

Proof-reading in 1650 London: The Case of Thomas Sanderson

by

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BRITISH LIBRARY SLOANE MS 915 is a manuscript note-book that belonged to Thomas Sanderson (1622–1670), sometime Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and son of Robert Sanderson (1587–1663), Bishop of Lincoln. The manuscript was at one point a commonplace book: there are alphabetical Latin headings running from ‘Abusio’ (abuse) to ‘Contritio’ (contrition). The fact that the headings proceed only as far as C suggests this text was once a part of a longer run of notebooks—there may have been other similar notebooks for D–Z. Some of the headings have gathered excerpts, but many do not: at a certain point in its history, the manuscript’s tight commonplace structure was abandoned and this commonplace book, like so many of its kind, became a more general space for collecting useful information, in English and in Latin. This information includes theological notes, many of them comprising a Biblical citation and a paragraph-length gloss (‘Romanes y^e 8 v. y^e 28. We Know, &c. The words are an encouragement to y^e having of afflictions from y^e event and issue of them: wherein you may take notice of these parts ...’); a handwritten almanac containing significant dates in the compiler’s life such as his birth and marriage; notes on medical practices drawn from first-hand experience and also from reading; extensive medical recipes (‘Some medical observations Of the preparation of Chymicall medcins’), and notes on scientific experiments, alchemy, salt, and sublimation; entries in short-hand; transcripts of letters to and from compiler Thomas, and also to his father Robert (several concerning financial difficulties, the payment of bills, and the placement of acquaintances in positions of employment); and lists of books with shelf-marks. The manuscript was the product of many years of sporadic use, and its layers of information mean that reading feels like an exercise in stratigraphy. Across time, Thomas’ hand alters; page layout varies; sections appear upside down; and there are a number of blank pages. Some of these

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materials, including the theological notes, occur before and after the commonplace headings, and so may have preceded them, but many of the alphabetical headings are overwritten with other kinds of text. Figure one shows a sample opening: detailed notes on ‘One y^t was troubled wth a troublesome & foul itch’, along with, upside down at the foot of the right page, an abandoned commonplace heading (‘Concordia. vid: Amicitia. Fædus’).

Near the centre of this teeming manuscript (fols. 32v–38r) is a series of entries that record book titles, sheet counts, dates, and financial values. Figure two shows the first page.

This page has records covering the period 9 February to 9 March 1649, with eleven entries which total to a financial value of £2 2s 6d. These eleven interactions relate to five different book titles: ‘Annot. Bib.’, ‘Mede on Rev’, ‘Collings Sermon’, ‘Slatter on Rom 4’, and ‘Cato’. Each entry records a particular sheet count within that title (for example, ‘Annot. Bib: 7 sheets’, or ‘Slatter M–V. nine sheets’), and the titles recur across the whole list: Sanderson is engaging with books as a series of parts, rather than single wholes. Across all of his financial records in this manuscript, Sanderson lists 141 interactions with twenty-two titles over about thirteen months, between 9 February 1649/50 and 1 March 1650/51.

What is going on here? At first sight, these records look like a printer’s accounts, but in fact the quoted numbers are too low for printing. Peter Blayney suggests press work was charged at 2s 4d per sheet, and that compositors were paid about 3s 4d per sheet.¹ Sanderson’s financial figures vary, but the price per sheet falls somewhere between 6d and 1s 6d—so these don’t look like printing accounts. (We also have no wider records of Sanderson working as a printer.) Moreover, Blayney’s figures are based around composition rates for playbooks around 1600; Sanderson’s texts used more type than playbooks, and were made fifty years later, and so composition rates for these would have been even higher.

It is much more likely that these numbers relate to Sanderson working as a corrector. The amounts match fairly accurately the most informed estimates of corrector pay rates from this period. This evidence is not extensive, and the richest source comes from correctors working for Cambridge University Press circa 1700, but McKenzie, and Blayney after him, convincingly argue that for much of the seventeenth century, correctors were paid something like one sixth of the rate of composition, meaning about 7d per sheet.² Figure 2 shows the first page. In his study of printing at the

¹ Peter W. M. Blayney, ‘The Publication of Playbooks’, in *A New History of Early English Drama*, ed. by John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan (New York: Columbia University Press 1997), pp. 383–422, pp. 406–7.

² D. F. McKenzie, ‘Printers of the Mind: Some Notes on Bibliographical Theories and Printing-House Practices’, *Studies in Bibliography*, 22 (1969), 1–75, p. 42; Blayney, ‘Publication’, p. 407. The Cambridge University Press evidence is in D. F. McKenzie, ‘The First Minute Book of the Curators of the Press’, in *Cambridge University Press, 1696–1712: A Bibliographical Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966, 2010), pp. 459–86.

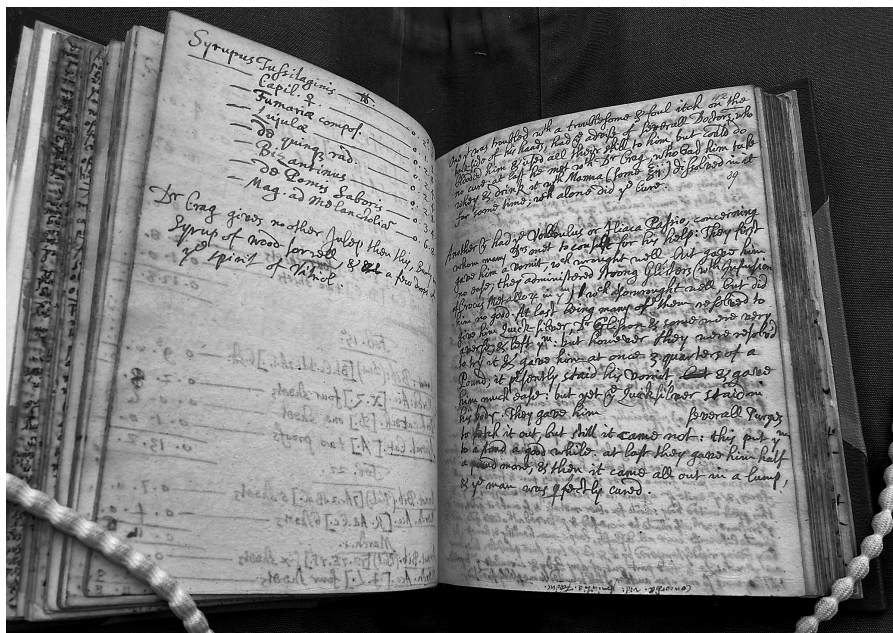


FIG. 1 British Library, MS Sloane MS 915, fols. 38v–39r. By kind permission.



FIG. 2 British Library, MS Sloane 915, fol. 34r. By kind permission.

University Press in Oxford, Martyn Ould notes that the Warehouse-keeper's Accounts from 1690 to 1745/6 record a charge for correcting of between 1s 6d and 3s per sheet. The fact that rates for some Oxford texts were higher than Sanderson's figures might be due to inflation or to the more frequent use of Latin. But the prices are still often within Sanderson's range: while the folio edition of Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* cost 2s per sheet, the octavo edition was priced at 7s per sheet.³ Given that in almost all cases Sanderson seems to have been paid 6d, 12d, or 18d per sheet, this suggests that he was paid three different rates depending on the amount of text per sheet and the difficulty of proofing the sheet. That suggests that correctors were paid a range of standard rates, rather than strictly one-sixth of the costs of composition, and that these amounts represent the going rates for easy, medium, and hard correcting jobs.

Appendix 1 is a transcription of all 141 interactions in the order they appear in the manuscript. Table 1, below, gathers these interactions into the twenty-two titles that Sanderson recorded, and adds the bibliographical details that can be known, along with Sanderson's sheet rate.

ENTRY	MS TITLE AND DATE OF FIRST RECORD	TITLE, ESTC	FORMAT	SHEET RATE
1	Annot. Bib: [Feb. 9, 1649]	John Downame, <i>Annotations upon All the Books of the Old and New Testament</i> (1651). 'Printed by John Legatt.' ESTC R11637	Folio	1s 6d
2	Mede on Rev [Feb. 9, 1649]	Joseph Mede, <i>The Key of the Revelation</i> (1650). Printed by 'J[ohn]. L[egate]. for Phil. Stephens'. ESTC R1085	Quarto	6d
3	Collings Sermon [Feb. 9, 1649]	John Collings, <i>A Cordial for a Fainting Soule. Part II</i> (1650). 'Printed for Richard Tomlins.' ESTC R24776	Quarto	6d
4	Slatter on Rom 4 [Feb. 9, 1649]	William Sclater, <i>An Exposition</i> (1650). 'Printed by J[ohn]. L[egate]. for Christopher Meredith.' ESTC R37207	Quarto	6d

³ Martyn Ould, *Printing at the University Press, Oxford, 1660–1780*, vol. 3 ('Process') (Cliff Edge, Beer Hill: The Old School Press, 2019), p. 64.

- | | | | | |
|----|---|--|---------|--|
| 5 | Cato
[Feb. 9, 1649]
16° | Uncertain: 'Cato' could be a short term for the schoolbook <i>Catonis Disticha de moribus</i> ; editions of 1651 and 1652 were printed by William Wilson and Henry Hall, respectively, although both octavo. | 16mo | 1s |
| 6 | The Psalter
(little & great)
[March 9, 1649] | <i>The Whole Book of Psalmes</i> (1649). 'Printed for the Company of Stationers.' ESTC R24858. | Octavo | 1s
Proofs: 6d
or 1s per
proof |
| 7 | Terminations
of Nouns &
Verbs
[March 9,
1649] | [Unknown: perhaps a now-lost c. 1649 edition of] John Brinsley, <i>The Posing of the Parts</i> (11th edition, 1653). 'Printed by M[iles] F[lesher] and J[ohn] L[egate] for Henry Hood'. ESTC R170808 | Unknown | 6d
[no sheet
count
cited] |
| 8 | Sheroon, Of
Wisdome
[March 9, 1649] | <i>Of Wisdome Three Bookes Written in French by Peter Charro[n] Doct[or] of Lawe in Paris. Translated by Samson Lennard</i> (1651). 'Printed for Luke Fawne.' ESTC R9772 | Quarto | 6d |
| 9 | Hist: of
Low-countray
Wars
[March 30,
1649] | Famiano Strada, <i>De bello Belgico. The History of the Low-Countray Warres</i> (1650). 'Printed for Humphrey Moseley.' ESTC R24631. | Folio | 6d
Index:
o 1 6 |
| 10 | Assemb:
Catech:
[March 30,
1649] | <i>The Grounds and Principles of Religion contained in a Shorter Catechism</i> (1648). Printed 'by J. L[egate]. for the Company of Stationers.' ESTC R177655. | Octavo | Proof:
6d |
| 11 | Hobs De
Cor: Pol:
[April 6, 1650] | Thomas Hobbes, <i>De corpore politico, or the Elements of Law, Moral & Politick</i> (1650). 'Printed for J. Martin, and J. Ridley.' ESTC R210231. | 12mo | 1s |
| 12 | Ambrose's
Sermons
[May 11, 1650] | Isaac Ambrose, <i>Ultima, the Last Things</i> (1650). 'Printed for J.A. and are to | Quarto | 6d |

		be sold by Nathanael Webb, and William Grantham.’ ESTC R27187.		
13	Hist. Of Jewes [June 9, 1650]	Leone Modena, <i>Historia de’ riti hebraici</i> (1650). ⁴ ‘Printed by J[ohn]. L[egate]. and are to be sold by Jo: Martin, and Jo: Ridley.’ ESTC R8970.	Octavo	6d
14	Carmina in comit. Cantabr. [June 29, 1650]	3 Act Verses: (1) <i>Articuli fidei</i> . Not in ESTC (2) <i>Lex naturæ est indispensabilis</i> . ESTC S120894 (3) <i>Animæ rationalis immortalitas</i> . Not in ESTC. (all 1650)	Broadsheet	3 proofs 2s 3d = 9d per proof
15	Acad. Of Complements [July 20, 1650]	J. G. [John Gough], <i>The Academy of Complements</i> (1650). ‘Printed for Humphrey Mosely.’ ESTC R40002.	12mo	1s 6d 1 proof: 9d
16	Clark’s Praxis [July 27, 1650]	John Clarke, <i>Dux grammaticus tyronem scholasticum</i> (1650). ‘Imprimebat I. L[egate]. sumptibus C. M[eredith].’ ESTC R174079.	12mo	1s, reduced to 6d (‘Memo randum y ^t I deducted 4 ^d p sheet out of 14 sh. of Clark’s Praxis [A— O] o 4 8’)
17	Wing’s Almanack [Aug 3 1650]	<i>Speculum uranicum ... An Almanack and Prognostication for ... 1649</i> (1649). ‘Printed by J[ohn]. L[egate]. for the Company of Stationers.’ ESTC R39913	Octavo	2 proofs: 1s 6d [1 proof: 9d]
18	Dove’s Alm [Aug 3 1650]	Jonathan Dove, <i>Dove speculum anni à partu virginis MDCLI, or an</i>	Octavo	1 proof: 9d

⁴ Annotation on Thomason copy (BL E.1285[1]): ‘April 21’.

Almanack for the Yeare of our Lord God 1651 (1651). Cambridge: 'Printed by the printers to the Universitie.' ESTC R32725.

19	Dr Gil's Serm [Aug 17, 1650]	Robert Gell, Ἀγγελοκρατία θεῶν. <i>Or a Sermon touching Gods Government of the World by Angels.</i> 'Printed by John Legatt, and are to be sold by Nathanael Brooks.' ESTC R250.	Quarto	8d
20	Pemel's Help for poor [Sept 7, 1650]	Robert Pemell, Πτωχοφάρμακον, seu <i>Medicamen miseris, or Pauperum pyxidicula salutifera. Help for the Poor</i> (1650). 'Printed by J. L. for Philemon Stephens.' ESTC R221420.	Octavo	6d
21	Perkin's Catech [Feb. 1, 1650]	William Perkins, <i>The Whole Treatise of the Cases of Conscience</i> (1651). 'Printed by J. L. and are to be sold by Thomas Pierrepont.' ESTC R33384.	Octavo	6d 2 proofs: 1s
22	Merch: Accompts. [Nov. ult, 1650]	Richard Dafforne, <i>The Merchants Mirror</i> (1651). 'Printed by J. L. for Nicolas Bourn.' ESTC R171680.	Folio	8d

There is a lot of information here to be processed. Perhaps the most striking feature is the fact that almost all of the titles that Sanderson seems to be correcting were printed by one man: John Legate (1600–1658), a printer who had a chequered but prominent career. His father of the same name (c. 1562–1620/21) was also a printer, albeit one of more considerable reputation. Legate Junior was twice made Warden of the Stationers' Company between 1651 and 1653; from 1650, when his London business seems to have been faring badly, he was appointed University Printer in Cambridge, as his father had been, although he declined to live there and was dismissed from the post for neglect in 1655. Legate's London address

was Little Wood Street (today Wood Street, EC2), where he died, according to his parish neighbour and friend, the obituarist Richard Smyth, ‘distempered in his senses’, on 4 November 1658.⁵

Most of the titles can be established relatively easily. Most obscure, perhaps, is ‘Carmina in comit. Cantabr.’ This refers to the broadsheet or broadsheets containing so-called ‘Act Verses’, printed for distribution at the Act or commencement ceremony for Cambridge students, held in the summer. Students wrote Latin or sometimes Greek verses on the subjects of the two questions they were formally to dispute upon, and these usually ephemeral broadsheets are often the only printed items associated with academic ceremonies and degrees from Cambridge. In British Library, Sloane MS 915, Sanderson records working on three proofs; J. J. Hall’s bibliography of Act Verses notes that three dated broadsheets of verses from this period are known to survive, assigned to either 1 or 2 July—one on theology (by Anthony Tuckney of Emmanuel, for his DD), and two on philosophy (by Charles Mildmay of Peterhouse, for his MA, and John Templar or Templer of Trinity, for his MA).⁶ It is likely that Sanderson was proof-reading each of these. The date of the work completed by Sanderson lines up with the date on the surviving dated printed sheets.

Excluding the two titles which cannot be identified with confidence (numbers 5 and 7), and treating the three Act Verses as one title (as Sanderson lists them), eleven of the twenty remaining titles cite Legate as printer in the colophon, as ‘John Legatt’, ‘I. L.’, or ‘J. L.’. I will call these eleven titles Group A. The other nine titles have no printer listed in their colophon; I will call these Group B. This means all of the texts listed by Sanderson either cite Legate as printer or cite no printer: no other printer is named. Of these nine Group B titles with no listed printer, six were the work of publishers with whom we know Legate worked at other times (Richard Tomlins; Humphrey Moseley (2 works); John Martin and John Ridley; and the Company of Stationers (2 works)). Only two books were published by men for whom we have no extant record of an existing professional relationship with Legate: Luke Fawne, and ‘J. A.’

By comparing the use of printer’s ornaments in Group B texts, which list no printer, with titles we know for sure that Legate printed, we can see matches in eight of the nine Group B titles, as the table below shows. (The ornaments are not to size.)

⁵ *The Obituary of Richard Smyth, Secondary of the Poultry Compter*, ed. by Henry Ellis (London: Camden Society [no. xliv], 1849), p. xx. Smyth’s text exists as a manuscript in Cambridge University Library, MS Mm.iv.36.

⁶ *Cambridge Act and Tripos Verses 1565–1894*, ed. by J. J. Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 146–48. My thanks to Richard Serjeantson for advice on this.

John Collings, *A Cordial for a Fainting Soule* (1650)

Ornament



From the British Library Collection,
4481.a.35

Ornament(s) in confirmed Legate
printing (Downname, *Annotations
upon All the Books of the Old
and New Testament*, 1651)



From the British Library Collection,
L.15.b.1

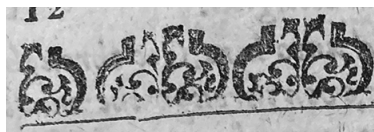
The Whole Book of Psalmes (1649)

Ornament



From the British Library Collection,
3433.d.20

Ornament in confirmed Legate
printing (Perkins, *Foundation of
Christian Religion*, 1647)



From the British Library Collection,
03504.e.27.(1.)

Of Wisdome Three Bookes written in French by Peter Charro[n] (1651)

Ornament



By permission of the Master and
Fellows of Gonville and Caius
College, Cambridge

Ornament in confirmed Legate
printing (Mede, *The key of the
Revelation*, 1650)



From the British Library Collection,
1508/1565

Famiano Strada, *De bello Belgico. The History of the Low-Country Warres* (1651)

Ornaments



From the British Library Collection,
9415.b.1

Ornaments in confirmed Legate printing (Downname, *Annotations*, 1651)



From the British Library Collection,
L.15.b.1

Thomas Hobbes, *De corpore politico, or the Elements of Law, Moral & Politick* (1650)

Ornaments



Photo reproduced with kind permission
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Ornaments in confirmed Legate printing (Leone Modena, *The History of the ... Jews*, 1650)



From the British Library Collection,
G.19534

Isaac Ambrose, *Ultima, the Last Things* (1650)

Ornaments





From the British Library Collection,
4462.aaa.6

Ornaments in confirmed Legate printing (Mede, *The Key of the Revelation*, 1650)





From the British Library
Collection, 1508/1565



3 Act Verses: (1) *Articuli fidei*

Ornament	Ornament in confirmed Legate printing (Perkins, <i>Foundation of Christian Religion</i> , 1647)
	
The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Don b15 (12)	From the British Library Collection, 03504.e.27(1)



(2) *Lex naturæ est indispensabilis*

Ornament	Ornament in confirmed Legate printing (Pemell, <i>Help for the Poor</i> , 1650)
	
The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Gough Camb 95(2)	The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, 8° A 31(1) Med.BS

(3) *Animæ rationalis immortalitas*

Ornament	Ornament in confirmed Legate printing (Perkins, <i>Foundation of Christian Religion</i> , 1647)
	
The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Gough Camb 95(2)	From the British Library Collection, 03504.e.27(1)

John Gough, *The Academy of Complements* (1650)

Ornament	Ornaments in confirmed Legate printing (Leone Modena, <i>The History of the ... Jews</i> , 1650)
	
<p>Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Illinois at Urbana- Champaign IUA00039</p>	<p>From the British Library Collection, G.19534</p>

The only text that I have not been able confidently to match with ornaments used by Legate elsewhere is Dove's *Almanack for the Year of Our Lord God, 1651* (1651), 'Printed by the printers to the Universitie, 1651'. But in 1650 Legate was appointed university printer at Cambridge, and it seems more than plausible to suggest Legate was thus the printer of Dove's *Almanac*.

Taken collectively, this strongly suggests that all of the twenty identifiable texts on Sanderson's list were printed by Legate, and that Sanderson was therefore working as a corrector for Legate, and Legate alone. This also means that we can confidently say that Legate was almost certainly the previously unidentified printer of the nine group B texts: John Collings, *A Cordial for a Fainting Soule* (1650); *The Whole Book of Psalmes* (1649); *Of Wisdome Three Bookes written in French by Peter Charron* (1651); Famiano Strada, *De bello Belgico. The History of the Low-Country Warres* (1651); Isaac Ambrose, *Ultima, the Last Things* (1650); the three Act Verses (1650); John Gough, *The Academy of Complements* (1650); Jonathan Dove, *Almanack for the Year of our Lord God, 1651* (1651); and, most eye-catching of all, Thomas Hobbes's *De corpore politico, or the Elements of Law, Moral & Politick* (1650).

II. Thomas Sanderson (1622–1670)

Who was Thomas Sanderson, and why did he work as a corrector? Something can be recovered of the biography of Thomas Sanderson from the facts he records in the perpetual almanac he included in British Library, Sloane MS 915. He was born 27 January 1622 in Boothby Pagnell, Lincolnshire, where his father was church rector. On 19 June 1655, Sanderson married 'M^{rs} Eliz: Whincop', and they had several children,

including Robert (born 5 April 1656), Elizabeth (8 May 1657), and Nell (born 26 April 1664). In 1660, Sanderson's father was elected Bishop of Lincoln. Sanderson was buried on 2 November 1670.

Sanderson attended Corpus Christi College, Oxford: the college's register records Sanderson's admission on 7 June 1642;⁷ he took his BA (1643) and MA (1647), and became a Fellow in 1644. As a result of the Parliamentary Visitations which resulted in many Masters and Fellows losing their positions, Sanderson was expelled from Corpus Christi in 1648 after he refused to agree to the Visitors' question, 'Do you submit to the authority of Parliament in this present Visitation?'. Corpus Christi College was a strongly Royalist college, and Sanderson's own Royalism is suggested by some of his almanac notes: next to 29 May, for example, Sanderson recorded 'K. Charles II. Borne ... The same day he came into London (after 12 years exile) 1660'.

In *Alumni Oxonienses* (1887), Joseph Foster records that Sanderson was 're-instated' in 1649, but in fact this seems not to have been the case. Two pieces of evidence can help here. While Corpus Christi College does not have a 'College Register' for the seventeenth century, as many other colleges did, it does possess its *Libri Magni*: annual household accounts that are organized around the financial year, from November to October. In these *Libri Magni*, Sanderson is recorded as in receipt of ten shillings as part of a Scholar's stipend for 1641/2, and there are payments noted to him between 1642/3 and 1646/7. But there are no records of Sanderson being in receipt of any stipend after 1646/7, indicating Sanderson was no longer part of college life from 1647/8 onwards.⁸

Sanderson's non-reinstatement is further substantiated, contra Foster, by a letter dated 3 July 1704 from James Metford, Rector of Bassingham, Lincolnshire, to his friend Joshua Reynolds, Fellow of Corpus Christi College. Metford had been one of the Scholars elected in 1647/8, and his letter recalls the period of expulsions. Metford is writing from some historical distance, but he vividly describes how 'the College of CC ... was generally Ruined in 1649 [after the expulsions when] there was not one Fellow left but Mr Noel Sparks the Greek Lecturer who was bed rid, and could not Answer the Rump Visitors at their visitation'. Metford writes that Sanderson did not return to college but became a doctor in Grantham: describing those expelled by the Parliamentary Visitors as 'the Ornament of the University ... whose wits and morals vyed wch should exceed,' he gave the example of Sanderson: 'As for ... D^r. Tho: Sanderson son of Renowned

⁷ Corpus Christi College, B/1/3/1.

⁸ Corpus Christi College, C/1/1/10, fols. 8r, 20r, 20v, 28v, 47r, 47v. My thanks to Julian Reid, Archivist at Corpus Christi College, for help with the *Libri Magni*.

Rob^t B^p of Lincoln, Grantham will speake his worth where he practised Physick till his death'.⁹

All of this suggests that Sanderson, a Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, was expelled in 1648 by the Parliamentary Visitors, and did not return to college, but in the 1650s was working as a doctor in Grantham. Legal documents in Lincolnshire Archives place him in Grantham by 1653 at the latest,¹⁰ and the parish register of Grantham records Sanderson's burial on 2 November 1670. Sanderson seems also to have worked as the principal Registrar to the Bishop of Lincoln, and then Registrar under the Commissaries of Lincoln and Stowe. Sanderson's work as a corrector or proof-reader is dated in his own manuscript from 9 February 1649 and 1 March 1650: a period shortly after his expulsion from college, but probably before his move to Lincolnshire. Since it was important for the corrector to be near the printer so that a sheet could be worked off promptly after correcting, it is likely Sanderson was living near Legate's residence in Little Wood Street, London. Sanderson probably spent some or all of this period in London in a bookish interregnum between the unhappy conclusion to his Oxford career and his reinvention as a Grantham doctor.

An advertisement in the *Postman* from 27 September 1711 suggests the kind of waters in which Sanderson might have temporarily swam, where men 'well read in Arts and Languages' offered their correcting skills:

If any author that is absent desires to have the press accurately corrected according to his copy, whether it be English, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, or French, let the printer leave the sheets at Mr. Cliffe's at the Bible and Three Crowns in Cheapside, Mr. Phillips at the Black Bull in Cornhill over against Sweeting's Alley, or Mr. Tracy at the Three Bibles on London Bridge, and it shall be done with all possible care and

⁹ Bodleian Library, MS J. Walker c. 8, fol. 247r. John Walker's *Attempt towards ... an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England ... who were Sequester'd, Harass'd, &c., in the Late Times of the Grand Rebellion* (London: J. Nicholson et al., 1714) makes effectively the same claim: Sanderson 'was Son to the Incomparable Dr. Robert Sanderson, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln. He apply'd himself to the Faculty of Physick, and became Eminent in the Practice of it at Grantham, where he Dy'd. He never Return'd to the College, though he liv'd after the Restoration several Years' (p. 112). Montagu Burrows' edition of *The Register of the Visitors of the University of Oxford* (London: Camden Society, 1881) contains a list of 'the names of such as are chosen into colleges' where 'Tho: Sanderson, Fell' is listed for 11 October 1649. This is followed by a note from 29 October 1649, ordering 'That the President and Fellowes of Corpus Christi Colledge be hereby desire to shew cause why Mr. Saunderson is not admitted into a Fellowship in that Colledge according to our Order'. This indicates that Sanderson was expelled, then proposed for reinstatement, but that Sanderson's reinstatement never occurred. This tangle may be the cause of Foster's apparent error (Burrows, *Register*, pp. 90, 184, 271).

¹⁰ A land lease involving Thomas is dated 1 May 1653 (Lincolnshire Archives, 1-FANE/2/1/4/1); Thomas and his wife Elizabeth are named, along with others, as 'deforciantis' in a case dated 1656 (FL/DEEDS/1322).

despatch by a person well read in Arts and Languages, who may be heard of at all these book-sellers as occasion shall require.¹¹

III. Correcting

In the larger, learned European printshops of the sixteenth century, like Froben and Episcopius in Basel, the corrector or castigator enjoyed a significant status, supported by a lector or reader who read out the text, paid half the amount. The corrector's roles might in fact be wider and more numerous than simply spotting errors: Anthony Grafton suggests that the term 'print professional' is more apt, describing an agent who undertook tasks such as editing copy, composing paratexts including title pages and indexes, and even serving as an intermediary between author and publisher. Henri Estienne employed ten correctors for his editions of Greek texts.¹² In the wood engraving by Moses Thym included in the earliest manual for correctors, Jerome Hornschuch's *Orthotypographia* (Leipzig, 1608), a ruff-wearing man who may be a corrector marks a text while heatedly debating with his author, while the noisy business of compositor and pressman goes on around him.¹³ In the Plantin-Moretus printing house in Antwerp, the corrector needed a separate room to read the proofs in relative peace: 'his Appartment', Joseph Moxon calls such rooms, in his 1683 description of printing, 'which is commonly some little Closet adjoining to the Composing-room'.¹⁴ In the vignette sketched by the idealising Moxon, a 'corrector should (besides the English Tongue) be well skilled in Languages, especially in those that are used to be Printed with us, viz. the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Syriack, Caldæ, French, Spanish, Italian, High Dutch, Saxon, Low Dutch, Welch, &c'.¹⁵

¹¹ Percy Simpson, *Proof-Reading in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935; second edition 1970), p. 113. See pp. 110–68 for a survey on the corrector more broadly. For a study of the 'chances and changes through which one manuscript passed at the hands of its editor, publisher and printer during its transformation into a book at the end of the seventeenth century', see H. Edmund Poole, 'The Printing of William Holder's *Principles of Harmony*', *Proceedings of the Royal Music Association* 1, no. 101 (1974), 31–43 (p. 31). Poole's account suggests two important features of proof-reading that chime with the Sanderson case study: first, that sheets, rather than whole texts were sent out for correction and/or revision; and second, that the culture of correcting/revising was to some degree ad hoc and dependent, simply, on who was around. Thus, publisher John Carr wrote in August 1692: 'I doubt I must be forced to trouble you with every Proof, for the Gentle man that I intended should have examin'd them, is out of Town, and will not return again till Winter, which will be too long to tarry. So that if you please either to examine them your self, or appoint some other person, I do intend (God willing) to finish it as soon as I can' (pp. 32–3).

¹² Anthony Grafton, *Inky Fingers: The Making of Books in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 2020), p. 37.

¹³ Jerome Hornschuch, *Orthotypographia* (1608), discussed in Grafton, *Culture of Correction*, pp. 74–6.

¹⁴ Joseph Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises, or the Doctrine of Handy-Works Applied to the Art of Printing*, 2 vols (1683), II, 261.

¹⁵ Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises*, p. 260.

Compared to European humanist examples, proof-reading in England seems to have been less established, less regularized, and less rewarded both in terms of money and social prestige.¹⁶ On a basic level Sanderson was doing what correctors in Antwerp and Basel were doing—examining the proof sheets printed by pressmen, marking corrections directly on to the sheets, probably with many of the symbols described in Jerome Hornschuch's 1608 guide to correcting,¹⁷ before returning the sheets to the compositor who, bodkin in hand, enacted the corrections on the type in the forme.¹⁸ But there is no evidence that Sanderson had a wider remit, and Legate's rather precarious business almost certainly meant Sanderson wasn't assisted by readers. While Sanderson's background suggests his learning was an aid to his correcting, he was not only working on erudite books, but in fact proof-read almost all of Legate's publications over a period of time, including almanacs and popular guides to eloquence and courtly behaviour. Sanderson may have been more of a 'shabby, Bartleby-like figure',¹⁹ a learned man who found himself in a role he had never expected, a job teetering awkwardly between the theoretical (or intellectual) and the mechanical (or practical), a role one might assume after losing one's university employment. In Grafton's promptly devastating words, '[m]any correctors were educated men who lacked the means, the health, or the temperament to get ahead in a profession',²⁰ and Sanderson's expulsion from Oxford may have created the context in which he took up this work.

The prices Sanderson charged for correction by the sheet ranged from 6d to 1s 6d. We might expect a correlation between format and price, since larger formats generally (but not always) meant more text per sheet, and so more proof-reading work, but the figures refuse any direct link:

¹⁶ Charles Hinman and Fredson Bowers, noting the quantity of errors in printed texts, both doubted that, *contra* Moxon, correctors had any kind of regular presence in the early seventeenth-century book trade—a view in turn challenged by D. F. McKenzie who argued that there is no evidence that the proofing procedures which Moxon described in the 1680s were not relevant to the earlier seventeenth century. Charles Hinman, *Printing and Proof-Reading of the Shakespeare First Folio* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), 1, 228 n. 2; Fredson Bowers, *Bibliography and Textual Criticism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), p. 126; McKenzie, 'Printers of the Mind', p. 46.

¹⁷ Hornschuch, *Orthotypographia*, pp. 16–17.

¹⁸ Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises*, pp. 260–4, presents a detailed account of his sense of the exacting duties of the corrector. For recent work on proof-reading, see Paolo Sachet's copy-specific analysis of extant copies of the Aldine Greek *Thesaurus* (1496) which shows evidence of Aldus Manutius's meticulous marking of printed texts by hand to correct errors missed in production before the unbound copies were shipped to customers and retailers. Paolo Sachet, 'Aldus as Proofreader: The Case of the *Thesaurus Cornu copiae* (1496)', in *Printing and Misprinting: A Companion to Mistakes and In-House Corrections in Renaissance Europe (1450–1650)*, ed. by Geri Della Rocca de Candal, Anthony Grafton, and Paolo Sachet (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), pp. 165–97, at p. 166.

¹⁹ Grafton, *Culture of Correction*, p. 77.

²⁰ Grafton, *Inky Fingers*, p. 44.

Folio	1s 6d, 6d, 8d
Quarto	6d, 6d, 6d, 6d, 8d
Octavo	1s, 6d, 6d, 6d
12mo	1s, 1s 6d, 1s reduced to 6d
16mo	1s

Since price variability does not map directly on to format, we might imagine that density of text, or complexity of *mise-en-page*, determines price. And this looks possible: John Downname's *Annotations* (charged at 1s 6d per sheet) and Famiano Strada's *De bello Belgico* (charged at 6d per sheet) are both folio volumes of roughly similar sizes (34 × 22 cm and 29 × 17 cm), but the higher-rate *Annotations* has eighty-eight lines per page in two columns compared to *De bello Belgico*'s fifty-two lines in one column. It looks as if Sanderson was making an estimate based around the amount of text: jobs could be estimated in total 'em' count, so in theory a tiny book with very dense type could be a much bigger job than a larger one with greater point size and leading. The third folio text that Sanderson worked on, Richard Dafforne's *The Merchants Mirror*, has fifty-six lines of text per page and, as a guide to keeping financial accounts, a more complicated layout, and the rate of 8d per sheet makes sense in relation to the relative demands of proof-reading. Of the four octavo texts, the higher rate of 1s for *The Whole Book of Psalmes* ('with the prose in the margin') perhaps reflects the more complicated centre-and-margin layout of that text compared to the other octavos. This logic isn't water-tight: it's hard to see why the duodecimo *The Academy of Complements*, an apparently more straightforward proof-reading proposition than Downname's large *Annotations*, is charged at the same rate of 1s 6d. It may have been that Sanderson charged retrospectively for the time taken and that some similar volumes simply ended up taking him longer; or it may be that his methods of accounting were not as careful as their tidy tabulation in Sloane MS 915 suggests. The issue of first editions as opposed to reprints may also be a variable in cases of higher prices: it is possible that first editions set from manuscript, as opposed to reprints set from an existing printed text, cost more to correct (and perhaps compositors were paid more, too).

In addition to sheet costs, Sanderson includes two other records. One is a note of 'Index: o 1 6' against Famiano Strada's *De bello Belgico* (1650), meaning Sanderson proof-read the considerable thirty-three-page 'Alphabeticall Table of the most remarkable Passages and Sentences' for 1s 6d. Sanderson also recorded 'Proofs' against seven other titles, charged at 6d or 9d. Most likely, Sanderson received a proof after the compositor had attempted to correct his errors, but found it still so erroneous that Sanderson asked for a second proof to check that the many corrections required had indeed been made. This would be quicker than checking the

entire copy, since only the corrections needed checking. Instead of counting in 'sheets', Sanderson counted in 'proofs'. Guides to correcting such as Hornschuch's *Orthotypographia* (1608) and Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises* (1683–1684), describe the pulling of a first, second and sometimes third proof before the forme was finally sent to press, and while this was probably an ideal rarely enacted, Sanderson's 'proof' suggests Legate was producing at least two proofs.²¹

Was Sanderson a good corrector? His tenure seems to have been intense but brief—at least, that is the implication of his financial records—and while this may suggest something was not quite right, it may also indicate his desire to return to Lincolnshire, which he had done by 1653 at the latest. It is certainly the case that a number of the titles he corrected for Legate themselves contain printed errata lists; while this is certainly not uncommon, they at least confirm that Sanderson missed some slips. In John Collings' *A Cordial for a Fainting Soule. Part II* (1650), the reader is advised to 'correct as thou readest' a list of thirty-two errors, including 'for eminent evil r.[ead] imminent,' and 'for beams r. beards'. To 'correct as thou readest' is a formulation which devolves what should have been Sanderson's work down on to the reader. William Sclater's *An Exposition ... on the Whole Fourth Chapter to the Romanes* (1650) contains a similarly substantial list, and Famiano Strada's *De bello Belgico* (1650) has a shorter list which 'the noble Reader is desired to excuse and correct'.

Errata lists and their framing introductions usually attribute blame for printed errors to particular agents, and the corrector is often at the end of the pointing finger. The absence of a corrector in a print shop might be the source of the problem—as the errata list in another Downname text has it, 'pag. 371 to pag. 578 was committed to another Printer, who wanting a Corrector suffred these faults to escape'—but more often it was 'the carelessness of the Correctors' and their general ignorance that was blamed.²² To read the errata lists that regularly appear in early modern books is to confront a culture in which error is not an aberrant shortcoming but a condition of print, to the extent that the corrector's role, if that role is understood as the elimination of printed error, rather than the looser monitoring of excessive slips (an apter formulation), is seen as impossible: meruell not then (good Readers) that in so huge a volume, consisting of so manie leaues, lines, and letters, oftentimes varied both in forme and matter, a fault or two

²¹ Ould, *Printing at the University Press*, p. 57, notes that Laud's intention for the University Press at Oxford was for three stages of proof-reading: first, the compositor would correct literals and obvious errors; secondly, a proof would be read at the press or at their home by the author or an outside corrector skilled in languages and scripts such as Hebrew and Arabic; thirdly, the Archtypographus would perform a final check and pass the text to the press.

²² John Downname, *The Christian Warfare* (1604), n.p. 'The Errata'; Samuel Clarke, *A Generall Martyrologie* (London, 1660), n.p. (final page).

doo escape; were the Correctors care neuer so great, his diligence neuer so earnest, his labour neuer so continuall, his eies neuer so quicke, his iudgement neuer so sound, his memorie neuer so firme; breeflie, all his senses neuer so actiue and liuelie.²³

Seen in this culture, the fact that Sanderson missed errors seems less remarkable, and not a reflection of a particular shortcoming.

To serve as a corrector was always to court invisibility since the task was to erase errors in order to eliminate them: good proofing work left little or no presence in the finished text, and correctors were almost never named agents in the business of book-making. Sanderson's brief period of correcting work was significant in the process of striving for better books, but his role as corrector was invisible to readers—until now.

APPENDIX 1.

Transcript of BL Sloane MS 915, fols. 34r–38r.

[Note: Sanderson's method of counting sheets is not constant. For most entries, it looks as if Sanderson is counting each inner or outer forme as a sheet: thus, for the folio 'Annot. Bib.', '[d, e]' means 'four sheets', and '[f]' means '2 sheets'. The entry '[a 1 2 & b 2] three sheets' suggests that both formes for *a* were read and one of *b*, making three sheets. But there are inconsistencies: for the quarto 'Ambr. Sermon', it is not clear how '[K 1, 2]' produces '5 sheets', and for Clark's Praxis—a 12mo—Sanderson seems to be counting differently: '[E F G] three sheets' suggests a 'sheet' is here *both* sides of a sheet.]

Feb. 9 1649

Anot. Bib: 7 sheets	o 10s 6d
Mede on Rev: 9 sheets	o 4 6
Collings Sermon 2 sheetts & an halfe	o 1 3
Slatter on Rom 4. two sheets	o 1 0
Cato one sheet	o 1 0
	o 18s 3
Annot. Bib: 5 sheets & an halfe	o 8 3
Slatter. D–L 8 sheets	o 4 0
Mede two sheets	o 1 0
	o 13 3
Annot: Bib: y; z. four sheets	o 6 0
Slatter. M–V nine sheets	o 4 6
Cato, half a sheet	o 0 6
	o 11 0

²³ *The Common Places of the Most Famous and Renoumed Divine Doctor Peter Martyr* (London, 1583), n.p., 'Certaine faults escaped'.

From Feb: 9 till Mar. 9 (being One whole moneth) Sum: tot	2 2 6
Annot: Bib [a 1 2 & b 2] three sheets	0 4 6
Slatter [X, Y, Z, Aa] four sheets	0 2 0
The Psalter [A, B] two sheets	0 2 0
Terminations of Nouns & Verbs	0 0 6
Of Wisdome [B, C] four sheets	0 2 0
	0 11 0
March 23 1649	
Annot: Bib: [b 1 & c 12] 3 sheets	0 4 6
Of Wisdome [D, E, F, G] 8 sheets	0 4 0
Psalter [C, , E] 2 sheets	0 2 0
March 30 1650	
Annot: Bib: [d, e] four sheets	0 6 0
Wisdome [H] 2 sheets	0 1 0
Hist: of Low-countray Wars [B] 2 sheets	0 1 0
Assemb: Catech: [two proofs]	0 1 0
	0 9 0
Apr. 6. 1650	
Annot: Bib: [f] 2 sheets	0 3 0
Low-Count: [C-F] 8 sheets	0 4 0
Wisdome [f] two sheets	0 1 0
Hobs De Cor: Pol: [B C] 2 sheets	0 2 0
	0 10 0
Apr: 13. 1650	
Annot: Bib: [g, 1 2, h, 1, 2] 2 sh:	0 4 6
Low-Count: [J 1 K 1, 2] 3 sh:	0 1 6
Hobs De Cor: Pol: [E] 1 sheet	0 1 0
	0 7 0
Apr: 20. 1650.	
Annot: Bib: [i] 2 sh:	0 3 0
Slatter Ep: Ded: er [Bb] 2 sheets	0 1 0
Of Wisdome [K] 2 sheets	0 1 0
Low-Countray Wars [L. M. N.] 6 sheets	0 3 0
Hobs de Corp: Pol: [EG] 1 sheet	0 1 0
	0 9 0
1650	
Apr. 27	
Annot: Bib: [K 1] one sheet	0 1 6
Low-Countray Wars [O.P.] 4 sheets	0 2 0
Of Wisdome [L 2, 3, 4 & M 4] 2 sh:	0 1 0
Hobs de Corp: Pol: [H] 1 sheet	0 1 0
	0 5 6

May 4	
Annot: Bib: [l m n] six sheets	0 9 0
Low-Country Wars [R 1 S T Aaa] 6 sh: & half	0 3 3
	0 12 3
May 11	
Annot: Bib: [o p] four sheets	0 6 0
Low-Country Wars [Bbb. Ccc] four sheets	0 2 0
Ambrose's Sermons [B] two sheets	0 1 0
Of Wisedome [M 1, 2, 3..] 1 sheet & an half	0 0 9
	0 9 9
May 25	
Annot: Bib [q r s (1) 2 t u] 9 sheets & half	0 13 9
Ambr. Sermons [C D 3, 4 E 1, 2, 3 F]]6 sh. & ½	0 3 3
Low country Wars [Ddd Eee 1, 2, 3] 3 sheets ½	0 1 9
Ass Cat [A1] one proof	0 0 6
	0 19 3
Jun 2	
Annot: Bib [x y] four sheets	0 6 0
Low-Count. [Fff Ggg] five sheets	0 2 6
Ambr. Sermon [G H J 1, 2 4] five sheets & ½	0 2 9
	0 11 3
<u>1650</u>	
Jun. 9 Whitsun weeke	
Ambr. Sermon [K 1, 2] 5 sheets	0 2 6
Hist. Of Jewes [(D) E F G H J K] 7 sh	0 3 6
Low-count. [Ep ded] one sheet	0 0 6
	0 6 6
Jun. 15.	
Hist. Jewes L M N I P (Q) R S A] 9 sh.	0 4 6
Ambr. Sermon [N O] four sheets	0 2 0
Psalter [D] two proofs	0 1 0
Low-count. [a 1 2] two proofs (Index)	0 1 0
	0 8 6
Jun. 22	
Wisedome [N 3, 4 P 4 Q 1 2 3 4] 3 sh. ½	0 1 9
Hist. of Jewes [B (C)] two sheets	0 1 0
Psalter [B] two proofs	0 1 0
Annot. Bib [Z 2] one proof	0 0 9
	0 4 6
Jun. 29.	
Wisedome [R S T 1 2 3] 5 sheets & ½	0 2 9
Psalter [sign] [Cc] one sheet	0 1 0

Psalter [sign] [B Cc 2] 3 proofs	0 1 6
Ass Cat [A] two proofs	0 1 0
Carmina in comit. Cantabr. 3 proofs	0 2 3
	0 8 6

July 6

Wisedome [V X Y Z Aa] 9 sheets	0 4 6
Psalter [little & great] 4 proofs	0 2 0
	0 6 6

1650

July 13

Annot. Bib. [Z 1] one sheet	0 1 6
Wisedome [Bb Cc Dd] 6 sheets	0 3 0
Psalter two proofs	0 1 0
Ambros. Sermon. [P 4, 5, 6] 1 sheet & ½	0 0 9
	0 6 3

July 20.

Wisedome [Ee Ff Gg] 6 sheets	0 3 0
Annot. Bib. [Aa] two sheets	0 3 0
Psalter [Ee] two proofs	0 1 0
Acad. Of Complements [D1] one proof	0 0 9
	0 7 9

July 27

Annot. Bib. [bb] two sheets	0 3 0
Acad. Of Complements [DD2 E F] 2 sh. ½	0 3 9
Clark's Praxis [A D 2] one sheet & ½	0 1 6
Wisedome [Hh] two sheets	0 1 0
	0 9 8

Aug. 3.

Acad. of Complements [G H J] 3 sheets	0 4 6
Wisedome [J i] two sheets	0 1 0
Clark's Praxis [B C D 1] two sh & an half	0 2 6
Wing's Alm [B] two proofs	0 1 6
Dove's Alm [A 2] one proof	0 0 9
	0 10 3

1650

Aug. 10

Acad. Complem. [K L M] 3 sheets	0 4 6
An: Bib: [cc 2] one sheet	0 1 6
Clarks Praxis [E F G] three sheets	0 3 0
Low-Count. (Index) [B] one sheet	0 1 6
	0 10 6

Aug. 17:

Dr Gill's Sermon [B—G] 6 sheets	0 4 0
Annot. Bib. [cc 1] one sheet	0 1 6
Clarks Praxis [H J] two sheets	0 2 0
	0 7 6

Aug. 24

Annot. Bib. [dd ee] four sheets	0 6 0
Clarks Praxis [K L M] three sheets	0 3 0
	0 9 0

August ult

Annot. Bib. [ff 1 alpha (beta) 2 (gamma) beta g g] four sheets	0 6 0
Clarks Praxis [N O] two sheets	0 2 0
Wing's Almanack [A] two proofs	0 1 6
	0 9 6

Memorandum y^r I deducted 4^d p sheet out of

14 sh. of Clark's Praxis [A—O]	0 4 8
Rem.	0 4 10

Sept. 7

Annot. Bib. [h h ii] 4 sheets	0 6 0
Low-Country wars (Index) [C] one sheet	0 1 6
Pemel's Help for poor [A. B.] two sheets	0 1 0
	0 8 6

1650

Sept. 14

Annot. Bib. [k k] two sheets	0 3 0
Low-country Wars (Index) [D E F] 3 sheets	0 4 6
Pemel's help for Poor [C D E] 3 sheets	0 1 6
Sheroon, Of Wisdome [K k L l] four sheets	0 2 0
	0 11 0

November ult.

An: Bib: [C 1 & D E] 4 sheets & half (Genesis)	0 6 9
Merch: Accompts [F 1 2 G] 3 sheets & half	0 2 4
Decemb. 7	
Annot. Bib. (Hosia) [fff ggg] 4 sheets	0 6 0
Merch: Accompts [A B 2] 3 sheets	0 2 0
	0 8 0

Decemb. 14.

Annot. Bib. (Genesis) [F G] four sheets	0 6 0
Merch: Acc. [B 1 P] 3 sheets	0 2 0
	0 8 0

Decemb. 21.

Annot. Bib. (Genesis) [H I] four sheets	0 6 0
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Feb: 22.

Annot. Bib. (Psal.) [7A, 2B C] 5 sheets

o 7 6

Merch: Acc. [K Aa Cc] 6 sheets

o 4 o

o 11 6

March 1.

Annot. Bib. (Psal) [7D 7E 7F] six sheets

o 9 o

Merch: Acc. [J L] four sheets

o 2 8

o 11 8