I at once felt it would be selfish to retain for myself such a collection and that a few words of introduction by the collector, who had spent so many years in the study of watermarks, would make the work a most valuable addition to the existing publications, which admittedly only touch the surface of the subject. The German collector, the late Dr. Karl Theodor Weiss, estimated that for Germany alone the variants would run to more than 250,000.
The more than 4000 watermarks contained in this volume are the fruit of the enthusiastic labours of the late Mr. Edward Heawood during some 40 years. The task was indeed a labour of love and he willingly agreed to the idea of having a fairly large number of his tracings published in their full size.

Though Mr. Heawood had furnished me with all the indispensable copy and references, he had naturally, when preparing these some year or so previously, counted on filling in a number of references and lacunae, particularly the extension of the titles of the printed books from which the tracings had been drawn. He was indeed engaged in drafting a list of sources to enable me to complete the index at the very hour of his death on April 30, 1949, and a postcard reporting progress reached me together with the grievous news of his passing.

He had for some time previously felt and regretted his failing powers and about ten days before his death he wrote that "if the worst came to the worst" he felt sure that Mr. G. R. Crone, his successor as Librarian at the Royal Geographical Society, would be able to complete the references.

Luckily for the fate of this work, Mr. Crone has most kindly stepped into the breach. His patient and expert labour and research have converted Mr. Heawood's occasionally too brief notes on the drawings into the valuable accuracy in the all-important index. Indeed, without Mr. Crone's devoted and learned help, the index would in many ways have been sadly deficient. I am at a loss to give adequate expression to my gratitude for his most valuable assistance.

Nevertheless, in spite of great efforts to secure accuracy of the various indexes, I would crave the indulgence of users for any discrepancies they may find. Quite a number of names, dates and titles could not be verified, and ultimately it was considered best to let them stand as the author had written them. The unavoidable fact that the draft index, the tracings themselves and Mr. Crone's additions and emendations were separated from each other for many months, thus preventing any possibility of checking obscure points, and the fact that most of Mr. Heawood's material was received only many months after his death, has considerably increased and delayed the labour involved.

The somewhat belated idea, suggested by the recurrence of many titles, of making a list of the sources containing more than one mark, has necessitated the numbering of the references to these titles. It is hoped that the various indexes will be of assistance in the search for a given watermark, name or date, so indispensable for bibliographical study.

Hilversum, Holland,
June 1950

Editor
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EDWARD HEAWOOD

1863-1949

Edward Heawood was born at Newport, Shropshire, on 26 August, 1863. His family was of Kentish stock, but at that time his father was headmaster of Newport School. Some years later the family moved to Suffolk when his father became Rector of Combs, near Stowmarket, and Heawood attended Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School, Ipswich. His early years were thus spent in country surrounding, and his love of the countryside remained with him throughout his life. From school he went up to Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, where he read classics, graduating in 1886. In the choice of a career, he was at first influenced by the desire for an active outdoor life, and secondly by the fascination which the narratives of the great explorers, particularly in Africa, had exercised upon him. He accordingly planned to equip himself for travel or a career in geography, a subject in which England was then emerging from comparative neglect. In the same year, he became a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, and on the advice of the Assistant Secretary, H. W. Bates, 'the naturalist on the Amazon', took courses in surveying, geology, and botany. Being possessed of private means, he was able to contemplate undertaking exploratory work in the field, and in 1890 went out to India with the intention of proceeding to East Africa. In India, however, he was asked to take part in a scheme for settling Santals in the Bengal Duars, and there he spent two years of hard work in primitive conditions. On his return to England, he found congenial work at the Royal Geographical Society, the staff of which he eventually joined in 1894. The following year he married Lucy, daughter of the Reverend James Cookson; this was the beginning of a long and devoted union which ended only with his death.

The periodical publication of the Society had just been re-organized as The Geographical Journal, and Heawood assisted with the editorial work, a connection which he maintained for forty years. He also assisted in the heavy work which fell on the Society's staff in connection with the Fifth International Geographical Congress held in Lon-
don in 1895. But it was in the Library, which was then being developed by Dr. Hugh Robert Mill, that he found his vocation, and in 1901, on Dr. Mill's resignation to devote himself to meteorological studies, Heawood was appointed Librarian in his place. During his tenure of office he did much to extend the collection of early geographical works and atlases, and gave special attention to building up the Library's holding of foreign geographical periodicals, in addition to supervising the subject index and editing bibliographical lists and indexes. But perhaps his most valuable contribution as librarian was the readiness with which he placed his wide knowledge at the disposal of students and enquirers, to whom he was always accessible.

Parallel to his duties as librarian, Heawood was able to carry on work on those subjects which interested him personally. At first he continued to follow developments in Africa, writing a textbook on the regional geography of Africa for Macmillan in 1896, but he gradually turned to the history of exploration in general. His History of Geographical Exploration in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (1912), illustrated by maps which he drew himself, is a careful survey which has not yet been superseded for English readers. His final contribution to this branch of study was the chapter on African exploration, 1783-1870, which he contributed to volume two of the Cambridge History of the British Empire, 1940. In connection with these studies, he had to investigate many problems which could only be solved by reference to early maps, so that in the course of time he became an authority in the history of cartography. There was scarcely any important contribution to this study published between 1900 and 1935 which he did not review, critically but fairly, in The Geographical Journal, their subjects ranging from Claudius Ptolemaeus to the Dutch cartographers of the seventeenth century. One fruit of this interest was his introduction to the R.G.S. reproduction of the world map on Mercator's projection engraved by Jodocus Hondius in 1608. Another important contribution, published by the Society in 1932, was his study of a hitherto unrecognized series of English county maps, largely after Saxton and Norden, engraved in the early years of the seventeenth century. Among other subjects, he gave particular attention to the maps bound in the Italian collections of the sixteenth century usually known by the name of the publisher, Antonio Laferri. To this research he brought meticulous attention to details of cartographic style and engraving, a wide knowledge of the relevant literature, and a remarkable memory.

The student of cartographic history may regret that Heawood never wrote that study of the history of maps for which he was so well equipped, but this loss is balanced by his contribution to the study of watermarks. His interest in this subject was aroused by the publication of Briquet's great work in 1907. At this time he was working on a manuscript of Glareanus, and he had been struck by the distinctive form of the watermark, the 'bull's head and serpent'. This study made an immediate appeal to him, and it became his habit to make tracings of the marks he encountered while examining acquisitions to the Society's Library. The value of a comparative study of watermarks was brought home to him when he was able to show that a copy of Saxton's Durham, submitted for his opinion, was probably not an early issue. Other similar instances occurred, and he gradually became absorbed in this work, extending his collection of marks, often by rapid eye
In 1895, but it was in the Library which was then being developed by Dr. Hugh Mill, that he found his vocation, and in 1901, on Dr. Mill's resignation to devote himself to meteorological studies, Heathwood was appointed Librarian in his place, and during his tenure of office he did much to extend the collection of early geographical maps and atlases, and gave special attention to building up the Library's holding of geographical periodicals, in addition to supervising the subject index and editing the geographical lists and indexes. But perhaps his most valuable contribution as Librarian was his readiness with which he placed his wide knowledge at the disposal of students and enquirers, to whom he was always accessible.

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In 1934, after thirty-three years in office, Heathwood retired from the Librarian-ship of the Society. To mark their appreciation of his contribution to the advancement of geographical studies, the Council of the Society awarded him the Victoria Medal and conferred the title of Librarian Emeritus upon him. The Royal Scottish Geographical Society had given him their Research Medal in the previous year, more especially for the great assistance he had for many years rendered to students. On his retirement, it was natural that he should consider writing a handbook for the student of watermarks, and to this end he began arranging and preparing his collection. However, circumstances were then becoming unfavourable for such a project, and he reluctantly abandoned it. During the years of war, he occupied himself with making sets for presentation to the British Museum, the Bodleian and other libraries. It was a great satisfaction to him when the enthusiasm of Mr. E. J. Labarre made it possible after all to contemplate the publication of a selection of his watermarks, and despite advancing years he set about the task methodically. It is to Mr. Labarre's intervention also that we owe Heathwood's last work, a historical review of watermarks, contributed to the second edition of the Dictionary and Encyclopedia of Paper and Papermaking. In his last days he found much pleasure in the knowledge that his book would find a place in many world-famous libraries. On the day of his death, 30 April 1949, he had been working as usual on the index of the marks to be published.

Heathwood's outward demeanour was modest and retiring; closer acquaintance, however, revealed a singularly attractive personality, of which won for him many lasting friendships. Cautious in expressing a judgment, he held firmly to an opinion when once formed. Many will gratefully remember him for his ready and expert guidance in their researches, others for his unobtrusive acts of generosity. Unsympathetic to some modern trends — though never intolerant — he was happiest in his home and garden at Mersham, or in visiting the countryside he knew and loved so well.

G. R. CRONE

London, November 1949
INTRODUCTION

by

EDWARD HEAWOOD

The present work makes no claim to be a general survey of the History of Watermarks, even in the limited period on which attention is mainly concentrated. Its purpose is to make available a large number of marks, many of them not previously recorded, brought together by the writer during over 25 years, which might otherwise remain buried in a Public Library or in the hands of a private owner. General introductions to the subject are to be found in many previous publications, an excellent example, taken somewhat at random, being that of Nicolaï in his work on Paper Mills in South-West France.

The number of subjects that might be touched upon here is somewhat embarrassing. Such a collection may seem to some a maze in which the wanderer may lose his way without outside guidance, and an attempt will be made to supply such, as briefly as possible, and to indicate the help that watermarks may give, not merely as an artificial aid to the dating of documents, but as throwing a valuable light on the history of papermaking in different countries, and likewise on the way in which books have taken shape after coming into the printer's hands. Such general aspects have been somewhat overlooked, and though hasty generalizations are dangerous, something may be done by a judicious use of collections like the present, in conjunction with others previously published, to which it is to be regarded as supplementary.

HOW THE COLLECTION TOOK SHAPE

The origin, growth, sources, and method of arrangement must first be briefly described. The evolution has been gradual, with no idea of ultimate publication, which accounts for its somewhat inchoate state. The marks have been traced — in some cases drawn by eye — by myself from a great variety of sources, the work being prompted by the personal interest felt by the collector, when once a beginning had been made, over 25 years ago,
and the fascination of the subject grasped. As Librarian of the Royal Geographical Society for over 34 years I had unusual opportunities of examining a large number of books and maps, in many languages and of all dates. Attention was a first given specially to folios, as easier to deal with, but in course of time almost every format was brought into the purview. When the ground had been pretty well worked over in the Library under my own charge, I went further afield, making extensive use of the near-by Victoria and Albert Museum, with its fine collection of works on art, as well as, naturally, of the British Museum Library, but visiting other libraries when possible. Other important sources were large collections of old paper lent me by various owners: the Papermakers’ Association of London, Messrs. Quaritch, Mr. W. A. Churchill, who put at my disposal his large collection of tracings, many not used for his own book, and specially rich in Italian examples found by him in the Palermo Archives; Mr. James McBay, who collected much blank paper of good quality during his visits to the Continent, especially Spain; the late Dr. F. W. Cock, the well-known authority on Kent antiquities; Dr. Hilton John, of Stoke-on-Trent; and others. To all these my warm thanks are due. The collection is therefore unusually comprehensive, and differs from most others as taken to a large extent from books rather than MSS (though the latter were put under contribution also). Books, it may be remarked, involve considerably more trouble, not only from the difficulty of reading the marks when the printing is heavy but from the way in which the marks are cut up in quarto and smaller formats. It is not easy to estimate, by countries, the relative number of the sources drawn upon, but attention was naturally given to books printed in Western, Central, and Southern Europe, with comparatively few from Scandinavia, Austria, the Americas, etc.

It remains to say a few words as to the difficulties encountered in making copies of the marks, and the extent to which they have been overcome. Tracing from books (perhaps tightly bound and heavily printed) must always be difficult, even if done in a private room with suitable lighting. A sheet of thin glass has to be held with one hand against the leaf of the book while the other does the tracing. It is satisfactory to be able to say that in the copying some hundreds of marks in this way not a single leaf of any book had been damaged. When the book is examined in a public Library, where all tracing is banned, the difficulty is also greatly increased by the diffused light, while the leaf has to be held vertically with one hand while the mark is drawn by eye with the other. The task is especially formidable in the case of small formats where only a fraction of any mark can be seen at a time.

Copies by eye may seem of slight use to bibliographers, but those now presented have stood the test well, on being confronted with later tracings. Even in fragmentary form the marks may be identified, and thus show that the paper bearing them was in use at a known date, by a known printer, at a known place. Such knowledge may occasionally help bibliographers as indicating where and when a given document was written by the subject of the memoir.

It is a pleasant duty to offer my sincere thanks to Librarians and Members of their staffs for the courteous assistance they have given me without stint in the course of my researches. Special mention should be made of those in the British Museum and the
nd the fascination of the subject grasped. As Librarian of the Royal Geographical Society for over 34 years I had unusual opportunities of examining a large number of books and maps, in many languages and of all dates. Attention was a first given specially to folios, as easier to deal with, but in course of time almost every format was brought into the view. When the ground had been pretty well worked over in the Library under my own charge, I went further afield, making extensive use of the near-by Victoria and Albert Museum, with its fine collection of works on art, as well as, naturally, of the British Library, but visiting other libraries when possible. Other important sources were the collections of old paper lent me by various owners: the Papermakers' Association of London, Messrs. Quirke, Mr. W. A. Churchill, who put at my disposal his large collection of engravings, many not used for his own book, and specially rich in Italian examples found by him in the Palermo Archives; Mr. James McBay, who collected much blank paper of good quality during his visits to the Continent, especially Spain; the late Dr. F. W. Cock, the well-known authority on Kent antiquities; Dr. Hilton John, of Stoke-on-Trent, and others. To all these my warm thanks are due. The collection is therefore unusually comprehensive, and differs from most others as taken to a large extent from books rather than MSS (though the latter were put under contribution also). Books, it may be remarked, involve considerably more trouble, not only from the difficulty of reading the marks when the printing is heavy but also from the fact that the marks are cut up in quarto and smaller formats. It is not easy to estimate, by countries, the relative number of the sources drawn upon, but attention was naturally given to books printed in Western, Central, and Southern Europe, with comparatively few from Scandinavia, Austria, the Americas, etc.

It remains to say a few words as to the difficulties encountered in making copies of the marks, and the extent to which they have been overcome. Tracing from books (perhaps tightly bound and heavily printed) must always be difficult, even if done in a private room with suitable lighting. A sheet of thin glass has to be held with one hand against the leaf of the book while the other does the tracing. It is satisfactory to be able to say that in the copying some hundreds of marks in this way not a single leaf of any book had been damaged. When the book is examined in a public Library, where all tracing is banned, the difficulty is greatly increased by the diffused light, while the leaf has to be held vertically with one hand while the mark is drawn by eye with the other. The task is especially formidable in the case of small formats where only a fraction of any mark can be seen at a time.

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SYSTEM OF ARRANGEMENT

As the collection grew so much as to be not easily manageable, the question of arrangement arose, and, after much deliberation, I felt unable to break away from that adopted by most former writers — by the subject of the marks in alphabetical order. As a simple means of tracing a given mark as quickly as possible it has obvious advantages, balanced in other directions by distinct drawbacks. The names given to the different marks by different writers in different languages (and sometimes in the same language) vary greatly, and no consistent use has yet been established. On the other hand, classification by region or period, or the two combined, brings out many interesting points that are not so well emphasized by the usual method. Thus regional characteristics and peculiarities — sporadically referred to by Briqer and others, have rarely been brought to a focus as a whole, as they deserve to be. In an arrangement by subject, since the big makers often used a dozen or more different forms, the marks used by one maker or mill, such as Colombier in France, are widely scattered. When grouped by period or region, there is much more chance of noticing personal touches displayed by a given maker. Lastly, when a mark under examination is indistinct or its meaning obscure, it may be more easily identified if the searcher is guided by a rough idea of the date or place of the document in which it has been found. A collection like the present contains the material for bringing out such points, but it is widely scattered and has to be sought for laboriously — not even the characteristic marks of different paper-making countries at different periods can be seen at a glance. Little attempt can be here made at dealing at length with such subjects, but a brief general survey may be made from these points of view, showing the light to be gained on the history and vicissitudes of paper-making and paper-supply, both as between one country and another and between the outstanding makers in each.

WATERMARKS FROM A REGIONAL STANDPOINT

1. Italy. By the opening of the 17th century most paper-making countries had become more or less self-supporting, at least for their local needs, but the well-established centres in each continued to export a good deal for special purposes. Especially was it so with Italy. In paper for home consumption many of the older marks (with the striking exception of the Bull's Head) are still commonly found, though with some change of the style, perhaps. The Paschal Lamb, which still occurs through most of the 17th century, has often the lobed surround as in fig. 9840 instead of the circle. Other old forms, such as the Anchor, Anvil, Pilgrim, Sun, Star, Eagle and many others, are still to be seen. Less common marks, such as the Kneeling Saint holding a Cross (figs 1346 et seq.) remained in
use, and the Crowned Head (figs. 2606-7) is found too, especially in Tuscany; also the
Three hats, which seem to have been in special favour in and around Padua. But the Fleur-
de-Lis, alone or in a single or double circle, holds a more prominent place than ever. Both
Genoa and Venice maintain their outstanding importance in the industry, and before 1700
a renewal of the extensive export abroad, which had fallen off for a time, had set in, par-
ticularly to Spain and Portugal, but including also England; it was maintained through
the early decades of the 18th century. On paper sent from Genoa to Spain the most usual
marks used were the Genoa Arms and the Three Moons (also known as the Three O’s),
together with the Latin cross in an ovate surround. Such papers frequently have a small
corner-mark, in addition to the chief countermark which often gave the makers’ names. A
fine form of the Fleur-de-Lis with Crown above and a small Chaplet or other device be-
low, also took an important place (figs. 1872 et seq.).

On paper used in the home country, Coats of Arms are often found, particularly
in Central Italy (see the section of this collection dealing with Italian coats). Many show a
Prelate’s or Cardinal’s hat above (figs. 789 to 800). In Venetia, and possibly elsewhere,
Three Crescents in a horizontal row were much used, on stout white paper suitable for en-
gravings, especially throughout the 18th century; they are to be seen in an Atlas printed at
Constantinople in 1803. Another favourite form in Venetia was that showing one or
three Stars in a Crowned Shield (figs. 804, 813 et seq.).

Italian papers sent to this country in the early 18th century show various birds or
animals in new forms, but the places of making are not easily determined. Some of the
hackneyed marks, e.g. the Fleur-de-Lis in a Crowned Shield, and the Fool’s cap, occur in
a special Italian style. In Southern Italy, a new, slender, form of the Eagle was in favour
towards the end of the century, and a Crowned Lion, rampant (figs. 3130-31) seems to
have been used in Genoa, sometimes as countermark to the crowned Fleur-de-Lis. The
above mentioned marks are merely examples chosen from among others too many to
specify.

2. France. Here the Pot, Grapes, and Hand continue in full favour in many
localities. The great paper-making centre of Troyes takes a relatively less important place
than in earlier times, though the fine work of Le Clerc gives some account of the industry
in the 17th century and after, with names of the more active makers. The present
collection contains few marks from this region, though some have been noted. A name
that occurs more than once is that of Derouen, occasionally in association with that of
Troyes or another maker Toussaint. The old centres in the West and South-West more
than held their own, as may be seen from the story told by Nicolai. The region formed an
important source of supply to the Dutch, and to a less extent also to the English market,
many of the mills in the Angoumois being run by Dutch capital. The marks most used,
on paper exported, were the Arms of Amsterdam (in a well-designed form), the Fools-
cap with seven points, and the Fleur-de-Lis on a crowned shield, the last having common-
ly the I H S and Cross, with maker’s name or initials below, as countermark. Another
characteristic mark of the South-West was the Sphere (figs. 3806 et seq.) seen on paper
sent to Spain and Portugal as well as to England (cf Nicolai, Pl. CXXII).
and the Crowned Head (figs. 2606-7) is found too, especially in Tuscany; also the three hats, which seem to have been in special favour in and around Padua. But the Fleur-de-Lis, alone or in a single or double circle, holds a more prominent place than ever. Both Noa and Venice maintain their outstanding importance in the industry, and before 1700 renewed the extensive export abroad, which had fallen off for a time, had set in, particularly to Spain and Portugal, but including also England; it was maintained through the early decades of the 18th century. On paper sent from Genoa to Spain the most usual sizes used were the Genoa Arms and the Three Moons (also known as the Three O’s), with the Latin cross in an ovate surround. Such papers frequently have a small inner-mark, in addition to the chief countermark which often gave the makers’ names. A new form of the Fleur-de-Lis with a crown above and a small Chaplet or other device below, also took an important place (figs. 1872 et seq.).

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Normandy long remained an important source of supply to Great Britain, and in the 17th century a competitor appeared in Brittany, especially in the area around Morlaix, foremost makers being the Guedon and Lejeune, whose names one often sees in the paper of English books. Perhaps the most important centre, as regards the home market, was in Auvergne, where the most active makers in the 17th century were Colombier and Dupuy (the latter, or successors of the same name, remaining in business through the 18th C.). The number of marks, some 20 in all, used by Colombier are well-represented in the present collection, (see figs. 711, 1323, 2416 et seq.) as are also many of Dupuy’s. As was natural, the French royal Arms were a favourite subject, both in the form of the Fleur-de-Lis only, and in the same conjoined with the “Chains” of Navarre. Arms of French Statesmen (among them the famous Colbert) had a special vogue in Auvergne, as may be seen in the relative section of this collection. Two of such Statesmen, Letellier and Pommone, eventually gave their names to standard sizes of paper listed in the French Ordinance of 1741. In the 18th century the noted Auvergne makers — Tanizier, Sauvade, Micolon, Cussen, Vidal and others — made much paper suited for large atlases, marked with new forms of the Eagle, Dovecot, Chaplet, etc., some of which found its way to England for similar purposes.

Southern, as opposed to South-Western, France is more sparingly represented in the present work than other parts of France, for the paper from the South, as was natural, did not so far afield. But specimens are given of the work of Montgolfier (figs. 196, 198, 2415) and Johannet of Annonay (fig. 3351); of Tacussel, Onnerade, and others in Dauphiné; of Malvoie in Rouergue; of Chalard at Fores (Landoue); and of Palhion in Velay (see tracings under the heading “Names”, also “Birds”).

3. Germany and its Borderlands. These must be grouped together, since it is not easy to discriminate between papers made and used in (say) Baden from those current in Lorraine, Alsace, Switzerland and the Voges. As regards Germany proper, which had long depended largely on her neighbours for the better qualities of paper, this seems to have been the case to a large extent after 1650, as is well illustrated by the fact that hardly one of the marks reproduced by Meder from the later issues of Dürr’s work is definitely Italian or French. The mills at Ravensburg, Augsburg, Nürnberg, Ulm, etc. became increasingly active. After the early part of the 17th century the Kränzlein (or Crancelin) of Saxony is more rarely met with, however, than before. The Imperial Eagle retains its prominent place as a German mark, and the Bend of Baden, either alone or with quarterings, is found a good deal later, e.g. in a book printed at Frankfort in 1681 (fig. 12944). Other German arms of the 17th and 18th centuries will be found in this group among the present reproductions. The Crown, often with maker’s name at the sides, is fairly common, as in figs. 1037 et seq.

In the 18th century we find the arms shown in figs. 196, 198, 2415 not yet identified, in the large atlases of the Homanns and Seutter, printed at Augsburg and Nürnberg, often with a crude Fleur-de-Lis as countermark. In the same group of publications, a common mark is a large monogram surmounted by 4, the letters being often placed in a heart. A flag with the name Wolfegg below (Fig. 1379) and another with that name used.
for a late Dürer reprint shows that one or more mills were at work in the 18th century in that district. From the Western and Southern borderlands we have the Arms of the Duchy of Lorraine as well as the linked C's with Lorraine cross of the Duke and his wife Claude (Figs. 2888 et seq.); as well as coats pertaining to Epinal, Colmar, Neuchâtel and particularly Basle and Berne. But neither the Crozier ("Crouse") of Basle nor the Bear of Berne necessarily proves Swiss make, for they were a good deal copied elsewhere.

A certain export of German paper abroad is shown by the occurrence of Figs. 479, 494 and others in English books; Figs. 483 et seq. consist of the Arms of Wirtemberg coupled with those of its appanage Montbéliard, and probably denotes make in the latter. As pointed out by the late Mr. Wood of the British Museum, some of the disputed "Bevel Books" in the Record Office were on Montbéliard paper.

4. **Holland.** In the 17th century little of the best paper was made in Holland itself, much of the supply coming from France, as noted above, or from Germany, Baden, etc. In the 18th C., native makers like the Honigs, Van der Ley, Van Hoeven, Rogge, the Blauws and others came more and more to the fore, followed a little later by the great firm of Van Gelder. The mark of the Beehive (Figs. 14 et seq.) in allusion to the Honigs, took firm hold, which it has maintained till our own times. Other marks characteristic of Dutch make were the Pro Patria (from the early 18th C. on) and, later, the Whale (of Rogge) and the figure of Fortune balancing herself on a globe (used by Van der Ley and Van Gelder at the 'Fortuyn' Mill).

The paper made in S. W. France for the Dutch market has been spoken of above. Movement from Holland abroad, on the other hand, was that of paper marked with the Dutch Lion in several forms, and the Britannia, used especially on paper of foolscap size.

5. **England and Scotland.** The long dependence of these countries on their neighbours for the supply of paper is a well-known fact, and has been brought out by the present writer in some detail in articles in The Library (December 1930, March 1931, and September-December 1947). Although mills were at work in both England and Scotland in the late 17th Century, there is no definite proof that their products came into general use before about 1700. In the early half (or more) of the 17th Century much paper continued to come in from Normandy and other parts of northern and central France, where the Poi, Hand-and-Star, and Grapes, were still favourite marks. In the first few decades, two types of marks, whose locale is difficult to determine were (1) a quartered coat of arms probably roughly copied from one used in S. W. Germany; (2) a pair of Gate-Posts with a device between which may be meant either for a bunch of Grapes or a Fir-cone (as seen in the Augsburg arms). About the middle of the century we find many marks which point to an origin in the Morlaix neighbourhood of Brittany, associated with the Breton names of Guesdon and Lejune. Another mark much in evidence in English books and documents is the conjoined arms of France and Navarre in a much degenerated form whose meaning is at first not very apparent (Figs. 649 et seq.). The provenance of this mark is still a puzzle, for it is rarely seen in French books. The same may be said of the 5-point Foolscap, again rather crudely designed, and the Arms of Amsterdam, with grotes-
que lions as supporters (figs. 368 et seq.). In the second half of the century the English Royal Arms of an elaborate design, make their appearance, as well as those of the City of London, but it is probable that both sometimes came from the hands of foreign makers, possibly in S.W. France or Italy. Of the paper spoken of under France as made in the S.W. of that country, large supplies came to England as well as Holland, while a good deal of Italian paper, with the Genoa Arms or 3 Circles, was imported also.

About 1700 we have definite proofs of English make in the products of the firm Elston and Basket (Fig. 455) but we continued to import much from abroad, the London Arms being found in distinctly Italian style, while various birds and animals, and also the Grapes, again show Italian characteristics. Much 'Pro Patria' paper came in from Holland, as did some with the 'Horn' mark and the name or initials of L. V. Gerrevink below. That marked with the Dutch Lion may have been made in S. W. France, where C. de George and others used it, as well as the Dutch makers themselves. The Britannia mark, used in Holland on paper destined for this country, became the recognized indication of paper of foolscap size. Some of the Dutch marks were, however, copied by English makers.

With the advent, in the second half of the 18th Century, of the famous James Whatman, the industry took a firm hold in this country, and that outstanding maker soon found many rivals, some of whose names will be found in the present collection (see under Fleur-de-Lis-on-Shield, Horn-on-Shield and Bend-on-Shield with Fleur-de-Lis above; also under Names). From 1794 on the practice of watermarking the date of making became general, and will be spoken of in a later section.

6. Spain and Portugal. Sources of information on Spanish and Portuguese papermaking in the past are exceedingly scanty and those that exist are not easily accessible. The writer has been able to collect a fair number of marks which almost certainly denote paper made in Spain, but has little clue to the districts in which they were used. His own collection is supplemented by the marks on blank paper obtained by McIlroy during his travels in Spain, which he has kindly lent, with permission to copy the marks seen on the sheets. The interesting work of Bofarull y Sans on animals used as watermarks is of too special a nature to allow any wide survey, but gives some idea of the styles to be expected from Spanish makers and some of the districts in which these makers worked.

The long dependence of Spain (after the quite early period) on Italy and, in part, South-West France for her paper-supply, has already been spoken of. In the 18th Century, while the import from those countries continued large, a native industry began to assume importance, particularly in Catalonia, some of the paper being of excellent quality. Such, e.g., was that made by Soteras of Capellades, a village inland from Barcelona, who used among other marks that shown in Fig. 933. In other parts of Spain the Pales of Aragon and the Castle of Castile were much used, as was to be expected. Arms of cities, e.g., Gerona, are also found, as well as those of Spanish families. Makers’ names shown in some of the countermarks include those of Guarro, Romani, Domenech, and others. Subjects specially favoured seem to be the sword, in various contexts (Fig. 3926); the IHS with Dove or Cross above; and many show a central circle or rectangle with
groups of small circles around, always apparently denoting Spanish make (Figs. 324-35). Another characteristic of Spanish paper seems to be the use of scroll-work round the central device, often with a wide 'mantling' (Fig. 3724 et seq.). Two interesting forms are the Stag with bushes on either side and the Unicorn (? Rhinoceros) standing in front of a tree. The latter occurs in a book printed at Lima in 1700. Marks found in documents printed or written in the Argentine and Mexico, etc. probably denote Spanish make. For other examples of marks belonging to some of the above groups see under Arms (Spanish), Circles, Scroll-work, etc.

On Portuguese paper some information is given by Ataide y Melo in his booklet 'O Papel', which, however, includes marks from paper found in the Portuguese Archives under his charge, but made abroad. One such was specially made, probably in Italy, for the special use of the Court at Lisbon, as stated in the legend around the mark.

7. Scandinavia, the United States, etc. I have had little opportunity of examining documents printed or written in the Scandinavian countries, apart from a few produced in Schleswig and elsewhere, showing marks of the Norwegian Lion with curved battle-axe (Figs. 3155 et seq.). Strangely enough, one of these (Fig. 3158) was taken from a book printed in England in 1698.

A scarcity of marks in the present reproductions from mills in the United States betrays the more or less fortuitous nature of the collection. Most of the marks found in American documents have been obviously of European origin. Standard European forms are still seen in the latter part of the 18th century in documents in the Library of Congress and that of Harvard University, with tracings of the marks with which I have been favoured. An undoubted native mark is, however, the Plough with the characteristic motto 'Work and Be Rich' (Figs. 3483-4).

REGIONAL CHARACTERS OF MARKS

As Briquet constantly insists, a special characteristic of Italian marks is the use of a circle surrounding the mark proper, and he goes so far as to say that this always proves Italian make. This may be true of earlier periods, but the present collection has various instances of non-Italian marks in a circle, e.g. in Figs. 180, 184-1. Half Animals were specially Italian in early days, but they had dropped out before 1600, as had also Scissors and various others. The practice of giving countermarks in the corner of the sheet was another feature of Italian practice, especially in Genoa and Venice. In Genoa they were generally rather small, consisting of small devices, such as the 'leg' (of Gambino) and what looks like a pair of eye-glasses, also monograms or groups of letters like GTM. (This last is sometimes the sole mark used, larger than the usual form). In Venice the corner marks were mostly larger in the form of letters with a trefoil between. Double chainlines are again an Italian type. A central position on the sheet characterizes paper made in or near Geneva. In France, a position of the mark near the edge of the sheet commonly denotes make in the West or South-West, while a small Neuron
groups of small circles around, always apparently denoting Spanish make (Figs 344-351). Another characteristic of Spanish paper seems to be the use of scroll-work round the central device, often with a wide mantling (Fig. 3724 et seq.). Two interesting forms are the lion with bushes on either side and the Unicorn (Rhinoceros) standing in front of a tree. The latter occurs in a book printed at Lima in 1706. Marks found in documents printed or written in the Argentine and Mexico, etc., probably denote Spanish make. For other examples of marks belonging to some of the above groups see under Arms (Spanish), Circles, scroll-work, etc.,

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Regional differences may be noted in the marks themselves. The Tall Crown or Tiara was used both in Italy and Germany, but in different styles, Fig. 1168, being Italian, Fig. 1152 et seq. German. The same may be said of the Bull's Head, which however drops completely out of use after about 1650. In early days the place of making or maker's name was often shown, in Germany, in a circular band enclosing the design, and in later times many German marks had the maker's initials at the sides (Fig. 1190). The style of the Crown in Figs. 1086, 1090, 1100, 1103, 1137-39, 1145, 1152, etc., seems to be specially German and so is the presence of scrolls in the shape of a Crown surrounding a shield in Figs. 135-46.

EVIDENCE FOR DATES OF MARKS

This section refers, not as usual to the evidence furnished by watermarks for dates of documents, but, conversely, to that given by the letters for dates of watermarks. In neither case is the evidence conclusive. In the present collection books are preferably drawn upon, and in some ways they give a much more direct criterion of dates of making the paper than MSS, as there is less likelihood of remnants of old stock being used. But there are some pitfalls to be avoided in their case. The imprint of the book is the most obvious evidence to be used, but imprints cannot always be trusted as recording the actual date of printing. An old imprint is not seldom reprinted without change in a re-issue, especially if the title-page is engraved; and again, as the title-page is particularly exposed to wear and tear, it may have been lost in a certain copy and replaced by one not belonging to the book as a whole. Many examples of the former happening might be quoted, e.g. D'Anville's Atlas of China, an issue of which has the imprint 'The Hague, 1737' while much of the paper (of French make) has later dates in the watermarks. Another example is a copy of Tirion du Tillot's 'Parnasse Francais', with imprint in the first issue 1732, but which the watermarks show to be a reissue.

With folios there are fewer chances of mistakes about the watermarks than with smaller formats, but even the former need careful examination to ensure that mark and countermark are correctly associated when found in large gatherings. Still more care is needed with smaller formats to make sure that portions of marks or countermarks have been rightly assembled. A special case is that of moss in alternate gatherings of 8's and 4's, but if this is maintained regularly through the book, there is little doubt that each pair formed originally one sheet. In all sizes one must be careful not to take a mark
from a possible printer's 'cancel', or from a leaf put in to supply a defect. A case in point is a copy of the original issue of Hakluyt's 'Principal Navigations', 1589, in the library of the Royal Geographical Society, the title-page of which on close examination proves to have been copied by hand with wonderful skill (probably by the bookseller Edwards in the early 16th Century). The paper bears the arms of Kaufbeuren in Bavaria, not at all likely to be found in England in 1589. Within the period more especially dealt with here, we have many examples of misleading, or at least doubtful imprints, one being a copy of Hobbes' Leviathan, bearing the original date 1651, whereas the watermark on the engraved title-page — a Fleur-de-Lis in an unusual form — (Fig. 1595) does not appear elsewhere in the book. 1)

Suspicion may also rest on books of which different copies, all with the same imprint, bear different watermarks. An example is Camden's Britannia of 1637, which even in the genuine first issue showed quite a number of marks, but which has others in some copies. This may be a case of a book kept in type to be reprinted as occasion arose. Some books with many watermarks may perhaps be pirated later issues whose printers used 'job-lots' of paper for their purpose. In spite of all this, books may be trusted in general to give approximately correct dates for their watermarks, and the user of the present collection may be assured that every effort has been made to discover, and notify, any such causes of uncertainty as have been spoken of above.

Collections of old paper, especially if blank, such as have been drawn upon for the present reproductions, too often give no clue to the dates of making, but an exception is that owned by the Papermakers' Association of London, formed by a Dutch collector who drew his material from the 'Schieland' records, and was careful to label his specimens with the dates of the documents from which the blank sheets had been removed. In certain cases, such as copies of marks from the 'Phillips' Collection, dispersed in 1935, the dates given by the original collector have been followed, but these are not always quite to be trusted.

Some may think that undated specimens of marks are of little use, but it may be held that any clearly legible mark can be profitably reproduced, as it may help to decipher a similar mark in a dated paper, indistinct by reason of heavy printing or other cause. Similarly, the fragment of a mark on dated paper may be identified and so serve a useful purpose.

WATERMARKED DATES

Briquet paid some attention to such of these as are found in early papers, and his great work has a special section headed 'Millésimes'. Such dates occur sporadically, with no definite system, throughout the 17th Century and early 18th, and some are to be found in the present collection (see section 'Dates' of the Index). An exceptional case, not within my own cognizance, is seen in Lassen's book on Scandinavian Marks 2) where

1) Since the above was written, I have learnt that a fair number of copies are to be found with the present engraved title-page. This may possibly be accounted for by the re-issue of remainder stock which had lost the original engraved title, involving its being reprinted by the original printer.

2) Danske og Norske Historiske Vandmærker, repro. af Kage, T. Lassen, Odense, 1922.
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2) Danske og Nordiske Historiske Vandsmerker, reptil. af Kapt. T. Lassen, Odense, 1922.

a single example of the Norwegian Lion has 17/08 on the two sides reproduced in
fig. 3163. In France, where dating in watermarks was imposed officially in 1741 it
became the general practice from 1745 onwards, the latter year being quoted in the Ord-
inance by way of example. The rule was blindly followed for a number of years, so
that the watermarked date in many books, etc., in the mid-18th Century, are of little
use beyond supplying an anterior date for the paper bearing them. Later, makers had the
sense to change the date, and many examples from the last quarter of the Century will
be found in the present collection (see under the headings Eagle, Dovecot, Chaplet, Names,
etc.) especially from Auvergne, Limousin, etc., often in association with the hack-
neyed mark of the Grapes. In Auvergne the maker's name, quality of the paper, and
date, were usually given in large letters within a bounding wire-line, while in Limousin
the lettering was finer with no such surround.

In England the practice of dating in this way came in later, but became general for a time, from 1794 on, in papers made by Whatman and others. Examples will be
found under the headings Fleur-de-Lis on a Crowned Shield, Horn on the same, and the
Bend on a Shield of special form with Fleur-de-Lis above. A variation in the style
and position of the date will be seen in a number of the figures.

INTERVALS BETWEEN DATES OF MAKING AND USING

The idea that paper-moulds had a fairly long life has been pretty generally held,
and the currency of a given mark (in identical form) therefore fairly long — 30 years
or so according to Briquet. If correct for early periods it is to be questioned as regards
later ones. The dated papers from 1794 to well on in the 19th Century give some clue
to the average interval between making and using, at least for standard sizes and quali-
ties, and for books which required large supplies of paper. For MSS and paper for
special purposes the stocks would not be depleted so quickly, perhaps. The table on
the next page gives some of the earliest examples of English dated papers, from 1794 on.

The number of examples in this table is too small to permit any valid conclu-
sion, though of interest in connection with English makers of the late 18th century. But
an examination of some 80 cases in the first few decades of the 19th Century has given
an average interval of not quite three years, and it would be less if cases were thrown
out in which the paper was used by a traveller abroad, who evidently took out a stock
of paper with him and used it until it was finished. Papers in the autograph of Major
Denham the Africa traveller show intervals of 6 or 7 years.

MANY MARKS USED BY ONE MAKER, OR USED IN ONE BOOK

In the former category the number is naturally greatest for the big makers, who
supplied paper to many clients, in various qualities and for various purposes. A striking
instance is that of B. Colombier of Auvergne, to whose credit we can place nearly a
score of different forms, each of a different subject. Some are commonly met with,
others but rarely. I have seen only one example of a Dove in a circle, obviously an
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE IN WATERMARK</th>
<th>DATE OF USE</th>
<th>MAKER</th>
<th>SOURCE</th>
<th>MAIN MARK (if any)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*1794 (in corner)</td>
<td>1795</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>CAMPBELL: Overland to India</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1794</td>
<td>1795–6</td>
<td></td>
<td>LE VAILLANT: Second Voyage</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1794</td>
<td>1797</td>
<td>L. Taylor</td>
<td>STANSTON’S Embassy</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*1794 (large, above name)</td>
<td>1799</td>
<td>J. Whaide</td>
<td>Lincolshire Map</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1794 (under GR in circle)</td>
<td>1799</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>MALCOLM letter RGS</td>
<td>Britannia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*1794 (large)</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>Lepard</td>
<td>LABILLARDIÈRE; Voyage</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*1794</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>E. &amp; P. (Edwards &amp; Pine)</td>
<td>RENNEAU: Horatius</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1794 (under name)</td>
<td>ca. 1800</td>
<td>Turtonshaw</td>
<td>MS Chart on Admiralty paper</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1794 (below Shield and GR)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>DODD MS</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*1795 &amp; 1801</td>
<td>1806</td>
<td>W. S.</td>
<td>POCOCK: Historia Naturalis</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796</td>
<td>1798</td>
<td>Finch</td>
<td>Fragment only</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1797</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>V. &amp; F.</td>
<td>RICHARDSON: Guide to Loch Lomond</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1798 (under GR &amp; Crown)</td>
<td>1799–1801</td>
<td>R. Williams</td>
<td>MALCOLM letter RGS</td>
<td>Horn in Shield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1799</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>C. Wilmot</td>
<td>BROWN’S Travels in Africa</td>
<td>Horn in Shield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1799</td>
<td>1800-1801</td>
<td>R. Williams</td>
<td>MALCOLM letter-book</td>
<td>Horn in Shield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1798</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>idem</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1799 (1½ sheets)</td>
<td>ca. 1801</td>
<td>J. Larking</td>
<td>MORRISON letter-book RGS</td>
<td>Horn in Shield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1799 (late also under shield)</td>
<td>ca. 1803</td>
<td>Russell &amp; Co.</td>
<td>MALCOLM letter-book RGS</td>
<td>Britannia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1799 (in circle)</td>
<td>1802</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Croydon Parish document</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1799</td>
<td>ca. 1802</td>
<td>E. &amp; P. (see above, 1794)</td>
<td>Arrowsmith Map</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1799</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>LABILLARDIÈRE (as above)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1799</td>
<td>ca. 1801–62</td>
<td></td>
<td>MORRISON letter-book</td>
<td>Britannia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Wove paper (not found in paper for writing).

Allusion to the maker’s name. The Dovecot might be thought another such, but strangely enough, though a mark specially favoured in Auvergne, none of the examples I have yet met with (dating from Colombier’s known period of work) can definitely assigned to him. A rare mark of his is the very large fish (a Dolphin?) too large to be seen entire, even in the large book in which it was found. Another rare mark in which the maker’s initials appear (as in many others) is the Monk, as in Fig. 1345. More often occur the Grapes, in a bunch with the maker’s name in a circular band — apparently a speciality of his (Fig. 2426 et seq.); the Dial or Clock, and many others in more general use among makers. An instance of many marks used by one maker, or one firm, is that of the Gueds of the Morlaix district in Brittany, whose names, or initials, are to be seen in many papers used in England (Figs. 394, 2233, 2250+1). They are found both in books and MSS, one of the latter being Milton’s Commonplace Book in the British Museum.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date in Watermark</th>
<th>Date of Use</th>
<th>Maker</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Main Mark (if any)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1794 (in corner)</td>
<td>1795</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Campbell; Overland to India</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1794</td>
<td>1795-6</td>
<td>I. Taylor</td>
<td>Le Vailant, Sound of Voyage</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1794</td>
<td>1797</td>
<td>J. WHITMAN</td>
<td>STAUNTON'S Embassy</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1794</td>
<td>1799</td>
<td>Leward</td>
<td>Lincolnshire Map</td>
<td>Britannia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1794</td>
<td>1799 ?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>MALCOLM letter RGS</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1794</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>E. &amp; P.</td>
<td>LABILLARDIERE, Voyage</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1794</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>(Edwards &amp; Pain)</td>
<td>RENNEAU, Heraldic</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1794</td>
<td>ca. 1800</td>
<td>Butterly</td>
<td>MS Chart on Admiralty paper</td>
<td>Horn in Shield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1794</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>FINCH</td>
<td>DODD MS ?</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1794</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>V. &amp; F.</td>
<td>RICHARDSON: Guide to Loch Lomond</td>
<td>Horn in Shield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1794</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>R. WILLIAMS</td>
<td>MALCOLM letter RGS</td>
<td>Horn in Shield</td>
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<tr>
<td>1794</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>C. WILMOTT</td>
<td>BROWN'S Travels in Africa</td>
<td>Horn in Shield</td>
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<td>1800</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1794</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>idem</td>
<td>Horn in Shield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1794</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>J. LAING</td>
<td>MORGAN letter-book RGS</td>
<td>Britannia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1800</td>
<td>Russell &amp; Co.</td>
<td>MALCOLM letter-book RGS</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1794</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>B &amp; P. (see above)</td>
<td>CROYDON PARISH document</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
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<td>1794</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>LABILLARDIERE (as above)</td>
<td>ARROWSMITH Map</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1794</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>MORGAN letter-book</td>
<td>BRENNAND'S (as above)</td>
<td>Britannia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The large number of different marks, often seen in a single book, is not surprising, in view of the fact that paper merchants collected their supplies from scattered sources. The case of Camden’s Britannia, 1637, has been already mentioned, and another is Ogilby’s ‘Atlas Chinensis’ of 1671. (In this and other cases, the variety may be partly due to the issue of the book on both large and small paper.) Fryer’s East India and Persia of 1698 has quite a number of marks, strange to say, one from Norway showing the Norwegian Lion. In Italy, good examples are Ovaille’s ‘Chile’ of 1646, and Dudley’s ‘Arcano’ of 1646-7. The former has various coats of arms shown in the present collection under Italian Arms, and Dudley’s big volumes have the Medici arms, the Pilgrim, Lamb, Crowned Lion, Sun, Bird, Crowned Head, etc. In Holland the 1644 edition of Linschoten has also a large number, including the Bend-on-Shield, Fleur-de-Lis, Two-headed Eagle (with one or two Crowns), Dolphin, Lorraine C’s, Cracelin of Saxony, and others. The paper throughout was of good quality, to obtain which the printer may have had to go to various sources. In Germany Merian’s ‘Topographia Helvetiae’ (1645) has a great variety, including the Lion on a Crowned Shield, Bear ditto, Crozier ditto, Lorraine C’s, etc. Most of the marks referred to in this section will be found under their respective headings in the present collection.

**Interpretation of Letters, Monograms, and Other Personal Marks in Paper**

A wide field, little worked so far, is open to students of paper-making in the identification of many makers of early paper who revealed themselves to users of their product merely by their initials, monograms, combinations of letters, or other personal symbols. With his unapproachable knowledge, not only of marks used in all countries down to 1600 A.D. but of the local records of the centres of paper-making, (the latter derived both from personal research, and from an exhaustive study of what had previously been written by local workers), Briquet succeeded almost beyond expectation in relating the marks in question to the mills or localities in which the papers were produced and a few examples may be given as hints to others who may continue his work. When the maker’s name is found in the watermark, his mill may often be found out by the help of local records. In other cases one of the most helpful methods is the study of coats of arms, which may be either those of the makers themselves (e.g. the compasses figuring in the marks of several Troyes makers), or of the high personages (often ecclesiastics) under whose patronage the mills were worked. A striking instance of the results gained by Briquet from the study of coats of arms, in conjunction with local records, is the case of the paper made in or near Trèves, which shows the arms of the city itself quartered with those of successive archbishops, giving a valuable clue to the sequence of documents bearing such marks. A little-known maker, Duchesne by name, is more or less closely located by his ‘armes parlantes’ of three acorns on a shield, found both with the mark of the Angel (with his name in full as a countermark) and also as countermark to the Angel with wings spread, without body; both occur in Bel-