Anthony Scattergood and his Work on the Cambridge Quarto Editions of 1677 through 1683 Alex Bojko

How I became aware of Anthony Scattergood

- Two weeks ago, through a basic Google search on the 1683 Cambridge quarto, I came across a picture of the English scholarly journal <u>Notes and Queries</u> from 1903, which discussed F.H.A. Scrivener's <u>The Authorized Edition of the English Bible (1611), Its</u> <u>Subsequent Reprints and Modern Representatives</u>.
- I then found the 1903 issue of *Notes and Queries* through HathiTrust and discovered an article titled "Dr. Anthony Scattergood's Bible." The article starts by quoting Scrivener's *The Authorized Edition*:
 - "Of the Bibles, published during the latter part of the seventeenth century, that of Hills and Field, small 8vo. London, 1660, is remarkable for certain additions to the original marginal notes of 1611, subsequently improved upon in a Cambridge quarto of 1682-3 (see Sect. II) bearing the name of John Hayes, the University Printer, who had previously put forth a well-known edition in 1677 [most likely H736]. The later of Hayes's two contains a great number of fresh textual references, the reputed work of Dr. Anthony Scattergood, and mostly taken from his Bible, also published at Cambridge in 1678."¹
- In the above quotation, Scrivener's main observation concerns the increase of textual references (cross-references) from the 1677 Cambridge edition to the 1682-3 Cambridge edition.
- Bernard P. Scattergood, the writer of the *Notes and Queries* article and most likely a relative of Anthony Scattergood, then goes on to cite the introduction to *The English Hexapla*, which provides more insight into the 1682-3 Cambridge quarto in question:
 - "The writer of the Introduction to Bagster's 'English Hexapla,' speaking of errors which had crept into the editions of the A.V., published in such rapid succession after its first issue, says, 'Some of these were very important, and others extremely ludicrous; so that after the lapse of time a careful correction of the

¹ F.H.A.Scrivener, *The Authorized Edition of the English Bible (1611), Its Subsequent Reprints and Modern Representatives* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1884), 26.

current editions became indispensably necessary. This important task was first executed by Dr. Scattergood in 1683."²

• To check the veracity of these above claims, I needed to learn more about Dr. Anthony Scattergood and check the contents of the Cambridge quarto editions from 1677 to 1683, along with every edition of the KJB I could find from 1670 to 1683 from Amsterdam, Cambridge, Edinburgh, London, and Oxford.

Anthony Scattergood and the Increase of Textual References

- The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* contains an entry for <u>Anthony Scattergood</u> and includes the following concerning his work on Bibles printed at Cambridge:
 - "He was also credited with increasing by some thousands of words the parallel texts cited in Cambridge bibles printed by John Hayes, but the sole copy of the first edition (dated or misdated '1678'), said to contain the additional citations, is no longer in Lambeth Palace Library. If that edition never actually existed Scattergood would have to have contributed either the additions of 1677 (beginning '*Psal.* 102. 25' beside *Genesis* 1:1) or those of 1683 (beginning in '*Joh.* 1.1'), or perhaps both."³
- To understand Scattergood's work on the text, I pulled as many editions of the KJB as I could from the database Early English Books Online.
- I started in 1670 and ended in 1683 to follow, as close as possible, John Hayes's tenure as printer for Cambridge University Press (1669-1680). Furthermore, I pulled all the major (folios) and lesser editions (quartos, octavos, duodecimos, etc.) from every printer printing the KJB at the time, which would have been Amsterdam, Cambridge, Edinburgh, London, and Oxford. My findings were as follows:
 - To check the claim that the number of textual references had increased in the 1677-1683 Cambridge quarto editions, I checked three places in the book of Genesis: Gen. 1:1, 3:1, and 3:14.
 - Cambridge University Press was the only one to add cross-references to the text for the verses mentioned starting in 1677. Prior to 1677, for Cambridge, Edinburgh, London, and Oxford the cross-references were as

² Quoted in Bernard P. Scattergood, "Dr. Anthony Scattergood's Bible," *Notes and Queries* 11, no. 9 (July-December 1903): 304.

³ Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, "Scattergood, Anthony," https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24791.

follows (I did not include Amsterdam because the notes and crossreferences were from the Geneva Bible):

> Gen. 1:1—Ps. 33:6, 136:5; Acts 14:15, 17:24; Heb. 11:3 Gen. 3:1—None Gen. 3:14—None

• Starting in the 1677 Cambridge quarto (H736), additional cross-references were added to the text:

Gen. 1:1—(same as above) and Ps. 102:25, 146:6; Is. 44:24; Jer. 10:12, 51:15; Zec. 12:1. Gen. 3:1—None Gen. 3:14—Is. 65:25

- In the 1682 Cambridge quarto (H768), more editing work was done to the cross-references:
 - Gen 1:1—Jn. 1:1; Ps. 89:11-12 (missing cross-references from H736 but includes original cross references Ps. 33:6, 136:5, etc.) Gen. 3:1—None Gen. 3:14 None
- On Early English Books Online, I found a Cambridge quarto with the general title page dated 1682 and the New Testament title page dated 1683. In it, cross-references for Gen. 1:1 in the 1677 quarto and the 1682 Cambridge quarto are combined. Furthermore, Gen. 3:1 cross-references Mt. 10:16 and 2 Cor. 11:3, and Gen. 3:14 includes an additional cross-reference to Mic. 7:17. This is in addition to the 1683 Cambridge Quarto found by Christopher Yetzer.

1677 Cambridge Quarto (H736)

the appointment of food.

* Pfal, 33, 6, & 103, 25, 136, 5, &146, 4, Jcr. 10, 12, & 51, 15, Zech, 12, 1, A&, 14,

δic.

N * the beginning God created the hea. ven and the earth.

2 And the earth was without form and void, and darknefs was upon the face of the deep:

Ad. 14. 15. & and the Spirit of God moved upon the 17. 24. face of the waters.

And God faid, ^b Let there be light.

CHAP. III.

I The ferpent deceiveth Eve. 6 Mans fhamefull fall. 9 God arraigneth them. 14 The ferpent is enried. 15 The promifed feed. 16 The punifoment of mankind. 21 Their first clothing. 22 Their casting out of Paradife.

Now the ferpent was more fubtil then any beaft of the field which the LORD God had made. And he faid unto t Heb. the woman, † Yea, Hath God faid, Ye fhall Tea, benot eat of every tree of the garden?

2 And the woman faid unto the ferpent, We may eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden :

14 And the LORD God faid unto the ferpent, Becaufe thou haft done this, thou are curfed above all cattel, and above every beaft of the field: upon thy belly fhalt thou go, and c dust fhalt thou cat all if 65 the days of thy life.

1682 Cambridge Quarto (H768)





N^{*} the beginning God created the heaven and the earch.

> 2 And the earth was without form & void, and darknefs may upon the face of the deep : and the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.

NOw the ferpent was more fubtil then any bealt of the field which the LORD God had made: and he faid unto the woman, † yea, † Heb. hath God faid, Ye shall not eat of every tree of Tea, besanse, &c.

14 And the LORD God faid unto the ferpent, Because thou hast done this, thou art curled above all cattel, and above every beast of the field : upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life.

1683 Cambridge Quarto (H783) and 1682 Cambridge Quarto with 1683 NT Title



N^b the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.

2 And the earth was without form and void, and darkness was upon

& 51. 15. Zec. 12.1. the face of the deep: and the Spirit of AC. 14.15. God moved upon the face of the waters. Heb. 11.3. And God faid. Let there be light * Matth. 10. 16. 2 Cor.11.3. Now the ferpent was a more fubtil then any beaft of the field which the LORD God had made. And he faid unto the woman, † Yea, hath God faid, Ye fhall rea, kecaufe, sec. not eat of every tree of the garden?

14 And the LORD God faid unto the ferpent, Because thou hast done this, thou art cutsed above all cattel, and above every beast of the field : upon thy belly shalt thou go, and ^d dust shalt thou eat all 11 or the days of thy life.

- David Norton in *A Textual History of the King James Bible* mentions the increased number of references in the 1677 and 1678 Cambridge editions; however, there is no mention of the 1682 and 1683 nor Anthony Scattergood:
 - "The marginal notes and references were further developed under the aegis of Field's successor as Cambridge Printer, John Hayes, in 1677 and 1678.³⁹ Development of the marginal material was a sensible commercial move. James I's aversion to the Geneva notes had been influential in making the KJB a version free of explanatory annotation, but there was (and still is) a strong popular desire for such notes."⁴
 - Note 39 reads, "Scrivener, p.26. The 1677 edition is H736, but Herbert does not record a 1678 edition."
- Norton's description is not wholly accurate. He does not go beyond the work of Scrivener to see if any editorial changes have been made to the text. Instead, he takes Scrivener at his word and does not mention the other places Scrivener mentions the 1683.⁵ Norton does accurately mention the increase of textual references in the 1677 Cambridge quarto; however, more references were added and taken out in the 1682 Cambridge quarto. Furthermore, he does not mention the 1683 Cambridge quarto (H783), which includes the combined work of the 1677 and 1682 Cambridge quartos.
- David McKitterick in the first volume of *A History of Cambridge University Press* describes the state of Cambridge University press in terms of Bible printing:
 - "Although Hayes continued to print Bibles until 1683, the reestablishment of the King's Printers, the strength of the Dutch trade in printing English Bibles, the rapid development of the Oxford Bible press after 1679, even in the face of the King's Printers, and the consequent slump in prices, made continuance at Cambridge unrealistic. . . . Nor was the market uniformly strong. It was a measure of the hold taken on what was inevitably rather a

⁴ David Norton, *A Textual History of the King James Bible* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 99. ⁵ Scrivener, *The Authorized Edition*, 82, 92. Discussion on the 1683 Cambridge quarto revolves around changes in

punction and changes in the text of the marginal notes and cross-references.

slow market (since churches did not re-equip frequently, and the number of private buyers was severely limited) \dots ⁶

• Notice the dates of the 1682 and 1683 Cambridge quartos (H768, H780, and H783) compared with a 1673 Cambridge quarto (H712)

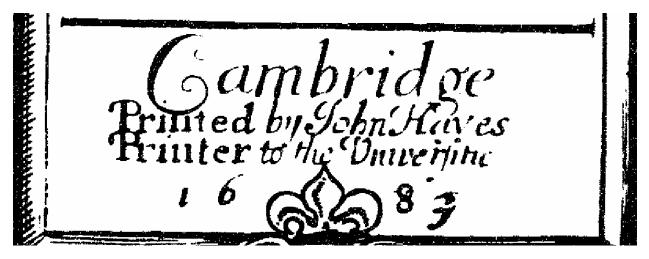
1673 Cambridge Quarto (H712)

1682 Cambridge Quarto (H768)

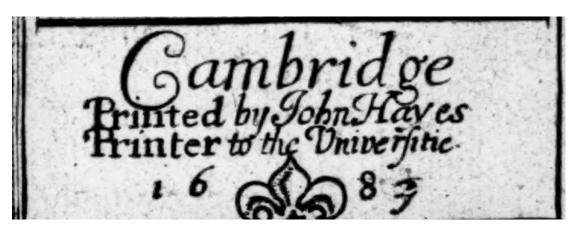
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⁶ David McKitterick, *A History of Cambridge University Press* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 1:409.

1683 Cambridge Quarto (H780)



1683 Cambridge Quarto (H783)



• Notice the style of the "3" in the 1683 Cambridge quarto is curved, like the "2" in the 1682 Cambridge quarto, while the "3" in the 1673 Cambridge quarto is straighter. The difference in style proves that the date was altered from 1682 to 1683. Through Early English Books Online, I managed to find the following Cambridge editions:

1677 Cambridge Quarto RF (H736)-1677 NT

1682 Cambridge Quarto RF (H768)-1680 NT

1682 Cambridge Quarto RF—1683 NT, includes edits from the 1683 Cambridge Quarto edition (H783)

1683 Cambridge Quarto RF (H780)—Most likely a 1682, NT 1680 (H768 with altered date of 1683).

1683 Cambridge Quarto RF (H780)—1666 NT no changes, text from the 1660s most likely from (H683 or H697).

1683 Cambridge Quarto RF (H783)-1683 NT

- The Cambridge quartos of 1677 through 1683 were issued in altered states. However, it is safe to assume that the 1683 Cambridge quarto (H783) represents the complete work of Anthony Scattergood which began in 1677. I attribute the altered states of the title pages and the text to Cambridge's declining prominence in the Bible market and the lack of need to print new editions of the Bible after 1683. In short, Scattergood's work started in 1677, continued in 1682, and was combined in 1683.
- With regards to assertions concerning a supposed 1678 edition, John Lewis author of <u>A Complete History of the Several Translations of the</u> <u>Holy Bible (1739)</u> mentions the 1678 edition in question⁷:

In 1678 was this Bible published at Cambridge by the University Printer J. Hayes, with the Addition of many parallel Texts, by <u>Antho. Scatergood</u>, on D. D. Rector of Wilwick and Elverton in Northang-...+ tonfaire.

• Therefore, I do not believe that a 1678 Cambridge edition (whether folio or quarto) never existed. Rather, I believe there was a limited amount printed.

Anthony Scattergood's Editorial Work to the Text

- While the matter of the increased number of cross-references in the margin has been addressed, the issue of editorial changes needs to be addressed.
- To determine this, I decided to check three variants not covered by Christopher Yetzer in his spreadsheet: Dt. 23:25, Rm. 4:12; and Jm. 2:16. Please consider the following table:

⁷ John Lewis, A Complete History of the Several Translations of the Holy Bible (London: H. Woodfall, 1739), 344.

	London	Oxford	Edinburgh	Amsterdam	Cambridge	No Change
Dt. 23:25					1677	1670 (H702,
"Neighbours" to					(H736)	703), 1671
"Neighbour" ⁸					1683	(H705, 706);
					(H783)	1672 (H708,
						709); 1673
						(H712, 713,
						714); 1674
						(H716, 717);
						1675 (H719,
						721, 722, 723,
						725); 1676
						(H727, 728,
						729, 730, 731);
						1677 (H735,
						737); 1678
						(H738,739);
						1679 (H742,
						745, 746, 748,
						750); 1680
						(H754, 755,
						756, 757, 758,
						759); 1681
						(H760, 761,
						763); 1682
						(H767, 768,
						769, 770, 771,
						773, 774, 776,
						777, 778, 779);
						1683 (H780,
						782, 784, 785).
Rm. 4:12					1677	1670 (H702,
"but also walk" to					(H736)	703); 1671
"but who also walk"					1683	(H705, 706);
					(H783)	1672 (H708,
						709); 1673
						(H712, 713,
						714); 1674
						(H716, 717);

⁸ In Appendix 8 of *A Textual History of the King James Bible* Norton ascribes the change from "neighbours" plural to "neighbour" singular as first appearing in Blaney's 1769 edition (205). However, the first occurrence of this change was in the 1677 (H736) and 1683 (H783) Cambridge quartos, as far as we know at this time. Parris, in his 1762 Cambridge Folio (H1142), departed from the reading of Dt. 23:25 in the 1677 and 1683 quartos and instead edited the verse to read "neighbour's." Blaney, in 1769, was following the editorial work completed in the 1677 and 1683 Cambridge quartos.

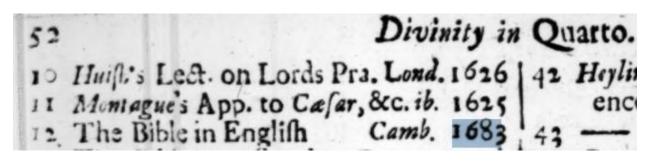
				1675 (H719,
				721, 722, 723,
				725); 1676
				(H727, 728,
				729, 730, 731);
				1677 (H735,
				737); 1678
				(H738, 739);
				1679 (H742,
				745, 746, 748,
				750); 1680
				(H754, 755,
				756, 757, 758,
				759); 1681
				(H760, 761,
				763); 1682
				(H767, 768,
				769, 770, 771,
				773, 774, 776,
				777, 778, 779);
				1683 (H780,
				782, 784, 785)
Jm. 2:16	1670		1677	1670 (H702);
"be you warmed, and	(H703—		(H736—	1671 (H706);
filled" to "be ye	Be ye		be ye	1672 (H708,
warmed and be ye	warmed);		warmed,	709); 1673
filled"	1671		and be ye	(H712, 713);
	(H705—		filled)—no	1674 (H716,
	Be ye		italics	717); 1675
	warmed);		1683	(H719, 721,
	1673		(H783—	722, 723, 725);
	(H714—		Be ye	1676 (H727,
	Be ye		warmed,	730, 731);
	warmed)		and be ye	1677 (H737);
	1676		filled)—no	1678 (H738,
	(H728,		italics.	739); 1679
	729—Be		itunes.	(H742, 745,
	ye			746, 748, 750);
	warmed)			1680 (H754,
	1677			755, 756, 757,
	(H735—			758, 759);
	Be ye			1681 (H760,
	warmed)			761, 763);
	warmeuj			1682 (H767,
				768, 769, 770,
				771, 773, 774,

			776, 777, 778,
			779); 1683 (H780, 782, 784, 785
			784, 785

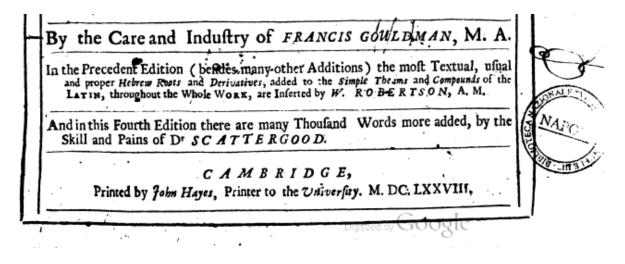
- Some of the variants listed in Christopher Yetzer's spreadsheet and in my analysis originate in the 1677 Cambridge quarto; however, there are some that are original to the 1683 Cambridge quarto (i.e., Mt. 16:16).
- As stated above, based on this evidence it is best to view the 1683 Cambridge quarto (H783) as the culmination of Scattergood's work on the text which began in 1677.
- In 1914, John S. Kenyon, an American linguist of the twentieth century, wrote an article for the journal *PMLA* titled <u>"Ye and You In the King James Version.</u>" In it, he provides commentary on the changes between ye and you in the King James editions and mentions the 1683 Cambridge quarto (H783):
 - "No considerable changes were made in the London and Oxford editions before 1751, and those made were mainly in the New Testament. On the other hand, I found that the first changes on a large scale appear in a Cambridge [quarto] of 1683... John Lewis in his *History of the English Translations of the Bible* (1739) mentions an important Cambridge [folio] of 1678, edited by Dr. Anthony Scattergood, a Cambridge scholar. This edition is not known to be extant, but it is believed to be represented by a Cambridge [quarto] of 1683. As there appears to be but one Cambridge [quarto] of 1683, it is probable that we are to attribute Dr. Scattergood the first extensive changes from *you* to *ye* in our modern Bibles."
 - "In the Oxford and London editions, some dozen of Dr. Scattergood's changes first appear in a 1743 Oxford [folio], 16 in 1751 London Folio, 35 in a 1753 London [folio]. In a 1761 London [quarto] appear 65 changes not before found in Oxford or London editions, but found in previous Cambridge editions. On the whole, then, the Cambridge editors are chiefly responsible for the change, as it did not greatly affect the Oxford or London Bibles till it was substantially completed in the Cambridge editions."⁹

⁹ John S. Kenyon, "Ye and You in the King James Version," PMLA 29, no. 3 (1914): 457-58, https://doi.org/10.2307/456929.

• In 1697, Anthony Scattergood's entire library was sold at <u>auction</u>. Among the many theological books in his library, one of them was a 1683 Cambridge quarto Bible.¹⁰



 There is also evidence to show Scattergood's involvement in other etymological and lexicographical endeavors. For example, his involvement in the fourth edition of Francis Gouldman's <u>A Copious Dictionary</u> in 1678.¹¹



Conclusion:

- There is more than enough evidence to prove that Dr. Anthony Scattergood edited the textual references of the 1677 and 1683 Cambridge quartos and the text itself.
- The King James Only movement has been silent on Scattergood and his work on the text, with the exception of "Keys to the Bible," a ministry of Old Paths Baptist Church in Blue Springs, Missouri. In a paper titled <u>"20 Lies About the King James 1611 Authorized Version,"</u> the unnamed author provides the following inaccurate statement on Scattergood and provides no citation for where he got his information:

¹⁰ John Hartley and George Huddleston, comps., *A Catalogue of the Library of the Reverend and Learned Dr. Scattergood* (London: John Hartely and George Huddleston, 1697), 52.

¹¹ Title page to Francis Gouldman, A Copious Dictionary (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1678).

- "1683 from Cambridge scholar Dr. Scattergood who added the editions of parallel text (notes running along side the text, but never changed the text). Dr. Anthony Scattergood added 7,250 marginal reference notes in 1683."¹²
- In light of these findings, the thought of many in the King James Only movement that the only editions of the text were done in 1611, 1629, 1638, 1762, and 1769 needs revision. Scattergood's editions of 1677, 1682, and 1683 need to be included in this paradigm to accord with the facts.
- Furthermore, the text of the King James Bible was not printed with uniformity throughout the presses of Amsterdam, Cambridge, Edinburgh, London, and Oxford. Therefore, it is not wise to ascribe a specific reading to a specific edition without checking all of them. Furthermore, all of the editorial changes do not impact the doctrinal meaning of the text and are simply refinements to the text of the KJB.

¹² Old Paths Baptist Church, "20 Lies about the King James 1611 Authorized Version," Keys to the Bible, accessed February 4, 2025, 54, https://s3-us-west-

^{2.}amazonaws.com/oldpathsfiles/keystothebible.net/literature/20%20Lies%20about%20the%20KJV.pdf.

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