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THE Book Collector

VOLUME 72 NO 1 SPRING 2023

FEUILLETON DU NATIONAL.

DU 15 AVRIL.

L'extrait suivant d'une lettre adressée par Mme Charles Reybaud à un de ses amis, qui nous l'a communiquée ces jours-ci, expliquera suffisamment aux lecteurs du *National* pourquoi nous ne publions pas immédiatement le roman que nous leur avons promis :

« Je vous écrivais il y a quelques jours : Mon travail est fort avancé ; mais j'ai affaire à un copiste qui met un temps infini à confectionner ses ***pattes de mouches***. Du train dont il y va, mon manuscrit ne sera pas prêt avant trois semaines, et encore je n'ose rien affirmer.

» Je vous disais cela dans ma dernière lettre : eh bien ! j'en suis à peu près au même point,—d'abord parce que j'ai renoncé à me servir du scribe en question,—ensuite parce que j'ai été sérieusement indisposée, et que mon travail en est toujours au même feuillet.

» Voici ce que je vous prie de dire au *National*. Je serai prête vers le 15 mai, etc., etc. »

La lettre qu'on vient de lire dégage donc provisoirement notre responsabilité. Nous espérons la couvrir mieux encore en donnant à nos lecteurs, non la *traduction*, mais la ***réduction*** d'un roman qui a eu le plus grand succès en Angleterre, où trois éditions de ce livre ont été épuisées en moins de deux ans, sans que le nom ou le pseudonyme de l'auteur fût pour rien dans une vogue si extraordinaire. *Jane Eyre* la méritait, selon nous, par l'intérêt puissant du récit, l'énergique peinture des passions, l'intensité d'une inflexible analyse, la sûreté toute ***shakspearienne*** du coup-d'œil jeté par l'auteur sur la vie de nos contemporains. Au surplus, la critique anglaise et française s'est assez préoccupée de ce livre remarquable, — remarquable malgré de grandes imperfections, — pour qu'il soit inutile d'insister sur ces observations préliminaires.

JANE EYRE.

MÉMOIRES D'UNE GOUVERNANTE.

A Mme T.....y.

Vous voulez savoir, dites-vous, par quels chemins ardus la providence m'a conduite où je suis ; vous serez satisfaite, ma digne et sévère amie. Les longues heures de loisirs que me laisse la vie solitaire où se sont usées les aspérités de mon caractère, l'énergie parfois excessive de ma volonté, seront employées sans que j'y aie regret, à tracer pour vous (et pour vous seule) un récit où vous me trouverez peut-être moins *parfaite* que vous ne voulez bien me croire. Ce sera là ma punition pour les mouvemens d'amour propre que votre approbation, — si rarement accordée,—a pu faire naître en moi.

Mon enfance a été malheureuse. Orpheline de bonne heure, j'expiai, dès ce moment, la mésalliance à laquelle je devais le jour. Mon oncle, M. Reed, me recueillit après la mort de ma pauvre mère, parce qu'un orgueil héréditaire ne lui permettait pas de laisser sa nièce à la merci de la charité publique. Le même orgueil, tant qu'il vécut, lui fit exiger qu'on m'accordât chez lui, sinon la même affection, du moins les mêmes égards qu'à ses trois enfans. Mais sa mort, arrivée peu de temps après mon installation à Gateshead-Hall, me livra sans protection, aux caprices presque haineux de celle qu'aujourd'hui même, par un reste de ressentiment, j'hésite encore à nommer ma tante.

Mme Reed avait deux filles et un fils. Celles-là, jolies comme des anges, blanches et roses, figures de *keepsake*, cœurs de poupée, toutes grâce, fraîcheur, coquetterie, insignifiance. Celui-ci, —mon abhorré cousin, John Reed, dont sans doute je vous ai parlé quelquefois,—vrai type du *dandy* en herbe, paresseux, taquin, railleur, tyrannique. J'étais pour lui un *souffre-douleurs* d'autant plus commode qu'il avait contre moi le double avantage des préférences maternelles, et d'une force très supérieure à la mienne. Il en abusait étrangement, excité, je crois, par une sorte de révolte cachée qu'il devinait au fond de mon cœur humilié. Avertie par mille expériences que toute plainte serait inutile, et vain tout appel à l'équité de mistriss Reed, je subissais les in-

Le National, 1 April 1849, page [1] detail. Author's collection.

'Reader, I found it': The First *Jane Eyre* in French

JAY DILLON

Five years ago, I bought three large volumes of an old Paris newspaper called *Le National*, 1848–49.[1] These were important, the owner said, because *Le National* was both a prime mover and a prime witness of the French Revolution of 1848. He was right.[2]

But I had something else in mind.[3] Some months earlier, I had stumbled on a letter that a bright young publisher named Albert Bonnier (his firm survives today) had written to the editor of a Stockholm daily newspaper. Bonnier had just published the first Swedish translation of *Jane Eyre*,[4] and he was defending it now against the strictures of a prominent academic, who had given Bonnier's book a bad review, complaining especially that it was just an abridgement, and replete with errors besides.[5]

Now Bonnier took some umbrage at this, and protested especially that his *Jane Eyre* was never meant to be the complete novel at all: it was an abridgement because its source was an abridgement and its source was not the English novel itself but rather a French *réduction* of it made by 'Old Nick' in 1849, and – crucially to me –

1. *Le National* (1830–51) 16 May 1848 – 15 August 1849. The first two volumes (16 May 1848 – 28 February 1849) are now in the Princeton University Library, RBSC Oversize Item 7845478e. The third volume (1 March – 15 August 1849, including *Jane Eyre*) is now owned by Jon Lindseth of Hunting Valley, Ohio.

2. See, e.g. Georges Duveau, *1848: The Making of a Revolution* (1967) pp. 11–18, 40–45, etc.

3. I am grateful again to my friend Jon Lindseth for drawing my attention to *Jane Eyre* translations in the first place, and for some fine adventures in hunting them down.

4. *Jane Eyre: En sjelf-biographie*. Efter Currer Bell (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlag, 1850). The translation is anonymous.

5. Bernhard Elis Malström, 'Jane Eyre, en sjelfbiographi [sic], utgifven af Currer Bell' (review essay, signed 'B.E.M.'), *Frey* (Uppsala) vol.10 (1850), no. 4, pp. 243–47. This review was the germ, it seems, of the first complete *Jane Eyre* in Swedish in 1855, which was translated by C. J. Backman for Malström's series *Engelsk skön-litteratur i svensk öfversättning* (English literature in Swedish translation).

the *réduction* had been published (Bonnier said) in something called *Le National*, of which I had not heard, after which it was reprinted in Brussels:

> den svenska öfversättningen har blifvit lagd till grund en fransysk bearbetning af boken, hvilken varit införd i följetongen till »Le National» och sedermera blifvit tvenne gånger aftryckt i Brüssel;[6]
> 'The Swedish translation is based on a French adaptation of the book, which has been presented in Le National in feuilletons and printed twice since then in Brussels.'

This had come as quite a surprise to me – although in a larger sense it was no surprise at all – because the Brontë experts are unanimous in saying that the first *Jane Eyre* in French was indeed this same abridgement by 'Old Nick' and that it was first published not in Paris but at Brussels, in a Belgian monthly called *Revue de Paris* dated April–June 1849.[7] Paris is not mentioned, nor *Le National*.

This account had always struck me as odd, or suspect at least. After all, the translator was a Frenchman who had spent and would

6. A. Bonnier, 'Reklamation [Complaint]', *Aftonbladet* (Stockholm) 29 April 1850, p. [3].
It has not been noticed previously that Bonnier's *Jane Eyre* appeared in two distinct issues, both 1) as a weekly serial (periodical) *Europeiska följetongen: Tidskrift för utländsk roman-literatur*, 9–23 February 1850 sold by subscription only, and also 2) as a monograph in series, in book form, on or before 13 March 1850, bound in printed boards and priced 32 *skillingar banco*. Only one copy is known of the latter, and it seems to be a considerable discovery, not only in Brontë studies but in Swedish publishing history more generally. Bonnier's bibliographer, notably, knows of no such edition of anything published by Bonnier; and yet the lower cover of *Jane Eyre* lists thirty other titles in the same series, and there is good evidence of the series in contemporary advertisements. Gunnel Furuland *Bibliografi över svenska skönlitterära häftesserier 1833–1851* (2006) and *Romanen som vardagsvara* (2007), also Furuland to Dillon 20 December 2017 – 2 February 2018.
7. e.g. Emile Langlois, 'Early Critics and Translators of *Jane Eyre* in France', Brontë Society *Transactions*, vol. 16, no. 1 (1971), pp. 11–18, at p. 13; Inga-Stina Ewbank, 'Reading the Brontës abroad: A study in the transmission of Victorian novels in continental Europe', in Maureen Bell et al, eds, *Re-constructing the Book: Literary Texts in Transmission* (2001, 2018) pp. [84]–98, at p. 87; Christine Alexander, *The Oxford Companion to the Brontës* (2003, 2018) p. 511; Christopher Heywood, 'Vigny's Kitty Bell, Eugène Sue's *Mathilde*, and "Kitty Bell"', *Brontë Studies*, vol. 35, no. 1 (2010), pp. 40–56, at p. 51; Helen MacEwan, *Through Belgian Eyes: Charlotte Brontë's Troubled Brussels Legacy* (Sussex Academic Press, 2017), p. 243.

spend his entire literary career in Paris,[8] so why would he publish anything in a Brussels monthly that would, presumably, pay him nothing? After all, 1815–54 was the heyday of Belgian piracy; there was no copyright treaty between France and Belgium before 1852;[9] and the publisher of the *Revue de Paris* in particular was a notorious pirate.[10] So in a larger sense, as I say, my surprise at Bonnier's clue was no surprise at all. Instead, it was paydirt, so to speak, if Bonnier was right.

When my three folios arrived – in one great parcel, weighing twenty kilograms or so – I dived directly to April 1849, where I saw that yes, Bonnier had been quite right: 'Old Nick's' *Jane Eyre* was right there, just as he said, in twenty-seven feuilletons or instalments, in twenty-seven numbers of *Le National* published from 15 April to 11 June 1849, somewhat irregularly. My money, I thought, had been well spent: at the very least I had in my hands an early printing of the first *Jane Eyre* in French, quite unknown in Brontë studies,[11] and conceivably I had the first printing of all – that is, *if* the daily *National*, dated exactly 15 April – 11 June, had been published *before* the monthly *Revue de Paris*, dated more vaguely April–June.

But how could I tell? How does one know the exact date of each monthly number of a 19th-century periodical? Nowadays it's easy because so many libraries write or stamp the date received; but that wasn't true in the 1840s, or not to my knowledge anyway. And even if I could find such a stamp or an early inscription, it would only matter in Brussels, because anywhere else the delivery might have taken some days or weeks.

After trying to figure this out from external evidence – by scouring contemporary newspaper advertisements, annoying some very

8. Vapereau, *Dictionnaire universel des contemporains* (1865) pp. 674–75; Vapereau, *Dictionnaire…* (1880), p. 724. *Le Temps* (Paris) 15 November 1883, p. [2] ('Il nous avait révélé *Jane Eyre*').

9. Pierre Saunier, *Contrefaçons, préfaçons, malfaçons & autres pirateries éditoriales, 1815–2015* (2015), p. 4.

10. Saunier, p. 3.

11. While *Le National* was and is unknown in Brontë studies, it was mentioned more or less vaguely in some early French sources, e.g. Quérard, *Les supercheries littéraires dévoilées* (1847–53), vol. 5 (1853), p. 142; Chéron, *Catalogue général de la librairie française* (1856–59), vol. 1 (1856), column 707; Vapereau, *Dictionnaire universel des contemporains* (1865), p. 675.

patient librarians, and trying to consult the Belgian copyright records – I turned inwards at last to the text of the *Revue* itself, where of course I should have begun.

Leafing through the April *Revue de Paris*, I found at last the 'smoking gun': for in the same monthly number that contains *Jane Eyre* chapters 1–6 on pages 119–78, the April *Revue de Paris* also prints a review of Meyerbeer's opera *Le Prophète* on pages 285–95, and it was easy enough to look up the date of *Le Prophète*: its world première was given in Paris on Monday evening, 16 April 1849.

Now it's the rare reviewer who can review a show before it opens; so the April *Revue de Paris* must have been printed and published *after* 16 April – in other words, after *Jane*'s debut in *Le National* the day before. So yes, my Paris *Jane* was the first printing, just as Bonnier had said; it was printed at least two days before the Brussels *Revue de Paris*; and it was also unknown in Brontë studies.

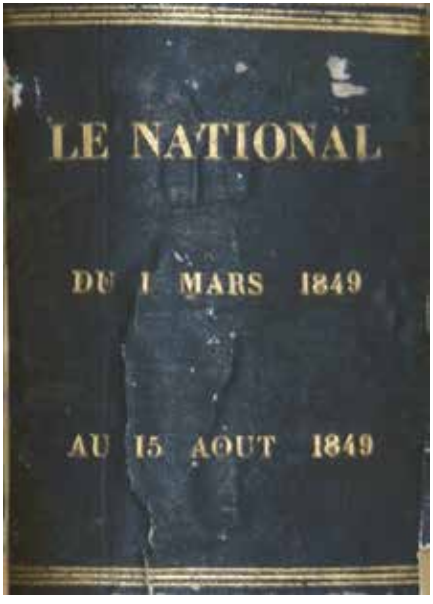
And this is a matter of some importance, for the same reason that the first edition of a book is important: the first authorised printing of anything embodies, axiomatically, *the best text*, that is, the text closest to the author's hand, to the moment of creation – or in this case, translation – that is, the text as the author, or in this case the translator, wished and intended to see it, and did, in fact, first see it.[12]

In this case, too, I learned, the translator was actually employed by *Le National* at the time: he was their senior literary critic, and a mainstay of the enterprise. So it defied common sense to think that he had sent his *Jane Eyre* to Brussels when in Paris he could oversee its publication himself and get paid for it besides.

I noticed next that the April *Revue de Paris* contains not just the first chapter of 'Old Nick's' *Jane Eyre*, but the first *six* chapters. So, if the Brussels *Revue* was reprinting (stealing) *Jane Eyre* from *Le National* in Paris, as now seemed likely, then the *Revue* could not have printed the first six chapters before 3 May 1849, which is the date on which chapter 6 appeared in *Le National*.

So, the 'April' *Revue de Paris* was published in May, not April. In fact, the *Revue de Paris* every month was a review of *Paris in that*

12. See L. F. Powell in *Boswell's Life of Johnson* (Oxford, 1934, 1971) vol. 1, p. vi: 'the further we get away from the first edition, the greater the probability of error.'



Le National, 1 March – 15 August, spine label. Author's collection.

month, and not a *review in that month* of Paris in some prior month(s).[13]

But was it possible that the *Revue de Paris* had copied *Jane Eyre* from some other source? Could the *Revue* have used an independent manuscript of *Jane Eyre*? There is no evidence of this. Or might the *Revue* have copied *Jane Eyre* from the Brussels daily *L'Indépendance belge*, where (I learned) *Jane* had appeared in twenty-nine instalments, 29 April – 29 June 1849, and where it was attributed explicitly to '[Le] National'?[14] The answer, it seems, is no; because the *Le National* had printed a preface to *Jane Eyre*, and the *Revue* copied about half of this preface, while *L'Indépendance belge* omitted it entirely. So, the *Revue de Paris* must have copied *Jane Eyre* from *Le National*, and not from *L'Indépendance belge*, and the *Revue* appeared

13. A nice example of the lag between the cover date of *Revue de Paris* and its publication date can be seen in the 'October' number of 1849, which 'vient de paraître' – 'had just appeared' – in early December, more than four weeks after its cover date. *L'Indépendance belge*, 1 December 1849, p. [3].
14. Helen MacEwan, *Through Belgian Eyes*, pp. 12, 243.

at least nineteen days after *Le National*.

But what of the other Brussels editions? In sum, we now have Paris editions

1. in *Le National*, 15 April – 11 June 1849, as above.
   and four Brussels editions:
2. in *L'Indépendance belge*, 29 April – 28 June 1849, discovered by Helen MacEwan in 2017;[15]
3. in *Revue de Paris*, published by Méline, Cans et cie, dated *avril–juin* but really May–July 1849, as above;
4. in book form, published by Alp. Lebègue, imprimeur-editeur, July 1849 according to Muquardt;[16] and
5. in book form again, published by Méline, Cans et cie, August 1849 according to Muquardt.[17]

So which edition was copied from which? As we have seen above, nos. (2) *L'Indépendance* and (3) *Revue de Paris* were each copied independently from no. (1) *Le National*. But what of nos. (4) and (5), the Brussels editions in book form? This is not the place for an exhaustive variorum, but we do have some clue in the chapter-boundaries, which vary from one edition to another. Thus in (1) *Le National*, (3) *Revue*, and (5) Méline, chapter 3 begins, *Vous ai-je suffisamment*; in (2) *L'Indépendance* it begins, *Lorsque j'eus contemplé* and in (4) Lebègue, it begins, *Au bout de ces huit années*.

It's clear enough from this that Lebègue fiddled with the text, but we don't know his source yet. We do know, however, that Lebègue's edition was Bonnier's source, because Bonnier's chapter 3 begins *Vid slutet af de nämnde åtta åren*, which corresponds exactly to Lebègue's incipit above, and not to the others. The same can be said of Bonnier's chapters 9 and 27 as well, which follow Lebègue's edition and not the others. There is a Spanish translation, too, 1849[18]

15. Helen MacEwan, *Through Belgian Eyes*.

16. C. Muquardt, *Bibliographie de la Belgique* (1838–82) vol. (*année*) 12, no. 7 (July 1849), p. [43], no. 433; J. A. Lindseth, 'Jane Eyre in French', *Brontë Parsonage Blog*, 1 July 2009, no. 1.

17. C. Muquardt, *Bibliographie de la Belgique*, (1838–82) vol. (*année*) 12, no. 8 (August 1849), p. [51], no. 520; Lindseth, *Brontë Parsonage Blog*, no. 2.

18. *Juana Eyre: Memorias de un aya*. Por Oldt-Nick [sic] (Paris: Administración del Correo de Ultramar (Xavier de Lassalle), 1849). This was reprinted at Havana 1850–51, Matanzas 1851, La Paz 1851; see note 29 below.

etc.; but its chapter-boundaries do not tell us which edition the translator used, except that it was not *L'Indépendance* or Lebègue.

Finally, we can see that the translator himself had a hand in the Paris edition in book form of 1855[19], because its chapter-boundaries differ from all five printings in 1849 – i.e. from his own *Le National* and from all of the Brussels piracies. In other words, he redrew the chapter-boundaries himself, or perhaps he restored them from his manuscript – which seems, alas, to be lost.

And what of the translation itself, and the translator? 'Old Nick' was the well-known pseudonym of Paul Émile Daurand Forgues (1813–1883), of Paris – essayist, critic and translator of Hawthorne, Gaskell, Stowe, Eliot and Collins, among others. His *Jane Eyre* was well regarded at the time and not just by Belgian pirates: as we have seen, it was reprinted in book form again in Paris in 1855 – that is, *after* a complete translation had appeared the year before[20] – and even then Amédée Pichot still praised Forgues's version exceedingly; for it preserves, he says,

> toutes les qualités de l'original, mais légèrement modifiée au point de vue de son imitateur … [M. Forgues] est là un traducteur fidèle plutôt qu'un imitateur. Grâce à lui, en un mot, le premier chef-d'œuvre de Currer Bell est naturalisé désormais dans la langue … de *Marian[n]e*.[21]
> 'all the qualities of the original, but slightly modified to its imitator's point of view … [M. Forgues] is a faithful translator rather than an imitator. Thanks to him, in a word, the first masterpiece of Currer Bell is now naturalised in the language of *Marianne*.'[22]

19. *Jane Eyre; ou, Mémoires d'une gouvernante*. De Currer-Bell, imités par Old-Nick (Paris: Librairie de L. Hachette et cie, 1855).
This is the *édition originale*, i.e. the first authorised edition in book form published in France. Forgues was still alive at the time.
A worthy project might be to collate the text of this edition with the text in *Le National*.
20. *Jane Eyre; ou, Les mémoires d'une institutrice*. Traduit par Mme Lesbazeilles-Souvestre, par l'autorisation spéciale de l'auteur anglaise (Paris: D. Giraud, 1854). The *autorisation* was probably fictional. Inga-Stina Ewbank, 'Reading the Brontës abroad…', p. 95, note 7.
21. 'Jane Eyre' (book review, unsigned), *Revue britannique* (Paris) series 7, vol. 26 (March–April 1855, ed. Pichot), no. [2] (April 1855), pp. 493–94, at p. 494.
22. The allusion here is to *La Vie de Marianne*, 1731–42, a seminal memoir novel. Eugène Forcade had already mentioned *Marianne* in connection with *Jane Eyre* in his essay review of the latter, *Revue des deux Mondes* (Paris), new series, vol. 24 (1848), pp. 471–94, at p. 493.

In our own time Christopher Heywood says much the same, that 'with minor adjustments, his [Forgues's] twenty-seven chapters sensitively retrace the outlines, scenes and dialogues of Charlotte's thirty-eight chapters.'[23] Most recently Helen MacEwan (of the Brussels Brontë Group) writes that despite its abridgement here, still in Forgues's version 'the novel's appeal could not be lost in translation. It would have kept the pages turning feverishly in stuffy Brussels drawing rooms [and many more, elsewhere] and [it would have] given its crinoline-clad readers many an agreeable *frisson*, a suggestive word that recurs at regular intervals in the French text.'[24]

Even before these writers, however, we have the distinct possibility that Brontë herself had seen *Jane Eyre* in *Le National*. She mentions 'the French Newspapers' at least nineteen times in letters 1844–54 (though none in 1849):[25] she got them, it seems, at second hand from Mary Taylor's brothers, more or less routinely. And when she was done with them, she sent them on to Ellen Nussey, also more or less routinely. While Charlotte never says exactly which newspapers these were, Margaret Smith suggests quite plausibly that *Le National* was one of them.[26] Alas, if Charlotte did read *Jane Eyre* in *Le National*, we have no hint of her reaction.

So it might be a worthy project now to make a back-translation of Forgues's abridgement, that is, to translate it back into English now that we have the first text of it, restoring Brontë's words wherever possible; in order to give English-reading students a sense of *Jane Eyre* as it was first known not only in French but in 'relay trans-

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See also Marivaux, *The virtuous orphan, or, The life of Marianne, Countess of *****: An eighteenth-century English translation by Mrs Mary Mitchell Collyer*, W. H. McBurney, ed. (1965), p. xl.

23. Heywood op. cit., p. 51.

24. Helen MacEwan, *Through Belgian Eyes*, p. 12.

25. Brontë to Ellen Nussey, 24 March 1845, in Margaret Smith, ed., *The Letters of Charlotte Brontë* (1995–2004) vol. 1 (1995), p. 385. Likewise, vol. 1, 1844–54, pp. 375 etc.; vol. 2 (2000), pp. 427 etc.; vol. 3 (2004), pp. 168 etc.

26. Margaret Smith, in *The Letters*, vol. 1 (1995), p. 375, note 13:
'C[harlotte] B[rontë] never names the French papers. Possibilities would be the liberal *Le Moniteur universel* (1789–1868)… , or the famous *Le Journal des débats* (1789–1939). [The Taylors] would [have] approve[d] of *Le National* [too], founded in January 1830 as an opposition newspaper, and established by 1840 as a republican paper advocating electoral reform.'

lations' of Forgues's work into Spanish and Swedish as we know, and into Polish as well, in 1865:[27] Thus, Forgues was responsible for spreading *Jane Eyre* from La Paz in Bolivia to Warsaw in Poland.

Moreover, *Le National* heralds a positive fashion in publishing *Jane Eyre* not in book form as we know it, but in daily or weekly newspapers *en feuilleton* in instalments: *Le National* was the first, and it was followed quickly by Danish 1850,[28] Spanish 1850–51,[29] Polish 1865 and 1880–81,[30] and then in Spanish again, complete, in 1882–83.[31] No doubt there are others; there's some good sleuthing ahead.

A final note may be in order here on the rarity of *Jane Eyre* in *Le National*. By consulting the relevant union catalogues, and by corresponding with the libraries whose holdings include *Le National* April–June 1849, I was able to find five other sets of Forgues's *Jane Eyre en feuilleton*. All of these are in France, and all are in permanent collections. At the moment mine seems to be the only one in private hands.

Reader, can you find me another?

27. 'Joanna Eyre: Powieść Panny Bronte [sic] (Currer Bell), z angielskiego', *Dodatek do nru 9[–34] Tygodnika Mód* (Warsaw), 20 March – 26 August 1865. The translator was Marya Faleńska. Spanish and Swedish as above.

28. *Morgenposten* (Copenhagen), 1 February – 13 June 1850.

29. *Diario de la Marina* (Havana), 29 December 1850 – 11 February 1851. *La Época* (La Paz) 1851.

30. 'Janina: Powieść z angielskiego przez Currer Bell, przekład E. Dobrzańskiej', *Tydzień* (Piotrków Trybunalski) *Dodatek* (supplement) 19 September 1880 – 28 August 1881.

31. 'Juana Eyre; ó, Memorias de una institutriz: Novela inglesa', *El Globo* (Madrid), 9 September 1882 – 7 February 1883.

Etienne Carjat, *Portrait of Victorien Sardou*. Carte de visite photograph, c.1861. Sardou at the beginning of his long career.

The Marvellous Monsieur Sardou

Part 1

VICTORIA DAILEY

Anything coming from Sardou notably interests the world, but it particularly intoxicates Parisians.[1]

Now largely forgotten, Victorien Sardou (1831–1908) was one of the most popular and prolific of 19th-century French playwrights, known far and wide for his seventy plays, most of which were incredibly successful and starred the leading performers of the time, including Sarah Bernhardt, Gabrielle Réjane, Frédérick Lemaître and Benoît-Constant Coquelin. Generally, the critics heaped praise on Sardou: He was called 'the dean of French dramatists' and 'the master of the well-made play'. Among his playwriting peers were Victor Hugo, Alexandre Dumas (*fils*) and Eugène Scribe. Yet today, his name has lost its former lustre, and if remembered at all, it is for just three of his plays: *La Tosca* (1887), which starred Sarah Bernhardt and which became the basis for Puccini's illustrious opera of 1900; *Fédora* (1882), which supplied the word for the ever-fashionable hat, featured Bernhardt in the title role, was turned into an opera in 1898, a novel in 1894 and nine films produced between 1915 and 1947; and *Madame Sans-Gêne* (1893), written for Réjane, Bernhardt's great friend and rival, and which became an opera in 1915 as well as six films made between 1900 and 2002.[2]

While these are some impressive credits, I have discovered that Sardou was much more than just a successful playwright. What is

1. *New York Times*, 15 February 1891, p. 12

2. Gabrielle-Charlotte Réju, known as Réjane (1856–1920), celebrated French actress who headlined in several Sardou plays. The glamorous title role of *Madame Sans-Gêne*, the outspoken laundress who become a duchess, later starred Gloria Swanson in the 1925 film, Arletty in the 1941 version and Sophia Loren in the 1961 production.

Nadar [pseud. of Gaspard-Félix Tournachon], *Sarah Bernhardt as Théodora*. Carte de visite photograph, c.1884.

Léopold Reutlinger, *Portrait of Gabrielle Réjane as Madame Sans Gêne*. Boudoir photograph, c.1896.

less well known, and what should be of interest to all our readers, is that he was a fervent book collector and antiquarian who assembled an immense collection of 80,000 books, some of which were sold at auction after his death during the spring of 1909. The Bibliothèque Victorien Sardou consisted of 2,197 lots in a two-volume catalogue that represented only a fraction of his holdings – there were five other sales, each with a catalogue, for his paintings, prints, autographs, decorative art and sculpture. As imaginative as Sardou was as a playwright, he was as practical as a collector, for not only did his acquisitions bring him immense pleasure, they provided him with an encyclopaedic amount of source material for his historical dramas, especially useful when he also designed the period costumes and sets. Sardou, a key to so much of the artistic life of Paris, was

also a seminal link to Art Nouveau through the posters that advertised his plays (especially those by Chéret and Mucha), and he was a source of inspiration for Art Déco through his costume designs. An ardent Dreyfusard, he was instrumental in providing the secret court documents to *Le Figaro* in 1899, which, when made public, turned the course of the infamous case in Dreyfus's favour. As diverse as Sardou's interests were, there is one that surprises: his active participation in the Parisian Spiritualist movement, during which he attended numerous seances and had various psychic experiences that he wrote about unhesitatingly. More predictably, he was honoured with memberships in both the Légion d'honneur and the Académie Française. Jerome A. Hart (1854–1937), a San Francisco journalist, theatre critic and early Sardou biographer, described him well:

> Although Sardou was a marvel of industry as a playwright, his busy mind sought occupation in many other ways. He laid out gardens; he planted trees; he designed and erected buildings; he collected books, prints, paintings, bronzes, bibelots of all kinds. He was an archaeologist; he was an expert in Byzantine antiquities; he was an authority on the French Revolution; he was a Napoleonist of profound knowledge. And yet, with all his occupations, he found time to rub elbows with the world, and was famous in Paris as a storyteller and as a mime.[3]

He was also handsome, his striking good looks marked by a pale face framed by a mane of luxuriant dark hair, 'poetically swept back'.[4] Recognisable by the white silk muffler that he wore both indoors and out, his black velvet coat and the black velvet toque that he donned while writing, Sardou epitomised the figure of a 19th-century romantic, yet he was only partly that, for it was the 18th century that he studied most closely. Sardou's long reach extends even to cuisine, for like Nellie Melba and a handful of other theatrical celebrities, he had a dish named after him: Eggs Sardou.[5]

3. Jerome A. Hart, *Sardou and the Sardou Plays* (Philadelphia, 1913), p. 128. Hart, publisher of *The Argonaut*, a San Francisco literary magazine, had a wide-ranging literary career as a novelist, critic, translator and editor. He became Sardou's second American biographer after Blanche Roosevelt. See note 22.

4. Jules Hoche, *Les Parisiens chez eux* (Paris, 1883), p. 387: 'les cheveux poétiquement rejetés en arrière…'

5. Sometime in 1908, Jules Alciatore of the famed New Orleans restaurant Antoine's created Eggs Sardou in honour of the playwright, probably upon Sardou's death.

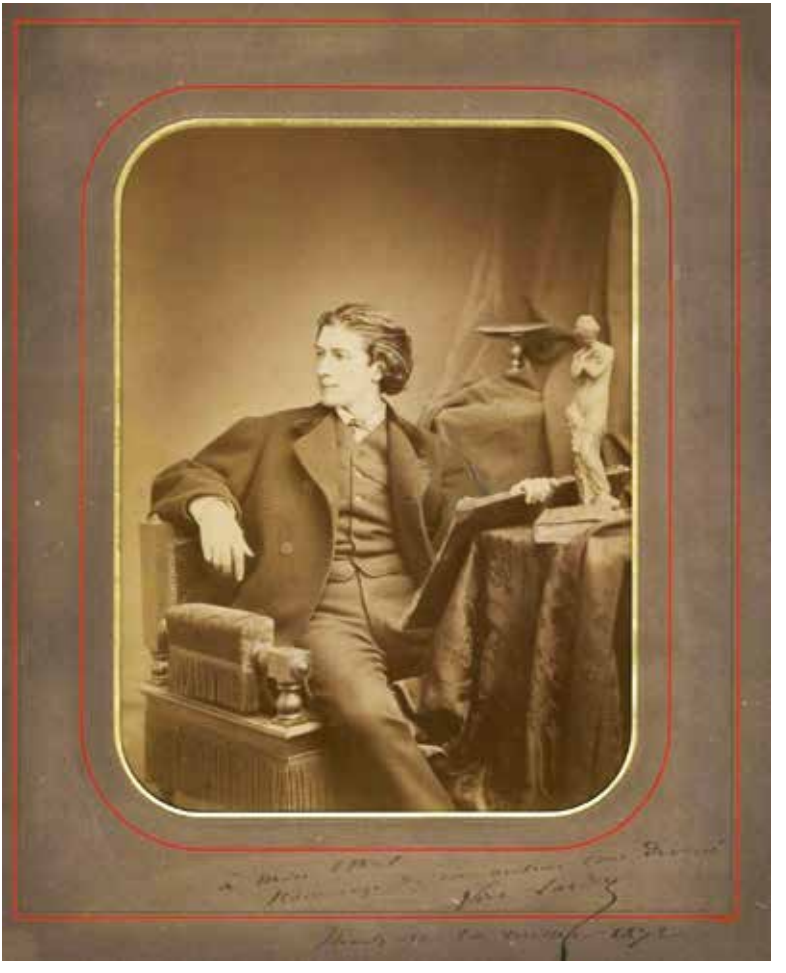
He also has the rare distinction of inspiring a second dish, Lobster Thermidor, created in 1896 upon the re-opening of his controversial play *Thermidor*.

Part of Sardou's immense popularity in his own lifetime was his ability to keep his audiences engaged, setting his plays in an extensive range of periods and places including both ancient Egypt and Rome as well as historic and contemporary France, Greece, Holland, Italy, Russia, Spain and the United States. His mastery of historic details, evident in his often lavish sets and costumes, received much praise, as did his sparkling dialogue which stood out among his peers, while his ability to mirror his own time, especially the manners of the expanding bourgeoisie, remained a constant source of delight to his admirers. Sardou's curiosity led him into many realms and while not all of his plays would survive the judgement of time, enough of them have to ensure his celebrity as a playwright – even though not everyone agreed.

George Bernard Shaw, ever mordant, created an epithet to describe Sardou's plays whose continuing renown mystified and irritated the snappish Shaw. Derisively reviewing two of them in 1895, he described the phenomenon as 'Sardoodledom', by which he meant Sardou's plays were overly melodramatic, shallow, dreary and popular.[6] Another critic, A. B. Walkley, of the London *Times*, once said that Sardou's only claim as a 'man of letters' was because so many of his plots hinge around the loss, delivery or discovery of

Contrary to most accounts of the invention, Sardou never visited Antoine's or New Orleans, nor did he ever visit the United States. Alciatore may have adapted the dish from other sources: The Hotel Seville in New York published a compilation of their eggs dishes, including eggs 'Victorian [*sic*] Sardou' in October 1908 in *The Hotel Monthly*, p. 92; the *Meisterwerk der Speisen und Getränke* by P. M. Blüher (Leipzig, 1898), mentions 'Oeufs pochés à la Victorien Sardou' made from 'eggs on toast around shredded truffles and green asparagus', p. 110.

6. *The Saturday Review*, vol. LXXIX, 6 July 1895. Shaw may have been riffing on two previously coined pejorative literary terms: 'Podsnappery', Dickens's word to describe the smugness of Mr Podsnap and 'Austenolatry', Sir Leslie Stephen's invention regarding Jane Austen's ardent followers. Shaw, whose delight in excoriating Sardou, Sarah Bernhardt, Oscar Wilde and many of his contemporaries, drew the attention of George Orwell, who, in a 1944 essay, coolly remarked: 'I believe no one has ever pointed out the sadistic element in Bernard Shaw's work, still less that this probably has some connection with Shaw's admiration for dictators.' Stephen Ingle, *George Orwell: A Political Life* (1993), p. 94.



Joseph Tourtin, *Portrait of Victorien Sardou in his Library*. Photograph, c.1872. Signed and inscribed by Sardou to Agnes Ethel (1846–1903), a prominent Broadway actress. ; *Agnes* opened in September 1872 in New York and ran for 100 performances.

a letter. Despite these criticisms, Sardou's plays were adored by the public, providing him with the income that allowed him to live in the style he preferred and especially to acquire the wide-ranging objects he desired. So, to set the stage for Sardou, we will begin with an overview of his main career, that of playwright. His other achievements will be covered in Part II.

Victorien Sardou was born in Paris on 5 September 1831.[7] His father made a meagre living as a bookkeeper, schoolmaster, tutor and editor, arriving in the capital to improve his circumstances after the family olive orchard at Le Cannet near Cannes was destroyed by frost in 1819. Sardou's mother, Evelina Viard, the daughter of a fabric manufacturer, encouraged her son's literary interests, and brought up in this scholarly environment, Sardou learned by heart all of Molière's plays at age ten, an early example of just how magnetic the theatre was for him.

When the Revolution of 1848 caused his father to close the small school he ran, the teenage Sardou, advised by his parents, decided to study medicine which would provide a more reliable income than the drama career Sardou had envisioned. The elder Sardou, facing increasing financial difficulties, left Paris at this point and returned to his family home in the south, leaving his son alone and nearly destitute. Sardou tried his best, spending eighteen months in medical school, but it was the stage that interested him, especially the plays of Victor Hugo. Subsisting on a sparse few francs a day as a tutor, he began to write the plays he had envisioned, but no theatre director would accept them, and he struggled for years. Finally, his play in verse, the *Taverne des Etudiants*, was accepted at the Théâtre de l'Odéon, the prestigious (and only) state-sponsored theatre on the left bank, but the opening, on 1 April 1854, turned into a fiasco when the play was hissed and booed by the many university students in the audience from the nearby Sorbonne who mistakenly thought the play was a satire about them. (It wasn't – the students were supposed to be German.) After one more performance, subjected to the same turmoil, the play closed for good and Sardou was forgotten.

7. The day of Sardou's birth is sometimes given as 7 September.

Before going on, we need a short intermission to take a look at the Parisian theatre of Sardou's time, for, as I discovered, it was a bewildering assortment of theatres, regulations, licenses, taxes, managers, performers, audiences, censors and police spies, all of which made it nearly impossible for an unknown playwright to get a play produced. Like many French institutions, it was subject to labyrinthine governmental regulations that mandated the types of performances that could be produced at any given theatre. This grand plan originated in 1807 when, by decree, Napoleon created 'official' and 'secondary' theatres that reduced the number of theatres in Paris from twenty-eight to eight – a far cry from the fifty-one theatres that had existed during the Revolution and even fewer than the fourteen theatres that existed before the Revolution. The many anti-royalist, anti-aristocratic, and anticlerical plays that were staged during the Revolution continued to worry the conservative emperor who wanted official, government-subsidised theatres to serve his ideas of nationalism, patriotism and high culture.[8]

The official theatres were:

- Théâtre Français (Comédie Française), reserved for classic tragedy and comedy
- Théâtre de l'Impératrice, originally the Odéon, an annex of the Théâtre Français where actors and actresses could train; renamed Odéon after 1818, for classic drama and comedy
- Théâtre de l'Opéra (Académie Impériale de Musique), for opera and ballet
- Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique, for comedies or dramas mixed with songs.

Napoleon grudgingly permitted four theatres to reflect popular taste by creating secondary, commercial theatres for the 'lower ranks', whose repertoires 'were carefully defined and limited so as to avoid competition with the official theatres, which were sponsored by the government…'[9] (These classifications were lifted in 1864,

8. It has been estimated that during the Revolution there were 3,713 new plays produced in Paris resulting in 90,000 theatrical performances, a huge increase from prior years. See Emmet Kennedy et al., *Theatre, Opera, and Audiences in Revolutionary Paris* (1996), p. 3.

9. John McCormick, *Popular Theatres of Nineteenth-Century France* (1993), p. 13.

when theatres could present whatever they chose – but they were still subject to censorship.)

The secondary theatres were:

• Théâtre du Vaudeville, reserved for short plays in couplets or with popular tunes
• Théâtre des Variétés, for short, ribald rustic plays of low-life and the peasantry
• Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin, for melodrama, light operas, ballets and spectacles
• Théâtre de la Gaîté, for pantomimes of all sorts (but not ballet), harlequinades and farces.

A third category was also authorised, the *Petits théâtres*, also called *Forains*, for performing animals, acrobats, puppet shows and the like, which in Paris came to include the Théâtre des Funambules, the Petit Lazari, the Théâtre Acrobate de Madame Saqui, the Cirque Olympique and the peripatetic tents and booths set up in the capital and throughout the countryside.

Censorship became a large part of the government's regulation of the theatre and was used to suppress any ideas that might encourage anti-government or dissident views, especially in the theatres that catered to the working class, whose activities were frequently under surveillance by the police. A Gagliani guide to Paris mentions the 'degeneracy' of the 'public taste'.[10] In fact, the theatre was among the most highly censored artforms of the time, (caricature was similarly controlled), with theatre censorship lasting until 1906.[11] Even the colour of the paper for posters was regulated (white paper was reserved for the government while specific colours were assigned to the various theatres). Additionally, all posters were required to be uniform in size, and a new law enacted in 1852 mandated that all theatre posters had to be submitted to the *Commission d'examen des ouvrages dramatiques* before being sent to the police for final authorisation.[12]

10. *Galignani's New Paris Guide* (1839), p. 455.
11. e.g., Odile Krakovitch (curator at the Archives Nationales de France) discovered that in 1852, French censors examined 682 plays, of which 59 were forbidden, 323 underwent modifications and 54 were awaiting consideration, leaving only 246 (36%) authorised plays. See Frederic William John Hemmings, *Theatre and State in France, 1760–1905* (1994), p. 220.
12. Brander Matthews *The Theatres of Paris* (New York, 1880), p. 13.

Despite these restrictions, the theatres of Paris were extremely popular in the 19th century when it has been estimated that 32,000 new plays were produced, 35,000 seats were available nightly, and by 1880, some 500,000 people attended the theatre weekly. The whole phenomenon was termed *théâtromanie*. As journalist Pierre Giffard observed: 'The population of Paris lives at the theatre, of the theatre and by the theatre.'[13]

This was the environment within which Sardou had to launch his career, and after the failure of his first staged play, his struggles mounted – and his life nearly ended in 1857 when he contracted typhoid fever. A neighbour, Laurentine Moisson de Brécourt (1827–1867), an aspiring actress, nursed him through it and they married the following year. Sardou's wife was a friend of the celebrated performer Virginie Déjazet (1798–1875) through whom Sardou met the playwright Emile Vanderbuch (1794–1862) who suggested they collaborate on a play for Déjazet. Known for her cross-dressing (*travesti*) roles, Déjazet's fame was immense, and for an unknown playwright to create a role for her was extraordinary.[14] The result, *Les Premières Armes de Figaro*, opened in late 1859 in the new Théâtre Déjazet, with Déjazet in the starring *travesti* role of the young Figaro.[15] A parody of Beaumarchais's *The Barber of Seville* and *The Marriage of Figaro*, it was a huge success, especially admired for Sardou's witty dialogue and for his having turned the barber Figaro into an itinerant entertainer turned opera composer. Spurred on, Sardou wrote twenty plays during the following five years, and although some of them failed, others were extremely popular, including *Pattes de Mouche*, *Les Ganaches*, *Nos Intimes* and *La Famille Benoîton*.

It was also at this time that Sardou became interested in Spiritualism, which had become an international fad in the 1850s,

13. Robert Justin Goldstein, ed., *The Frightful Stage* (2009), p. 73, citing Pierre Giffard, *Nos moeurs: La vie au théâtre* (Paris, 1888). While scores of secondary and *petites* theatres opened, closed or were renamed throughout the century, the official theatres remained.
14. A grateful Sardou dedicated the play to her: 'A qui dédier cette oeuvre, si ce n'est à vous, madame, à vous qui en êtes l'âme et la vie?'(To whom should this work be dedicated, except to you, madame, to you, who are its soul and life?)
15. Déjazet received permission to take over the Théâtre des Folies-Nouvelles and promptly changed the name.

Joseph Tourtin, *Portrait of Virginie Déjazet in her role as Gentil-Bernard*, c.1860. One of Déjazet's most popular *travesti* roles, in *Gentil-Bernard, ou l'Art d'Aimer* (1775).

especially in Paris, where 'tout Paris parle de spiritisme'.[16] Even Napoleon III and Empress Eugénie held a séance in February 1857 that was orchestrated by the high-profile Scottish medium Daniel Dunglas Home, already a celebrity in the United States and England. Sardou, whose visits to mediums, magnetisers and table rappers began in the mid-1850s, may have been influenced by his hero, Victor Hugo, who attended seances in 1855–57 while in exile in the Channel Islands; Hugo claimed to have had conversations with Shakespeare, Plato, Galileo and Sir Walter Scott. Sardou began to visit Allan Kardec, the leading Parisian spirit medium of the day, discovering that he himself had clairvoyant abilities when he heard some of Haydn's music being played by invisible hands on his own piano and when he saw a bouquet of roses land on his desk that appeared out of nowhere.[17] Then, in April 1857, Sardou had his first experience with automatic writing and drawing, receiving transmissions from the 16th-century ceramic artist Bernard Palissy that consisted of images of a necropolis on the planet Jupiter where

16. Georges Mouly, *La Vie Prodigieuse de Victorien Sardou* (Paris, 1931), p. 106.
17. Allan Kardec, pseudonym of Hippolyte-Léon-Denizard Rivail (1804–1869), was the leading French proponent of *Spiritisme*. Sardou attended his seances at 12 rue Tiquetonne beginning in 1855.

E. L. D. [Ernest Le Deley 1859–1917], publisher. *Marly-Le-Roi – Propriêté Victorien Sardou*. Printed postcard c.1905. Sardou's villa at Marly, near Versailles.

E. L. D. [Ernest Le Deley], publisher. *Marly-Le-Roi – Propriêté Victorien Sardou – Les Sphinx*. Printed postcard c.1905.

Zoroaster, Swedenborg, Mozart and Palissy all had dwellings.[18] Sardou drew them first, then created etchings based on the drawings, publishing a long article about them in 1858, in the first issue of Kardec's magazine *La Revue Spirite, Journal d'Etudes Psychologiques*. Later writers, citing articles in both 'a Paris newspaper' and *The Whitehall Review*, report that Sardou's spirit guide was actually Pierre Beaumarchais (1732–1799), which is astonishing considering that Beaumarchais and Mozart (Sardou's favourite composer) were the source of Sardou's first success, *Les Premières Armes de Figaro*, and that Sardou's spirit etchings were created in 1857, two years before he wrote his Beaumarchais-Mozart parody; perhaps Sardou received more inspiration from Beaumarchais than has previously been supposed.[19]

With his sudden success and subsequent rise in income, Sardou acquired the villa that became the repository of his vast collections, the symbol of his connoisseurship and the place on which he spent lavishly. Visiting Marly-le-Roi, a Parisian suburb near Versailles during the summer of 1863, Sardou set about exploring the area by riding a donkey. The donkey, who had spent years pulling a milkman's cart, suddenly stopped in front of a dilapidated estate, undoubtedly one of the donkey's long-ago destinations. Sardou, entranced by the site, asked a passerby if he knew who owned it, and was surprised to learn that the owner had died the day before. When the property came up for sale soon thereafter, Sardou purchased it, ultimately improving the early 17th-century house and gardens to a remarkable degree. The twelve-room library eventually housed 60,000 volumes along with Sardou's large collections of furniture and decorative art. (He kept another 20,000 books at his homes in Paris and Nice.[20]) He lined the *allée* at Marly, which led from the

18. The resulting sketches made him exclaim: 'J'en étais fichtre aussi sûr que de ma propre existence.' ('I was as damn sure of it as I was of my own existence'.) They were highly regarded, one critic describing their 'vivacity of execution' that revealed 'a marvelous light hand'. (Napoléon Ney in *Cosmopolis*, vol. VI, April 1897, p. 121)

19. Maurice Mauris, *French Men of Letters* (New York, 1880), pp. 206–07; Georgiana Houghton, *Evenings at Home in Spiritual Séance* (London, 1881), p. 233. Napoléon Ney refutes the Beaumarchais connection, see note 18 above.

20. Sardou owned two homes in Nice, the Villa Guardamidio and the Villa Théodora, the latter built in 1885 with the earnings from his play of the same name.

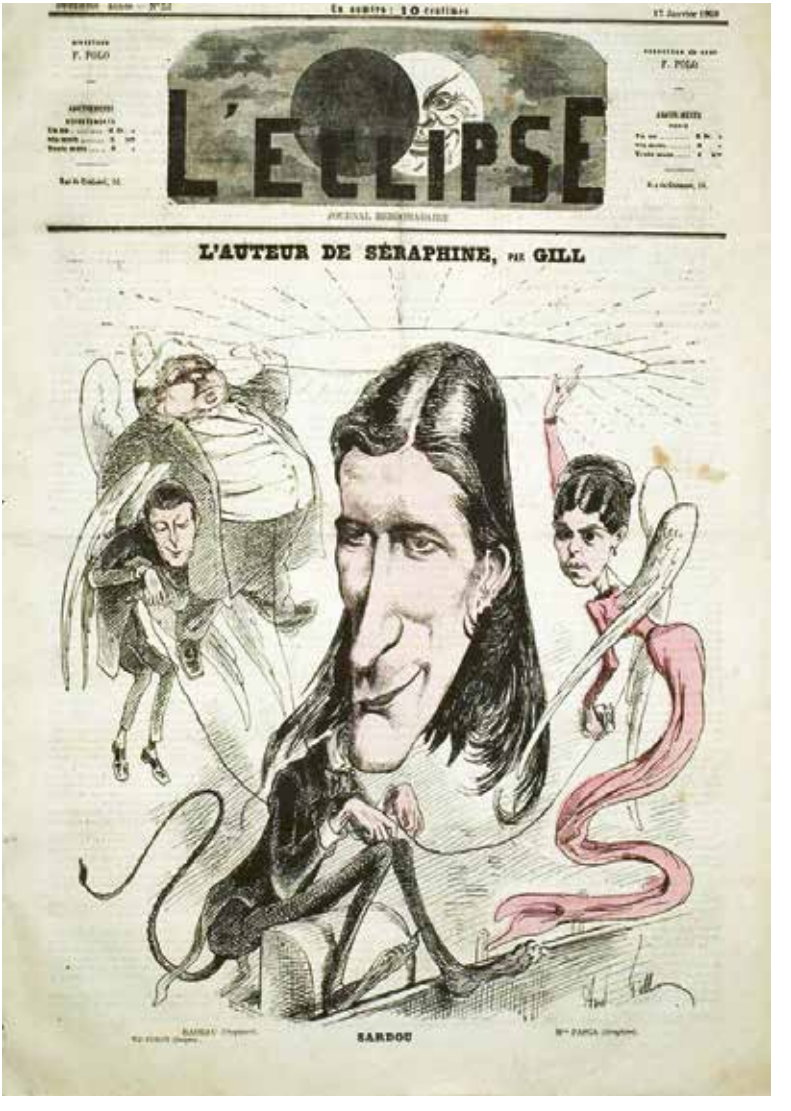
entrance gate to the house, with the ten sphinxes he purchased from the Egyptian Pavilion at the 1867 Exposition Universelle. Who but Sardou, with his flair for the historic and dramatic, would acquire such phantasmagoric objects –and ten of them! – and although they were actually pseudo-sphinxes, made in Paris from Portland cement flecked with crushed marble, they suited Sardou's grand sensibilities perfectly.[21] As his friend the American singer Blanche Roosevelt described him: 'Sardou has conquered his brilliant position by dint of a singularly pure dramatic temperament, by histrionic abilities of the highest order, and an historic mind, rare enough in these modern days, stored with matter which would not shame the greatest of erudites; an indefatigable capacity for consecutive labor scarcely paralleled among writers and workers of the century.'[22]

Sadly, Sardou's wife died of cancer in August of 1867, after which he spent months in mourning without working, spending his time at Marly. He did, however, write four plays over the next five years, including *Séraphine* (1868), which was censored because it was thought that the youthful indiscretion of the main character, Séraphine, Baroness de Rosanges, might reflect badly on the Empress Eugénie. The fact that Séraphine was played by Madame Pasca, a noted actress and friend of Flaubert who had been a demi-mondaine before she began her acting career, was of no concern to the censors.[23] Sardou, forced to eliminate one scene and

21. Auguste Mariette, *Description du Parc Egyptien*, *Exposition Universelle de 1867* (Paris, 1867), p. 15.

22. Blanche Roosevelt, *Victorien Sardou, Poet, Dramatist, Author and Member of the Academy of France* (London, 1892), pp. 80–81. Blanche Roosevelt (1853–1898), born Blanche Roosevelt Tucker in Sandusky, Ohio, was an American opera singer, author, journalist and distant relative of the two Roosevelt presidents. She is best remembered for creating the role of Mabel in *The Pirates of Penzance* by Gilbert and Sullivan when that opera premiered on Broadway in 1879. She was known as a great beauty – Frank Harris called her the 'exceedingly fair American with magnificent red hair'. She also wrote biographies of Longfellow and Gustave Doré as well as several novels and sketches of other notables; Guy de Maupassant had been one of her lovers. She died tragically at the age of 44 after a carriage in which she was riding overturned, seriously injuring her; she never recovered and died within a year.

23. Flaubert is quoted as describing Madame Pasca to his friend the publisher Georges Charpentier: 'My dear fellow, you can't imagine anything more delightful than La Pasca's little marble buttocks.' As quoted in Robert Baldick, ed., *Pages from the Goncourt Journal* (New York, 2007), p. 359.



André Gill. *L'Auteur de Seraphine par Gill*.
Cover of the 17 January 1869 issue of *L'Eclipse*.

Jules Chéret. *L'Oncle Sam*. Lithograph, 1873. Sardou's satire was banned in Paris, and it debuted in New York as *Uncle Sam* (Swann Galleries).

to change the title from the original *La Devote*, triumphed in the end when the play was a big success.

His next work, *Patrie!* (1869), his first serious drama, was another huge success that was turned into an opera in 1886 and later, two films (1917 and 1946). Set in Brussels in 1568 during the Flemish revolt against the Duke of Alba and Spain, it is considered by many critics to be his best play; Victor Hugo, whom Sardou had so long admired, wrote to Sardou, calling it 'Votre oeuvre triomphante, Patrie!'[24] That summer Sardou received a letter informing him of his nomination to the Légion d'honneur as a *Chevalier*.[25]

In 1872, Sardou married for the second time. Doing research on the decor for Marly, he met Eudore Soulié (1817–1876), the chief

24. Georges Mouly, *La Vie Prodigieuse de Victorien Sardou*, p. 257.
25. The Legion d'honneur, the highest decoration in France, is divided into five degrees: Chevalier (Knight), Officier (Officer), Commandeur (Commander), Grand Officier (Grand Officer) and Grand Croix (Grand Cross).

curator at the Musée de Versailles. He soon met Soulié's daughter Anne (1845–1923), they fell in love, and Soulié arranged for the couple to be married in the royal chapel at Versailles. They would have four children, Pierre (1873–1952), who became a noted architect; Genevieve (1875–1958), an actress who married Robert de Flers, playwright, librettist, journalist and friend of Proust; Jean (1877–1968), a playwright and editor of his father's work; and André (1881–1931), also a playwright and librettist.

Sardou's successes continued into the 1870s, but he faced two major problems: one play was banned and another was a notable flop.[26] Sardou had written a comedic satire of American go-getters, *L'Oncle Sam* (1873), but it was outlawed when Adolphe Thiers, France's recently elected president, prohibited the play in February on the grounds that it would 'deeply offend a friendly nation whose citizens frequent our country and cause much material well-being by their presence'.[27] Ironically, and only a month later, the play opened in March at the Grand Opera House in New York as *Uncle Sam* to amused American audiences, who 'laughed good-humoredly at its satire…'.[28] When General MacMahon succeeded Thiers as president later that spring, he rescinded the ban and in November, the play finally opened in Paris. Jules Chéret (1836–1932) created the poster and went on to design others for Sardou, as would many celebrated artists who entered his creative orbit.

A month after *L'Oncle Sam* finally opened in Paris, Sardou staged *Les Merveilleuses*, his attempt to portray the excesses of the Directory during the French Revolution, but it was really nothing more than an elaborate costume drama. However, the costumes were extraordinary, and would, in time, become a seminal influence on Art Déco, one of Sardou's greatest and least known achievements. In perhaps his most notable cultural achievement of the 70s, Sardou was elected to the Académie Française in 1877.[29]

26. Among the successful plays were *Le Roi Carotte* (1872), *Rabagas* (1872), *La Haine* (1874) and *Dora* (1877).

27. Hart, *Sardou and the Sardou Plays*, p. 275.

28. Hart, *Sardou and the Sardou Plays*, p. 277.

29. Sardou replaced poet Joseph Autran in seat number 9; fellow members in 1877 included Dumas fils, Victor Hugo and Adolphe Thiers.

The 1880s saw some of Sardou's greatest successes, including *Divorçons* (1880), a comedy that treated the typically taboo subject of divorce – it was a huge hit, running for 300 performances, and was later adapted into many other versions that ran in England and America, starring such acclaimed actresses as Madame Modjeska and Eleonora Duse. *Fédora* (1882), a play about vengeance that touches on Russian nihilism, then a leading-edge topic, starred Sarah Bernhardt, who was heavily in debt at the time. To pay her bills, she needed a new play and agreed to star at the Théâtre du Vaudeville as long as 'the piece to be played shall be written for me by Victorien Sardou, the only man who can understand me and do what I want'. Sardou agreed and spent the summer of 1882 writing it. Bernhardt famously remarked: 'Knowing that I am a *tragédienne*, Sardou has brought out all my strong points. If I had had any weak points, he would have made use of them, too. But I have none. Ah! If I were not Sarah, I would like to be Sardou.'[30] The play was extremely successful with Bernhardt in the role of Princess Fédora Romazoff, who wore the soft felt hat that took her character's name and became perennially fashionable.[31]

Two other major hits of the 1880s were *Théodora* (1884), a lavish production with music by Jules Massenet that was set in the Byzantine Empire and acclaimed as the 'greatest spectacle of the nineteenth century'.[32] Starring Sarah Bernhardt as the Empress Theodora in what has been considered one of her greatest roles, it ran for 257 performances and netted Sardou 500,000 francs; the other

30. Hart, *Sardou and the Sardou Plays*, p. 92.

31. Although this is the standard account of how the Fedora hat got its name, J. Bradford Bowers, a hat historian, has produced evidence that Bernhardt never wore a Fedora-style hat in the play, but because of the play's success, anything to do with fashion was given the name 'Fedora', including vests, blouses and neckties, but initially, not hats. When an American actor, Robert Mantell, wore a soft-brimmed hat in the American début of the play in 1883, the rage for what were then dubbed 'Fedora Hats' began. See https://www.thehattedprofessor.com/fedorastorypart1.html

32. Elena Boeck, *Archaeology of Decadence: Uncovering Byzantium in Victorien Sardou's Theodora*,
https://brill.com/display/book/edcoll/9789004300019/B9789004300019_006.xml
Not unexpectedly, George Bernard Shaw loathed *Théodora*, calling it 'a vile degradation of the actress, of the stage, of the drama, and of the playgoing public'. Fred D. Crawford, *Shaw: The Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies*, 1998, vol. 18, p. 34.

was *La Tosca* (1887), also starring Bernhardt and Sardou's most famous work after being adapted by Puccini into the opera *Tosca* in 1900. The story of how Puccini obtained the rights to Sardou's drama is a revealing one, highlighting another of Sardou's talents – his business skills in negotiating a contract. An agent operating on behalf of Puccini's publisher Ricordi observed that, 'Sardou will want money…[he] is above all a businessman, a real operator.' But it was Sardou who had the upper hand, 'taking his time in order to increase his fee'. Eventually they struck a deal, one that would prove lucrative to his future.[33]

The 1890s saw Sardou returning to one of his favorite topics, the French Revolution. *Thermidor* appeared in 1891, *Madame Sans Gêne* in 1893 and *Robespierre* in 1899. *Thermidor*, with costumes and stage designs by Sardou, opened at the Comédie-Française on 24 January but closed after two performances when 'a more astonishing scene was never seen in any theatre. Pandemonium reigned in the auditorium. The house was packed… *À mort Sardou* was heard… Sardou is very despondent…'[34] The play, whose topic was Robespierre and his downfall during the month of Thermidor in 1794, caused the leftist radical republicans to pack the second-night audience with partisans in order to cause an uproar and shut down the play, which they did. In an unusual switch, it was the liberal left, not the conservative right, who wanted to invoke censorship of the play – they perceived that Robespierre, whom they revered as a hero of the Revolution, had been portrayed in an unflattering manner, which they could not tolerate. The government, in partial agreement, then prohibited any performance of the play in a state-sponsored theatre, and although it could have been staged at a 'secondary' theatre, it was not, until five years later when, in 1896, it was revived at the 'secondary' Théâtre de la Porte-Saint Martin. The censorship of *Thermidor* did not prevent Sardou from receiving further honours: in 1895 he was promoted to the level of *Commandeur* of the Légion d'honneur and Lobster Thermidor was created to honour both Sardou and the play.

Towards the end of the 1890s, Sardou presented a play on the

33. Michele Girardi, *Puccini, His International Art* (1995), p. 146.
34. *New York Times*, 15 February 1891, p. 12.

topic that had interested him for forty years: Spiritualism. It strikes one as very strange that the intellectual Sardou, whose deep interest in the Enlightenment and its aftermath would have a sincere and enduring connection to something so unscientific as the world of disembodied spirits, spirit writing, reincarnation and invisible phenomena.[35] Nevertheless, *Spiritisme,* starring Sarah Bernhardt, opened in 1897 to a 'rather dubious reception. The work did little to alleviate the popular conception of occultism as light entertainment.'[36] *Spiritisme*, in fact, had very little to do with Sardou's otherworldly experiences and was instead, a shallow presentation of an unfaithful wife's staging of a séance in order to win back the affection of her husband. It received uniformly bad reviews, and one is left to wonder why Sardou, whose support of Spiritualism had been unwavering, chose to write about it so unsympathetically.

By the turn of the century, Sardou was busy as ever, writing six more plays and several librettos during 1900–1907, returning to the subject of *spiritisme* in a yet another play written for Sarah Bernhardt, *La Sorcière* (1903), in which she played the part of a sorceress during the Spanish Inquisition. While she and the play received great praise, some critics found it a hollow repetition of the many other roles Sardou had written for her. A few years later, Sardou was promoted to the highest rank in the Légion d'honneur, that of *Grand Croix*, in 1906.

Sardou's final play, *L'Affaire des Poisons* (1907), was set during the reign of Louis XIV when the philtre-vendor known as 'La Voisin' sold her deadly powders to murderers, rogues and courtiers, resulting in many a fatality at court. This was a subject that intrigued Sardou, who had been collecting material about it for decades.[37]

35. Of course, Arthur Conan Doyle, a writer known for the keen observational skills he created for Sherlock Holmes, was also a great believer in Spiritualism.

36. Dennis Denisoff, *Performing the Spirit: Theatre, the Occult, and the Ceremony of Isis* in *Cahiers victoriens et édouardiens* (2014). https://journals.openedition.org/cve/1552?lang=fr

37. Sardou was acquainted with the historian-librarian Frantz Funck-Brentano (1862–1947), an expert in 18th-century France whose *Légends et Archives de la Bastille* (1898) debunked many myths about the notorious prison; it has a long preface by Sardou who, through years of collecting and researching French history, had drawn similar conclusions. Funck-Brentano went on to write *Le Drame des Poisons* (1900), which he dedicated to Sardou and which the playwright must have used as source material for

Never one to stint on special effects, Sardou created a stage version of the Sun King's magnificent Grotto of Thetis at Versailles – it was said to be 'the most elaborate scene ever placed on the Paris stage; this single setting cost over 35,000 francs.' It was 'a marvellous imitation of its shellwork, its coral, its nacre, its mother-of-pearl, its fountains, its pillars of pink sea-shells, and its statuettes of tritons and naiads'.[38] A tremendous success, the play was a fitting end to Sardou's fifty-year career, combining his grand vision for the theatre with his antiquarian expertise.

L'Affaire des Poisons had opened on 7 December 1907 and during the following summer, while at Marly, Sardou became ill with pulmonary congestion, but recovered enough to resume work. Relapsing in October, and growing weaker each day, Sardou became obsessed with a desire to return to Paris. In early November, although worried, his family arranged for a car to drive him to their Paris apartment at 64 boulevard de Courcelles. He seemed to improve and began to outline new plays, but soon grew too sick to work and slipped into a coma. Sardou died on 8 November 1908 at the age of seventy-eight. His funeral took place in Paris three days later, when 'thousands of persons representing every class of Parisian life – for Sardou's name was known alike in mansion and tenement – stood with lifted hats as the funeral procession passed on its way to Marly', where he was buried.[39] The theatres of Paris closed that day. Sarah Bernhardt sent a telegram from Cairo, where she was starring in *Hamlet*, which read: 'France loses one of its glories, half Paris a friend, all the unhappy a protector, and we artists our beloved master, Victorien Sardou.'

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his play along with material from his own collection. The play was made into a film in 1955, and a recent television series, *Versailles* (2015–18), covered similar ground.

38. Hart, *Sardou and the Sardou Plays*, p. 120. The play starred Benoît-Constant Coquelin, the prominent actor who had created the role of Cyrano de Bergerac a decade earlier.

39. Charles A. Weissert (introduction), *The Sorceress. A Drama in Five Acts by Victorien Sardou* (Boston, 1917), p. 11.

Fig. 1 : The East front of Nostell Priory, West Yorkshire
(©National Trust Images/Matthew Antrobus).

Early Books and Early Readers at Nostell Priory Part I

EDWARD POTTEN

Introduction

The great Palladian mansion of Nostell Priory (fig. 1) is situated five miles south-east of Wakefield, on the road to Doncaster. The house takes its name from the Augustinian priory dedicated to St Oswald that was founded on the site in the 12th century. After the Dissolution in the 1530s, three ranges of the original monastic building had been converted into a manor house, Nostall Hall, acquired by the Winn family in 1654. The present house was begun by Sir Rowland Winn, 4th Baronet (1706–1765), in the 1730s, the original designs drawn up by a local gentleman-amateur, Colonel James Moyser of Beverley. Moyser's plans were modified by James Paine (1725–1789), who worked at Nostell for over thirty years from 1736. With the succession of Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet, in 1765, Paine's responsibilities were taken over by Robert Adam (1728–1792), who was commissioned to complete the house.

Over the ensuing twenty years Adam fitted out a series of sumptuous neo-classical interiors and submitted proposals for four new wings attached to each corner of the main block of the house. These plans, however, were abruptly abandoned in 1785, when the 5th Baronet was killed in a carriage accident, leaving the interiors of the Top Hall, the Tapestry Room and the north-east wing incomplete. The remaining three wings were never built, and work recommenced in earnest only when Charles Winn (1795–1874) inherited the house in 1817. Within two years Winn had contracted the London decorator and upholsterer Thomas Ward to redecorate extensively and to furnish many of the rooms left unfinished. The York architects Watson, Pritchett & Watson were engaged to draw up ambitious schemes for balancing the north and south ends of

the house. These schemes were never executed, presumably due to expense, although more modest alterations took place throughout the next decade. Charles Winn's ancestors had each imposed grand, costly new architectural schemes on the house, nearly ruining the family, but he chose not to, dedicating his life instead to collecting and connoisseurship.[1]

The Library at Nostell Priory is overwhelmingly a 19th-century construction; Charles Winn was an avid book collector, and his acquisitions dominate the Robert Adam Library and the lower presses of the Billiard Room. Above eye-level, however, lurks an earlier family library of considerable interest and importance, the subject of this paper. Acquired before the construction of the current house and kept for three generations in Nostall Hall, the books now shelved in the upper presses of the Billiard Room represent more than a century of Winn family acquisition. Primarily practical in content and resolutely drab in appearance, these books have always been the poor relation in the story of the Nostell Library, but their importance should not be underestimated. Locally, they chart the early history of the Winns and related families during a period for which there is little other evidence. On a wider canvas, their study reveals a vibrant world of books, reading, learning, culture, commerce and society across Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and beyond.

The Priory Library

The presence of a library at the Augustinian Priory of St. Oswald is attested to by the survival of a very small number of books, none surviving at Nostell today. Five printed books, bound in two volumes, are known bearing a monastic inscription: a bind-up of four tracts by Erasmus, now in the library of the University of Wales, and volume one of a 1487 Koberger *Biblia*, with the commentary

1. On Winn's impact at Nostell see: Sophie Raikes, '"A cultivated eye for the antique": Charles Winn and the enrichment of Nostell Priory in the nineteenth century', *Apollo*, April 2003, pp. 3–8. On Winn as book collector see: Edward Potten, 'Beyond bibliophilia: Contextualizing private libraries in the nineteenth century', in *Library & Information History*, vol. 31 no. 2, May 2015, pp. 73–94. The spelling of Nostell varies at different times. Today the house is always known as Nostell Priory, but in the 17th century the manor house which replaced the monastic buildings was known as Nostall Hall.

of Nicholas de Lyra, now in the Thomas Fisher Library, Toronto University.[2] In 2012, Peter Kidd identified a further important fragment. Los Angeles Public Library holds one quire of eight leaves, with sewing thread still intact, one partial quire of six leaves, and twelve individual leaves, some of them consecutive, others isolated, from a 13th-century miscellany associated with the Priory. The fragments survive with a portion of their original binding, and the front and rear pastedowns.[3]

It is difficult to say anything with certainty about the creation, housing and use of monastic books at Nostell, as so little contextual evidence survives, either locally or nationally. Only ten book lists from Augustinian foundations in England are known, and with the exception of Llanthony Secunda Priory in Gloucester, where some 140 books are recorded, only ten Augustinian houses have more than ten volumes surviving from their libraries.[4] The Priory of Merton, for example, was one of the largest in England and its *Registrum* lists more than 230 titles, yet today only twenty-nine volumes survive, while Leicester Abbey owned more than 1,000 volumes, of which fewer than twenty are known.[5]

The Augustinian rule was not prescriptive in its approach to the conduct of religious life, leading to variation in approaches to the chapter of the rule concerned with reading and writing. In England

2. Desiderius Erasmus, *De ratione studii ac legendi* (Col: Argentorati: apud Iohannem Heruagium, 1524), *Purgatio aduersus epistolam non sobriam Martini Luteri* (Parisiis: apud Ioannem Roigny, 1534), *De puritate ecclesiae Christianae* (Parisiis: ex officina Christiani Wecheli, 1536), and *De sarcienda ecclesiae concordia* (Parisiis: excudebat Christianus Wechelus, 1533). University of Wales Trinity Saint David, Roderic Bowen Library and Archives; Founders Library, ODS 02691, inscribed: 'Pertinet ad dominum Sancti Oswaldi de Nostell'. *Biblia latina* (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, [1486–]87 – ISTC ib00614000), Toronto University Library, RB 9689, inscribed: 'Restat Monasterio sancti Oswaldi de Nostell'. Both are recorded in N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books. Supplement to the Second Edition, edited by Andrew G. Watson* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1987), p. 51.

3. Los Angeles Public Library. The manuscript is currently uncatalogued, so does not have a shelf mark. The author is extremely grateful to Peter Kidd for generously sharing his research notes on the Los Angeles Miscellany, see: https://mssprovenance.blogspot.com/2012/12/an-unknown-ms-from-nostell-priory.html

4. T. Webber and A. G. Watson, eds, *The libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, Corpus of British medieval library catalogues, vol. 6, pp. xxii–xxiii.

5. *The libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, p. xxvii.

there was no formal structure to enforce uniformity of practice prior to the 13th century, and later little evidence of how effective such efforts were.[6] Only one custumal – a record of a house's own observances – survives, for the Priory of St Giles and St Andrew at Barnwell, but it does give specific instructions on the duties of the *armarius* – the keeper of the book press – and the construction of an *armarium*.[7] He was required to display the books at the beginning of each Lent, to pray for the souls of those who gave books, to know the titles of all of his books, and to keep a record of those borrowing.[8] There is no evidence that similar strictures were in place at Nostell, but the custumal for the Priory of St Giles and St Andrew at Barnwell is the clearest evidence we have for the management of an English Augustinian library. Nostell was a wealthy foundation, the most important of the northern houses, and had been granted substantial lands by Henry I. In the 13th century it was at its apex, recorded as housing twenty-six canons and seventy-seven servants, possessing profitable farmland and having access to the Nostell coal seams. Although it declined in the 14th century, by the time of Leland's visitations it was considered 'a wel buildid howse of chanons … exceding great and fair', and in 1535 it had one of the largest incomes of any English Augustinian house.[9] This, then, was a monastic settlement where one might expect to find a well-stocked library.

Do the surviving volumes shed any light on book ownership or use at Nostell? (fig. 2) The manuscript provides the most compelling

6. *The libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, p. xxiv.

7. *Armarium* is a term commonly found from the 12th century which could refer to a cupboard, a free-standing press, a wall recess or a book room, and also more generally to a collection of books. Richard Gameson, 'The medieval library (to c.1450)' in E. Leedham-Green and T. Webber, eds, *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland Volume I to 1640*, p. 14.

8. J. W. Clark, ed., *The Observances in Use at the Augustinian Priory of S. Giles and S. Andrew at Barnwell, Cambridgeshire* (Cambridge: Macmillan and Bowes, 1897), pp. 62–69.

9. John Leland, *The Itinerary of John Leland in or About the Years 1535–1543*, Lucy Toulmin Smith, ed., (London: Centaur Press, 1964) vol. 1, p. 40, and vol. 4, p. 13. Roy Midmer, *English Medieval Monasteries, 1066–1540: A summary* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1979), p. 243

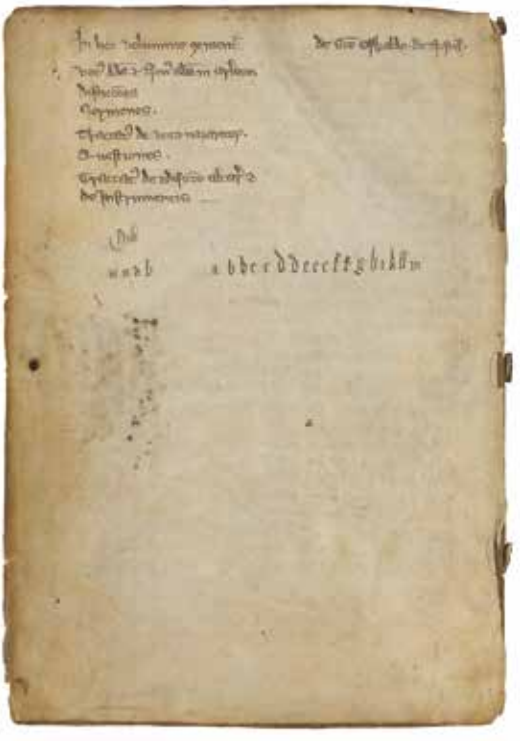


Fig. 2: The front flyleaf of a 13th-century miscellany from Nostell Priory, now at LA Public Library (©Los Angeles Public Library).

evidence.[10] It is written in an English hand of about 1200, retaining a significant portion of its original English binding. The boards, with their long lacing, conform to a Romanesque pattern found across northern Europe, but the fastening strap fixed on the edge of the left board to a side pin in the right board conforms to an English pattern, and the use of oak for the boards is typical of English bindings.[11]

10. The Koberger Bible is undecorated and uninscribed, other than the Nostell Priory ownership mark. It retains a portion of its original binding. The Erasmian sammelband was rebound in the 18th century. It is heavily annotated in a contemporary hand, but these annotations all relate to the text and provide no additional context.

11. The general arrangement of the board lacing conforms to examples illustrated by Jan Szirmai in *The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), p. 153, fig. 8.10 (type 'm') and p. 155, fig. 8.12, type 'c'. The author is grateful to Nicholas Pickwoad for his comments on the binding.

Although now fragmentary, the manuscript has its original contents recorded on the front flyleaf, alongside the ownership inscription:

In hoc volumine [con]tinent[ur]
Vet[us] Ada[m] & Nov[us] ada[m] in arbore.
Disti[n]ct[i]o[n]es
Sermones.
Tractat[us] de voto nazareor[um].
Questiones.
Tractat[us] de edific[a]c[i]o[n]e altar[is] &
de Instrumentis

de S[an]c[t]o Oswaldo. de Nostel

This sort of miscellany of devotional texts was commonplace in monastic libraries and consistent with Augustinian scholarship. Although the hand of the manuscript is of c.1200, the contents and ownership mark are later, probably dating from the last quarter of the 13th century.

It seems highly likely that this manuscript, scribed and bound in England c.1200, was in the library at Nostell from soon after. The adding of ownership inscriptions and contents to early manuscripts is consistent with practice elsewhere, a reaction to the growth in the size of monastic collections. Many of the 12th-century manuscripts at St Albans, for example, had ownership and anathema inscriptions added later by a single hand, presumably the *armarius* attempting to manage a rapidly growing collection large enough to require this sort of finding aid.[12]

The Earliest Winn Books at Nostell

The Winn or Wynne family originated in Gwydir in North Wales but made their fortune as textile merchants in London. George Wynne (c.1560–1610) was granted arms in 1604 and was appointed draper to Queen Elizabeth, while his grandsons, George Winn (c.1607–1667) and Rowland (1609–1676), were made aldermen

12. R. Sharpe, J. P. Carley, R. M. Thomson and A. G. Watson, eds, *English Benedictine libraries: the shorter catalogues*, Corpus of British medieval library catalogues, vol. 4, pp. 542–543.

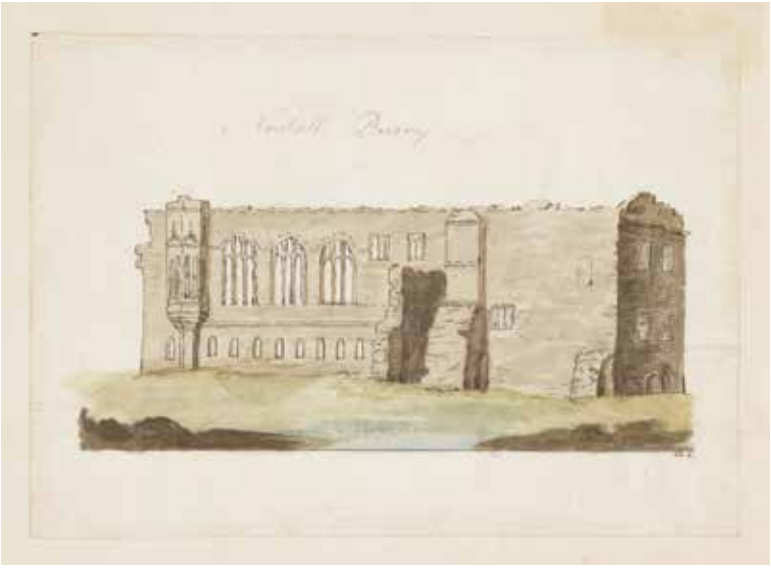


Fig. 3: The ruins of the old priory, watercolour, c.1777, Bodleian Library, Oxford, Gough Maps 35 f. 31 (©Bodleian Library, Oxford).

of London and masters of the Mercers' Company. The family invested their money in land, buying the estate of Thornton Curtis in Lincolnshire in 1627, and profiting from the dispersal of Royalist lands during the Commonwealth, most significantly acquiring the manor of Appleby in Lincolnshire. Shrewdly, they also benefitted from the Restoration: George Winn (c.1607–1667) was granted a baronetcy in 1660 in recognition of his family's contribution of 2,000 guilders to the Royalist cause. They acquired Nostell from the bankrupt Sir John Wolstenholme in 1654 (fig. 3) and three generations of the family lived in Nostall Hall, built partly on medieval foundations, before Sir Rowland Winn (1706–1765), 4th Baronet, decided to replace it with a more up-to-date house.

We know remarkably little about the contents and layout of Nostall Hall, despite it being the principal Winn residence well into the second half of the 18th century. Evidence from the books, however, demonstrates that books came to Nostell with the family in 1654 and, by a process of elimination, we can today identify a group of around 1,000 books which were in family ownership before the

building of the new house.[13]

Assessing Winn book ownership of any period is complicated by the preponderance of Edmunds, Georges and Rowlands, and by the family's inconsistency in signing their books. The earliest book with a definitive Winn family inscription is a bind-up of an edition of Horace printed in Paris in 1544 with an edition of Juvenal printed in Lyon in 1557, which bears a rare dated inscription: Ed: Win 1602 (fig. 4), identifying it as a book from the library of Edmund Winn of Thornton Curtis (1583–c.1645), the son of Elizabeth I's draper.[14] This book must have come to Nostell with the family, along with three other books bearing inscriptions also relating to this Edmund Winn, all printed in the early 17th century.[15]

13. Three significant collections of early books at Nostell can be discounted, as they were acquired post-1750. Firstly, in 1781, Louise Sabine d'Hervart (1734–1798), the wife of the 5th Baronet, inherited from her mother a collection of 'Bound and unbound books, French, German and English'. These books were shipped from her family home in Vevey, Switzerland, and remain at Nostell today. The French and German books are relatively easy to identify – many are bound in characteristic Swiss bindings, or marked with the names of former d'Hervart, Weiss, and Dünz owners – the English books less so, but around 150 books can now be securely identified from the inheritance. Secondly, Charles Winn acquired significant numbers of early-printed books in the 19th century, but he was assiduous in recording his ownership: his books are all clearly marked with inscriptions, stencils and bookplates. He was equally assiduous in not marking books inherited by him. Thirdly, the West Yorkshire Archive Service contains a collection of 254 Civil War pamphlets, accessioned as part of the Nostell Priory papers. The examination of these volumes, however, suggests that these were not collected by the family during the Civil War, but instead by Charles Winn in the 19th century. WYL1352/A1/8/34/1–245 are bound in paper bearing the watermark of (among others) Gilling & Allford, active in the first quarter of the 19th century. Many bear an 18th or 19th-century ink monogram stamp, YMJ, indicating they were not at Nostell in the 17th century, while WYL1352/A1/8/59/1–12 are bound in waste wrappers from subscription books issued in the 1780s and 1790s, indicating that they were in the book trade at that time. Once these three sources are discounted, around 1,000 titles remain printed prior to 1750, none of which bear contrary evidence of ownership. It is the contention of this paper that these represent the Winn family library amassed before the move to the new house.

14. Horace, Q. *Horatij Flacci Poemata: Ratio mensuum quibus Odæ eiusdem poetæ tenetur. Centrimetrum Marij Seruij. Variæ lectiones ex uetustiss. Codicibus* (Paris: Ex officina Roberti Stephani typographi Regij, 1544); Juvenal, *Iunii Iuvenalis: & Auli Persii Flacci Satyræ. Iam recens recognitæ, simul ac adnotatiunculis, quæ breuis commentarij vice esse possint, illustratæ* (Lyon: Apud Theobaldum Paganum, 1557) – National Trust Collections Database [henceforth: NT] 3089698.

15. *Iesu Christi domini nostri Novum Testamentum* ([Geneva] : Ex typographia Iacobi

Fig. 4: The ownership inscription of Edmund Winn of Thornton Curtis (1583–c.1645) (©National Trust Images/ Robert Thrift).

Fig. 5: The ownership inscription of George Winn (1607–1667), 1st Baronet, with his motto from book 14, line 379 of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (©National Trust Images/ Robert Thrift).

More evidence survives of the book ownership of Edmund Winn's son, George Winn (1607–1667), 1st Baronet. Twelve books can be traced with his ownership inscription, several demonstrating pre- and post-Nostell dynastic family provenance. George Winn marked his books in a variety of ways. Several bear a motto extracted from Ovid: 'me tenet et teneat per longum, comprecor, aevum' (fig. 5), presumably copied directly from the 1658 edition

Stoer, 1618) – NT 3089963; Christoph Scheibler, *Philosophia compendiosa* (Oxford: Excudebat Guilielmus Turner, impensis Henrici Curteine, 1639) – NT 3090542; Joseph Hall, *The Contemplations upon the History of the Nevv Testament* (London: Printed by M. Flesher for Nath: Butter in Pauls Churchyard at the signe of the Py'd Bull, [1634]) – NT 3060404.

of Ovid bearing George Winn's signature.[16] Others are marked on the fore-edges or covers with his initials or are signed in a variety of ways.[17] Some of the books later marked by George Winn were demonstrably brought to Nostell in 1654. A 1570 edition of Cicero contains an armorial sketch, Gules a chevron between ten crosses pate argent, the arms of the Berkeley family (fig. 6), while an early 17th-century collection of Gnomic poetry is signed Thomas Barkeley [sic].[18] These two books must have come to the Winn family through Mary Berkeley, daughter of Sir Robert Berkeley, Knight and Justice of the King's Bench, who married Edmund Wynne of Thornton Curtis (1583–c.1645). These pre-Nostell books are by some measure the earliest known family chattels to survive and it seems highly likely that other early family books lie unmarked among the pre-1650 material at Nostell.

16. The motto comes from book 14, line 379 of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. P. Ovid, *Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphosis* (London: Excusa R. & W. Leybourn pro Societate Stationariorum, 1658), signed by George Winn – NT 3059717. The following books contain the motto: Suetonius, *C. Suetonii Tranquilli XII. Caesares* ([Lyon]: Apud Seb. Gryphium Lugduni, 1547), with a lengthy quotation from Suetonius's *Vita Caligulae* in the same hand as the motto – NT 3090623; Nicodemus Frischlin, *Operum poeticorum* (Strasburg: Excudebat Iohannes Carolus, 1612) – NT 3117490; Marcus Tullius Cicero, *M. T. Ciceronis orationvm a Freigio notis perpetuis illustratarum* (Hanover: Typis Wechelianis apud heredes Ioannis Aubeij, 1614), inscribed: George Winne his booke witness George Stinton – NT 3117475.

17. The fore-edges of Horace, *Nicodemi Frischlini cum in Q. Horatii Flacci Venusini epistolarum libros duos* (Frankfurt: typis Iohannis Spiessii, 1596) – NT 3089721 and Florus, Lucius Annaeus, *L. Flori De gestis Romanorum libri quatuor* (Paris: Apud Hieronymum de Marnef, sub Pelicano, monte D. Hilarii, 1560) – NT 3102322 are lettered: GW. Josephus, Flavius, *The famous and memorable vvorkes of Iosephus* ([London]: Printed by Humfrey Lownes, for G. Bishop, S. Waterson, and Tho. Adams, 1609) – NT 3101849, contains a series of notes recording the transfer of the book between owners, concluding with: 'Robert Geoffrais [Jeffreys?] gift to Geo: Winn' and is signed elsewhere: George Winn 1647. Justus Lipsius, *Cl. v. Iusti LipsI Flores,ex eius operibus decerpti, per locos communes digesti* (Antwerp: Apud Gasparem Bellerum, 1616) – NT 3102392 and Daniel Heinsius, *Danielis Heinsii Orationes* (Leiden: Apud Ludovicum Elzevirium, 1615) – NT 3090018 are signed George Winn, and Thomas Thomas, *Thomæ Thomasii Dictionarium* (London: Ex officina Iohannis Legati, celeberrimae Academiae Cantabrigiensis typographi, 1615) – NT 3090843, is signed: GWHB (G[eorge] W[inn] H[is] B[ook]) and, like the 1614 Cicero cited earlier, is witnessed by George Stinton.

18. Marcus Tullius Cicero, *M. T. Ciceronis De philosophia volumen primum* (Lyon: apud Antonium Gryphium, 1570) – NT 3102378; *Ta sozomena ton palaiotaon poieton Georgika, Boukolika, Gnomika* ([Geneva]: Apud Iohan Vignon, 1612) – NT 3101812.

Fig. 6: An armorial sketch, Gules a chevron between ten crosses pate argent, the arms of the Berkeley family.

George Winn's son, Edmund Winn, 2nd Baronet (1644–1694) was equally sparing in marking his books. Just seven titles bear his mark of ownership, one of which – the 1615 Thomas dictionary already cited – was previously owned by his father.[19] Several of these bear his initials on the fore-edge, a practice also inherited from his father and indicative that at some point in their early history these books were shelved horizontally and with the fore-edges facing outwards.

What do the books of the first Winn owners of Nostell tell us? There is little that is remarkable, either in terms of content or bibliographical rarity, but they do paint a picture of book use and reading which is very much of its period. Book ownership in the 17th

19. Thomas Thomas, *Thomæ Thomasii Dictionarium*, see note 17.

century was primarily pragmatic, most books seen solely as carriers of text. The 17th-century library was a private space for study and devotion, the books teaching the essential skills of statesmanship, of commerce, of estate management, of morality and piety, of living well and dying well. From the Renaissance, classical learning and classical languages were central to a young man's education, so it is no surprise to find that Greek and Roman writers, poets and historians dominate, accompanied by the grammars and dictionaries needed to navigate one's way through them. Piety, morality and biblical exegesis come a close second, alongside the works of continental philologists and philosophers like Schreiber, Lipsius and Frischlin. The small scattering of books owned by the 2nd Baronet illustrates the wider themes neatly: Camden's Westminster grammar, Terence translated into English, Justinian's *Institutiones*, Johann Gerhard's sacred meditations and Jacob Bobart's catalogue of the plants in the Botanic Garden of the University of Oxford, the latter presumably a practical guide for domestic medicine.[20]

Many of the books are second- or third-hand and there is clear evidence that books moved freely between family owners, both within Nostall Hall and without from other family houses, the proto-library beginning to act as a repository for family books. Books passed from fathers to sons, between brothers and between houses. The 1570 Gryphius Cicero brought to Nostell by Mary Berkeley was originally acquired second-hand: its 16th-century blind centrepiece binding is stamped F. F. From Mary Berkeley it moved to George Winn, 1st Baronet, thence to Rowland Winn, 3rd Baronet, and presumably also to another as yet unidentified Winn, who signed the title page with his initials and motto: T. W. *Respire finem*. The 1st Baronet's copy of Thomas's *Dictionarium* was likewise

20. William Camden, *Institutio Græcæ grammatices compendiaria, in usum Regiæ Scholæ Westmonasteriensis* (London: typis & impensis Rogeri Norton, 1653) – NT 3115417; Terence, *Terence in English* (London: Printed by Iohn Legatt, and are to be sold by Andrew Crooke, at the sign of the Green-Dragon in Paul's Church-yard, 1641) – NT 3090829; Justinian I, *Institutiones D. Iustiniani* (Amsterdam: Apud Ludovicum Elzevirium, 1654) – NT 3060353; Johann Gerhard, *Iohannis Gerhardi Meditationes sacrae* (Amsterdam: Apud Ioann. Ianssoniumao, 1650) – NT 3089977; Jacob Bobart, *Catalogus plantarum Horti Medici Oxoniensis* ([Oxford]: Excudebat Henricus Hall typographus. Academiae Oxoniensis, 1648) – NT 3090304.

second-hand, originally inscribed by one John Duckenfield. Winn was keen to make it his own: it is inscribed '[Ge]orge Wynn owneth this booke', the ownership also witnessed by one George Stinton. George Winn's son, the 2nd Baronet, was equally keen to assert ownership on inheriting the same book, signing it 'Edmund Winn: Liber hic meus testis est.' By 1 October 1695 the book had changed hands again, signed by Edmund's brother, George Winn (b.c.1645), then later still it was signed by Rowland Winn, 3rd Baronet. The 1695 date of George Winn's inscription is pertinent, coming the year after the death of his father, and other inscriptions indicate that this transfer may have been part of a wider dispersal of books. A group of nine books were all marked in 1696 by Edmund Winn of Acton (1678–1743), the second son of the 2nd Baronet, perhaps an inheritance from his father, although none bear his mark. Alongside these few books marked by various early members of the Winn family are several hundred other contemporary books of a similar type, bound in unremarkable English bindings and acquired in the 17th century, many on the second-hand market and with earlier Yorkshire owners. We have no reason not to assume that these share a common provenance.

Building a Library: The Acquisition of the Ludlam Family Books

This accretion of family books represents the first stirrings of a dynastic family library at Nostell. The growing belief that a landed family should have a library and that it represented their wealth, status and pedigree is apparent from the numerous early armorial bookplates commissioned in the period 1690–1710. These reflect a series of contemporary changes in taste and fashion in book collecting, library use and library design. With a few notable exceptions, most early 17th-century private libraries were 'closet' libraries, small collections of practical books kept in a locked chest or in a closet off a bedchamber, and as such wholly private spaces for study, devotion and contemplation. With the increase in printed output in the 16th and 17th centuries, books became more affordable and more widely accessible. Libraries began to outgrow the closet.

The Winn family in the 17th century were certainly not bibliophiles, but the changing cultural trends in book ownership

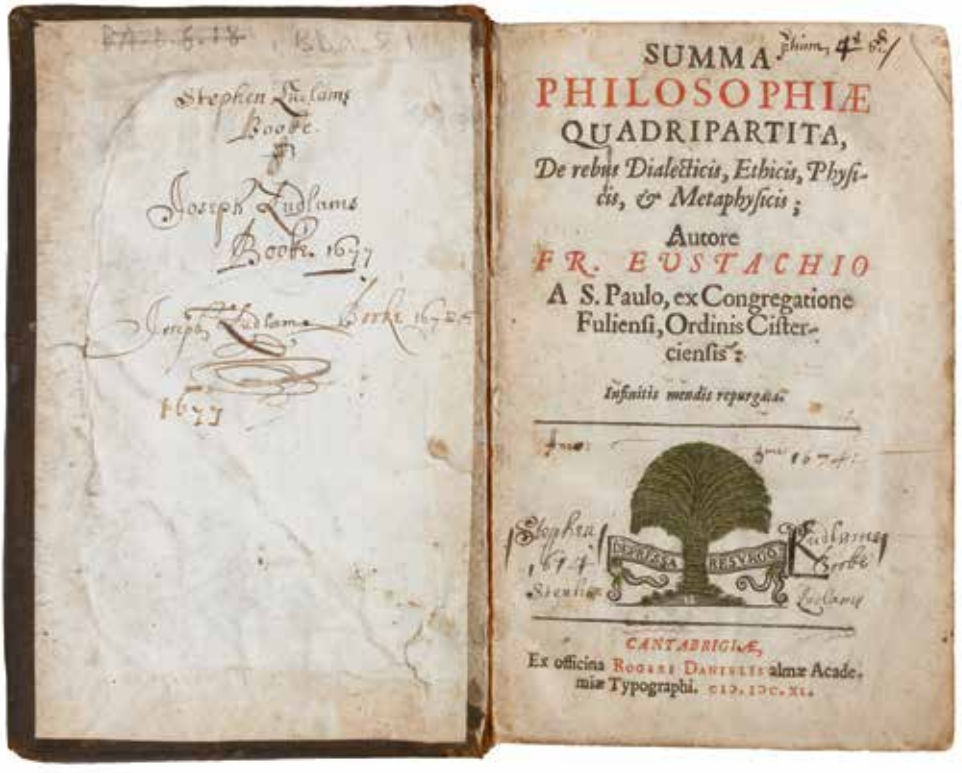


Fig. 7: The ownership inscriptions of Joseph Ludlam (c.1626–1678) and Stephen Ludlam (1658–1722) and an example of the price inscription found on all Ludlam books (©National Trust Images/Robert Thrift).

impacted at Nostell. Although the first Winn bookplate would not be commissioned until c.1743, the motivations which underlay the first generation of English library builders are evident earlier. In the late 1680s, the Winn family, perhaps aware of the growing importance attached to a family library, sought to supplement the existing collection with a bulk acquisition of 122 books from a local family. This single acquisition increased the size of the collection considerably.[21] The Ludlam family originated in Wortley, a small civil parish south of Barnsley, about 20 miles south-west of Nostell, but also had connections with Thornton Curtis, the Winn family's Lincolnshire estate, and Holton-le-Clay, Tetney and Humberston, all villages local to it.

The will of Stephen Ludlam, yeoman of Wortley (1591/2–1656) was proved on 20 May 1656.[22] It makes no reference to books, but does cite a bequest to his son, Joseph Ludlam (c.1626–1678) (fig. 7). Joseph was admitted to St John's, Cambridge, in 1644 after being educated in Wortley at Mr Mason's school. He was awarded his BA in 1647/8, his MA in 1651, and served as Vicar of Wath and itinerant preacher across the diocese of York from 1662 until his death in 1678.[23] Joseph's sons, Stephen (1658–1722) and Joseph (b.1660) both also attended St John's. Stephen was admitted in 1674, after being educated at Bolton School. He was awarded his BA in 1677/78 and his MA in 1681, before following his father into the Church. He was ordained a deacon under York in 1677, a priest in 1679 and was licensed as a preacher in Thornton Curtis in 1687. He served as P. C. of Wath, Vicar of Thornton Curtis between 1687 and 1711, of

21. This pattern – a bulk acquisition of books locally, supplementing the existing collections, but not greatly expanding their horizons – can be seen elsewhere. Although slightly later, Samuel Egerton (1711–1780) of Tatton Park followed a similar path with the acquisition of the library of the Reverend Thomas Cattell (1690–1746), chaplain at Stockport and Fellow of the Collegiate Church of Manchester. See: Edward Potten, 'Bound in vellum and lettered: The Tatton Park Library', *National Trust Historic Houses & Collections* (London: National Trust, published in association with *Apollo Magazine*, 2013), pp. 2–11.

22. Public Record Office, PROB 11/255/187.

23. *Admissions to the College of St. John the Evangelist in the University of Cambridge*, II (Cambridge: Printed for the College at the University press, 1882), p. 68; Cambridge University Alumni database person ID LDLN677J; Church of England Clergy database CCEd Person ID: 153115.

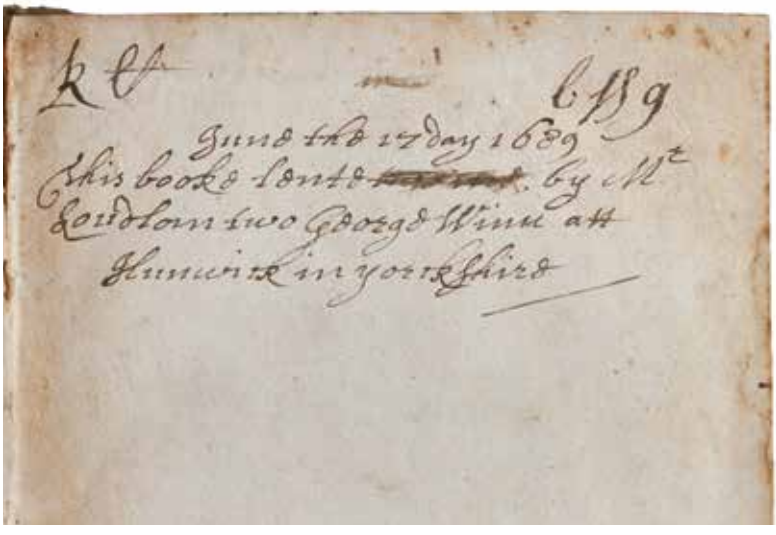


Fig. 8: An inscription recording that this book was sent by 'Mr. Loudlom two George Winn att Huntwick in Yorkshire' (©National Trust Images/Robert Thrift).

Tetney from 1692, and of Humberston and Tetney until his death in 1722.[24] Stephen's brother Joseph was admitted to St John's in 1677 after being educated in Wath under Mr Sheppard. He was awarded his BA in 1680/81.[25]

The Winns clearly knew the Ludlams, both in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, and possibly through the University of Cambridge.[26] The date of the transfer of the books can be inferred from an inscription at Nostell. A copy of Jeremy Taylor's popular spiritual guide to living and dying well is inscribed: 'June the 17 day 1689 this booke sente by Mr. Loudlom two George Winn att Huntwick in Yorkshire' (fig. 8); George Winn, presumably the second son of the

24. Cambridge University Alumni database person ID LDLN674S; Church of England Clergy database CCEd Person ID: 99437.

25. *Admissions to the College of St. John the Evangelist in the University of Cambridge*, II, p. 63; Cambridge University Alumni database person ID LDLN677J.

26. Robert Winn (b.1644), the third son of the 1st Baronet, Edmund Winn (1640–1694), and Rowland Winn (1675–1721) all attended Cambridge in the second half of the 17th century. See: Cambridge University Alumni database person ID WN662R; Cambridge University Alumni database person ID WN694R; Cambridge University Alumni database person ID WN694R.

1st Baronet, and Mr. Ludlam, either Stephen or Joseph Jnr.[27]

The acquisition of the Ludlam books increased the size of the library at Nostell, but not its diversity. The Ludlam books were useful rather than curious, comprising primarily the libraries of two ministers in training at Cambridge. Thirty-two books bear inscriptions which link them directly to specific members of the Ludlam family: Joseph Snr, Joseph Jnr, Stephen and John Ludlam. The other ninety books are either signed 'Ludlam' or can be linked to the others by means of a characteristic price inscription found in the top right corner of the title page of all the books. The hand pricing in the books (see fig. 7)is not that of any of the Ludlams and is consistent across all of the books, irrespective of age. The precise reasoning behind it is unclear. Books were often priced as part of probate valuations and it is possible that the exercise was undertaken following the death of Joseph Jnr. Alternatively, libraries were valued for creditors, or in preparation for a sale. Whatever their original purpose, these price inscriptions relate to a transfer of ownership c.1690 and are of considerable interest for the insights they provide into the trade and movement of books in the 17th century, a topic recently explored by Leah Orr.[28]

What can we glean from the pricing of the Ludlam books? Format seems to have been the clearest determinant of price, with age of little consequence. The most expensive book was published in 1676, the next was from 1622, then two books printed in 1617

27. Jeremy Taylor, *The Rule and Exercises of Holy Living* (London: printed by Roger Norton for Richard Royston, bookseller to His most Sacred Majesty, at the Angel in Amen-Corner, 1676); Jeremy Taylor, *The Rule and Exercises of Holy Dying* (London: printed by Roger Norton for Richard Royston, bookseller to His most Sacred Majesty, at the Angel in Amen-Corner, 1676) – NT 3102033. The transfer certainly took place after 1685; a copy of *The merchant's dayly companion* (London: printed, by H. Clark, for Tho. Malthus, at the Sun in the Poultrey, 1684) is inscribed with merchant's notes and signed: John Ludlam 1685, presumably John Ludlam (b.1660), the younger brother of Stephen and Joseph.

28. 'How much did second-hand books cost in the late 17th century? … The specific history of the second-hand trade is notoriously difficult to reconstruct: as James Raven points out, "It was a diverse business, much of it irrecoverable for the historian", with books sold by small shops, itinerant chapmen and large auctions. Few records survive, so much of what has been done is on the provenance or afterlives of specific copies or works' – Leah Orr, 'Prices of English Books at Auction c.1680', in *The Library*, seventh series, vol. XX, no. 4, December 2019, p. 501.

and 1635. Books from the 1570s and 1580s were still highly priced at between 6 and 10s. Folios were generally more expensive than quartos, quartos than octavos and smaller books. The cheapest folio was a copy of Calvin's commentary on Isiah priced at 7s 6d, still a high price for an edition printed in 1570, but most were over 10s, with five folio editions valued at more than a pound. Tract volumes did not automatically attract higher prices.

Although format was the best guide to price, individual books within the format categories were valued very differently, suggesting some consideration was given to their relative merits. Among the quartos, for example, George Downame's *Two Sermons* (1608) and Peter Heylyn's *History of the Sabbath* (1636) were valued at just 3s 6d, while Christoph Scheibler's *Metaphysica* (1665) merited 12s 6d, and Diodati's *Pious and Learned Annotations upon the Holy Bible* (1648) 10s 6d. The cheapest book was a 12mo Latin grammar, a 1671 edition of Hoole's *Common Accidents examined*, valued at 1s 2d. Five other books were similarly valued at around a shilling: a recent edition of Aesop (1675), Erasmus on rhetoric (1664), Persius (1614), and Hawkins's *The Young Clerks Tutor enlarged* (1675). At the other end of the spectrum of the small format books were Schrevel's *Lexicon* (1668), Grotius on natural law (1670), and a Greek Testament (1580), all priced at 7s 6d, and a 1617 Frankfurt octavo edition of Josephus, which fetched 10s.

The relatively high price for the 1580 Greek Testament fits with Orr's finding that Bibles were unique among the English books she examined in maintaining value despite age. She further notes that books in decorated bindings could fetch higher premiums than those in plain bindings. The Nostell Greek Testament, the 1570 Calvin and a copy of Jewel's 1570 *A Defense of the Apologie of the Churche of Englande*, priced at 10s, are the only books among the Ludlam set that have decorated bindings, all bound in contemporary English calf impressed with a variety of medallion rolls, perhaps a contributing factor in the relatively high value given to three of the oldest books.

Comparisons with the prices of new books, like those drawn by Orr with the Term Catalogues, are more difficult with the Ludlam

books.[29] Of the 27 English titles that fall within the chronology of the Term Catalogues, only nine are listed, one of which is there unpriced.[30] Those listed show that four books went up in price, two were the same,[31] and two went down. The book that showed the most significant increase was, coincidentally, the most expensive of the priced Ludlam books: *Gell's Remains* (1676), listed in the Term Catalogues at 1L 10s, the Ludlam copy valued at 1L 15s. Two books were priced a shilling higher than new,[32] one 6d higher,[33] one 2s lower[34] and one 4d lower.[35]

Orr based her much more extensive analysis on an auction catalogue now housed at the Folger Library, in which the prices of books sold at several auctions which took place between 1676 and 1682 were recorded by hand.[36] A comparison with her transcriptions reveals that the prices paid in Yorkshire were higher than those recorded in the London sales, at times significantly higher.[37] This discrepancy may be down to the unknown purpose of the valuation, to a difference in value based on private sale, to the relative scarcity

29. Edward Arber, ed., *The Term Catalogues, 1668–1709* (London: Privately printed for Edward Arber, 1903–1906).

30. Owen Feltham's *Resolves* (1677) – Arber, I, p. 276.

31. Groot's *De principiis juris naturalis* (1673) bound with Pufendorf's *Elementorum jurisprudentiae universalis* (1672), the volume priced at 4s 6d, the individual works priced at 2s and 2s 6d – Arber, I, pp. 130 and 107.

32. Chamberlayne's *Angliae notitia* (1669) – Arber, I, p. 11; Hughes's *Parsons Law* (1673) – Arber, I, p. 130.

33. Barclay's *Argenis* (1673) – Arber, I, p. 165.

34. *Thrēnoikos. The House of Mourning* (1672) – Arber, I, p. 99.

35. Jacombe's *Several Sermons* (1672) – Arber, I, p. 115.

36. MS Folger copy CS1288.

37. The author is grateful to Leah Orr for sharing her transcriptions and for her comments on the reasons behind the discrepancy in prices. Ten editions among the Ludlam books matched those sold at auction in her sample, one of which has been discounted as it was imperfect: Thomas Aquinas (1622) sold in December 1678 for 9s, 6d (Ludlam price £1, 10s); Christoph Scheibler (1665), sold in April 1680 for 3s, 2d (Ludlam price 12s 6d); Clement Cotton (1635; folio), sold in December 1678 for 5s, 6d (Ludlam price 18s); Cornelis Schrevel (1668), sold in November 1681 for 5s, 2d (Ludlam price 7s, 6d); Thomas Manton (1657), sold in November 1681 for 5s, 2d (Ludlam price 7s, 6d); Francis Rous (1671), sold in November 1681 for 1s, 6d (Ludlam collection of tracts); Quintilian (1641), sold in November 1681 for 4s, 9d (Ludlam price 6s, 4d); William Ames (1647), sold in November 1681 for 1s, 4d (Ludlam price 3s, 6d); Persius (1614), sold in November 1681 for 2d (Ludlam price 1s, 6d).

of the books in Yorkshire, or simply to the fact that London auctions drew mainly book trade professionals and major collectors, so books might be sold at a trade discount, then re-sold to the general public at higher second-hand retail prices.

Like the Winn family books, most of the Ludlam books were acquired by them second-hand and many in Cambridge, often having passed through the hands of several generations of students. Nine books, for example, were formerly in the possession of Francis Bovell [Bovile] (1632–1681), a member of another York family, who was admitted to Magdalene College in 1650 and would later serve as Vicar of Rotherham and Curate of Tinsley Chapel.[38] In addition, a bind-up of two collections of Latin poetry, one of which is today extremely rare, previously belonged to Humfrey Gower, Master of St John's College.[39]

In our next issue, Nostell Priory Part 2 will discuss women's books and reading, the Grand Tour and reconstructing the Old Hall Library.

38. Cambridge University Alumni database person ID BVL650F; CCEd Person ID: 137463.

39. Jean Blumerel, *Elegantiæ poëticæ in locos communes digestæ, &c. optimis auctoribus collectae* (London: typis E[llen]. C[otes] pro A[ndrew]. Crook. Et Johanne Baker ad insigne pavonis in vico vulco vocam Little Britain, 1667), bound with *Lusuum poëticorum sylva: ad usum scholarum* (London: typis E.C., 1667), the latter recorded in three copies in the English Short-title Catalogue (ESTC R217333), two of which are in National Trust houses. Gower was briefly Master of Jesus College in 1679, before being appointed Master at St John's the same year, serving until his death in 1711. He was also briefly Vice-Chancellor of the University, 1680–1681, and held a variety of Church appointments. Cambridge University Alumni database person ID GWR655H.

'For the Encouragement of Benefactions': Library Catalogues and Fundraising in Colonial America

BASIE BALES GITLIN

Graham Pollard began *The Distribution of Books by Catalogue* with a caveat: 'It is not so easy to distinguish into what category a 17th-century catalogue properly fits.' Pollard said this was so because a 'catalogue successfully designed for one purpose was imitated for other uses. In the 17th-century catalogues of public libraries classed by faculty were copied in catalogues of new books offered for sale; and auctioneers' catalogues influenced the form of the catalogues of antiquarian booksellers'.[1] Book catalogues could vary in function just as they varied in form. Libraries across Europe were of course issuing catalogues of their collections by the 17th century, both systematising and creating new knowledge in the process. It would seem natural that American colleges in the colonial period should have wished to participate in the republic of letters by issuing their own catalogues and sending them overseas – and indeed, Harvard issued the first printed catalogue of its library in 1723, eighty-five years into the college's existence, and Yale followed suit in 1743, more than forty years after its founding, becoming the first two printed college library catalogues in British North America.[2]

1. Graham Pollard and Albert Ehrman, *The Distribution of Books by Catalogue from the Invention of Printing to A.D. 1800* (Cambridge: Printed for Presentation to Members of the Roxburghe Club, 1965), p. xxi.
2. *Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Collegij Harvardini Quod est Cantabrigiae in Nova Anglia* (Boston: B. Green, 1723); *A Catalogue of the Library of Yale-College in New-Haven*

However, library catalogues in this period served just as much to advance the fundraising needs of their relatively fledgling institutions as they did to connect books and readers, especially critical since these institutions did not generally have funds available for the purchase of books and were completely reliant on donations. The deployment of early library catalogues for fundraising has been little studied. In this article, I shall try to explore how they came to serve this function in the early 18th century, focusing on the case of Harvard's 1723 catalogue.

Many objects circulating in the early 18th-century world of print, and particularly in libraries, were intended to recognise or encourage philanthropy. Manuscript benefaction registers existed at many Oxford and Cambridge college libraries in the 17th and 18th centuries, inspired by the example set by Thomas Bodley, who began to prepare a 'publike Register' more than two years before the opening of the Bodleian Library on 8 November 1602 to record three kinds of gifts: 'one in bookes alone, an other in mony, and a third in bothe'.[3] The sumptuous bindings and elaborate illustrations of surviving registers suggest that their chief purpose was to encourage gifts from prospective patrons. A particularly elaborate example from The Queen's College, Oxford, bound at the workshop of the great Restoration bookbinder Samuel Mearne, was silver-embossed, with finely prepared calfskin used for its leaves.[4]

(N[ew] London [CT]: Printed by T. Green, 1743). The only other American college library catalogue printed before the American Revolution was Princeton's: *A Catalogue of Books in the Library of the College of New-Jersey* (Woodbridge [NJ]: Printed by James Parker, 1760). All three have been reprinted in modern facsimile editions with introductions: W. H. Bond and Hugh Amory, eds, *The Printed Catalogues of the Harvard College Library, 1723–1790* (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1996); James E. Mooney, ed., *Eighteenth-Century Catalogues of the Yale College Library* (New Haven: Yale University, 2001); Julian P. Boyd, ed., *A Catalogue of Books in the Library of the College of New Jersey* (Princeton: Princeton University Library, 1949).

3. G. W. Wheeler, ed., *Letters of Sir Thomas Bodley to Thomas James* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), pp. 32, 61n.

4. Jonathan B. Bengtson, 'Benefaction Registers in Oxford Libraries', *Library History* 16 (2000), pp. 143–52; Bengtson, *Treasures of The Queen's College Library, Oxford* (Oxford: The Queen's College, 1999), p. 9; Charles Benson, 'Libraries in University Towns', in Giles Mandelbrote and K. A. Manley, eds, *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland: vol. II, 1640–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 113–14.

The concept extended beyond universities and across the Atlantic: when John Sharp, Archbishop of York, proposed that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) should help establish a library in New York in 1713, he saw fit to stipulate 'that a Book of Benefactions and Subscriptions shall lye on the Table where it may be lawfull for others to subscribe books or money'.[5]

Sharp also appreciated the importance of catalogues as mobile representations of the library, portable artefacts that could signify material realities an ocean away. He specified that a 'Catalogue of this Library signed by the Governour the Mayor of the City for the time being and one of the Clergy shall be lodged with the Keeper of His Grace the Archbishop of Canterburys Library at St Martins as also Catalogues of all the parochial Librarys'.[6] Likewise, in 1715, members of the SPG sought donations of books to augment the library of Codrington College in Barbados. Dudley Woodbridge, judge-advocate of Barbados and an active member of the SPG, solicited gifts of books while in England; he returned to Barbados with 'a Catalogue of *Books*, contributed in *England* to the same Purpose, which he was ordered to carry over with him'. The members appreciated the value that circulating the list would have in soliciting further donations, as St. George Ashe's sermon reported that 'this Catalogue has been proposed to be printed, for the Encouragement of Benefactions, and Advancement of the said Library'.[7]

By the early 1720s, library catalogues circulated in England with this more explicit purpose. Notable among them was the catalogue of Sion College Library, prepared by William Reading, according to its 1721 printed subscription proposal, 'that the Learned may be fully inform'd at their own Studies what the Library affords upon any Subject, and that such as are disposed to be Benefactors to it,

5. 'Dr Sharp's Proposal', Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, Papers of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, A.10.246.

6. 'Dr Sharp's Proposal', Oxford, Bodleian Libraries.

7. St. George Ashe, *A Sermon Preached before the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel…18*th *of February 1714* (London: Printed and Sold by J. Downing, 1715), p. 56. The proposed catalogue appears never to have been printed: see David McKitterick, 'Books for Barbados and the British Atlantic Colonies in the Early Eighteenth Century: "A Catalogue of Books to be Sold by Mr. Zouch"', *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 118 (2009), pp. 448–49.

'A particularly elaborate example from The Queen's College, Oxford, bound at the workshop of the great Restoration bookbinder Samuel Mearne, was silver-embossed, with finely prepared calfskin used for its leaves.' Courtesy of the Provost and Fellows of The Queen's College, Oxford.

may see what is imperfect or wholly wanting in it'. Reading hoped in doing so that 'Gentlemen may see what we have, and give us nothing but what we really want, i.e. either different Editions of what we have already, or Books that are wholly wanting here, and new to us'. The printed catalogue recognised donors publicly by printing their initials beneath the titles of the books they gave: it served as both a catalogue and a benefactors' register.[8]

Harvard College, founded in 1636, only six years after Sion College, was separated from its greatest potential supporters by an ocean. Harvard's first printed library catalogue would come to be published in 1723, almost concurrent with the Sion College Library catalogue, but this was not the college's first foray into the strategic use of print. As early as 1705, a manuscript list of books in the Harvard College Library had been prepared and sent to England; frustratingly, the intended recipient(s) and the intended purpose are unrecorded.[9] Lists of books were not the only materials exchanged across the Atlantic for the purpose of raising institutional support, though they are the focus of this article. Indeed, colonial agents resident in London regularly deployed a variety of printed matter in their efforts to raise funds for institutions in the colonies for which they advocated. As just one example, Henry Newman, an early 18th-century colonial agent, wrote to Benjamin Wadsworth, then President of Harvard, from London in 1732 to request copies of 'the Theses and Questions disputed on at the Commencement yearly and 2 copies at least of your Catalogues and the Graduates as they come out'. He wanted to give them to the Bishop of London, 'His Lordship being disposed to shew a great regard to all Students that come recommended to him by the President & fellows of Harvard College'. Newman wrote to Wadsworth that he had recently

8. 'Proposals for Printing by Subscription a Compleat Catalogue of the Publick Library in Sion-College, London…', Lambeth Palace Library, Sion ARC Folio B45.1B/SI7, [1]; William Reading, 'The History of the Ancient and Present State of Sion-College', p. 37, appended to his *Bibliothecæ Cleri Londinensis in Collegio Sionensi Catalogus* (London: Typis J. Watts, 1724); both quoted in Giles Mandelbrote, 'Proposals for Printing a Catalogue of Sion College Library (1721)', *Library & Information History*, 32:1–2 (2016), p. 22.

9. College Book IV, *Harvard College Records* I (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1925), p. 374.

'waited on [the Bishop] with a prospect of [Harvard]', at which the Bishop 'was not a little pleased'.[10] He wrote to the Yale Rector Elisha Williams the following year to request 'a list of your Graduates and the Questions &c. disputed on at Your Commencement', adding the suggestion that 'if you sent Copies to the Bishop of London I am sure his Lordship would take it kindly – He having desired me to ask that compliment from Harvard Coll. which they have promised'.[11] Henry Newman was largely responsible for ensuring that prominent members of the Anglican establishment were conscious of both Harvard and Yale; his gifts to them of printed materials representing the colleges were critical in his efforts.

It was the English Puritan historian Daniel Neal who first suggested, in a letter to Harvard's President Leverett, that the college have a catalogue of the library printed, explicitly to encourage more useful benefactions. Neal wrote: 'I heartily wish a Catalogue of your Library was transcribed and made publick with the Editions of the several Books, that Gentlemen might know what Books You have and what not.'[12] The London-based Baptist merchant Thomas Hollis, one of early Harvard's most consequential benefactors, wrote to prominent Boston minister and Harvard trustee Benjamin Colman to second Neal's proposal, noting also that his own recent donations to Harvard had received some publicity in London and that the catalogue might thus be advantageously timed:

> My Cousin Neale did hint to you and I now second it that you should doe well to send over to him and to some others a printed Catalogue of your College library that they may know what books you have and it is now a likely time for you to be supplied with many, that you may want, by one hand and another. My donations to the College having made more discorse about it than formerly in London I would have wisht to have been less knowne, onely quiet my mind, in that possibly hereby

10. Henry Newman to Benjamin Wadsworth, 1 August 1732. Cambridge University Library, MS SPCK D4/42. The print in question, the first created to depict an American college, was *A Prospect of the Colledges in Cambridge in New England*, an engraving by John Harris after William Burgis (1726).

11. Henry Newman to Elisha Williams, 31 August 1733. Cambridge University Library, MS SPCK D4/42.

12. Daniel Neal to John Leverett, 6 August 1720. *Harvard College Records* 4 (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1975), p. 326.

some others may be moved to like good worke for your advantage.[13]

Only a week later, Hollis wrote to Colman again to 'second Mr Neales motion to you to have a catalogue of your College library printed and sent over to London'.[14] Neal and Hollis were clear about the intention behind their suggestion: it was not readers at Harvard who were intended to use the catalogue they envisioned, but rather potential donors abroad.

Ever persistent, Hollis continued to remind Colman of the catalogue by mentioning it alongside descriptions of intended benefactions. There were a finite number of works that might be considered necessary for a college library in colonial New England, and shipping books across the Atlantic was both inconvenient and expensive. These factors, combined with the gifts from acquaintances that Hollis also collected for the college, contributed to his legitimate concern for avoiding duplicates. He wrote to Colman twice about this issue, first saying that 'the want of a Catalogue of your library you see Sir is the occasion of sundry repetitions, in devizing away these few books; but I hope we shal be favored with it shortly for the publick servise of the College'.[15] Six months later, Hollis was still 'waiting for your Catalogue of your College library, that we may be excused sending of more duplicates'.[16]

Evidently unbeknownst to Hollis, the Harvard Corporation had ordered for a library catalogue to be taken and printed almost a year before he sent the latter reminder to Colman. On 30 April 1722, they resolved:

> Upon the intimation lately made by Mr Hollis, and formerly by Mr Neal, that it may be of great Advantage to the College Library, that a Catalogue of the books in the said Library be printed and Sent abroad, Voted, that forthwith the Library-keeper take an exact Catalogue of the

13. Thomas Hollis to Benjamin Colman, 2 February 1721/22. *Harvard College Records* 4, p. 388.
14. Thomas Hollis to Benjamin Colman, 9 February 1721/22. *Harvard College Records* 4, p. 390.
15. Thomas Hollis to Benjamin Colman, 1 September 1722. *Harvard College Records* 5 (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1975), p. 426.
16. Thomas Hollis to Benjamin Colman, 2 March 1722/23. *Harvard College Records* 5, p. 450.

> Books in the Library, and that the same be printed in order to transmitt to friends abroad: And that this be don at the Charge of the College.[17]

Seven months later, Joshua Gee, the 'Library-keeper', had prepared a catalogue for the press and was 'desired to take care to get 300 Copys printed off and stitch'd for the Use of the Corporation'.[18] Bartholomew Green, of the Green family that supplied so many printers in colonial Massachusetts and Connecticut, had printed Harvard's annual half-sheet *Theses and Questions* for several years. His services were engaged again to print the catalogue, which must have been a more complicated and multilingual project than he was accustomed to. Hugh Amory has discussed the irregular sizing of Greek versus Roman and italic type and the wide variety of initial capitals in the catalogue, as well as its unusual format (quarto in 2s), all of which suggest a printer out of his depth.[19]

The Harvard catalogue may not have been a typographic masterpiece, but by the Harvard Corporation's 5 October 1723 meeting, it had finally been printed and stitched. The Corporation voted to send 100 of the catalogues to England, ordering 'that 30 of them be deliver'd to Mr Hollis, 30 to Mr Neal, 12 to Mr Newman, 12 to Mr Agent Dummer, 6 to Governor Shute, 6. to Iohn Chamberlayne Esq^{r} & 4 to Mr Loyd'. They also deemed 'that the Overseers of the College, the Members of the Corporation, the Professors and Tutors in the College, & the Speaker of the house of Representatives be each of them presented with a Catalogue of the College Library'.[20] Important figures at Harvard and in Massachusetts received single copies. They presumably did not have the sort of valuable contacts the college sought. The largest quantities were reserved, not surprisingly, for well-connected English and colonial friends of the college living in England. These were Hollis and Neal, Englishmen whose powers of persuasion had already been proven; Dummer,

17. College Book IV, *Harvard College Records* 2 (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1925), p. 467.
18. College Book IV, *Harvard College Records* 2, p. 476.
19. Bond and Amory, eds, *The Printed Catalogues of the Harvard College Library*, pp. xxxi–xxxii.
20. College Book IV, *Harvard College Records* 2, p. 503.

Newman, and Shute, influential Americans living in England; and Chamberlayne, extremely active in both the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge and the SPG. Not until 1740 was it voted that 'senior sophisters may have the Liberty to purchase a Library Catalogue' for five shillings.[21] The catalogues, by then nearly twenty years old, must have outlived their usefulness for fundraising; remaindered and discounted, they finally became tools for scholarship.

When the catalogues came to be distributed, Hollis, as usual, served diligently as an agent. By February 1723/4, Hollis had 'newly received 8 doz. books, catalogues of your College Library which I shall distribute withal Convenient Expedition, as you direct me'.[22] His distribution evidently was successful, as he requested and received an additional thirty catalogues on 21 July 1724.[23] The following year, Hollis suggested that a brief supplement be prepared to account for the quantity of books that had come to the library since the *Catalogus* was printed. The Overseers ordered the supplement, and Green printed an edition of 300 copies, 100 of which were sent to Hollis to distribute.[24]

For his part, Henry Newman sent one of his allotted catalogues to White Kennett, Bishop of Peterborough. Kennett's *Bibliothecae Americanae Primordia*, published in London in 1713, was the first English bibliography of Americana and described his own collection, given to the SPG.[25] Newman had tried to solicit donations from Kennett before. In 1722, he had sent him a copy of a sermon that Benjamin Colman delivered at Harvard, hoping that Kennett would 'thereby be induced to remember that Pub. Library of that Seminary where it was delivered, when Yr. Lordship has an opportunity to encourage it'. With a tinge of apophasis, Newman wrote,

21. College Book IV, *Harvard College Records* 2, p. 699.

22. Thomas Hollis to Benjamin Colman, 24 February 1723/4. *Harvard College Records* 5, p. 497.

23. College Book IV, *Harvard College Records 2*, p. 511.

24. College Book IV, *Harvard College Records 2*, pp. 521–22.

25. *Bibliothecae Americanae Primordia: An Attempt Towards laying the Foundation of an American Library* (London: Printed for J. Churchill, 1713); Bernard H. Breslauer and Roland Folter, *Bibliography: Its History and Development* (New York: The Grolier Club, 1984), p. 128.

'It would be too great a presumption to ask for such a favour as a present of all Your Lordships works to it but I humbly beg it may be an article with the Editors of them for the future that they give a copy to the Publick Library of Harvard College at Cambridge in New England.'[26] Kennett responded by contributing 'a packet' of books to the library.[27] When Newman wrote to him in March 1723/4, enclosing a copy of the *Catalogus*, he employed the rhetoric of poverty: 'Your Lordship will see by it how rich and how poor we are, and may perhaps vouchsafe to recommend us as occasion offers, to such as are desirous to bestow their Charity in Books.' Newman elaborated:

> We owe I believe above 19 twentieths of the Books we have to the Liberality of our Generous Benefactors in England, and in return to this Bounty I hope we make the best use we can of them. Here every student that enters, tho born in the Deserts of America, learns to know Old England, his Mother Country, to whose munificence so goodly an appearance is owing as 3 or 4000 vols. upon all Arts and Sciences digested in a very exact Order; and that nothing may be wanting to tempt every genius to that study he is most likely to improve in.[28]

Newman stressed the importance of English benefactors to Harvard in the past, as well as the cultural ties that continued to bind New England to Old. The vision of colonial New England that Newman presented to Kennett emphasised transatlantic similarities and celebrated progress.

Hollis, too, quickly employed the catalogue for two of its intended purposes, engaging new donors and vetting potential donations of books, and he ensured that Colman knew it. Hollis had given a catalogue to his nephew Thomas Hollis IV, father of the better-known Thomas Hollis of Lincoln's Inn. His nephew had planned to send three books to Harvard in the winter of 1723/4 but, having checked the catalogue, 'finds you have them, and so forbears, but as he

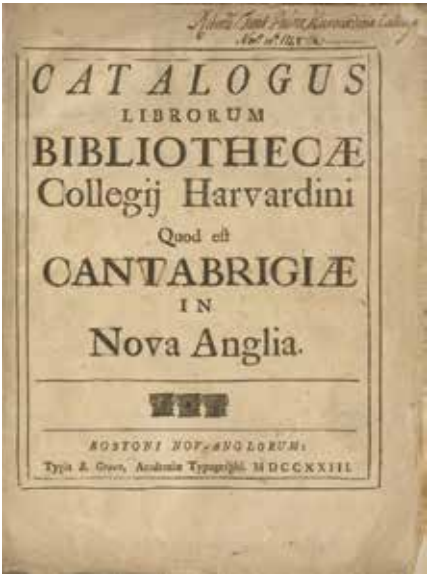
26. Henry Newman to White Kennett, 13 September 1722. Cambridge University Library, MS SPCK D4/39.
27. Leonard W. Cowie, *Henry Newman: An American in London, 1708–1743* (London: SPCK, 1956), p. 193.
28. Henry Newman to White Kennett, 16 March 1723/4. Cambridge University Library, MS SPCK D4/33.

designed a present, he must waite an oportunity for some others you have not'.[29] Two months later, his gift of books was sent to the college, via his uncle. The two men judged them 'fitt for a library, and we did not find them in your Catalogue'.[30] Hollis also advised others acting as Harvard agents to use the catalogue for this purpose. When a donor gave the colonial agent Jeremiah Dummer £60 to spend on books for the Harvard library, as Hollis recounted, '[Dummer] had begun to draw out the books by his head, but not examined the Catalogue, because he had noted down some, which I told him you have alreddy'. In order to avoid Dummer's purchasing duplicate copies, Hollis 'prayed him to consult Mr. J. Hunt who has read it, and vallues a good publick Library'.[31] As an apparatus for avoiding redundant gifts from London, the catalogue worked immediately.

Hollis himself continued to leverage his London connections in conjunction with the newly printed catalogue for the benefit of the college. He invoked the catalogue when soliciting a monetary donation from the New England Company. He began his letter to John Gunston, the elderly treasurer of the Company, 'Upon perusal of the catalogue of the library in the College at Cambridge N.E., it is found, numbers of useful books fitting for such a library are wanting.'[32] Citing the catalogue legitimised Hollis's fundraising efforts by demonstrating not the library's richness, but rather its poverty. The tactic worked, and Harvard's collection grew steadily over the course of the 18th century.

At the start of that century, the Collegiate School, as Yale was initially named, came into existence. Its trustees accounted for the importance of benefactions from the very beginning. In the year of the college's founding, they voted that 'there shall be a record made and kept in the said school of the names of Benefactors to said school, and

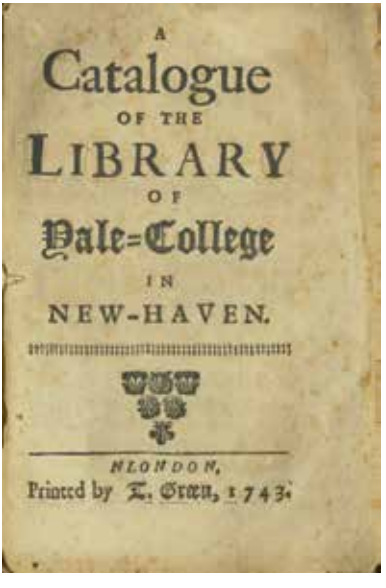
29. Thomas Hollis to Benjamin Colman, 24 February 1723/4. *Harvard College Records* 5, p. 497.
30. Thomas Hollis to Benjamin Colman, 21 April 1724. *Harvard College Records* 5, p. 505.
31. Thomas Hollis to Benjamin Colman, 28 March 1724. *Harvard College Records* 5, p. 502. Jeremiah Hunt, long-time minister of the Independent chapel at Pinners' Hall, London, later served as a trustee of Dr Williams's Library from 1730 until his death. (M. J. Mercer, 'Hunt, Jeremiah (1678–1744)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.)
32. Thomas Hollis to John Gunston, 16 May 1724. *Harvard College Records* 5, p. 511.



CATALOGUS
LIBRORUM
BIBLIOTHECÆ
Collegij Harvardini
Quod est
CANTABRIGIÆ
IN
Nova Anglia.

BOSTONI NOV-ANGLORUM:
Typis B. Green, Academiæ Typographi. MDCCXXIII.

Harvard's first printed library catalogue (1723). Courtesy of Harvard University Library.



A
Catalogue
OF THE
LIBRARY
OF
Yale=College
IN
NEW-HAVEN.

NLONDON,
Printed by T. Green, 1743.

Yale's first printed library catalogue (1743). Courtesy of Yale University Library.

of their Donations That so due marks of regard may be (from time to time) put upon such persons and their posterity by the said Collegiate School'.[33] But if the college founders had begun with the Oxbridge notion of the benefaction register, they soon came to adapt familiar colonial strategies. They seem to have begun by printing theses and catalogues of graduates, just as Harvard did. A graduate of Yale's class of 1714 remembered that '[t]he first printed Thesis and Catalogue, very small, was like the State of Infancy; exhibited in the year 1714, printed at Boston under the Inspection of Dr. Cotton Mather. That Catalogue, with the Theses, were all on a small sheet.'[34] The purpose of these printed catalogues and theses at Harvard and Yale would seem ambiguous if not for a statement from the Revd. Moses Noyes, a minister at Lyme, Connecticut, and a Yale trustee. He wrote that the young college's printed book of laws 'was virtually published to the world in the printed Theses which were designedly sent to England, to procure donations of books, and were successful'.[35] Like later library catalogues, the printed theses were meant principally to encourage further philanthropy.

In this function of print Jeremiah Dummer was a master. Having pursued graduate education at Leiden after his graduation from Harvard, Dummer had his disputation printed and distributed presentation copies to friends – apparently a fashionable convention in Leiden at the time.[36] Dummer inscribed the copy now at Yale, 'For Mr. Eliph: Adams, Leyd: Octob. 7, 1702'.[37] Years later, collecting

33. Proceedings of the Trustees, 11 November 1701. Franklin Bowditch Dexter, ed., *Documentary History of Yale University Under the Original Charter of the Collegiate School of Connecticut, 1701–1745* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1916), p. 31.

34. Benjamin Lord to Ezra Stiles, 28 May 1779. Printed in Franklin Bowditch Dexter, *Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College*, vol. 1 (New York: Henry Holt, 1885), p. 116. Like Harvard's, Yale's early 18th-century theses and catalogues were probably printed on a half-sheet.

35. Moses Noyes to the Connecticut General Assembly, October 1717. Dexter, ed., *Documentary History*, p. 128.

36. Charles Sanford, 'The Days of Jeremy Dummer, Colonial Agent' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1952), p. 65n.

37. Jeremias Dummer, *Disputatio Theologica de Christi ad Inferos Descensu…* (Lvgdvni Batavorvm: Apud Abrahamum Elzevier, Academiæ typographum, 1702). BEIN Me65 W783 D5. Eliphalet Adams graduated from Harvard in 1694, five years before Dummer.

books in London for the Collegiate School, he capitalised on the usefulness of transatlantic printed publicity. In a letter from 1716/7, a few years after his initial shipment of books from London, Dummer suggested to trustee Timothy Woodbridge that 'some oration at your Commencement might take notice of what Books you have already receiv'd (I mean onely in General words) & acknowledge your obligations to your Friends here, & that then a proper paragraph of it might be prepar'd for the Boston Gazett, & the Gazett sent over to me'. Dummer recognised that a public, printed description of the college, its commencement exercises, and the donations it had lately received would be valuable for soliciting further gifts. As he said, 'I could perhaps make use of this contrivance to the great advantage of the Colledge.'[38] Dummer tried the reverse a few years later. Having convinced Daniel Turner, a London doctor without an M.D., to send the college a donation of books in 1722, Dummer recommended that Yale's trustees issue Turner an honorary medical degree in gratitude. It became the first medical degree issued in the colonies.[39] Dummer had news of the award printed in the London *Weekly Journal*, but the publicity backfired; the College of Physicians, thus learning of the degree, refused to honour it.[40] The printed dissemination of information had its risks.

In 1742, Thomas Clap, who led Yale as its last rector and first president, began to organise the college's first library catalogue. Three manuscript catalogues were prepared, from which the printed catalogue was created; one, presumably the printer's copy, has been lost, but the other two remain at Beinecke Library.[41] The catalogue went to press in 1743, becoming the second printed catalogue

38. Jeremiah Dummer to Timothy Woodbridge, 21 February 1716/7. Dexter, *Documentary History*, pp. 83–84.

39. See Philip K. Wilson, 'Reading a Man Through His Gifts: Daniel Turner's 1722 Book Donation to Yale College', *Yale University Library Gazette*, 69 (1995), pp. 129–35. The list of books Turner gave is printed in John E. Lane, 'Daniel Turner and the First Degree of Doctor of Medicine Conferred in the English Colonies of North America', *Annals of Medical History* 2 (1919), pp. 367–80.

40. Sanford, 'The Days of Jeremy Dummer', pp. 23–40.

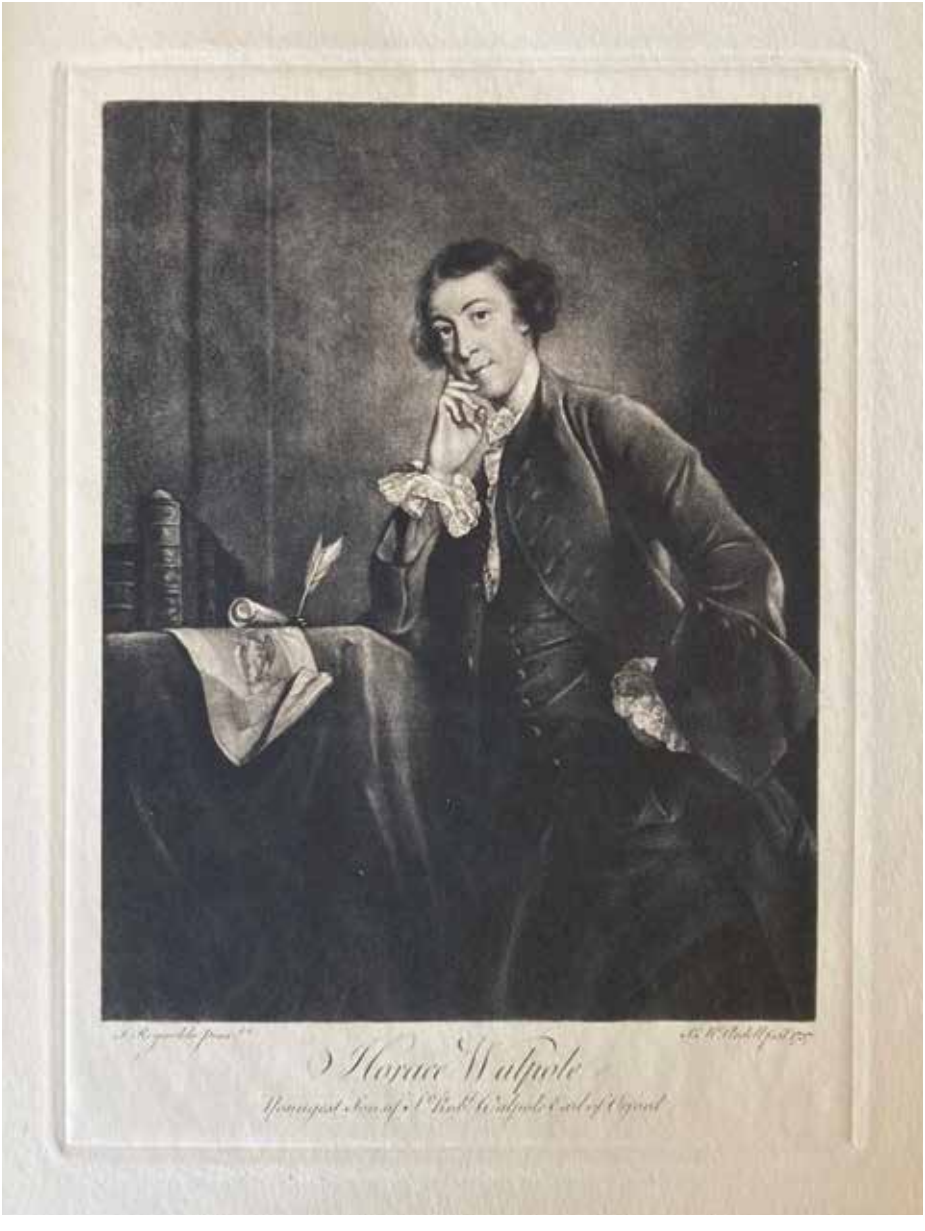
41. The volumes retain their early classmarks. One, a catalogue of volumes by press location, is entitled 'Catalogus Librorum ad Bibliothecam Collegii Yalensis pertinentium A.D. 1742 Taken by President Clap & Mr Tutor Worthington 1742' (Z36.25). In the other, untitled, the books are alphabetised by author (Z36.26).

of a college library in the American colonies. Unlike the Harvard *Catalogus* of 1723, which Thomas Hollis criticised for being ordered only by initial letter, Yale's catalogue was fully alphabetised and also categorised 'under proper Heads' – that is, by subject as well as by author.

Whether or not the Yale catalogue was actively used to solicit donations is unclear – considering the abundance of positive evidence for other printed pieces, perhaps it was not – but it was certainly designed more for users than for donors, representing an important departure from the approach of the Harvard *Catalogus*. Thomas Clap's preface is not grandiloquent and aimed at those unfamiliar with the college; it is remarkably brief – hardly two pages long – and addressed 'To the Students of Yale-College'.[42] Yale's catalogue is physically unimpressive and highly functional. It reflects a transitional moment for libraries, for philanthropy and indeed for the American colonies. By 1743, Yale's library might not have been ideally stocked, but it served a college more amply resourced than it had ever been and a colony with better access to local learning than it had ever had. Yale no longer needed to make obsequious cries of poverty abroad: with the publication of the 1743 catalogue, the college ceased to advertise its weaknesses and began to assert its strengths.

Portable, relatively inexpensive, produced in quantity, the library catalogue as a form of printed matter uniquely enabled transatlantic philanthropy in the early 18th century. College leaders and their agents abroad worked together to build a strategic network of influential supporters for the cause of colonial education. The first Harvard library catalogue in particular was created as a tool for salesmanship, meant in the short term to increase the library's holdings and only in the longer term to advance the learning that might result. The underlying irony of library-building in this period is that by underscoring the poverty of colonial education, catalogues and the agents who deployed them succeeded in vastly enriching it.

42. *A Catalogue of the Library of Yale-College in New-Haven*, [A2r].



James McCardell's 1757 mezzotint of Horace Walpole after the Reynolds portrait.

Reading Horace Walpole: A Pandemic Project

NEIL GUTHRIE

Horace Walpole (1717–1794) will need little introduction to readers of *The Book Collector*. He was the third son of Sir Robert Walpole, prime minister of Great Britain. Aesthete, builder, collector, writer. Creator of Strawberry Hill, a sham castle that set the fashion for the 18th-century Gothic Revival in England. Author of *The Castle of Otranto*, ultimate progenitor of much gothic, horror and schlock in writing and other media; and of the first systematic work of English art history, his *Anecdotes of Painting*. Coiner of the word 'serendipity'. Inveterate gossip, tireless letter-writer (forty-three volumes plus five index volumes in the Yale edition (1937–83)), waspish commentator, chronicler of an age.

In January 2020, just before the plague descended on us, a set of the forty-eight Yale volumes was offered on ABE by Raymond Smith, a dealer in New Haven, Connecticut. Privately owned sets are rare, most subscribers to the Yale edition having been institutional libraries. I regret not buying the set I saw in in the early 1980s at Hugh Anson-Cartwright's shop on College Street in Toronto, which (as I recall) had belonged to Lars Troide, who had been a junior editor with the Yale edition – but as an undergraduate I could not afford it. The set I acquired has a nice Yale provenance, having belonged to Ralph S. Brown, jnr (1913–1998), who worked as an assistant editor on volumes 9 and 10 (George Montagu) of the Yale Walpole while a law student. He bought all the subsequent volumes as they were published and later became a law professor. Brown's set includes the original 12-page prospectus for the series (c.1936), pleasing to the eye in its blue paper covers, which is a rarity in itself. The first volume is inscribed by Wilmarth S. ('Lefty') Lewis, the general editor of the correspondence (and the great accumulator of Walpoliana at his house in Farmington, Connecticut – now a department of the Yale library). The inscription reads:

'To Ralph Brown, / from / W.S. Lewis / New Haven, 1 October 1937.'

There were some challenges with the purchase, the first being the US$5,000 price. The dealer was agreeable with payment by instalments, which made things easier for me. Then there was the matter of getting the set from New Haven to Toronto. As the bookseller pointed out, the US postal service or a commercial courier would be prohibitively expensive. Even if we went that route, Smith said he was elderly and infirm (and I hear he has since died), unable to lift the boxes of volumes up from his basement, so the plan was that I would drive to New Haven on a long weekend in May of 2020. But COVID manifested itself in March, forestalling that plan with the closure of the Canada–United States land border to all but commercial vehicles. By the late spring, we were out of lockdown in my part of Canada, but the border remained closed to non-commercial travellers. An art consultant friend mentioned a Toronto art shipper that had resumed runs to and from New York City in the summer, and they proved willing to make a stop in New Haven on their way back. This was not a cheap detour, but there seemed to be no other alternatives at the time. The set reached me at the end of July, intact. Now there was the shelving issue. Like many readers of this publication, I have more books than available shelves – but I could not just pile Horace up in a corner. I found a local joiner who made a set of shelves that would accommodate the set to *just* fit in the one available space in my study. I was able to free up some shelf space elsewhere by giving volumes 1 through 12 of the correspondence, bought from Patrick McGahern in Ottawa in 1992, to a grateful graduate student at the University of Toronto.

Volumes 1 to 16 of the set that landed in July 2020 are without dust-covers; the remainder have them, some showing signs of wear (from the bookseller's basement?) but all volumes are otherwise in good condition. Judging from the tightness of the bindings from about volume 26 on, my suspicion is that Ralph Brown did not actually read the later ones – but, having started buying them, felt obliged to carry on to completion. Apart from that inscription from W.S. Lewis, there are no annotations – so this was not a working set. There was the opportunity for it to be that. Brown had received

two copies of volume 9, one of them interleaved with a blank page for each printed one. His copy of volume 10 has similar blank pages, making it as thick as the second copy of volume 9. The interleaved pages are not the thick, creamy stock Yale used for the printed leaves, but they still swell the volumes. The regular-sized volume 9 is 1 ⅞ inches thick; interleaved, it is 2¾ inches. The spine of my volume 10 is 3¼ inches across. Presumably the intention was to allow Brown, as assistant on both these volumes, to make annotations and corrections for a possible revised edition. The interleaved pages are clean, however. There is one newspaper clipping inserted in volume 20, a 1961 *TLS* review of the three Walpole volumes published in the previous year, but no other little surprises.

I began reading my new purchase soon after it landed, usually alternating between Walpole and something unrelated. The volumes are not strictly chronological, the Yale editors having determined that it made more sense to organise them by correspondent (or groups of correspondents): antiquaries, Eton friends, Walpole's architectural committee, society ladies and the Walpole family, for example. Walpole compartmentalised the content of his letters according to the person he was writing to, so this arrangement gives a better picture of the range of his interests and the nature of his relations with individual recipients. Early on, Walpole realised he was in a unique position to document the public and private history of his times, and he routinely asked to get his letters back from their recipients, so he could preserve, edit, annotate and sometimes suppress them.

I enjoyed the snarky comments about the Society of Antiquaries in the letters to and from the Revd. William Cole. The six volumes of the mostly one-sided correspondence with the marquise du Deffand were good for my French, but made for slower progress. (Walpole had almost of his letters to madame du Deffand destroyed after his death, for reasons that are unclear: he may have thought that a friendship with a blind lady twenty years his senior might expose him to ridicule, been embarrassed by his French (which was actually quite good, judging by what does survive) or worried he had been unkind – even cruel – to his friend.) The Chatterton volume places Walpole in a largely unflattering light:

he was correct to doubt the authenticity of the supposedly medieval poems 'discovered' by the Bristol prodigy and unfairly blamed for Chatterton's suicide – but Walpole's later public defence of his actions probably did more harm to his reputation than good. The eleven volumes devoted to Sir Horace Mann, Walpole's cousin and the British envoy at the court of Florence, were a highlight, filled with gossip about Italians, British grand tourists (often behaving badly) and the exiled Stuarts in Rome (whom Mann had kept an eye on for Walpole's father, the prime minister). Unexpectedly good are the letters from another cousin, the Hon. Henry Seymour Conway, a career soldier but a literary and witty correspondent, almost as good as his more famous relation. As with the correspondence with madame du Deffand, the first of the three Conway volumes is one-sided; it is likely that Conway's daughter Anne, who inherited a life interest in Strawberry Hill, destroyed a large part of Walpole's side of things. (She did not get her hands on her father's letters, many of which ended up in what was then Ceylon and were acquired by the insatiable Lefty Lewis in the 1950s.) My reading concluded with the letters to miscellaneous correspondents, the additional letters that cropped up after individual volumes had been published and the undated material.

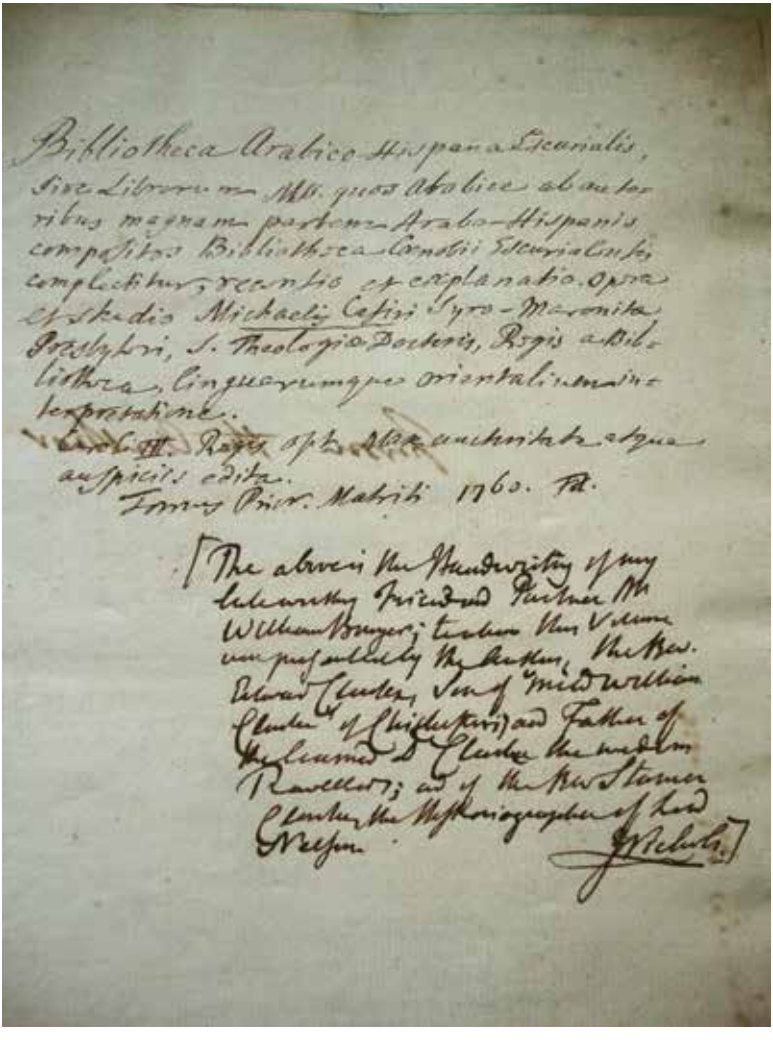
I did not read the five-volume index but have found it invaluable in organising my thoughts and for chasing up references. (Some of the runs of letters with individual correspondents have their own indexes – Mann and madame du Deffand, for example.) The indexes are perhaps the *ne plus ultra* of pre-computerised practice, and the thousands of cards that underlie them (and other materials related to the production of the Yale edition) are preserved in the stacks at Farmington. These entries for Horace Walpole himself give a sense of the depth and comprehensiveness of the endeavour:

> ambition never felt by, **25**. 36
> ambition of: not to grow cross, **31**. 69; peace of mind, **31**. 60; retirement, **31**. 69; to please himself without being tied to a political party, **30**. 196
> ancestors of, often met violent deaths, **20**. 65
>
> political views of, have never changed, **29**. 282, 329, 330, 350–2; *see also*

If you have ever used indexing software, you will agree that old-fashioned methods produce better results.

During the pandemic, I augmented my Walpole collection with related works: Walpole's memoirs of the reigns of George II and George III (the Yale editions, with terrible cover designs); Hazen's catalogue of Walpole's library (in three fat volumes) and his bibliography of the productions of the private press at Strawberry Hill; Walpole's *Journal of the Printing House*, edited by Paget Toynbee, an earlier editor of the correspondence; a disbound frontispiece and first two pages of Walpole's *Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England* (1758); one of those terrible (but cheap) on-demand facsimile reprints of Walpole's *Description of the Villa of Mr. Horace Walpole*; and secondary sources by George Haggerty, Matthew Reeve and others. When restrictions lifted in Toronto, I booked an appointment at the library of the Royal Ontario Museum, where I examined the catalogue of the sale of the contents of Strawberry Hill in 1842, which took place over thirty-two days. I also enjoyed *The Book Collector*'s publication, Stephen Clarke's *Lefty Lewis and The Waldegraves: Collecting, Obsession, Friendship*, which tells the story of Lewis's protracted negotiations to acquire Walpole MSS which were not sold off in 1842 and passed by descent to the 12th Earl Waldegrave (Walpole's illegitimate niece Maria having married the 2nd Earl).

And what shall I do now that I have completed the Walpole reading project, as the COVID plague has, we hope, run its course? Well, during lockdown I also bought the classic edition of the *Remarks and Collections* of the cranky Jacobite Thomas Hearne in eleven volumes (Oxford: Clarendon Press for the Oxford Historical Society 1885–1918), which ought to keep me busy for a while.



Edward Clarke, *Letters Concerning the Spanish Nation*
(London: T. Becket and P. A. de Hondt, 1763),
annotated by William Bowyer and inscribed by John Nichols.
Private Collection.

'Working tools almost daily in demand.' The Libraries of John Nichols and His Family

JULIAN POOLEY

Writing his autobiography in 1850, John Britton (1771–1857) recalled the 'Spacious printing office of my venerable and kind friend, John Nichols, who indulged me with the use of many books from his valuable topographical library, but none were to be taken away, for he justly saw them as his working tools almost daily in demand.'[1] For the Nichols family, books were not simply tools, but valued resources of memory, friendship and pleasure, featuring throughout their extensive correspondence. In a previous essay in *The Book Collector* (vol. 70, no. 1, Spring 2021), I told the story of how the chance discovery of a volume of diaries kept by John Nichols's granddaughter, Mary Anne Nichols (1813–1870), ignited my interest in this printing dynasty, leading me to prepare an analytical guide to their surviving papers, now scattered between a hundred libraries worldwide and several private collections.[2] Though the Nichols printing business continued to 1939, my focus is on the three generations most interested in literary biography, genealogy and antiquities: John Nichols (1745–1826), John Bowyer Nichols (1779–1863) and John Gough Nichols (1806–1873). One private collection includes a library of books curated by several generations of the family. Many contain inscriptions and inserted material

1. John Britton, *The Autobiography of John Britton* (London, 1850), p. 300. I am very grateful to the private owners of Nichols papers for allowing me access to their collections and ongoing support for my project.

2. For details of the Nichols Archive Project, see:
https://le.ac.uk/english-local-history/about/collections/julian-pooley
Although the Nichols Database is not yet available online, it may be consulted by appointment with me at Surrey History Centre in Woking.

recording their presentation as gifts to John Nichols or stating their importance as heirlooms to later generations. They are as much a part of the Nichols archive as any of the letters or manuscripts.

The Nichols family were immersed in books. They printed, sold, edited, collected and borrowed them. As leading London printers, their letters trace the processes of book production from an author's initial enquiries and discussion about subscription lists, paper costs and printing types, through to engraving of plates, promotion and distribution. As editors and printers of the *Gentleman's Magazine* between 1778 and 1856, their correspondence brims with references to books, identifying otherwise anonymous review writers and laying bare an author's indignation when he felt his work had been slighted. Bibliophilic chatter echoes throughout their epistolary conversations with family and friends. They shared their interests with fellow collectors, bought at auctions and visited bookshops. This essay will discuss how the books in this private library and letters of the Nichols family tell the story of how John Nichols and his successors acquired, read and used their books. We will see where they kept them, how they valued them and discover how, while some books passed down the generations as treasured heirlooms, others were given away or sold.

But first we need to turn to William Bowyer (1699–1777), the London printer who bound young Nichols as his apprentice in 1759, later making him his partner and successor. Bowyer had advertised for an apprentice 'with some share of learning, the more the better' and Nichols, son of an Islington baker and educated at a local academy, fitted the bill. Bowyer's influence on him was immeasurable. The press had traditionally printed for learned societies and gentleman scholars. Bowyer had mastered Greek, Hebrew and Latin at St John's College, Cambridge, and was renowned for correcting, improving and indexing many works that he printed. He saw printing as integral to historical scholarship, preparing several influential biblical and classical commentaries of his own.[3] We can glimpse his library in his will where, after specific bequests to William Heberden, Henry Owen and Richard Gough, Bowyer left Nichols 'all Books

3. Martin Maner, '"The last of the learned printers": John Nichols and the Bowyer Nichols Press', *English Studies*, 1984, pp. 11–22.

that relate to Cicero, Livy, and the Roman History, particularly the Cenotaphia of Noris and Pighius, my Grammars and Dictionaries, with Swift's and Pope's Works'.[4] However, by working through John Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes* and *Literary Illustrations*,[5] the Sotheby's catalogues of the library sales of John Nichols and his successors[6] and by opening every book in the private library to note any inscriptions or added material, I have identified over fifty titles that belonged to William Bowyer and were either inherited or acquired by John Nichols and his family. Thirteen of these survive in the private library. They include the *Holy Bible* (Oxford: Thomas Basket, 1755), extensively annotated by Bowyer, Martin Bladen's translation of *Julius Caesar's Commentary of his Wars in Gaul and Civil War with Pompey* (London, 1712) 'made more valuable by Mr. Bowyer's ms notes' and a set of Cicero's *Orationes Ex recensione Ioannis Georgii Graeci* (Amsterdam, 1699), later annotated by John Nichols's grandson, Francis Morgan Nichols:

> This set of Cicero's works in nineteen volumes was the property of William Bowyer, whose handwriting is to be found in various parts. Having been afterwards my grandfather, John Nichols's and then my father's it was given to me by the latter in 1844. I wish it to be preserved in memory of its former owner to whom my grandfather and through him his descendants have been principally indebted for the position which they have held in the world.

In 1772 Nichols helped Bowyer with his edition of *Conjectures on the New Testament*, and Bowyer's richly annotated copies of the New Testament and 'Chronology and Index' to the Holy Bible also survive in this private library. Nichols incorporated these annotations in his editions of *Critical Conjectures and Observations on the New Testament, collected from various authors by William Bowyer* (1782), produced with the help of Henry Owen and Jeremiah Markland and *Miscellaneous Tracts by the Late Mr. William Bowyer and Several*

4. Will of William Bowyer, The National Archives, PROB 11/1364/685-6.
5. J. Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, 9 vols (London, 1812–1815) and *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, 8 vols (London, 1817–1858), [hereafter cited as *Literary Anecdotes* or *Literary Illustrations*].
6. The main Sotheby sales of the libraries of John Nichols, John Bowyer Nichols and John Gough Nichols took place on 16 April 1828, 24 May 1864 and 4 December 1874.

of his Learned Friends (1785).

John Nichols was proud of what he later described as his 'own small, valuable library' and his annotations and correspondence allow us to trace many of his purchases.[7] Aged just ten, he treasured Adam Littleton's *Latin Dictionary in Four Parts* (1678), proudly writing a verse inside the cover to mark his ownership. Thumbed and worn, it is typical of many of the books he would collect and use as an adult, as he was more interested in the content and practical use of books than in fine bindings or sumptuous editions. His letters abound with references to booksellers. In 1793 he hunted down a copy of William Burton's *Description of Leicestershire* (1622), previously owned by Francis Peck (1692–1743), to the shop of Mr Adams of Loughborough.[8] When his daughter, Sarah, visited Ipswich in 1802, he asked her to visit John Raw the local bookseller, in search of books printed by William Bowyer before 1730 as well as Francis Wise's *Letter to Dr Mead Concerning Some Antiquities in Berkshire* (1738), sermons by Leicestershire clergy and publications on gardening or husbandry.[9] His own travels afforded opportunities to visit provincial booksellers. A tour of East Anglia in September 1814 took him to the shops of Nicholson and Deighton in Cambridge, B. Rust's shop in Cromer and to King's Lynn, where he spent 3s 6d in 'the Rum Shop of an Antiquarian Bookseller'.[10]

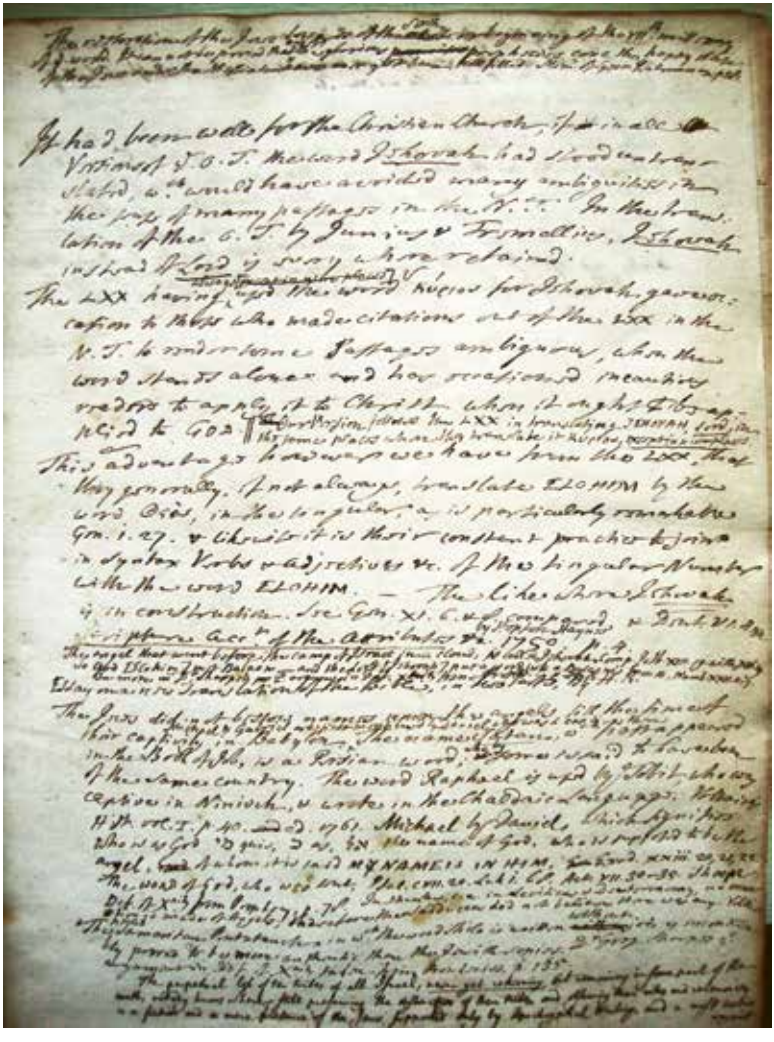
The packets of letters, newspapers and proof sheets sent daily by his family and employees to await him at inns along his route often included booksellers' catalogues, ensuring that he missed nothing

7. *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. 9, p. 17.

8. *Literary Anecdotes* vol. 1, p. 516; J. Nichols, *History of Leicestershire*, vol. 3, part 2, p. 918 and Yale University Library, Osborne Collection: Nichols Family Correspondence Box 14, John Nichols to John Herrick of Beaumanor, Leicestershire, 4 January 1793, NAD4628.

9. Private Collection, PC4/2/fo.100/2 NAD3788, John Nichols to Sarah Nichols, 16 Apr 1802. Items on the Nichols Archive Database have two references; a unique number generated by the database, prefixed NAD, and a reference number used by the repository holding the document or devised to preserve the order of the documents as found in the private collections. This reference shows that this letter is the second item fixed to folio 100 in the second volume of Nichols papers in Private Collection 4.

10. Private Collection, PC4/3/fos.219–220, 225–226, John Nichols to John Bowyer Nichols, 16–17 September 1814, NAD5021-2 and PC4/3/fo.229 NAD5025, Martha Nichols to Sarah Nichols, 20 September 1814.

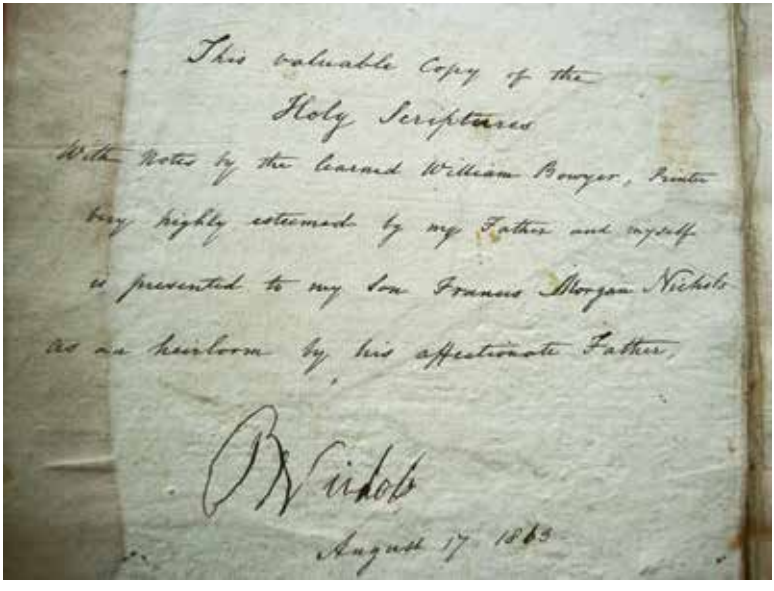


William Bowyer's extensive annotations in his copy of the *Holy Bible* (Oxford: Thomas Basket, 1755), were incorporated by John Nichols in his *Critical Conjectures and Observations on the New Testament, collected from various authors by William Bowyer* (1782).

while he was away. Writing from Worthing in 1816 he asked his son to buy John Feltham's *Guide to all the Watering and Sea-Bathing Places* (London, 1813) and Byron's *Reflections on Shipboard* (1816),[11] and on 13 October he wrote from Tunbridge Wells, asking his son to buy an edition of *The Dunciad*, listed at half a crown in the latest catalogue of Mr Combe of Leicester.[12] In a playful letter to his son in 1823 Nichols assumed the character of a customer, thanking the business for sending him a circular of their latest works and greatly approving of their 'zeal for Antiquities'. He requested a copy of Bond's *Topographical Sketches of East and West Looe* which they had recently printed and published, and wished to subscribe to Fosbroke's *Encyclopædia of Antiquities*, Woolnoth's *Ancient Castles* and the county histories of Durham, Northampton and Hertfordshire that they were printing for Robert Surtees, George Baker and Robert Clutterbuck respectively. He promised to pay their bill on receipt and noted that he had a full set of their *Gentleman's Magazine* since 1731.[13]

John Nichols also received books as gifts from friends and those who held him in esteem. In 1788 Michael Lort, Welsh cleric and antiquary, sent him John Lewis Boissier's translation of Charles Bonnet's *Philosophical and Critical Enquiries concerning Christianity* (1787).[14] John Walker of Oxford presented him with his *Selection of Curious Articles from the Gentleman's Magazine,* (1811), on its publication[15] and in 1814 George Hardinge gave him a copy of his poem, *The Russian Chiefs* (1813), candidly hoping that Nichols would review it in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.[16] The copy of Henry Ellis's edition of the *Chronicle of Iohn Hardyng* (1812) that I found in

11. Private Collection, PC2/2/fo.38 NAD1565, John Nichols to John Bowyer Nichols, 23 May 1816.
12. Private Collection, PC2/2/fo.64 NAD1678, John Nichols to John Bowyer Nichols, 13 October 1816.
13. Private Collection, PC2/4/fo.170/1–2 NAD4469, John Nichols to Nichols and Son, 2 January 1813.
14. Society of Antiquaries, London, MS447/2/ fo.236 NAD9030, Michael Lort to John Nichols, 28 January 1788.
15. Private Collection, PC1/Library NAD9322, John Walker to John Nichols, 29 July 1811.
16. *Literary Illustrations*, vol. 3 p. 30, NAD12353, George Hardinge to John Nichols, 24 May 1814.



This inscription inside William Bowyer's annotated copy of the *Holy Bible* (Oxford: Thomas Basket, 1755), was written by John Bowyer Nichols just two months before his death.

the private library is of particular interest. Ellis, who later became principal librarian at the British Museum and was knighted in 1833, was a protégé of John Nichols and Richard Gough, owing his first positions at the Bodleian Library and British Museum to their patronage. He began contributing to the *Gentleman's Magazine* aged fifteen in 1793 and it was Nichols who introduced him to Gough and produced his first book, *The History and Antiquities of the Parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, and Liberty of Norton Folgate* (1798). The copy of Ellis's edition of the 14th-century chronicle of John Hardynge in private hands is Ellis's own copy, with a leaf of the original chronicle inserted as a frontispiece. It is inscribed by Ellis, 'This Fragment of a MS. of Hardyng's Chronicle was given to me by Mr. Douce 1811.' Francis Douce had worked with Ellis at the British Museum. The leaf which he presented to Ellis covers the end of the reign of Henry IV and accession of Henry V and is one of several now missing from a copy of Hardyng's chronicle owned by Douce and now Bodleian MS. Douce 378. Although there are no ownership marks to confirm

that Ellis presented this volume to John Nichols, we know that Nichols owned a copy because it is listed in a manuscript catalogue of his library, prepared by his daughters following his death in 1826. If this is the same volume, it testifies to the friendship between Ellis and John Nichols and stands for the many books Nichols and his successors received as gifts from clients and friends.

John Nichols and his successors usually kept a copy of each title that they printed,[17] so their libraries spanned the whole spectrum of history, genealogy, topography, biography and heraldry; but they can also be found bidding alongside fellow collectors at auction. We can glimpse this through the priced copies of Sotheby's sale catalogues in the British Library. On 11 May 1778 Nichols bought Erasmus's *Praise of Folly* for 5s at the library sale of Dr Wilson, vicar of Newark upon Trent, along with the 1699 edition of Richard Bentley's *Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris* 'with a great number of Manuscript notes' for 2s 6d. Some items, such as the 'Miscellaneous Collection of Political and other Poetry, Songs, Verse etc' which he bought for 2s 9d at the sale of George Scott of Woolston Hall, Essex, on 12 May 1781 reflect his interest in what he called 'fugitive pieces' but are now impossible to identify. Others, notably the 'History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Hereford, 1717', in the sale of Peter Dore, Norroy King of Arms on 25 February 1782 (2s 6d) and 'Holinshead's Chronicle 1586' in the joint sale of the libraries of Walter Harte, Canon of Windsor and Ralph Bigland, Garter King of Arms on 31 January 1785 (£2.17s) later appear in his own library catalogue. His pockets were deep when necessary. On 6 March 1786 he spent a total of £16.13 on historic newspapers at the library sale of Edward Wynne who had acquired the literary collections of Narcissus Luttrell (1657–1732), annalist and book collector. They augmented the thirty-five volumes of early newspapers presented to Nichols by John Wilkes in c.1779 which spanned his turbulent political career from 1768. Nichols's purchases at Wynne's sale included the *Flying Post* 1695 to 1732 (£2.4s), *The Post Man* and the *Historical Account* 1695 to 1726 (£3.10s) and *The Post Boy* 1695 to 1727 (£4.9s). They are now part of the Nichols Newspaper

17. St Paul's Cathedral Library, 38.F.47 NAD9057, John Gough Nichols to Maria Hackett, 24 April 1830.

Collection at the Bodleian Library.[18] More modest in cost, but no less useful for his own research, were the nineteen lots that he bought for £4.7s.6d at the sale of the heraldic engraver, Barack Longmate. They included 'Antiquities of Middlesex, being a Collection of Church Monuments in the County, 2 parts, with MS notes and corrections by B Longmate [senior] 1705–6' (6s). This later formed part of lot 959 in the sale of John Bowyer Nichols's library, 24 May 1864, where it was described as 'singularly curious, extremely scarce' and was purchased by 'Willis' for £7.7.0. The 'Commentarii Sexameri Rerum Cantabrigiae Actarum cum Regina Elizabetha, a Robynsono Collectore, 4to' which Nichols bought for 11s at the sale of Dr Anthony Askew on 3 March 1785 would later be used in his *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*.[19]

John Nichols also borrowed books when necessary. In 1776, when gathering materials for an edition of works by Jonathan Swift, Andrew Ducarel allowed him to borrow ten books on poetry and politics from Lambeth Palace Library, including Swift's anonymous tract, *The Conduct of the Allies and of the late Ministry in beginning and Carrying the present War* (1712).[20] In 1777 George Steevens told Nichols that he was welcome to borrow any books in his possession and in 1779 Nichols asked Lord Sandys for the loan of an annotated copy of Edmund Chishull's *Travels to Turkey and back to England* which William Bowyer had left to Sandys in his will.[21] In 1824, when Nichols, then his eighties, was compiling his *Progresses of King James I*, he asked Joseph Haslewood for help in borrowing some rare tracts (Nichols called them a 'nest of rarae aves') from the

18. J. Pooley, *John Nichols and his Collection of Newspapers, Pamphlets and News Sheets, 1760–1865* https://www.gale.com/binaries/content/assets/gale-us-en/primary-sources/newsvault/gps_17th_18thcenturynicholsnewspaper-collection_essay_julian-pooley.pdf [Accessed 13 May 2022].

19. Richard Gough's account of this sale was printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* 1785, p. 285. The manuscript subsequently passed to Richard Gough, who presented it to the Society of Antiquaries in 1792, where it is now MS530.

20. J. Nichols, *Supplement to Dr Swift's Works; being a collection of Miscellanies in Prose and verse, by the Dean; Dr Delaney, Dr Sheridan*, 2 vols (London: William Bowyer and John Nichols, 1776–1779).

21. Harvard: Houghton Library, MS Hyde 84 (8) NAD8214, George Steevens to John Nichols, 1777 and *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. 3, p. 266, NAD12480, Edwin Sandys to John Nichols, 3 Aug 1779.

dramatist, William Barnes Rhodes, promising that they would be 'safely and speedily returned'.[22]

Not everything was promptly returned. In 1797 Moor Scribo, rector of Crowland expressed his 'surprise and concern' that Nichols had not returned a survey of the lordship of Crowland, taken by commissioners in 1650 which he had borrowed three years ago in the presence of Mr Gough, pledging to return it within a month.[23] In 1823 Shute Barrington, Bishop of Durham, tartly reminded Nichols that he had lent him an interleaved copy of Dr Owen's work on the four Gospels with many additional remarks. Nichols had led him to believe that he might publish a new edition but, if Nichols had no such intention, he wanted it back.[24]

The Nichols papers tell us how the family stored and cared for their books. Until 1805, John Nichols lived with his son and daughters next to the business in Red Lion Passage, Fleet Street. On his son's marriage that year he returned to Islington, and although inventories of Red Lion Passage made at this time describe a library with six chairs, a round claw table, a Pembroke table, and a large bookcase in the hall, books were not included in the valuation as they were 'considered as Mr N's exclusive property'.[25] Nichols took the opportunity to repair and rebind some of his collection. Invoices of the bookbinder, Richard Sacheverall (c.1746–1810), bookbinder and attendant at the British Museum, dated 1805–06, list 164 titles that he had rebound, re-backed or gilt tooled for Nichols at a cost of £25.10.10d.[26] They included Thomas Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, the *Life of Erasmus* by John Jortin, Manning and Bray's *History of Surrey* and numerous works of poetry and topography. Nichols was one of Sacheverall's best customers. When he broke his

22. Guildhall Library, London, A.1.5. no.10 fos. 4–5 NAD11347, John Nichols to Joseph Haslewood, 11 February 1824.
23. Society of Antiquaries, London, MS267 fo.189 NAD10394, Moor Scribo to John Nichols, 30 August 1797.
24. Private Collection, PC1/50/169/1 NAD6336, Shute Barrington to Messrs Nichols, 26 November 1823.
25. Bodleian Library MS. Eng. lett. c. 372 fos. 211–228 NAD12225-6.
26. Bodl. MS. Eng. lett. b. 16 fos. 2–3, NAD5681-2, Richard Sacheverall to John Nichols, 28 May and 9 June 1806.

thigh in 1807, Sacheverall wrote to wish him a speedy recovery and in 1808 he apologised for a delay in completing a further order, noting that 'I feel myself under the highest obligations to Your kindness in employing me so long, and nothing I trust will ever obliterate the sense of gratitude I owe to You and Your family.'[27]

We have no idea how many of John Nichols's books were lost in the fire that destroyed the printing office and warehouse in February 1808. Nichols told the book collector James Bindley that 'All the Works that I ever published, of my own and of others are entirely gone.'[28] Miraculously, the dwelling house escaped and with it the garret where Nichols stored the business ledgers he had inherited from William Bowyer and his collection of early newspapers. No one was more delighted by this news than his fellow collector, Charles Burney, 'Heavy as these losses have been,' he wrote, 'the preservation of your Newspapers and private library must be a subject of rejoicing. Shall we meet on Saturday? I hope you will feel well enough in health, and stout enough in spirits to support the noise of those laughs, which you are in general so instrumental in occasioning.'[29]

John Nichols retained his own desk and shelves in Red Lion Passage after his move to Islington. In 1810 he asked his son to send Letsome's *Preacher's Assistant* from the shelf 'behind his chair' and to look in Owen Manning and William Bray's *History and Antiquities of Surrey* for biographical details of Daniel Wray for use in the *Literary Anecdotes*.[30] We can also glimpse his library in Islington. In 1813 he moved to Highbury Place and in 1816 had a new library installed while he was visiting Tunbridge Wells. His excitement shines through two letters he wrote to his son on 13 October, firstly saying how much he was looking forward to seeing the wonderful

27. Private Collection, PC1/18/80 NAD3128, Richard Sacheverall to John Nichols, 15 May 1807 and Bodl. MS. Eng. lett. b. 16 fo.7 NAD5685, Richard Sacheverall to John Nichols, 8 April 1808.

28. Bodl. MS. Eng. lett. c. 372 fos. 30–3 NAD271, John Nichols to James Bindley, 12 February 1808.

29. Bodl. MS. Eng. lett. c. 372 fo. 58 NAD8021, Charles Burney to John Nichols, 17 March 1808.

30. Private Collection, PC4/1/fo.143 NAD2279, John Nichols to Bowyer Nichols, 18 July 1810.

new room and admiring the 'symmetry of the portfolios' and later that day giving directions about shelving above the portfolios, and for shelves opposite the fireplace. 'One shelf should be deep enough to hold a Royal Folio in Boards' together with his *History of Leicestershire* and volumes by Dugdale,[31] and there should be room 'for more Octavos within the reach of his own eyes and hands'.[32]

Letters of John Bowyer Nichols tell us about his collections. In September 1831 he moved his family to 'Chancellors', a large 17th-century house by the Thames at Hammersmith. His library was completed by November and contained his large topographical collection of books, prints, brass rubbings and manuscripts. In 1840 the architect, John Adey Repton, cheerfully admitted that his 'chief object' in visiting was 'to look over the plates of all the volumes in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' … and in particular the index before breakfast each morning'.[33] When Jessy Scott, a neighbour, saw it in 1844, she described it as 'a charmingly untidy, comfortable sort of room'.[34] There was also a library at the printing office. On 26 August 1817 the parlour in Red Lion Passage was occupied all day by Robert Chester, Master of the Ceremonies to George III, who was researching his family history and wished to consult the firm's set of Richard Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments* and Nichols's *History of Leicestershire*.[35]

These working tools were in great demand. Samuel Johnson quickly grasped how useful Nichols's books might be for his *Lives of the Poets*. Between 1781 and 1783 Nichols was the printer for this large project, acting as intermediary between Johnson and booksellers. Though initially aloof, Johnson soon realised that as Nichols had inherited much of Bowyer's library and archive, and as Bowyer had printed for several of the poets he was researching,

31. Private Collection, PC2/2/fos. 63 and 99 NAD1677, NAD1835, John Nichols to Bowyer Nichols, 13 October 1816.

32. Private Collection, PC2/2/fo.96/1 NAD1800, John Nichols to Bowyer Nichols, 16 October 1816.

33. Private Collection, PC1/8/1 NAD653, John Adey Repton to Bowyer Nichols, 13 August 1840.

34. Hammersmith Archives, DD/272/1, Diary of Jessy Scott of Ravencourt, 1844.

35. Private Collection, PC2/2/fo.182/2 NAD1951, Samuel Bentley to Bowyer Nichols, 26 August 1817.

Nichols could provide useful materials for his work. In February 1780 he asked to borrow the last edition of Hughes's Letters; and hoped Nichols would get 'Dennis upon Blackmore, and upon Cato, and anything of the same writer against Pope'.[36] In May he asked for the *Oxford and Cambridge Miscellany Poems* edited by Elijah Fenton and Sir Richard Blackmore's *Essays upon Several Subjects*[37] and later the same year, impressed by Nichols's ability to track down rare books, Johnson asked him to find an edition of Prior's works published in 1740.[38] Other borrowers included Joseph Banks, who borrowed *The Craftsman* in 1795[39] and Joseph Warton, who borrowed William Bowyer's copy of the works of Alexander Pope in ten volumes in 1797.[40] But some books were not for loan: in 1805, when Samuel Pipe Wolferstan, a key helper in Nichols's *History of Leicestershire*, asked to borrow Thomas Hearne's 1774 edition of the *Black Book of the Exchequer*, he was told that it was interleaved with notes and too valuable to lend, but that he was welcome to consult it when next in London.[41]

Nichols was wise to be wary because not everything was safely returned. In 1797 John Baker Holroyd, 1st Earl of Sheffield, returned William Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent* and Thomas Philpot's *Villari Cantianum* which Nichols had lent to Edward Gibbon in 1793 but which were found at Sheffield Park after Gibbon's death in 1794. In 1817 Francis Astley, rector of Manningford Abbots, Wiltshire, offered to recompense Nichols for injury done to a volume of the *Antiquarian Repertory* which had lost its cover having fallen to

36. *Gentleman's Magazine* 1785, p. 10, NAD8975, Samuel Johnson to John Nichols, February 1780.
37. British Library Add. MS. 5159 fo. 21 NAD513, Samuel Johnson to John Nichols, 24 May 1780; Add. MS. 5159 fo. 15, Samuel Johnson to John Nichols, May 1780 NAD8930.
38. British Library Add. MS. 5159 fo. 10 NAD8926, Samuel Johnson to John Nichols, 1780.
39. *Literary Illustrations*, vol. 4, p. 698, NAD11010, Sir Joseph Banks to John Nichols, 19 July 1795.
40. *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. 6, p. 174, NAD9216, Joseph Warton to John Nichols, 13 September 1797.
41. Leicestershire Record Office, DE6308/28, NAD8043, John Nichols to Samuel Pipe Wolferstan, 11 September 1805.

the floor from an uneven table.[42] He was not the only provincial correspondent who relied on loans from the Nicholses as an intellectual lifeline. In 1820 John Chambers of Wymondham, Norfolk, thanked Bowyer Nichols for lending the *Life of Bishop Atterbury*, 'an attention to me of no little consequence as I am living in a most wretchedly dull and unliterary place and where the receipt of a fresh book is so lively an epoch in my life as to cause the quicksilver of my heart to run to blood heat.'[43]

John Nichols also acted as intermediary for his friends and his printing office was an unofficial clearing house for their bibliographical transactions. In January 1784 he approached Isaac Reed on behalf of Richard Hurd, bishop of Worcester, who wished to purchase Pope's copy of *The First Book of Homer's Iliad* translated by Thomas Tickell to add to the books of Bishop Warburton and Alexander Pope in his library at Hartlebury Castle.[44] Edmond Malone went through Nichols in 1786 when he needed to borrow the first edition of Camden's *Britannia* from Richard Gough[45] and in 1798 Henry Ellis wrote on behalf of Charles Mayo, Rawlinson Professor of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford, asking Nichols to bid for *Horace's Art of Poetry* and other tracts in the sale of Richard Farmer's library on 31 June – so we need to be careful when seeing Nichols's name in a sale catalogue, because he might not always have been buying books for himself.[46]

The Nichols papers also highlight the reading interests of John Nichols's daughters. Letters from Anna Francesca, wife of Joseph Cradock of Gumley, Leicestershire, to Sarah Nichols are particularly valuable. Writing from her fireside in December 1800, Anna asked Sarah if she had read the *Farmer's Boy*, as she would 'like the rural

42. Private Collection, PC1/50/181, NAD6389, Francis Astley to John Nichols, 19 June 1817.

43. Norfolk Record Office, MC1639/5, 815x1 NAD7860, John Chambers to Bowyer Nichols, 2 December 1820.

44. *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. 5, p. 640, NAD8910 John Nichols to Isaac Reed, 9 January 1784.

45. *Literary Illustrations*, vol. 5, p. 466, NAD8870, Edmond Malone to John Nichols, 30 December 1799.

46. British Library Add. MS. 36987 fos. 20–21, NAD8462, Henry Ellis to John Nichols, 8 June 1798.

scenery and delightful moral sentiments'.[47] Her 'favourite and most rational amusement' was reading, and she wished Sarah had been with her last winter when she read all of Pope's works. They could have commented on them together. She had read scraps of Pope when young but now greatly enjoyed the beauties of the verse and prose of this charming author.[48] In March 1812 she thanked Sarah for books she had sent with her last letter, noting that her comments would induce her to read them.[49] Anne Nichols, who married the cleric and antiquary John Pridden, did not share her sister's tastes, urging her in 1802 not to read any more of Joanna Baillie's tragedies or anything dismal but rather such books as would make her merry;[50] but Sarah's nephew, Samuel Bentley, loved to discuss books with her, sending her a copy of his *Excerpta Historica, or Illustrations of English History* in 1831.[51]

This shared love of books between John Nichols and his daughters proved crucial for the future of his library. When he died in 1826, Nichols bequeathed his 'private topographical library and Prints' to his son and divided his other books, prints and pictures between him and his sisters.[52] There is no inventory of titles in his will, so it sheds little light on his library. Sotheby's sale of his books in 1828 included the property of 'another gentleman' and so until recently we could only guess which books might have belonged to Nichols; but, tucked away on a shelf above the door in the private library, I found a manuscript catalogue which Anne and Isabella Nichols had made after their father's death. The 1,464 titles were valued by Joseph Arnould, bookseller of Spring Gardens, using a code where capital letters spelling 'K I N D B R O T H E' signify

47. Private Collection, PC1/25/fos. 5–6, NAD4166, Anna Francesca Cradock to Sarah Nichols, 4 December 1800.

48. Private Collection, PC1/25/fo.7 NAD4167 Anna Francesca Cradock to Sarah Nichols, 1801.

49. Private Collection, PC1/25/fo.108 NAD4339, Anna Francesca Cradock to Sarah Nichols, 27 March 1812.

50. Private Collection, PC4/2/fo.119/1–2 NAD3855, Anne Pridden to Sarah Nichols, 12 September 1802.

51. Private Collection, PC1/Library NAD11068, Samuel Bentley to Sarah Nichols, c.1831.

52. London Metropolitan Archives, will of John Nichols, 27 April 1822, proved in the Consistory Court of London, 21 Dec 1826.

£1, £2, £3 etc, with lower case representing the figures in shillings. In 1827 Anne reported that, 'we have finished our Catalogue [and] looked over and written down every book in the library, there is not a single book downstairs of Topography [...] Of those upstairs we have put an x against what we thought not Topography. We should ultimately like to have our catalogue again as we should arrange them alphabetically and keep it.'[53] The catalogue shows that by no means all the topography went to Bowyer Nichols and not all the titles valued by Mr Arnould were included in the Sotheby's sale. Hogarth's *Genuine Works* had already been given to Bowyer Nichols by his father; *The Beauties of England and Wales* on large paper were claimed by John Gough Nichols; Blair's *Sermons* and six volumes of Johnson's *Dictionary* went to Sarah, Lodge's *Portraits* and Gilpin's *Sermons* went to Isabella and Cadell's *Contemporary Portraits* passed to Anne.

Even this does not tell the full story. Of the fifty titles from William Bowyer's library that I have identified as owned by the Nichols family, only half can be positively identified in the manuscript catalogue of John Nichols's books. Several more, including the *Chronica Juridicialia* (1685), Samuel Clarke's edition of Homer's *Iliad* and William Whiston's *Historical Memoirs of the Life of Dr Samuel Clarke* are listed in the Sotheby's catalogue of John Bowyer Nichols's library in 1864; and others, notably Edward Rowe Mores's *Dissertation upon English Typographical Founders and Foundries*, with autograph letters from Mores to William Bowyer, and Palmer's *General History of Printing* (1732) with notes by William Bowyer, are only listed in the Sotheby's catalogue of John Gough Nichols's library in 1874, suggesting that John Nichols and his successors continued to acquire books owned by Bowyer when they came up for sale. This process is shown by the annotation inside a copy of John Dennis's *Original Letters, Familiar, Moral and Critical* (1721) now in the private library. Though once owned by Bowyer, Nichols bought it at Maxon's on 4 August 1789 and filed a letter inside it from the dissenter John Calder, discussing Dennis's letters. Nichols presented it to Bowyer Nichols.

53. Bodl. MS. Eng. lett. c. 6165 fo. 49 NAD6682, Anne Susannah Nichols to John Bowyer Nichols, 1827.

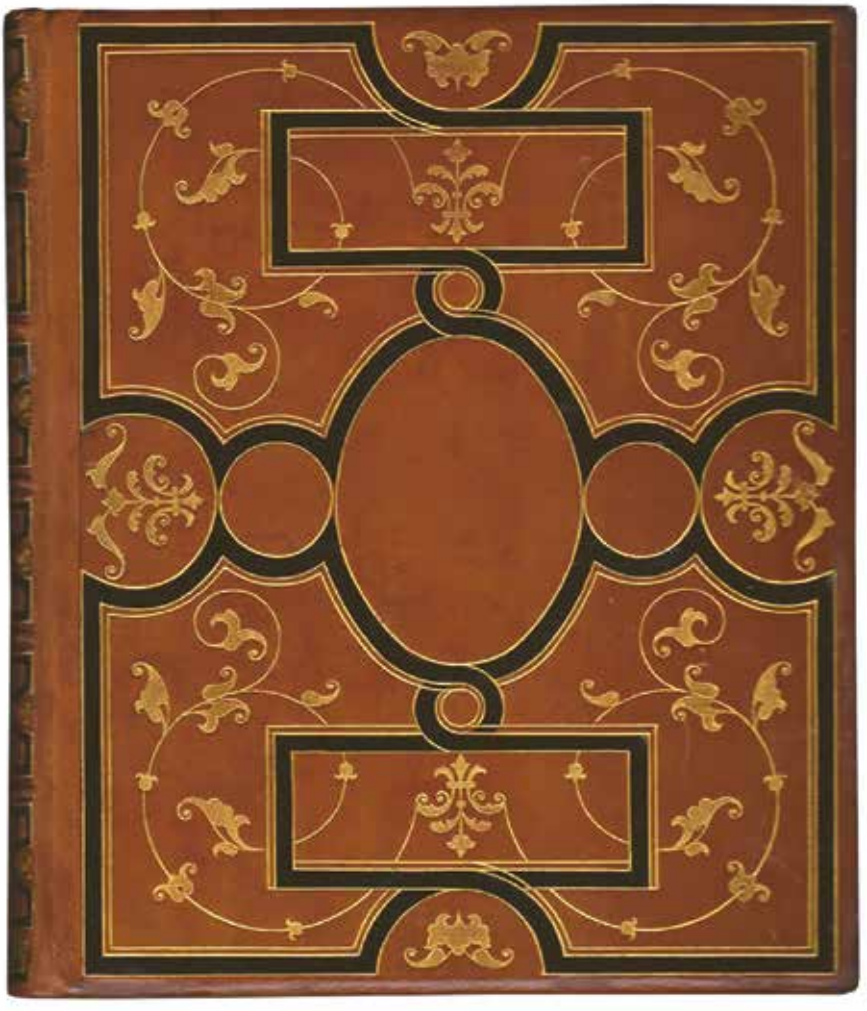
Manuscript catalogue of John Nichols's library, prepared by his daughters c.1827 and valued by Joseph Arnould. Private Collection.

Ownership inscription by John Nichols, aged 10, inside Littleton's *Latin Dictionary* (1678). Private Collection.

The same applies to many other books listed in the manuscript catalogue of John Nichols's library. When Isabella died in 1868 the sixty-five works listed in her will include nineteen that can be clearly identified in her catalogue of her father's library, including Nelson's *History of Islington*, Edward Fairfax's translation of *Tasso* and the *Pomona Herefordiensies*. Some of her books later passed to her nephew, Francis Morgan Nichols, and are now part of the private library. Francis also bought seventy lots at the sale of his brother, John Gough Nichols, in 1874 and Gough Nichols had bought 170 lots at his father's sale in 1864, ensuring a cascading continuity of ownership of books chronicling the printing business and research interests of the Nichols family over more than a century. This is illustrated by Edward Clarke's *Letters Concerning the Spanish Nation. Written at Madrid 1760–1761* (London, 1763). An inscription by John Nichols on a front endpaper reads, 'The above is the Handwriting of my late worthy Friend and Partner Mr William Bowyer; to whom this Volume was presented by the author, the Rev Edward Clarke, son of 'Mild William Clarke' of Chichester and Father of the learned Dr Clarke the modern traveller and of the Rev Stanier Clarke, the Historiographer of Lord Nelson.' It was lot 376 in John Bowyer Nichols's library sale of 1864, where Francis bought it for a shilling.

The privately owned library is a patchwork of the lives, careers and friendships of the Nichols family over successive generations. It can only be understood by reading the inscriptions in the volumes, studying the annotated Sotheby sale catalogues, cross reference to the manuscript catalogue of John Nichols's library and working through the vast archive of letters and papers accumulated by various members of the family. This is illustrated by one particular book. John Nichols's *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth* grew over more than forty years, first appearing in 1788 and reaching a third edition 1823, which now forms the basis of the revised edition published by OUP in 2014. But 1823 was not the final version. John Nichols's own copy, preserved in private hands, is filled with notes, letters, documents and other inserted material which shows that he, his son, grandson and daughters were all working on this project right up to the time of his death in 1826. It is a working copy, a research file

which would ultimately have provided copy for the next edition. It is typical of the way that John Nichols and his family used the books in their libraries and this book, having cascaded through six generations, encapsulates the story of this extraordinary library of printing, antiquarian and very personal history.



Binding of the author's copy of his Handbook.

The 1845 Handbook to Chatsworth and Hardwick: A Census of Copies

CHARLES SEBAG-MONTEFIORE

In 1845 the 6th Duke of Devonshire (1790–1858) privately printed his *Handbook to Chatsworth and Hardwick*. It is a very personal account, mostly devoted to Chatsworth. The Duke described the house he loved so deeply, the architectural changes he wrought, the contents of the rooms and his own numerous acquisitions of paintings, sculpture and works of art. Originally printed in a very limited edition, the Handbook has become more widely known thanks to a splendid facsimile edition, edited by John Martin Robinson and produced for the Roxburghe Club in 2020. Stephen Clarke's review of this Roxburghe Club edition was published by *The Book Collector* in the Summer 2022 issue.[1]

Only two large paper and nine 8vo copies of the original 1845 printing are known to have survived. My library is devoted to the British as art collectors. Unsurprisingly, this rare volume was a lacuna which I thought I could never fill. But in December 2021, by great good fortune, I was offered one of the 8vo copies. Its purchase made me curious to learn more about other surviving copies.

It is clear that the Duke intended to restrict its circulation only to near family members and close friends. He inscribed the copy he gave to his second sister thus: 'This book is presented to Georgiana, Countess of Carlisle, with the request that it may be considered as private as a letter, from her affectionate Devonshire.' The copies presented to his friends the 7th Duke of Bedford and the Revd. Lewis Sneyd carry similar inscriptions. The underlying sense of confidentiality is reinforced by the fact that the entire Handbook was written in the form of a private letter addressed to his third sister

1. *The Book Collector*, vol. 71, no. 2, p.367

Harriet, wife of Granville Leveson-Gower, 1st Earl Granville.

John Martin[2] recorded that that the 'distribution of this interesting work is strictly confined to the relatives of the noble Duke and a few of his personal friends', but omitted to say how many copies were printed. He probably did not know. In fact, no definite record has survived, but it is generally believed that the edition was limited to two large paper copies and twelve 8vo copies.

The Large Paper Copies

The two surviving large paper copies both belong to the library at Chatsworth. The term 'large paper' does not prepare one for what are in fact full sized folio volumes. The first is an extra-illustrated set, expanded to six volumes by Lady Louisa Egerton (1835–1907), the only daughter among the five children of the 7th Duke of Devonshire. Many of the watercolour drawings are signed 'L.C.E. copied from Hunt[3]' and illustrate whole rooms and individual paintings and works of art in the Devonshire collection, supplemented by some prints and photographs. It is a superlative and highly attractive creation.

The second large paper copy was presented to John Payne Collier (1789–1883), librarian to the 6th Duke until the Duke's death in 1858, and also known as a literary forger. This copy returned to Chatsworth in 1906 as a gift from Collier's grandson. It contains two inscriptions written by Collier, probably towards the end of his life. The first one states:

> This book was written by the Duke of Devonshire in the year 1847–8 [*recte 1845*].
> Only 12 copies on small paper, of which he gave me 3.
> Three copies of this [large paper] size, of which he gave me one.
> He had it of this large size that he might have it illustrated by drawings of people, views and objects. J.P.C.

The second inscription was probably written at a later date and informs us:

> The Duke had 3 copies on this size and paper with a view to occupying

2. John Martin, *Bibliographical Catalogue of Privately Printed Books* (1854), p. 511.
3. William Henry Hunt (1790–1864), artist, chiefly known for his watercolours.

> the margins by drawings of objects, persons and places, but his health & interest failed and the design was never carried out. He gave me this copy as the purpose was my suggestion originally. J.P.C.

Lady Louisa Egerton fulfilled magnificently the proposal to illustrate the Handbook in the copy held continuously at Chatsworth. Apart from Collier, no other reference has been found to a third large paper copy: if it ever existed, its location is unknown.

The 8vo Copies

Confusingly Collier wrote a contradictory inscription in the copy now belonging to the National Library of Scotland ('NLS', see copy no. 6), which reads:

> The book was written by, and printed at the expense of the late Duke of Devonshire.
> Only 25 copies were worked off.
> J. Payne Collier
> (who merely corrected the press)
>
> Three of the 25 copies were taken off upon very large drawing paper, of which three the Duke gave me one.
> J.P.C.

Whereas Collier wrote in the Chatsworth large paper copy that twelve copies were printed on small paper, his assertion in the NLS copy that twenty-five copies were printed implies that the small paper edition ran to twenty-two copies. However, with an item as special as the Handbook, a survival rate of nine out of twelve seems more likely than nine out of twenty-two, although this cannot now be proved definitively.

A second question arises over whether it is possible that the Duke would give one person three copies of a very small print run. It is probable that Collier owned two 8vo copies – the copy now in the NLS, which he inscribed, and my copy, which belonged to Collier's nephew and also has a pencil note that twenty-five copies were printed.

It seems more likely that the 8vo print run was limited to twelve copies. This number was supported in writing in 1897 by Lord Hawkesbury, later 1st Earl of Liverpool (1846–1907), antiquary and

book collector, in his copy (see no. 7). He set out his list of the original recipients of twelve copies of the 8vo edition as he remembered them, but this was over fifty years after the Handbook was printed. As shown below, the names on his list are only partly accurate, but his recollection of the number of copies printed, which accords with Collier's note in his large paper copy mentioned above, was probably right.

Libraries that Possess 8vo Copies

1. **CHATSWORTH 1**. The 6th Duke gave this copy to his sister Lady Carlisle, born Lady Georgiana Cavendish (1783–1858). She married George Howard, 6th Earl of Carlisle. The volume was inherited by Lady Mary Howard (d.1892), youngest daughter of George, Lord Carlisle. She married Henry Labouchere, Lord Taunton (1798–1869), of Quantock Lodge, Somerset. The book was inherited by their eldest daughter Mary Dorothy Labouchere (d.1920), wife of Edward James Stanley (1826–1907) and passed to their eldest surviving son Edward Arthur Vesey Stanley (1871–1941). It was acquired by the 9th Duke of Devonshire in 1928. This copy was used for the Roxburghe Club edition of 2020.

2. **CHATSWORTH 2**. The 6th Duke's own interleaved copy with manuscript addenda up to 1850. It carries the comments written by James Leigh Hunt (1784–1859), critic, poet and essayist.

3. **CHATSWORTH 3**. Bound in vellum, this copy has been used by the Duchesses of Devonshire from the 20th century onwards. Several significant extracts were published by Deborah, Duchess of Devonshire in her book, *The House: A Portrait of Chatsworth* (London, 1982).

4. **WOBURN ABBEY**. This copy was presented by the 6th Duke of Devonshire to Francis, 7th Duke of Bedford. It has a charming inscription in the 6th Duke's hand in the front addressed to his 'oldest friend', and requesting him to treat it as a confidential letter. Strangely, Lord Hawkesbury omitted this copy from his list.

5. **BRITISH LIBRARY**. This copy contains no clues about its earlier provenance, but by the 20th century, if not earlier, it had returned to Chatsworth and carries the heraldic bookplate of Victor, 9th Duke of Devonshire (1868–1938). It was given to the British Museum

Library by the Chatsworth Estates Company on 14 May 1949, in the lifetime of Edward, 10th Duke (1895–1950). The British Museum rebound the volume after receiving it, unfortunately removing any leaf which might have carried an original presentation inscription.

6. **NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND**. This 8vo copy belonged originally to John Payne Collier, who inscribed his copy after 1858 as noted above. His library was sold by auction in 1884. This particular book was not in the sale, but items from his library were sold before his death and this book could have been in the antiquarian book trade before the auction. Around this time, it was acquired by Archibald, 5th Earl of Rosebery (1847–1929), who placed his octagonal armorial book label on the front pastedown. He placed the book in his library at The Durdans, Epsom. It was inherited by his eldest daughter, Lady Sybil Grant (1879–1955), who bequeathed it to the National Library of Scotland. Her bequest of 2,762 books was received in 1956.

7. **THOMAS WATSON LIBRARY, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK**. This copy was given by the 6th Duke to his niece Lady Fanny Cavendish (sister of the 7th Duke of Devonshire). She married Frederick John Howard (1814–1897), after whose death the book was given to his son-in-law Cecil Foljambe (1846–1907), created 1st Lord Hawkesbury in 1893 and 1st Earl of Liverpool in 1905. This explains the ownership inscription in this copy 'Hawkesbury, 8 May 1897' and the presence of his bookplate. It contains Lord Hawkesbury's list of recipients discussed below. It passed by descent to successive Earls of Liverpool, whose library was dispersed c.1945–47. This copy was bought in a Lincoln bookshop in May 1946 by [George Edward] Michael Trinick (1924–94), agent for the National Trust in Devon and Cornwall 1958–84. He sold it to the Metropolitan Museum, New York, on 4 March 1947 for 10 guineas.

8. **CANADIAN CENTER FOR ARCHITECTURE, MONTREAL**. This copy was given by the Duke to the Revd. Lewis Sneyd (c.1788–1858), and carries this affectionate inscription:

> After a friendship of almost half a century, this book will be read with indulgence by the Revd. Lewis Sneyd, Warden of All Souls, who is requested to consider it Private as a letter from his faithful and attached, Devonshire.

Lewis Sneyd was the son of the Revd. Ralph Sneyd, second son of another Ralph Sneyd of Keele Hall, Staffordshire. Lewis Sneyd entered Christ Church in 1805, and became Fellow of All Souls in 1809, Warden of All Souls in 1827, and then rector of East Lockinge. He died unmarried. A portrait of Sneyd by Thomas Barber the Elder hangs at Hardwick Hall, and belongs to the National Trust. A subsequent inscription in the book states:

> This book was left by the Revd. Lewis Sneyd to his cousin George Warwick, Lord Poltimore, and given by him to his wife Caroline, Lady Poltimore, Sept. 10th 1858.

In 1809 Lewis Sneyd's sister Emma married George Warwick Bampfylde (1786–1858), created 1st Baron Poltimore in 1831. Emma died in 1835, and in 1836 he married Caroline Buller, with whom he had a son. The book probably passed by descent in the Poltimore family. Their family house, Poltimore House, Exeter, was put up for sale in the 1920s. This book was acquired, possibly in the 1960s, by John Harris (1931–2022), the architectural historian, who affixed his bookplate by Reynolds Stone. In 1987 he sold most of his library *en bloc* to Phyllis Lambert, who created the Canadian Center for Architecture, Montreal. Lord Hawkesbury omitted this copy from his list.

9. **CHARLES SEBAG-MONTEFIORE.** My copy contains no presentation inscriptions or bookplates. It was rebound by Zaehnsdorf in 19th-century full brown morocco, with an elaborate strap work design in gilt and black. *Conjectural provenance* – John Payne Collier, who may have given it to his nephew, Frederic Ouvry (1814–81). Of Huguenot descent, Ouvry was a partner in Farrers, solicitors, where his clients included Charles Dickens, the 5th Duke of Newcastle and Coutts & Co. He was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1848. Although married, he had no children. Following his death on 26 June 1881, his fine library of manuscripts, autograph letters and printed books, with the first four folios of Shakespeare, was sold on 31 March 1882 by Sotheby's and fetched £6,169 2s. This copy was probably lot 471, where a similar strap work binding is described. The provenance is unrecorded between 1882 and 2021. *Definite provenance* – In 2021 it belonged to James Cummins, rare

book dealer of New York, from whom I bought it in December 2021. This volume, with my entire library, is destined to pass in the fullness of time to the National Gallery, London.

One further copy was reported to WorldCat in the possession of Sheffield University Library. However, Sheffield confirmed by email on 18 January 2022 that its 'copy' is in fact a photocopy. It therefore appears that three 8vo copies remain to be identified, if they survive.

The Bindings

As many of the surviving copies of the Handbook have been rebound, it is possible now only to speculate over what may have been the original binding. The copies in New York and Montreal are the only two to preserve a binding which carries the stamp 'BOUND BY C. LEWIS'. Two other copies (Chatsworth and the National Library of Scotland) are bound in a traditional Roxburghe binding – quarter leather with plain maroon paper sides. I am grateful to Dr Mirjam Foot, who wrote the article on Charles Lewis (1786–1836) in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, and who kindly examined photographs of the Lewis bindings. She noted that from about 1830 Francis Bedford, then Lewis's foreman, was gaining control and, after Lewis died in 1836, that Bedford managed the shop for Lewis's widow, Maria, until 1841. She wrote that,

> the binding is quite clearly not by Lewis himself. Not only was he dead, but the leather, the work and the stamped signature on the flyleaves are all very uncharacteristic of Charles Lewis himself. But there is no reason why it should not have been bound by the firm. Bedford managed the firm for Lewis's widow until 1841, when he went into partnership with John Clarke as Clarke & Bedford, finally setting up on his own in 1851.

However, the firm of Charles Lewis carried on under Charles's widow Maria, until 1854. I do not know who managed it (and did the actual work) for Maria after Bedford left. There is no reason to believe that, as the firm still existed, they should not have continued to use the signature stamp. After all, the name was still an advertisement, although the quality of the work was quite clearly no longer up to the standards of Lewis himself. Charles Lewis bound for everybody who was anybody and the Dukes of Devonshire were

among his clientele. It seems to me quite logical that the 6th Duke of Devonshire in 1845 would still use the old familiar firm.

Lord Hawkesbury's List

The copy in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (No. 7 above), was inherited by Lord Hawkesbury, later 1st Earl of Liverpool (1846–1907), antiquary and book collector. In 1897, over 50 years after the Handbook was printed, he set out his list of the original recipients of 12 copies of the 8vo edition. But his memory was inaccurate, or he was misinformed. Hawkesbury omitted the copies given to the Duke of Bedford, the Revd. Lewis Sneyd and John Payne Collier. Only four copies on his list can be positively identified. He was surely correct in adding the name of Harriet, Lady Granville, to whom the Handbook was addressed, to his list, but her copy is missing. The names of other recipients on his list might be correct, but either their copies have disappeared or the pages bearing a presentation inscription have been removed during subsequent rebinding. The list below follows Lord Hawkesbury's numbering.

Copies listed by Lord Hawkesbury that have been identified

HAWKESBURY COPY 1

Original recipient listed as 'Chatsworth'.
Present owner – Chatsworth.

HAWKESBURY COPY 2

Original recipient listed as 'Hardwick'.
Present owner – Chatsworth.

HAWKESBURY COPY 4

Original recipient listed as 'Lady Carlisle'. Lady Georgiana Cavendish (1783–1858) was the sister of the 6th Duke. She married George Howard, 6th Earl of Carlisle (see Chatsworth 1 above).
Present owner – Chatsworth (via Castle Howard).

HAWKESBURY COPY 7

Original recipient listed as 'Lady Fanny Howard'.
She (1809–1885) was the sister of William 7th Duke of Devonshire and of Lord George Cavendish (see Hawkesbury copy no. 6).
Present owner – Thomas Watson Library, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (see no. 7 above).

Copies *listed by Lord Hawkesbury that have not been identified or located*

HAWKESBURY COPY 3 – Original recipient listed as 'Lady Louisa Egerton'.

Lady Louisa Egerton (1835–1907) was the daughter of William Cavendish, 7th Duke of Devonshire. In 1865 she married Admiral Hon. Francis Egerton (1824–1895), the son of Francis 1st Earl of Ellesmere. They had five children: William Francis (1868–1949); Commander Frederick Greville (1869–1899); Blanche Harriet (1871–1943); Dorothy Charlotte (1874–1959); and Christian Mary (1876–1970).

HAWKESBURY COPY 5 – Original recipient listed as 'Lady Granville'.

Lady Harriet Cavendish (1785–1862) was the sister of the 6th Duke. She married Granville Leveson-Gower, 1st Earl Granville. The 6th Duke wrote the Handbook in the form of a letter to her. A copy must indeed have been given to her, but it has disappeared.

HAWKESBURY COPY 6 – Original recipient listed as 'Lord George Cavendish, now J. C. Cavendish'.

Lord George Cavendish (1810–1880) was the brother of William 7th Duke of Devonshire and of Lady Fanny Howard (copy no. 7). Lord Hawkesbury added that this copy was inherited by George Cavendish's oldest son James Charles Cavendish (1838–1918). He lived at Darley House, Derbyshire and 3 Belgrave Place, London. He died apparently unmarried. The probate value of his estate was £121,580 9s. 4d. and his executors were his nephew the Hon. Robert Henry Brand and his niece Blanche Susan Egerton.

HAWKESBURY COPY 8 – Original recipient listed as 'Lord Vernon'.

George Venables–Vernon, 5th Lord Vernon (1803–66), of Sudbury Hall, MP 1831–35. A scholar of Dante, he spent many years in Florence. He sold his Dante library to Robert Stayner Holford of Dorchester House and Westonbirt.

HAWKESBURY COPY 9 – Original recipient listed as 'Sir Joseph Paxton' (1803–1865).

HAWKESBURY COPY 10 – Original recipient listed as 'Miss Berry, now at Hardwick'.

HAWKESBURY COPY 11 – Original recipient listed as 'Cecil Boothby'.

Perhaps Cecil Brooke Boothby (1813–83), second son of Sir

William Boothby, 9th Bt. and Fanny Jenkinson, only daughter of Colonel John Jenkinson, and niece of Charles, 1st Earl of Liverpool. He died unmarried on 8 January 1883.

HAWKESBURY COPY 12 – Original recipient listed as 'Duchess of Sutherland, left it to Lord Ronald Gower'.

Lady Harriet Howard (1806–68) was the daughter of the 6th Earl of Carlisle and Lady Georgiana Cavendish (daughter of the 5th Duke of Devonshire). In 1823 she married George, 2nd Duke of Sutherland. Their youngest son was Lord Ronald Sutherland-Gower (1845–1916), sculptor and writer. He went bankrupt in his last years and died unmarried.

Although it may seem peculiar that eight copies on Lord Hawkesbury's list of twelve cannot now be identified, it must be remembered that many of the surviving copies have been rebound and the evidence of earlier ownership regrettably removed during the process.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to many individuals who kindly answered my questions about presentation and other inscriptions, bookplates and all other evidence of previous ownership contained in the copies of the Handbook in their care, and sent me photographs. They are the Duke of Devonshire, Fran Baker (archivist and librarian at Chatsworth), Matthew Hirst (Curator at Woburn Abbey), Scot McKendrick (British Library, Head of Western Heritage Collections), Amina Shah (Librarian and Chief Executive, National Library of Scotland), Ken Soehner (Chief Librarian, Thomas J. Watson Library, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), Tim Klähn (Canadian Center for Architecture, Montreal). I am also grateful to Dr Mirjam Foot for her help on Charles Lewis, bookbinder, and to Stephen Clarke who kindly read the article in its final draft and made valuable comments.

Who Planted the Trees? Pioneers in the Development of Bookbinding History, Part 3: G. D. and A. R. A. Hobson

MIRJAM M. FOOT

The next binding scholar whose work is still much used and who has influenced the way the study of the history of bookbinding has developed was meant to be Anthony Hobson (1921–2014). However, it seems wrong to discuss his work without reference to that of his father, G. D. Hobson (1882–1949), whose mantle of scholarship he inherited and who influenced him in more than one respect.[1] Both father and son shared many interests and pursued similar careers. Both were prominent figures at Sotheby's, and both became influential binding historians.

Geoffrey Dudley Hobson was born in Bromborough, Cheshire. He was educated at Harrow School and University College, Oxford, taking a first-class degree in modern history; he trained as a lawyer, but loss of hearing prevented him from practising and in 1908 he was one of a group who bought the established auctioneering firm of Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge. He contributed both shrewd business sense and scholarship, the latter especially in the field of early books and bookbindings, making Sotheby's the centre of the world's rare books business. It has been said that he provided the firm with scholarly respectability. Because of his deafness he could not conduct sales, unlike his son, who became a commanding

1. Both Hobsons are the subject of articles in *ODNB*; both have had several obituaries and Anthony Hobson has also been the subject of several appreciations in *The Book Collector* and elsewhere, notably that by David McKitterick, *Bibliographical Memoirs of Fellows of the British Academy*, XV, (2016), pp. 55–67.

and authoritative figure at the rostrum, urbane and elegant in a dark suit with a fresh buttonhole.

In 1920 G. D. H. married Gertrude Adelaide Vaughan (1890–1938) and their only son, Anthony, was born at Rhyl in the following year. They lived at 1, Bedford Square until the British Museum commandeered part of the back garden to build the new Duveen gallery, when the family moved to Chelsea Park Gardens. Anthony was educated at Eton and New College, Oxford, graduating in modern languages. He served in the Scots Guards from 1941–46, having taken part in the Italian Campaign, then ending up in Intelligence. He never lost his upright military bearing. Before embarking on his career as auctioneer and scholar, he travelled in Italy, Greece, Turkey, Spain and Portugal, adding Italian and Spanish to his already fluent French and good German.

When G. D. H. died in 1949, Anthony, who had joined the auction house in 1947, became head of the Book Department and a Director of Sotheby's. He held these functions until 1971. His scholarship during these years is evident from the well-researched catalogues, many written by himself. He masterminded a number of important sales, such as those of the Dyson-Perrins Collection of medieval manuscripts (1958–60), the books and bindings belonging to Major J. R. Abbey (1965–78), and perhaps the most famous of all, the residue of the enormous collection of books and manuscripts of Sir Thomas Phillipps, lasting from 1965 to 1977. He recruited a team of experts, among whom were Andreas Mayor and Christopher de Hamel, who, in a charming personal recollection of his former boss, emphasised Anthony's erudition, astonishingly retentive memory and 'relentless industry'[2]. Disenchanted with changes in the company, he resigned in 1977.

In 1959 he had married Tanya Vinogradov (1929–1988), daughter of the historian Igor Vinogradov. They had a son and two daughters and Tanya accompanied Anthony on his extensive travels to libraries and collections of rare books and bindings, taking many of the photographs that came to illustrate her husband's lectures and publications.

2. *The Book Collector*, vol. 60, no. 3, Autumn 2011, p. 372.

Like Goldschmidt and Graham Pollard, those working in the book trade have a great advantage over scholars otherwise employed.[3] Both Hobsons benefited from their involvement in an auction house, where large numbers of books and manuscripts passed through their hands. Their work shows their wide international interest, in both cases with emphasis on decorated bindings.

They both collected binding literature, including sales catalogues, which they heavily annotated and stuffed with extra plates, photos, rubbings and correspondence. They amassed boxes of pamphlets, offprints and descriptions of bindings, they put together albums of photographs, rubbings, notes and letters, and they filled notebooks with drafts for articles. Their combined archive, now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, is a treasure trove for any binding historian. As well as early bibliography, Anthony also collected 17th and 18th-century illustrated books and 20th-century English literature.[4]

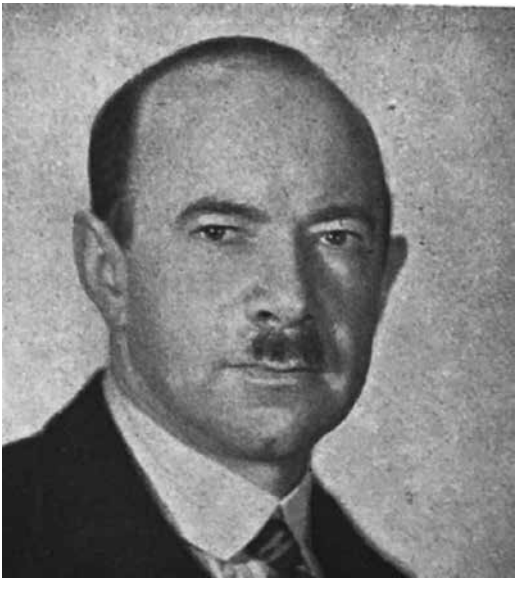
G. D. Hobson has been called a pioneer who saw the study of bindings as a branch of humanist culture; however, he was not the only binding historian of his generation to place bookbindings in their historical context. Our first 'planter of trees', E. P. Goldschmidt, showed clearly how the whole of the development of the book trade can only be explained if seen as part of cultural history. Both Goldschmidt and Hobson wrote about bindings as a consequence of the intellectual, cultural and social life of the time in which they were produced.

Where G. D. H. was truly innovative was in drawing parallels between the design of decorative binding tools and iconography in other forms of art. His son followed him in this and in bringing historical, art-historical and general cultural knowledge to bear on the history of bookbinding, relating the production of bindings to wider cultural movements.

G. D. H.'s Sandars Lectures, published by the Cambridge

3. A correction to Part 2 of this series: Pollard's lecture on 'John Dorne as an Oxford Bookbinder' was published as an appendix in D. Pearson, *Oxford Bookbinding 1500–1640* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 201–10.

4. The illustrated books were sold at Sotheby's on 10 November 1975; a selection of modern manuscripts and printed books was auctioned on 28 June 1996; the collection of early bibliography was sold at Christie's on 9 June 2015 and the rest of his literature collection was sold at Christie's on 10 June 2015.



G. D. Hobson, photograph: *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1950.

A. R. A. Hobson, photograph by Tanya Hobson.
By courtesy of the family of A. R. A. Hobson.

University Press in 1929 as *English Binding before 1500*, include several appendices, one headed 'Of English Culture of the Twelfth Century', another relating decorative patterns on bindings with those on Irish Satchels, and a third on medieval cylindrical, round and rectangular cut-leather boxes. Several statements relating to the origin of Romanesque bindings were corrected by G. D. H. himself in 'Further Notes on Romanesque Bindings'[5]; in this article he also extended his iconographical research, drawing comparisons between binding tools and monumental sculpture, carvings found in churches, metalwork and contemporary enamels.

Thirty Bindings (London, 1926) and *Bindings in Cambridge Libraries* (Cambridge, 1929), the latter based on work by N. F. Barwell, H. M. Davies and C. E. Sayle, follow a more conventional and straightforward pattern of an illustration accompanied by a description, this time ranging more widely geographically and covering a period from the late 12th to the late 18th century. But in *Maioli, Canevari and Others* (Boston, 1926), G. D. H. used his historical knowledge to establish Thomas Mahieu, secretary to Queen Catherine de' Medici, as the owner of a number of Parisian bindings made in the second half of the 16th century. But then, in an attempt to explode a range of speculative nonsense about the attribution of a group of 16th-century Italian bindings decorated with a plaquette depicting Apollo and Pegasus, he focused on the wrong Roman grandee, thereby extending the myths that have been connected with this device, until his son severed the links with all old pretenders by definitively proving that the original owner was a young Genoese patrician, Giovanni Battista Grimaldi. In Anthony Hobson's *Apollo and Pegasus* (Amsterdam, 1975) the number of bindings with this plaquette are extended considerably and are shown to be the work of three different binders, but, more importantly, Anthony's approach started with a study of the literary and iconographic relations of the device, showing it to have been conceived during the literary and economic revival in Rome after the Sack of 1527. As well as showing his thorough familiarity with the contemporary Italian

5. *The Library*, 1934, re-published, together with 14 other articles by G. D. H. previously published in a variety of journals between 1922 and 1946, as *Studies in the History of Bookbinding* (London, 1988).

book trade, printers, booksellers and bookbinders, he deployed his interest in collecting and in family dynasties, decoration, art and architecture, making extensive use of archival evidence, accounts and letters, to conjure up a whole world that goes well beyond an episode in the history of bookbinding.

Anthony Hobson's first book, *French and Italian Collectors and their Bindings* (Oxford, 1953), a series of essays based on examples of the library of J. R. Abbey, a project inherited from his father, and following the model of G. D. H.'s book on English bindings in the Abbey Collection (1940), already shows his wide knowledge of the French and Italian book trade and of cultural history. There followed several articles in *The Book Collector*, including an edited version of his father's 'German Renaissance Patrons of Bookbinding' (1954), left among G. D. H.'s papers, reviews and articles in the same periodical, the *Library*, the *TLS* and in Festschriften, before two more books appeared in 1970.

One was a reprint (Amsterdam, 1970) with a long supplement of additions and corrections of his father's *Les Reliures à la fanfare: le problème de 'S fermé'* (1935). In this book, G. D. H. again demonstrated the relationship between binding decoration and other decorative art and crafts, finding 'fanfare' decoration on a coat of armour for Henri II of France, on panels, windows and a ceiling in the palace of Anet, built between 1548 and 1552, and on an enamelled dish, connecting the style to artists working for Henri II and Diane de Poitiers, as well as seeing parallels in near eastern designs, showing that all the elements of this style existed in decorative arts before appearing on decorated bindings.

Anthony's second book, *Great Libraries* (London, 1970) shows a departure from an emphasis on bindings. In a lavishly illustrated guide to library buildings, their architecture, interiors and, especially, their contents, we learn about their foundations and founders, their history, and how, in their development, their rise and decline, they reflect the intellectual, economic and political movements of their time. With Hobson, we are invited to travel all over Europe and the United States, moving from the 4th to the 20th century.

Perhaps his most wide-ranging and certainly his most influential book, *Humanists and Bookbinders* (Cambridge, 1989) continued

the approach to bookbinding research so successfully established in *Apollo and Pegasus*. Plaquette bindings figure prominently also in this complex, erudite and fascinating work, but only in so far as they form a stage in the development of bookbinding design from the earliest manifestation of gold-tooling in Italy until the death of Henri II of France. Hobson traced the introduction of humanistic scripts, the emergence of smaller and lighter books in leather bindings, the new fashion for gold-tooled decoration, the susceptibility for Mamluk and Classical influences during the Italian Renaissance, back to the initiatives of scholars and scribes and showed that the 'humanistic binding' finds its origin in the taste of a group of Paduan antiquaries. He followed the origin of tooling with gold leaf from 13th-century Morocco, and the 14th-century Mamluk empire and Iran, to its emergence in Florence c.1400. Islamic influence is visible in the design and tool design of early 15th-century bindings, but also in the use of thin pasteboards, decorated leather doublures and filigree work.

Classical inspiration led to new designs and new tools engraved after classical motifs, looking to the classical sarcophagus, antique gems and coins. Emblematic figures, derived from classical mythology and other motifs taken from Roman imperial coinage, as used by Italian 16th-century binders, are identified with their symbolism and traced back to their sources. That the earliest French experiments with gold tooling owe much to Italian influence can be seen in the bindings of the Fontainebleau Library, described in the last part of this book. François I is awarded the title of 'the greatest bibliophile of his time' and the Royal library included another novelty in France: 'alla greca' bindings, with grooved boards and raised endbands, decorated in a variety of styles. The library and the binding programme were much extended during the reign of Henri II, when the best finishers produced the most beautiful bindings not only for the Royal library, but also for several discerning French collectors.

The third volume in the trilogy on Renaissance book collectors and the binders they patronised was based on Anthony's Lyell Lectures, delivered in Oxford in 1991. In this, as in the previous two volumes, the collectors have become human beings, with friends,

enemies, relations, business interests, as well as a passion for collecting, especially books. They formed part of circles of cultured and erudite literati, scholars and artists, and they had an eye for form, colour and decoration that led them to employ the best craftsmen of their time. In *Renaissance Book Collecting: Jean Grolier and Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, their Books and Bindings* (Cambridge, 1999), we are presented with two men, Jean Grolier, Treasurer of France, whose books and bindings have been much discussed and Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Ambassador to the Emperor Charles V, whose library was so far comparatively little known. Both men are brought to life and the reader is transported to Milan and Paris, Venice and Rome, visiting bookshops and binders and learning about classical literature and philosophy, theology and history, as seen through the eyes of these two collectors, both holding high office and active in public service, both influenced by early years spent in Italy, both with careers interrupted by imprisonment and disgrace, both with a taste for coins, antiquities, and, above all, for books and plaquette bindings.

This trilogy is an extraordinary achievement, based on many years of research, on a mass of original sources, a great knowledge of libraries and their holdings, and extensive reading.

As well as these major books and a wealth of articles and reviews, Anthony Hobson contributed to catalogues, conference procedures and exhibitions. He collaborated with other scholars, resulting in a book with Paul Culot on Italian and French 16th-century bindings in the Bibliotheca Wittockiana in Brussels (1990), a smaller work with L Quaquarelli on Renaissance Bolognese binding (1998), and an introduction to a set of essays about Roman Baroque bindings (1991). In 2009 he edited (with Christopher de Hamel) A. C. de la Mare and L. Nuvoloni, *Bartolomeo Sanvito, the Life & Work of a Renaissance Scribe*, to which he also contributed a chapter on Sanvito's bindings.

He edited and contributed to several volumes of procedures of congresses held by the Association Internationale de Bibliophilie, whose very effective and active President he was from 1985 to 1999. His *Memories of Congresses & Colloquia of the Association Internationale de Bibliophilie*, published by the AIB in 2011, gives a

wonderful flavour of the libraries and collections in the many places that the AIB visited, as well as of the people who organised and contributed to these congenial bibliophilic trips.

He contributed to several Festschriften and was himself the recipient of two: an issue of *The Book Collector*, published to celebrate his 70th birthday (vol. 40, no. 3, Autumn 1991) and a more substantial volume: *Bookbindings and Other Bibliophily* edited by Dennis Rhodes (Verona, 1994).[6] His many public positions and awards are set out in the introduction to this second Festschrift, in his obituaries and in David McKitterick's appreciation.[7]

Like two other 'planters of trees', Graham Pollard and Howard Nixon, he was President of the Bibliographical Society in 1977–79 and was awarded the Society's gold medal in 1992.[8] In a letter accepting this award, he showed his appreciation of the honour, writing: 'my cup floweth over'.

In his work he could be over-fond of attributions, perhaps being too definite in his determination to categorise every binding and to allocate every workshop. He was decisive and had no time for academic prevarication. He was fond of making lists of binders, groups of bindings, workshops and owners, which he enlarged, changed and sometimes re-attributed, in many publications in various journals, periodicals and Festschriften. Many of these articles deal with Italian Renaissance bindings and it was Anthony's intention to publish them, as well as newly discovered output of minor shops at work in less well-known places, in one collected volume. Alas, he died before this could be finished, but the typescript for this book has now been edited, corrected and extended by Ed Potten and myself and will be published by Bodleian Library Publications.

He spoke and wrote extremely well in long, flowing sentences of great elegance. He was authoritative and could perhaps be seen as autocratic, but underneath this was his great kindness. He was very

6. With a bibliography of Hobson's publications up to the end of July 1993, which was extended by A. S. G. Edwards to 2011, in *The Book Collector*, vol. 60, no. 3, Autumn 2011.

7. See note 1 above.

8. Pollard was President in 1960–61, awarded the gold medal in 1969; Nixon was President in 1972–4, and again in 1974–5. He was awarded the gold medal in 1978.

good company. It was a pleasure to travel with him – a visit to any library or museum was an education in itself. Moreover, he was an ideal dinner companion: full of stories, anecdotes on a whole range of subjects, utterly charming and witty. I consider myself lucky to have known him.

'Selling the *Illustrated London News*', from Part Six, 1840–49.
Author's collection.

'Books as they were bought: The Social History of a Collection

Also including newspapers, street literature, libraries & more'[1]

BY MAVIS EGGLE

James Fleming writes:
Three years ago, an interview with Mavis Eggle appeared in the Antique Traders Gazette with respect to something she was working on. Its title was 'Book collector interview: Social history of the printed word.' What was then eleven parts is now complete in sixteen parts, one for each decade from 1790 to 1940. It makes no bones about the quality of writing ('I am not a literary type'), it has no publisher, no ISBN, no index, no footnotes, no academic apparatus to speak of. So is it philanthropy, whimsy or what?

Mrs Eggle started collecting on the day of the Aberfan disaster – 21 October 1966. The book that she bought that day but no longer has, was an 1890s edition of Ovid's poems. She had found it hard to believe that a book could be so old. One thing led to another and in due course she took a stand in the local market. The rent was £4 and she took £6, 'which I thought was a huge success'. She began to take stands at book fairs and came to the realisation that what really interested her was something that nobody else collected: the shop window for printed material as it existed in the past, or, what things actually looked like to an average reader at the point of purchase between 1790 and 1949. The books, newspapers, magazines, broadsides, advertisements, plays, songs, jokes, comics and so on: how would they have struck the eye at the time? What were their selling points, what the social trends that gave rise to them, what the

1. In sixteen parts from Scott Brinded at stpaulsbib@gmail.com and Jeremy Carson at jeremy@antiquarianbookcompany.com. Single parts are £25. Postage is extra.

inventions that enabled them? The text is sparse, the images five or six to a page. It is a visual bibliophilic history lesson. To be clear, it is unique.

Each part covers a decade, has ninety-four pages and starts with a single page of historical and social background. The themes of Part 1 are followed, *mutatis mutandis*, for the next fifteen parts. They include paper making, printing, selling (starting with James Lackington), books in boards and in full leather bindings, half bound books, aristocratic bindings, price lists, inserts, magazines, almanacks, newspapers, pamphlets, election literature, children's books, chap books, school, street lit., execution broadsides, play bills, circulating libraries, lottery tickets and guide books. Having thus planted the signposts, Mrs Eggle develops the argument for each of them to show how the various formats changed with taxation, legislation, warfare, politics and above all, the industrial revolution.

When presented in this manner, some aspects of British history, previously entombed and entomed, become immediately intelligible. A good example is the Napoleonic era in which the radicalism aroused by revolutionary thoughts in France and America affected print in several ways: by the imprisonment of publishers, by the imposition of a tax on newspapers so that they didn't become affordable to the masses, by being cut off from European sources of rag for paper-making, by an explosion of pamphleteering with flag-waving broadsides ('Bonaparte! Haughty foe! This little island shall confound thee.') and by a scarceness of money ('Not an Hour's Credit will be given to any Person.' – brochure from Lackington). These ideological stirrings, when expressed as images, have far greater impact than in print. The snippets of text that Mrs Eggle gives us can be riveting, such as the fact that the demand for the latest novel by Scott could be so pressing that copies would be sent from Edinburgh to London by sea on account of the terrible condition of the roads. Distribution is of course key in the book business and we meet it again, and emphatically so, with the invention of the steam locomotive and the opening by W. H. Smith of his first railway bookshop in 1848. Thus we move into a totally different world where books needed to be small, light and eye-catching on a Smith's stall – the tribes of yellowbacks on the one hand and Baedekers on the other. The Crimean War, the

Public Library Acts of 1850 and 1855, the Great Exhibition of 1851 and the opening of the British Museum Reading Room in 1857 increased the appetite for reading in all its forms. This bred competition with knock-on effects in the nexus of advertising, newspapers and magazines. We see dust-jackets appear around 1845 and in the same decade we meet for the first time the sort of cheap, sensational fiction that was adapted to railway travelling times. At this point three-deckers make their final bow. Electricity arrives and with it consumerism. We find Lever Brothers (today's Unilever) offering a free hardback (or four paperbacks) for every twenty-five Lifebuoy soap wrappers handed in. (One of their soap ads from the 1920s will raise a wry smile: 'Why does a woman look old sooner than a man?') Suffragettes, Billy Bunter, air travel, traffic lights, television – the list of subjects covered in this collection is inexhaustible. The tiny (but telling) text beside the big image, the enthusiasm of the author, the unusuality of the enterprise, there is nothing comparable in the educational bookstore. Every school in the country should order a set without a second thought and do so immediately.

William Windham's bookplate.
Courtesy of The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.

The Libraries of Twelve Early Members of the Club

STEPHEN CLARKE

Part 10: William Windham: elected 1778

The statesman William Windham (1750–1810) of Felbrigg Hall, Norfolk, was admired by Johnson, admired by a wide circle of acquaintances – and equally admired by his political opponents. In his obituary tribute, Edmond Malone recorded that at Eton, 'in addition to his superiority in classical attainments, he was the best cricketer, the best leaper, swimmer, rower, skaiter; the best fencer, the best boxer, the best runner, and the best horseman, of his time.'[1] After Oxford and the University of Glasgow, travel, and service in the Norfolk militia, he committed himself to a parliamentary career that was distinguished by principle, oratory and commitment to public service, even though his changing political alliances also earned him the nickname of 'Weathercock Windham'.

He thought of himself as a scholar among politicians and a politician among scholars, and Malone noted that 'he had been in his earlier days a very diligent student and was an excellent Greek and Latin scholar. In his later years, like Burke and Johnson, he was an excursive reader, but gathered a great variety of knowledge from different books, and from frequently mixing, like them, with various classes and descriptions of men.'[2] The importance to him of his reading can be gathered from his diaries, first published in 1866: for example, in January 1786 he spent three days at Holkham Hall, relishing its elegance and magnificence, but also the opportunities for retirement that such a large house could offer its guests. He recorded that 'during my stay there, I have read more than I have done in

1. Edmond Malone, 'The Right Hon. William Windham', in John Nichols, ed., *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1828), vol. 5, pp. 470–85, at p. 471.
2. Edmond Malone, 'The Right Hon. William Windham', in John Nichols, ed., p. 476.

the same number of days in places to which I have retired to read', and he celebrated 'the easy transition from company to study'. He also took the opportunity to visit the secondary library, for in addition to the great library on the piano nobile designed by William Kent, two of the tower bedrooms and their connecting corridor had been converted to house the books that had been brought by Lady Leicester from their London house after the first Earl's death. Windham noted that 'the room and the collection fully answered my expectation, and give a pleasing impression of the use that might be made of it, and the comfort enjoyed in it, by any literary chaplain belonging to the family'. The studious Windham then set off via Raynham for Cambridge, reading among other things Keill's Treatise on Trigonometry on the way, before returning to London and the demands of the meeting of Parliament.[3]

Windham's father had known Johnson, and Windham as a young man had cultivated Johnson's friendship and attended him faithfully at the end of his life. Johnson acknowledged to him in 1784 that 'the tenderness with which You have been pleased to treat me throughout my long ilness, neither health nor sickness can, I hope, make me forget'. It is revealing that during Johnson's last visit to Ashbourne in that year, Windham travelled forty miles out of his way to spend a day and a half with him. Johnson recorded of their time together that 'such conversation I shall not have again till I come back to the regions of literature, and even there Windham is – inter stellas – Luna minores' (a moon among the lesser lights), while Windham, who despite his distinguished career was prone to self-doubt and vacillation, travelled on to Oxford reproaching himself for not having stayed with Johnson for another day.[4]

Windham recorded in his diary how on 7 December 1784 the dying Johnson placed him in the chair next to him and presented him with an edition of the New Testament. In his will Johnson left 'To Mr. Windham, *Poetae Graeci Heroici per Henricum Stephanum*' (Geneva,

3. Mrs Henry Baring, ed., *The Diary of the Right Hon. William Windham 1784 to 1810* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1866), pp.71–72.

4. Bruce Redford, ed., *The Letters of Samuel Johnson* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), vol. 4, pp. 376 and 387; R.W. Ketton-Cremer, *Felbrigg: The Story of a House* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1962), p. 181.

1566).[5] Windham also bought from the bookseller Nourse books that Nourse had acquired at the sale of Johnson's library, and there are at Felbrigg eighteen volumes in Greek or Latin that Windham so inscribed. They include Cardan's *De Rerum Varietate* (1775, lot 135), the commentary on Homer of Eustathius, the 12th-century archbishop of Thessalonika (1542–50, lot 478), Gruterus's *Delitiae Poetarum Germanorum*, (1612, lot 522) and Bentley's edition of Horace (1713, lot 435).[6]

The library at Felbrigg to which Windham's books were added survives as a large, bay-windowed room above the hall, fitted out in 1752 by the architect James Paine for Windham's father with elegantly restrained Gothic bookcases. Windham's father was an active buyer of English and French books and is also believed to have bound in the house some three hundred volumes of pamphlets, plays and poems, still present on the shelves. Windham himself was a mathematician as well as a classicist and a statesman; in addition to his mathematical exercises, there are in the British Museum two quarto volumes of his extensive but unfinished translation of de Thou's *Historiarum sui temporis libri cxxv* (1609–14). He was a serious reader; in June 1775 he wrote out a list of his recent reading, including the Philoctetes of Sophocles, the Æneid, Juvenal, Persius, Seneca, all of Goldsmith's and part of Rapin's histories of England, and elements of Barrow's sermons and of the New Testament. Typically, he was dissatisfied with his application.[7]

The library suffered a sale in 1919, at a time when the Felbrigg estate was neglected. The Sotheby's catalogue only identifies the books as 'The Property of a Gentleman', forming the first 136 lots of a miscellaneous sale. There were books on America, English

5. The identity of these two books on the shelves at Felbrigg was discussed by R.W. Ketton-Cremer in 'Johnson's Last Gifts to Windham', *The Book Collector*, vol. 5, no. 4, Winter 1956, pp. 345–46.

6. Robert Wyndham Ketton-Cremer, *The Early Life and Diaries of William Windham* (London: Faber & Faber, 1930), pp. 267–70. Both Ketton-Cremer and Fleeman give the title of the Gruterus volume as *Delitiae poetae Germanorum*, whereas the sale catalogue (ignoring a typographical error) and Greene have it as *Delitiae poetarum Gallorum*. These are two separate titles edited by Gruterus in respectively 1612 and 1609.

7. R. W. Ketton-Cremer, *The Early Life and Diaries of William Windham*, pp. 210, 179–80.

and French literature of the 17th and 18th centuries, travel books, county histories and architecture. More than half the total hammer price for the Felbrigg books was achieved by the final item, George Steevens's three imperial folio volumes containing his unique collection of Hogarth's engravings, which he had given to Windham, and which sold for £390. Those volumes, bearing Windham's armorial bookplate (here illustrated), are now at the Lewis Walpole Library at Yale University.[8] Despite the sale, with over 5,200 18th-century and earlier books – thanks in part to the efforts of the estate's last owner Wyndham Ketton-Cremer to make good the losses it had suffered – Felbrigg still has one of the National Trust's most substantial and most evocative libraries.

8. Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, Folio 75 H67 800.

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New York, New York 10023-8143
TELEPHONE: [646] 827-0724 FAX: [212] 994-9603

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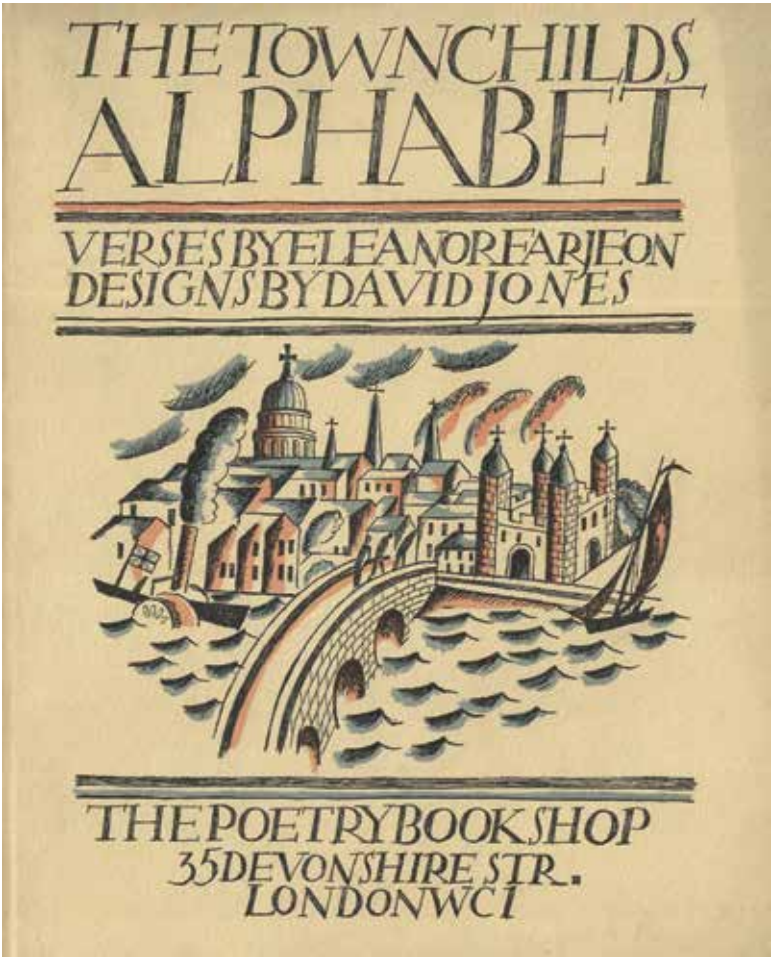


Brian Alderson is unwell.
Lost Friends will return.

NEWS & COMMENT

UNIVERSAL SUBSCRIPTIONS: this is a system that we've set up with Exact Editions (who handle our institutional business). Its primary advantage is that it enables our individual subscribers to get the same access as the institutions to our latest issues and archive. It's **FREE** but if you don't want to use it, that's fine, you can still access the archive through our own, rather clunky, system. But the Exact one is better – quicker, slicker, sharper, far more user-friendly. At present only **62** individual subscribers have signed up, which, because it's an all-or-nothing deal with Exact, makes it an unrealistically expensive goodie for us to be offering. We have agreed to continue it for a year but without many more subscribers, that'll be it, *finis*. To activate it is not difficult: you simply email Emma Brown at info@thebookcollector.co.uk and ask to be given a number. Yes, as easy as that.

❧

BOOK BANS are as old as publishing and much sought after by publishers, for it seems not to matter why a book has been banned, only the fact that it has been for success to come vaulting through the window. That Firsts, the great London bibliobazaar, should have chosen 'Banned Books' as its theme last year, only confirms their significance. The *Financial Times* recently cited Hobbes's *Leviathan*, which seemingly went for ten times the original price after the Church put a halt to reprints in the Restoration era, and *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, of which two million copies were sold after the prosecution's case for obscenity failed. ('Filth', as per Tom Lehrer, is a sure-fire winner.) *The Satanic Verses* also prospered, 'a work of magical realism deemed blasphemous by some'. Orwell's *1984* has been a consistent beneficiary of official disapproval. It topped US charts during Donald Trump's presidency and in Hong Kong was the ninth most borrowed adult book in 2020. All this arose apropos of Art Spiegelman's *Maus* having fallen foul of Tennessee educators, on the grounds, apparently, that it depicts Jews as mice and Nazis as cats. Elsewhere the decision has been derided since, it is said, attributing some of the features of comics to recent events, however gruesome, helps to make them intelligible (and so on).

❧

Staying with bans, let us now move to **SCRABBLE**, the latest rookery of wokeness. There were three clear winners from lockdowns. Two, books and pets, are straightforward. The third, the 91-year-old world's favourite word game, is not. A year ago its owners, Hasbro and Mattel, elected to ban 419 'offensive' words. In private games, words from any mutually

accepted dictionary can happily be used but Scrabble is an intensely competitive game and Hasbro and Mattel have a list of 'Official Scrabble Words' which is, in effect, the game's bible. One can see their point. Any game that centres upon verbal ingenuity has to be clear about which words are legit. However, there is a commonalty of knowledge in this. Everyone knows the bad words. Some of them, unpardonable in one's youth, are now heard everywhere. This complicates matters, as does the fact that a word may have half a dozen meanings of which five are as pure as the driven snow. So what is to be done once the skilled Scrabble player moves off the vulgar piste and deploys, sometimes for a big score, such words as *bufty* (Scots slang for gay), *jesuitical* (but *Methodist, Papist* and *Pharisee* are fine), *poof, nancy, dyke* and *lubra* (this being an obsolete term for an Aboriginal woman)? A company man called John Chew justified the decision(s) by saying that it's wrong for players to have to accept that they can only play if they agree that 'offensive slurs have no meaning when played on a board'. This leads one to the SOED definition of *jesuitical*: 'deceitful, dissembling, practising equivocation or mental reservation. Also hair-splitting, over-subtle.' Some of us go 'poof' to describe our contempt for something.

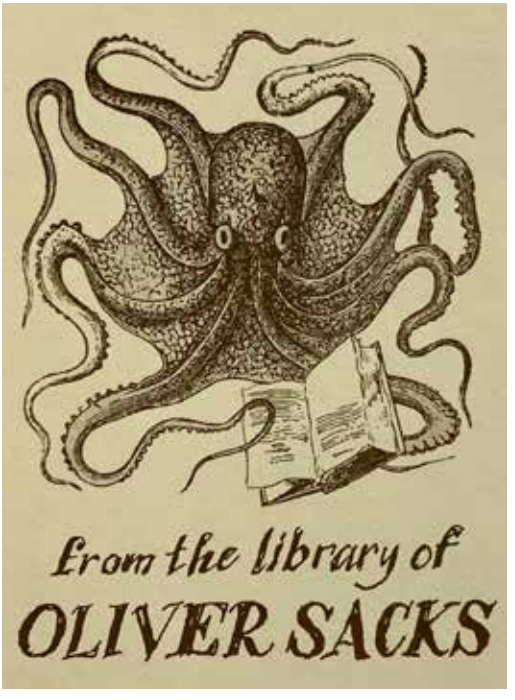
Now banned in Scrabble: batshit, boff, bollocks, bullshit, butcher, crumbly, effing, fatso, girlie, graybeard (but greybeard okay?), hebe, honky, Johnson, libber, mongolian, nancy, nooky, poontang, shagger, stiffy, vendu and willie. Now reprieved by Scrabble: pom, poo, sambo, balder, butch and jailbait.

Should you despair, there is a Latin version of Scrabble. However, be warned: *nomen est omen*.

We have an offering of our own: *d'yquem*, seen recently in print to describe a wine of the highest standard.

❧

In *On the Move* the late **OLIVER SACKS** describes working in a headache clinic in the Bronx. One of his patients had a migraine every Sunday for which Sacks prescribed an ergotamine tablet (this was 1966, remember). It worked. "God bless you, Doctor!" cried the man. The following weekend Sacks did not hear from him and out of curiosity telephoned him. Yes, the tablet had again worked but there was a related problem: he was bored. To quote Sacks: 'Every Sunday for the previous fifteen years had been devoted to migraines – his family would come, he was the center of attention – and now he missed all that.' The next week his sister rang to say that her brother was having a severe attack of asthma, with the suggestion it was Sacks's fault. It transpired that the asthma attacks had occurred in his youth, also on Sundays, and had been replaced by



the migraines, which of course had now gone. "Do you think I *need* to be ill on Sundays?" asked the man. Sacks, who wrote *Migraine*, a work that is both definitive and readable, collected books (which have recently been sold by James Cummins of New York). We reproduce one of his bookplates above. All *migraineurs* will know immediately, on seeing this, that Dr Sacks knew what he was talking about.

❧

To mark the centenary of the author's death, a magnificent exhibition has taken place at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France: *Marcel Proust, La Fabrique de l'oeuvre*. "My book is a painting," PROUST said once. Descriptions and allusions to pictures are present throughout *A la recherche du temps perdu*, the text of which is explored through manuscripts, notebooks and first editions galore. (The BNF recently acquired *Swann's Way* with Proust's eight-page dedication to Marie Scheikevitch.) The exhibition was excellently curated; the connections between the text and the pictures – by Prinet, Morisot, Vuillard, Tissot and many others, including the entirely believable portrait of the 21-year-old Proust by Blanche – being explained limpidly and cogently. A surprise to this visitor was the

connection with John Ruskin, who to a large extent got Proust started. It is said, correctly, in the catalogue that no other exhibition had previously mined this rich seam. In our own way, bibliophilically, we will soon be travelling the same route with an article on the books that form such an important part of the novels of Dostoievsky.

❧

You'd have to have been quick to catch this exhibition at Suffolk Archives at The Hold, Ipswich, IP4 1LR, which lasted only until the beginning of January this year. **W. S. COWELL** started as a general printing house but reinvented itself as a progressive art printer in the 1930s. It specialised in colour-plate lithography and pioneered an acetate-sheet-based process called Plasticowell. This enabled Cowells to play a significant role in the history of printing in Ipswich and of children's books in Britain and beyond. The firm was instrumental in launching Puffin Picture Books at the outbreak of World War II, and worked with illustrators and artists such as Kathleen Hale (Orlando the Marmalade Cat), Edward Ardizzone, Hilary Stebbing, Pablo Picasso, Eric Ravilious and David Gentleman. The exhibition focused on the colour children's book and contained, we're told, some really beautiful exhibits.

❧

We gladly report a couple of significant appointments. **MOLLY SCHWARTZBURG** has moved to Harvard and was named Philip Hofer Curator of Printing and Graphic Arts at the Houghton Library in October 2022. She was formerly curator of special collections at the University of Virginia. **JAMIE CUMBY**, *Book Collector* contributor and former assistant curator of rare books and manuscripts at Linda Hall Library, Kansas City, will take up the position of Librarian of the Grolier Club in spring 2023. We send congratulations and good wishes to them both.

❧

We heard the very sad news of the death of **JOHN CRITCHLEY** in December 2022. John was a much liked and respected secretary of the Antiquarian Booksellers' Association for many years and more recently the secretary of the Friends of Lambeth Palace Library. A former RN submariner, he remained reassuringly unruffled at even the most lively committee meetings and we learn he had recently been researching a forthcoming Lambeth Friends trip to Strasbourg, Sélestat and Colmar, in characteristic and meticulous detail – library by library, restaurant by restaurant. Such cheerful attention to detail was John's style, to the great benefit of so many

ABA fairs and events. We offer heartfelt condolences to Sandy, John's widow, and family.

❧

WILLIAM PATRICK 'RICK' WATSON has sent news of his impending retirement after more than fifty years in the book trade (in part with Quaritch, but mostly by himself). A distinguished dealer in rare scientific books, his learned and elegant catalogues were always 'keepers' and have become essential reference tools in their own right. His remaining books have been consigned to Christie's.

❧

The so-called **SPETCHLEY BINDINGS** – a magnificent pair of English embroidered bindings of crimson velvet, gold and sequins – have been added to the National Art Library, allocated to the V&A as part of the Acceptance in Lieu Scheme. Curator Catherine Yvard, writing for the V&A blog, explained: 'This set of two volumes, consisting of a *Holy Bible* (dated 1632, though actually 1633) and a *Book of Common Prayer* (1634) was probably commissioned for the Chapel Royal at Whitehall, which was for the use of the King and his family; they are said to have been gifted by Charles I to Sir Robert Berkeley of Spetchley (1584–1656). They remained with the Berkeley family of Spetchley Park (Worcestershire) until 2022.' With fabulous embroidery including the royal arms and cipher, they are from the workshop of Edmund Harrison (1590–1667), the King's Embroiderer whose career spanned the reigns of James I, Charles I and Charles II. The Spetchley *Book of Common Prayer* is now on display at the V&A's British Galleries (gallery 56 and online). Similar embroidered bindings were given to royal courtiers and a slightly earlier example, also a *Book of Common Prayer* bound in Harrison's embroidery, is preserved at the National Trust's Ham House in Surrey.

❧

According to a dealer, Howard Mather, the well-known bibliophile Anthony Hobson used to get his butler to paste his distinctive bookplate on his books and pamphlets, 'which makes it funnier when an occasional one is found upside-down on the rear endpaper'. No doubt members of **THE BOOKPLATE SOCIETY**, which celebrated its 50th anniversary on 30 September 2022, will know of many other such anecdotes, concerning the small, personalised marvels of design and print. Perhaps such anecdotes will find their way into one of their future publications, all of which are richly researched, attractive and affordable.

The Society grew out of the Ex Libris Society, founded in 1891. Ex Libris ran for eighteen years with a well-illustrated journal, something its descendant follows today. Out of it sprang The Bookplate Exchange Club, which survived for eighty years until 1972 when the late Brian North Lee, the doyen of bookplate studies, and its last secretary, Peter Summers FSA, founded The Bookplate Society. Fifty years on the Society actively promotes, explores and explains these miniature signs of ownership, focusing as much on designers as on owners. The humble bookplate, often not even mentioned in book auctions and catalogues, is now becoming noted and any collector interested in their books' personal history, will find much of interest in The Bookplate Society publications, as it delves into allied interests of heraldry, printing, engraving and graphic arts. The bookplate is often a work of art, so it is not surprising that when the British Museum/Library split, the Bookplate collection donated by Franks and others should reside with prints and drawings.

A similar anniversariant is **THE OXFORD GUILD OF PRINTERS**, which last year celebrated its fortieth birthday. Since 2013 it has circulated to its entire membership (which now stands at 140) an autumnal package, eagerly awaited, of letterpress ephemera produced by its members during the year. In this delightful bouquet may be found in every font under the sun a running commentary on politics, social affairs, the health of the book trade and the prowess (as it has latterly been) of the England cricket team. Alas, in the latest newsletter from Liz Adams, the Editor, comes the news that the OGP is entering a state of dormancy owing not to the lack of money (hooray!) but to the absence of volunteers for the positions of Chair and Secretary. Hands up anyone?

❧

Despite his first purchase having been the greatest penance that was ever heaped upon a student, Green's four-volume *History of England*, **CLARENCE WOLF** has gone on to become one of America's most renowned booksellers. Last year he published in a privately printed edition *Fifty Years a Bookseller: or, The Wolf at Your Door*. Although it is principally concerned with American people and events, its appeal will be universal for the book trade is nothing if not international. The contents are extraordinarily congenial and much as you'd expect from the title. It has three faults. One is the absence of an index, with consequences that need no explanation. The second, which is related to the first, is that the book appears to be an assembly of characters and incidents that the reader knows for sure will be connected and in some way form a coherent story if only he or she could but locate the connections. One can only use so many bookmarks

before getting in a tangle. But do not be put off. It is worth reading for the anecdotes alone. 'After turning ninety, George Goodspeed said apropos of retirement that if he went to Florida in January, he'd be dead by February. I concur.' Paper, print and illustrations are first class. The third fault, which is a rarity in the book or any other world, is that it is devoid of any commercial presence. The sole reference to the publisher is (or may be) the two words 'Bryn Mawr', nor is a price even hinted at. We must suppose that potential purchasers will need to track down the author – which they should; it is one of those even-tempered books that is a pleasure to read.

❧

Much in the financial news of late has been **THE LIBRARY OF MISTAKES**, a free public library in the centre of Edinburgh 'focused on the world's business and financial history'. A lot of this history which, as far as banking is concerned, started with the collapse of the Ayr Bank in 1772, is well known to novelists, whose plots often incorporate banking disasters that are never the fault of the hero. Would it have made a difference if the financial institutions that were brought to their knees by the 2008 subprime crisis had been aware of the reasons for past banking failures? "Absolutely," says Russell Napier, founder and keeper of the Library. "They would have refrained from expanding their balance sheets much faster than their peers and would have learned by the time they got to positions of power that 'what grows like a weed, is a weed.'" The Library was started in 2014 with funds donated by Edinburgh's fund managers. Their names are inscribed on the wall next to a portrait of Charles Ponzi while the lavatory is wallpapered with bank notes from the choicest of the world's failed currencies. In the 1920s a much-esteemed banker who had learned the trade the hard way in Dundee, was asked by a young thruster what the secret was to being a successful banker. His reply, "Lairn to say no, laddie, lairn to say no," should have been the caption for the Ponzi photograph.

❧

It is only recently that the Kilmarnock Arms in Cruden Bay, Aberdeenshire, has woken up to the commercial possibilities arising from the man whom we must assume to have been its most famous guest: **BRAM STOKER**, who started writing his most famous book there in 1895. Most people associate Dracula with the Yorkshire town of Whitby, where three chapters of the book are set, or Transylvania, which in fact Stoker never visited. Its real birthplace, reports *The Observer* newspaper, is indeed Aberdeenshire, to which he went at least a dozen times, spending as much as a month there on each occasion. About a year ago these visits were commemorated with

a wall plaque on the pub unveiled by Dacre Stoker, great-great-nephew of Bram. Slains Castle, now a picturesque ruin, is only a few miles away. A short while after Stoker's death in 1912, his widow contributed two recipes to a book compiled for the village church. One featured slices of tomato interleaved with slices of ripe plums, dressed with oil and vinegar. Its name? Dracula Salad.

❧

Last year we reported on a successful auction sale of a collection of **ENID BLYTON**. (A group of seven signed firsts in one of the 'Five' series, not all with jackets, made £1,000). Interested parties now have a chance to read a new biography of the author, by Andrew Maunder. The word 'prolific' is too mild to describe her output accurately: 700 titles, 85 million copies, 90 languages. Her style has frequently been denounced for containing more monosyllables per page than that of any other writer since the beginning of the world. Others would say that her fame is merely a reflection of the disenchantment of the modern reader with the impenetrability of many so-called popular authors. A reviewer of this new life commented upon her obsessive secrecy. This is not supported by her passion for playing tennis in the nude.

❧

'**PAUL NASH & THE ART OF THE BOOK**' is a tiny exhibition, just a corridor long, at the Victoria and Albert Museum. His World War I artworks were iconic images of conflict, but here in these colour lithographs, collotypes, wood engravings and drawings for book illustrations, you can see him experimenting with vorticism, Russian Constructivism and above all Modernism. As time went on, his graphic style became more influenced by landscapes of the British countryside, but these experimental book covers were close to his heart and this exquisite exhibition shows us why. The exhibition lasts until 19 May 2023.

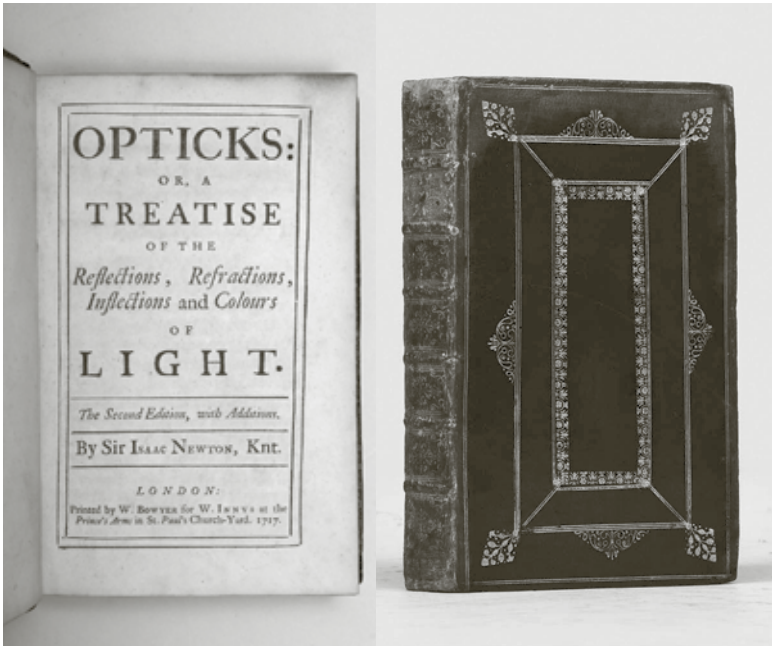
❧

Five Love Affairs and a Friendship : the Paris Life of Nancy Cunard by Anne de Courcy was published last year. This restless, possessed woman is a figure of interest to bibliophiles for her Hours Press (1928–31, 24 titles) and for the enormous (855 'double-sized' pages, 550 images) NEGRO that was published in an edition of 1,000 copies at her own expense by the radical firm of Wishart on 16 February 1934. In Anthony Hobson's sale on 10 June 2015, a copy made £3,800. (Her *Psalm of the Psalms and Sonnets*, 1941, made £4,500 and the letters of her lover, Henry Crowder, made £5,000.)

The bitterness of her life is reflected in the article she wrote for this journal in 1964 – the year before her death – with a checklist for the Hours Press. In our Spring issue for 2021 we published a photograph of her with William Walton, Norman Douglas and Louis Aragon in 1927.

Other books for which we have no review space include the two weighty volumes from Brepols entitled *Le goût de la bibliophilie nationale : La collection de livres rares et précieux des ducs d'Arenberg à Bruxelles XIX – XX siècles*. Volume I, 320 pp., is *L'odyssée d'un cabinet de livres rares et précieux* by Elly Cockx-Indestege & Pierre Delsaerdt. There is one illustration, the frontispiece of Engelbert-Auguste, 8th Duke of Arenberg (1824–1875) and the text is in French throughout. Volume II, 560 pp., is entitled *Catalogue raisonné de la Collection spéciale des ducs d'Arenberg* by the same authors as Volume I. There are no illustrations in Volume II. The sheer weight of the acknowledgements and the bibliophilic honours that belong to those named are an assurance, if one were needed, of the importance of these two volumes.

At a different level comes Malcolm Horton and Peter Smith's *The Williams Lea Ascendancy 1909–1979*. Williams Lea was a London firm of printers founded in 1820. It toddled on doing a bit of this and a bit of that and come the 1970s had a turnover of around £100,000 per annum. In 2006, when Deutsche Post bought a majority stake, it was valued at £450 million. The reason for this upgrade is straightforward: under the leadership of a new and single-minded CEO, it decided to ditch hot metal printing in favour of computer typesetting. The 1970s were not an auspicious time to be in business in Britain but the firm engaged with the unions, stuck to its guns and when the tide turned with the election of Margaret Thatcher were in a position to offer, and deliver, the fastest delivery in London of the entire suite of documents needed in the to and fro of takeover bids. This is not a beautiful book, nor is it wonderfully written, but its story is full of interest.



Isaac Newton's own retained copy, bound in dark blue morocco, with the rare first state title page, and the cancel leaf A2 (the first leaf of Advertisement I) inserted after binding, likely at Newton's behest.

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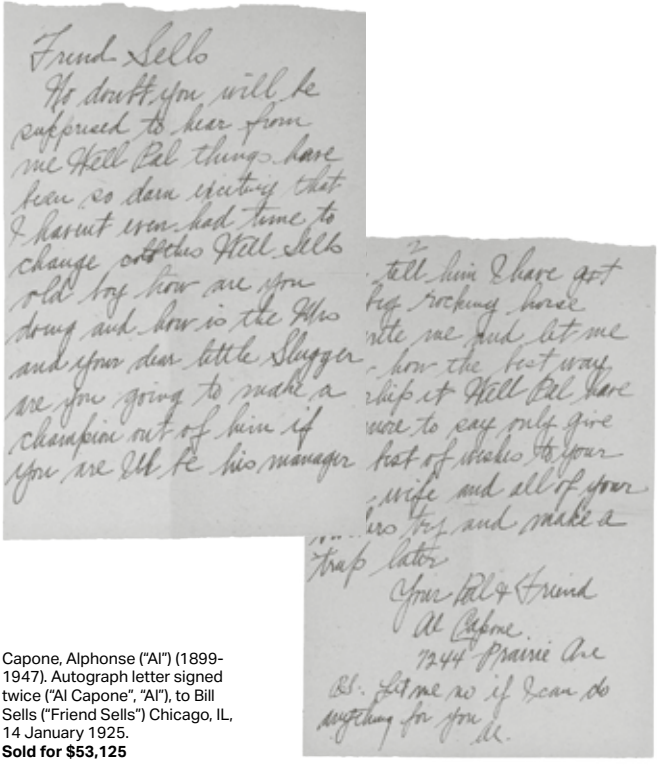

Capone, Alphonse ("Al") (1899-1947). Autograph letter signed twice ("Al Capone", "Al"), to Bill Sells ("Friend Sells") Chicago, IL, 14 January 1925.
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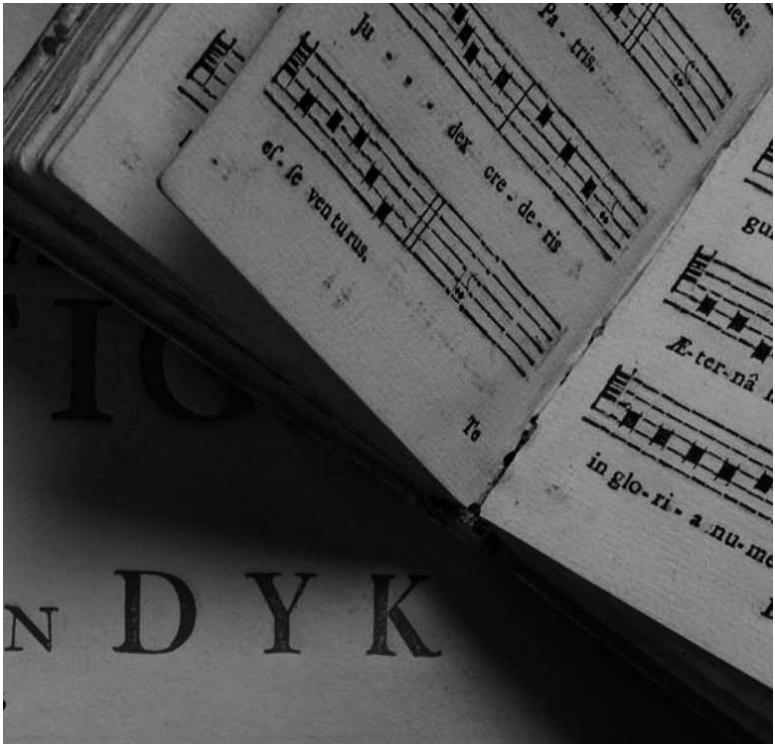

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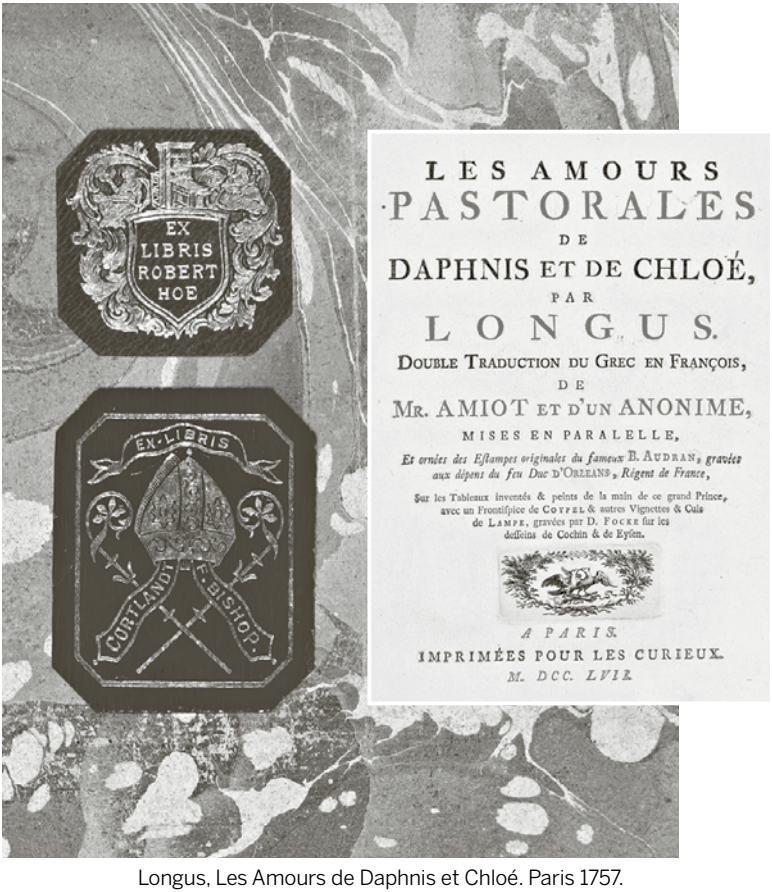

Longus, Les Amours de Daphnis et Chloé. Paris 1757.
Formerly in the collections of Robert Hoe and Cortlandt F. Bishop.

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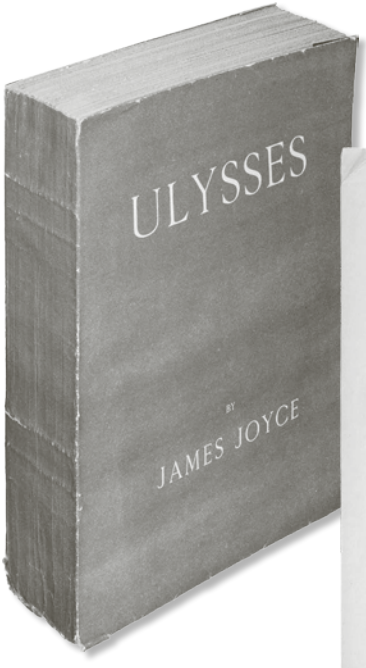
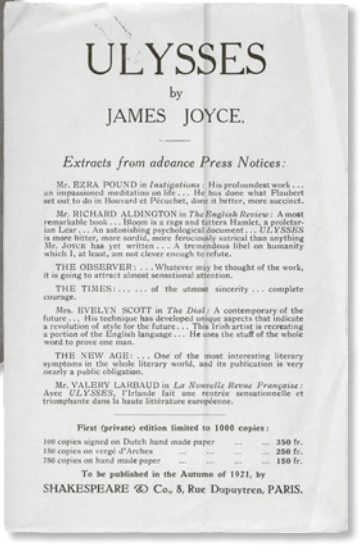


James Joyce. *Ulysses.* Paris: Shakespeare and Company, 1922. First edition, one of 750 copies on handmade paper, in the original blue wrappers with the prospectus laid in.



ULYSSES

by

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SALES & CATALOGUES

SALES

Prices are hammer prices unless otherwise stated.

Ed Leahy has been a keen and discerning collector on the English-speaking rare book scene for over fifty years, both at auctions and at book fairs, *writes Stephen Massey*. At his sale at **CHRISTIE'S NEW YORK** on 6 October, 214 lots were offered; 187 lots sold (27 unsold); total hammer price: $3,550,300 ($4,473,378 with premium); sold by value 94.02 per cent; sold by lot 87.38 per cent.

As an Anglophile with a keen eye for splendid examples by English bookbinders, his sale contained a 30-lot run of these. Many had provenances ranging from the Phoebe Boyle sale in 1923, the Doheny and Elkind sales in the 1980s and 90s and the Hauck and Lily Safra sales in the 2000s. The collaboration of Riviere & Son and Alberto Sangorski produced the most spectacular examples, many of them bejewelled and containing illuminated manuscripts, of familiar English and American texts and many with Cosway Bindings containing portrait miniatures.

Fewer than twenty attendees were mostly present during the two sessions, which were divided into four parts using four auctioneers. Loren and Frances Rothschild were present, seated next to Christopher Edwards. Stuart Rose (a friend of Leahy's on the Folger Shakespeare Library Board) made a rare saleroom attendance from Ohio and stayed throughout. Anne Bromer from Boston, the connoisseur dealer in fine bindings, and Glenn Miranker, the Sherlock Holmes collector from San Francisco, were also bidding in the room.

The early books at the front of the catalogue did fairly well, particularly the Doheny copy of Brant, *Stultifera navis*, London 1570, $34,000. Both of the Shakespeare Folios, the second and the fourth had extensive remargining work (that of the second was less intrusive) and fetched $220,000 and $70,000 respectively. The near-fine Nicholas Machiavel's *Prince*, London 1640, in contemporary vellum, fetched $105,000 (telephone 1524 v. Peter Harrington). Eighteenth-century English literature showed off Leahy's taste for rarities. His copy of Defoe, *Moll Flanders*, London 1721 [but 1722] (formerly from the Litchfield – Borowitz and Manney copy in contemporary calf, rebacked) was easily the best one up in many

years of this rare book's appearance at auction. Estimated at $40–60,000 it was underbid with great determination by Rothschild who lost it to telephone 1518 at $100,000. Similarly estimated and with a near similar result was the matchless Martin copy of Gray, *Elegy*, London 1751, sewn as issued and uncut, at $85,000 (1518 v. Rothschild). A good copy, bound by Riviere, of the Kilmarnock Burns, went to 1526 at $45,000. The 1787 Edinburgh edition in a fine jewelled binding by Sangorski & Sutcliffe, the Cornelius Hauck copy, signalled the start of the Leahy fine bindings section and fetched $38,000 (estimate $15–25,000) to 3073. The illuminated manuscript and bejewelled Keats, *Isabella*, formerly Phoebe Boyle – Moore – Allsopp – Hauck, went for $65,000 (3107); and Tennyson, *Guinevere*, (Boyle – Elkind provenance) for $140,000 to Anne Bromer who also purchased Gray, 'The Progress of Poesy' (Hauck) for $75,000 and Shelley, 'The Woodman and the Nightingale. And To Night' (also Hauck) at $35,000. The Cosway bindings, despite complicated export restrictions, thanks in some measure to the activity of the then Prince of Wales, sold less well: Dawe, *The Life of George Morland*, London 1904, with sixty-one portrait miniatures on the covers, fetched $38,000 (1516); and Worthington, *Portraits of the Sovereigns of England*, London 1824, with 39 miniatures, $75,000 (3107). The sole major English private press example in the sale, one of eleven printed on vellum, of the Essex House Chaucer, *Workes*, the Haven O'More copy, went for well above its estimate of $20–30,000 at $48,000 (5036).

Samuel Johnson and his Circle is a special collecting passion of Leahy's. Having been one of the underbidders on Boswell, *Life*, London 1793, the authorial presentation copy, twice inscribed, to the Bishop of Carlisle and later to the Revd. Theodore Williams – the Birkbeck copy – Stuart Rose valiantly underbid it this time around, and lost it at $95,000 to Rothschild, who then went on to be the underbidder on the very nice Dalton – Newton – Rosenbloom copy of the same book (with the first state 'gve' on p. 135) in original boards with binding tastefully restored to spines, at $50,000 (3067). But he was successful, again versus Stuart Rose, for Johnson, *The Rambler*, London 1751 [but 1750–52], probably contemporaneously bound by a Bengalese binder, at $6,000. One of the few lots in the sale bearing a low estimate, $5–8,000 was Johnson, *The Idler*, a third edition with an authorial presentation copy to a Miss Eccles. This had been in William Rees-Mogg's sale at Bond Street in 1971. Rothschild beat an internet contender for this at $19,000.

Another Leahy interest is William Bligh and the Bounty mutiny, comprising nine lots. An autograph manuscript concerning navigation in the West Indies went for $55,000 (3104 v. Rose). Rose was soon successful, acquiring a presentation copy to Admiral John Cooke (later by descent in his family and more recently sold from the Calvin Bullock Collection) of *A Narrative of the Mutiny* at $22,000 and another copy of the same at $5,500. To round off this run he also secured a copy of the very rare Bligh, Barney and Edward Christian (the mutineer's brother), *Minutes of the Proceedings*, London 1794, at $22,000 against its reserve price.

Horror, adventure and fantasy opened the second session of the sale, followed by Charles Dickens, Oscar Wilde and Children's Literature. Another wildly under-estimated item led the way: the presentation copy, in fine condition, to Mrs. Kingsley Melbourne, of Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Sign of Four*, London 1890, at $20–30,000. This had been in the Marsden J. Perry sale at Anderson Galleries, New York, in 1936, and had later found its way to J. N. Bartfield, the New York bookseller with whom Leahy developed a good business relationship. Kevin Kelly, Bartfield's last rare books employee, reported to me that he had sold the book to Leahy in the early 2000s. Rose and Glenn Miranker battled for this in the room but both were beaten at $160,000 by telephone bidder 1515. Against an optimistic estimate of $200–300,000, a rebound and sans half-titles copy of Mary Shelley, *Frankenstein* sold for $180,000 (3144). Peter Harrington, bidding over the internet, secured the advanced proofs of Tolkien, *The Lord of the Rings*, London 1954, for $48,000 and Rose was outbid yet again, at $85,000, for a major eight-page letter by Tolkien concerning the runes and languages used in *The Hobbit*, this time by telephone bidder 1525. Bids for Dickens were modest in comparison with their estimates: $30,000 for the fine Doheny copy of The Christmas Books and $38,000 (Peter Harrington) for the Gration-Maxfield copy of *Great Expectations*. The Morgan Library was the happy purchaser of *The Great West-End Scandal Exposed. Startling Revelations. Full and Special Details*, [April 1895], a rare penny pamphlet, in remarkably fine condition, reprinted from *Reynolds Magazine*, at $11,000. Towards the close of this most successful sale, Peter Harrington secured A. A. Milne, *Winnie-the-Pooh; Now We Are Six* and *The House at Pooh Corner*, each one of twenty copies on Japanese vellum, for $42,000 together.

SOTHEBY'S NEW YORK scheduled four sales for winter 2022 but held only three, *writes Facey Romford*. All can be counted as successful, with

qualifications. First up, on 22 November, was The John Golden Library: Book Illustration in the Age of Scientific Discovery. Just six of the fifty lots offered were unsold, although most of the books were hammered below estimate. Judging from the impressive provenances recorded in the online catalogue, Golden seems to have acquired most of his collection during the frothy period when the trade and London houses were goading Sh. Saud into pushing natural history into the stratosphere. Five works reached six figures (all prices are given, according to *The Book Collector*'s policy, without buyer's premium): a fine set, with the usually lacking text, of Audubon's *Viviparous Quadrupeds of North America* at $230,000; the Doheny copy of Thornton's *Temple of Flora* at $120,000; *Harmonia Macrocosmica* by Cellarius at $110,000; a very nice second edition of Catesby's *Natural History of Carolina* &c. at just $100,000, the same price it achieved when last in the rooms in the Pflaumer sale, 1997, and well below the pre-sale estimate of $180,000–$250,000; and, inexplicably, $110,000 for an unpleasant copy of the Wied-Neuwied/Bodmer *Reise in das innere Nord-America*, commendably described by Sotheby's as 'a later compiled set'.

The next sale on Sotheby's schedule closed on 9 December. Marketed as the 'Age of Wonder' this online auction presented a group of diverse properties, evidently from a number of different consignors, under a thematic umbrella seemingly intended to mimic the aura of a single-owner sale. While only half of the forty-four lots offered were sold, one of those was a heavily promoted holograph leaf by Charles Darwin summarising his theory of natural selection that made $700,000, about half the total of the sale and an auction record for the naturalist. It is worth noting that two days before the closing of Age of Wonder, Christie's New York closed an online sale of Fine Books and Manuscripts. The Christie's sale offered 200 more lots than Age of Wonder and sold 166 more lots than the Sotheby's auction, but achieved a total hammer price of only about $100,000 more – call it an extra $600 for every additional lot sold. Which was the more successful sale? Or are they like unhappy families: each successful (or unsuccessful) in its own way?

A week later came Sotheby's online auction of Fine Books and Manuscripts, 191 lots with a sell-through rate of 70%, which contributed some $2,342,000 to its three-sale total of more than $5,536,000. The sale was buoyed by a decade of colour-plate works, chiefly by John Gould, from the Carnegie Museum of Natural History. Mostly offered as guar-

anteed property with irrevocable bids, the ten titles brought $1,137,000, led by *The Birds of Australia* at $350,000. The sale began with a diverse selection of the somewhat indiscriminate Library of Clayre and Jay Michael Haft, which ranged from the 16th to the 21st centuries. Results were uneven, but STC books generally did well.

The most anticipated Sotheby's auction of winter 2022 didn't happen. A first printing of the United States Constitution from the collection of Adrian Van Sinderen, estimated at $20,000,000–30,000,000, was to go off on 13 December. But on the morning of the auction, Sotheby's issued an unexpected statement that the sale had been postponed 'to provide interested institutional parties with additional time to pursue fundraising efforts for a possible acquisition'. The reaction to this announcement was surprisingly muted, but we have since been able to confirm that the Constitution was sold privately before the end of 2022. No information of any kind is available about the purchaser. One intriguing clue might be that on 27 December Elon Musk tweeted a photograph of a much later printing of the Constitution, which he called the 'most treasured item on my bedside table'.

On 29 November 2022 **SOTHEBY'S LONDON** offered part two of the natural history library of Henry Rogers Broughton, 2nd Lord Fairhaven. Not quite as strong in content and result as the exceptional first part, it yielded some solid prices. Once again, albums of original watercolours seemed to fare best, especially where their content was non-European, such as the two fine Chinese School albums of birds, fruit and insects bringing £70,000 and £60,000 respectively (100 watercolours in the first, 145 in second). Even so, European watercolours were also strong, especially when of the quality of Nicolas Robert's 15 superb *vélins* of flowers from 1643, including one of the tulip *Semper Augustus* (a holy grail for contemporary tulipomaniacs). Robert's album, bound with the artist's and patron's name on its contemporary covers, brought £350,000 (estimate £150–200,000). Highlights among printed botanicals included two volumes of Bonpland's *Description des plantes rare cultivées a Malmaison*, 1813, given by the Empress Joséphine to Sir Humphrey Davy (£3,500); an impressive run of works illustrated by Pierre-Joseph Buc'hoz, including his Chinese garden collection of 1776 (£16,000) and *Le Jardin d'Eden*, 1783, which was uniformly bound with three other of his works (together £45,000); and Dodart's *Memoires pour server a l'histoire de plantes*, 1676, in contemporary red morocco with royal arms (£38,000). The best of the

bird books had been sold in the previous session reviewed in our last issue but highlights here included Levaillant's *Histoire naturelle des oiseaux de paradis et des rolliers*, 1806 (£35,000), and Manetti's Florentine *Storia naturale degli ucelli*, 1767–76, with 600 plates (£85,000).

On 14 December 2022 **SOTHEBY'S PARIS** offered the long-hidden remainder of the great collection of Jorge Ortiz Linares (1894–1965), Bolivian ambassador in Paris, including its core of Spanish and French literature, books on South America and fine bindings. A significant tranche of the Ortiz Patiño collection (Ortiz had married Graciela Patiño, daughter of the 'Andean Rockefeller' Simòn Patiño) was sold in 1998 at Sotheby's New York when we noted: 'The main collection of French literature in first editions or fine bindings, for which Ortiz-Patiño will be chiefly remembered, held firm'. Here it was, over two decades later, in eighty-seven lots jointly presented by Jean-Baptiste de Proyart and Sotheby's. *Don Quixote*, Madrid 1608 and 1615 (the Beilby Thompson copy, purchased by Ortiz at Maggs in 1936 for £850) had each volume in uniform 18th-century English calf and sold at the low estimate of €400,000. The 1616 Paris *Don Quixote* in French was in uniform early red morocco and again came in at the low estimate of €60,000, while *Novelas exemplars*, Madrid 1613, made €320,000. The French literature included excellent Corneille and Racine, which all performed solidly enough. An Alain Chartier *Oeuvres* of 1498 in an unusual, stencilled deerskin binding (later the Fairfax Murray copy) was knocked down for €50,000 (considerably below estimate), while two Montaignes were stronger at €90,000 for the 1580 and €31,000 for the 1588 edition. Stronger still was the complete Rabelais (Lyon, 1542–8) in a contemporary binding, bringing €370,000 (it was bought from Pierre Berès in 1957 for $6,500). An Italian outrider was an exquisite Dante, *L'Amoroso convivio* in a binding for Catherine de' Médici, bringing €130,000 (doubling the mid-estimate). Spanish highlights included Garcilaso de la Vega's *La Florida del Ynca*, 1605, at €85,000 and Goya's *Tauromachia*, 1816, at €105,000. In a sale of bibliophilic riches, it was perhaps ironic that the lot that flew furthest was not a book but a letter – Descartes writing to Huygens in 1635, as the *Discours de la méthode* was in progress – €560,000 (estimate €60–90,000).

One of the more refreshing recent developments after the interruptions of the pandemic, writes *Out and About*, is that provincial auctioneers seem more willing to return to pre-March 2020 sale norms than

many of their metropolitan colleagues. Catalogues, physical viewings and sales where one can attend and bid in person have always been taken for granted by booksellers and collectors alike. Sadly some major houses seem to have forgotten that the best sales should be events, where hard-headed commerce can be tempered with jovial hospitality, and teamed with printed catalogues, widely distributed, that can be marked up and shelved for posterity.

One of the best collections of 19th-century fiction to appear on the market in recent years featured in the **CHEFFINS** Library Sale of 13 October. Many of the choicest items – in terms of both condition and rarity – only became apparent on viewing. Thus, those bidders who didn't consult lot 228 in the ample viewing times offered may have failed to understand why a folder of early fictional, and semi-fictional, 'Chapbooks and similar 19th century publications' fetched £6,000. Those in the know saw clutches of early true-crime alongside disposable gothic dreadfuls, mostly in original wrappers and remarkably fresh condition. Competition was stiff, but surely neither the buyer, nor the vendor, will be disappointed at the prices achieved. The same collection, which included a lot of eight Jane Austen yellowbacks in decidedly mixed condition (£3,600) also yielded a rare early tale of hermaphroditism, *The Surprising Adventures of Bigenio*, London, 1824 (£1,700).

Nicholas Worskett of **BELLMANS** put on an especially fancy showcase sale of 'Fine Printed Books & Manuscripts' on 11 October. First editions of Shelley's *The Cenci*, (£1,200) and *Rosalind and Helen* (£900) finely bound in red morocco, seemed reasonable. Meanwhile a choice copy of Schedel's Nuremberg Chronicle fetched what now seems to be the standard uncoloured hammer price of £50,000. Although at least one party that we spoke to disagreed slightly with the attribution, a fabulous manuscript Bible, on vellum, billed as 'probably Paris or northern France, 13th century', soared away to £86,000 against an estimate of £20–30,000. A handsome copy of Gawin Douglas' *The xiii Bukes of Eneados* achieved an even better multiple: £24,000 vs an estimate of £3–5,000.

In Exeter, **BEARNES HAMPTON AND LITTLEWOOD'S** sale of 6 December featured yet more works with Coleridge family provenance. Most of these were inscribed by the poet's nephew, the esteemed jurist John Taylor Coleridge, but one volume (only) of the fourth – and final to include STC's contributions – edition of *Lyrical Ballads*, inscribed by the poet, was spotted by several bidders, who took it to £1,900 against

an estimate of £100–150. Early books and games for juveniles continued their strong trend with a rare, early 19th-century example of *The Holiday Spy*, printed for John Harris and in original 'dutch paper' wrappers, hammered down at £1,100.

CATALOGUES

PETER HARRINGTON put out their Catalogue 186 (144 items) entitled Leadership last autumn with exquisite timing. The most appropriate title was Bagehot *The English Constitution*, 1867, at £9,750 and the least, David Cameron's *For the Record*, 2019, one of 500 signed copies, at £250. A Churchill general election poster from 1959 showing just his silhouette in blue with a cigar in his mouth made £1,000. An Edward VIII plaque for a coronation that never took place was £750, a signature ('M K Gandhi') with a photo seemed dear at £4,500 and a subscriber's edition of *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, one of 170 copies declared complete, was priced at £85,000. At any rate a presentation copy of Kropotkin's *The Great French Revolution 1789–1793*, London 1909, was £3,750. Lenin's follow-up to his 'April theses', *Zadachi proletariata…* St Petersburg 1917, published only a month before the October revolution, was £8,500. Mao's 'Little Red Book', 1964, was £13,750, its catalogue entry betraying some concern for a typesetting error on pp. 82/3 in some copies of the first edition, which in this copy was absent. A 1968 rubber bust of Mao was £3,000. Considering the extent to which communism has changed the face of the world, it is entirely fitting that its significant early expositions should command high prices. Marx *Le Capital*, 1872–75, a presentation copy – in itself rare – signed to the Frankfurt banker Sigmund Schott in Marx's attractive cursive hand with the figure '7' unhatched was £575,000. It is interesting that only thirty years after the Communist Manifesto was published, the print run for *Le Capital* should be as high as 10,000 copies. Finally, it should be mentioned that G. A. Henty was also in there rubbing shoulders with the great: *With Lee in Virginia*, London 1890, £100.

More recently, Peter Harrington has been able to offer Waugh's *The Sword of Honour* trilogy inscribed intimately and at length by Waugh to his great friend, Nancy Mitford. What more could anyone want by way of provenance? The price is/was £37,500.

A catalogue of Marx translations reached us from **MAGGS**. This long,

dense work – 112 pages – will surely be the gold standard on an intricate subject. The languages covered are French (1), Russian (5), Italian (6), English (7), Bulgarian (4), Polish (1), Spanish (2), Serbian (2), Ukrainian (1), Romanian (1) and Turkish (1). The prices range from £30,000 for the first edition in French of 'one of Marx's most intoxicating tracts', *The Civil War in France*, 1872 [Bruxelles], translated by Marx's daughter Laura and her husband, to £250 for *The People's Marx*, 1921, Manchester. Most are in the mid-thousands, except for *Kapital*, 1872 St Petersburg, the first translation of *Das Kapital* to appear in any language (£17,500), and the first of *Das Kapital* in Italian which was published in Milan in 1879 (£10,000). To have acquired a copy of Marx's *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*, 1887 Geneva, translated (anonymously) into Russian by Lenin's brother Ulyanov in the year of his execution was a triumph. The price of £6,500 seemed generous. A good quiz question would be 'How many pseudonyms did Lenin use in his lifetime?' The answer is 160, another hand-out from this excellent catalogue.

SOKOL 81, spanning the 11th to the 17th centuries, was most impressive. A complete Romanesque book of ninety-four leaves, *Admonitiones ad consolationem infirmorum*, made around the year 1080 and otherwise unrecorded, was nested in a later medieval sammelband with two other manuscript texts (£125,000). Still in its delightful 15th-century binding it probably belonged to the Franciscans of Hildesheim. Towards the end of the date range was a 1607 Brussels *Don Quixote* (the first edition printed outside the Iberian peninsula) preserved in an early English binding (£98,500). It had later belonged to Arthur Charlett (1655–1722) known by his elegant 'bookpile' bookplate (the earliest in England) designed by Samuel Pepys. Elsewhere, cartographer Abraham Ortelius was represented by a book from his library, a Clement of Alexandria of 1550 bearing his ownership inscription (£20,000) and by a magnificent copy of his *Theatrum orbis terrarium*, Antwerp 1584, with contemporary colouring and highlights in silver and gold (£195,000).

Georges Bataille, 20th-century philosopher, critic, editor and librarian, is now best known for two uniquely disturbing erotic works, *L'Histoire de l'oeil* (1928) and *L'Érotisme* (1957). The breadth of his reading is revealed by the rediscovery of large parts of his library. One section was recently found undisturbed in one of his last homes (he died in 1962) and another had been quietly retained by his daughter. Both were located and

catalogued by **LIBRAIRIE VIGNES** (Paris) and **DU SANDRE** (Brussels). Together, there were 1,283 titles, painstakingly listed and priced individually, for a dispersal not widely noted outside France. A handsome printed catalogue selected 366 highlights, among them many inscribed copies including De Sade's *120 Journées de Sodome* in the 1930s critical edition of the famous scroll manuscript (€1,500) and Hans Bellmer's illustrated edition of Éluard's *Les Jeux de la poupée* (€50,000). A catalogue for Max Ernst's 1950 exhibition at the Galerie René Drouin was inscribed by the artist to Bataille (€2,000), while photographer Brassai inscribed to him a special number of the magazine *Neuf* in 1952 (€500). Also present were a handful of Camus presentations. While Bataille may not be on everyone's reading list for 2023, the library recorded here proves a rewarding intellectual map of the French post-war *avant garde*.

THE 19TH CENTURY SHOP 195 was an excellent example of the appetite at the top end of the market for books, manuscripts and artworks by women. Among manuscripts, a late letter by Dickinson of 1883 consoled a friend and neighbour at Amherst ($60,000); another by Alcott reflected on *Little Women* and children's literature,'…it makes me sick to see the trash offered them…' ($45,000); while a single page by Caroline Herschel recorded observations of her newly-discovered comet ($30,000) and an early literary manuscript by Harriet Beecher Stowe, c.1825, was subtitled 'A New Year's Dream' ($35,000). A lesser-known figure was the Hampstead photographer Emma Frances Thompson, represented by her archive of around 350 photographs, 1858–64, with clear research potential ($245,000) and there were other instances of works with serious price-tags by women hitherto unfamiliar to collectors. Those interested in the history of collecting works by women will also value the rare Sotheby's catalogue of 1867, *Catalogue of the Extraordinary Library consisting of Works of British & American Poetesses, and dramatic Writers formed by the late Rev. F. J. Stainforth* ($6,500). Stainforth (1797–1866) was a philatelist and conchologist, but his library project was to collect a copy of every edition of every title by women poets, dramatists, and non-fiction writers. His manuscript library catalogue included over 7,000 editions, but according to *The Book Collector* archive he has never yet been mentioned in these pages. A valuable website, 'The Stainforth Library of Women's Writing' (https://stainforth.scu.edu/) maintained by Kirstyn Leuner at Santa Clara University and Deborah Hollis at the

University of Colorado, now provides all the background to the library and its contents.

Printing and the Mind of Man – bastion of male learning – remained a thread running throughout the 19th Century Shop's catalogue and provided some of the highest values. Franklin's *Experiments and Observations on Electricity*, 1769, was inscribed to Thomas Livezey ($375,000); Einstein's *Die Grundlage der allgemeinen Relativitätstheorie*, 1916, was signed with a long and pithy inscription ($350,000); Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*, 1855, bore a contemporary ownership inscription and was offered with a signed portrait of 1860 ($160,000), Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, 1776, was in contemporary calf with minor restoration ($190,000), Darwin's *Origin of Species*, 1859, was unrestored ($450,000), Spinoza's three major works, including *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, 1670, all in first edition, were bound together in contemporary vellum ($125,000), *The Federalist*, 1788, was in near contemporary calf, unrestored ($450,000), Johnson's *Dictionary*, 1755, was very good and unrestored ($65,000), Locke's *Essay concerning humane Understanding*, 1690, was rebacked preserving the original spine ($120,000), Kant's *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, 1781, was in contemporary boards ($45,000), Blackstone's *Commentaries*, 1765–9, with the four volumes in quite elaborately tooled bindings ($68,000), Swift's *Gulliver*, 1726, was Teerink A, in contemporary bindings but with endpapers replaced ($75,000).

The breadth of the late Bart Auerbach's collection and the depth of **RIVERRUN'S** catalogue were remarkable. There were 146 dedication copies alone, some with a half page of explanation. Prices on the whole were reasonable considering the intimate nature of much of the material. Kingsley Amis *New Maps of Hell*, New York 1960, jacketed, signed to Bruce Montgomery and described as the first serious appreciation of sci-fi, was $3,500. Djuna Barnes *Ryder*, New York 1928, signed to her lover Thelma Wood, was $7,500, H. E. Bates *Seven Tales and Alexander*, London 1929, signed to Constance Garnett, was $1,750, Eve Chaucer (pseud of Joan Wheatley, Dennis's wife) *No Ordinary Virgin*, London 1935, was $500, Leslie Charteris (pseud of Leslie Charles Bowyer Yin) *The White Rider*, London 1928, the author's second book, dedicated to his mother, was $5,000, Lawrence Durrell *Zero and Asylum in the Snow*, privately printed (fifty copies) in Rhodes, 1946, the signed dedication copy to Henry Miller, was $10,000 and two presentation copies of Edith Sitwell's *Victoria of England*, her first prose work, were $3,500 the pair.

Moving on to the 300 'Books, Letters and Manuscripts' we find four pages of Beerbohm denying that Ernest Dowson was the model for Enoch Soames ($3,500), a Lear drawing for a Tennyson poem at $2,500, Jean Rhys's *Sleep it Off Lady* [London 1976], signed to her accountant (unsteadily) at $750 and the most expensive item in the catalogue, four typed letters from Salinger to Geraldine Brooks at $30,000. A little later comes another Edith Sitwell *The Canticle of the Rose*, London 1949, signed to John Hayward, one time editor of *The Book Collector*, at $350, a fabulous strongman photograph of George Hackenschmidt for $250, a delightful pen and sepia ink drawing by Thackeray, unsigned, for $500, a 1936 Dennis Wheatley in wrappers for $50 and thus, fittingly, to the final item: James Young *Inscribed Books from the Library Collected by James Carleton Young*, New York, Anderson Galleries, 1916–17, in four volumes, $125.

MATT REHNSTROM'S Natural History and Hunting 1555–1868 is a catalogue of books from the library of Gunnar Brusewitz (1924–2004), author of a popular work *Hunting, Hunters, Game, Weapons and Hunting Methods from the Remote Past to the Present Day*, 1968. Many of the books in this catalogue crossed from the varied fields of Natural History to Hunting and Shooting. There is J. Merrin *Butterflying with the Poets*, 1868, with its plates to a first edition of Blomes *Gentleman's Recreation*, 1686, this copy with eighty-seven plates (the Schwerdt copy only had eighty-six), bound by Roger de Coverly. There is a fine-looking set of Curtis's *British Entomology*, sixteen volumes bound in eight in red morocco and a nice run of the first sixteen volumes of *The Transactions of the Linnean Society*. The catalogue also includes the two works of Edward Topsell, *The Historie of Foure-Footed Beasts*, 1607, and *The Historie of Serpents*, 1608, with their charming illustrations. This is an excellent catalogue with really interesting notes on the books and their authors. More than fifty bibliographies are quoted. Gunnar Brusewitz appears not to have minded buying slightly imperfect copies of scarce books.

One of the few articles on music that we've published was that by Carleton Smith in our Spring 1968 issue concerning the numerous musical manuscripts that went missing during World War II. In the course of his searches – one such was in the company of three Kennedy sisters – he was assured by Khrushchev that if any came to the knowledge of Russian musicologists, the *world* would know. (If anyone reading this is able to follow up that list, we would be glad to hear from him or her.)

After Smith's text there followed seven pages of these manuscripts of which ninety-eight were works by Mozart. In this way we introduce the research collection of Professor Zaslaw being offered for sale *en bloc* by **LUBRANO** ($40,000). Although described as a Mozart collection, it naturally embraces works on his contemporaries and is divided into twenty-one categories among which, unusually, we find 'kitsch'. Both catalogue and collection are as scholarly as could be desired; the catalogue itself runs to 572 pages. Staying with music, the article in our last issue by Graham Johnson, the renowned accompanist, on his collection of the poetical parents of lieder, has whetted our appetite for more such pieces. editor@thebookcollector.co.uk is the place to go.

'Architectural Rarities' was the title of **CHARLES WOOD'S** latest, and sumptuous, offering. This was not exclusively a listing of the big names – though it is true there were eight pages of works by Palladio, which is of itself no mean feat; ornamentation was there, a John Trow specimen book of 1856, a pattern book/trade catalogue of brass furniture fittings from Birmingham c.1811 and three sheets of a tattooer's original art work. Lloyd Wright's complete 'Collected Works' in Japanese, five volumes, Tokyo 1926 to 1928, was there at $16,000, and in an addendum, perhaps most importantly, Silliman and Goodrich's *The World of Science, Art and Industry*… New York 1854 ($55,000). The catalogue points out that whereas the book itself is common, the photographically illustrated edition is extremely rare, the first copy not having come to light until the mid-1970s. The long last paragraph of the book's description contains first-hand bibliographical detail that will surely be found nowhere else.

ANTIKVARIAT BRYGGEN from Norway produced an International Catalogue entitled 'Bibliophilia' with many good things. All the items mentioned here are signed by the author and in dust-jacket. Leslie Charteris *Getaway*, 1932, in a battered d/j was £2,560, *Saint Overboard* was £1,535 and *The First Saint Omnibus*, 1939, was £215. (The first Saint was published in 1938.) The first Norwegian of *Lord of the Flies*, Oslo 1960, was £1,280. Four of the Hanuman books published from the Chelsea Hotel in New York between 1986 and 1993 were around £150 each and a first of *Gravity's Rainbow*, New York 1973, splendiferous in its luminous orange d/j, was £680. There were then twenty-six titles by winners (at some point) of the Nobel Prize in Literature, starting with Gide *Montaigne*, 1929, at £85 and ending with an uncorrected proof of Abdulrazak Gurnah's *Desertation*, 2005, at £215 while in-between swam a

host of illustrious names. In the Norwegian section was a very nice signed copy of Heyerdahl's *Kon-Tiki Ekspedisjonen*, Oslo 1948, for Kr. 7,500.

From **BENNETT & KERR** came 'Aelfric to Wyclif', the library of Anne Hudson, one time Professor of Medieval English at Oxford. This was an astonishing collection. The best idea that can be given of its depth is by enumerating the number of entries for some titles or subjects: Aquinas merging into Aristotle (21), Jan Hus (27), Middle English Texts (32), Studies in Church History (56), William of Ockham (19), John Wyclif (31). There will be those to whom this represents the pabulum of the gods. With 1,768 items, the table is groaning.

JONATHAN HILL'S catalogue 240 is masterly. In it may be found 'The First Japanese Book on the Camera, the Telegraph & the Steam Engine' (Kagoshima 1854, $3,750); two books of hand-painted illustrations of kimonos (1820 and 1810, $4,000 and $3,500), a Ming woodblock banknote c.1400 ($12,500) and 'A Rare & Early Jesuit Imprint in Beijing; the First Printed Statement in China that the Earth is Round' (Beijing, c.1614, $65,000). The notion that by merely reading the catalogue one can absorb its knowledge is one of its pleasures; the design by Jerry Kelly is another, better-founded.

OBITUARIES

Andrew Edmunds

Paul Andrew Edmunds, print dealer and restaurateur, was born in Epping on 16 September 1943 and died in London on 15 September 2022.

Andrew Edmunds was a boulevardier who created his own boulevard, a man who lived a life of fierce good taste. An uneasy, lovable man, he acquired a taste for the antique from his father, and for the natural world from his mother: he learned to indulge the former taste at the print shops of Cambridge (where he read zoology), and the latter at his country houses, first in Norfolk and then Somerset. His natural shyness helped him become an extremely good listener, and an original and quite deep thinker on the things that mattered to him.

Historically, the time that mattered to him was the long 18th century, and he became an authority on the culture of caricature that flourished under the Four Georges. His collections of prints by Hogarth, Gillray and Cruickshank achieved legendary status, although even his closest colleagues never really knew their full extent. Tips of the iceberg were regularly visible in loans to exhibitions, and I remember the shock on seeing that all the works on paper at the 2007 Tate exhibition were from his collection. He never published on the subject, even in catalogues, and seldom took part in colloquia, but he was generous (if capable of being opinionated) with his knowledge; my colleague Robert Harding elegantly describes the 'preservation by distillation' of his knowledge. Tim Clayton (for example), in his widely applauded new book on Gillray acknowledges his debt to Andrew in no uncertain fashion: 'Above all I should like to acknowledge the contribution of Andrew Edmunds, who has shared discoveries with me, and with whom I have had many fascinating and fruitful exchanges. Most of the illustrations in the book come from his Gillray collection, which is the best in the world.'

Andrew established his print dealing business in the mid-1970s in Soho, following his friend and colleague Chris Mendez to Lexington Street. From Chris I learnt of his acquisition of the stock of book and print dealer Walter Spencer (the man who is blamed for printing fake title pages to reprints of *Great Expectations*), and then the collection of Prince Ludwig Joseph Maximilian von Starhemberg, Viennese ambassador to London, who had entered into the spirit of the age by

Andrew Edmunds

forming an important collection of caricature. Starhemberg himself was caricatured very benignly by Gillray, in a print which the British Museum quote Edmunds in suggesting was 'a flattering thank you to one of their best customers'. Andrew always gave the British Museum first dibs on any British print they didn't have, and their catalogue cites him (mostly as provenance) in their descriptions of 1,677 prints – an astonishing number. He dealt widely outside his collecting speciality and handled important Blake and old master material.

Andrew was best known to the wider world as a restaurateur, at which he excelled. He had taken over a wine bar in the adjoining building, which became his eponymous restaurant, and later installed the orphaned Academy Club upstairs. He ended up owning both buildings and all three establishments miraculously maintained a demeanour of distressed stability, seemingly perched on the edge of collapse but never tipping over the edge. Their air may owe more to Soho in the 1950s than to the 18th or 19th century, and their scruffy authenticity is immensely welcoming: the printshop has an air of treasures to be found, the restaurant is famously described as the most romantic in London, and both it and the club have an irresistible bonhomie. Vivienne Westwood summed it up very simply: 'The interior is old, which makes you feel comfortable.'

Andrew collected people as well as property, prints and wine, and always found the most interesting and unconventional people to run the restaurant and club. He was a champion of British cooking, celebrating the seasons and allowing the ingredients to do the work. He endearingly supplied and arranged the invariably tasteful and modest floral decorations himself from his home in Somerset, where he commuted each weekend.

His unexpected death, after a short illness, leaves a large gap in many lives, not least that of his widow Bryony. Their children are continuing the restaurant and print dealing business, and we wish them all success.

An obituary of Andrew by Christopher Mendez and Antony Griffiths will appear in the Print Quarterly*, March 2023.*

ED MAGGS

Rob Shepherd

Rob Shepherd, bookbinder and businessman, was born on 25 March 1952 and died on 13 August 2022.

Rob was born above a pub in Windsor where his father was landlord but spent his childhood in Plymouth after the family moved there. He began his career as a bookbinder after studying Fine Art at West Surrey College, and while spending his days as a van driver transporting prosthetic limbs around the country, started an evening class in bookbinding at Camberwell College of Arts. After just a few weeks of classes, with some chutzpah he introduced himself as a bookbinder to Sims and Reed in St James's and started repairing books for them at his classes and at home. As he said, he must have been doing something right as they kept giving him more work.

He was good friends with the art booksellers, Thomas and Shaunagh Heneage, and in 1988 they set up Shepherds Bookbinders in Rochester Row, in London's Pimlico. He soon employed a couple of part-time bookbinders, and then Janet Atkinson, who joined the company from the College of Arms as a paper conservator. Restoration work came in from antiquarian booksellers, bibliophiles and livery companies, as it still does to this day.

Rochester Row was a good location for passing trade, and customers were soon requesting new bindings and boxes. Rob wanted to offer a wider range of materials for customers to choose from and thus began selling papers and bookbinding materials. Papers were a particular passion of his and this aspect of the business expanded hugely in 2003 when he bought Falkiner Fine Papers in Southampton Row. The design of the new shop, with 700 shelves of papers and a counter of solid oak, was Rob's brainchild and it continues to be a destination shop for all sensible artists, designers and bookbinders.

Some years before this, the bindery had undergone a huge expansion when Shepherds purchased the venerable bookbinding companies Sangorski & Sutcliffe and Zaehnsdorf, from Asprey. In 1998 Shepherds's small binding team moved to Great Guildford Street to join forces with the craftsmen and women from SSZ. With the modern archival materials Rob sought out from across the globe, the ethos of Shepherds bindery was to combine the ancient with the modern; the integrity of the production process was always of paramount importance.

During the takeover Rob made an extraordinary discovery in the old SSZ workshop in Bermondsey Street. Stashed away in a cupboard

were the untouched archives of Sangorski & Sutcliffe, brought over from their old workshop in Poland Street in 1988 when they'd joined up with Zaehnsdorf. This fuelled Rob's fascination for S&S; he wrote two books about the company: *Lost on The Titanic*, the story of 'The Great Omar', a jewelled binding that went down with the ship, and *The Cinderella of the Arts* which is a more detailed history of Sangorski & Sutcliffe.

In due course Rob set up a dedicated book shop in Curzon Street, Mayfair, stocked with an eclectic mix of first or limited-edition titles. The integrity of the book was always central to how it was sold: books, perfect or near perfect in their original bindings, were left alone or boxed for protection; those needing repair were restored; and those which had long lost their original protection would be given a new cover in either period or contemporary style to complement the content.

These heritage skills, showcased in Curzon Street, were disappearing, however. Upon the demise of the bookbinding course at London College of Printing in the early noughties, he instigated new courses at Great Guildford Street, covering beginners' bookbinding, box-making, gold finishing and restoration. These courses were taught by some of the finest in the business: Eri Funazaki, Dan Wray and Glenn Bartley to name a few. His next step was to devise bookbinding qualifications with City & Guilds, and in 2013 Shepherds became their registered centre. The C&G courses were then transferred to the Daffodil Barn in Wiltshire, Shepherds's rural bindery. It was here that Rob met and befriended Jonathan Powell, a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Royal Welsh working at army headquarters in Wilton, who had taken up bookbinding and attended a course or two at the barn. After discussing the therapeutic benefits of the craft, the pair came up with the idea for a charity offering bookbinding to wounded, injured and sick veterans, and in 2012 Bound by Veterans was born. BBV offered bookbinding not only as a therapeutic activity for those with stress-related illnesses in particular, but the C&G qualifications offered by Shepherds were useful to veterans transitioning out of the services.

It was soon after this that the clerk of the Worshipful Company of Stationers got in touch with Rob, who had been a liveryman of the Guild for some years. Conversations led to meetings with interested parties and The Queen's Bindery Apprenticeship scheme (QBAS) was launched in 2016 but fell victim to the scourge of Covid. Despite this, Rob used the scheme as leverage in acquiring government recognition for bookbinding apprenticeships. He worked long and hard to get the apprenticeship standard through various complex demands and his

success in gaining recognition for craft bookbinding as a heritage skill is one of his greatest legacies.

He made friends in whatever sphere he moved, local or global. He was a man with a kind heart, a man of the greatest integrity who would do anything to help those who needed it. The respect he commanded was lightly worn, and he would be the last person to take credit for any of his many achievements. He is greatly missed by all who knew him. He is survived by his brother Phil, Max, his son with his first wife, Di, and by Maria Scott, his long-term partner whom he quietly wed in March of this year.

ALI STRACHAN

BOOK REVIEWS

James Fleming

A FACTOTUM IN THE BOOK TRADE: A MEMOIR

By Marius Kociejowski

(Windsor, Ontario: Biblioasis, 2022. 360 pp., £13.99)

Reading this book is like being proffered something from distant Ophir. The people, the facts, the stories, they tumble out before us, each with a slightly exotic quality, as if daring us to believe them. The question he raises about Lady Lucan is only one such example. The author is not short of an opinion on any subject – of which there are many – and is never shy of telling us what that is. Let us take book collectors for a start.

Kociejowski (henceforth K) starts with a tale about a man called Sergey Savitsky who, while working at a remote station in Antarctica, stabbed a colleague in the chest with a kitchen knife. The reason, it transpired, was that the colleague kept on revealing how books ended before he, Savitsky, had read them. This is a prelude to telling us that while book collectors are a truly despicable lot, he has yet to meet a murderer among them. To be precise, they are to be avoided 'or else kept at a prophylactic distance; they tend to lack social graces and have alarming food regimes; their clothes are oddly tailored, sometimes resembling the square suits of illegitimate regimes'. These are superficial traits which belong to many of us, but the book collector ('a new human subspecies') seems to be an irresistible target to K despite the fact that he has made a living from them. It is a love/hate relationship and hard to tell where the balance lies.

The same may also be said of the booksellers themselves. Early on, as K is getting into his stride, he deplores the disappearance of London bookshops and states flatly that he refuses to enter 'any of those jumped-up bookshops that masquerade as art galleries with nice little walnut tables where you sit down and pay three times the price for the privilege'. These are the province of hedge fund managers and cocaine addicts, 'often both one and the same'. What K wants, is dirt, chaos and mystery plus the chance to find a book that is as yet unknown to him and that will change his life. This is really what *Factotum* is about: the author's journey within himself, looking for treasure which he sometimes glimpses but can never touch, clasping his friends and lashing out at his enemies – whom a page later we discover were his enemies for only half an hour.

There is a long piece on Anthony Rota, 'the Pope of Long Acre', for

whom K has some harsh words despite working for him for several years. After speaking about a runner bringing in to Rota a copy of *The Road to Oxiana* in dust wrapper, for which he was asking £25, K writes about Setitia Butler, who is living proof of the old adage that 'style is character'. Ms Butler, who was later to be the wife of another bookseller, Anthony Simmonds, was distinguished on a few fronts: she was a serious friend of the author, the niece of Robert Byron and one of the last people to see Lord Lucan. The afternoon of the day he murdered his nanny with a section of lead piping, having mistaken her in the dark for his wife, he came to see Setitia, who was then working at Heywood Hill, to settle his account. (This in itself is extraordinary though K passes over it.) Many years later, while working at Peter Ellis, K falls into conversation with an ex-policeman who had been the first to arrive at the Lucans' house. Here I quote the author: 'I would like to have asked him whether Lady Lucan was still flushed from having made love with Lord Lucan *after* the murder.' (K's italics.) K may be right; it may have indeed happened like that, before she rushed into the nearby pub screaming "Murder! Murder!"

He can be waspish: Anthony Rota was 'a poor judge of character'; Larkin is a 'paragon of seedy exactitude' whose 'oeuvre exudes impotence'; Brodsky was a 'pompous windbag'. On the other hand, he is hard on himself as well, continually. He is one of those people who likes to say everything, even where prudence suggests otherwise. The result is an absolute page-turner. His style is so immediate that whether one likes the people in the anecdote or not, one just has to know what happens. His footnotes are a delight – for instance, that books in green covers are the hardest to sell. His short final chapter concerns a trip to his barber (who is supplied with signed copies of new titles to store away as an investment). K fears his shop will go because of Covid and rising costs. In this way he ends on the same note as he began, on the remorseless decline in the opportunities for intelligent commercial discourse. It is sad to end a spirited book in such a negative way.

Henry Wessells

FIFTY FORGOTTEN BOOKS

By R. B. Russell

(Sheffield: And Other Stories, 2022. 255 pp., many illus, £12.99/$19.95)

For some of us, the most interesting lists of books are descriptive or suggestive, not prescriptive or combative (certain lists are bullies looking for a fight). Ray Russell's list of *Fifty Forgotten Books* is the sort of genial com-

pilation that invites or challenges the reader 'to determine how many of these works they remember'. In this convivial memoir of friendships and authors, and the zig-zag of discoveries and enthusiasms, Russell chronicles vanished bookshops and booksellers from Brighton to Wales to the north of England, visiting Holleyman and Treacher, Stone Trough Books, the Grimoire, The Lillies, George Locke and the wonderfully named Disjecta.

In his larval stage, in the 1980s, Russell was a teenage existentialist and aspiring musician who was given a paperback copy of Arthur Machen's *The Hill of Dreams* (1907) by Mr Brookes who kept a bookshop in Brighton and was possibly ex-MI5 or MI6. Russell soon gravitated to the 1890s and the decadents, studied architecture at Sheffield, and made a pilgrimage to Providence to look at old buildings and H. P. Lovecraft manuscripts, which only affirmed his interest in Machen. In 1988, Russell attended a meeting of the newly formed Arthur Machen Society and found a wider community of readers and fellow collectors. 'I met many friends who helped to shape my reading and publishing life: Janet Machen (daughter of the author, quietly determined and generous), Mark Valentine (an erudite book lover and terrific writer), Roger Dobson (devotee of the overlooked author),' and others. Taking his cue from photocopy fanzine culture, Russell produced a Machen pamphlet, *The Anatomy of Taverns*, and Tartarus Press was formed.

After completing his architectural training, he found himself unable to practice in the field due to an economic downturn. One wouldn't usually consider that that a two-year stint at a provincial vanity press would be the smithy where a career is forged, but Russell grasped the opportunity: 'I left after two of the most traumatic years of my life, although I had learned how to create proper hardback books, as opposed to booklets.' With this transformation, Tartarus Press (which he runs with his partner Rosalie Parker), established itself as a distinguished specialist publisher of notable reprints (Robert Aickman and Sarban among others) and significant new works in the field of supernatural fiction.

Several of the books and authors Russell takes as starting points for episodes in his collecting memoir are not strictly forgotten (*Le Grand Meaulnes*, *Lolly Willowes*, or *The Quest for Corvo*), but they do serve as markers along the way. Russell began reading Sylvia Townsend Warner because of the Machen connection (she was his niece) and became a diligent collector of her work. By 1993 he envisioned a Warner society but not until 2000 did the stars align for its establishment. In the mid-1990s Russell began to compile and publish a *Guide to First Edition Prices*, which went through eight editions between 1997 and 2010, listing some 50,000 titles and more than 700 authors. Now is a moment of candour when I

must state that I have met Russell on several occasions: in conversation about books or music, one can see the rigour and obsessive focus required to produce such a work. He was reviled in the *TLS* as 'Parsimonious Russell', and yet, he writes, 'for a decade, though, the *Guides* subsidised Tartarus Press, allowing me to publish and stay at home looking after our son Tim, who was born in 1995.' I used to have one of those *Guides*, and it must now seem a relic like the Sears catalogue or the telephone book.

A few old scores are rehashed in *Fifty Forgotten Books*, but with little rancour. Two early benefactors of literary societies are given anonymity: as with academia, the battles must have been so vicious because the stakes seem so trivial. After the implosion of the Arthur Machen Society, a new entity was organised, the Friends of Arthur Machen, which continues to this day. Some elements of this memoir will be familiar to readers of Russell's collection of essays, *Past Lives of Old Books* (2020), since he is chronicling many of the same interests and authors, but here the emphasis is on the friendships formed and colourful incidents and the telling of the tale is new. Russell writes succinctly of how he and Parker came to publish a few of their award-winning bestsellers, including *Rupetta* by N. A. Sulway (2013) and *The Loney* by Andrew Hurley (2014), noting wryly the massive publicity which John Murray was able to throw at the latter when the firm reprinted it. There are portraits of the wily George Locke, the late Avalon Brantley, author Mark Valentine and other friends, and Russell writes movingly of the unexpected death of his friend Richard Dalby, who was a noted authority on ghost stories. Unsurprisingly for a publisher whose list includes the strange stories of Robert Aickman, there is an actual ghost story in these pages, connected with the Tartarus collected ghost stories of Oliver Onion and Russell's efforts to secure reprint permissions. It begins, 'As befits the granddaughter of an accomplished author of psychological ghost stories, Jane Oliver was strangely elusive.' *Fifty Forgotten Books* includes a good list of books – no, you won't have read them all – and gives a very clear sense of Russell and Parker as part of a living community of writers, collectors and friends. It was a pleasure to spend a few hours in their company again.

Hazel Tubman

SPEAKING VOLUMES: BOOKS WITH HISTORIES

By David Pearson

(Bodleian Library, 2022. ix, 230 pp., illus, £40)

In his Preface, David Pearson writes of 'a growing appreciation that there

is more to books than [text], that it is worth pausing to consider the packaging, because it has its own stories to tell'. Undoubtedly Pearson himself has much to do with this shift. His *Books as History* (London: The British Library & Oak Knoll Press, 2008) is now an essential introduction to the ways in which the physical, and not solely textual properties of books can and should be read. *Speaking Volumes: Books with Histories* is a welcome return to this theme.

Whereas *Books as History* principally considered the 'before' of book design and production, *Speaking Volumes* explores the 'after', namely the evidence left by 'the interaction of books with people, after they have been completed'. Each chapter examines different kinds of evidence of book ownership and use. After establishing the importance of the book as a physical object in chapter one, chapter two considers marks of ownership; chapter three, annotations; chapter four, additions and deletions; bindings in chapter five; and in chapter six, 'Accidents, incidents and talismans'. In the seventh and final chapter, Pearson engages with the ongoing conversation surrounding the impact of technological change on the future of books and libraries.

Pearson's writing is engaging, well-researched and a real pleasure to read. A great strength of this work is the dazzling array of supporting examples used. Each chapter contains four to six thoughtfully chosen case studies which allow their author a level of detail that can often, in studies of such breadth, be sacrificed in favour of brevity. Taking examples from the 9th to the 20th centuries, these focused analyses are by turns playful and poignant. It is through them that we meet the 'bombastic' Lee Warly, 18th-century lawyer and incorrigible book annotator; the enterprising Elkanah Settle, who used armorial bindings to curry favour with prospective patrons; and tragic figures such as Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk, who used his books as messengers on the eve of his execution and 1960s book 'improvers' Kenneth Halliwell and Joe Orton. We are shown books as witnesses of segregation in 20th-century Oklahoma and asked how we should address traces of more negative forms of book 'use', such as vandalism.

The spectre of Silicon Valley (introduced on p. 7) is ever present here. Though there can be no doubt about Pearson's view of the digital 'steamroller coming up behind printed books and libraries', the final chapter is an even-handed summary of the impact of digital advances upon individual and institutional attitudes to, and policies regarding, books. It is a good introduction to this thorny recent history, and Pearson's predictions for the future of the book feel pragmatic rather than doom-mongering, weighing the cultural, technological and, above all, economic pressures that

have driven the digital shift. Notably this final chapter contains only two images, in marked contrast to the illustrations liberally deployed through the rest of the work. It is a quietly effective demonstration of Pearson's central thesis, and of what we risk losing by favouring electronic surrogates over their material counterparts.

Any quibbles are negligible. Chapter six, 'Accidents, incidents and talismans', covers a great deal of ground and thus occasionally feels a little more thematically disjointed than its predecessors; but that matters little when there are such enjoyable examples to be savoured. There is detail here to delight those who have loved and worked with books for many years, as well as those just beginning.

Nicolas Barker

A HISTORY AND CATALOGUE OF THE LINDSAY LIBRARY, 1570–1792

By Kelsey Jackson Williams, Jane Stevenson and William Zachs
(Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2022. xxvi + 514 pp., €169)

'Few, I apprehend, after Earl James's death [1768]... disturbed "the ancient solitary reign" of the moths and spiders in Lord David's sanctuary under the old crow-trees at Balcarres, and... the greater portion of the library was literally thrown away and dispersed...' So wrote the 25th Earl of Crawford, and so I repeated in writing the history of the *Bibliotheca Lindesiana* in 1977. But we were wrong, and Bill Zachs, waving his wand like a djinn, has restored the ancient library to life by a series of miracles. First, in August 1996, Edinburgh electricians working on City Chambers lifted a disused hatch and found themselves in the backroom of a disused bookshop, its shelves containing seventy-four ledgers of the firm of Bell & Bradfute, 1778–1820s. Among them, Zachs found details of twenty-four books 'Bought at the Sale of Balcarres's Books' in May 1792, each numbered, suggesting a catalogue. Such a sale was indeed announced in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, but where was the catalogue? After a long search, one was found in a bound volume of catalogues belonging to the late Brian Lawn, whose collection, described by himself in *The Book Collector* in 1999, had been left to the Bodleian. It listed 1,260 items, and these, amplified with the contents of eight other book lists, mostly single sheets from different inventories, still preserved in the Balcarres archives, have raised the total to 1,763 distinct bibliographical entities. Of these, it has to be said, quite a number are duplicates, caused by repetition of details of what must be the same book in

the catalogue or inventories. The printed sale catalogue, otherwise above contemporary standards, also included books from other sources added to pad out the list of authentic books from Balcarres.

It remains, however, the staple of what is listed in this book, besides the eighty-seven books surviving at Balcarres. Some of these have never left their ancestral home, but more have been retrieved by booksellers and friends of the family over the years, and as many more survive in other libraries in Scotland and elsewhere. The sum of these fully bear out the reputation of the Lindsay library as outstanding among those built up at that time. The father of the collection was David, Lord Lindsay of Edzell (1551–1610), who, besides contemporary classical and theological literature, had marked interests in scientific and astronomical works, as well as astrology, metallurgy and magic. His more successful brother John Lindsay, Lord Menmuir (1553–1598), shared the same interests, as did his son, David, 1st Lord Lindsay of Balcarres (1587–1641) and his son, Alexander, 1st Earl of Balcarres (1618–1659), although both suffered from the ruinous effects of civil war. The real hero, and largest contributor to the library, was Colin, 3rd Earl of Balcarres (1652–1722), who survived anxious straits of mainly Jacobite public life to break the news of William III's supersession of James II to his monarch. Earl Colin, living longer than his predecessors, differed from them in having a greater interest in theology of all persuasions, in history and philosophy. He also seems to have been interested in earlier books, as witness his acquisition of Grolier's 1524 Plutarch, bound by Jean Picard, with multiple editions of favourite works, such as Lucretius. He took a catholic interest in church history, and clearly included Leibniz, Bayle and Le Clerc, Grotius and Gassendi, in his contemporary reading. At the same time, the manuscript 'Balcarres lute book' was acquired, perhaps under the influence of Earl Colin's fourth wife, Margaret.

She outlived her husband by over twenty years, and so, far from being neglected, the library's range was enlarged to take in poetry, drama and prose fiction in several languages, the subjects to include equitation, gardening, cookery and even games. Nor was their appearance neglected, and a score or more books are now to be seen bound in 18th-century bindings, contemporary with their texts or replacing or repairing earlier bindings. The cataclysm that broke up the library was not due to neglect, but the decision of Alexander, 6th Earl of Balcarres, to concentrate on his wife's Lancashire property, selling Balcarres to his brother Robert, just returned a nabob from a successful career in India. It is clear that the library, old and now seeming antiquated, meant little to either brother. What has now been retrieved, really or virtually, has been raised before our eyes in this long catalogue. Some of the identifications, particularly

of books only known otherwise from imprecise inventories, may not be right, although the present cataloguers err on the side of caution in drawing on old and new catalogues (absence or presence in USTC, often cited, is uncertain evidence).

But there is no doubt about the credit that is due to Bill Zachs as the mastermind of this project, which has been crowned by the addition, only recently, of four more books hitherto lost to the library. Two came from Bonham's sale of books from Aldourie Castle, Inverness, in 2002: the great 1604 folio Lambin edition of Catullus, Tibullus and Propertius and the 1601 Lyon Petrarch *Epistolae familiarae*. Parrhasius *In Cl. Claudiani de raptu Proserpinae*, Basel, Winter, 1539, has come from Sokol, while Homer, *Opera Graecolatina, quae quidem nunc extant, omnia*, Basel, Brylinger, 1561, with the signature of David, Lord Lindsay of Edzell, is simply recorded as 'a gift to Bibliotheca Lindesiana from William Zachs in 2013'. Happy the library that can boast such friends!

Angus O'Neill

ONCE UPON A TOME

By Oliver Darkshire

(London: Bantam, 2022. 256 pp., £14.99)

It is almost always good to see a new book about old books. This one was eagerly awaited, thanks to a sustained campaign on social media; but that is a strategy that makes its own demands and these do not always lead to candour.

The book is set in Sotheran's, an old and distinguished business and very much a part of the establishment: its late owner was a confidant of monarchs and ministers and the shop has never looked like fertile soil for exotica. It is, therefore, unsurprising that the present book tells us very little about the management and quite a lot about the staff; this could be appealing, but one senses uneasily that they are not well placed to answer back. And there is no mention of the money side, about which one would like to know far more: whimsy is no substitute for facts.

Dealing in old books has always presented moral problems. If we restricted our stock to authors we approved of, the shelves would be sparsely populated, and perhaps on the dull side; as L. P. Hartley wrote, 'The past is a foreign country. They do things differently there.' Unfortunately, the Hartley brought to mind by this volume is J. R., rather than L. P. At times, when it borders on the twee ('I know he still sees me as the lost

boy who stepped over the threshold all those years ago'), it even seems to be channelling Beverley Nichols. Nonetheless, its author is agonisingly careful not to offend the new Establishment. Non-standard sexuality, for instance, is for most people now about as subversive as the paintings of Thomas Kinkade, and such self-congratulatory virtue signals such as 'each time… we block a homophobe from shopping with us, it's a tiny step in the right direction' may appeal to the target audience, but they do invite questions. My first is, 'How do you expect people to learn anything if you won't sell them books?' One wonders whether it has ever occurred to the author that he might not be the only gay in the bookselling village.

If you want to read worthwhile accounts of the rare book business in the 21st century, go to Sheila Markham's interviews, or anything by Rick Gekoski; if it's a different angle you are looking for, try Marius Kociejowski's *A Factotum in the Book Trade* (see p. 177), which is both well-informed and fiery. All these writers have one thing in common: a genuine interest in engaging with the characters they describe. Sometimes the portrayals are affectionate, sometimes highly critical, even eviscerating: but they are always three-dimensional. Alas, this cannot be said for Oliver Darkshire's walk-ons, whom he calls 'cryptids': the Spindleman, the Suited Gentlemen, the Ancient. They are pasteboard simulacra, described with disdain. Their depictions are also, frankly, not very *kind*, which seems to matter so much to young people nowadays.

A lot of people will have been given this book for Christmas, no doubt, and some of them will inevitably ask if the trade is really like that. I could answer them with a detailed explanation of why Darkshire's pages on valuation, for instance, are particularly inane ('your best assessment of the price of a book one night can be completely superseded by the events of the next day'), or I could drip cold water on his description of a sad attempt at a private buy (much of which he gives us twice). But, at the last, I think only of a wise friend, who maintained that one should never dine at a restaurant with a facetious name: and at least the title of this volume cannot be accused of flattering to deceive.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

NICOLAS BARKER was editor of *The Book Collector* between 1965 and 2015.

STEPHEN CLARKE is an honorary research fellow of the University of Liverpool. He is the Chairman of Dr Johnson's House Trust and of the Beckford Society. He has edited *The Selected Letters of Horace Walpole* for Everyman, (2017); his latest book, which *The Book Collector* published, is *Lefty Lewis and the Waldegraves: Collecting, Obsession, Friendship*.

VICTORIA DAILEY is deputy editor of *The Book Collector*.

JAY DILLON builds private libraries.

JAMES FLEMING is editor of *The Book Collector*.

MIRJAM FOOT is a former Director of Collections and Preservation at the British Library and Emeritus Professor of Library and Archive Studies at University College, London. She has published extensively on the history of bookbinding.

BASIE BALES GITLIN is Director of Development for Yale University Library and Yale Collections, Librarian of the Elizabethan Club, and Co-Chair of Yale's Adrian Van Sinderen Book Collecting Prize.

NEIL GUTHRIE is a lawyer in Toronto. He is the author of *The Material Culture of the Jacobites* (2014), *Guthrie's Guide to Better Legal Writing* (2017, 2021) and many articles.

ANGUS O'NEILL is an antiquarian bookseller based in London.

JULIAN POOLEY is Public Services and Engagement Manager at Surrey History Centre, Woking and Honorary Visiting Fellow of the Centre for English Local History at the University of Leicester.

ED POTTEN is a Research Associate in the Centre for Medieval Studies, University of York, and Principal Consultant on the AHRC/DFG-funded project, 'Werck der Bücher' – Transitions, Experimentations and Collaboration in Reprographic Technologies, 1440–1470. He also runs Pinakes Rare Books.

CHARLES SEBAG-MONTEFIORE is the Treasurer of the Friends of the National Libraries, a Trustee of the National Gallery Trust and of other charities, and joint author of *The British as Art Collectors* (Scala, 2012).

HAZEL TUBMAN is an antiquarian bookseller at Maggs Bros. Ltd., specialising in early European books and manuscripts.

HENRY WESSELLS is author of *Another green world* (2003), *A Conversation larger than the Universe* (2018) and *The Private Life of Books* (2nd ed., 2020). He is an antiquarian bookseller with James Cummins Bookseller in New York City.

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

The editor of *The Book Collector* welcomes contributions on all aspects of books and book-collecting. These may be articles, letters, entries for Notes & Queries or items of general interest for News & Comment. The preferred length for articles is between two and five thousand words with an image (hi-res, please) for every thousand words. Images should be cleared for use with the copyright holder and come with appropriate captions. For pitches and further details, please write to the editor: editor@thebookcollector.co.uk.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

By any standard of importance, the article with which we must headline this section is David McKitterick's essay on The National Manuscripts Conservation Trust: 'Rescuing the Past and Caring for the Future'. It is incredible, but true, that in a country as rich in history as Great Britain, it should have taken until 1985 for anyone to think seriously about the conservation of the national archives. When a Commission did look at the system, it was found, to the surprise of no one involved in their care, that they were in a parlous condition due to lack of funding available to libraries and record offices. Dr McKitterick, the new Chairman of the Trust, is the best possible person to describe the workings of the Trust.

A nice contrast comes from Philip Gooden with 'Shadowing Bond'. The 1960s were a golden age for British spy fiction. Thanks to the film industry, some of the most successful authors continue to be read. Others have fallen by the wayside, and these are the subject of Philip's article, which we publish to coincide with the seventieth anniversary in April this year of the appearance in *Casino Royale* of the man who continues to dominate most classes of sight and sound, the phenomenon called Bond. We have Part 2 of Ed Potten's magisterial history of the library at Nostell Priory, and in the last part of her series on bookbinding comes Mirjam Foot's article on that supreme figure, Howard Nixon. Some might think there is little left to be said after the issue for this journal of Volume 24 No. 1 for Spring 1975, in which no fewer than twenty of the greatest names in bibliophily described Nixon's work: they would be mistaken. Fifty years is a long gap. No one is more fitted than Ms Foot to bring us up to date. We have five new authors (to us) in our Summer issue: Philip Gooden (see above), Lev Tsitrin writing on 'The Barlow Aesop of 1666 and the Two States of its English Text', Anthony Tedeschi on Alexander Turnbull, the man whose immense collection forms an early and important part of the National Library of New Zealand, Liz Adams, whose article is most easily described by giving its title, 'Bibliographical starvation: Christopher Millard, Walter Ledger and the skunk farm' and Giles Mandelbrote with his account of the new library at Lambeth Palace of which he is the Librarian and Archivist.

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Switzerland
Antiquariat Bibermühle AG
Bibermühle 1 ▪ CH-8262 Ramsen
Telephone: +41 52 742 05 75
Fax: +41 52 742 05 79
tenschert@antiquariat-bibermuehle.ch

For further information please visit our web-site:
www.antiquariat-bibermuehle.ch

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TELEPHONE 01491 637701
E-MAIL *chr.edwards@btinternet.com*