

WILLIAM FITZER, THE PUBLISHER OF HARVEY'S
DE MOTU CORDIS, 1628¹

By E. WEIL



THE printing history of Harvey's book on the Circulation of the Blood, one of the two greatest books in that great century of English science—the other is Newton's *Principia*—has always been a puzzle. Why did Harvey send the manuscript of this slender volume of seventy-two pages out to Frankfort, to be published by an almost unknown young publisher in a country ravaged by ten years of war? In the preceding centuries, in the early days of printing, books for the English market were often printed on the Continent, because the printing presses in Cologne or the Netherlands were more efficient and printing costs were cheaper there. Later on certain books were printed abroad for religious or political reasons. These reasons could not apply to Harvey's *De motu cordis*. The older authorities agree in explaining that 'it must have been done with a view to its getting more speedily known in the Republic of letters; Frankfort in 1628 being the great center of the booktrade'.² It has been known for about ten years that William Fitzer, the publisher of the *De motu cordis*, was an Englishman.³ This fact certainly helps to explain Harvey's decision to have the book printed at Frankfort. Dr. Bayon's admirable studies on the scientific background of Harvey's great discovery,⁴ and even Harvey's own remarks in the preface to the work,

¹ Read before the Bibliographical Society on Tuesday, 16 November 1943.

² Willis, R., *William Harvey*, 1878, p. 186, n. 1. A hundred years earlier a similar view had been expressed by J. Aikin, *Biographical Memoirs of Medicine in Great Britain from the Revival of Literature to the time of Harvey*, London, 1780, p. 289: 'The choice of this city (Frankfort) for the place of publication is supposed to have arisen from its celebrated fairs, by means of which, books printed there were rapidly circulated throughout all Germany, and the greatest part of Europe.'

³ The late Wilfrid M. Voynich was apparently the first to note an imprint of Fitzer's in which he called himself 'Anglus'. See Malloch, A., *William Harvey*, New York, 1929, p. 99. M. Sondheim, 'Die De Bry, Matthaeus Merian und Wilhelm Fitzer, eine Frankfurter Verlegerfamilie des 17. Jahrhunderts', *Philobiblon*, vol. vi, Vienna, 1933, pp. 9 ff. gave the full story of Fitzer's activities as a publisher at Frankfort and Heidelberg.

⁴ Bayon, H. P., 'William Harvey, Physician and Biologist: his precursors, opponents and successors', *Annals of Science*, vols. iii and iv, 1938-9.

make it absolutely clear that the contents of it were conceived and used as the basis of Harvey's lectures more than ten years before 1628. Why, then, should Harvey suddenly wish to have the book 'speedily known in the Republic of letters'? There were no priority claims to be afraid of; Servetus, whose claim to the discovery of the circulation was the most serious of all the 'pretenders', was long dead, as were Colombo and Cesalpino. Claims by a good number of minor personalities were chiefly raised by historians of medicine at a much later date. There was only one contemporary, the almost unknown Walter Warren,¹ who claimed the discovery of the circulation before Harvey—a poor claim—and it would be absurd to magnify its importance by suggesting that because of it Harvey wanted to publish his manuscript quickly.

Why should Harvey have chosen the unknown publisher William Fitzer? Fitzer had already published several of Robert Fludd's works, and we now know that Fludd was well acquainted with Harvey. It seems that Fludd persuaded Harvey to try his publisher, a young Englishman living at Frankfort and connected with the well-known publishing firm of the De Bry's, famous for their well-illustrated publications.

Robert Fludd had had his voluminous folios since 1617 published by Johann Theodor de Bry at Oppenheim,² where the De Bry's had moved from Frankfort for religious reasons. The De Bry's returned in 1619 to Frankfort and after 1620 Fludd's folios show the Frankfort imprint. Up to 1623 no fewer than eight folios, all richly illustrated with copper engravings from the De Bry workshops, were published by Johann Theodor de Bry. The ninth volume, *Philosophia sacra et vere christiana, seu Meteorologia cosmica*, bears the imprint, Francofurti prostat in Officina Bryana, 1626. We shall presently see that the Officina Bryana was a very short-lived venture of a company consisting of Matthaeus Merian and William Fitzer. When Johann Theodor de Bry died in 1623 Fludd as an author was transferred to William Fitzer, who started publishing in

¹ John Aubrey was the first to refer to this claim. Isaac Walton referred to it in a letter of 1680. In 1873, G. Rolleston found a MS. in the British Museum ascribed to Warren and an anonymous miscellany in the Bodleian with references to Warren's claim. W. Warren was the editor of Hariot's *Artis analyticae praxis*, 1631; he died in 1640. See Bayon, H. P., 'Allusions to a "Circulation" of the Blood in MSS. anterior to De Motu Cordis', *Proc. Royal Society of Medicine*, vol. xxxii, pp. 707 ff.

² Craven, J. B., *Dr. Robert Fludd*, Kirkwall, 1902. The best bibliography is still Ebert, F. A., *Allgemeines bibliographisches Lexicon*, Leipzig, 1821-30, anyhow for the Oppenheim and Frankfort titles.

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1624, and his next volume, the *Medicina catholica*, has the imprint, Francofurti, typis Caspari Rotelii, Impensis Wilhelmi Fitzeri, Anno MDCXXIX.

In the early seventeenth century the De Bry's were the foremost publishing firm for illustrated books on the Continent; in fact, they made copper engravings popular as book illustrations. Fludd believed in elaborately illustrating his mystical ideas. It seems that Michael Maier, the great alchemist and Rosicrucian who visited London in 1615 or 1616 and became friendly with Fludd, may have influenced him towards trying the De Bry's. It is very difficult to assess the influence of Rosicrucian ideas on the Harvey-Fitzer problem. Although the Rosicrucian movement spread from Germany from the year 1614, Dr. Bayon shows in a paper which he is just seeing through the press that it was not Maier who won Fludd for these new ideas but that indeed Fludd won Maier over to Rosicrucianism. Fludd's two Apologies for the Rosicrucians were published at Leyden in 1616 and 1617; in the same year 1617 Fludd changed over to Johann Theodor de Bry for good. It would be wrong to state that J. T. de Bry became the favourite publisher of the Rosicrucians. Although he published Fludd's imposing volumes and some of the richly illustrated quartos of Maier's, the true Rosicrucian publishers at Oppenheim and Frankfort were Johann Bringer and L. Jennis. Fludd's as well as Maier's choice of J. T. de Bry as publisher derived from the fine copper engravings in his publications. Fludd certainly was satisfied with his Oppenheim-Frankfort publishers, for only one small volume of his was published in England, his answer to Foster¹ who had written against his Apology for the Rosicrucians. Foster had intimated that the Universities and Bishops of England would not allow Fludd to publish his books in England. Now here is his interesting reply:² 'I sent them beyond the Seas, because our home-borne Printers demanded of me five hundred pounds to Print the first Volume, and to find the cuts in copper; but beyond the seas it was printed at no cost of mine, and that as I would wish. And I had 16. coppies sent me ouer with 40. pounds in Gold, as an vnexpected gratuitie for it.'

Fludd and Harvey had apparently met as students at Padua in 1602;³ they could not have failed to meet in 1606 and 1607 at the College of Physicians, when both applied for a fellowship at about the same time and their examinations fell within the same quarter: Harvey's on 5 October

¹ Fludd, R., *Doctor Fludds answer unto M. Foster*, London, 1651. S.T.C. 11120.

² *I.c.*, pp. 21-2.

³ See Fahie, J. J., *Galileo*, 1903, p. 50.

1606, Fludd's on 22 December 1606. Later on the first *Pharmacopœia Londinensis* for the College was prepared by Harvey, Fludd, and other fellows. When Harvey read the Lumleian Lectures Fludd was a censor (1618), and in the manuscript notes to those lectures, still preserved, known under the name *Prelectiones* and famous for their reference to the circulation, Harvey refers to Dr. Fludd and to Padua. Moreover, as Dr. Bayon proved a short time ago,¹ it was Fludd who was the first to approve of Harvey's discovery of the circulation in his *Pulsus*, published by Fitzer in 1631.

We may well believe that Fludd had something to do with Harvey's decision to have his tract on the circulation published by William Fitzer at Frankfort. But before turning to Fitzer, let us take a look at the book itself. *De motu cordis* is a rather badly produced book: there exist a few copies on thick paper, but most of the copies are printed on a thin, unsightly paper, now browned, in an indifferent type, printed by one of the eight printers licensed at that time by the Governing Body of Frankfort (Frankfurter Rat). Six of these printers Fitzer used to commission; all of them mediocre craftsmen, and it did not seem to me worth while to use the ingenious Carter and Pollard technique to discover whether it was Weiss, Stoltzenberger, or Roetel, who were certainly doing work for Fitzer in 1627 and 1628, or whether it was Erasmus Kempfer, whose name as a printer appears in 1629, who printed the book. Keynes² is certainly quite right in thinking it unlikely that Harvey ever saw any proof sheets of the book and that the additional half-sheet of two leaves containing the errata—126 corrections on one leaf and one blank—was printed later. This fact would explain why most of the copies known to-day are without the errata leaf. The printers evidently had difficulty in reading Harvey's handwriting—no wonder, for Harvey wrote, as has been said, an atrocious, crabbed hand. A2, also, containing the dedication to Charles I, is lacking in a number of English copies. Keynes proved that the engravings of the valves in the veins illustrating Fitzer's publication have their origin in the very large plate in Fabricius's *De venarum ostioliis*, Padua, 1603. This plate had been copied already in 1620 by one of the De Bry craftsmen for an edition of Caspar Bauhinus, *Vivæ imagines partium corporis humani* (Frankfort), J. T. de Bry, 1620.

¹ *Ann. of Science*, vol. iii, 1938, pp. 66 ff.

² Keynes, G., *A Bibliography of the Writings of William Harvey, M.D., Discoverer of the Circulation of the Blood*, Cambridge, 1928.

Of the forty-six copies of this 1628 edition which I have been able to trace (see Appendix), at the most a third are or were in England; all the other copies were or still are on the Continent. Nine editions in Latin were printed on the Continent before the 1660 edition was printed in London; a Dutch translation was published three years before the English translation of 1653. That the Medical Schools of Italy and the Netherlands were still pre-eminent in the first half of the seventeenth century seems to explain these facts. More puzzling is the question of the second edition of Harvey's work. This second edition of 1635 occurs in an edition of the collection of the Venetian, Emilio Parisano (1567-1643), and it is, in fact, an anti-Harveian affair in which the refutations of Parisano are given a greater stress than the almost unknown text of Harvey. The third edition, Leyden, 1639, is a reprint of the Parisano edition augmented by the criticisms of Primrose. No wonder that Fitzer intended to reissue the original text at about the same time. Its publication was announced in the Spring number of the Frankfort Fair Catalogue for 1639—but it never appeared in print. This date was a crucial one for Fitzer as a publisher, as will be seen later. The next edition of *De motu cordis*, the second authorized edition of the great work, so to speak, with the two favourable letters of the Leyden professor John Walaecus (1604-49) on Harvey's discovery was published in 1643 at Padua (Keynes No. 4).

Let us turn now to Fitzer.

The Fitzers are a well-established Worcestershire family. The name is variously spelt Fyzar, Fiszer, Fittser, Fyzard, Fizar, Fizer, and Visor, and it has been suggested to me¹ that 'the name may have come, probably by way of a bastard line, from the family of Fitz-Aer who until the beginning of the sixteenth century held the manor of Redmarley in Great Witley which was about seven miles north of Broadwas'.

The Fitzers lived at Broadwas, about five miles due west from the city of Worcester. In Nash's *History of Worcestershire* a flat stone in the church of Broadwas with a coat of arms of a Humfrey Fitzer, gent., died in 1679, is mentioned; the arms were a lion rampant impaling a dolphin.² *The Calendar of Wills and Administrations preserved in the Consistory Court of*

¹ By Mr. Graham Pollard.

² Mr. Alec Macdonald writes to me: 'There is, so far as I know, no other mention of this coat of arms; Grazebrook, the chief authority for Worcestershire heraldry, cites this entry but nothing else. It looks as if the family had tried to rise in the social scale during the XVIIth century.'

the Bishop of Worcester mentions documents of eight Fitzers¹ of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century; all were husbandmen or yeomen at Broadwas. So was Thomas Fitzer of Broadwas, the father of William Fitzer. Thomas Fitzer's name is just mentioned in the Worcestershire County Records, but no definite dates about him or the date of his birth are to be found, since the parish registers of Broadwas do not start until 1676 and the 'Bishops transcripts' in the case of Broadwas are not extant before 1612.

The first date for William Fitzer I could secure is 22 August 1610. On that date 'William Fizer alias Visor' was admitted a King's Scholar to King's School, Worcester, 'by Mr. Dr. Langworth ex relatione Mr. Bright Ludimagistri'. Mr. Alec Macdonald, Master of King's School, Worcester, who published a history of King's School a few years ago, and to whom I am greatly obliged for his help, wrote to me:

Dr. Langworth was the prebendary who exercised his patronage in his favour—in those days the King's Scholars were nominated by the Dean and Prebendaries in rotation—and I take 'ex relatione', a phrase which in different forms accompanies most of the entries in this register, to mean that the Headmaster (in this case) vouched for the boy's being a proper person to benefit by the charity: candidates were supposed to be 'poor and destitute of the help of friends', but I think this clause was generously interpreted, and to be able to read and write; often however they are admitted 'ex relatione sua'. Henry Bright was the most distinguished of all the early headmasters of the School and he was also Rector of Broadwas from 1591 to 1606.

On 27 March 1614 William Fitzer was succeeded as K.S. by one Edmund Barewell. The usual age for admission in those days was ten: we can assume therefore that William Fitzer was born about 1600.

Two years after leaving school William Fitzer was apprenticed to Thomas

¹ Fyzer, William, husbandman, Bradwas. Will and Administration (No. 117 of 1592). (These wills, &c., are stored in bundles under years, and numbered.)

Fizer, Richard, yeoman, Broadwas. Will, 9 June 1592.

Richard Barnes, husbandman, Stoke Lacy, Herefordshire, and Joan (?) Fizer (?), Broadwas. Marriage Bond (No. 129 g of 1593).

Henry Fizar, husbandman, Bradwas, and Mary Vaughan, Severn Stoke. Marriage Bond (No. 37 g of 1595).

Fyzard, Henry, Broadwas. Inventory (No. 225 o of 1613).

Vizar, Thomas, Broadwas. Administration (No. 261 d of 1610).

Fyzer, Thomas, Broadwas. Inventory (No. 262 x of 1617).

Fizar, John, yeoman, Broadwas. Will and Administration (No. 63 of 1629).

All the wills are now kept at the Registry Office at Birmingham, Mr. Alec Macdonald informs me.

Man at Stationers' Hall, London. With the kind help of Mr. Graham Pollard I have found the following entry:

10 Martij 1616 Mr. Man William Fitzer sone of Thomas Fitzer Bradwas in the Cty of Worcester Yeoman has put himself an apprentice unter Thomas Man for seven years to this day. —2/6

Thomas Man, senior, was a bookseller at The Talbot, Paternoster Row, from 1576 to 1626. He dealt almost wholly in theological books and 'rapidly rose to be one of the largest capitalists in the trade and one of the most important men in the Co. of Stationers. Master 1604, 1610, 1614, 1616.'¹ On 12 May 1624 Fitzer was granted the freedom of the Stationers' Company.² He must have left for Frankfort very soon after, for within a year he married there the daughter of a greatly respected publisher.

The first we hear of him at Frankfort is on 6 April 1625, when he acted as a book agent ('Factor'); a document has been preserved in the Frankfort archives to the effect that he repaid a debt with interest to a money-lender.³ Only a few weeks later, on 9 May 1625, he married Susanna, third and youngest daughter of Johann Theodor de Bry.⁴ The marriage took place at the 'Kaufhaus', the club of the Frankfort merchants.

The De Bry's came from Liège in the Spanish Netherlands. Theodor de Bry, a Protestant, left his country in 1590—a man of sixty-two—and settled at Frankfort, the native town of his wife Katharina, née Rölinger (d. 1610). He and his two sons were engravers, and their Dutch technique and skill left a mark on seventeenth-century art in Germany. English book illustration was also influenced by him. Most probably he had some agent here for the sale of his engravings and illustrated books. At any rate, it is said that one of the best of the seventeenth-century engravers here, William Rogers, was not a little influenced by him. De Bry himself paid two visits

¹ McKerrow, R. B., *A Dictionary of Printers & Booksellers in England . . . 1557-1640*, London, 1910, p. 184.

² Arber, E., *Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London*, vol. iii, 1876, p. 685.

³ Frankfort archives, 'Gewaltsbuch', Tom. 18, leaf 38. All Frankfort dates according to M. Sondheim, l.c.

⁴ Frankfort archives, 'Proclamationsbuch', 17 April 1625: 'Wilhelm Fitzerus von London 'auss Engeland Buchbendeler Thomae Fitzeri filius ibidem [this is not correct, for we have no reason to believe that Thomas Fitzer left Broadwas for London] vnnnd Jungfraw Susanna weyland Johan Dieterichs de Bry burgers alhie Seligen nachgelassene ehelichte tochter.' Frankfort Registrar's Office, 'Heiratsbuch, 1625': 'Montags 9. May Wilhelm Fitzer, von London, vnnnd Susanna, Johann Dieterichs de Bry sel. tochter.'

to London, in 1586 and 1588 (he engraved the plates for Sir Antony Ashley's *Mariner's Mirror*, 1588, *STC* 24931). He met Hakluyt, who introduced him to John White, the painter, whose spirited water-colour drawings of Virginian subjects are one of the treasures of the British Museum. Here in London De Bry's *Grand Voyages* were conceived. Theodor de Bry died in 1598. For religious reasons his family left in 1609 for Oppenheim, where the business was carried on for ten years by the two sons, the younger of whom, Johann Israel, died there in 1611. Johann Theodor de Bry (born at Liège, 1561, d. 1623) transferred the business back to Frankfort in 1619. He had three daughters. The eldest, Maria Magdalena (d. 1645), married in 1618 the well-known engraver Matthaeus Merian of Basle (Maria Sibylla Merian, 1647-1717, the famous miniaturist, was a daughter of his by a second marriage). After the death of Johann Theodor de Bry in August 1623 his widow (Margaretha, *née* Verheiden) carried on the publishing firm, but in 1624 she approached the Governing Body of Frankfort for the admission of her son-in-law Matthaeus Merian as a resident (*Beisasse*) in Frankfort to help her with the publishing firm. In November 1624 he was admitted as a resident. William Fitzer's arrival at Frankfort must have taken place at about the same time. In the next year, on 3 October 1625, the two sons-in-law of the widow De Bry, Matthaeus Merian and William Fitzer, bought the De Bry business from her on joint account. Apparently a few joint publications under the imprint *Officina Bryana*¹ were issued towards the end of 1625. At about the same time William Fitzer made known to the Governing Body of Frankfort that Merian and he had divided the stock of the De Bry firm into equal parts (*gleichlich*), and he now applied for residentship, which was granted to him on 10 November 1625.²

In 1626 Merian and Fitzer applied for citizenship. It was promised to Fitzer only on the condition that he produced a birth certificate.³ I think you will not blame me for my failure in tracing the birthday of Fitzer when I tell you that he was apparently not able to show this certificate to the

¹ Fludd, R., *Philosophia sacra et vere christiana, seu Meteorologia cosmica*, Francofurti, prostat in Officina Bryana, 1626. Sondheim quotes an imprint: In Bibliopoleio Bryano apud W.F. (I have not seen this book), and Merian's edition of the *Topographia Romae* of Boissard has the imprint: In Bibliopoleio Bryano apud Mattheum Merian, 1627. The second part, 1628: Studio, sumtibusque Matthei Meriani Basil.

² Frankfort Archives, 'Raths Supplicationes No. 1378—Buergermeisterbuch 1625', No. 195, leaf 83 v.

³ Frankfort Archives, 'Buergermeisterbuch 1626', No. 196, leaf 101: 'der Engellzender zuvorderst seinen Geburtsbrieff vorzeigen und vorlegen.'

Frankfort authorities; the registers of citizenships granted in the Frankfort archives prove that Fitzer remained an alien resident in Frankfort.

The Frankfort Fair Catalogues for 1626 announced the first books published under Fitzer's name. Nine titles were announced, not one of any interest, and I have not been able to verify whether all the titles announced were published at all. In compiling the *œuvre* of a continental publisher of the seventeenth century one is compelled to read the Frankfort and Leipzig Fair Catalogues and to check the titles. Complete sets of these catalogues do not exist anywhere. Hamburg has apparently the longest run, from 1624 to 1690; Frankfort has a good run, too, from 1598 to 1647; both of these sets would have been helpful to my researches. As it is, I have been able to consult only a small number of them. The statistics of publications announced in the Frankfort and Leipzig Fair Catalogues by Schwetschke, published in 1850,¹ are very helpful, though, as I have found, not absolutely reliable. He gives the following data for Fitzer:

1626	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	9	publications announced
1627	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	8	" "
1628	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	17	" "
1629	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	19	" "
1630	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	15	" "
1631	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	18	" "
1632	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	7	" "
1633	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	9	" "
1634	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	—
1635	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	—
1636	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	" "
1637	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	—
1638	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	—
1639	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	—

Sondheim, whose excellent paper, 'Die De Bry, Matthæus Merian und Wilhelm Fitzer',² gave me many of the Frankfort details, says that Fitzer announced in 1636 three, in 1637 four, and in 1639 two new publications.

As we have already seen in the case of Fitzer's projected 1639 edition of Harvey which never materialized, not all the books announced were published. It often happened that a publisher wanted to forestall another edition of a book he intended to publish himself, or he wished to test the market, when he announced a new publication, or he simply changed his

¹ Schwetschke, G., *Codex Nundinarius Germaniae Literatae Biæcularis.—Mess-Jahrbücher des Deutschen Buchhandels von dem Erscheinen des ersten Mess-Kataloges im Jahre 1564*, Halle, 1850.

See note 3, p. 142.

mind for some reason or other. Anyhow, in Fitzer's case I have only been able to verify about one-half of the titles announced.

Fitzer's first book was C. Dornavius (Dornau), *Encomium invidiae*, Francofurti, impensis Guilielmi Fitzeri, Bibliopolae Londinensis, 1626, a small quarto of 39 pages, the title within an engraved De Bry border.

His imprints bear witness to a conscious pride in his birth and nationality; he called himself Bibliopola Londinensis, or used the imprints 'apud Wilhelmum Fitzerum Anglum', 'apud Guilielmum Fitzerum Anglum', and he used his own name alone only in rare instances, as in the Harvey of 1628.

Besides a translation of Calvi, *Histoire des larrons*, into German,¹ Fitzer announced in 1626 and published early in 1627 Latin editions of Musaeus and Herodian,² both edited by a young scholar, Daniel Paraeus (1605-35), who was then tutor to the young Dukes of Isenburg, a castle not far from Frankfort. A second edition of the Herodian was issued in 1630³ and Paraeus's services as an editor were retained for several years. The Herodian and Musaeus were intended for export to England, and copies in contemporary English calf are not infrequently met with.

Only one of the 1627 books needs to be mentioned, a collection of one hundred engravings: *Proscenium vitae humanae*, In Verlegung Wilhelm Fitzers, 1627. It is an emblem book with verses in Latin and German, produced as an Album Amicorum. The last twenty-eight engravings comprise a series of empty armorial shields by Virgil Solis which like the other plates had been used before by De Bry. Some of these engravings seem to be of interest to the historian of art, for they illustrate Proverbs of Pieter Breughel.⁴

¹ Calvi, *Beutelschneider oder Diebshistorien*, announced 1626, published 1627: 'Erstlich gedruckt zu Franckfurt, 1627.'

² Musaeus, *Erotopagnion Herus et Leandri*, ed. Daniel Paraeus, Francofurti, imp. Guilielmi Fitzeri, 1627. 4to. With De Bry engraving (Manus manum lavat) on title.

Herodianus, *Historiae lib. VIII.*, ed. Daniel Paraeus, Francofurti ad Moenum, typis J. F. Weyssii, impensis Guilielmi Fitzeri, 1627. 8vo.

³ Herodianus, *Historiae lib. VIII.*, ed. Daniel Paraeus, 2nd ed., Francofurti ad Moenum, impensis Guilielmi Fitzeri Angli librarii excudebat Matthaeus Kempfferus, 1630. 8vo.

⁴ Bry, J. T. de, *Proscenium vitae humanae, sive emblematum secularium . . . decades septem. Weltliche lustige neue Kunststueck der jetzigen Welt Lauff*, Franckfurt, in Verlegung Wilhelm Fitzers, 1627. 4to. 80 ll. (misnumbered 70), 28 plates ('Wappenbuechlein'); altogether 100 engravings.

Another 1627 title: Burggrav, J. E., *Tractat von der Ungarischen Hauptschwaechheit und andern epidemischen giftigen Fiebern*, Franckfurt am Mayn, in Verlegung Wilh. Fitzer, 1627. 4to.

The years 1628 to 1631 were Fitzer's best as a publisher; in these four years he announced about seventy titles for publication. The Harvey, the work he is remembered for, is one of the most insignificant publications of 1628. In this year he issued for the Stationers' Company in London a large folio, Helvicus, *Theatrum historicum*; three richly illustrated folios of the De Bry *Oriental Voyages* series, two in German, one in Latin; a reprint of Boissard's collection of portraits, and last but not least, the *Characters and Diuersitie of Letters used by diuers Nations in the World*, the only publication of which he is also the author, and one of his best productions. It is a collection of plates engraved by the De Bry's, nearly all of them used before in 1596. It is clear that the publication was intended for the English market. The title is within the same border as De Bry's *Alphabeta* of 1596 and ends: 'Curiously cutt in brasse by John Theod: de Bry deceased. Franckfort on the Mayne, Printed by John Nicol: Stoltzenberger for William Fitzer.' It is dedicated to 'John Kendrick, Resident Merchant in the Cittie of Nurnberg'; the dedication is fully signed by Fitzer and dated 29 December 1627. There follows a treatise of eight pages, 'Discourse of the Diversity of Letters', by Fitzer himself.¹

¹ Helvicus, C., *Theatrum historicum*, printed for the Stationers' Co. 1628. Fol. No copy in London or Oxford. Reprinted 1629 at Marburg: post editionem in nundinis Francofurtens. autumnalibus Ann. 1628. In the English translation of the work, London, 1687: 'English according to the two best Editions, viz. that of Francofurt, and that of Oxford. . .'

(De Bry) *Orientalische Indien*, Franckfurt am Mayn, by C. Roetel, In Verlegung Wilhelm Fitzers, 1628. Fol. With the De Bry engravings, dedication to the Archbishop of Mainz 'meinem gnaedigen Herrn' signed: Wilhelm Fitzer, Buchhaendler zu Franckfurt am Mayn. This is certainly one of the best publications of Fitzer.

(De Bry) *Der zwolffte (dreyzehende) Theil der Orientalischen Indien*, Gedruckt zu Franckfurt am Mayn, by Caspar Roetel, in Verlegung Wilhelm Fitzers, 1628. Fol. Dedicated by Fitzer to the Episcopal councillor Ludwig von Hagen.

(De Bry) *Historiarum Orientalis Indiae Tomus XII*, Francofurti, apud Wilhelmum Fizzerum Anglum, Bibliopolam, 1628. Fol. Dedicated to the Franconian Baron Josua von der Thann; Fitzer says in the dedication that he met him for the first time in England (in Anglia, patria mea).

Boissard, J. J., *Bibliotheca sive thesaurus virtutis et gloriae: in quo continentur illustrium eruditione et doctrina virorum effigies et vitae . . . in centurias duas distributae . . . in aes incisae a Joan. Theodor. de Bry*, Francofurti, sumptibus Guilielmi Fitzeri, 1628. 4to.

Fitzer, William, *Characters and Diuersitie of Letters used by diuers Nations in the World*, Franckfort on the Mayne, Printed by John Nicol: Stoltzenberger for William Fitzer. Anno mdcxxviii. 4to. S.T.C. 10933.

Drebbel, C., *Tractatus de natura elementorum*, ed. J. E. Burggrav, M.D., Francofurti, typis C. Rötelij, impensis Willhelmi Fitzeri, 1628. 8vo. With portrait engraving of Drebbel.

The year 1629 brought three volumes by Robert Fludd, a few medical and historical works, and, very surprisingly, the hardly known third edition of Gilbert's *De magnete*. I have not seen this volume and have located only one copy in a private library in Chicago; it seems previously to have been in possession of the famous chemist F. Arago. Apparently it is an exact reprint of the second edition, Stettin, 1628, with a new title-page with Fitzer's address.¹

For the Autumn Fair 1629 Fitzer published his first and only catalogue:

Catalogus Bibliothecae Bryanae. Designatio omnium librorum, tam eorum, qui aeneis figuris adornati, quam sine illis impressi, in officina Guillelmi Fitzeri Bibliopol. Francofurtensis Nundinis Autumnalibus Anni 1629, venales prostant. Francofurti ad Moenum, 1629.

It is not very remarkable that the De Bry origin of his publishing firm should have been mentioned, for, of the 126 items of the catalogue, about one hundred were old De Bry stock, part of the stock acquired by Fitzer four years previously: the early Fludd folios, the alphabets and emblem books, the early volumes of De Bry's *Oriental Voyages*—the *Petits Voyages*; the *Grands Voyages* were in Merian's part—some of the portrait collections of De Bry, and a number of engravings. One set of engravings was certainly chosen by Fitzer with an eye on the English market: the Triumphal Arches (*Ehrenpforte*) erected at Frankenthal and Oppenheim in 1613 for the Elector Palatine Frederick V and Elizabeth, later Queen of Bohemia, the 'Queen

¹ Fludd, R., *Medicina catholica*, Francofurti, typis Caspari Roetelii, impensis Wilhelmi Fitzeri, 1629. Fol. With Fitzer's publisher's mark, the same as in the Harvey.

Id., *Summum bonum* [Frankfort, W. Fitzer], 1629. Fol.

Id., *Sophiae cum Moria certamen* [Frankfort, W. Fitzer], 1629. Fol.

Gilbert, William. *Tractatus, sive physiologia nova, de magnete*, Francofurti ad Moenum, Guillelmus Fitzer, 1629. 4to. See *Catalogue of the Wheeler Gift of Books . . . in the Library of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers*, ed. W. D. Weaver, New York, 1909, Vol. I, Annotation to No. 72a.

Burggrav, J. E., *Biolychnium seu lucerna*, Typis Matthaei Kempffer. Sumptibus Wilhelm Fitzer, 1629. 8vo.

Themistocles, *Epistolae graeco-latinae et Bibliotheca Ehingeriana*, Francofurti, typis Erasmi Kempfferi, sumptibus Wilhelmi Fitzeri, 1629. 8vo. The Ehingers were an Augsburg family. In 1639, 615 copies of this book were still in Fitzer's possession.

Longinus, C., *Extract der Orientalischen Indien*, 2nd ed., Franckfurt am Mayn, bey Caspar Roetell, in Verlegung Wilhelm Fizers, 1629. Fol. Dedicated by Fitzer to the Archbishop of Mainz.

Frambesarius, N. A. (La Framboisière), *Opera medica*, Francofurti, apud Guillelmum Fitzerum Anglum, 1629. 4to. (First collected edition.)

Herrlichkeit der Cron Frankreichs, 1629. (Not seen.)

of Hearts', the daughter of James VI of Scotland. This set was engraved by Johann Theodor de Bry. Another thing we learn from the catalogue is the price of the Harvey; it was 6 shillings two pence.

Although more than thirty publications were announced for 1630 and 1631, the publishing house was already on the decline. Most of these publications were small volumes, many of them alchemical books, a few classics edited by Paracelsus. Some titles were announced but never published, at least I have not been able to trace any copies of them.

The most notable publication for 1630 was a set of eight quarto pamphlets in Latin by the alchemist Samuel Norton (1548-1604?). They were edited by Dr. Edmund Deane (1572-1640), who practised medicine at York from 1614 to 1640. Portions of the texts in manuscript are still preserved in the British Museum and the Bodleian. All but one of the tracts have dedications, all signed by Deane. They have never been reprinted.¹ In the Fair Catalogue for 1636 Fitzer announced another tract of Norton's, which

¹ Norton, Samuel, *Saturnus saturatus dissolutus, et coelo restitutus*, Frankfurt, typis J. N. Stoltzenbergeri, impensis G. Fitzeri, 1630. 4to. With 3 full-page engravings. Dedicated: Excellentissimis Viris D.D. Medicis utriusque Academiae.

Id., *Metamorphosis lapidum*, Francofurti, typis C. Roetelii, impensis Guilielmi Fitzeri, 1630. 4to. With one full-page engraving. Dedicated to the College of Medicine, London.

Id., *Mercurius redivivus seu Modus conficiendi lapidem philosophicum tam album, quam rubrum et mercurio*, ed. E. Deane, Francofurti, typis C. Roetelii, impensis Guilielmi Fitzeri, 1630. 4to. With 5 full-page engravings. Dedicated to the Bishop of London.

Id., *Catholicum physicorum*, ed. E. Deane, Francofurti, typis C. Roetelii, impensis Guilielmi Fitzeri, 1630. 4to. With 3 full-page engravings. Dedicated by Deane to the Archbishop of York.

Id., *Alchymiae complementum, et perfectio*, ed. E. Deane, Francofurti, typis Caspari Roetelii, impensis Guilielmi Fitzeri, 1630. 4to. With 3 full-page engravings. (No dedication.)

Id., *Venus vitriolata*, ed. E. Deane, Francofurti, typis C. Roetelii, impensis Guilielmi Fitzeri, 1630. 4to. With 2 full-page engravings. Dedicated by Deane to Sir Thomas Wentworth (1593-1641).

Id., *Elixer, seu medicina vitae*, ed. E. Deane, Francofurti, typ. C. Roetelii, impensis Guilielmi Fitzeri, 1630. 4to. With one full-page engraving. Dedicated to Edmund Sheffield, second Earl of Mulgrave (1611-58).

Id., *Tractatus de antiquorum scriptorum considerationibus in alchymia*, ed. E. Deane, Francofurti, typis Caspari Roetelii, impensis Guilielmi Fitzeri, 1630. 4to. Dedicated to Sir Richard Weston, the agriculturist (1591-1652).

Burggrav, J. E., *Biolychnium seu lucerna*, 2nd ed., Francofurti, impensis Guilielmi Fitzeri, typis Caspari Roetelii, 1630. 8vo.

Cowell, John, *Institutiones juris Anglicani*, cura et impensis Guilielmi Fitzeri, 1630. 8vo. (Reprint of the 1605 Cambridge edition.)

I believe was never printed.¹ Some of the Norton tracts have new full-page symbolical engravings. One thing is certain, Fitzer could never compete with Merian's illustrated works. The reprint of Boissard's portrait collection, published in 1628 and 1630, contains a few additional portraits engraved by Paul de Zetter of Hanau; they are dry, uninteresting, and do not look too good beside the De Bry plates.

Little need be said about the 1631 publications:² three more of Fludd's folios, a Lucretius and a Heliodorus, the last two both edited by Daniel Paracelsus, who used some manuscripts from the Palatina. They were intended for the English market, and the dedication of the Heliodorus to Sir William Chaloner, son of the naturalist Sir Thomas Chaloner, the younger, is signed by Fitzer. Not very much is known about Sir William beyond the fact that he died unmarried at Scanderoon. In the Fair Catalogue for autumn 1631 Fitzer announced Primrose's *Animadversiones*, probably the most outspoken anti-Harveian tract. This had been first published the year before in London (*S.T.C.* 20385). It was never printed, but the announcement proves that Fitzer did not realize what an important book he had given to the world in 1628.

Of the 1632 publications³ I have seen only two: a reprint of Arias

¹ Norton, Samuel, *Admiranda chymica*, apud G. Fitzerum. 4to.

² Fludd, R., *Integrum morborum mysterium*, Francofurti, G. Fitzerus, 1631. Fol.

Id., *Katbolicon medicorum katoptron* (Frankfort), 1631. Fol.

Id., *Pulsus, seu Nova et arcana pulsum historia* (Frankfort, 1631). Fol. (The large table, *Medicamentorum Apollinis Oraculum*, forms part of the *Pulsus*; it is not a separate work of Fludd's, as Gardner, F. L., *Rosicrucian Books*, London, 1903, No. 181, describes it as being.)

Lucretius, *De rerum natura lib. VI*, ed. Daniel Paracelsus, Francofurti, impensis Guilielmi Fitzeri, Librarii Angli, excudebat Wolfgang Hofmannus, 1631. 8vo.

Heliodorus, *Aethiopicorum lib. X*, ed. Daniel Paracelsus, Francofurti, excusi impensis Guilielmi Fitzeri, Librarii Angli, 1631. 8vo.

Arminius, Jacobus, *Opera theologica*, apud Guilielmum Fitzerum Anglum, Bibliopolam Francofurtanum, 1631. 4to. A fat volume with engraved portrait of the author (1560-1609) by S. Funck.

Beuther, David, *Vollkommener Bericht von der hochberühmten Kunst der Alchymij . . . ex Bibliotheca Chymica D. Johannis Ernesti Burggraviæ, Medici, Franckfurt*, in Verlegung Wilhelm Fitzeri, 1631. 4to.

³ Arias Montanus, Benedictus, *Omnium virtutum christianarum . . . speculum, figuris aeneis . . . adornatum*, (Frankfort) impensa Guilielmi Fitzeri Bibliopolæ Angli, 1632. 4to. With 42 etchings illustrating the life of King David by J. Th. and J. I. de Bry. Reprint of the 1597 De Bry edition.

(Boissard, J. J.), *V. Pars Iconum complectens virorum clarorum eruditione et doctrina præstantium imagines*, Francofurti, impensis Guilielmi Fitzeri, 1632. 4to. With 20 new portrait engravings, 19 by P. de Zetter, 1 (J. Arminius, a Leyden professor) by S. Funck.

Montanus with forty-two etchings by the De Bry's, again dedicated to Sir William Chaloner, and a fifth part of a portrait work ostensibly to conclude Boissard's collection. The dedication to Sir Stephen Lesieur (fl. 1586-1627) is signed Guilelmus Fitzer Anglus, and the volume is clearly intended for export. Besides the portraits of the contemporary Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of London, Winchester, Lincoln, Salisbury, Worcester, Bath, Exeter, and Chichester it contains portraits of William Camden, and a number of Cambridge divines, including the Cambridge Dr. William Butler, known as an eccentric. Only two or three of the portraits are of continental scholars. The distinct Cambridge tinge of this volume as well as other instances seem to suggest that Fitzer was probably for a short time at Cambridge before going to the Continent.

In 1631 Frankfort was occupied by the Swedes and underwent some unfortunate experiences. Fitzer left for Heidelberg. He is mentioned for the last time in the Frankfort registers as a resident in 1632,¹ but he continued to publish his books with the Frankfort imprint. The first work published at Heidelberg, late in 1632, was Fludd's *Philosophiae et alchemiae clavis*, the whole edition of which was destroyed at the printers by the militia. He had the volume, which was a quarto, reprinted in folio the following year, a slender volume of not quite one hundred pages with the symbolical rose on the title-page, the device 'Dat Rosa Mel Apibus', and, as a preface, the story of the destruction of the first printing of the work.²

Other titles announced, but probably never published are:

(Lynde, Sir Humphrey), *Via devia, der Nebenweg beschrieben in Englischer Sprach durch Hansfrij Linde, Ritters, verteutsch durch M. Johann Fuchs, Franckfurt, bey Wilhelm Fitzer.* (First ed. London, 1630. S.T.C. 17094.)

Cacott, F., *Panoplia S. Joannis Chrysostomi*, (apud Wilhelmum Fitzerum). Fol. (Francis Cacott of Kent, Corpus Christi, Cambridge, matric. 1593, M.A. 1601. Headmaster of Rochester School 1601-8; Rector of Woldham, Kent, 1607-56; see Venn, *Alumni Cantab.* i (1922).)

(Occam), *Annotaciones super quatuor libros sententiarum*, Francofurti apud Wilhelmum Fitzerum in fol.

¹ Frankfort Archives: *Verzeichnis der fuer eine gewisse Zeit zu Buergern angenommenen Personen, 1598-1684*, leaf 37. As a resident (*Beisasse*) Fitzer had to pay 24 'Reichstaler' a year, and from 1630 he was in arrears with the payment. The 1630 tax he paid two years later in November 1632, the 1631 tax in March 1633, and the 1632 tax in February 1634.

² Fludd, R., *Clavis philosophiae et alchemiae Fluddanae*, Francofurti, prostat apud Wilhelmum Fitzerum, 1633. Fol. 'Typographus Lectori, p. 3: Ante biennium Heidelbergae in Typographia exemplaria a caculis militaribus direpta ac discerpta fuerunt. Iam vero operae pretium iudicavi, Librum in folio Lectori communicare, quia pleraque Fluddi Opera tali forma edita sunt.'

Besides the Fludd volume, of the 1633 productions I have seen only a fat cabalistic quarto by Rosenbach in Latin and an alchemical work by Balduin Clodius in German with a German preface signed Wilhelm Fitzer, Anglus, and a few other insignificant publications.¹

I am not surprised that I could not find any of the other publications announced for 1633.² These years were lean years of famine and plague and few books were published. Fitzer did not announce any titles in 1634 and 1635; one small folio volume on military art, announced in spring

¹ Rosenbach, Z., *Mores omniscius, sive Omniscientia Mosaica*, Francofurti ad Moenum, sumptibus Guilielmi Fitzeri Angli, Typis Joh. Nicolai Stoltzenbergeri, 1633. 4to. (Was announced as: Rosenbach, Z., *Compendium omniscientiae Mosaicæ*, Francofurti, apud W. Fitzerum.) Rosenbach (1595-1638) was professor of medicine and oriental languages at Herborn.

Clodius, B. (Physician to the Prince of Anhalt), *Officina chymica, Von kunstlichen und Spagyrischen Zubereitungen, allerhand destillierten . . . Oelen*, ed. J. E. Burggrav, Frankfurt, by Wilhelm Fitzer, Buchhändler, 1633. 4to. Preface in German signed Wilhelm Fitzer, Anglus, with numerous quotations of old and new alchemical works. Dedicated to Sir James Ramsay (1589?-1638), who fought under Gustavus Adolphus and was mortally wounded while defending Hanover against the imperialists.

Paraeus, Daniel, *Historia Palatina*, Francofurti, Officina Guilielmi Fitzeri, Librarii Angli, 1633. 16mo. (Announced 1632 as: *Historiae profanae Danielis Paræi continuatio succincta ab anno 1617. usq; ad annum 33.*)

Narsius, J., *Gustavus saucius. Tragedia*, ed. secunda, Francofurti ad Moenum, typis Wolfgangi Hoffmanni, 1633. 4to. With folding plate. (There is no doubt that this is a Fitzer publication; it was announced in 1632: Narsius, Joh., *Gustavidos, sive de Bello Sueco-Austriaco lib. III*, Francofurti apud W. Fitzerum. 4to.)

I am not absolutely sure whether the fourth book of this poem was also published by Fitzer, its title is:

Narsius, J., *Gustavidos, sive de bello Sueco-Austriaco liber quartus*, Francofurti ad Moenum, typis J. N. Stoltzenbergeri, 1634. 4to. At the end: 'Libri tres priores Gustavidos (præter hunc quartum) itemq; Gustavus Saucius Tragedia . . . haberi possunt apud Wolfgangum Hoffmann Typographum Francofurtensem Auf dem Hirschgraben.' This remark seems to prove, anyhow, that Fitzer's books were sold at Frankfurt by the printer, Hoffmann, 'Auf dem Hirschgraben', a famous street, also of Goethe-interest.

² The titles announced are:

(De Bry) *Indiæ Orientalis Pars X*, ed. Gotardus Arthusius, Dantiscanus.

Paraeus, David, *Propositiones de potestate ecclesiastica*, ed. P. Paraeus. (Announced twice in 1632 and 1633.)

Paraeus, Philippus, *Historica narratio de vita et obitu D. Davidis Paræi*. (Announced twice in 1632 and 1633.)

Streso, Caspar (preacher at the Hague), *Transformatio scientiarum, etc. Res Turcicae, id est Descriptio vitae rerumque gestarum Imperatorum Turcicorum, principum Persarum aliorumq; illustrium heroum*, Francofurti apud Guilielmu Fitzerum in 4to.

1635, was finished in 1634 with a repetition of old copper plates.¹ For 1636 Fitzer announced three books; I do not know whether they were ever published.²

On 25 May 1638 a fire broke out in the monastery of the Carmelite Friars at Frankfurt. Fitzer, as well as other booksellers, had store-rooms in this monastery and his stock of books and, more seriously still, his copper plates were in great part destroyed.³ It was the end of him as a publisher.⁴ On 8 August 1639 proceedings were taken by his creditors against him.⁵ A list of Fitzer's property in September 1639 is preserved in the Frankfurt archives.⁶ Some of his stock was stored in the shop of a Frankfurt bookseller, Johann Beyer. It consisted of ninety-six different works in quires, unbound, not all his own publications, but also books of other publishers, exchanges against his own publications, an old custom in the book trade which disappeared about twenty years later. It is not uninteresting to go through the list of remainders of his own stock and it furnishes one or two titles I had not met before.⁷ No copies of Harvey's book were

¹ Wallhausen, J. J. v., *Kriegskunst zu Pferd*, Franckfurt, bey Wolfgang Hofmann, in Verlegung W. Fitzers, 1634. Fol. Title within engraved border, with 43 plates. Reprint of De Bry's 1616 ed.

² The titles announced are:

Paracelsus, Daniel, *Universalis historiae medulla . . . aucta et continuata*, Impensis G. Fitzeri librarii Angli. Fol.

Homer, *Batrachomyomachia*, s.e. *Ranarum et Murium pugna*, Apud G. Fitzerum. 8vo. Norton, S., see Note 29.

³ Sondheim quotes Lersner's Chronicle of Frankfurt, 1706, vol. i, p. 543: 'durch Verwahrlosung eines Wachs-Stockes in der Convent-Stuben, auch der Prior Johannes Bachusius mit verbronnen; darbey ist ein unwiderbringlicher Schaden an Buechern und Kupffern geschehen.'

⁴ His most loyal author, Robert Fludd, changed over in 1638 to a Gouda publisher, P. Rammazenus, who published his last two works: *Responsum ad Hoplocrisma-Spongum M. Fosteri*, 1638; *Philosophia moysaica*, 1638.

⁵ Frankfurt Archives: 'Buergermeisterbuch de anno 1639, no. 209, leaf 32a.' Inquiry 'in Sachen Wilhelm Fitzers, Buchhändlers, contra seine Christliche und Jüdische Creditores'. Sondheim says that this formula means that Fitzer was not only indebted for rent, printing, and paper, but that he had mortgaged his stock in the 'Judengasse'.

⁶ 'Inventarium Vber Wilhelm Fitzers Buchhaendlers vn: vnd eingebundene Buecher vnd Kupffer, 1639, no. 53.' This list was made on 11 and 12 Sept. 1639 by the clerk of the court in the presence of Philipp Fievet and Johann Gottfried Schoenwetter, booksellers, who acted as valuers.

⁷ Brerewood, E., *Elementa logicae* (date of publication unknown—first ed. London, 1614. S.T.C. 3613). In 1639 there were still 1,080 copies left; it will certainly be possible one day to trace a copy of this book.

Paracelsus, D., *Rhetorica* (date of publication unknown), in 1639 still 506 copies left.

On further details of copies left, see Sondheim, *loc. cit.*, p. 31.

left then, although there were more than 300 of Fludd's *Clavis* of 1633. Fitzer had also more than 300 bound books, among them three early manuscripts.¹ All the copper plates were destroyed in the fire (they were sold as metal), but a set of over one hundred copper plates which were stored at Johann Ammon's were saved. Johann Ammon, an engraver and bookseller, was Fitzer's second brother-in-law; he had married Johann Theodor de Bry's second daughter. Sondheim believes he kept these plates as security for a loan; anyhow, between 1645 and 1649 he issued an enlarged edition of Boissard's portrait work, using the old De Bry plates for it. They may well have been the copper plates he was storing for Fitzer in 1639.

Fitzer announced two publications for 1639: one was the new edition of Harvey's *De motu cordis* which never materialized. The Fair Catalogues contain no more of Fitzer's announcements, and the archives of Frankfurt and Heidelberg are silent too. One has to remember that the Thirty Years War was ravaging these parts of Germany until 1648.

The next traceable date of Fitzer's life is to be found in a history of transport in the state of Baden. On 19 January 1649 Fitzer became postmaster at Heidelberg in the service of the Prince of Thurn and Taxis.² But very soon we find him back again as a bookseller. In 1652 a reform of the University of Heidelberg took place and Fitzer, together with his brother-in-law Johann Ammon and one Johannes Mutterspach, were nominated to be booksellers to the University.³ When Fitzer's clerk, Abraham Luels, married his elder daughter Susanna⁴ in 1656, the firm was called 'Wilhelm Fitzer und Abraham Luels'. Sondheim publishes an entry in the Heidelberg *Annales Universitatis* of 3 December 1656 which I had better quote to show what it meant to be a university bookseller. Fitzer had applied for the appointment of his son-in-law in his stead as a university bookseller. It was to be granted under these conditions: (1) that he gives one book to the University library; (2) that he delivers free of cost the weekly Frankfurt and Heidelberg newspapers to the Dean of the University; (3) that he

¹ 'Ein alt reysbuch nach Jerusalem, ein geschriben alt Artzneybuch Teutsch, ein ditto Latinisch.'

² Loeffler, K., *Geschichte des Verkehrs in Baden*, 1910, p. 271.

³ University Library Heidelberg, archives, I. 3, No. 54; *Annales Universitatis*, 1652-6, p. 60.

⁴ Fitzer had three daughters: Anna Schoen Fitzer, baptized at Frankfurt 29 May 1628; Elisabeth Fitzer, baptized at Frankfurt 12 Feb. 1632; Susanna Fitzer, born at Heidelberg, d. 1674, married 10 Oct. 1656 Abraham Luels (born at Danzig, d. at Heidelberg 8 June 1707). On Luels's second marriage and issue of this second marriage see Sondheim, l.c., pp. 8 and 34.

reduces the post-charges for the University professors (since he still was postmaster); (4) that his son-in-law will be entered in the matricula of the University. Fitzer agreed to all but condition (3), and Luels was nominated Bibliopola Academicus.

Fitzer started to publish again in a very small way. Two funeral sermons for a Heidelberg professor have his imprint;¹ together with Luels he published some works of Peter Streithagen,² a preacher to the former Winterking. These books were reprinted several times. In 1659 the company published (or rather reprinted) Antoine Furetière's *Nouvelle allégorique, ou histoire des derniers troubles arrivés au royaume de Pélouence*, a work which was several times reprinted elsewhere. In 1662 they published the *Heydelbergisch Gebetbuechlein* and in the catalogue for the Easter Fair 1670 four publications by Fitzer-Luels were announced, all of them most uninteresting.

William Fitzer died on 21 May 1671—the date is in the archives of the Princes of Thurn and Taxis at Regensburg, where Luels's application for the postmastership of Heidelberg in succession to his father-in-law is filed.³

COPIES OF WILLIAM HARVEY'S *DE MOTU CORDIS*, FRANKFURT, 1628

(A) G. Keynes's list (1928)

1. British Museum (Pressmark, c. 54. b. 8. (1.)). With errata leaf.
2. British Museum (Pressmark, c. 54. bb. 30. (1.)), second copy. With errata leaf.
3. Bodleian Library, Oxford (R.R.W. 168.). Without errata leaf, bound with Primrose, *Animadversiones*, 1630. Bound in XVIIIth-cent. calf. Rather browned.
4. Bodleian (410 H3 Med.), second copy, without errata leaf and lacking A2. 'An unusually good copy', Osler, *Bibliotheca Osleriana*.
5. Bodleian (Lister C 80), third copy, without errata leaf, bound with Pecquet, *Experimenta nova anatomica*, 1651, and three other medical books of the XVIIth cent. Bound in calf. This is a rather browned and short copy.
6. Caius College, Cambridge. Without errata leaf.

¹ Floccenius, Marcus, *Trostpredigt auf Daniel Tossanus d. J.*, 1656; Fabricius, I. S., *Panegyricus*, 1656.

² The most important of Streithagen's works was: *Homo novus, das ist ein neuer Gotteliger Tractat von der Menschen Wiedergeburt aus den beruehmtesten englischen Theologis vorgebildet und zusammengetragen*. (Influenced by John Cotton's 'God's way in bringing the soul the wayes of life'.)

³ Regensburg, Central Archives, Thurn & Taxis: 'Aemter und Stationen. Heidelberg XVI., 21, I.'

7. College of Physicians, Philadelphia. With errata leaf.
(On thick paper, a magnificent copy.' Dr. L. Clendening to Dr. Fulton, 26 March 1940.)
8. Faculté de Médecine, Paris. With errata leaf.
(Probably the copy the late Mr. Loewe sold in 1902 for £30. Letter from Dr. Waller, 26 Nov. 1939.)
9. Glasgow University Library (Hunter Collection), Glasgow. With errata leaf. (On thick paper.)
10. Royal College of Physicians, London. Without errata leaf, lacks A2.
11. Royal College of Surgeons, London. Without errata leaf.
12. Royal Society of Medicine, London. With errata leaf.
(Errata leaf in facsimile, says Osler, who bought this copy in June 1912, had it cleaned and bound by Riviere and given to the R.S.M. in 1917; short copy except for the title which is folded in.)
13. Surgeon-General's Library, Washington. Without errata leaf.
(182 x 145 mm., bound in vellum. Well-preserved copy, no foxing; acquired from the Library of Francis Werneck ab. 1875 or 1876. Letter from Librarian, 6 June 1940.)
14. University Library, Edinburgh. Without errata leaf.
15. University Library, Edinburgh, second copy. Without errata leaf.
16. Wellcome Historical Museum, London. Without errata leaf.
17. Osler Library, Montreal. With errata leaf (from No. 19.)
(215 x 166 mm. Bought 19 Feb. 1906 from Pickering & Chatto, came from the Library of Milne Edwards. 'I had been looking for a copy for nearly ten years', Osler, *Bibl. Osli.*)
- (B) *Osler's Notes in Bibliotheca Osleriana*, p. 73 (1929)
18. Academy of Medicine, New York. Copy from Dr. Pettigrew's Library (Sale February 1906).
187 x 138 mm., poor copy. Given by Osler to Dr. Walter James, who gave it to the Academy.
19. Johns Hopkins Medical School Library.
This copy had the errata leaf, but Osler took it out and had it bound with No. 17. Bound with this copy: Primrose, J., *Antidotum adversus H. Regii . . . Spongium*, Leyden, 1644, and Regius, H., *Spongia . . . Leyden*, 1640. This copy was originally sold by Quaritch to Dr. A. D. Cowburn in October 1898, was offered by a German bookseller later on (Aug. 1906) to Sawyer, who sold it to Osler.
20. Chapin Library, Williamstown, Mass. Without errata leaf.
194 x 145 mm. Very well-preserved copy on thick paper. Bound in red morocco by Bedford. This is the copy from the Pearson Sale (Sotheby's, Nov. 1916), mentioned by Osler. Osler bid £40; 'bought by Maggs for £48 for a New York dealer' (Mr. L. C. Harper). (Letter from Mr. L. C. Harper, 24 Mar. 1942: 'Sometime after I had bought it I received a letter from Dr. Osler. He wanted to know where the copy had gone and said that he was working on a Census of copies. . .')
21. University of Michigan, Medical Library, Ann Arbor, Mich.
This copy was picked up in Italy 'for a song' and sold by Dr. Keen for the book fund of the College of Physicians, Philadelphia, for \$200. It is, as Dr. Clendening wrote to Dr. Fulton in Mar. 1940, a very poor and badly foxed copy.

12. Copy offered 'today' (undated in Osler's notes) to Osler by a Swiss dealer for 2,000 francs. (I have not been able to find out anything about this copy.)
- (C) *Copies in German Libraries. Reply (in 1932) from the Inquiry Office of the Prussian State Library, Berlin*
23. University Library, Bonn.
24. University Library, Munster in Westphalia.
25. University Library, Breslau.
See No. 31, which was probably a duplicate, since Dr. Cushing bought it in 1927, as stated by Dr. Fulton, Mar. 1940.
26. University Library, Göttingen.
27. University Library, Jena (4 Med. XV, 52).
28. University Library, Erlangen. Without errata leaf.
The original Erlangen copy was the copy of the Nuremberg botanist and physician C. J. T. Trew (1696-1769), whose most interesting, large library is incorporated in the Erlangen University Library. This copy of the Harvey was bound together with a number of other medical books; I saw it in 1929. It was cut out of the volume and sold in 1930 to the booksellers J. Baer & Co. of Frankfurt, who sold it to Dr. Waller (see No. 32).
In 1936 the University Library bought another copy of the first edition of Harvey to replace it, from, I believe, an Austrian bookseller H. P. Kraus (now New York) from his Catalogue 10, No. 103. It was a large copy (186 x 160 mm.) without the errata leaf, and came (as Mr. Kraus wrote me from New York on 13 March 1942) from a Munich bookseller.
- (D) *My Own Notes*
29. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Without errata leaf.
This copy was in the Bibliothèque Nationale before 1874; it was catalogued 4to Tb. 36 2 by M. Taschereau between 1852 and 1874.
30. The late Le Roy Crummer, the former Lambach Abbey copy. With errata leaf.
A very large copy on thick paper in a contemporary vellum binding with the arms of Maximilian Pagel, Abbot of Lambach in Austria. The copy was acquired by me and sold to Dr. Crummer in 1927. In March 1940 this copy was offered for sale at a very high price. (Letters from Dr. Fulton and Dr. Clendening.)
31. Yale Medical Library, Cushing Collection, New Haven, Conn. Without errata leaf.
Belonged formerly to Dr. Crummer, from whom Dr. Harvey Cushing acquired it, after Dr. Crummer had bought No. 30. It is the copy of Laurentius Heister, the famous surgeon (1683-1758), with his ex libris, and came to the University Library, Breslau. It is 177 x 138 mm. and bound with it is Primrose's *Animadversiones*, London, 1630. (Letter from Dr. Fulton, Mar. 1940.) On the finding of this copy see A. G. Beaman, *A Doctor's Odyssey*, Baltimore, 1935.
32. Dr. Erik Waller, Stockholm. Without errata leaf.
The former Trew copy, see No. 28. 'Middlesized copy (200 x 161 mm.) in good condition, carefully washed and only very slightly browned. Newly bound in boards.' (Letter from Dr. Waller, 30 Apr. 1942.)

33. Dr. R. L. Levy, New York. With errata leaf.
Probably the copy of the Austrian Monastery Scitteenstetten, which passed through two dealers' hands in London and one in America.
34. Dr. Logan Clendening, Kansas City. Without errata leaf.
On thick paper, 182.5 x 145 mm. In eighteenth-century wrappers. Formerly Landesbibliothek, Darmstadt, sold in September 1932 to Dr. Clendening by a Würzburg dealer. According to a letter from the Director of the Darmstadt Library, the copy was owned before by Landgraf Philipp of Hesse-Butzbach, the friend of Galilei and Kepler. After the death of Landgraf Philipp in 1643 it was incorporated in the Darmstadt Library. The copy was probably given by Fitzer to Landgraf Philipp; it has a later notation in the hand of J. F. Blumenbach (1752-1840), the founder of anthropology in Germany, explaining the importance and significance of the work.
35. Buffalo Museum of Science, Buffalo, N.Y. Without errata leaf.
The former Sion College copy sold at Hodgson's in Apr. 1938 and described in Quaritch's catalogue 551.
- 36-38. Three copies said to have been in the possession of the late Dr. S. H. Badcock, London (See A. G. Beaman, *A Doctor's Odyssey*, p. 103), but not traced after his death.
39. Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn. Without the errata leaf.
Lacks the last two pages, bound up between two of Increase Mather's sermons. (Note from Dr. Fulton, 27 Mar. 1940.)
40. Boston Medical Library, Boston, Mass. With errata leaf.
177 x 143 mm.; with ownership entry: Joannis Kempfij 1629 on the title-page. (Letter from Dr. Ballard, 5 June 1940.)
41. Karolinska Institutet, Stockholm.
Copy disappeared (note from Dr. Fulton, 27 Mar. 1940), probably stolen between 1936 and 1937 (note from Dr. Waller, 30 Apr. 1942). There exist no notes about this copy.
42. Columbia University, Low Memorial Library, New York. Without errata leaf.
'Page size 19 cm.; on the fly leaf: Doublette der Stadtbibliothek in Breslau. Acquired in 1891 from a Leipzig bookseller for M. 40 by John G. Curtis who had it bound and his book-plate inserted. Old stamp on the back of the title page: Ex Bibl. ad acad. Mar. Magdal.' (Letter from the Librarian, 10 June 1940.)
- (E) *Copies not at present located*
- See No. 22.
43. E. P. Goldschmidt & Co. Ltd., London. Without errata leaf.
186 x 147 mm., described in Catalogue 53 of Nov. 1939, sold in December 1939 to a U.S.A. dealer.
44. G. Fock, Leipzig. With the errata leaf.
Described in Catalogue 629 (Oct. 1930), a very fine large copy, bound in old vellum. Sold to K. W. Hiersemann, Leipzig, who sold it to an American library. The copy comes (as Mr. W. Jolowicz, the former owner of G. Fock, writes me from New York, 25 Mar. 1942) from a doctor in a small Saxon town, whose library remained unpacked for years after it was bought by G. Fock. The copy was bound with another book on the circulation.

15. The former Götweig Abbey (Austria) copy. Without errata leaf.
Bought by Mr. H. P. Kraus, formerly of Vienna. Sold to G. Fock, Leipzig, in 1938. The book was sent to Holland, but has since been lost sight of. (Letters H. P. Kraus, New York, 13 Mar. 1943; W. Jolowicz, New York, 25 Mar. 1942.)
16. Davis & Orioli, Wallingford. Without errata leaf (?).
Dr. G. Keynes writes me (29 Sept. 1943) that between 1930 and 1935 a copy was sent to him by someone from Birmingham, whose name he does not remember, for advice. It was a poor copy requiring washing and sizing. The copy was bought and sold at once by Davis & Orioli, and was washed by the new owner, which improved it. I understand that the copy is now in the U.S.A.

Dr. Fulton, in a letter of 20th Oct., 1943, says that he 'suspects' that Dr. J. C. Trent of Durham, N.C., also has a copy, but that it may be one of the 46 already listed.

As already stated, in Fitzer's stock list of 1639 after the fire which destroyed almost all of his stock, no copies of Harvey's *De motu cordis*, 1628, are mentioned. In E. Martini and J. Boudot's catalogue of books, Paris, Via Jacobea (the 'Rue Jacob', still a nice place to browse), 1685, the 1628 ed. is quoted (p. 105), but T. Georgi's *Buecherlexicon* of 1742 quotes only later editions, although it still had nearly all of Fludd's folios and even copies of the second edition of Vesalius, 1555.

Before Osler began to collect early medical books a copy of the 1628 Harvey was for years exhibited in a show case of Wheldon & Wesley, London, priced £5.