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THE Book Collector

Mania and Imagination

Are you a squirrel or an owl? And just how mad are you? 'Mania and Imagination', a weekend conference held at King's College, Cambridge, in June, posed these interesting questions. Subtitled 'Perils and Pleasures of the Private Collector, Present and Future', it followed up a conference held at the same place in 2013 to celebrate the centenary of the birth of A. N. L. Munby, sometime Librarian of King's and an unapologetic advocate of the pleasures of book collecting. 'I must confess to having in the past slight qualms of conscience before spending a month's income on a book,' he admitted in a 1948 essay, '– now it becomes almost a moral duty, an act of selfless devotion.'

The earlier conference, ' "Floreat Bibliomania" – Great Collectors and Their Grand Designs', reported in THE BOOK COLLECTOR (News & Comment, Autumn 2013), was very much *ad hominem*, even when the learned speakers affected to speak on other 'great collectors': Christopher de Hamel on J. R. Abbey, one of Tim Munby's special subjects, and Anthony Hobson on Frederick North, fifth Earl of Guilford, 'whose life and eccentricities would have appealed to Tim', and many of whose manuscripts were snapped up by Sir Thomas Phillipps – the study of whose collections occupied Munby, of course, for more than a decade. Nicolas Barker recalled a friendship starting in 1947, in R. C. Pearson's bookshop in Hobson Street, Cambridge; Michael Caines explored Munby's anonymous contributions to *The Times Literary Supplement* and his close relationship with the paper's editor Arthur Crook; Tony

Edwards traced, with some cunning, thirty-three medieval and Renaissance manuscripts from Munby's own collection; and Peter Murray Jones examined Munby's proactive custodianship of the John Maynard Keynes collections at King's.

Three years on, Munby's ghost, if not his ghost stories, stalked King's Keynes Lecture Theatre. He had a wry way with words. 'The will-power necessary to get rid of books must be maintained at all costs,' he wrote, provocatively, in his famous *New Statesman* article 'Floreat Bibliomania'. 'Even if one buys on a modest scale – say, one book a day on an average – they fill room after room with the inevitability of the rising tide.' The 2016 conference was less about grand designs than the more or less modest passions and practices of the twenty-first-century book collector: it focused on what he or she might be up to, calling in aid the testimony first of those who sell books and then that of those who buy them, even if not one a day on average.

Meg Ford, International Head of Books and Manuscripts at Christie's, made common cause with Justin Croft, the bookseller veteran of the BBC's *Antiques Roadshow*. Ford paid tribute to the 'competitive spirit' of collectors (but then, as an auctioneer, she would, wouldn't she?), regretting only that in the way of business she couldn't 'nurture' them. The most competitive of all, the very rich, could have an extraordinary effect on the market, she said; some almost sucked the life from it – she cited two such from recent years, both with grand designs, Sheikh Saud bin Mohammed bin Ali al-Thani, 'the single largest buyer of art in the world', and Percy Barnevik, who built a rapid and formidable collection of incunabula, and both of whom exited the market almost as fast as they entered it. She noted changes in collecting habits since the 2008 financial crisis: a rise in interest in 'Printing and the Mind of Man' titles, and an intolerance of imperfect condition – tighter budgets had made collectors 'more discriminating', she said, and led, at the extremes, to the so-called masterpiece market. Croft, mild-mannered, specific and precise where Ford was open and big-picture, was as a member of the trade a nurturer only, he revealed, by instinct. Looking at his books, meaning his accounts, he had been doing some maths. Over the course of a year, he had conducted 160 transactions (he deals

at the high end), of which 81 were with institutions, and half the rest with fellow booksellers. Private customers, however desirable, active and even friendly, were much less easy to treat with, he said, than 'professional' buyers.

I wonder what Toshiyuki Takamiya made of that. Of all private collectors, he has proved, as his own enlightening and entertaining talk only emphasized, one of the most professional. He has made his name as a pursuer of medieval manuscripts, depositing his important collection, assembled over some thirty years, at the Beinecke Library in 2014. Introducing him, Richard Linenthal said he had been rather shocked to discover that Professor Takamiya's latest acquisition was a first edition in dustwrapper of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Takamiya personified the title of the conference. Modesty concealed mania – beneath that beaming exterior burns a firm obsession; and what characterizes Takamiya's books, and demonstrates the unique virtue of the private collector when at his (or her) best, is that their choice is driven by imagination. Displayed on the Keynes theatre's screen were images of Takamiya's association copies. A 1917 New York printing of *A Shropshire Lad* bought at David's in the 1980s – with the bookplate of Charlie Chaplin, and inscribed 'For Charlie On his [thirty-first] birthday, Florence 1920. April 16'. Was Chaplin in Florence? Or who was Florence? Takamiya's imagination takes flight. Florence, as a gentle internet search would now instantly tell you, but couldn't in the 1980s, was the silent-film actress Florence Deshon, girlfriend of Max Eastman and lover of his friend Chaplin, who killed herself in 1922, aged twenty-eight. A moody mono portrait fills the screen, a striking head with Pre-Raphaelite hair; there is an intake of breath – everyone's imagination is caught.

Later in the 1980s, still in Cambridge, Takamiya bought a mixed set of Alfred Russel Wallace's *The Malay Archipelago* (1869, vol. 1 the first edition, vol. 2 the second), from the library of Munby's successor as Librarian, P. J. Croft; the first volume bears the bookplate of Charles Kingsley, the second the ownership inscription of Edward Lear. 'Seeing is believing,' says Takamiya. A third association copy in his collection, with Oxford rather than Cambridge connotations, was an edition of Walter Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* inscribed 'Alice P Liddell [Carroll's Alice] First Prize

for Time Sketch 1870'. Takamiya identified the handwriting as that of John Ruskin.

It was Mirjam Foot who outlined a 'bestiary of collectors'. There are squirrels, whose mania is indiscriminate: cupidity is their watchword, the more of everything the merrier. And there are owls, who are cerebral, who are analytical, who work to a tidy scheme. (There is also, she adumbrated, the 'systematic' bee; and the 'aesthetic' cat.) Discussing 'Collecting Modern British Design Bindings: What and Why', she described three separate collections: one of English decorated bindings from the sixteenth century to the present time, bought bindings where the binding comes first, before its contents or its maker; a second consists of modern designer bindings, usually commissioned, that are interpretations or extensions of the text; while the object of the third is to represent, with 'signature pieces', a history of bindings in the twentieth century. The three collections all had things, and perhaps books, in common – but each had a different purpose. Beast-wise, collectors may metamorphose or transmogrify; if none of these collections looked squirrelish, they weren't, fortunately, all owlish either.

Professor Foot named none of her collectors except the second – the two-headed Duval and Hamilton, the publisher/booksellers Kulgin Duval and Colin Hamilton, who have been not so much passive collectors as creative patrons of the arts. Duval, whose death was announced as we were going to press, and whose life and singular achievements must await the next issue of THE BOOK COLLECTOR for proper review, was close to the writers of the Scottish Renaissance; the National Library of Scotland, to whom he directed the manuscripts of so many leading twentieth-century writers, will be for ever in his debt. Some will recall the wonderful exhibition he and Hamilton mounted at the Dean Gallery, Edinburgh, in 2006 (THE BOOK COLLECTOR, Spring 2007), which consisted of ten different bindings by a single binder for a single book. The binder was Faith Shannon and the book was *Stone* (1987) – commissioned by the collectors and finely and austerely printed at their behest by the Officina Bodoni; from a mass of poems by their friend George Mackay Brown they selected sixteen, and from a thousand photographs by Gunnie Moberg they selected just nine. Shannon has

since finished more bindings for the same book; as have others, also commissioned by Duval and Hamilton, including Trevor Jones, whose *catalogue raisonné* published by them last year features two stony bindings for the book, both, the binder writes, 'responses to the imagery of the poems and pictures – in a very direct and obvious way'. This concentration by the two collectors on an individual text, 'extending' it with unlimited variations, takes 'collecting' into new areas altogether.

Who do you collect? That used to be the question. You collected authors as you might collect sets of cricketers on cigarette cards or the postage stamps of Barbados, ticking off checklists. My father collected George Mackay Brown a bit; my wife (the poet's biographer) collects him a bit, but not slavishly, not as a squirrel. Rupert Brooke, that notable King's alumnus, had in John Schroder a super-squirrel, a self-confessed obsessive whose energy was matched by his purse. Peter Jones, the college's present Fellow Librarian, rehearsed the astonishing story of Schroder's winkling Eddie Marsh's Brooke papers out of his heir Christopher Hassall, and Sidgwick & Jackson's account book for Brooke's *Poems* 1911 out of the publishers' 'Glory Hole'. Schroder's collection of Brooke manuscripts came to King's in 2015, with £430,000 of help from the National Heritage Memorial Fund, on the centenary of the poet's death.

Less a squirrel, more of an owl, Liam Sims, addressing the conference on 'Collecting Munby', concentrated on the pleasures of provenance, a subject developed too by Michael Meredith, sometime Librarian of Eton College, speaking on 'The Collector's Dilemma'. Meredith is squirrel as well as owl, and his dilemma lay in what to do with his extravagant collection of Robert Browning. Should collectors return their books to the market? Give them to a library? What are collections for? Are they a private vice, or do they have a use? These are existential questions. One of the delights of the King's conference was the vivacity of the audience. There were some 60 registered participants, and aside from the main speakers there were panel discussions featuring among others Anthony Davis, the sponsor of the several English university book-collecting prizes that are responsible for a generation of new collectors rethinking for themselves the answers to such questions. Kayleigh Betterton, shortlisted

for Davis's University of London prize in 2014 for her Oscar Wilde collection, and now an English teacher, brought a fresh voice to the proceedings, as did Hazel Wilkinson, the student who defeated her ('The Everyday Canon from Tonson to Penguin'), now a Research Fellow at Fitzwilliam College, who confessed that she had once thought of opening a bookshop. Booksellers, librarians, auctioneers, collectors, academics, independent scholars all chipped in with vigour. What about new subjects for collecting? asked one. He bet that no one had been collecting, for example, Brexit leaflets. 'O yes,' said Michael Meredith. 'I have.'

The transactions of the 2013 conference, apart from Christopher de Hamel's contribution on Major Abbey, which appeared in THE BOOK COLLECTOR for Spring 2014, were published last year by the Cambridge Bibliographical Society as *Great Collectors and Their Grand Designs* (£15). Michael Meredith has promised 'The Collector's Dilemma' for a future issue of THE BOOK COLLECTOR.

JAMES FERGUSSON

NEWS & COMMENT

'OBJECT LESSONS' IS A SPLENDID series of essays about 'the hidden lives of ordinary things'. Among its latest titles is *Bookshelf* (Bloomsbury, £10.99). Lydia Pyne traces some of the earliest known bookshelves to Syria, to Ebla near Aleppo. She quotes, with approval, Cicero's pleasure in his new shelves, having borrowed two carpenters to build them from his friend Atticus. 'Now that Tyrannio has arranged my books, *a new spirit has been infused into my house*,' he tells Atticus (*mens addita videtur meis aedibus*). Dr Pyne is a Research Fellow in the Institute for Historical Studies at the University of Texas at Austin – not an expert on bookshelves as such, but a wide-eyed enthusiast for research. She weighs chained books in her hands, then compares the cathedral library at Hereford to Project Gutenberg and Amazon Kindle – a chained library for our times. She reviews the 'diminutively quaint volume' *The Small Library: a guide to the collection and care of books* (1907) by James Duff Brown, borough librarian of Islington, a book that discouraged reading in bed, 'reading when one ought to be sleeping'. Bedrooms, he said, were 'unsuitable places for the permanent storage of books'. (Brown, she doesn't mention, a Scot whose first library job was at the Mitchell Library in Glasgow, was responsible for pioneering open-shelf public libraries in Britain, initiating the first, at Clerkenwell, in 1894.)

She surveys 'umpteen' other ways than James Duff Brown's of organizing books, by colour, perhaps, or horizontally rather than vertically. What makes books 'go together'? To what extent are bookshelves for 'display'? She considers Franklin's libraries on the *Terror* (1200 volumes) and *Erebus* (1700), 'carefully situated so that the 2,900 books didn't sink the ships', the Dewey Decimal System, mobile bookshelves in the Library of Congress, William Hakewill's travelling libraries, Donkey Mobile Libraries in Ethiopia, Umberto Eco's secret library in *The Name of the Rose*, the design in 1905 of 'the largest bookcase in the world', to hold 3,500,000 books, for the New York Public Library. This is a charming mini-monograph (152 small pages only). 'The bookshelf,' she concludes, 'is one of the most adaptable and persistent pieces of material culture in human history.'

THIS YEAR IS ONE OF MULTIPLE celebration for the great musical firm of Otto Haas, linked since 1955 with the equally famous name of Rosenthal. But the patriarchal line stretches further back to the year

when Leo Liepmanssohn set up his 'librairie ancienne et moderne' in the rue des Saints Pères in Paris in 1866, 150 years ago. This was the formal pretext for the celebrations that took place at the British Library on 25 May last, with an exhibition of music manuscripts and printed books that had passed through Liepmanssohn's hands, or those of his successor Otto Haas, who between them took the business from Paris to Berlin and then, in 1936, from Berlin to London, where in 1955 Albi Rosenthal picked up the baton. Among the material on view were pieces supplied to Paul Hirsch, whose collection was acquired by the British Museum in 1946, still the greatest single acquisition made by the nation, and others acquired by Stefan Zweig, that have also followed the same route and are now in the British Library. These formed the main exhibition, with a catalogue by Arthur Searle, extracted from his comprehensive catalogue of the whole of the Stefan Zweig Collection in the British Library.

The event would not have been complete without music itself, and this was generously provided by the Endellion String Quartet. The concert began with a movement of Mozart's D minor String Quartet, K.173, whose manuscript is now Zweig MS 52. This was followed by Haydn's G Major Quartet, op.77, no. 1, and the late Mozart E flat Quintet (the Endellion joined by David Adams as second viola), K.614 (Zweig MS 60), and concluded with the brief Quartet, K.168a. This was chamber music of the highest quality, played with rare sympathy. Albi Rosenthal, its godfather, was commemorated with a special printing of his memorable essay on autograph collecting from Goethe to Zweig, with a new introduction by Julia Rosenthal. The audience and players were rewarded with a gargantuan tea, and were able to take with them as they left, besides Searle's catalogue, a commemorative picture book of the three families involved, their premises and publications, and the latest Otto Haas catalogue, no. 46, which included Chalon's vivid pen-and-ink portrait of Paganini playing, and the autograph of Weber's *Romanza Siciliana* for flute and orchestra. The British Library provided an ideal location for the sesquicentenary of a link between the library and the most important source of its music acquisitions. Julia Rosenthal, who had spared no effort to ensure the success of the occasion, was richly rewarded for her part in the event.

CECIL COURT, OASIS OF the book trade, was visibly illuminated in May with an exotic display at the new and elegant premises of Tenderbooks at no. 6. This consisted of 'Bazaar Avatars', a Carl Williams spectacular, being 'A Collection of Original Twentieth

Century "Calendar Art" from India – Hindu Supernaturals, Islamic Graphics, an Indian Madonna, and Secular Graphics'. Original bazaar lithographs like these are rarely seen outside India, but no one who has been to the subcontinent and witnessed the ebullience of popular art, film posters, decorated trucks, and the paraphernalia of religious art could fail to be blown away by the variety and polychrome versatility of what was on display. All these masterpieces of gouache painting, rarely supplemented with airbrush work, were designed to be reproduced by photolithography by local printers, and rarely leave them after printing. Used and re-used, the backs are almost as interesting as the fronts, the supports made from cartonnage, written over and crossed out, punctured with register marks and pinholes for hanging. The 58 examples at Tenderbooks were bought at source by John Randall in Sivakasi, the small town in Tamil Nadu once only known for its fireworks (printing a sideline of firework packaging), but now a world centre for work printed by Sri Ram Fine Arts and Maharaj Offset. Few Western collections have any quantity of the printed examples, the British Museum and the H. Daniel Smith collection at Syracuse University Library notable in a small field.

Among the works of art here were 'Jay Ganga Mata, riding a crocodile, carrying a pot and a lotus in two of her hands and making the *mudra* of Abhaya with the other two' by C. S. Ananth and J. Raj, a vast Lord Ayyapan surrounded by scenes from his life, by S. Sitaram (a print from this is Smith 1264 at Syracuse), a smaller Durga mounted on her tiger by Ananth, Ray and 'S.P.R.', and a spectacular Umiyadevi before her temple at Sidasar, Gujarat, by K. P. Sivan, Ahmadabad. Although most of the scenes were of Hindu deities, there was a fine portrait of the Prophet's horse, Baraq, in a Meccan landscape, with Urdu text; a Virgin, 'Vailankani, Our Lady of Health', showed episodes of her miracles, while the secular scenes included a fine example of 'tractor art', with a woman in the foreground with a basket of vegetables in the foreground, an irrigation pump and a 'Public Carrier' lorry dropping off sacks behind. The catalogue notes the parallel here with 'socialist realism in Chinese and Soviet art', but Bollywood is never far away. A nice broadside catalogue with every item illustrated in bright colour remains as a memento of this flash across the sky over Cecil Court.

IF HE WASN'T THE FATHER of the graphic novel, Lynd Ward (1905–1985) was surely an intimate uncle, an American Frans Masereel. A prolific and accomplished illustrator, he was the author of six 'novels

in woodcuts' (strictly speaking, wood-engravings), beginning with *Gods' Man* – a story in 144 blocks, published by Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith in 1929. A young artist makes a pact with the Devil, trading his soul for success – 'the chance to create is exchanged for the blind promise of an early grave'. It was a book, Allen Ginsberg revealed, that had been an inspiration for his poem 'Howl'. Ward had trained in Germany under Hans Alexander Mueller, an artist, he said, with 'a control of the medium that is unrivalled anywhere'. His own work is characterized by a sweep and energy, a dashing modernity, quite unlike that of most of his English contemporaries. His collaborations with his wife, May McNeer, and his large body of work for children's books, never mind the Limited Editions Club, brought him fame, though not an early grave; but it is, writes Robert Dance, for his novels in woodcuts that he deserves to be remembered – they 'remain his foremost artistic legacy and have no antecedent or peer in American book publishing'. Dance's collection of Lynd Ward was on show at the Grolier Club earlier his year; to coincide with it, he published a useful essay and bibliographical checklist, *Illustrated by Lynd Ward* (Impermanent Press/Grolier Club, $55), featuring numerous examples of the artist's work.

IT IS INVIDIOUS TO EVALUATE or rank one's friends, but difficult not to place Lambeth at the very least *primus inter pares*. The *Lambeth Palace Library Annual Review* – the 2015 issue has just appeared – has a strong claim to be the most delightful, varied and nutritious bookish reading offered by any library to its Friends. Richard Palmer established the pattern, building on Geoffrey Bill's foundations, and there has been no falling off in the hands of his successor as librarian and archivist, Giles Mandelbrote. What gives Lambeth its unique charm? Perhaps it is the heritage of the Church of England parish magazine, in which solid bricks of divinity – hymn texts and a recap of last week's sermon for the benefit of housebound invalids – are held in place with the mortar of human interest: announcements of births and marriages and village fêtes. The *Annual Review* even has what might almost pass for a gossip column, although never advertised as such. The Lambeth shelves house a seemingly inexhaustible supply of Puritan and Reformation polemics, eccentric sermons, and Civil War pamphletry on which to draw for entertainment. Clerical misdeeds are a regular and titillating feature. (The ration of one per issue prevents the *Review* from descending into a scandal sheet.) This year the culprit is John Gwin, Vicar of Cople in

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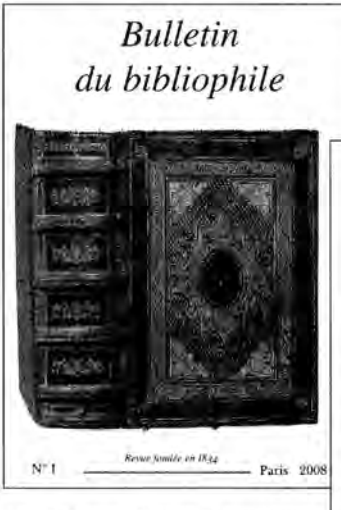

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Bedfordshire, who was accused in 1643 of 'carousing and drinking Ale, Beere and Tobacco [*sic*] the most part of the weeke in tipling houses', even until midnight on Sundays. In addition to boasting of adultery with several women, he appears 'to have sung the liturgy while drunk, combining it with lascivious songs'. Gwin was removed from his post, fined £100 and sent to Newgate. A wood-engraving shows him as a cuckoo on top of his church, singing 'Gwin, guin'; a learned note from the librarian points out that this image was recycled (with a change of bird) from *The Wrens Nest Defiled* (1641), an attack on Matthew Wren, Bishop of Norwich. The pamphlet was purchased for £1258 with the aid of the Friends.

Lambeth is well advised and has made other significant acquisitions in the marketplace – the most spectacular in 2015 was the Broughton Missal, an early fifteenth-century manuscript, in which the Use is that of York, a rare survival by comparison with Sarum, with only twelve known texts. Price: £125,000. But just as satisfying are the discoveries to be made by scanning the shelves or cataloguing arrears. Nicholas Vincent writes here of the remarkable Magna Carta document he found in Lambeth MS 1213. (M. R. James had missed it when cataloguing the manuscripts 90 years ago.) The huge trove of books inherited from Sion College continues to yield treasure. Perhaps the most significant find last year was a copy of John Selden's catalogue of the Arundel marbles, *Marmora Arundelliana* (1628), with the signature of Ben Jonson, a superb association and unknown to scholars. Seven thousand pounds was budgeted for Richard Palmer's *Catalogues, Shelf Marks and other Evidence for the History of Lambeth Palace Library 1610–1785* (now posted on the library's website). They managed to scrape by with £6999. Rounding out the volume (pp. 101–28) is the Annual Lecture to the Friends: Mirjam Foot's 'Some English Archbishops and their Bindings: Patrons, Collectors and Recipients', with numerous plates, including nine in colour. Friendship of such quality is a bargain at £30 a year from www.lambethpalacelibrary.org.

DETAILS OF THIRTY-THREE acquisitions supported by the Friends of the National Libraries are described in the FNL's 2015 *Annual Report*. It's a rich mixture of books, manuscripts and archives from all periods. The British Library was assisted with the purchase of the only known manuscript of a contemporary English translation of Erasmus's *Enchiridion militis Christiani* ('Handbook of the Christian Soldier'), composed in 1501. Dated 1523, the manuscript was written ten years

before the first published translation printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1533. The manuscript, which had been in the collection of the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick, was sold at Sotheby's for £242,500. An application for export was challenged and the British Library was able to acquire it for the nation. As well as the Broughton Missal, Lambeth Palace purchased a manuscript journal recording Bishop Thomas Thirlby's journey to Rome in 1555. His mission was to gain papal confirmation for Cardinal Pole's plans to reunite the English church with Rome. Written, apparently, by Thirlby's secretary, it is a lively account of their travels through France and northern Italy, returning through Germany and the Low Countries. Cambridge acquired the first edition of Albertus Magnus's *De meteoris*, printed in Venice on 24 May 1488. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century acquisitions included a letter from Jane Austen's sister Cassandra to her niece Fanny Knight, a 'private and moving account of a family's grief' after the death of Jane (Chawton), a first edition of Shelley's *Queen Mab*, his first major published poem (Keats-Shelley House, Rome), the extensive Schroder Collection of correspondence and papers relating to Rupert Brooke and including papers once owned by Eddie Marsh (King's College, Cambridge), the archive of the poet Hugo Williams (Eton College Library), editorial correspondence and papers from the journal *Jabberwock* (Edinburgh University Library), the typescript of D. H. Lawrence's *Pansies* (Nottingham University Library), Brownlee Kirkpatrick's archive relating to Virginia Woolf (University of St Andrews Library), the personal archive of the stage designer Oliver Messel (University of Bristol Theatre Collections) and others.

The archive of J. W. Dunne, aeronautical engineer and pioneer designer of the tailless aircraft, was acquired by the Science Museum. It included working papers, plans, draft sketches and diagrams, notes, correspondence, photographs and working models relating to his experiments at Blair Atholl. There is also an interesting literary dimension to the Dunne Archive. He had an interest in dreams and precognition and in 1927 published *An Experiment with Time*. The book (for which notes and the manuscript are included in the archive) attracted great general interest and influenced many contemporary writers and thinkers including H. G. Wells, J. B. Priestley, C. S. Lewis, Conan Doyle, Walter de la Mare, even Kipling; Jorge Luis Borges wrote an essay refuting Dunne.

The *Report* includes the text of Richard Davenport-Hines's 2015 address on the fourth and fifth Earls of Ashburnham, and the fine obit-

uary of Michael Borrie by Ann Payne and Christopher Wright, first published in THE BOOK COLLECTOR.

FRANKLIN GILLIAM DIED in Charlottesville in 1994 and for many years the obituary in THE BOOK COLLECTOR (Spring 1995) was almost his only memorial. Essays were commissioned for a tribute volume, but participants were lax and supervision (let alone nagging) sporadic. It took the vigorous editorial hand of John Crichton, Gilliam's successor at the Brick Row Book Shop, to bring the volume to heel. Of the eight contributors, four have died in the interim. Something may have been lost in the delay, but one of the many roles of the antiquarian trade is (or used to be) to buy at an unfashionable moment, cellar or macerate for ten or twenty years, and release back into the marketplace as the memories of collectors and librarians grow dim, and the dealer's prescient recognition of a forthcoming attraction comes into its own. And so these 'eight reminiscences' have a very different flavour now from that they would have had if published twenty years ago. Gilliam's world is almost unimaginable today. For him, as for his predecessor Edmond Byrne Hackett (1879–1953), founder of the Brick Row, telegrams, telephone calls, postcards, trains and ocean liners were standard auxiliaries of the bookish universe. There was no internet and a minimum of aviation. ('Franklin said he was running late because of jet lag,' reports the editor. 'I learned later that the day before he had flown from Los Angeles to San Francisco.') Gilliam was a late riser and a long luncher – and, like Buck Mulligan, stately and plump. The chronicle offered here by many a contributor of irregular hours, leisurely pace and abundant drink is wonderfully nostalgic.

Three hundred and seventy-five copies of *Franklin Gilliam, Texas Bookman: eight reminiscences, by F. Warren Roberts, Anthony Rota, Larry McMurtry, Richard Landon, David Farmer, Peter B. Howard, Andrew Hoyem, John Crichton* (2014) have been printed at the Wind River Press for the Book Club of Texas. It is appropriate that this memorial volume should have a Texas title and a Texas publisher, for the Humanities Research Center years in Austin, in association with Anthony Newnham and Kenneth Hopkins and the mythical (or perhaps just legendary) Welsh bibliographer llwd ffrench-jons, were Gilliam's golden age of high spirits – in every sense. He was in his late twenties when he bought the Brick Row from his employer's heirs in 1953; within the year he had transferred it from New York City to Austin, making a final move to San Francisco in 1971. The shop may have found a snug harbour, but

Gilliam eventually returned east, selling the name but not the reference library in 1983. He re-established his business in Charlottesville, where Franklin Gilliam : Rare Books continues to this day in the capable hands of his widow Mary, current president of the ABAA. The Brick Row in San Francisco, faithful to its traditional (now centenarian) focus on English and American literature, flourishes in the no less capable hands of John Crichton, whose memoir of Gilliam is the centrepiece of the book. Closely and humorously observed, with telling deployment of anecdote, it is an elegant, sympathetic, and quasi-filial evocation of a life. The plate of Gilliam's many handwritten excuses for a long lunch ('Back at 4.15 PM') is alone worth the price of admission – which is $45 (plus $5 postage) from the De Golyer Library at Southern Methodist University, theydari@smu.edu.

TWO ABSORBING FRENCH VOLUMES of conference proceedings have arrived. *Les Labyrinthes de l'esprit: collections et bibliothèques à la Renaissance*, edited by Rosanna Gorris Camos and Alexandre Vanautgaerden (Droz, SFr55), draws from meetings held in Montreal and in Cambridge, under the chairmanship of the late Philip Ford. The meetings were designed to bring together different aspects of the study of the Renaissance, a cause to which Professor Ford devoted much of his energy in the last years before his too early death. His interests in neo-Latin and in sixteenth-century France showed themselves alike in this kind of public encouragement as well as in his teaching and his own research, and this volume is thus to some extent a memorial to him. The International Federation of Societies and Institutes for the Study of the Renaissance, of which he was President from 2008 to 2013, will meet in Chicago in 2017, and welcomes new members. Meanwhile the study of the history of libraries here continues apace. As the second of the editors remarks in his introduction, the recent immense changes not just in the size of libraries, but also in the ways that they are (or are not) used, has focused attention on their development in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as the numbers of publications multiplied, new kinds of private libraries were assembled, and public libraries were founded. So these essays open with Pierre Delsaerdt on the new library at Antwerp, founded within a few months of the opening of the Ambrosiana in Milan, and continue through the libraries of Rabelais and Montaigne to the encyclopaedic collections of Pinelli, de Thou and Aldrovandi to libraries that have had to be reconstituted. They finish with an exploration of the library fire at Turin in 1904 and its aftermath.

The second collection of essays is in the eleventh volume of *Histoire et Civilisation du Livre,* also published by Droz. This arose from a conference in 2014 on Strasbourg, books and Europe, from the fifteenth to the twenty-first centuries: an ambitiously long period. From its early associations with Gutenberg, through the various celebrations of printing in each of the following centuries (prompted not a little by competition with Mainz in particular), to modern library co-operation, the subject offered ample opportunities. The contributions revisited some old topics in new ways, but also included explorations of relations with the Hungarian and – beyond Europe – Brazilian trades; above all the collection was a reminder of how the city has been central to the European book trade in ways that have sometimes been forgotten or neglected.

IN 1768, AT HIS FATHER'S DEATH, the first John Murray inherited £60 and purchased the bookselling and publishing business of William Sandby of Fleet Street. Five years later he was one of the London booksellers who issued copies of Sydney Parkinson's *Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas, in His Majesty's Ship, the Endeavour*, 'faithfully transcribed' and edited by the late artist's son Stanfield. Parkinson, a natural history artist, had been privately appointed by Joseph Banks to accompany him on the first Pacific voyage of Captain Cook. The *Journal* was the first of 239 books of non-European travel and exploration to be published by the first three John Murrays over the next 85 years. Innes M. Keighren, Charles W. J. Withers and Bill Bell have joined together to examine 'those books of travel and of exploration that sought to describe, examine and explain different [non-European] parts of the world' between the late eighteenth and mid-nineteenth century in *Travels into Print: exploration, writing, and publishing with John Murray, 1773–1859* (University of Chicago Press, $45/£31.50). They focus on the creation of the literature, the purposes and motivations of the travel writers, the credibility and authority of narrative, the explorer into author, editorial involvement by the house of Murray, book production and visual images and the marketplace for travel writing. John Murray was Britain's leading publisher of travel accounts and exploration narratives during this period. From 1813 it was also the official publisher to the Admiralty and to the Board of Longitude and later published the Royal Geographical Society's *Journal*.

The John Murray Archive with 'its rich manuscript materials, the correspondence files of letters into and out from the several John

Murrays, and of the production and financial records and ledger volumes' has been the primary source for this work. There are, among much else, boxes of letters from Sir John Barrow of the Admiralty, who recognized that in a time of peace the nation's naval forces could be honourably and usefully employed in geographical and hydrographical exploration. The many expeditions launched by this great promoter of exploration sent his men ('Barrow's Boys') to Africa, the Arctic and the Antarctic and elsewhere. Other Murray writers travelled to the Near East, Central Asia, China, South America. The files include letters and manuscripts from Hugh Clapperton, John and Richard Lander, Sir John Kirk, David Livingstone and others who explored Africa, female travellers Maria Graham (Lady Calcott) and Isabella Bird Bishop, Sir George Back, Captain Frederick Beechey, Sir John Franklin, William Parry, Alexander Burnes, William Leake, Austen Layard and many others. Through their letters and writings they recorded the world they explored and discovered; through the Murrays those words were transformed and offered to the public. An appendix includes details of the 239 Murray publications and the very full notes and bibliography will lead interested readers to their own avenues of further exploration.

'I WAS IN A STEAMER in the Baltic in the year '34, if I mistake not,' recorded George Borrow in *The Bible in Spain*. 'There was a drizzling rain and a high sea, when I observed a young man of about two and twenty leaning in a melancholy attitude against the side of the vessel. By his countenance I knew him to be one of the Hebrew race, nevertheless there was something very singular in his appearance… , a certain air of nobleness which highly interested me. I approached him…' Continuing the scholarly tradition of the Lavengro Press's Occasional Papers, the latest, no. 7, *Judah Lib alias Judah Lyons: a cause célèbre in nineteenth-century Jerusalem*, by Yehudit and Simon Hopkins, relates the extraordinary life of Borrow's chance acquaintance of 1834. They met again in Gibraltar in 1839, and corresponded in 1849–52. Born in Galicia in Poland, Judah Lib moved at the age of about eight to Jerusalem. The disappearance of his father on a trading excursion started Lib on long wanderings in search of him – in the course of which he met Borrow. But Lib's after-story is quite as interesting, revealed with the discovery of an obituary in *Jewish Intelligence*, the monthly bulletin of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews. His conversion to Christianity in 1844 made his life very complicated,

not to say difficult. He died as Judah Lyons (or Juda Lyon), employed in the society's book depot in Mount Zion, in June 1852. The Hopkins pursue him through the archives relentlessly. Copies of their paper are available for £10, post extra, from the Lavengro Press, info@lavengropress.co.uk. This year marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of the George Borrow Society.

'IF... ARNOLD HERR IS NOT exactly James Boswell, Eli Goodman will never be confused with Samuel Johnson...' Eli Goodman (1923–2016) ran Cosmopolitan Bookshop on Melrose Avenue in Los Angeles until he dropped. Arnold M. Herr, his 'long-time assistant, amanuensis, and literary voice', has commemorated him online and in the *Newsletter* of the ABAA as 'Mickey Tsimmis', the singularly lewd proprietor of Megalopolis Book Shop, a shop as filthy as Tsimmis. Mickey's anecdotes and dialogue have now been gathered in book form as *The Wild Ride of a Hollywood Bookdealer* (with a preface by Stephen J. Gertz; Poltroon Press in association with Booktryst, $20). Illustrations are provided by the author. Goggle-eyed dealer stands by his till, gesturing at the chaotic aisles of books behind him: 'They say one's surroundings are a reflection of one's mental state. At least I'll never be accused of being empty-headed.'

THE NAME OF THE BINDERS Sangorski and Sutcliffe is once again visible in London. Founded in 1901, in 1978 the firm was bought by Asprey. Then Asprey's also bought Zaehnsdorf. It was a tricky period in many parts of the economy, not just for old-established companies searching for new markets. Sold again, and in what we may hope is a more settled state, the firm now features as a part of Shepherd's bindery, in Rochester Row. Long may it thrive, for there are all too few firms of this kind. Its origins lay solidly in the arts and crafts movement, the two founders Francis Sangorski and George Sutcliffe having met at the classes taught by Douglas Cockerell at the Central School of Arts and Crafts. For a few months they were also employed by him, and thus there was a line of descent to the ideas of William Morris. The new firm became celebrated for bindings of sometimes quite astonishing detail in their design. The tale of what many accounted the masterpiece, on the *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám*, lost on the *Titanic*, has been several times rehearsed, but the finishing on other books was rarely less than outstanding both in ambition and execution. Now, drawing on the

firm's archives, Rob Shepherd has written an authoritative account of all this, and of the years in between: not just the designs and the people responsible for them, but also about the rest of the workshop and its staff, about some of the clients, and about recent increasing difficulties in obtaining materials of good quality. *The Cinderella of the Arts: a short history of Sangorski and Sutcliffe* is published jointly by Shepherd's and the Oak Knoll Press, price £38/$85 paperback: some specially bound copies are available from Shepherd's.

GEORGE DU MAURIER ENDOWED US not only with Svengali but the curate's egg and the trilby hat. He was a cartoonist and illustrator as well as a novelist; his first career was as a chemist, and he might have been a painter. Paul Goldman, a contributor to THE BOOK COLLECTOR, has co-edited with Simon Cooke a volume of critical essays, *George Du Maurier: illustrator, author, critic*, with the sub-subtitle 'Beyond Svengali' (Ashgate, £95). Sixteen contributors combine to assess his achievements as illustrator to authors from Isa Blagden and Mrs Gaskell to Thomas Hardy and Henry James, and his work and legacy as a novelist. Louise McDonald considers the several films of *Svengali*, Sara Thornton discusses the importance of salad in *Trilby*, Leonée Ormond reviews his treatment of the girls of Girton.

THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM IS celebrating the 200th anniversary of its foundation, and two exhibitions in the second half of this year promise to be especially rewarding. The first, entitled simply 'Colour', explores pigments used in illuminated manuscripts, mostly in the West but also in Jerusalem, Kashmir and Nepal. The last exhibition of medieval manuscripts at the museum, 'Cambridge Illuminations', proved to be a blockbuster, and this one is a natural sequel to it, but this time taking into account work done with Cambridge University's chemistry department and with other resources. The collaboration promises to set the study of these manuscripts on a new footing. 'Colour' lasts until 30 December. The second exhibition is devoted to Lord Fitzwilliam's print collection, one of the finest in the country: not just high spots, but also the ways in which he had them sorted and stored. The eighteenth century produced several guides to collecting and to ways of arranging collections. Many of Fitzwilliam's albums have survived intact, unlike so many collections that have been re-packaged in the interests of conservation. Here again is an old subject looked at in a new way,

further justification for a trip to Cambridge. The exhibition ends on 29 January.

WHAT DIFFERENCE WILL THE WORD PROCESSOR have made to the composition of poetry? Will it change the shape, or presentation of verse? The earliest surviving versions of *The Waste Land*, as revealed in Valerie Eliot's 1971 edition, are in typescript. T. S. Eliot was an early devotee of the typewriter. Writing (typewriting) to Conrad Aiken in 1916, he comments on the effect the machine has on his prose: 'Composing on the typewriter, I find that I am sloughing off all my long sentences which I used to dote upon. Short, staccato, like modern French prose. The typewriter makes for lucidity, but I am not sure that it encourages subtlety.' Nicolas Barker guesses that the first poet to use the typewriter as a means of composition was '*il miglior fabbro*', Eliot's first critic on those *Waste Land* typescript drafts, Ezra Pound. The Consultant Editor of THE BOOK COLLECTOR has published a remarkable book, the fruit of years of rumination, *Visible Voices: translating verse into script & print, 3000* BC–AD *2000* (Carcanet, £14.99). Based on Panizzi lectures delivered at the British Library and Rosenbach lectures at the University of Pennsylvania, it explores what happened to poems with the transition from the oral tradition to the written, then printed (and then typewritten) word. He ranges with baffling ease from the pyramid texts of Saqqara to the 'breathtaking' concrete poetry of Augusto de Campos. True to its title (a parting gift from the author's late friend Jon Stallworthy), the book can be read at its simplest as a visual primer: the pictures tell a powerful story, a panorama from the earliest surviving fragment of Sappho, on a shard of pottery, *c*300–200 BC, to the manuscript of John Keats's ode 'To Autumn' juxtaposed with its first printing in *Lamia… and Other Poems*, 1820.

EUGENE UMBERGER INVESTIGATED, in 'Detachable Book Coverings (That Aren't Dust-Jackets)' (THE BOOK COLLECTOR, Spring 2016), the particular appeal of the (imitation) cigar box to publishers looking for a distinctive way to market tobacco books to the public. He noted the last use of a cigar box for this purpose was in 1999 with the appearance of Ingrid and Peter Meraner's *Habanos, Mi Amor: an homage to the cigar and in particular to those who produce it* and commented that it was 'only a matter of time before a publisher once again utilizes the ever popular cigar box to house a book'. Ironically (he tells us), in the

same month that his article was published, Schiffer Publishing issued James C. McComb Sinclair II's *Box of Cigar Bands* ($34.99) – reproducing more than 1100 cigar bands arranged as they were originally displayed in a ledger compiled by a Philadelphia collector at the turn of the twentieth century. It goes without saying that the book is housed in a cardboard imitation cigar box.

Further, he notes that the cigar box did not just appeal to those publishers marketing a tobacco title. In 1997 Viking Penguin published Bradford Morrow's *Giovanni's Gift* in a dust-jacket closely resembling a cigar box – and the previous year sent out galleys in a cardboard imitation cigar box. One reviewer, Dan Pope, noted that it was the 'only cigar box that ever came with a review copy!' More recently, two other publishers, McSweeney's Quarterly Concern and HOW Books, put out titles in cardboard imitation cigar boxes (although less true to the usual imagery of a cigar box): in 2006, Dave Eggers's *McSweeney's 19* (containing an original T. C. Boyle novella, along with an assortment of replicas of historical pamphlets, photos, etc.) and in 2012, Brett and Kate McKay's *The Art of Manliness Collection* (containing two books, *The Art of Manliness: classic skills and manners for the modern man* [2009] and *The Art of Manliness Manvotionals: timeless wisdom and advice on living the 7 manly virtues* [2011]), respectively. The appeal apparently persists.

THE FIRST VOLUMES OF *The Complete Works of Evelyn Waugh*, a projected forty-two-volume series, are promised for publication by Oxford University Press next year. Alexander Waugh, the writer's grandson, is General Editor, with two Executive Editors in Martin Stannard and David Bradshaw; 'project partners' with Leicester University (where Stannard, as 'Principal Investigator', is based) being the Bodleian Library, the British Library, the Brotherton Library, the Harry Ransom Center, the University of Milan, Oxford University and Oxford University Press. It will comprise new editions of all the published works (vols 1–25), with 'Essays, Articles and Reviews' (vols 25–9, edited by Donat Gallagher) and 'Personal Writings with Juvenilia and Graphic Art' (vols 30–42, edited by Alexander Waugh). The editorial business is not all plain sailing. Sharon Ouditt, editor of *Labels* (vol. 20) has placed an advertisement in the *TLS*. 'Does anyone out there,' she asks, 'have a copy of the special edition with the manuscript page inserted – the one that was given away to family and friends?' She wants to reconstruct the manuscript. The week after her ad appeared,

Forum Auctions led their first sale (see Sales) with a collection of Waugh books put together by Sir Theodore Brinckman. His copy of *Labels*, no. 1 of 110 copies, included page 25 of the manuscript, heavily corrected. The page was illustrated in full, for Dr Ouditt's benefit, in the catalogue at p. 14.

MAVIS EGGLE'S STALLS AT PBFA book fairs have always been worth careful examination, and many people were saddened when she decided to retire. But she has provided some compensation for those who sought her out for the lesser products of the printing trades, and for books in something near the condition before they met binders. In what is promised as the first of three volumes she has published *Books As They Were Bought: the social history of a collection*, this first part covering just the years 1790 to 1799. It is a wonderful album of illustrations of survivals: books and journals still in wrappers, unbound newspapers and almanacs, advertisements, sheets as they came from printers and before they were sewn up, the whole punctuated with images of members of the book trade in action. Copies are available from Gresham Books or from Scott Brinded, 17 Greenbanks, Lyminge CT18 8HG.

LEEDS UNIVERSITY LIBRARY HAS ISSUED a thoroughly eccentric account of its special collections. *A Sense of Proportion* (£10) is the legacy of its longtime Head of Special Collections at the Brotherton Library, the late Chris Sheppard. Rather than trumpet the grandeur and magnitude of the collections, it focuses deliberately on some of its tiniest items – all illustrated in this catalogue 'life' size. It is, says Stella Butler, the present University Librarian and Keeper of the Brotherton Collection, by way of preface, 'a curatorial biography'. Lord Brotherton is represented by a perfect illuminated page from an 'unusually small' Book of Hours, *c*1450, and one of the forty-three volumes of his Jacobean 'travelling library', a little Cicero. There's a microfilm copy of William Congreve's Shakespeare First Folio, once deposited at the library but sold by its owners (against the library's will) to Japan; a courting ring given by Robert Burns to 'Bonnie Jean' Armour; a lock of Mozart's hair from the collection of Vincent Novello; a lichen specimen from a Thomas Arnold family notebook; a lapel badge from the insignia of the Corvine Order of Sanctissima Sophia; a *Quentin Durward* drawing by Evelyn Waugh from his prep school magazine; and two miniature footballers from a Subbuteo game presented to Simon Armitage by his publishers

in 2001. *A Sense of Proportion*, writes the author, 'aims to be more than an arbitrary exercise in playful ingenuity. It aims to show that even the smallest, least conspicuous, least obvious items in great special collections like those of Leeds University Library will inform and fascinate.'

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING of the Friends of the National Libraries was held this year at the London Library. Geordie Greig addressed members on collecting Anthony Trollope. He described himself as an 'amateur' book collector – but what is a professional? A dealer or a librarian; a very different animal. He and his father had collected Trollope for, between them, more than forty years and, he confessed, it had 'got out of hand… Perhaps,' he said, 'collecting can go too far.' On the contrary, his obsession with and knowledge of his subject were deeply engaging. The New York collector Al Gordon, subjected to a Greig charm offensive on the subject of an inscribed copy of *The New Zealander*, conceded, 'I admire your cupidity.' Greig had invented a 'non-U' Trollopian alphabet to send himself to sleep. It consisted, with only a few cheats, of twenty-six Trollope titles – bar one, as he could find none beginning with U. The problem was, he said, that the alphabet was less a tranquillizer than a stimulant.

A NEW SOCIETY FOR book collectors launches this autumn. The University of London Society of Bibliophiles is announced as 'open to all', all that is who are or who have ever been members of London University, and with the open-door policy of providing 'an opportunity for those who are interested in bibliophilia, to meet up with like-minded people'. Meetings are intended to be held monthly, with a programme of events including 'round table discussions', lectures and collection visits. The society's launch party will be on Friday 29 October, 7–9pm, at the Keynes Library, 43 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0PD. For further details see uolbibliophiles.wordpress.com.

New editions have appeared of two books that should be on the reading list of any society of bibliophiles. The ninth edition of John Carter's *ABC for Book Collectors* (Oak Knoll Press, $29.95), overseen by Nicolas Barker and Simran Thadani, is the first to be illustrated. This feels rather startling at first, but is genuinely useful. The paperback edition (Biblioasis, C$24.95) of *The Pope's Bookbinder*, David Mason's memoir of the Canadian book trade, adds an extra chapter to the first edition of 2013 – telling the story of 'The Hemingway Heist'. Why did a person

or persons break into his shop one night and trash his safes – to steal a cache of letters relating to Ernest Hemingway's fight with Morley Callaghan at the American Club in Paris in 1929 (F. Scott Fitzgerald was timekeeper)? The mystery continues.

SIXTY YEARS AGO NEXT ISSUE, in THE BOOK COLLECTOR for Winter 1956, Hilda Lofthouse opened the Unfamiliar Libraries series with Chetham's Library, Denis I. Duveen (Contemporary Collectors XI) talked about his alchemical and chemical collection, and Cecil Woolf contributed Sir William Watson as Some Uncollected Authors XII. R. W. Ketton-Cremer, biographer of Horace Walpole and Thomas Gray, wrote about the books in the library at Felbrigg that Samuel Johnson had given to William Windham. John Carter offered 'Sidelights on American Bibliophily' and John Hayward considered the first editions of Giordano Bruno. There were articles in the series English Bookbindings (Howard Nixon) and English Literary Autographs (T. J. Brown). In short it was a classic issue from our early years. It was to Winter 1956 that our long-time designer, Phil Cleaver, looked for inspiration for this modest redesign of THE BOOK COLLECTOR, which has changed impressively little over its first sixty-four years. We seek not to frighten the horses, but to present a look, as the catchphrase was in the founding years of *The Independent* newspaper, that is 'classic with a twist'. The twist is, perhaps, in introducing Gill Sans as a companion to Bembo, both in the title and the detail. Where our general text type has long been 11 pt on 12, we have reverted to a larger type, set, by the magic of digital typography, to 11.5 pt on 13.5. News & Comment and the kindred 'news' sections remain at 11 pt on 12, but Book Reviews are now, as they were in 1956, double-column. We seek to vary the rhythm, but welcome, of course, the advice and suggestions of our constant readers.

The changes in design coincide with streamlining of our printing process, which has become increasingly complicated over the years, mingling 150 years of different technologies. For twenty-five years Stanley Lane, of Gloucester Typesetting Services, has set, first the whole of THE BOOK COLLECTOR, latterly the main articles, by the hot-metal magic of Monotype. It has been a great luxury; and would have been a grander luxury still if he had printed the whole journal himself. He describes himself to Sheila Markham in this issue (The Markham Interviews 15) as 'probably the last commercial [Monotype] typesetter', and hymns the 'tactile' quality of his wonderful process. If only we could afford

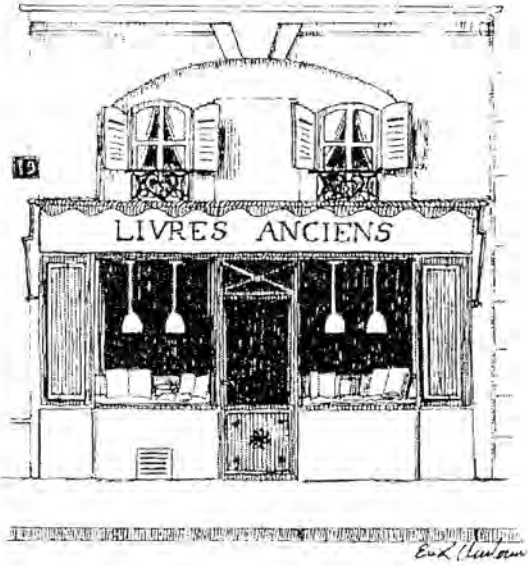
to use his work to its best advantage. We commend the Folio Society's Letterpress Shakespeare, the completion of which gave him so much satisfaction, and the work he has done, often in collaboration with Phil Cleaver, for the Roxburghe Club and others. Many in the private press movement have relied upon him, and they will continue to turn to him for guidance and in need. He is, in printing terms, a national treasure; Brookes University or the London College of Communication should give him a professorial chair. It is with great reluctance that we part company with him for our regular business, though we are sure that he will be at the top of our list for special projects, for special projects are where he excels.

Stan Lane stands down from our editorial board, as does, after even more years' service, Alan Bell, sometime Librarian of Rhodes House Library and then the London Library. The latter, a demon of unobtrusive scholarship, has lent lustre to our news reports and corrected hundreds of errors before readers ever saw them.

THE 38TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE on Book Trade History will be held on 27–28 November at Stationers' Hall. Organized by Robin Myers, Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote in association with the ABA Educational Trust, it will address the subject 'The Destruction of Books: loss, recycling and remaking of books since the 15th century', the speakers billed as Brian Cummings, Christopher de Hamel, John Goldfinch, Giles Mandelbrote, Samantha Matthews, Nicholas Pickwoad and Sandy Wilkinson. Bookings to the Antiquarian Booksellers' Association, 6 Bell Yard, London WC2A 2JR, secretary@aba.org.uk.

FRANCIS EDWARDS, FOUNDED in 1855, fill more than a chapter of book-trade history. In 1982 the London firm was acquired by Leon Morelli's company Pharos Rare Books Ltd, which had earlier in the year bought the Hay Cinema Bookshop from Richard Booth. This summer, in July, it was announced that Leon and Brenda Morelli had sold their bookselling business, which comprises Francis Edwards and Hay Cinema Bookshop in Hay-on-Wye, and Quinto Bookshop on Charing Cross Road in London, to a nine-employee consortium led by Greg Coombes, who has worked at the cinema bookshop since 1977. We wish them all luck in their new incarnation.

Bernard et Stéphane Clavreuil



LIBRAIRIE THOMAS-SCHELER

19 rue de Tournon – 75006 Paris
Tel: +33 1 43 26 97 69
Fax: +33 1 40 46 91 46
basane@thomas-scheler.fr

Liam Sims

'Simple and Exquisite Tastes'

A. T. Bartholomew: a life through books[1]

Augustus Theodore Bartholomew (1882–1933), known to his friends as Theo or ATB, spent much of his working life on the staff of Cambridge University Library, from his arrival in 1900 until his early death aged just fifty. The library was the centre of his personal and professional worlds and an institution to which he was devoted. His personal library naturally echoed his literary interests and friendships, both in terms of the books he owned and the routes by which they came to his shelves. The largest single portion of surviving books is the forty or so that made their way into Geoffrey Keynes's hands at Bartholomew's death (and then into the University Library in 1982). A number of other volumes are scattered throughout the library's collections and those of other institutions, and – since the majority of his books were evidently dispersed at his death – some appear from time to time on the second-hand market.

Unlike many collectors, Bartholomew – who valued greatly the harmony afforded by a well-ordered home – extended a great deal of control over his library. Keynes suggested that 'there was no haphazard accumulation' of books, and records that once it reached about 1500 volumes it remained, through the dispersal of unwanted volumes, within these bounds.[2] Bartholomew's portrait, painted by

1. It is a pleasure to thank those who have helped to shape my research, including James Fergusson, Rebecca Gower, Jennifer Ingleheart, Aaron Masters and John Wells. Special thanks are due to Timothy d'Arch Smith, Arnold Hunt and Robert Scoble (all of whom have commented on drafts and given freely of their knowledge). This article is dedicated to the memory of David J. Hall (1947–2015), former Deputy Librarian of Cambridge University Library, without whose encouragement it would not have been written.

2. G. Keynes, *Augustus Theodore Bartholomew, 1882–1933* (Cambridge, 1933), p. 7. On 28 September 1917 (see CUL MS Add. 8786/1/11) he sold books to Heffer of Cambridge, including Robert Hichens's *The Green Carnation* (1894), Ben Jonson's *Volpone* (1898, illustrated by Aubrey Beardsley) and *The Poems of Digby Mackworth Dolben* (1911).

John Wells in 1917, certainly reveals a harmonious scene: it shows a bespectacled Bartholomew at home in Pythagoras House, dressed in a brown suit and tie, reclining in front of his bookcases.[3]

Bartholomew was born in Walthamstow, on the north-east fringe of London, on 26 August 1882, the youngest of eight, to Alice Mary Bartholomew (née Chaplin). His father, Charles Augustus Bartholomew, died before his birth and the family soon moved to Fowlmere, nine miles south-west of Cambridge.[4] His was a happy childhood with regular holidays; he kept a diary during his 1897 visit to the Isles of Scilly, modelled on Jerome K. Jerome's *Diary of a Pilgrimage* of 1891.[5] In August 1902 he visited Scotland, walking in the glens near Luss, perhaps where he developed his lifelong love of walking. From the age of thirteen he was schooled at the Nonconformist Grammar School in Bishop's Stortford, but by 1898 his mother could no longer afford to pay for his education and suitable work was sought. The young Theo was evidently keen to work with books, for his mother tried (and failed) to get him an apprenticeship at Robert Bowes's bookshop in Cambridge. After unsuccessful enquiries to Cambridge University Library and the Bodleian early in 1899, he took a temporary position at the Public Library in Norwich that June. Thankfully his mother renewed her assault on the University Library in September, and as a result he was offered the new position of second-class Assistant, arriving on 29 January 1900.[6]

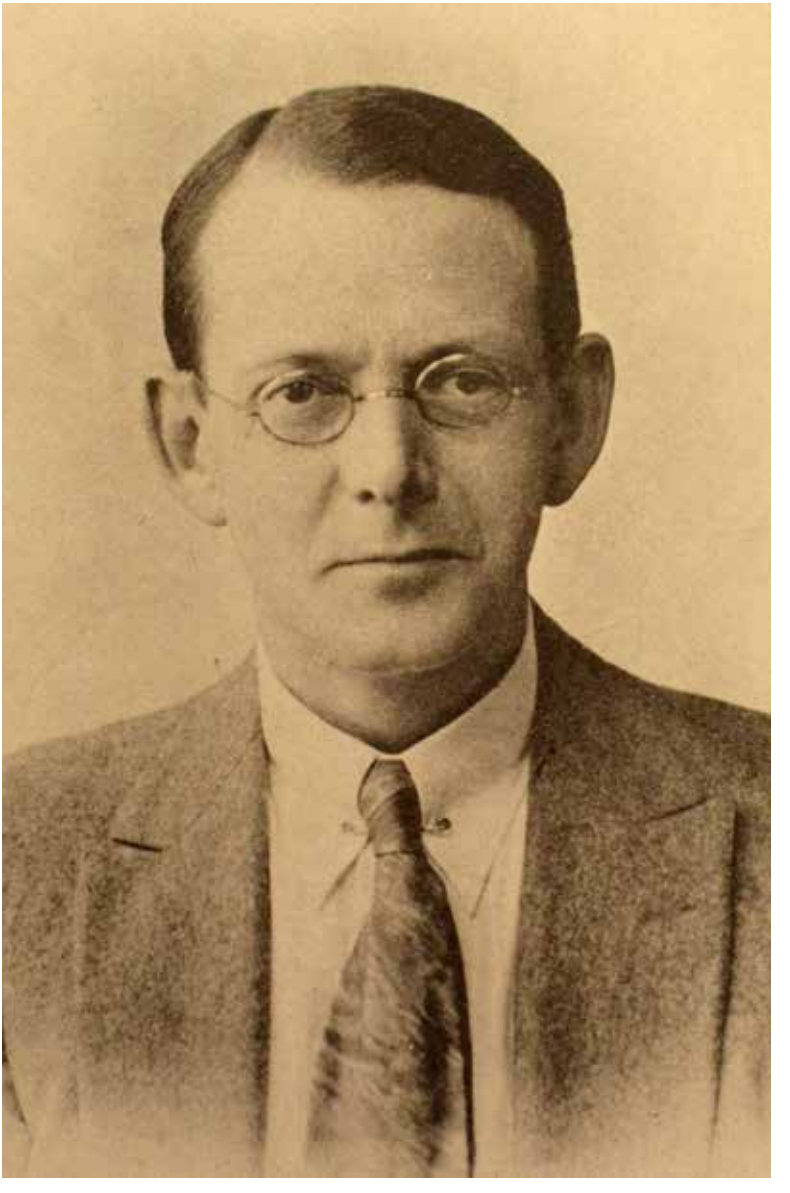
The library world he entered at the beginning of the twentieth century was one rooted in the traditions of the previous century, with the men at the top honoured as figures of national importance. The post of Cambridge University Librarian had its origins in the

3. Built *c*1200, the School of Pythagoras is the oldest secular building in Cambridge. Bartholomew moved here in December 1912. The portrait, which came to the University Library after Bartholomew's death, hangs above my desk in the Rare Books Department.

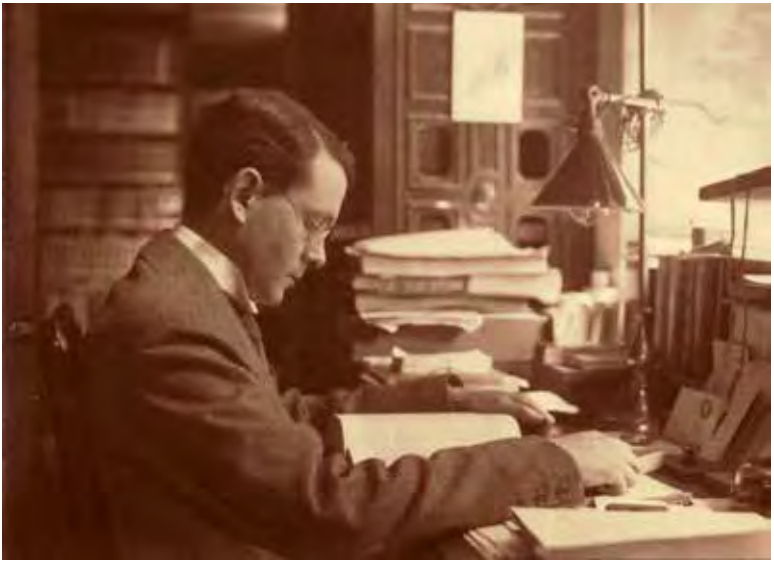
4. Alice was born on 31 August 1840 and died on 20 May 1922. Charles, an upholsterer and cabinet-maker in Finsbury Pavement (George Bartholomew & Co.) who had been married once before, died on 11 July 1882 aged forty-five (see *The Manchester Times*, 15 July 1882).

5. CUL MS Add. 8786/2/1.

6. See CUL MS Add. 8786/1/1.



'My friends mean more to me than anything else':
Theo Bartholomew in 1923 – frontispiece portrait to Geoffrey Keynes's
Augustus Theodore Bartholomew, 1882–1933 (1933)



Bartholomew (top) at Pythagoras House, painted by John Wells, oil on board, 1917; and, five years earlier, photographed in the Acton Library, CUL MS Add. 8786/4/15

sixteenth century and was at this time occupied by Francis Jenkinson (Librarian 1889–1923), the institution over which he presided employing about thirty staff in 1905, many of whom worked unnoticed behind the scenes.[7]

Bartholomew would spend thirty-three years in the library, housed until the move to the present building in 1934 in the mass of medieval and later buildings squeezed between King's College Chapel and Gonville and Caius College. He worked for much of the first decade on the cataloguing and organization of the immense Acton Library, still – at 60,000 volumes – the largest personal collection ever to enter the library. Among his early acquisitions at this time were, in 1900, the Vizetelly edition of *Daphnis and Chloe* (London, 1890), with fine engravings after Prud'hon and others.[8] To improve his future prospects, Bartholomew entered the university as an undergraduate at Peterhouse in 1901 and (continuing with his library work) graduated three years later. The day of his graduation – 18 June 1904 – was evidently looked upon as the beginning of a new chapter in his life: the day on which Bartholomew began to keep a daily diary, recording the day's excitements with three short words: 'What a fuss!'[9] Two days later he moved the short distance from lodgings on Lensfield Road to Kellet Lodge on Tennis Court Road, about ten minutes' walk from the library (a journey which would likely have taken him past the Fitzwilliam Museum and Peterhouse). One of his fellow lodgers was a young (Charles) Hilary Jenkinson – nephew of the University Librarian – who had graduated that summer from Pembroke and, after taking employment in 1906 at the Public Record Office, would go on to become 'doyen of archivists'.[10]

7. [C. Sayle], *The University Library, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1905), p. 55. The 1905 edition records that six were employed in the Acton Library. Sayle's annotated copies of the 1895 and 1905 editions are CUL Adv.d.119.3–4.

8. Inscribed 'A. T. Bartholomew 1900' and 'Glaisher', this may have come from J. W. L. Glaisher (1848–1928), Fellow of Trinity College. Author's collection.

9. The diaries cover the period 1904–25. CUL, Department of Manuscripts, MS Add. 8786/1/3–14.

10. H. C. Johnson, 'Sir (Charles) Hilary Jenkinson', online *ODNB*, accessed 6.12.2015. In January 1916 Bartholomew inscribed to Cosmo Gordon a copy of Jenkinson's *Palaeography and the Practical Study of Court Hand* (Cambridge, 1915). Author's collection.

Bartholomew's work in the library put him in touch with eminent men of the day including, in March 1905, Henry Yates Thompson, who gave the Sandars lectures on eleventh-century illuminated manuscripts. Bartholomew did not take to his 'egotistical, boastful and platitudinous style', but enjoyed the 'good slides' on offer.[11] In 1906 he befriended the novelist Forrest Reid, then in his second year as an undergraduate studying Modern & Medieval Languages, who invited Bartholomew to visit him at home in New Square on 21 October. The two got on well, Reid lending his guest a copy of Anatole France's *Pierre Nozière*.[12] In November 1907 Bartholomew acquired a copy of the first edition of Reid's *The Garden God* (1905)[13] in a fine vellum binding, and Reid sent copies of his new books from time to time, including *The Gentle Lover* in October 1913. In October 1915 Bartholomew wrote to Reid before reading his new novel (presumably *At the Door of the Gate*, published that September), which prompted him to record in his diary, 'There is a certain sameness about his books, but they are always worth reading.'[14]

In 1907 he made the first of several trips to Italy, where he was captivated by Venice, which 'far exceeded my expectations or belief. As we approached her over the bridge I nearly cried, and then I had seen none of her beauty and felt none of her enthralling charm save in anticipation.' He took in the Accademia and the Carpaccios in the Scuola di San Giorgio, which he called 'most charming'.[15] On 10 June he called on the writer Horatio Brown at his home – Cà Torresella – on the Zattere. It was one of Brown's Monday receptions, 'attended by Venetians as well as by members of the somewhat

11. MS Add. 8786/1/3 (15 March 1905).
12. MS Add. 8786/1/3 (21 October 1906).
13. This copy, with the bookplates of Bartholomew and Brian Hill, was offered by Waverley Books in March 2014 for £550. Its erotic undertones caused a storm when Reid dedicated it 'as a slight token of respect and admiration' to his literary hero, Henry James, who – furious at this – cut all ties with Reid. For Reid's friendship with Bartholomew, see B. Taylor, *The Green Avenue: the life and writings of Forrest Reid, 1875–1947* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 43–4.
14. MS Add. 8786/1/8 (14 October 1913) and 8786/1/9 (26 October 1915) respectively.
15. MS Add. 8786/1/3 (4 July 1907) and MS Add. 8786/2/3 (12 June 1907).

miscellaneous English colony'.[16] Frederick Rolfe (Baron Corvo) described these scathingly in *The Desire and Pursuit of the Whole* (first published in 1934), narrated by the fictional Nicholas Crabbe, who – as a destitute author – bore a close resemblance to Rolfe himself. Bartholomew was anxious to meet Brown, who enjoyed a close friendship with John Addington Symonds[17] – both of them homosexual and authors of Uranian verse – whose executor he became and whose biography he published in 1895. But Bartholomew recorded his visit as a failure: '…my only disappointment [of the holiday] was H. F. Brown. I had made up my mind that he liked me and would arrange for a good talk which he didn't.'[18] The two would meet again, at a dinner in Cambridge given at J. W. Clark's home in January 1910, when Bartholomew described Brown as 'delightful', and, a year later, Brown sent him as a gift a copy of Symonds's *A Problem in Modern Ethics*.[19]

The Cambridge of Bartholomew's undergraduate years was largely a male society.[20] Michael Holroyd, in his biography of Lytton Strachey, captures the scene perfectly: 'Students in their summer straw boaters, flannels and high collars, and professors in their brilliant plumage, paraded over the Palladian bridges and along the college lawns in a predominantly male procession.'[21] Furthermore, many of the young men arriving at Cambridge had spent much of their lives segregated from women in public schools, a segregation which – as Nigel Jones notes of Rupert Brooke's early years – 'at once created and chimed with a prevailing homoerotic ethos that had, by the turn of the century, become so marked in Britain's ruling class'.[22] Although the majority of dons were unmar-

16. J. Pemble, 'Horatio Robert Forbes Brown', *ODNB*, accessed 6.12.15.
17. In the author's collection is a copy of R. Vischer's *Luca Signorelli und die italienische Renaissance* (Leipzig, 1879) once in the library of J. A. Symonds at Davos. Bartholomew bought it in August 1915 from a Bristol bookseller and in January 1916 sent it, along with a letter (now pasted in), to 'My dear Carly' (unidentified).
18. See MS Add. 8786/1/3 (4 July 1907).
19. MS Add. 8786/1/4 (13 January 1910) and 8786/1/5 (5 February 1911) respectively.
20. The women's colleges of Girton, Newnham and Hughes Hall were founded in 1869, 1871 and 1885 respectively, but women did not graduate with degrees until 1948.
21. M. Holroyd, *Lytton Strachey* (London, 1994), p. 56.
22. N. Jones, *Rupert Brooke: life, death and myth* (London, 2014), p. 22.

ried (and some homosexual), homosexuality was still punishable by law and Bartholomew's diaries show that he lived a careful life, trying to avoid scandal. At the same time he was absolutely honest with those he knew, as we see in his friendship with Mansfield Forbes: 'At a time when reticence was more customary and the laws and public opinion less tolerant, he used to tell friends of his homosexuality… so that they might discontinue their friendship if they disapproved or found it embarrassing.'[23] The works of Edward Carpenter provided much-needed support and in 1902 Carpenter – evidently after an exchange of letters with Bartholomew – sent him a copy of the first edition of his *Iolaus: an anthology of friendship*.[24] The book chronicled male relationships of various kinds through many centuries of prose and verse, and made an impression on the twenty-year-old Bartholomew,[25] who had already read Carpenter's *An Unknown People* (1897) and sought the author's advice on similar works. By February 1909 we find Bartholomew reading Carpenter's new work, *The Intermediate Sex*, calling it 'a very sane and sanitary book which should enlighten many at present very misinformed people'.[26] In January 1911 Carpenter visited Cambridge for a Fabian Society meeting, and took tea with Bartholomew in his rooms: 'I met him for the first time and liked him,' he wrote. The two found much to talk about, including the creation of 'a means of intercommunication between homosexuals', so that they might talk openly without fear of prosecution.[27] They met again on Boxing Day 1917, when Carpenter's partner George Merrill was present, at what Bartholomew referred to as 'a very sordid private hotel sort

23. H. Carey, *Mansfield Forbes and His Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1984), p. 32.

24. Carpenter's reply (13 November 1902) to Bartholomew's letter is inside his copy of *Iolaus*, now CUL Keynes.Y.4.40. 'With regard to works along the same line as my Unknown People,' Carpenter wrote, 'I really do not know any. There are many German books, but not trans[late]d into English. Enclosed is a prospectus of an English book publ[ishe]d in America – but it is of course more of a medical and scientific character.'

25. Bartholomew gave copies of the second edition (1906) to friends: in June 1909 to Cosmo Gordon, and in November 1909 to E. C. Marchant (1864–1960), who had also been at Peterhouse and became Sub-Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1907. Both copies in the author's collection.

26. MS Add. 8786/1/3 (16 February 1909).

27. MS Add. 8786/1/5 (31 January 1911).

of place' in Cartwright Gardens, Bloomsbury.[28] Other significant acquaintances included Magnus Hirschfeld (whom he met at a dinner at the home of the musicologist Edward Dent in 1910),[29] George Ives (with whom he had tea in December 1914)[30] and the poet and printer Ralph Chubb (to whom he wrote admiringly, in the hope of setting up a meeting, in 1929).[31]

One of the chief figures in Bartholomew's life was Charles Sayle (1864–1924), who had grown up in Cambridge (the son of Robert Sayle, the eponymous founder of the town's well-known department store) and studied at Oxford before joining the staff of the University Library in 1893.[32] He took immediately to Bartholomew, who joined Sayle's group of 'swans', a group which later included George Mallory and Rupert Brooke,[33] both of whom dabbled in same-sex relationships as undergraduates. In February 1901, Sayle mused in his diary: 'What is the attraction of ATB to me, as of so many before him?... it is this: I must have a playmate always.'[34] They spent much time together, Bartholomew frequently dining at Sayle's house (from September 1904, 8 Trumpington Street) or accompanying him to concerts. They spent New Year's Eve together on several occasions and it was a discussion at one such gathering that led to the invitation and subsequent visit of Henry James to Cambridge in June 1909.[35] Their friendship was a very open one: in June 1902 Sayle gave Bartholomew the first volume of his private journal to read; an act which would have made him very much aware of his position in their relationship and his place in the long line of 'swans'. Yet Sayle's insecurity about his younger friends deserting him seems to have soured their friendship as early

28. MS Add. 8786/1/11 (26 December 1917).
29. MS Add. 8786/1/4 (29 January 1910).
30. MS Add. 8786/1/9 (6 December 1914). Ives gave him a copy of his *The Classification of Crimes* (1904), inscribed 'From the author to his friend Theodore Bartholomew', which is now in LSE Library at 'Reserve Books HV9644 I91'.
31. T. d'Arch Smith, *Love in Earnest* (London, 1970), pp. 226–7.
32. Two obituaries, by A. W. Pollard and A. C. Benson, appeared in *The Library* in December 1924.
33. Bartholomew owned a copy of Eddie Marsh's biography of Brooke (London, 1918), now CUL Keynes.J.6.13.
34. CUL MS Add. 8503 (12 February 1901).
35. G. Keynes, *Henry James in Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1967).

as April 1903, when he noted melodramatically 'ATB today gave me his first look of scorn… A few more and it will all be over.'[36] Although the two continued on mostly friendly terms for the next twenty years, Sayle seems to have found himself a new 'swan' in the form of Cosmo Gordon (1886–1965), whom he had first met in November 1904.

Gordon first appears in Bartholomew's diary in March 1905, when he was described as 'a keen bibliographer and a nice boy', then in his first year at King's.[37] The two became virtually inseparable and Bartholomew's diary for 25 August 1909 is typical: 'Lunch with Cosmo. Cosmo and Geoffrey [Keynes] to tea. In the Botanic Garden. Dined alone. To Cosmo at 9.'[38] They collaborated on an article about the library of the King Edward VI School at Bury St Edmunds, which appeared in *The Library* in January 1910, and that summer Bartholomew wrote to W. H. 'Michael' Haslam, '…I am very fond of [Cosmo]… some of the happiest hours of my life have been those occupied in walking and talking with him'.[39] The exact nature of their friendship is difficult to know,[40] but he was evidently unhappy at his friend's marriage to Frances Graham in 1914. Ten years earlier he had written that 'marriage is the end of friendships',[41] and it is clear that their relationship was never the same again. Nevertheless they remained in touch throughout the First World War and into the 1920s, when Gordon took to farming in Devon, before returning to the bibliographical world in 1929 as a cataloguer at Sotheby's.[42]

36. MS Add. 8503 (29 April 1903).
37. MS Add. 8786/1/3 (5 March 1905).
38. MS Add. 8786/1/3 (25 August 1909).
39. CUL MS Add. 8654 (letter of 13 July 1910).
40. In a letter to Gordon dated 25 August 1917, Bartholomew wrote, '…since you can't be married to me I think Frances is a very good arrangement'. In a letter dated 7 May (no year given), Gordon wrote, 'I wish you were here for part of the time and F[rances] for part of the time. You wouldn't go together perfectly though a parti à trois wouldn't be bad either for a short spell.' I am grateful to Arnold Hunt for allowing me to see and quote from letters between Bartholomew and Gordon in his possession.
41. MS Add. 8786/1/3 (12 September 1904).
42. For more on Gordon, see Nicolas Barker's introduction to Quaritch's second catalogue of material from his library: http://www.quaritch.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/Cosmo-Gordon-2015.pdf (accessed 5 February 2016).

Several books from Bartholomew's library evoke his long friendship with Sayle. Among these is a copy of *Erotidia* (Rugby, 1889), one of several compilations of Uranian verse produced by Sayle. This copy was inscribed by Sayle to the poet Lionel Johnson in 1890 and later acquired by Bartholomew, who in turn gave it away in 1902.[43] Soon after his promotion to Under-Librarian in June 1913, Bartholomew bought – in order to give back to Sayle on his birthday that December – a copy of Sayle's *Bertha*: the very copy, its leaves still unopened, that he had presented to Robert Browning in 1885.[44] Another volume, with a wonderful collection of inscriptions, appears to have been given to Bartholomew as a memento of Sayle following his death in 1924. This is a copy of A. Edward Newton's *The Amenities of Book-Collecting and Kindred Affections* (Boston, 1918) inscribed to Sayle by the printer Bruce Rogers in July 1919 and given to Bartholomew by their mutual friend Percy Babington in October 1924 (three months after Sayle's death). While in Sayle's possession, it was inscribed by the author on a visit to Cambridge: 'How amusing it is to see this little book in this great country!'[45] Though there must have been many, only one book presented directly by Sayle to Bartholomew has come to light: Shakespeare's *Sonnets* (London, 1899), bought on New Year's Eve 1900 and inscribed to Bartholomew in January 1915.[46] Sayle's gift of the *Sonnets*, with their homoerotic subtext, was presumably loaded with meaning.[47] This same copy of the 1899 edition of the *Sonnets* reflects Bartholomew's own growth into a Sayle-like figure who cultivated his own relationships with undergraduates as he grew older. A decade later – in November 1925 – he inscribed the book to his own 'swan', W. J. H. 'Sebastian' Sprott (1897–1971), fifteen years his junior.[48] We are lucky that many of Bartholomew's

43. This copy was being offered by Maggs in February 2016 for £2000.

44. See MS Add. 8786/1/7 (21 July 1913). Now in the collection of Arnold Hunt.

45. Author's collection. It also bears the bookplate of the Kelmscott Press collector Robert Hall.

46. Author's collection.

47. Bartholomew may have owned Oscar Wilde's *The Portrait of Mr. W. H.*, concerning the anonymous dedicatee of the sonnets. See also S. Orgel's introduction to G. Blakemore Evans (ed.), *The Sonnets* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 11–16.

48. Shakespeare would continue to interest Bartholomew, for in 1925 he contributed a

letters to Sprott survive in the archives of King's College (beginning in October 1918), in which he addresses Sprott as 'my Black Prince' and 'Sun of my soul'.[49] They remained in touch for many years and in May 1932 discussed David Garnett, whom Bartholomew called 'very much one of "my" authors… I have all his books.'[50]

It is clear that Bartholomew's interest in books extended far beyond their contents, and from fairly early on his appreciation of fine books and their design grew. In October 1903 at the age of 21 he was – with Sayle, Maynard Keynes, Stephen Gaselee and Francis Jenkinson – among the first members of the university's Baskerville Club, which gave him a taste for book production and for the products of Baskerville's press.[51] By 1909 he was taking a serious interest in private press books and recorded as 'a horrible extravagance' his purchase (for £1 10*s*) of the Doves Press *Shakespeare's Sonnets* on 10 November 1909.[52] Just two weeks later Sydney Cockerell[53] – who in December gave him some Doves specimens – sounded him out about the possibility of becoming Emery Walker's partner, a scheme to which he found himself unable to agree: 'I cannot make a change at this stage'.[54] He was also given, by the author, one of fifty copies of *Seventy-Five books from a Library formed by E. Ph. Goldschmidt…*

bibliographical note to a Jonathan Cape facsimile of the 1609 edition. In October 1925 Bartholomew inscribed a copy to 'Dick' (Richardson Wood), an American undergraduate at King's (author's collection). See J. M. Wilson, *Siegfried Sassoon: the journey from the trenches* (London, 2003), pp. 150–1.

49. King's/PP/WJHS/1/4 (6 November 1918 and 31 May 1919 respectively). My thanks to the Archivist, Dr Patricia McGuire, for her assistance with this material.

50. King's/PP/WJHS/1/4 (3 May 1932). Bartholomew's copy of Garnett's *Lady into Fox* (London, 1922) is now in the University Library (Keynes.Y.7.15).

51. The papers of the club are CUL MS Add. 6673. Bartholomew owned several Baskerville books, including the Virgil (edition unknown) and the Milton (presumably *Paradise Lost*; edition unknown), both of which he swapped in November 1906 for the works of Walter Pater (see MS Add. 8786/1/3).

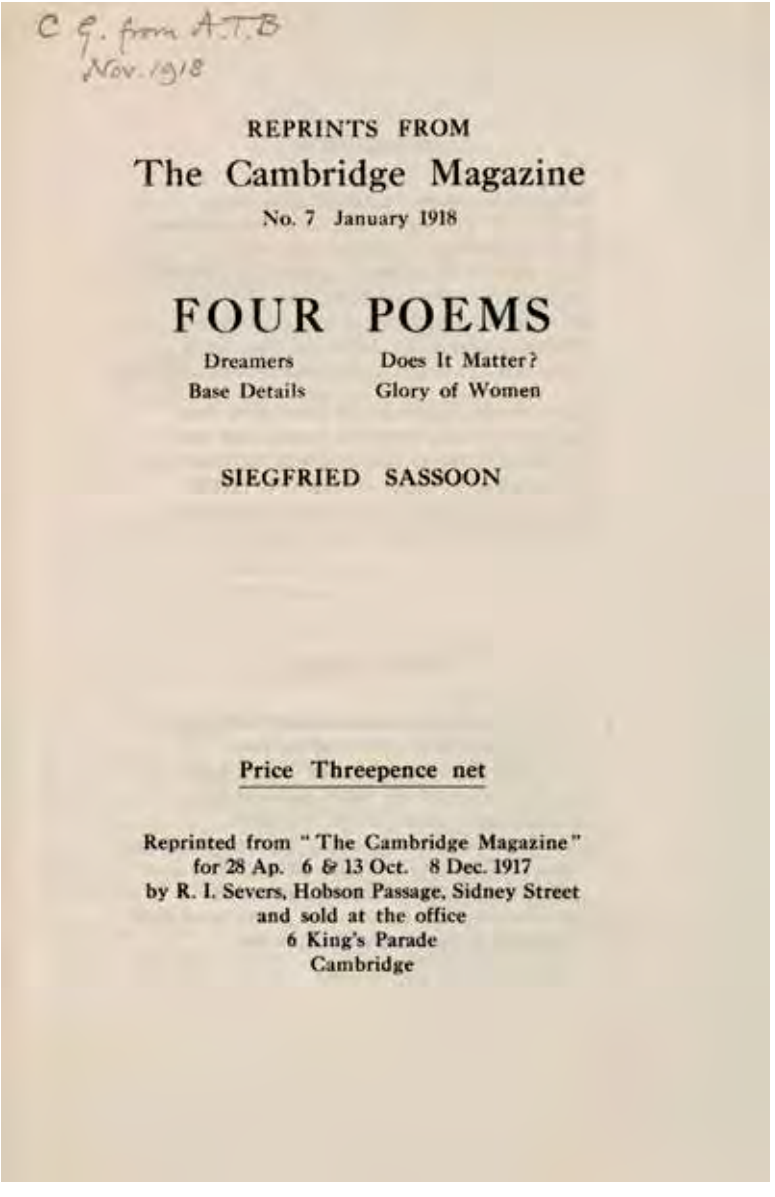
52. MS Add. 8786/1/4 (10 November 1909). His copy is untraced. Bartholomew was paid £10 a month in 1909.

53. Bartholomew later wrote that '[Cockerell] is too much like a showman and tells you the price of things too often'. MS Add. 8786/1/7 (19 January 1913).

54. MS Add. 8786/1/4 (22 November 1909). Geoffrey Keynes asked the same question on 12 June 1916 (MS Add. 8786/1/10), when the reply came that 'I do not feel that I can leave this place [the library] and my job which I find more and more exciting as time goes on'.

Bartholomew's bookplate, top, designed by Bruce Rogers (from Lord Alfred Douglas's *City of the Soul*, 1899); with the bookplate's inspiration, the device of the printer Thomas Anshelm of Baden (from Pico della Mirandola's *Stavrostichon*, 1512, CUL FI51.d.1.6)

Bookplate from the collection of Liam Sims; device reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library


C. G. from A.T.B
Nov. 1918

REPRINTS FROM

The Cambridge Magazine

No. 7 January 1918

FOUR POEMS

Dreamers — Does It Matter?
Base Details — Glory of Women

SIEGFRIED SASSOON

Price Threepence net

Reprinted from "The Cambridge Magazine"
for 28 Ap. 6 & 13 Oct. 8 Dec. 1917
by R. I. Severs, Hobson Passage, Sidney Street
and sold at the office
6 King's Parade
Cambridge

Friendship with Siegfried Sassoon led to what is probably the most significant extant portion of Bartholomew's library. Here he inscribes Sassoon's *Four Poems* (1918) to Cosmo Gordon

From the collection of Liam Sims

(1909), though he passed it almost immediately, in 1910, to J. W. Clark for his Cambridge collection.[55] Bartholomew had done much work for and became very close to Clark, compiling a bibliography of the works of Dr Bentley based on Clark's own collection, co-editing his 76th birthday *Fasciculus* and cataloguing his Cambridge books, which had been bequeathed to the University Library.

In April 1913 he was working on books in the library considered significant from a typographical point of view, recording that 'Anything but Roman type bores me in the early things',[56] and later went on to support the study of private press books as a subscriber in December 1921 to one of 500 copies of the regular issue of *The Daniel Press… with a bibliography of the press, 1845–1919*.[57] Another significant acquisition was, at an unknown date, one of twenty-four copies of Jacques Raverat's Ashendene Press edition of Blake's *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (London, 1910).[58] In December 1919, two weeks before becoming godfather to Geoffrey Keynes's first son, Richard, Bartholomew invited Jacques to tea, along with Geoffrey and Margaret (whose sister Gwen was married to Jacques), noting that 'JR [was] quite good and talkative'.[59] Geoffrey Keynes became one of his closest friends at an early date and, when collaborating with Keynes on *A Handlist of the Works of John Evelyn* in 1916 (the basis of his 1937 bio-bibliography of the diarist), he wrote that his friend 'certainly is one of the best people I have ever known'.[60] At the same time Bartholomew was actively acquiring Evelyn books on behalf of Keynes (then a lieutenant in the Royal Army Medical Corps) and after the war became involved in editing the text of Evelyn's diary – which at that date had not yet appeared in print in full – for publication.[61]

55. CUL Cam.b.909.7.
56. MS Add. 8786/1/7 (18 April 1913).
57. He did not keep this volume for long, selling it to Heffer (the Cambridge bookseller) on 30 March 1922 (see MS Add. 8786/1/13). It later found its way into the library of Major Abbey. In the author's collection.
58. CUL Keynes.L.3.19.
59. MS Add. 8786/1/12 (21 December 1919).
60. MS Add. 8786/1/10 (21 February 1916). The *Handlist* was printed in twenty-five copies by Fabb and Tyler of Cambridge and was ready by July 1916.
61. Keynes was evidently in Cambridge on 12 June 1916 (see MS Add. 8786/1/10), but

It is interesting that Bartholomew appears – at least from surviving books and mentions in his diaries – not to have had a significant interest in acquiring older books. Nevertheless, some naturally found their way on to his shelves. In December 1911 he recorded trying to sell his copy of Philemon Holland's first English translation of Plutarch's *Moralia* to one Murray (A. G. W. Murray, from 1919 Librarian of Trinity College), who worked for the bookseller P. M. Barnard.[62] He also gave several early books to the University Library, among them Quarles's *Emblemes* (London, 1669), as well as a volume containing John Beaumont's *Bosworth Field* (London, 1629) and William Baldwin's *Treatise of Morall Philosophy*[63] (London, ?1639).

In 1917 the University Press had the good sense to employ the American typographer Bruce Rogers as a consultant and designer, and his friendship with Bartholomew – who was on the press's printing committee – would bring many opportunities for the production of beautiful books.[64] Rogers's first appearance in Bartholomew's diary came at the beginning of November 1917: 'Bruce Rogers came to tea and we got on about printing like a house on fire. It will be a great comfort having him at the Press.'[65] Bartholomew wasted no time in utilizing his expertise and, after a dinner at Emmanuel College in early December, engaged Rogers to work on the text of a poem inscribed upon the flyleaves of a mid-sixteenth-century work of Latin grammar by Thomas Linacre, given to the library

by July was caught up in the Somme. See G. Keynes, *The Gates of Memory* (Oxford, 1981), p. 172; also G. Keynes, *John Evelyn: a study in bibliophily* (Cambridge, 1937), pp. 29, 264. Bartholomew ceased work on the diary after 1921 and the work was taken up by E. S. de Beer (whose edition appeared in 1955). See MS Add. 8786/1/12 (18 January and 31 October 1920) on Bartholomew's dealings with CUP and OUP in relation to publishing Evelyn's diary.

62. MS Add. 8786/1/6 (4 December 1911). The sale did not take place and Bartholomew sold it several months later to the University Library, where it is now Syn.3.60.8. His diary for 12 April 1912 (MS Add. 8786/1/6) records a payment of £1 15*s* 'from [the] Librarian (for Plutarch)'.

63. Kkk.268 and Rel.e.62.2 respectively.

64. See D. J. McKitterick, 'Bruce Rogers in Cambridge, 1917–1919', THE BOOK COLLECTOR (Summer 1980), pp. 208–38.

65. MS Add. 8786/1/11 (1 November 1917).

that August by Francis Jenkinson.[66] On 30 January Bartholomew returned the finished text to Rogers: 'It will look very pretty I think in its own manner.'[67] One hundred and fifty copies were printed in Caslon italic type, bound in paper wrappers with a fine label on the upper cover, and they seem to have been ready by March, when Bartholomew sent a copy to Cosmo Gordon.[68] In May 1918 Rogers wrote to H. W. Kent of the Metropolitan Museum, calling Bartholomew 'my most congenial friend in Cambridge'. He went on to give an interesting view of his character: '[He] lives in lodgings not far away [from the library], where everything is chosen with the most meticulous taste… [, and] has refined his life to simple and exquisite tastes…'[69] The two remained friends after Rogers's departure in July 1919 and in 1924 he sent Bartholomew a copy of his edition of Dürer's *The Construction of Roman Letters* (1924), which he inscribed '…with remembrances of many happy days'.[70] Rogers designed Bartholomew's fine bookplate (based on the device of the German printer Thomas Anshelm of Baden) and worked on a number of other projects for him. These included *Spare Your Good* (a short poetical work reprinted from an edition dated to [1555?], discussed by Bartholomew and Rogers as early as May 1918);[71] three nineteenth-century travel diaries by Robert Heywood (ancestor of Bartholomew's Cambridge friend Michael Haslam);[72] and – most importantly – a volume of poems by Siegfried Sassoon.

66. The poem, 'On Friendship', is presumed to have been written by one Anthonius Nicolaus, whose name is inscribed in this copy of Linacre's *De emendata structura Latini sermonis libri sex* (Paris, 1550), at the shelfmark Adv.d.14.1.

67. MS Add. 8786/1/11.

68. In the author's collection.

69. Quoted in D. J. McKitterick, 'Bruce Rogers', p. 223.

70. CUL Keynes.Y.4.7.

71. The only surviving copy of the original is in the Folger Library. The 1919 edition has an introduction by E. Gordon Duff and 250 copies were printed. Bartholomew inscribed a copy to Cosmo Gordon on 20 July 1919 (author's collection).

72. *A Journey to Italy in 1826, A Journey to America in 1834* and *A Journey to the Levant in 1845*. All were by Robert Heywood, the maternal grandfather of Michael Haslam. Michael's mother Mary is credited with editing *America*. The University Printer J. B. Peace printed 100 copies of each in 1919 and Bartholomew evidently led all three projects. He presented a copy of *America* to Lady Darwin at Christmas 1920 (now CUL Keynes.Y.4.39).

Although Sassoon was an undergraduate at Cambridge between 1905 and 1907, he is not mentioned in Bartholomew's diary until the summer of 1915, when they dined with Edward Dent. Bartholomew called him 'an engaging person' and noted that he 'should like to see some more of SS'.[73] The two went on to become close friends, Bartholomew printing (in May 1916) Sassoon's *The Redeemer* as the second of his 'Reprints from The Cambridge Magazine' and (in January 1918) four more poems in the seventh number.[74] This friendly collaboration would lead Bartholomew to become responsible for the design (with Bruce Rogers), printing and publication of Sassoon's *Picture Show* in the summer of 1919, of which 200 copies were produced (ready on 1 July). By 21 July about thirty copies had been sold, and Bartholomew lamented that it was 'going slowly all these days'.[75] They continued to correspond right into the 1930s and, after the death in 1928 of Henry Festing Jones (Samuel Butler's close friend and assistant), Bartholomew planned a memorial volume, for which he sought a contribution from Sassoon in August 1932. 'My pen becomes paralysed when it is asked to do anything,' came the reply, and the project came to nothing.[76] Friendship with Sassoon led to what is probably the most significant extant portion of Bartholomew's library: about two dozen books and pamphlets representing Sassoon's output from 1908 right up to 1930. These include the play *Orpheus in Dilœryum* (London, 1908), published the year after he left Cambridge, Sassoon's own copy of the 1909 *Sonnets and Verses* with extensive corrections in his hand, and a presentation copy from Sassoon to Bartholomew of the New

73. MS Add. 8786/1/9 (22 August 1915).

74. 'Dreamers', 'Base Details', 'Does It Matter?' and 'Glory of Women', first printed in *The Cambridge Review* on 28 April, 6 and 13 October, and 8 December 1917 were collected as *Four Poems*, printed by R. I. Severs in Cambridge. Bartholomew's bound set of these reprints is now CUL Keynes.J.1.25.

75. See MS Add. 8786/1/12.

76. CUL MS Add. 8483/37 (9 August 1932). Emphasis Sassoon's own. Copyright Siegfried Sassoon by kind permission of the Estate of George Sassoon. On 20 November 1931 Bartholomew wrote to David Garnett, asking for 'ideas on the subject of publication' of a collection of Henry Festing Jones's smaller pieces; Chatto & Windus and Faber & Faber had both declined (see Northwestern University, Garnett Family Papers, MS164, Box 37, Folder 25).

York edition (1920, and so hyphenated) of *Picture-Show*.[77] These are accompanied by Bartholomew's notebook (evidently compiled from August 1930 onwards) listing every edition of Sassoon's works, along with notes on his own copies and on those which came up for sale.[78] The survival, thanks to Geoffrey Keynes's own interest in Sassoon, of this unique assemblage of annotated copies and first editions from Bartholomew's library, preserved and made accessible alongside the library's holdings of Sassoon's papers, remains of great significance for the study of his work.

By now confident and knowledgeable about publishing and book design, Bartholomew began to cultivate connections with other notable printers. At Christmas 1921 he sent a copy of his *Spare Your Good* to Philip Sainsbury (1899–1936), proprietor of the Cayme Press and nephew of the painter Henry Scott Tuke.[79] The two seem first to have met a year earlier, on 23 December 1920, when Bartholomew described him – then aged about twenty – as 'quite nice',[80] and they saw each other occasionally in London over the next few years. In July 1926 Sainsbury sent Bartholomew an inscribed copy of his edition of C. K. Scott Moncrieff's satire on the Sitwell family – *The Strange and Striking Adventures of Four Authors in Search of a Character* (London, 1926)[81] – which Bartholomew would have appreciated. In June 1919 he had visited the Sitwells at Swan Walk, along with Siegfried Sassoon and Henry Festing Jones. Also present was William 'Gabriel' Atkin, with whom Sassoon had experienced his first physical homosexual encounter just six months earlier.[82] It was evidently not a pleasurable visit for Bartholomew, who noted in his diary: '…met Osbert Sitwell to whom I did not take', continuing, 'We saw the modern pictures and all the trappings of the Victorian pose which the Sitwell group are running to death at the moment.'[83]

77. Keynes.J.2.17, Keynes.J.1.28 and Keynes.J.2.16 respectively. Only twenty-five copies of *Sonnets and Verses* were printed; all but three were destroyed.
78. CUL MS Add. 8494.
79. In the author's collection.
80. MS Add. 8786/1/13.
81. In the author's collection.
82. See J. M. Wilson, *Siegfried Sassoon: the journey from the trenches*, p. 21.
83. MS Add. 8786/1/12 (6 June 1919).

About this time Bartholomew became active in securing for the University Library a huge range of material printed at Hilary Pepler's St Dominic's Press (the total number of items is around 150). A file in the library contains about twenty pieces of ephemera, along with a number of letters from Pepler to Bartholomew, the earliest dated 17 January 1918. Early in 1920 he sent Pepler one of Bruce Rogers's books (unidentified) and in his letter of thanks Pepler notes that he 'had heard of Bruce Rogers but never seen his work until now' (9 January 1920). The gift – presumably *On Friendship* – he called 'jolly good except for the ornaments' and he went on to suggest that 'those of us that are in this line of business should be in touch so that we may form ourselves eventually into a Craft Guild and fix certain laws which need to be kept if printing is to be good'.[84]

Bartholomew was later active in patronizing the Nonesuch Press, established in 1922 by Francis Meynell and David 'Bunny' Garnett. Garnett had, since 1919, run a bookshop near the British Museum with Francis Birrell, who had been an undergraduate at King's College in the years immediately before the war. Bartholomew had known him well: one night in March 1910 he noted in his diary that 'Birrell turned up at 10 looking extraordinarily attractive and sensuous'.[85] Meynell and Bartholomew shared a friend in Geoffrey Keynes, and it was he who gave Bartholomew soon after its publication a copy of the sixth Nonesuch book – Donne's *Paradoxes and Problemes* (1923) – to which he had contributed a bibliographical note. In the accompanying letter, now tipped in to the book, Keynes commiserated with Bartholomew over the death two weeks before of the University Librarian Francis Jenkinson and asked, 'Will they make you Librarian?' Answering his own question rather callously he added, 'I suppose [Stephen] Gaselee stands a better chance.'[86]

84. The Guild of St Joseph and St Dominic, which encompassed a number of crafts including printing, sculpture and painting, was founded in Ditchling in 1921. See *Eric Gill and the Guild of St Joseph and St Dominic* [edited by T. Wilcox] (Hove, 1990). A list of St Dominic's Press items, purchased in December 1919, is to be found with the letters (CUL 864.bb.20+20a).

85. MS Add. 8786/1/4 (17 March 1910).

86. In the author's collection. On 7 October 1923 (MS Add. 8786/1/14) Bartholomew noted in his diary that 'Gaselee and Scholfield are the favourites', and decided on the 12th to apply, 'tho' I don't think I shall get it'. By the 22nd he had changed his mind, and

Bartholomew also acquired the Nonesuch *Anacreon / done into English out of the original Greek by Abraham Cowley* (1923); Bernard Darwin's *The Tale of Mr. Tootleoo* (1925); the three-volume *The Writings of William Blake* (1925), edited by Keynes; and Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1928).[87] In 1932 Bartholomew had a selection of Samuel 'Erewhon' Butler's works published by the Nonesuch Press – entitled *Butleriana* – and it is his involvement with Butler which forms his major lasting literary legacy, primarily in editing the twenty-volume Shrewsbury Edition of the Works of Samuel Butler (London, 1923–6).

The foundations of this project were laid in November 1910, when Bartholomew heard 'an admirable paper' on Butler, given by Henry Festing Jones at St John's College, where Butler had been a student.[88] Three years later he published a previously unknown piece of work by Butler, which he had found among the papers of J. W. Clark,[89] which led ultimately to his friendship with 'Enrico' (as Festing Jones was known), who visited the University Library in May 1913: 'I took to him very much and we had quite a talk about Butler.' The two soon became very close; Bartholomew later wrote in his diary that Enrico was 'remarkably outspoken on all matters for a man of his age (64) and his twinkle is delicious.'[90] The next twenty years of his life would be dominated by his work on Butler, whose satire he found to be 'an extraordinarily fine weapon'.[91] With a shortage of staff at the library throughout the war Bartholomew was kept busy, not least with cataloguing the collection of war ephemera being amassed by the Librarian[92] and

records that Gaselee won't stand either. A. F. Scholfield was elected on 22 November.

87. The Donne is in the author's collection. The Anacreon was offered by Barter Books in 2014. The Darwin is now CUL Keynes.I.5.12. Blake was being offered by Bromer Booksellers (Boston, Mass.) in October 2015. Bunyan is in the author's collection.

88. MS Add. 8786/1/5 (16 November 1910).

89. 'Samuel Butler and the Simonites', in *The Cambridge Review*, 1 March 1913.

90. MS Add. 8786/1/7 (7 May 1913) and 8786/1/8 (30 October 1914) respectively.

91. Letter to Cosmo Gordon, dated 5 December 1916 (author's collection). On Butler's and Festing Jones's sexuality, see H. Sussman, 'Samuel Butler as Late-Victorian Bachelor: regulating and representing the homoerotic', pp. 170–94 in J. G. Paradis (ed.), *Samuel Butler, Victorian Against the Grain* (Toronto, 2007).

92. See M. Nicholls, 'A Reason for Remembering: Francis Jenkinson and the War Reserve Collection', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* XI/4 (1999),

his work on Butler in particular gave him something to focus on during these dark times. Just a few months after the outbreak of war Festing Jones asked Bartholomew to read the draft of his biography of Butler, which he noted initially was 'most attractive, though too long',[93] and he went on to guide Festing Jones's thoughts on a permanent home for his Butler archive (eventually deposited at St John's). In a letter to 'Sebastian' Sprott of February 1919, he called Festing Jones 'The mage and playboy of Maida Vale' and recorded his thoughts on the inevitable loss of his friend (by now nearly 70): 'I cannot bear to think of the world without him, my world, at all events.'[94] When this moment came in 1928 the mantle of Butler's literary executorship passed to Bartholomew, along with the remains of his Butler archive. Bartholomew chose to auction the majority of this collection at Sotheby's on 1 December 1930, rather than keeping it himself or passing it to St John's. The catalogue contains some wonderful authorial presentation copies to Festing Jones – Housman's *A Shropshire Lad* (London, 1907), Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* (Camden, 1876), and a copy of Aeschylus's *Oresteia*, printed in Robert Proctor's Greek type (London, 1904), presented by its publisher Emery Walker.[95] Bartholomew evidently kept some of Festing Jones's books, several of which passed in 1933 to Geoffrey Keynes and are now in the University Library. Among them are another copy of *A Shropshire Lad* (London, 1903), a work which Bartholomew called '[a] remarkable little book … [which] means more to me than most', and a presentation copy of Robert Graves's *Treasure Box* (London, 1919).[96]

497–515. Though he was eventually excused from military service due to his poor eyesight, Bartholomew was plagued throughout the war by the worry of conscription, knowing that he would have made a very poor soldier. As a Special Constable, he protected the library from Zeppelin attacks.

93. MS Add. 8786/1/9 (5 December 1914). Published in 1919 as *Samuel Butler, Author of 'Erewhon', 1835–1902: a memoir*.

94. King's/PP/WJHS/1/4 (4 February 1919).

95. Bartholomew had a copy of Butler's *Erewhon* (London, 1890), formerly in Proctor's possession (with his bookplate); Proctor noted in his diary on 31 March 1900 that he 'Began reading Erewhon to M[other]'. See J. H. Bowman (ed.), *A Critical Edition of the Private Diaries of Robert Proctor* (New York, 2010), p. 134. In April 1919 Bartholomew inscribed it to Cosmo Gordon. Now in the author's collection.

96. CUL Keynes.I.1.32 and Keynes.Y.7.14.

One further literary project concerned the eccentric writer Frederick Rolfe (1860–1913), known also as Baron Corvo, who has long enjoyed something of a cult following, recently revived by events in 2013 to mark the centenary of his death.[97] Corvo moved to Venice in 1908, the year after Bartholomew's visit, and the two seem not to have met. In January 1909 Bartholomew noted staying up 'till a late hour' to read his *Don Tarquinio*,[98] but it was not until 1918 that he set about investigating possible sources of information for a biography. The publisher Grant Richards offered to supply him with details of Rolfe's family and Horatio Brown wrote in June 1919, calling Rolfe 'a very strange and difficult person'.[99] However, Bartholomew seems not to have written to Rolfe's mother until the end of 1924, to express his concern at a review of one of Rolfe's works that had just appeared in *The Spectator*. This talked negatively about his personality and called him 'homo-sexual and of feminine tastes',[100] which demonstrates that, whilst such information may have been known to a small circle, his family evidently did not want it widely shared. Further correspondence followed in 1926 with Rolfe's brother Herbert, the two discussing one A. J. A. Symons, who had been in touch with Herbert about a short piece on his brother.[101] Bartholomew had first met Symons in November 1924 at the First Edition Club – which Symons had founded two years before – and did not take to him: 'Formed poor opinion of Symons', reads his diary that day.[102] In autumn 1926 Symons had written to Bartholomew to determine his intentions with the biography, and Bartholomew annotated the letter, 'I wrote… saying that I had nothing in my notes that would help him and suggesting that he had better go ahead alone'.[103] Herbert met with Bartholomew in

97. See Timothy d'Arch Smith's *Frederick William Rolfe Baron Corvo (1860–1913): his family and his circle. A centenary catalogue* (London, 2013); also Robert Scoble's *Raven: the turbulent world of Baron Corvo* (London, 2013) and *The Corvo Cult: the history of an obsession* (London, 2014).
98. MS Add. 8786/1/3 (30 January 1909).
99. Texas, Harry Ransom Center, Bartholomew Scrapbook (folio 24).
100. See R. Scoble, *Raven*, p. 13.
101. Bartholomew Scrapbook (folio 66).
102. MS Add. 8786/1/14 (1 November 1924).
103. Bartholomew Scrapbook (folio 64).

December to discuss the problem, and the two 'agreed that Symons scented scandal of a money making order'.[104]

It seems that there was no watershed moment when Bartholomew decided to give up on his Rolfe biography, since the scrapbook (now in Texas) which contains his Rolfe material was being added to as late as 1932.[105] It is likely to have been a combination of factors: that Symons had got there first, and that the trust placed in Bartholomew by Rolfe's family made it difficult for him to address properly Rolfe's character in a way that he might have done before 1925. We must also consider the possibility that he wanted to avoid drawing attention to his own homosexuality by writing about Rolfe's. Given the lack of substantial original literary work in the other spheres of his life (his own output being limited to prefaces, bibliographies and editing the work of others) it may simply be the case that he was not cut out for such work, and that he was content to gather material with which a monograph might be written, but lacking the drive to bring it all together.[106] The fate of Bartholomew's Corvo books was probably decided at Sotheby's on 25 January 1944, when Brian Hill (1896–1979) – one of his literary executors – sold a number of Corvine items (lots 509–17). It is not known how the two came to know each other: Hill was educated at the Merchant Taylors' School in London and did not attend university, but – since he spent some time as an accountant – their friendship may have come about through Cosmo Gordon (Librarian of the Institute of Chartered Accountants from 1911). They certainly knew each other by 1930, when Hill recorded a visit to Cambridge (which he called 'the labyrinthine City of Adolescence') in the style of Corvo's *Don Tarquinio*: Bartholomew appeared as 'Teodoro the Mage', who was 'tall and splendid of form', his conversation 'glittering, indissoluble, urbane'.[107]

Of the Corvo material sold at Sotheby's, lot 516 had, most cer-

104. Ibid. (folio 68).

105. Bartholomew Scrapbook: entry for 'In His Own Image' (folio 3, rear of volume).

106. I am grateful to Robert Scoble for his thoughts on this point.

107. B. Hill, 'Don Brianelli: an epileptic automatic romance'. Unpublished transcript held in Leeds, Brotherton Library, Corvo 238. I am grateful to Timothy d'Arch Smith for information on Hill.

tainly, belonged to Bartholomew: the celebrated scrapbook which Hill lent to Symons after Bartholomew's death.[108] It seems likely therefore that some if not all of the other Corvo items in the sale had been Bartholomew's, including first editions of *Chronicles of the House of Borgia* (1901), *The Rubáiyát of 'Umar Khaiyám* (1903) and that most desirable piece of Corviniana, *Tarcissus: the boy martyr of Rome* (?1880), his very first book. Bartholomew bought his copy from the eccentric bookseller Christopher Millard in January 1926 for 10*s* 6*d* and, if Bartholomew's and Hill's copies are one and the same, it seems to be the only one of Bartholomew's Corvo books to have surfaced.[109]

Musing on the fate of those he knew who were fighting for king and country at Christmas 1914, Bartholomew wrote that 'My friends mean more to me than anything else…',[110] and his life must – to those friends – have been viewed as one of great success. But his physical and psychological health was never good, and he spent much of his life plagued with anxiety about his friendships, finances, health and career. As with Sayle before him, one of his primary concerns was the prospect of growing older in an ever-youthful university town. In 1921, he wrote in his diary that he'd 'always had a horror… of hanging on – oneself no longer young – to the coat-tails of youth. A horror in fact of becoming a sort of pastiche of Ch[arles] Sayle.'[111] Though his work gave him a respectable position in the university, he saw himself (just as Sayle had done) as a failure, and in 1922 he referred to himself as 'a 2nd rate person just high enough up in the 2nd rate to realise keenly how second rate…

108. This volume, now in the Harry Ransom Center, is discussed in R. Scoble, *The Corvo Cult*, p. 392. Symons's *The Quest for Corvo* appeared in 1934. Hill's non-Corvo items sold at Sotheby's on 25 January 1944 included works by Siegfried Sassoon, Eric Gill, Edmund Blunden and Robert Graves, some of which may also have belonged to Bartholomew.

109. Bartholomew's copy passed to Henry Bradley Martin (1906–1988) and was sold in his sale on 30 April 1990. It was acquired by Robert Scoble from Timothy d'Arch Smith and passed back to d'Arch Smith for his Corvo centenary catalogue in 2013, priced at £8500. In June 2016 it was listed in James Cummins's catalogue 132 (item 118), priced at $10,000.

110. MS Add. 8786/1/9 (31 December 1914).

111. MS Add. 8786/1/13 (26 May 1921).

I had no chance, with those schools and that early history…'[112] The diary came to a halt in the summer of 1925, and Keynes tells us that in the following year '[Bartholomew] suddenly sank deep into a pit of melancholy from which it seemed almost impossible that he should ever recover'. A course of 'drastic psychological treatment' followed, one which he agreed to on condition that it did not alter his homosexuality (a not uncommon practice at the time),[113] and Keynes wrote that 'the years which followed were far the happiest of his life'.[114] In the summer of 1932, however, Bartholomew began to be plagued with severe headaches, caused by an incurable form of high blood pressure, and he died on 14 March 1933, aged just fifty. His will, made on 31 January that year, named three executors: W. J. H. 'Sebastian' Sprott, Brian Hill and Geoffrey Keynes.[115] To Hill and Keynes passed Butler's literary executorship, along with paintings and drawings by Butler and Festing Jones.[116]

Theo Bartholomew's life was a fruitful one, on the fringes of the Bloomsbury Group and the Cambridge Apostles, and with many connections to the chief players in the literary and homosexual worlds of his day. His role in promoting Butler's work, assembling material on the life of Frederick Rolfe and the remains of his fine library – not to mention his work at the University Library – have put many scholars, librarians and collectors in his debt.[117]

112. MS Add. 8786/1/13 (16 June 1922). Emphasis Bartholomew's.

113. From an unpublished manuscript memoir by Jean Gordon (Cosmo Gordon's daughter), written *c*1995, now in Arnold Hunt's possession, whom I thank for allowing me to quote from it.

114. Both quoted in G. Keynes, *Augustus Theodore Bartholomew*, p. 9.

115. Sprott's copy is in King's College Archives, King's/PP/WJHS/1/4.

116. See G. Keynes, *The Gates of Memory*, pp. 62–3.

117. Every effort has been made to locate the copyright holders of unpublished material quoted in this article. I thank the Sassoon estate for allowing me to quote from Sassoon material; quotations from Bartholomew's Corvo Scrapbook are by permission of the Harry Ransom Center, the University of Texas at Austin. As Brian Hill's executor, Timothy d'Arch Smith allowed quotations from Brian Hill's unpublished works and – in the absence of a known copyright holder for Bartholomew – gave his permission for me to quote from Bartholomew's papers, since Hill was Bartholomew's executor.

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'Projet de bibliothèque'

In 1959 Graham Pollard retired from the Board of Trade, into which he had been precipitated by the Second World War, and was able to resume the gipsy life that he preferred. From the Forest of Dean to the Forest of Bowland, from *pecia* manuscripts to be found at Hereford to the now St Cuthbert Gospel at Stonyhurst, he wandered purposefully, finding a deserted Jacobean manor house here or there a pub that sold badger ham as well as good beer. Two of his special ports of call were West Horsley Place, home of the Duchess of Roxburghe and the major part of the library of her grandfather, Richard Monckton-Milnes, and Waddesdon, built by Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild as a treasure house for his collection and by then in the custody of Mrs James Armand de Rothschild. Of both he planned to make catalogues, and enlisted both Giles Barber and me to help. The catalogue of the books at Waddesdon specially appealed to his love of bookbindings of all kinds. It would provide the vehicle for a definitive study of the great eighteenth-century binders of France, perhaps the most skilful of all time, and was to appear among a dozen others, which would cover the paintings and gold boxes, the Sèvres and Savonnerie, and other treasures, with equal authority.

Habitual procrastination, or rather an imperturbable desire to wait for the right time to define and put down a body of information, slowed his progress. There were other flowers to pick by the wayside. He would set off on foot from Barton, his Oxford home, and walk to Waddesdon, sixteen or eighteen miles, depending which landmark of archaeological or natural interest he visited en route. When he arrived Dolly de Rothschild, most generous and charming of hosts, would ply him with the best, including the house wine, Château Lafite. There seemed to be no good reason why this routine should stop, and, as at West Horsley, I was hap-

py to come too, to fetch and carry, look up references, and so on. But it came to an end with Graham's death in 1976, leaving behind complete bibliographical analyses of only sixteen books, with a mass of draft lists of tools, differentiated only verbally, without the rubbings that would have given them visual form. Giles Barber, Librarian of the Taylor Institution, who edited the manuscript 'Anecdotes Typographiques' of Nicolas Contat Le Brun found by Graham at West Horsley, was now chosen to complete his work at Waddesdon. So he did, triumphantly justifying the faith that both Graham and the Rothschild Foundation had placed in him. That the project outlived him too, to be published by the Foundation in 2013 as *The James A. de Rothschild Bequest at Waddesdon Manor: printed books and bookbindings*, in two volumes and 1161 pages, with liberal illustration (£300, ISBN 095473108 3), testifies to Graham's belief in the complexity of the task and the need for time to complete it, as well as Giles's ability and determination.

My memories thus go back to its early days, and the discoveries that Graham made then, which in turn revived his memories of what he had learned as a bookseller before the war, and even earlier as a boy from older booksellers. Few, if any, had seen the outside, let alone the contents of the strikingly French chateau, such as only a Rothschild could have conceived and built, as did Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild (1839–1898). Its design and execution was due to Hippolyte Destailleur (1822–1893), who inherited his father's practice as architect to the Ministère de la Justice; he went on to specialize in 'historical' styles, in 1866–7 extending the Louis XV hotel of the Comtesse de Béhague, and next year building a whole new one in similar style for her son, the Comte Octave de Béhague, installing many old *boiseries*, available due to the wholesale destruction of old buildings in the wake of Haussmann's new boulevards, including original bookshelves from the old Bibliothèque Royale. He also designed new buildings for the Paris Mint, and a 'cottage' for the Empress Eugénie at Farnborough.

Destailleur was also a serious collector, not just of books, prints and drawings on ornament and architecture, but also of historic books of all sorts; his collection was particularly rich in fine bindings. After the Franco-Prussian War, in which he lost a son at Bazeilles, and the

Commune, in which his practice suffered, he was obliged to retrench. In 1879, war again threatening, he decided to sell his collection of books, stipulating only that no German buyer would be acceptable. A plausible Anglo-French dealer, Alphonse Wyatt Thibaudeau, offered the price he asked. It was duly paid in pounds sterling on behalf of a 'Colonel Barnard', but, before they reached the Channel, the seven packing cases thus addressed were relabelled and redirected. Imagine Destailleur's horror when its acquisition was announced by the Berlin Kunstgewerbemuseum. Fortunately, Baron Ferdinand's commission provided balm for his wounded patriotism, as well as the means and the occasion to begin collecting again.

Once the site was cleared, work began on the building promptly in 1877. 'The French sixteenth-century style, on which I had long set my heart,' wrote the Baron, 'was particularly suitable to the surroundings of the site I had selected and more uncommon than the Tudor, Jacobean or Adam. The architectural sources for this "picturesque" building are highly varied, the towers coming from one French *château*, the staircases from another, the dormers from a third and other parts from others.' He was right: Chambord, Anet and Lescot's Louvre were all put under contribution by Destailleur; the effect 'may be picturesque but the detail is singularly restrained'. There was, and is, no space designated for a library as such. The Baron had thought Destailleur's first plan too ambitious, to which the architect replied, 'You will regret your decision, one always builds too small'. Sure enough, an extension was needed, and the plan for a new west wing is labelled 'Projet de bibliothèque'. But the 'Morning Room' as built in 1889 was destined for social use as the Baron's public life expanded, after he succeeded his cousin Nathaniel Mayer Rothschild as Member of Parliament for Aylesbury when the latter was ennobled by Gladstone in 1885.

The books that accumulated in the west end of the main building were, however, not a connoisseur's but the working books of one who had broad-ranging tastes as well as a lifelong and intense interest in French life, learning and letters in the eighteenth century. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and *Larousse*, Johnson's *Dictionary* and a complete set of Voltaire, are accompanied by Hugo and Charlotte Yonge, *I promessi sposi* and *Atalanta in Calydon*, Pierre Loti, Renan

and Saint-Beuve. The memoirs of the eighteenth century are there in force, as are Diderot, Buffon, Mme de Genlis and Saint-Simon; writers on the century, the Goncourts and Guizot, were also there, and both main works on book illustration of the period, Portalis's *Dessinateurs d'illustrations du 18e siècle* and Cohen's *Guide de l'amateur de livres à gravures*. These are serious books, but in no way representative of an active taste for collecting yet. There is no personal record of his collecting when he turned to books, since he kept no record of the immediate source of his purchases; his sister Alice, who kept house for him after his wife's early death, punctiliously arranged for their destruction after her own demise. This may seem strange since the provenance, often as integral a part of the book as its binding, meant a great deal to him as a collector, but a nice sensibility for the feelings of the previous owners dictated discretion.

It is impossible now to say how much selection was due initially to Destailleur and how much to the Baron. Destailleur had an exhaustive knowledge of the period, and he had now set out to disperse what he had collected. Between 1889 and 1890 his collection of theatre prints went to the Bibliothèque Nationale. His eighteenth-century French prints, more by Gavarni, Vernet, Lami and other artists, his political and social, topographical and portrait prints, went next, and the Cabinet d'Estampes bought his 1328 prints and drawings of the city of Paris. His books followed in five sales between 1891 and 1896; they contributed more books to Waddesdon than any other source, thirty-six in all, two-thirds coming from the first two sales while the vendor was alive (including two books from the Béhague sale in 1880), one apparently a gift (Thomassin *Recueil des figures, groupes, thermes, fontaines, vases et autres ornemens… dans le château et parc de Versailles c*1707 in later red morocco), and the rest *post mortem*. Others may have come from the same source, unrecorded. But it was the Baron who paid the bills, and continued to collect after Destailleur's death as before it.

Such evidence as can be derived from the Baron's account books (incomplete) and the ledgers and catalogue file copies of the booksellers who supplied him show steady purchases from John Pearson & Co in London from 1889 to 1896, and larger payments in Paris to Morgan & Fatout and their successor, Edouard Rahir, 1892–8.

As France was the centre of his collecting interest, he was fortunate to find in Damascène Morgand (Fatout by now a sleeping partner) and Rahir a source of information, as well as books, that no other bookseller at the time could equal. The firm's stock books (1875–97) and journals (1876–7, 1893–7) at the Grolier Club and the file copy of their *Bulletin* (1876–1912; Librairie Paul Jammes) provide the best independent source of information. Besides these, there is the *Catalogue des livres français de la bibliothèque du baron Ferdinand de Rothschild à Waddesdon*, compiled under the eye of Rahir but not by him, of which thirteen copies are known to exist, mostly in institutional libraries. The information is brief and factual, and rarely gives information other than structural, apart from occasional dates of acquisition, the earliest perhaps Rosset *L'agriculture* 1774, from the Franchetti sale (1890).

Apart from this, few references to immediate purchase can be found for particular books. Louis XIII's copy of the *Théâtre géographique du royaume de France* 1632 in green morocco came from the 1891 Destailleur sale, and Colbert's Le Clerc *Divers desseins de figures dédiés à monsieur Colbert d'Ormoy* [1679] in red morocco with Colbert's arms and serpent device (said to have been engraved for him by Thomassin), afterwards in the collections of Martin Folkes and Horace Walpole, bought in 1842 for Beckford, sold to Quaritch at the Hamilton Palace sale and by him to Destailleur, was bought at his 1895 sale by Morgand, who sold it to the Baron for 805fr plus 15 per cent commission. Two of Count Hoym's copies of the Elizabethan editions of Giordano Bruno, bound in citron morocco *mosaïqué* by A.-M. Padeloup (described by John Hayward in THE BOOK COLLECTOR, Summer 1956, pp. 152–7) can be proved to be among the last that the Baron bought, datable after August 1897 from the Morgand stock book.

Given the relatively short time within which the collection was amassed, its variety is remarkable, but subject matter was generally less important than outward appearance. It is hardly surprising that there are virtually no German books; Italian literature too is almost exclusively represented by French translations. English books, by contrast, are more numerous, ranging from Hollar's *Ornatus muliebris* to Pine's Horace (one of very few classical texts in

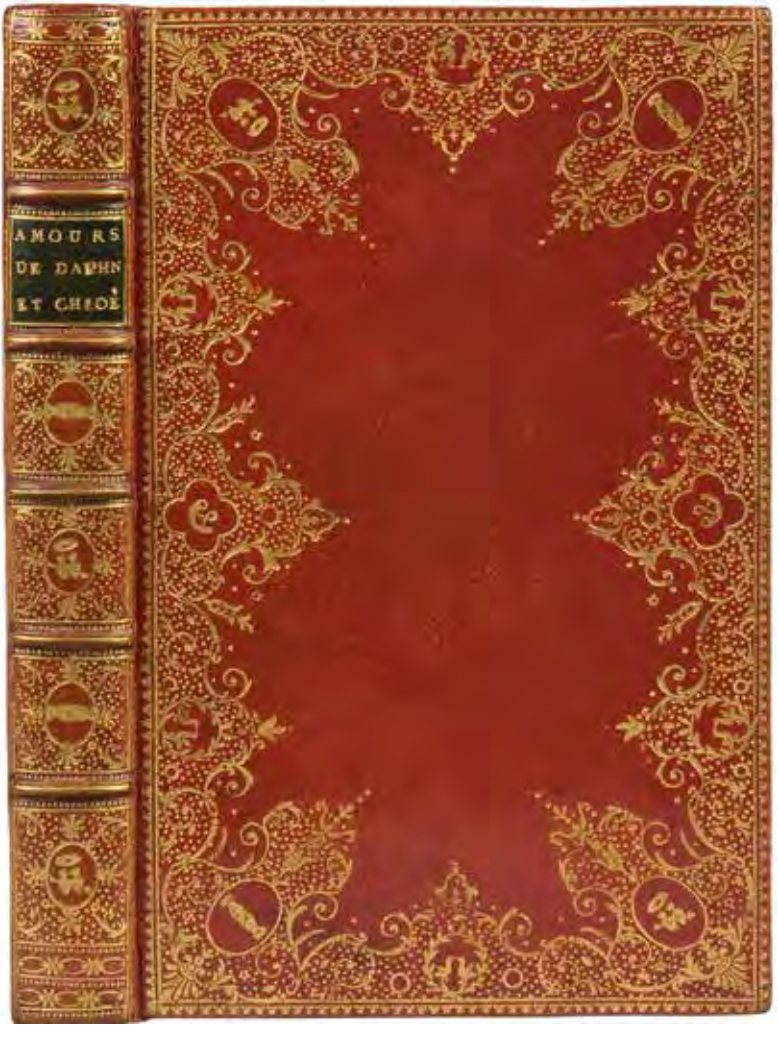
any language); the surprising number of books by or about Wilkes is explained by his representing Aylesbury in Parliament. Apart from these considerations, the other theme of the collection is the previous ownership of the books, a list running to almost forty pages, of which more later. Many of the names occur once only, but besides those already mentioned, Beckford (26), Hamilton (30, largely duplicating Beckford), Hoym (13), Lignerolles (26), Louis XIV (17) and XV (21), Pichon (19), and Mme de Pompadour (14) are prominent. More surprising are the omissions, notably of any book from the Sunderland library, sold barely a decade before the Baron began his collection.

French graphic art was an obvious speciality, beginning with Callot, with a complete set of 'Les Grandes Misères', *Exercises militaires* ingeniously inserted in *c*1690 oblong English black morocco, meant for a music manuscript, by Elizabeth Dickinson's Binder. The magnificent set of Nanteuil engraved portraits is also *remboîté* in two volumes in English russia, perhaps originally for the first Duke of Chandos's Nanteuil collection, recorded in his 1747 sale catalogue. Le Clerc's *Labyrinthe de Versailles* 1679 for the 'Cabinet du roi' is capped by Simoneau's for Félibien *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint Denis* 1706. Picart's Ovid *Métamorphoses* 1732 prefigures the famous 1768–71 edition with plates by Choffard, Boucher, Eisen, Gravelot and Moreau *le jeune*. Here too is Boucher's masterpiece, Molière *Oeuvres* 1734, bound by Derome, and Oudry's for La Fontaine *Fables choisies* 1755–9; his curious *Rebus ou logogriphe* 1716 is the dedicatee, the duchesse de Berry's copy. Choffard's rival La Fontaine *Contes* 1762, the celebrated 'Fermiers généraux' edition, is in the *à present* binding with tools designed by Gravelot, here attributed to N.-D. Derome.

But this is a book mainly about bookbinding, and as such it will be chiefly used and valued. The scene is set by a chapter on the Parisian bookbinding trade in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a brilliant overview of the legal and social organisation of the trade, the identity of successive (and overlapping) *relieurs du roi*, and the links of the Boyets, Padeloups and Deromes with their contemporaries. Their numbers, including widows who continued to run what were often family businesses, lasting over several

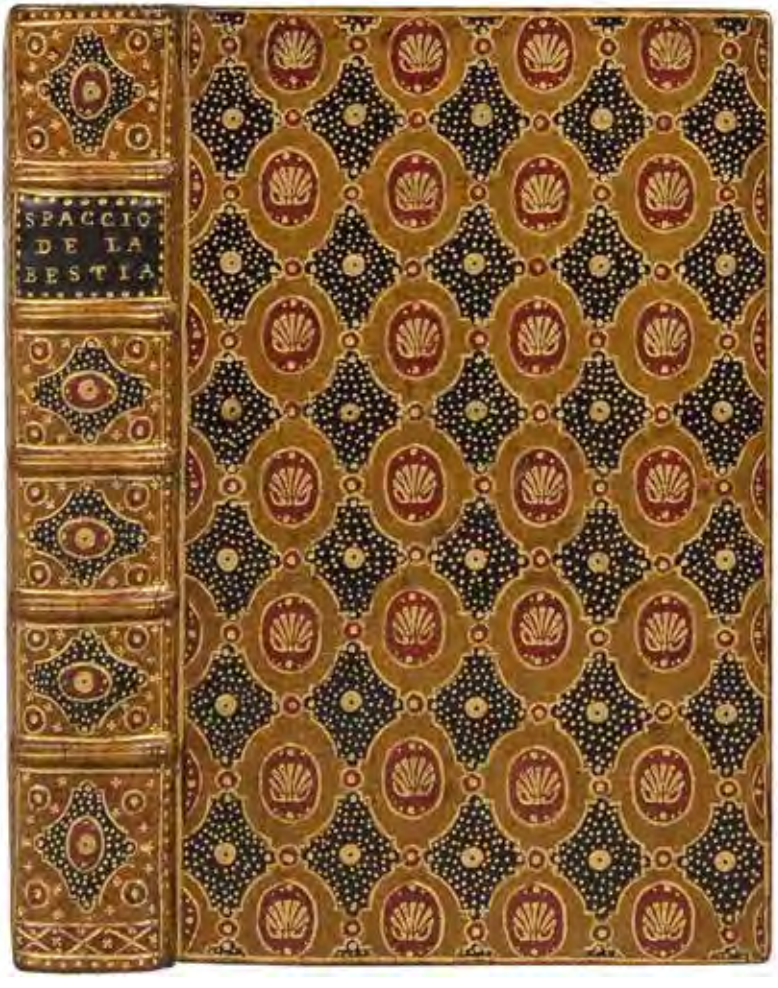
A treasure house: Waddesdon, designed by Hippolyte Destailleur (a serious collector himself) for Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild

PHOTOGRAPH: John Bigelow-Taylor © The National Trust, Waddesdon Manor



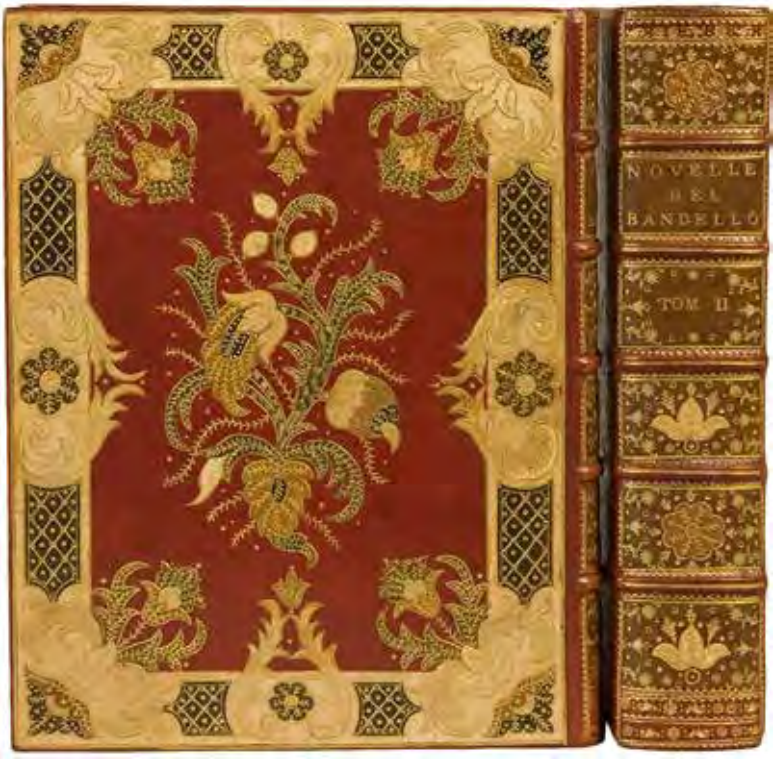
Longus, *Les Amours Pastorales de Daphnis et Chloe avec figures par Philippe d'Orleans*, *c*1718. Binding attributed to N.–D. Derome, *c*1785. Waddesdon, The Rothschild Collection (The National Trust) Bequest of James de Rothschild, 1957; acc. no. 5460

PHOTOGRAPH: Mike Fear © The National Trust, Waddesdon Manor



Giordano Bruno, *Spaccio de la Bestia Trionfante*, 1584. Binding by Antoine-Michel Padeloup *le jeune* for Count Hoym, *c*1725. Waddesdon, The Rothschild Collection (The National Trust) Bequest of James de Rothschild, 1957; acc. no. 906

PHOTOGRAPH: Mike Fear © The National Trust, Waddesdon Manor



Matteo Bandello, *La Prima Parte de le Novelle*, 1740. Bound by Louis-François Le Monnier, perhaps for the comtesse de Flamarens, *c*1745. For Anthony Hobson, it was 'the finest binding of the collection – and one of the finest of the century'. Waddesdon, The Rothschild Collection (The National Trust) Bequest of James de Rothschild, 1957; acc. no. 911.1-4

PHOTOGRAPH: Mike Fear © The National Trust, Waddesdon Manor

generations, grew from 188 at the end of the seventeenth century to 294 in the second half of the eighteenth. There are two lists, the earlier *c*1690–5, the later drawn up by Pierre-Alexis-Michel Bradel between 1772 and 1776, both giving 'noms des maistres de la communauté des Maistres Relieurs et doreurs de Paris' divided into 'anciens', 'nouveaux' and 'veuves', together with addresses. As set out here, these lists make up a substantial directory of the Paris binding trade. Next come technical descriptions of gilding, *doublures* and other endleaves, with several chapters on evolving styles from the seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries, the evolution, too, of the taste and technique for mosaic and *dentelle* bindings, and the reasons (economic) for the later use of plaques and, equally significant, for the introduction of signing bindings, by name-pallets or labels. This adds a great deal to knowledge of the social as well as technical side of the trade, and is made more useful by copious illustration.

What had eluded Graham Pollard earlier, the means of conveying the minute details of individual tools, which he could carry in his mind's eye but not reproduce for others, has now been transformed by digital photography, and the acknowledgements at the beginning of the book testify to the number of people who have made this possible. The images of complete bindings and of individual tools are given a new clarity, and the difficulty of reproducing those on curved surfaces, like spines, can be circumvented. The results of this more scientific examination are set out in eighteen tables, classified by design, mainly on Waddesdon books, but also drawn from other sources. These will be familiar elements to anyone who has looked at or attempted to describe the covers of French eighteenth-century books. They are, respectively:

1. The 'Bulbous Vase' (BV 1–15).
2. The 'Caged Bird' or *oiseau Derome* (CB 1–7) and 'Bird on Branch', also billing or face-to-face birds (CBB 1–14).
3. The multiple fleur-de-lys or acanthus tools used on the 'Cabinet du roi' or associated works, including edge or turn-in rolls, pallets and individual tools for fleur-de-lys and 'Roi soleil' or sunburst tools (CDR 1–23).
4. *Dentelle* corner tools, with shells or palmettes (DCR 1–28).
5. Other *dentelle* cover tools, including lyre, pine, fronds, lattice and

corner circles, including flower-head and Catherine-wheel tools (DCT 1–80).

6. Special *dentelle* tools, crown, spread eagle, dolphin, cornucopia, wheatsheaf, lamb, butterfly, peasants dancing, clasped hands, pierced heart, lute, trophy, urn, ship, fish, duck and crayfish, and a separate section of Louis Douceur's special tools for the 1755 La Fontaine *Fables* (DST 1–51).
7. Figure tools used on early mosaic and similar bindings, including Hoym's two special tools (FIG 1–106).
8. Flower and fruit tools, acorns, pinks, pomegranates and pears, sunflowers, thistles, tulips and other flowers , bouquets, wreathes and swags (FL 1–191).
9. *Dentelle* fronds, in pairs (FR 1–93).
10. Gravelot's tools for the 1762 La Fontaine *Contes* (1–41).
11. Interlace, drawer-handle and other tools for multiple use (INT 1–25).
12. Arms of France used for Louis XIV and successors, in Olivier order (2494–6).
13. Pallets, arabesque, fleur-de-lys, looped, drawer-handle, lattice, alternating, bird and insect, floral, vine and grapes, and other (PAL 1–139).
14. Arabesque and drawer-handle repeating and interlocking tools (RBT 1–15).
15. Rolls, often repeats of single tools, fleur-de-lys, palmette, foliage, bird and insect, floral, hop-flower, spiral and ribbon rolls with framing fillets (ROLL 1–119).
16. Spine tools (SP 1–58).
17. Miscellaneous seventeenth-century tools (SST 1-45).
18. The *bordure du Louvre* wreath border and imitations (WRE 1–15).

Those familiar with Oldham's works, based on rubbings of mainly blind-stamped bindings, will recognize the value of this classification system. It depends more on familiarity with tools and less on descriptive terms for design. Few are likely to meet more than a small amount of the tools reproduced, but the sheer quantity of images will make it a useful catalogue for descriptive purposes. Indexes of owners and booksellers conclude this volume.

The whole of the second and larger volume is taken up with the catalogue proper. Enjoined by Mrs de Rothschild to make it readable, Giles Barber, familiar alike with the ins and outs of bookbinding

and the social, political and literary history of eighteenth-century France, did his best, and very good it is. The niceties of almanacs with transparent mica windows over painted armorial bindings, however lightweight, are hard to describe as elegantly as here. A copy of the 1740 *Les Peintures de Charles Le Brun et d'Eustache Lesueur* (another Destailleur book) evokes not only the pictures of Le Brun and Le Sueur but a long digression on the Hotel Lambert which they also decorated. Bandello *Le novelle* 1740, however, required everything that scholarship could give it. To Anthony Hobson, in THE BOOK COLLECTOR in 1959, it was 'the finest binding of the collection – and one of the finest of the century'. Bound in red morocco with mosaic onlays of cream, citron, dark and light green and blue, the decoration appears to grow out of the book, rather than be laid on it. What is more, it is signed 'Le Monnier', who appears to be the artist of fifteen similar bindings and may be Louis-François Le Monnier, made *maître* in 1737 – but there are several other binders of the same name. No one knows for sure, either, for whom it was made, perhaps the comtesse de Flamarens, admired by the *président* Hénault. Later in the Gaignat collection, it was bought by Morgand for 7000fr, and sold to Baron Ferdinand for 20,000fr, an unusually large mark-up. Equally unknown is the first owner of *Eucologie* 1712, a prayer book in the newly fashionable vernacular, with extraordinarily life-like blue flowers in an irregular panel on the boards, later in the Pichon collection.

The elaborate mosaic binding on Longus *Daphnis et Chloé* 1718 with illustrations after the *régent* Philippe, duc d'Orléans, is one of three copies similarly bound with his arms; Barber, the great authority on this edition, comes down in favour of Augustin Du Seuil as the binder of all three, and speculates that the Waddesdon copy may be that intended for the duchesse. Other books as grand include *Médailles sur les principaux événements du règne de Louis le Grand* 1702, one of 321 (no less) bound for the king by Luc-Antoine Boyet, while *Les Plaisirs de l'isle enchantée*, a manuscript illuminated and with a miniature of Louis XIV, may have been made and bound for presentation to Mary of Modena. The same text appears in the colossal set of the 'Cabinet du roi' (cat. 104–18). A royal presentation copy of a different kind is *Cours des principaux fleuves et rivières*

de l'Europe, written and, apparently, printed by Louis XV himself in 1718, and bound in green morocco with red *doublures* elaborately gilt with fishes and aquatic animals of all sorts (DST 50–1). Perhaps the most intimately desirable of Baron Ferdinand's books is the edition of Corneille *Rodogune*, 'Au Nord', 1760. This was printed by or for (contemporary notices are not quite clear) Mme de Pompadour on a press installed by a 'petit détachement' of the Imprimerie Royale in her apartment at Versailles which, being on the north side, occasioned the imprint. The Waddesdon copy, bound in red morocco by Douceur with his dragonfly roll (59), previously belonged to Nodier. It is not Mme de Pompadour's own copy in citron morocco *mosaïqué*, later in Beckford's collection; that was indeed bought by the Baron from Morgand in 1898 for 35,000fr, but later given by James de Rothschild to his sister, Mme Alexandrine.

We could go on indefinitely. There are the Baron's English books, too, from Burke *Reflections on the Revolution in France* 1790, a presentation copy to the author's Irish supporter Thomas Goold, via Bickham's engraved works, to *Verses addressed to John Wilkes, Esq; on his arrival at Lynn* 1771 in red morocco with patriotic Latin inscription on the front board (later in the Heber collection). Even more surprising is *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* 1812, with an impassioned inscription from Byron to his half-sister, Augusta Leigh. But each one of the almost 800 items (including ornamental briefcases and blotters) has some individual tale to tell, and the sum of them all prompts the reader of the catalogue to ponder their *raison d'être*, then and now. In the middle of the scene is the Baron, a slight, diffident, somewhat chilly figure, but not overwhelmed by the exalted company of those who owned his books earlier. The list of them runs to thirty-eight pages, plus three more of booksellers through whose hands the books have passed, and the total number of other names, of binders, printers, illustrators, engravers, authors and others involved, runs to about a thousand – an army drawn from every walk of life in the *ancien régime*. Here the social order is inverted: bookbinders and everything to do with their work are treated at length; ministers and royal mistresses may just be 'executed 1793'. Somewhere in between come the names of previous owners.

Chains of provenance, names linked by hyphens, are to the book

collector what family trees are to the genealogist. To know through whose hands a book has passed since bought new to the present day gives a *frisson*. So the Baron clearly enjoyed owning books that had belonged to Prince Eugène, the duc de La Vallière, Gaignat or Girardot de Préfond, to the Condé, Phélypeaux or Rohan families, to Mme de Maintenon or Montespan, to Necker or Turgot, the comtesse de Verrue or Marie-Antoinette, whose dedication copy of the 1773 Marmontel is now at Waddesdon. Perhaps the *ne plus ultra* was one of the two manuscripts of 'La Guirlande de Julie', written by Nicolas Jarry for the duchesse de Montausier or her husband, later passing from the abbé de Rothelin to Gros de Boze, Cotte, Gaignat, La Vallière, Debure, back to a later Marquis de Montausier, and so to the comte de Mosbourg, at whose 1893 sale it was bought for the Baron. The long-lived bookselling Debure dynasty saw it safely across the divide of Revolution and Empire to the time when bibliophiles could appreciate what Balzac presciently called 'les miracles de la France-Pompadour'. The taste for books of the *ancien régime* actually goes back to Charles Nodier (1780–1844), whose equal taste in contemporary binding inspired the Baron's immediate predecessors, Béhague, Pixérécourt, La Roche Lacarelle, Lignerolles and Pichon, and, again, Destailleur.

These names and others jostle each other in the index, familiar and unfamiliar: the real name of 'Mr Angelo', the famous fencing master, was Domenico Angelo Malevolti Tremanondo, who would have been at home with Colonel Seymour Wynne Finch, of the Blues, second most frequent visitor to Waddesdon among those recorded in the Baron's visitors' book, along with Joseph Chamberlain, the Shah of Persia, Henry James, the Prince of Wales (who slipped on the spiral staircase) and the future Queen Mary. Sir Edward Hamilton, the Baron's closest and most observant friend, secretary to Gladstone and then the Treasury, was the most frequent; he wrote a perceptive memoir of him, too long to quote here, written at Mentmore where he was staying with his own old school-friend Lord Rosebery when the Baron died, leaving Waddesdon and all its contents to his sister Alice. On her death in 1922 it passed to her great-nephew James, son of Baron Edmond de Rothschild, careful custodian with his wife through the difficult war years and on until

his death in 1957. Its transfer then to the National Trust under Mrs de Rothschild's's continuing direction is recorded in her lively account, *The Rothschilds at Waddesdon Manor* (1979). She remained a vital presence in the house and estate, unforgettable by all who met her, until her death in 1988.

Thereafter, and on into the current millennium, her responsibilities have been inherited by Jacob, fourth Baron Rothschild, who has found time among all his many other activities and responsibilities to complete the ten-year centenary restoration begun by his predecessor and to create new exhibition rooms and a reference library at Waddesdon, as well as to exercise Rothschild authority over every aspect of its management. Above all, he supported the continuing progress of the catalogue, with infinite patience and tenacity. Virtually completed by Giles Barber before his death in February 2012, it has now been published, with a final 'editorial note' by Rosamund Griffin, for many years keeper of the collections, listing and thanking the many other participants, photographers, scanners, designers, editors and others involved in its completion.

Many years ago, in Graham Pollard's absence, I was working alone in the Morning Room on a day when the French Porcelain Society, under its President, Sir Geoffrey de Bellaigue, was visiting Waddesdon. They were in the next room, visible and audible through the tall open doorway that separated us. Through its arch I could see Sir Geoffrey, kneeling like a suppliant before a high priestess, gazing at some priceless piece of Sèvres. Before him, but out of my sight, was Rosamund Griffin, and I heard her say, quietly, precisely and with unmistakable authority, 'When we clean the porcelain at Waddesdon, we do not speak.' This was the discipline enjoined by Dolly de Rothschild, born of the utmost respect for the well-being of the treasures of the past, whose possession carried with it the duty of care. That kind of practice, extended to books, pictures and everything else, has ensured that they remain, as they entered Waddesdon, in perfect condition. It is, and so is the catalogue, the cynosure of all who would do likewise.

A. S. G. Edwards

A State of Absolute Rarity

The Market for Middle English Manuscripts in the Twentieth Century

In April 1923 A. S. W. Rosenbach visited, for the first time, the collection of the manuscripts of Sir Thomas Phillipps held at Thirlestaine House, Cheltenham, under the custodianship of Thomas Fitzroy Fenwick. He became, together with his brother Philip, the first American dealer permitted to make a series of purchases from this colossal Nachlass. 'The Doctor' was then at the height of his acquisitive powers. In June, he bought 774 incunables for £20,250, most of which went to Henry Huntington for $150,000. A little later, in October, he returned to make a much smaller, but for the present purposes, far more significant acquisition. He chose twenty manuscripts in Middle English for which Fenwick's initial asking price was £11,870; Rosenbach countered with an offer of £11,000 so that 'we can close deal at [a] small profit to ourselves…' The agreed final price was £11,500.[1]

These twenty manuscripts were a notable selection, testimony to the care and judgement with which Rosenbach had examined the Phillipps materials. In four the sole or principal content was Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, but much other significant Middle English verse was represented: a copy of Thomas Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes* and a holograph copy of his shorter poems, two copies of Langland's *Piers Plowman* (one of which also included Chaucer's *Troilus & Criseyde* and Mandeville's *Travels*), major poems by John Lydgate and John Gower, John Capgrave's holograph 'Life of St Norbert', two copies of the *Prick of Conscience*, one of the 'Northern Homily Cycle'. In prose, there were two copies of the *Brut* chronicle, one of

1. For details of Rosenbach's dealings with Fitzroy Fenwick see A. N. L. Munby, *The Dispersal of the Phillipps Library* (Cambridge, 1960), pp. 76–80; the quotation is from p. 78.

Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*, a herbal and a medical collection.[2]

This is an impressive assemblage in its range and depth. It is also the largest recorded *en bloc* sale of a group of Middle English manuscripts in private hands. Rosenbach did well out of his purchase. Of the twenty manuscripts, fourteen went in November 1923 to Henry Huntington, who paid $92,000 for them.[3] At the then rate of exchange $92,000 was £23,000, which shows a return of 100 per cent to Rosenbach on the £11,500 he had paid Fenwick a couple of months before. Not a bad 'small profit'. And he still had six manuscripts of very high quality, including three of the *Canterbury Tales* (Phillipps 8136, 8137, and 6570, this last a fragment), and copies of Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes*, Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, and Gower's *Confessio amantis*, three of the most popular vernacular poetic works of the later Middle Ages.

Just over two decades later a very different sale of Middle English manuscripts took place. On 15 October 1945 Sotheby's sold the sixth portion of the renowned library of Sir Leicester Harmsworth (there were to be ultimately thirty-five sales). This sale included twenty-four manuscripts that were solely or predominantly in Middle English: no other single auction sale in the twentieth century comes close to matching this number. What was on offer was in sum rather different from the materials awaiting Rosenbach's acquisitive gaze in 1923. There are, admittedly, some parallels to his purchases: one manuscript of *Piers Plowman*, three of the *Prick of Conscience*, a Hilton, *Scale of Perfection*, and a *Brut*. In addition, there were a number of other substantial vernacular religious works: three Wycliffe Bibles, several manuscripts containing other Wycliffite texts, two copies of the *Speculum Christiani* (a widely circulating devotional work), single copies of such large and popular prose devotional works as the *Pore Caitif* and *Dives et pauper*, as well as copies of what were

2. For an excellent account of Rosenbach's activities in Cheltenham see Leslie A. Morris, *Rosenbach Abroad: in pursuit of books in private collections* (Philadelphia, 1988), pp. 35–45. She helpfully records Rosenbach's purchases of Middle English manuscripts on pp. 42–3: those that went to Huntington are nos. 6–8, 14–18, 20–3, 25–6 on her list; those that Rosenbach retained are nos. 5, 9, 10, 11, 13, 19.

3. Munby, p. 78. Documentation relating to this transaction is in the Huntington Library: HEH INST. ARCHIVES 31.1.1.39.2.

by this time fairly rare works in the saleroom: in verse, William of Nassyngton's *Speculum vitae*, Robert Mannyng's *Handlyng Synne*, Robert of Gloucester's chronicle, Lydgate's massive *Troy Book* and his *Life of Our Lady*, and, in prose, Mandeville's *Travels*.

The Harmsworth sale was the first major sale of medieval English manuscripts in England since the Aldenham and Clumber sales of the late 1930s. In terms of its Middle English collections it could not be judged a success: the twenty-four manuscripts made a total of £2479, an average of £103 5*s* 10*d* a lot. But some made notably less: one of the *Prick of Conscience* manuscripts (lot 2087) made only £20, the lowest price for a Middle English manuscript, and nine others made less than £100; only one, a Wycliffe Bible (lot 2035), made over £300 (it made £310). To put matters in a slightly wider perspective, there were 77 lots of medieval manuscripts that made a total of £9576, an average per lot of £124 7*s* 2*d*; significantly higher than for the Middle English ones alone. If one subtracts the value of the twenty-four Middle English manuscripts from this total, this leaves 53 manuscripts with a value of £7093; an average value of £133 6*s* 11*d*. This figure was brought down by four manuscripts that made £10 (lot 1918), £6 (lot 1942), £20 (lot 1943) and £8 (lot 2021), a total of £44. The average for forty-nine manuscripts, leaving aside these four, was £143 7*s* 2*d*. Even in a sale where returns were meagre overall[4] and with few high spots, Middle English was a drag on the market.

Several factors might explain such commercial failure. October 1945 was not a great time to make money selling any material. The aftermaths of war were palpable. Sotheby's key director, Geoffrey Hobson, was close to death, worn out by his efforts to keep the firm afloat during hostilities. Dealers and their English clients were impoverished. Complex currency exchange regulations were still in force. And it seems to have been too early after the end of the war for American dealers to be present in large numbers. Indeed, the only American dealer who bought any Middle English manuscripts was C. A. Stonehill, who bought two, for a total of £105. Rosenbach

4. Only one manuscript, a French Book of Hours (lot 2005), made four figures: £1100 to Sawyer.

was not present; he did not visit England at all after 1930. No one seems to have been bidding on his behalf. The main buyers of the Middle English manuscripts were English dealers: Maggs bought seven, Quaritch three and Goldschmidt two. They all seem to have been buying largely for stock. Few of their acquisitions made a speedy exit from their shelves. And few of the prices achieved at auction suggested sufficient meaningful advances over earlier ones to make the prospect of a significant early return on investment likely. For example, lot 1940, Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Christ*, had previously been offered by Quaritch in 1916 for £25; in 1945 it made £60. Lot 1951, the *Brut* with John Page's verse *Siege of Rouen*, made £165; it had been offered by Quaritch in 1916 for £80.

There are obvious contrasts between this sale and Rosenbach's purchases from Fenwick just over twenty years before. Contrasts between private and public selling, between American entrepreneurship and English enfeeblement, and so on. But they may be misleading, in so far as they relate specifically to the selling of Middle English manuscripts. To return to Dr Rosenbach and the six Middle English poetic manuscripts he did not sell to Huntington in 1923. Of the three copies of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, two were substantially complete. One (Phillipps 8136) was in its original binding and had been used by Urry in his 1721 edition of Chaucer; it was later owned by J. P. Kemble and Heber. Another (Phillipps 8137) is illuminated and has the *Tales* in an unusual order. The third (Phillipps 6750) is a paper fragment of twenty-four leaves. Of the others, Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* (Phillipps 4254) was a hitherto unrecorded copy, written by the famous scribe Ricardus Franciscus, with several miniatures, unusual for this work. Gower's *Confessio amantis* (Phillipps 8192) was copied by another famous London scribe, responsible, in part or whole, for at least six other copies of Gower's poem in the early fifteenth century. The last work, Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*, includes a copy of the rare Chaucer portrait, and is conjoined (unusually) with John Walton's contemporary English verse translation of Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*.

In general, these manuscripts were even more choice than those that Huntington bought in 1923. But nearly twenty years after

purchase they were still on Rosenbach's shelves. In 1941 he offered all of them for sale in one of his best-known catalogues, 'English Poetry to 1700', along with some additional Middle English enhancements: to the three Phillipps Chaucers (nos. 156, 157, 159) was added another fragment of the *Canterbury Tales* of highest importance, the so-called Oxford fragment, one of the very rare illustrated copies (no. 158). In addition to the Phillipps copy (no. 476), there were two further manuscripts of Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* (nos. 475, 477), one of them the Mostyn copy sold in 1920 (no. 477) and another of Gower's *Confessio amantis* (no. 368), described accurately as a 'superb manuscript' with fine illumination and miniatures. The shortest period any of these manuscripts had been on Rosenbach's shelves was fourteen years.

The sale catalogue that included these items was preceded by an exhibition in New York, in March and April 1940, devoted just to these ten manuscripts, and 'held in honor of the Six Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Geoffrey Chaucer (1340–1400)'. Of this a catalogue survives, prefaced by a poem by Christopher Morley, 'Ballade of an Old Friend', which concludes, 'Hail Chaucer, dearest of them all'. A foreword then discusses the ten Middle English manuscripts.

By any standards this is a remarkable assemblage from the stock of a dealer, its significance marked by careful marketing strategies. If these materials were to appear on the market today their total value would be in the millions. Superficially, the beginning of the 1940s might have seemed a good time to be offering choice materials, as the Depression ended and America was not yet at war. But they did not fare well. Martin Bodmer bought the most expensive *Canterbury Tales* manuscript (no. 156); the asking price was $85,000, but, eighteen months after the catalogue appeared, he apparently paid only $48,000. It remains in Switzerland at the Fondation Bodmer in Cologny (Bodmer MS 48). Louis Silver bought the Phillipps Chaucer fragment (no. 159), but again not possibly until after a considerable interval;[5] and probably therefore for less, pos-

5. Silver's earliest recorded dealings with Rosenbach seem to have been around 1947; see Edwin Woolf 2nd with John F. Fleming, *Rosenbach: a biography* (London, 1960), p. 557.

sibly considerably less, than the asking price of $11,600. Silver also bought one of the *Fall of Princes* manuscripts (no. 475), for which the catalogue price was $6000. Another manuscript of the same work (catalogued at $2400) went to Arthur Houghton.[6] One of the Gowers (Phillipps 8192; no. 369) also sold, but only after an even longer interval, some time after Rosenbach's death in 1952, when John Fleming sold it to Robert H. Taylor, again quite possibly for less than the original asking price of $2350; it is now in Princeton University Library (MS Taylor 5).

This is the good news. Two of the *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts (Phillipps 8137 and the Oxford fragment), one of the *Fall of Princes*, one of the Gowers, the more expensive one, and the Hoccleve and Walton manuscript (Phillipps 1099), stayed in Philadelphia. Forever. After the Rosenbach Foundation was created in 1954, these became part of its holdings.[7]

Clearly Rosenbach's later involvement with his Middle English manuscripts was not a commercially happy one. It might be shown to be even less so if it were possible to establish what unsuccessful efforts Rosenbach had made before 1940 to sell any of this material directly from stock.[8] The Harmsworth sale, just a few years later and even more melancholy in its outcome, also had its aftermath. Some of the manuscripts sold there were to return later to the market. Several had been bought in 1945 by the English collector William Foyle and were sold from the estate of his daughter Christina on 11 July 2000 at Christie's in London as part of a section of eight 'Manuscripts in Middle English' (lots 71–7): a *Prick of Conscience*, with other texts (lot 77) and a *Speculum Christiani* (lot 71), each of which had made

6. His MS 9; his sale, Christie's, 14 June 1979, lot 295 to Takamiya; his MS 40; now New Haven, CT, Beinecke Library, Takamiya Deposit.

7. These manuscripts are now Rosenbach Museum & Library MSS 1804/1 (*Canterbury Tales*), 1804/2 (*Canterbury Tales*), 1083/29 (Gower, *Confessio amantis*), 439/16 (Lydgate, *Fall of Princes*), 1083/30 (Hoccleve and Walton).

8. One small clue might be the *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Manuscripts and Rare Books* held at the Rosenbach Company rooms in Philadelphia in January–February 1931; this includes 'Six Celebrated English Manuscripts' (pp. 12–13), including four of the Middle English that Rosenbach had bought: one each of the Chaucer (Phillipps 8136), Gower (Phillipps 8192), Lydgate (Phillipps 4254), and Hoccleve (Phillipps 1099). No prices are attached to any of the items in the catalogue, but it is not easy to believe Rosenbach's motives in issuing it were wholly guileless.

£100 in 1945 and the *Mirour of Mans Salvation* (lot 76), which had made £180, a total of £380 for all three. In 2000 these made respectively as hammer prices £75,000, £55,000 and £55,000, a total of £185,000. Both the *Prick of Conscience* and the *Speculum Christiani* had been common (and cheap) texts in the auction rooms in the earlier twentieth century. In contrast, the *Mirour of Mans Salvation* was unique, but had been recently edited in a critical edition, so that its 'research' potential was limited. But, in 2000, two of the three did well above top estimate and the third (lot 76) was towards the top end of it (£40,000–£60,000). An overall increase in value of almost 500-fold over 55 years seems a solid return on investment.

If all of these did well, the last manuscript from the Harmsworth sale to re-enter the auction rooms did even better. A copy of *Mandeville's Travels* had sold in 1945 for £100 (lot 2023). This was resold at Christie's on 2 June 2010, lot 206. The published reserve was £80,000; a considerable one, I felt, when I saw it, for a manuscript that is badly cropped, not well decorated, not in outstanding condition and of no particular textual importance. It sold for £240,000. The buyers (a consortium of dealers) subsequently offered it for €725,000. It was bought by the Beinecke Library in New Haven, apparently not for the asking price.

These advances in price may seem to represent no more than the fluctuating operations of the wheel of fortune in the market. That which was down is now up. Book prices, like everything else, are subject to the whirligig of time. Maybe. But matters are not necessarily as clear-cut as I have presented them. To revert to Rosenbach and his swift and massive profit on his Phillipps manuscripts in 1923. How was he able to achieve it? And where did the market for Middle English go after that?

The answer to such questions may be that they are the wrong ones to ask. For, far from driving up a bullish market in 1923, Rosenbach's commercial success then seems to have been brought about by factors that defied market trends, trends that had existed for a long time before he visited Thirlestaine House and which were to continue for a long time afterwards. Rosenbach's real achievement was to find the right client at the right moment for the right books and thus to defy an insistently bearish market trend that was to extend over

most of the first 75 years of the twentieth century. The nature of this protracted trend was quite simple: it was based on the conviction on the part of the trade and collectors that nearly all Middle English manuscripts were of no significant commercial value.

This generalization includes, for example, manuscripts of works by the father of English poetry, Geoffrey Chaucer, and particularly of his *Canterbury Tales*. Between 1906 and 1961 there were some fifteen sales of this most famous of Chaucer's works, some involving the same manuscript more than once, and mostly at auction. The highest price paid at auction during this period was £15,000. This was in 1959 at Sotheby's for the Cardigan copy now at Texas (at Sotheby's thirty-five years earlier, it had been bought in). In 1906, at the Hodson sale, again at Sotheby's, three copies of the *Canterbury Tales* made £145, £150, and £180 respectively. The story in between is not much better. As already noted, Bodmer bought a Rosenbach copy for $48,000 in the early 1940s; Witten paid £12,000 for the Tollemache copy in 1961. On occasions copies went down in price: the fragmentary Phillipps manuscript on offer by Rosenbach in 1941 for $11,600, and bought much later by Louis Silver, was re-sold at auction at Sotheby's in 1965 for £2000.[9] The same pattern can be seen in the sale of major works by Chaucer's contemporaries, John Gower and William Langland and his successor, John Lydgate.[10]

The commercial fate of far more common works, such as the Middle English prose *Brut* chronicle, is even more salutary. Some fifty copies were sold in the twentieth century. At the Aldenham sale at Sotheby's in 1936 Goldschmidt bought a copy for £26; this was by any standards a bargain, for it contained several substantial

9. Fuller documentation about the selling of Chaucer manuscripts can be found in my article 'What's It Worth? Selling Chaucer in the Twentieth Century', *Chaucer Review*, 48 (2014), 239–50.

10. For details of the modern selling of manuscripts of these poets see my articles: 'The Selling of *Piers Plowman* Manuscripts in the Twentieth Century', *Yearbook of Langland Studies*, 27 (2013), 103–11; 'Buying Gower in Modern Times', in R. F. Yeager & Ana Hidalgo, eds, *John Gower in England and Iberia: manuscripts, influences, reception* (Woodbridge, 2014), pp. 279–90; 'Selling Lydgate Manuscripts in the Twentieth Century', in Kathryn Kerby-Fulton & John Thompson, eds, *New Directions in Manuscript Studies and Reading Practices: studies in honor of Derek Pearsall* (South Bend, 2014), pp. 207–19.

additional texts, some unique. He offered it in a catalogue for £48, not quite a 100 per cent advance, but sufficiently high that it took him eight years to shift. In 1959 another copy of the *Brut* was sold for £300; when the same copy was resold six years later it reached the dizzying height of £320. In one of the sales of the Tollemache manuscripts in 1970, a different copy of the *Brut* made £500, then a twentieth-century record.[11] The market for such materials remained resolutely unresponsive.

But, less than a decade later, in December 1977, Sotheby's sold another copy of the *Brut* for £10,000, dramatically eclipsing all previous records. When this copy had last appeared on the market in 1938, it had made £30. A 330-fold-plus advance in just over thirty-five years for this copy, and a twenty-fold advance in price for the work in less than a decade, suggest a market shift of some significance. And this fact cannot have escaped the notice of the purchaser, the same person who had also bought the copy of the *Brut* that sold for £500 in 1970. This was a young Japanese private collector, Toshiyuki Takamiya. Takamiya was then at the start of a collecting career that established him as the foremost modern private collector of Middle English manuscripts: he has acquired over fifty (out of a collection of more than a hundred medieval manuscripts).[12]

No private collector since Henry Huntington has bought as many Middle English manuscripts as Takamiya. The fact raises questions of cause and effect in prices in the latter part of the twentieth century: to what extent was Takamiya's entry into the market a factor in driving up prices? From the early 1970s onwards prices for Middle English do experience a steep rise. In the Foyle sale in 2000 one of the Middle English manuscripts on offer was an unprepossessing copy of the *Brut*, for which Foyle had paid £76 in 1944. It made £75,000 to a private collector and was later resold for $124,000.[13]

11. Details of the particular copies of the *Brut* that I mention can be found in my article '*Bruts* for Sale', in Jaclyn Rajsic, Eric Kooper & Dominique Hoche, eds, *The Prose Brut and other Late Medieval Chronicles* (York, 2016), pp. 218–31.

12. A (nearly) complete list of his medieval manuscript collection can be found in T. Takamiya, 'A Handlist of Western Medieval Manuscripts in the Takamiya Collection', in Richard Linenthal, James Marrow & William Noel, eds, *The Medieval Book: glosses from friends and colleagues for Christopher de Hamel* (Houten, 2010), pp. 421–40.

13. It is now at Dartmouth College Library.

Takamiya did not buy this copy. But was his own collecting significant in driving up the price, in contributing to its thousand-fold appreciation over fifty-odd years? I am inclined to think not, to feel that, as with Huntington, Takamiya's collecting had at best only a small direct influence on the upward movement in prices in the later part of the century. But, unlike in Huntington's time, prices have gone up, and stayed up.

The pattern of Takamiya's acquisition of Middle English manuscripts in the late twentieth century is not as simple as Huntington's in the early decades. What did Huntington think about the very large profits Rosenbach made from him? It is unlikely that a man with his range of financial interests and experience could have been unaware that he was being gouged,[14] paying considerably over the odds for his purchases. It seems clear that, for him, the vision mattered more than the expense, the collection mattered more than the cost. Huntington was not creating a market, setting price levels that others were to follow ever upwards. He was ignoring the market, paying his own prices despite it, through his own wealth, his general disinclination to haggle with a dealer like Rosenbach and (one may suppose), a consciousness that age gave him only limited time to achieve his sense of what his library should be.[15] The steadiness of his resolve, the clarity of his vision, are the qualities that earn him the admiration of posterity. His death did not disrupt the market. Prices simply continued at their usual (much lower) levels, as Rosenbach was to discover later.

Indeed, I suspect that Huntington stands very much apart from other great American collectors in the early twentieth century, most of whom seemed to have paid very modest sums for their Middle English manuscripts as they built up libraries. An example involving his contemporary fellow collector J. P. Morgan may illustrate this.

14. There are indications that Huntington thought that at least the British market was 'setting [him] up'; see Arthur Freeman & Janet Ing Freeman, *Anatomy of an Auction: rare books at Ruxley Lodge 1919* (London, 1990), p. 25.

15. Only occasionally does Huntington seem to have been moved to restraint. On 17 January 1922 he cabled Rosenbach instructing him to bid up to £6000 for the Towneley Mystery plays (no. Huntington Library HM 1) to be sold at Sotheby's, 1 February. Two days before the sale he cabled Rosenbach again, reducing his bid to £3500. Rosenbach got it for £3400. Correspondence in HEH INST. ARCHIVES 31.1.1.39.1.

In 1902 Quaritch bought a Gower, *Confessio amantis*, at Sotheby's, for the hefty price of £1550; it is now Pierpont Morgan Library MS M126. It is a magnificent manuscript, lavishly illustrated and highly decorated. Quaritch immediately catalogued it at £2200, a modest (by Rosenbach's standards) mark-up of about 40 per cent. Morgan relieved him of it later that year for £1727, not much more than cost plus 10 per cent. Good English manuscripts were sellable, even at rare high prices, but were not attractively profitable.

The same pattern can be seen in the acquisitions of other American contemporary collectors, such as John Garrett and George Plimpton, whose collections subsequently passed to Princeton and Columbia respectively. If America signified the promise of ready sales, and it clearly did from the beginning of the century, it remained a buyer's market. That situation did not change with the post-Second World War surge in acquisitions by American university research libraries; Middle English was never enticing, and few libraries were disposed to emulate the vision of the University of Illinois, which bought good Middle English manuscripts for bargain prices in the period immediately after the war.

Takamiya's situation was different. He started collecting in his twenties in the 1960s. When he began prices were still low. After his appearance in the market they started to rise and kept rising, as we have seen in the later fates of the Harmsworth manuscripts, even though Takamiya himself had bought the bulk of his important Middle English manuscripts by 1981, when he made his last substantial (private) purchase of five Middle English manuscripts from the Bradfer-Lawrence collection.[16] That prices stayed up had less to do with Takamiya himself than with the awareness, by the last quarter of the twentieth century, of a different factor: rarity. Takamiya, like Huntington, did not have the luxury of waiting, but for a different reason: after those that were available to him there were no more manuscripts to be had. The days when Quaritch could include six manuscripts of the *Brut* in a single catalogue, as he did in 1916, all for under a hundred pounds, and one for £12 10*s*, have gone for-

16. See my article 'The Bradfer-Lawrence Collection of Medieval Manuscripts', THE BOOK COLLECTOR (Spring 2004), pp. 64–9.

ever. The Foyle copy is the only complete one to have come on the market since 1983. The opportunities that presented themselves to Takamiya were far more limited than those available to Huntington and other collectors of his time. There will be no more Harmsworth sales and there are unlikely to be any more Foyle sales. The market has entered a state of absolute rarity.

The point has more general force now than just for Middle English manuscripts, of course; in other fields the supply of manuscripts is diminishing. Indeed, for the first time Middle English manuscripts have become part of a much larger trend in medieval manuscript sales. Rarity is now the norm. The difference is one of time scale: other kinds of manuscripts have not so swiftly shifted in value over such a short period due to rarity. At the moment when the demand is greatest, the supply has gone. Such a dearth affects the relationship between collecting and scholarship:

> Unless there is plenty of circulation, bibliophily cannot thrive; and the ultimate value of the bibliophile to pure scholarship as well as to the humanities of scholarship depends on his recognition as an active entity, not as a mere appendix.[17]

The Takamiya collection is currently on deposit at the Beinecke Library. Few other private manuscript collections are likely to appear on the market that include significant holdings in Middle English. Times and markets have changed significantly for all medieval manuscripts over the past half-century. The history of the selling of Middle English in the twentieth century reveals such changes with particular stark clarity.[18]

17. John Carter, *Taste and Technique in Book Collecting* (Cambridge, 1948), p. 99.

18. I am grateful to Laura Stalker, Avery Associate Director, Anne Blecksmith, Reader Services Librarian, and Li-Wei Yang, Curator of Western American Manuscripts, all at the Huntington Library, for assistance and information. I am also grateful to the Huntington for the award of a Mayers Fellowship in April 2016 for work related to this article.

Charles Elliott

Fencers Treading upon Ice

Boswell and the 'Question of Literary Property'

There is nothing very tempting about the title of the pamphlet: *The Decision of the Court of Sessions upon the Question of Literary Property*. To be frank, I bought it only because it had James Boswell's name on the title-page as publisher. I could claim no particular interest in literary property – in fact, I had very little notion of what literary property was – and the pamphlet was hardly a beautiful thing, disbound and badly cut down. On the other hand, it was clearly an authentic Boswell item. I fancied myself a Boswell collector, and even in Edinburgh in 1952 you snagged whatever you could find in that line. Besides, at ten shillings it was cheap. My pride in discovery was slightly chastened when I looked it up in Frederick Pottle's magisterial Boswell bibliography and found it described as 'not especially rare'. Rarity, however, is relative, and I have seldom seen a copy listed in a bookseller's catalogue.

But what was Boswell doing as a publisher? In 1774 he was thirty-four, having achieved a degree of fame with his *Account of Corsica* (1768) and subsequent relentless self-promotion. He was already well acquainted with Samuel Johnson, assiduously keeping track in his journal of the great man's sayings. Meanwhile, he worked as a lawyer in Edinburgh, periodically staved off depression, battled with his father Lord Auchinleck, and wished he were in London. Law had never been his primary love, though from time to time he claimed to like it ('I am now a kind of enthusiast for my profession,' he confessed); what he really enjoyed was writing, writing of all sorts – poems, songs, political squibs, letters, newspaper columns, and above all his journal, in which he devoted countless pages to his favourite subject, himself. He also clearly enjoyed being published.

Despite Boswell's yearning for London, eighteenth-century Edinburgh was an exciting, even febrile place to be. The Scottish Enlightenment was in full swing, promoted by men like David

Hume and Adam Smith, John Playfair and James Hutton, along with a literate and argumentative populace. At the centre of the ferment were the law courts. The Scottish legal system, based on Roman law, differed from that of the rest of Britain and at the Union of the Crowns in 1707 did not, like so much else of the national bureaucracy, transfer to London but remained in Edinburgh. The Scots bar boasted distinguished advocates and a number of intellectually outstanding judges, among them Boswell's father.

Given the nature of Edinburgh society, it is not surprising that bookselling was an important business. But there was a special reason why it loomed so large. The local market was strong, but for years Scottish booksellers had also been deliberately undercutting the English market with cheap reprint editions, often in cases where their legal right to print was debatable. Boswell's friend Alexander Donaldson, the leading exponent of the trade, went so far as to set up a shop in London on the Strand, offering books at 'thirty to fifty per cent under the usual London prices'. Such activities infuriated their English counterparts (and also, incidentally, Samuel Johnson, who was a friend of London booksellers). Court cases flourished.

The significance of Boswell's pamphlet turns out to be far more than a matter of rarity to a book collector. It represents, in fact, a climactic point in the debate over copyright that is still going on today. To see why, it is necessary to go back sixty years to an act of Parliament generally referred to as the Statute of Anne. When this piece of legislation became law in 1710 (the eighth year of Queen Anne) the question of who had the right to publish a book, and for how long, had degenerated into a muddle. Government licensing, control via the Stationers' Company where publications had to be registered, royal patents granted to worthy institutions like Oxford and Cambridge – all these left both authors and booksellers on unstable ground. A large part of the problem was the fact that literary property was simply not like other property. Common law might so treat it, suggesting that once a bookseller bought a literary work he owned it as a permanent possession like a house or a table. This practice obviously had serious drawbacks, much as copyright-holding booksellers might like it.

The Statute of Anne put the issue on a different footing. It specifi-

cally limited copyright of new books to fourteen years, with the possibility of a further extension if the author was still alive, and twenty-one years for existing titles. When the term expired, anyone was free to publish it. Basically, of course, the law was meant to settle commercial disputes among booksellers; it would be many years and much argument before the rights of authors took precedence in the debate. However, the Statute failed to calm the copyright waters. London booksellers in possession of valuable properties continued to claim exclusive rights to print them, arguing perpetual ownership under common law. After all, had they not paid good money to the authors, and did not the authors, by virtue of their creative labours, have the right to sell their work? Attempts were made to change the term of copyright. Writers such as Alexander Pope and Daniel Defoe weighed in, along with anonymous pamphleteers. By the 1730s, while the big London booksellers continued to publish on what was in effect a monopoly basis, often ignoring the annoying strictures of the Statute of Anne, their Scottish rivals began cranking up what has been called the Battle of the Booksellers, fighting it out both in the courts and on the bookstalls.

The key figure here was Donaldson, who had shifted his main business from publishing Scottish Enlightenment authors such as Hume to turning out cheap reprints for the English market. Boswell had known him for a long time and enjoyed his company – in a letter to a friend he reports having 'just returned from eating a most excellent pig with the most magnificent Donaldson'. Like most of the young Edinburgh lawyers Donaldson had befriended, Boswell was more than happy to back him in his legal conflicts.

Meanwhile, writs flowed. For more than thirty years one case after another had passed through the courts, generally hinging on the conflict between common-law ownership and the Statute's limited copyright. A London bookseller might plead (as one did) that his family's very welfare was being threatened by attempts to take away long-held copyrights; injunctions meanwhile interfered with Scottish booksellers' shipments of cheap copies into England. Donaldson, doggedly opposing permanent copyright, complained that between 1763 and 1774 he had been required 'to struggle with the united force of almost all of the eminent booksellers of London

and Westminster… Above one hundred of the most opulent booksellers… have, in their turn, been plaintiffs against [me].' His complaints may have been biased, but there is no doubt that the Londoners were clever and effective and knew all the tricks. They were, said one disgruntled opponent, 'Masters of the Avenues to every Market and by the practice of One Night's Postage could make any Work resemble Jonah's Gourd after the Worm had smote it'. With cases decided inconsistently, the contesting parties, in the words of a neutral observer, 'resembled Fencers, with Skates on, treading upon Ice'.

It was with this background that the Battle of the Booksellers approached its climax, and we arrive at Boswell's pamphlet. In 1769 the Court of King's Bench in London, under the redoubtable judge Lord Mansfield, had ruled three to one in favour of perpetual common-law right. The case involved James Thomson's poem *The Seasons*, which Donaldson had published in a challenge to the London bookseller claiming to own permanent copyright. In 1770 the Court of Chancery then followed through by issuing an injunction forbidding the sale of Donaldson's books in England. But the fight was not quite over, since the King's Bench ruling did not apply in Scotland. To wrap matters up, the London bookseller John Hinton had sued Donaldson in the Court of Session, Scotland's highest tribunal. Hinton owned the copyright of Thomas Stackhouse's best-selling history of the Bible on a common-law perpetual basis, and Donaldson had reprinted it without permission. Hinton might have been better advised to hold his fire. In a surprising turn-around, he lost the case. In July 1773, the Scottish court handed down its decision in favour of Donaldson and free publication of out-of-copyright books.

Boswell had many things going on that summer, but for our purposes the most important was the fact that he served as Donaldson's counsel, one of three Edinburgh lawyers to take on the job. It must have been a happy occasion for Boswell; he had great sympathy for his friend's position. Moreover – and this would certainly have appealed to his admitted *amour propre* – the subject of literary property was on everyone's lips, 'discussed everywhere and by everybody', according to one historian.

Even before the trial was finished, Boswell had contemplated publishing a report of the judges' speeches because public interest was so high. A few years before, he had played an effective (if unofficial) role in another famous Scottish trial known as the Douglas Cause by editing a collection of letters that played a large part in winning the case. Now he was in a position not only to speak before the court as an advocate (which by his own account he did very well) but to publish the highly favourable results of the trial. After all, five of the six judges (including Boswell's father Alexander, Lord Auchinleck) had now ruled once and for all against common-law ownership of literary property. In Scotland at least, never again might anyone claim exclusive, perpetual right to print a book. Donaldson and the Statute of Anne had triumphed over the London publishing magnates.

It is fascinating to read the opinions of the six august Lords of Session as they are reported in the pamphlet. (Boswell apparently allowed them to polish their speeches before publication.) What emerges most clearly is their real difficulty in thinking about, much less making judgements on, something as peculiar and ungraspable as intellectual property. Can the work of an author be regarded in the same light as a machine made by an inventor? (Lord Kames points out that, if copyright was perpetual, 'It would be in the power of inventors to deprive mankind of both food and raiment.') Lord Auchinleck maintains that there is no way to claim possession of one's ideas once they have been published. ('My thoughts are mine so long as I retain them in my mind; but if I utter them, *nescit vox missa reverti*; every hearer as a right to them as much as I.') The eccentric linguistic scholar Lord Monboddo, the only judge to dissent in the case, takes a different tack. He sees literary property as covered by common law 'founded upon common sense and the principles of natural justice, which would require that a man should enjoy the fruits of his labours. For it is certainly contrary to justice that a man should employ perhaps his whole life in composing a book, and that others should enjoy the profit of printing and publishing it…' In Monboddo's view, authors had 'the right of property' in their works before the Statute of Anne, and the act did not take those rights away. Kames, however, like the others, felt that public in-

terest demanded a limited copyright, because otherwise permanent ownership would create monopolies.

Boswell immediately announced his forthcoming pamphlet in a couple of blurbs in a London newspaper, but did not finish putting his notes in order until November 1773. In the meantime he had embarked on his tour of the Hebrides with Dr Johnson. (Johnson was dismissive of Boswell's publishing plan; he strongly disapproved of Donaldson and the Scottish underselling, although at the same time he accepted the idea of limited copyright for 'the general good of the world'.) *The Decision,* printed and sold by Donaldson, but with Boswell's name as publisher, finally came out at the beginning of February 1774, with no time to spare. Its purpose – beyond the obvious one of keeping the editor's name before the public – was to influence the judges in another trial that was just about to begin.

The Court of Session judges had all stressed that they were ruling on Scottish, not English law, and in England Donaldson was still suffering under the Chancery injunction issued in 1770. The final word on the injunction, and by extension the whole question of limited copyright, would be settled by Britain's highest court, the House of Lords. There was just time to distribute copies of Boswell's pamphlet to the judges. The London case, *Donaldson v. Becket*, excited huge attention. 'No private cause,' wrote the *Edinburgh Advertiser*, 'has so much engrossed the attention of the public.' When in a majority decision the court finally ruled in favour of Donaldson, cheering mobs in Edinburgh took to the streets. Boswell may have been pleased to know that his little pamphlet, rare or not as it may be today, played a role in the victory.

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John Foxe, *The First (Second) Volume of the Ecclesiasticall History Contaynyng the Actes and Monumentes of Thynges Passed in Every Kynges Tyme in this Realme* (London: J. Daye, 1570), 2 vols, fol. Brown calf over paste boards, tooled in gold and blind, with traces of tooling in silver and red paint. 382 x 255 x 80 mm. Trinity College, Cambridge, C 17.24

Mirjam M. Foot

A Binding for Matthew Parker by Jean de Planche, *c*1570

ENGLISH & FOREIGN BOOKBINDINGS 128

Matthew Parker (1504–1575), Archbishop of Canterbury and patron of learning, is best known as a staunch defender of Protestantism, heavily involved in the religious controversies of his time, as an editor and publisher of ancient texts, and as a collector of books and manuscripts. He was also an important patron of bookbinding who, for his presentation bindings and for the most important manuscripts and printed books in his own library, used three of the most prominent London workshops active during the second half of the sixteenth century, while for the last three years of his life employing his own binders at Lambeth Palace.[1] Among the London binders he favoured was the Huguenot immigrant Jean de Planche who worked in London from *c* 1567 until the late 1570s.[2] He bound Parker's own copy of *Harmonia ex Evangelistis* (Geneva, 1572) now at Lambeth Palace Library (E 2555.A2), as well as two books for presentation to Queen Elizabeth: Parker's edition of Matthew of Westminster, *Flores historiarum* (London,1570; BL, C.18.b.11) and the Anglo-Saxon *Gospels of the Fower Evangelistes* (London, 1571; BL, 675.f.16) with a foreword by John Foxe, both published at 'the gages' of the Archbishop.[3]

For the much-revised second edition of his *Actes and Monumentes*

1. H.M. Nixon, 'Elizabethan Gold-Tooled Bindings', in *Essays in Honour of Victor Scholderer* (Mainz, 1970), pp. 262–7. H.M. Nixon and M.M. Foot, *The History of Decorated Bookbinding in England* (Oxford, 1992), p. 40.

2. Nixon, op. cit, pp. 243–53; Nixon and Foot, op. cit., pp. 37–8.

3. M. Parker, *De antiquitate Britannicae ecclesiae* (London, 1572), Lambeth Palace Library MS 959, contains a list of books published at 'the gages' of Parker. This list includes both the Anglo-Saxon *Gospels* and Matthew of Westminster's works.

(London, 1570), Foxe used Parker's large collection of early historical manuscripts and Parker's own copy, elaborately bound by Jean de Planche, has the Archbishop's arms tooled in the centre, as well as painted on the gilt and gauffered fore-edge. The initials TN were added later. They are those of Thomas Neville (*c*1548–1615), Dean of Canterbury and Master of Trinity College, who presented these volumes to his old college. His brother, Alexander Neville, was Parker's secretary.

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Fergus McGhee

A Venice Collection

CONTEMPORARY COLLECTORS LXV

When I was nineteen, a friend introduced me to Luchino Visconti's gorgeous 1971 film *Death in Venice*. I was fascinated by the film's rich ambivalence about beauty – how it can wrench and disturb as much as inspire and console; redeem, but possibly also entrap; whisper a promise of happiness, perhaps, but cannot keep it. And of course I was haunted by the longing strains of Mahler's *Adagietto*. It was a while before I got around to reading Mann's novella, but when I did my fascination grew. Aschenbach's intimation of mortality in the gondola, his collapse among the labyrinthine *calli* and *canali*, and his visionary experience on the Lido, made of the city a kind of vast psychological dreamscape. It's a suggestion shrewdly explored in Britten's magnificent opera adaptation, even at the level of individual lines in Myfanwy Piper's spare – but unsparing – libretto (a copy of which, printed for the premiere in 1973, I was delighted to stumble upon recently). Thus, when Aschenbach surrenders to the Dionysian spell, 'drunken, powerless, / sunk in the bliss of madness', we are no longer sure which is the metaphor for the other: the setting or the psychodrama. Is Aschenbach's mental subsidence writ large in the sinking city, or a mere symptom, a picture in little, of his deteriorating surroundings? As Joseph Brodsky suggests in his wonderfully suave 1992 essay on Venice, *Watermark*, 'no egoist can star for long in this porcelain setting by crystal water, for it steals the show'. Brodsky and Mann bookend my little collection of Veneziana; what was a pile soon became a shelf, which has grown gradually heavier over the past four or five years.

Like most people, then, I came to know Venice as a myth, more a literary trope than a place: 'this most improbable of cities', as Mann put it, to be encountered with Childe Harold or the Dorrits, Milly Theale or Nick Jenkins, Charles Ryder and Sebastian Flyte. Only later, once I had started working and could contemplate the

expense, did I book my first trip. In the meantime, the perennially well-stocked Oxfam off Victoria Street in London (the destination of many a lunchtime excursion) threw up two books that thrilled me: Bernard Berenson's *The Italian Painters of the Renaissance* (1930) and Mary McCarthy's *Venice Observed* (1956). Both immediately appealed to my sense of extravagance. There was McCarthy's witty evocation of the lagoon as the abode of the unexpected, epitomized in her account of how the Allies captured the city with a fleet of gondolas in 1945. And there was Berenson's eulogy to the Venetian masters and their 'throbbing feeling for life and pleasure'.

But I still needed a guidebook. Giulio Lorenzetti's much-reprinted *Venezia e il suo estuario* (1926) remains the gold standard, and I am fortunate to own a handsome first edition. My earliest purchase, however, was Alta Macadam's *Blue Guide to Venice* (1980). Its lovingly detailed descriptions of churches and galleries are accompanied by invaluable little floor plans and a useful, if easy to mock, system of asterisks (one for something special, two for something *really* special) which I later learned was adapted from the very first tourist's guide to the city, *Murray's Handbook of Northern Italy* (1842). Macadam is less than flattering about the influence of Victorian Venetophiles, and on our first visit my companion and I grew rather fond of her stock of baleful adverbs – 'heavily restored', 'radically restored', '*drastically* restored'.

Hugh Honour's *Companion Guide to Venice* (1965) is the most fun of the vade-mecums. My own copy is an exile from Camden Library whose tattiness seems only appropriate given the preface's typically brusque warning that it is not for the 'arm-chair traveller'. Honour's advice about food and drink remains helpful, though some of it reflects rather poorly on 1960s British palates: he patiently explains to us the meaning of such outlandish exotica as *prosecco* and *lasagne*. It was from Honour that I learned about Venice's importance for book history. In the sixteenth century, he writes, it was 'a hive of busy compositors', with six times as many printing presses as Florence. Yet, with the noble exception of Aldus Manutius, Honour suggests this was less to do with Venice's love of books than their lucrativeness as exports. Petrarch donated part of his library to the Republic in the 1360s, but, as Honour ruefully notes, it was 'put

away and forgotten about for more than a hundred and fifty years', by which time many of the volumes had tragically disintegrated.

I failed to locate the famous 'Old World' antiquarian bookshop on my first trip to the city, and on a subsequent visit was disappointed to find it had ceased trading. Consequently, almost none of my collection comes from Venice itself. One exception is Giorgio Tassini's 1897 anthology of *Aneddoti storici veneziani*, which derives from Luigi Frizzo's quirky Libreria Acqua Alta in Castello, a wild sprawl of second-hand books piled up in old gondolas. From time to time I exercise my Italian on this book and am rewarded with a titbit of Venetian *bizarrerie*: who knew, for instance, that the reason women in Venetian paintings are invariably blonde is that they used to sit out on the rooftops dyeing their hair with a substance called *acqua di gioventù*?

Tassini's anthology makes Venice a repository of stories, and, in the aftermath of the Republic's fall to Napoleon in 1797, Venice's own story acquired the crucial sense of an ending. Yet, while I am fascinated by the ways in which Venice has been aestheticized, I am conscious that it hasn't always been seen through the prism of art and beauty. Prior to the nineteenth century, Venice was above all a symbol of balanced and rational government, a touchstone for British Whigs, who weren't shy about drawing comparisons with a certain other great maritime state. Thomas Otway's wildly successful play *Venice Preserv'd* (1682) testified to the power of the analogy, and both Whigs and Tories spun it for their own political purposes.

One of the plums of my collection is a funeral oration given for Doge Leonardo Loredan in 1521, printed with 'A Comparison between England and Venice' in a publication called *The Pamphleteer* in 1818. This quarterly was set up to preserve important pamphlets in a more durable format, so it's ironic that my copy has been ripped out of its particular number. The editor, Charles Kelsall, explains that Loredan presided over the golden age of Venice, whose cultural, scientific, and military achievements he pronounces superior to anything England has ever known. There is an eloquent historical symmetry between the oration's subject and Venice's contemporary plight which must have struck Kelsall: for, in the wake of Loredan's death, Venice was once again plunged into existential crisis, and

the orator's unwillingness to dwell on the situation – to 'lay open afresh the wounds which have been so lately cicatrized' – carries a poignant irony across the distance of three centuries. The oration praises Loredan as an 'example to after-ages' in how to 'govern with judgement' and 'venerate the laws', but in the nineteenth century defenders of the Venetian system had to contend with its ultimate failure. Kelsall rises to a high-pitched defence of 'the dignified conduct of the Venetian state', but he also pre-empts Ruskin in his account of how 'music and sugar' began to 'emasculate' Venetian 'souls and bodies'.

A substantial change in what Venice meant to a British readership is registered in my copy of the fashionable, gilt-edged *Legends of Venice* (1841), a collection of fine engravings of 'strange and romantic incidents' by the painter John Rogers Herbert, one of the precursors of the Pre-Raphaelites. Venice, here, is not a political prototype but a place of wonder and sensation. What happened in between these two texts can be summed up in one word – Byron. The poet's influence is unmistakable, as in the melodramatic plates representing 'Marino Faliero Imprecating Vengeance on his Wife's Traducer' and 'The Doge Foscari Pronouncing Sentence of Exile upon his Son'. It is hard to believe now, but Byron went to Venice to *escape* from tourists ('staring boobies', as he called them); after he had penned the fourth canto of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* and his Venetian verse dramas, however, the city started attracting wider attention as a romantic destination.

Ruskin saw it as his mission to disenchant Venice of its Byronic mythology – 'I promised them no Romance, I promised them *stones*', as he wrote to his father – but no one did more to enhance its allure. Ruskin's ravishing style is always getting in the way of his moralizing intent, as in the following passage, where he evokes the city's sins:

> the nation drank with deeper thirst from the fountains of forbidden pleasure, and dug for springs, hitherto unknown, in the dark places of the earth. In the ingenuity of indulgence, in the varieties of vanity, Venice surpassed the cities of Christendom, as of old she surpassed them in fortitude and devotion; and as once the powers of Europe stood before her judgement-seat, to receive the decisions of her justice, so now

> the youth of Europe assembled in the halls of her luxury, to learn from her the arts of delight…

Ruskin's influence gleams through all my books published after *The Stones of Venice* (1851–3), though of course many of them challenge, or frankly relish, his analysis of decline.

That Ruskin accelerated the aestheticization of Venice is apparent from the large number of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century books that package its history in artistic form. Margaret Oliphant's *The Makers of Venice* (1887) figures the city as a work of art produced by generations of its most talented inhabitants (she divides her book into 'Doges, Conquerors, Painters, and Men of Letters'). My copy is the 'Extra Illustrated Edition' of 1892, which contains a lavish quantity of picturesque engravings and atmospheric photographs. Oliphant's narrative has an eye to the aesthetic, too: the image of the nonagenarian Doge Dandolo, sailing with invincible intent towards Constantinople, has a 'pictorial effect'; the conflicted *condottiere* Carmagnola, on the other hand, would make a good 'hero of an analytical drama of our own day'. Oliphant's approach anticipates Henry James's pungent remark that, in Venice, art and life are 'consanguineous'. And yet she ends on a political note, with a resounding homage to the Risorgimento, a cause dear to many Victorian Liberals.

Haldane Macfall's *The Renaissance in Venice* (1911), an eccentric rebuttal of Ruskin's account of Renaissance art, is the work of a committed aesthete. Whereas for Ruskin it had all been downhill from 1423, Macfall puts a rapturous, and surprisingly comprehensive, counter-case. Aside from the fact that my copy positively reeks of pipe tobacco, it is a beautiful book – huge margins, large and elegant type, attractive colour plates, and quaint running heads ('WHEREIN THE RENAISSANCE, MAKING ITS WAY TO VENICE, FIRST STAYS ITS FEET AWHILE AT VERONA'). My eye was drawn especially to the foldout family tree of Venetian painters, showing the relationships between masters and pupils over the centuries. Also attractively put together is Thomas Okey's 1903 *Venice and its Story*, printed on thick paper with the sensuous deckle edges Walter Pater used to insist upon, and bound in sea-green cloth emblazoned with a gilt lion of St Mark. Okey is less interested in Venetian art than he

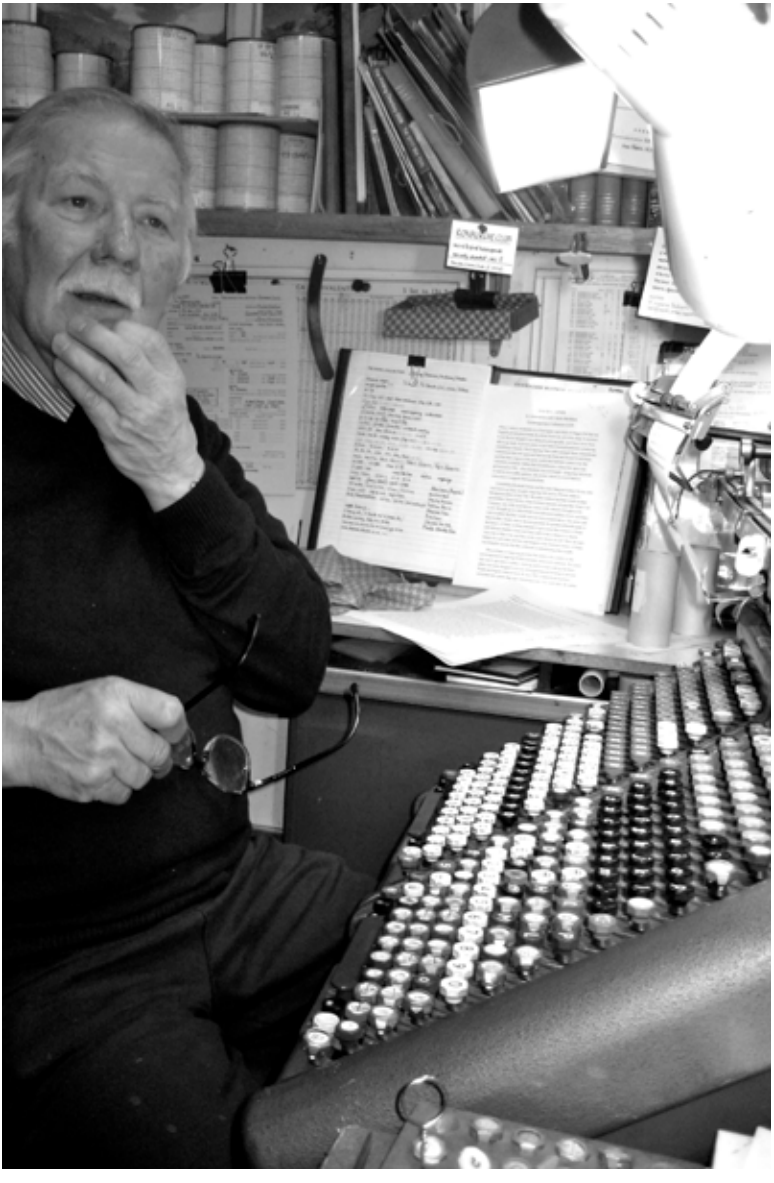
is in history and topography, and he has a Ruskinian affection for architectural detail. The book includes a fabulous foldout engraving of Venice as imagined from above by the sixteenth-century map-maker Zalteri.

Colonel Hugh Douglas's relatively scarce *Venice on Foot* (1907) is a companionable pocket guide to the city's built environment. I had been looking for a reasonably priced copy for some time and finally zeroed in on one last year. Douglas divides Venice into ten longish walks, steering the reader commandingly through the maze while discoursing on street names and architectural features, and informing us who lived where – from shoemakers to patricians. Douglas encourages the reader to engage in an effort of historical imagination as well as aesthetic contemplation: we are to 'note the picturesque groups, the beautiful colour effects, the luxuriant hair of the women, the brilliant splendour of the fruit stalls', but also to 'imagine some of the doings of bygone days'. The colonel's many photographs are themselves moving testimony to the 'bygone days' of early twentieth-century Venice: a washing-line being hung from a church, local children at play in a square, behatted ladies pointing at pictures in the Ducal Palace. The gondoliers, however, are ageless.

In a small way, then, my collection testifies to some of the different myths of Venice in circulation over the last 200 years, sometimes reinforcing, sometimes rubbing up against each other: the Whig myth of rational government, the Byronic myth of romance and enchantment, the Ruskinian myth of decadence. In future I would like to expand my collection to encompass an even greater variety across an even longer period. *The Stones of Venice* is undoubtedly the biggest absence; I covet an early edition, with hand-coloured lithographs of Ruskin's many beautiful drawings. I am also in the market for a good nineteenth-century copy of Otway's play, a reminder of an earlier incarnation of the Venice myth. And finally, to compare with the mythmakers, I am keen to acquire some memoirs of life in Venice as it was really lived: Thomas Coryate's *Coryats Crudities* (1611) would make an intriguing comparison with William Dean Howells's *Venetian Life* (1866) and Horatio Brown's *Life on the Lagoons* (1894). While I might require a small mortgage to buy a first edition Coryate, there are more affordable eighteenth-century edi-

tions available. In the meantime I snap up what I can, often through eBay, which has a huge turnover of antiquarian books, although of course it cannot compete with the acumen and expertise of the traditional bookseller. My latest acquisition is the complete catalogue of Tiepolo's paintings, the companion volume to Antonio Morassi's authoritative *Life and Work* (1955), which I picked up some years ago cruising for books on Charing Cross Road. I adore Tiepolo – his miracles of light and space project the elegance and humour of the *settecento*, but they are also pervaded by a vague but insistent sense of disquiet. To me, they seem to sum up the compelling ambiguities of Venice herself. I hope my future pickings will continue to challenge how I look at this strange, soul-stirring city.

Fergus McGhee was, with this essay, joint winner of the 2015–16 Colin Franklin Book Collecting Prize. The prize, open to any undergraduate or postgraduate student of Oxford University, is administered by the Bodleian Libraries' Centre for the Study of the Book and funded by Anthony Davis. McGhee's fellow winner was Paul David Ostwald, whose essay will be published in a future number of THE BOOK COLLECTOR.



'Keyboarding to me is like playing a musical instrument' : Stanley Lane at work on the Summer issue of THE BOOK COLLECTOR

PHOTOGRAPH: James Fergusson

Stanley Lane

in conversation with Sheila Markham

THE MARKHAM INTERVIEWS
(NEW SERIES) 15

Someone once described the letters of the alphabet as twenty-six lead soldiers that conquered the world. They might have been talking about Monotype hot-metal lead type, of which I am probably the last commercial typesetter in England. The Monotype hot-metal composing machine consists of a keyboard and a caster. The keyboard produces a perforated tape, which programmes the caster to move the die case so that the appropriate die is injected with hot metal. One piece of type is formed at a time, and ejected into a channel to make justified lines. The machine was developed by Tolbert Lanston in Washington between 1885 and 1897, when the first Monotype machines were introduced in Britain. The British quickly picked up the idea and perfected it; we helped to commercialize it and finally monopolized it. Lanston Monotype Corporation, as it was originally known in Britain, changed its name to the Monotype Corporation in 1931.

Most people think of the company as simply a supplier of typesetting equipment. Actually it also commissioned some of the most famous typefaces of the twentieth century, of which I have accumulated a huge range. In 1923, the company appointed Stanley Morison as its Typographical Adviser. He designed type for Monotype composition by modifying some of the most famous historic types, including Garamond, Baskerville, Fournier and Bembo. He also supervised the design of Times New Roman, which was first used in the newspaper on 3 October 1932. Five years later it was chosen by Penguin as the type for its paperback books.

I've been typesetting for THE BOOK COLLECTOR for twenty-five years, operating the last complete set of Monotype equipment, as it was intended to be used. Nowadays it's possible to communicate from a laptop to the caster, but I'm the last person to do it as the sys-

tem was first designed. I do tend to romance about the machinery. The people who designed it were supreme in what they were doing, achieving extreme precision with the least amount of technology.

My first introduction to printing was a 'John Bull' printing set, which I was given one Christmas. It had 8pt Gill Sans type, which you put into a wooden stick, clamped it in, inked it and printed short sentences. Although I didn't realize as a child that was how printing was done, I immediately thought everything was good about it. I went to school in Gloucester, where my family have lived for generations, becoming a Freeman of Gloucester at the age of twenty-one. My best subjects were woodwork, metal-work and art and, when the time came to leave, my headmaster called me into his office and said that he had arranged for me an interview with the firm of John Bellows. They were the biggest printers in the South-West, and he thought that the work would suit me very well. I was accepted as an apprentice at the age of sixteen in 1954. I was never an indentured apprentice. It was a Quaker firm and their word was their bond – they said they would teach me my trade and that was exactly what they did.

My first day at John Bellows was spent purely sorting out the lead rack. The people there were mainly war veterans, some of them wounded, but they all had a great sense of humour. I was put with George Hudson, a good compositor who took me under his wing and was very generous in showing me the ropes. We did some good work together, including the Buck & Hickman catalogue of supplies for mechanical trades, which was an intricate job, with diagrams and tabulated information. I got on very well with the foreman, who gave me some challenging work to do – better than I could have hoped for at my age. He made me think about what I was doing. Sometimes I thought my colleagues were being over-critical, but they were always right. When it came to letter-spacing and difficult combinations like A and W, and A and V, it was a gradual process of learning what works best. When you do it correctly, nothing should interrupt the flow of the reader's concentration.

Towards the end of my five-year apprenticeship, the managing director of John Bellows said that he wanted me to go into the key-board room. I said that I would like to be taught properly rather than

try to pick it up from this man and that man and just muddle along. He agreed and I was sent on a six-week training course as a keyboard operator at the Monotype School in Fetter Lane. It was my first visit to London and I remember my manager saying, 'You're up there for six weeks, kid. No ifs or buts.' I stayed in digs in Balham with Mrs Wilson, a typical old-fashioned London landlady with very firm rules of how to behave. There were two other lads, and we had a great time together, although I was very conscious that I had to learn as much as I could.

After my first day on the keyboard, I could hardly move my arms. I had used so many unfamiliar muscles. Keyboarding to me is like playing a musical instrument. We would do it for hours at a time, trying to find the rhythm. You have to hit the keyboard as precisely and accurately as you can and there's a rhythm to it. Every keyboard feels different and, when the touch is right, it's like a Stradivarius in the hands of a violinist.

When I returned to Gloucester, I was the only keyboard operator as so many of the printers were away on National Service. After a few years, they began to return and there were more staff in the keyboard room. At the same time I was approached by Ted Manley of Gloucester Typesetting Company Ltd., who needed another keyboard operator. I wasn't looking to jump ship, but we just happened to get on well. Ted had a business with four keyboards and four casters. We did a lot of legal textbooks, and novels for the Bodley Head. When Ted was given a job by Cassell's to set their German dictionary in very small type, he went to the Monotype Corporation and had equipment specially designed. It was a very hard job; no other keyboarder wanted to do it, and so I actually set the whole dictionary, English-to-German and German-to-English, in 6pt Plantin and Times Bold Condensed.

Ted was a man who didn't like to delegate. He was very good at all aspects of the business, quick with figures and an excellent proof-reader. However, when he became unwell in the mid-1970s, the firm was floundering a bit. As he didn't want the business to go down with him, he was gentlemanly enough to introduce me to all his contacts and to make sure that I was in a position to carry on. In 1980 I started Gloucester Typesetting Services, which continues

to this day. When my partner wanted to retire at the age of 65, I bought him out and I've been on my own for the last fifteen years.

In the early days of Gloucester Typesetting Services, I walked the streets of London trying to find work for my business, knocking on doors, speaking to people who didn't want to know about hot-metal typesetting. It hadn't completely died out, but it was definitely on its last breath in the early 1980s when a lot of Monotype companies went to the wall. Computers were just coming in and were much less labour-intensive than hot metal. Publishers would say to me, 'What's the point? It takes you three times as long as a computer.' What's the point of explaining if they can't see the difference? Hot metal impressed into paper gives life to the page, because you know that someone has been in physical contact with it in a precise and deliberate way. You want readers to relish the look of the book before they get involved in the text. A good book should also be a tactile experience, and the hot-metal process gives an edge to it.

When in May 1982 I knocked on the door of Tim Chester of Jonathan Cape, I knew he didn't want to hear about hot-metal typesetting. However he was very polite and we had a chat and, as I was leaving, we shook hands. I noticed that his grip was very strong, and asked if he was a golfer. I play every Saturday afternoon and love the sport. Tim Chester was also a golfer, and from that moment we made a connection. He gave me Bernard MacLaverty's best-selling novel *Cal* to typeset, which was our first job at Gloucester Typesetting Services.

Penguin was the most demanding publisher that I have worked for. Their copy mark-up was incredibly precise and really got me thinking as I sat at the keyboard. We also did a lot of scientific textbooks on subjects like statistical physics, which required diagrams of great complexity. For the last twenty-five years, the typesetting of THE BOOK COLLECTOR has been the backbone of my business. Nicolas Barker would send the copy in for me to typeset and, from time to time, I would do a bit of sub-editing at the keyboard. Proof-reading is engrained in me. I grew up with *Hart's Rules*, the bible for compositors and proof-readers at Oxford University Press, the home of hot metal and the biggest and most refined press. One day Mr Barker telephoned me – we called each other 'Mr Lane' and 'Mr

Barker' until very recently – and said, 'Mr Lane, you're putting so much effort into your work for THE BOOK COLLECTOR that I would like you to be on the editorial board'. I accepted and have regarded it as a great honour.

For the last fifteen years on my own, I've been trying to refine every detail of hot-metal typesetting. I now think of it more as an art form than purely mechanical composition. Good machining, keyboarding, casting, inking and generous margins will give a book a bit of luxury. My work for the Folio Society has given me the opportunity to do more than just put print on to the page. In 2006 Joe Whitlock Blundell, Design and Production Director of the Folio Society, rang me and asked if I would set a specimen page of *Hamlet* in 16pt Baskerville and print it on different samples of paper. To sit at the keyboard and set the words 'To be, or not to be' actually made me tingle. I was called to a meeting in London, thinking that I would be printing *Hamlet*, but Joe hadn't let on that he also wanted me to typeset the other thirty-eight plays for the Folio Society's Letterpress Shakespeare series, which occupied me for eight years. My favourite play is *Richard II*. John of Gaunt's speech, 'This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England' sums it up for me as an Englishman, and I'm proud to have been involved with the Shakespeare project.

The choice of Baskerville was perfect for the text. It's a precise and clean typeface. The words used to describe the different parts of a piece of type reflect the physical presence that you feel in your hand of a face, hair-line, beard, shoulder, body and foot. Each typeface has its own personality, and I enjoy choosing the right one to suit the text. Garamond fits perfectly with love poetry; it's a gentle female typeface. For a war poem, I would choose Baskerville or Bembo, which has little romance about it, but is so readable and elegant. I suppose the most classic of hot-metal typefaces would be Caslon, printed letterpress on a quality paper. Stephen Stuart-Smith, owner of Enitharmon Press in London, has been a long-time friend, producing chapbooks of well-respected poets. I did a chapbook of Anne Ridler's 'personal reminiscence', *Working for T.S. Eliot*. She was the wife of Vivian Ridler, Printer to Oxford University, and I was privileged to meet him and have his approval of Anne's edition.

While I was in the middle of typesetting the plays of Shakespeare, my landlord threatened to knock down the warehouse in which I've worked since 1980. I was faced with the prospect of having to move out all my machinery. Then I had a visit from someone quite high up in the property company. He saw the Shakespeare work that I was doing, and was so impressed that he assured me that I wouldn't have to move. When my lease came up for renewal, the landlord started to push and shove me a bit. I contacted the man who had visited me, and he put in writing that I wasn't to be shoved around. I gave him my own copy of *Richard II* to thank him for being a really solid man to have on my side over all these years.

Sometimes customers want me to make an exact replica of a hand-printed book, which is extremely difficult to reproduce mechanically. I'm proud of my work for the centenary edition of *The Book of Sark*, which was first published in 1908 in a limited edition of 500 copies, with twenty-one reproductions of paintings of the island of Sark by William Arthur Toplis. The launch was held in the Village Hall, and the Seigneur of Sark was present. A copy of the centenary edition of the book, bound in vellum and lettered in 22-carat gold, was displayed in a glass case.

Nicolas Barker introduced me to William Waldegrave, for whom I keyed, cast and printed part of his Roxburghe Club publication in 2010. It was a facsimile edition of Lord Waldegrave's unique copy of Horace Walpole's *A Description of the Villa at Strawberry-Hill*. Phil Cleaver, designer of the book, who knows me well, suggested I print its letterpress section. (My letterpress printing machine is a beautiful Heidelberg Cylinder. It has a history to it too: it once belonged to Christopher Skelton, nephew of Eric Gill.) At the launch party, I arrived a little late, thinking that my absence wouldn't be noticed, but there was Lord Waldegrave waiting for me at the door. It was a proud moment.

Last year *The Times* was looking for a printer to recreate the front page of the newspaper as it appeared in 1821, when it reported the sinking of the whaleship *Essex* off the coast of Patagonia. This was the disaster that inspired Herman Melville's *Moby-Dick*. *The Times* wanted to produce the page as a souvenir to mark the release of the film *In the Heart of the Sea*. They approached the St Bride Foundation

and Susan Shaw at the Type Archive, hoping to find people with the skills and equipment – and enough type in the same font – to print an entire page from *The Times* of 1821. Susan, with whom I have worked for thirty-odd years, told them about the Monotype system and put them in touch with me. By the time I was involved, there was only one week to produce it. We chose the typeface Ehrhardt as it matched the old Times type very closely. I worked thirteen hours a day, keyboarding, casting, and printing it. One of my sons drove the proofs down to London, and the souvenir page was published in *The Times* on 5 December 2015. I delivered the type in a forme to the Type Archive in London; to the amazement of everyone there, Susan Shaw and her staff printed the letterpress sheets.

I am now in my seventies and don't feel ready to retire. I know I'm a bit of a dinosaur, but I believe I've survived so long because I was very well trained as a keyboard operator, and I always try to do a really first-class job. Over the years I have met some marvellous, very intelligent, loyal people, who recognize the tactile quality of letterpress printing. My gratitude to them is immense.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

SIMON BEATTIE is an antiquarian bookseller in Chesham, Buckinghamshire. He is currently building a collection documenting Anglo-German cultural exchange in the long eighteenth century.

WENDY CRUISE is an antiquarian bookseller in London, specializing in European literature, Russian books, and music.

CHARLES ELLIOTT is a retired Senior Editor for Alfred A. Knopf.

SHEILA MARKHAM's book-trade interviews are archived at www.sheila-markham.com.

R. B. RUSSELL and ROSALIE PARKER run the Tartarus Press.

LIAM SIMS is Rare Books Specialist and Joint Exhibitions Officer at Cambridge University Library.

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R. B. Russell & Rosalie Parker

The Friends of Arthur Machen

AUTHOR SOCIETIES 31

The Welsh writer Arthur Machen (1863–1947) is perhaps best known as the author of horror stories, and many aficionados of the genre believe that he stands alongside those other early twentieth-century authors of supernatural fiction, M.R. James, Walter de la Mare, Algernon Blackwood and H.P. Lovecraft. That Machen is one of the few writers in these ghostly literary byways who has the following to support a healthy appreciation society is testament to his ranging far beyond the boundaries of genre fiction.

Although he often deals with the horrific, his writing is of a predominantly mystical cast. He was a High-Church Anglican, but he looked towards an early Welsh Church and was inspired both by the stories of the Holy Grail and the mysteries of the occult. His earliest fiction has a medieval strain and is set in his native Monmouthshire; his love of the Welsh countryside informs all of his writing, but as a young man he moved to London, and the capital had just as profound an effect upon him. He first achieved notoriety in the decadent 1890s with 'The Great God Pan', which followed a number of shorter, *risqué* tales. This led to a meeting with Oscar Wilde, but Machen remained on the edges of metropolitan literary life. His writing of this period was heavily influenced by Robert Louis Stevenson, but even then his own style is evident, his personal mysticism marking him out from his contemporaries. This culminated in the novel *The Hill of Dreams* (1907).

Machen was knowledgeable in the occult, and for a short while he was a member of the Order of the Golden Dawn (Aleister Crowley took an interest in him). He was later famous, or infamous, as the creator of the First World War legend of the Angels of Mons. Inspired by his short story 'The Bowmen', the myth of angels com-

ing to the aid of British troops in 1914 was widely believed as fact (Machen was at the time a respected journalist). All his life Machen continued to write fiction, and the short story 'N' is characteristic of his later work. In this Machen considers what would happen if the mystical were to intrude upon the everyday world we take for granted; borrowing from the writings of William Law the Non-Juror (1686–1761), he places a fragment of Paradise, created from a ruined part of primordial creation, in the London suburb of Stoke Newington. Those who try to understand what they have seen experience rapture, horror, or both, and they have trouble convincing others of their sanity. For Machen the mystical is so powerful that it cannot be properly comprehended.

Machen has been in and out of print over the decades, and was most recently republished as a 'Penguin Modern Classic' (*The White People and Other Weird Stories*, 2011), where he is still marketed as a horror writer. However, whenever members of the Friends of Arthur Machen meet up, they are just as likely to proclaim their enthusiasm for his autobiographical books (*Things Near and Far*, 1923, and *Far Off Things,* 1922), his musings on authorship and the mysteries of the metropolis (*The London Adventure*, 1924), his prose poems (the exquisite *Ornaments in Jade*, also 1924), his essays (*Dog and Duck*, 1924 again, and others) or even his translation of Casanova. Machen's fiction and non-fiction are wide-ranging, but both have in common the elegance of his writing, and his determination that there is more to the world around us than we can perceive through our limited senses. The first bibliography of his work appeared in his lifetime, compiled in 1923 by Henry Danielson; the second, by Adrian H. Goldstone and Wesley Sweetser and welcomed by THE BOOK COLLECTOR as 'a fine affair' and 'really useful', in 1965.

The first Arthur Machen Society was founded in the United States in 1948 by the bibliographer Nathan Van Patten and, although enthusiastic, was relatively short-lived. The second society was founded in Machen's home county of Gwent (Monmouthshire) in 1986 and oversaw a resurgence of interest, and not only from small presses: Duckworth made Machen's work available once again. That society transformed in 1998 into the Friends of Arthur Machen and is still going strong, with a membership of 250. The Friends publish

two hardback journals every year, *Faunus*, along with a newsletter, *Machenalia*. From time to time members receive special publications such as John Gawsworth's *The Life of Arthur Machen* (2005), and this year there was an annotated edition of *Arthur Machen's 1890s Notebook* (already, swiftly, out of print).

The Friends of Arthur Machen meet annually on a weekend around Machen's birthday (3 March). The venue changes each year with the intention of making it possible, over time, for all members to attend. These Machen weekends have been held in Usk (Gwent), Whitby (North Yorkshire), Tenby (Pembrokeshire), and the Midlands (Stratford-upon-Avon); the location usually having an association with the life and work of Machen. A formal dinner at the end of proceedings is followed by readings from Machen, although this year (in York), there was also a folk-music 'interlude'. Next year will see the Friends meeting in London.

For those who are unable to attend the AGM and other, more informal events (half of the membership is overseas), a great deal of interesting Machenian literary material comes in the post. The current issue of *Faunus* reprints Machen's introduction to a collection of ghost stories by Richard Middleton (with an analysis by Nick Wagstaff), other articles including a discussion by Deborah Bridle of the symbolism of the Golden Dawn in *The Hill of Dreams*, and an essay by Jo Cottrell on Machen's association with a bohemian London jazz club, the Cave of the Golden Calf.

THE FRIENDS OF ARTHUR MACHEN. **FOUNDED**: 1998. **AIMS**: To encourage a wider recognition for Machen's work, promoting it through 'in house' publication and acting as a point of information on Machen studies and texts. **OFFICERS**: Ray Russell (Chairman), Godfrey Brangham (Secretary), Mark Valentine (Treasurer/Membership Secretary). **MEMBERSHIP**: 250. **PUBLICATIONS**: *Faunus* (Editor, James Machin), *Machenalia* (Editor, Jon Preece), both twice yearly; books by Machen and his circle. **EVENTS**: AGM and dinner. **WEBSITE**: www.arthurmachen.org.uk **ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS**: £25 (joint membership £28), overseas £30.

CONTACT: Mark Valentine, Stable Cottage, Priest Bank Road, Kildwick, Keighley, Yorkshire BD20 9BH, lostclub@btopenworld.com

SALES

FIRST THERE WAS BLOOMSBURY, founded by refugees from Sotheby's; now there is Forum, peopled by former employees of Bloomsbury. Established by Stephan Ludwig, and with such loyal personnel as Rupert Powell, thirty-one years with Bloomsbury, **FORUM AUCTIONS** held its first sale, 'Fine Books and Works on Paper', at the Westbury Hotel in Mayfair on 13–14 July. It led with an attractive collection of Evelyn Waugh, the property of Sir Theodore Brinckman Bt, sometime antiquarian bookseller with Monk Bretton Books. 'Collections of anything are rarely complete,' wrote Brinckman in a preface, 'and this is especially true of book collections. My little Waugh collection was based on a wish to own good copies of the first editions of all the books he wrote. I managed to achieve this a few years ago (so there was a kind of completeness) but I was of course lured on by the temptation of finer copies, inscribed copies, large paper copies and so on. I had become the victim of a mild case of collecting mania.' Antiquarian booksellers don't normally talk about collectors as victims; Sir Theodore is a retired member of the ABA. 'I bought American first editions,' he continued, 'which are not much sought after, because they are considerably more attractive physically than their English counterparts (I have always thought Waugh was not well served in this respect by Chapman and Hall – who made amends, too late, with their 1937 reset edition of the four novels)… I enjoyed trying to find out as much as possible about the various people to whom Waugh inscribed copies in the collection and enclosing notes about them in the books in question.

'Two things enabled me to say good-bye to these books. Although, as mentioned, I had copies of all Waugh's first editions one of them (guess which one) lacked its dust wrapper. Fairly recently I finally acquired a copy of this book in a good jacket. This made me feel that my work was, in a way, done. The other factor was that I was beginning to have to pay prices in the high four and low five figure range to feed my mania. It was probably time to kick the habit.'

His books were handsome and the associations were grand, but prices went much according to estimate. Edward Johnston *A Carol and Other Rhymes* 1916 with Waugh's Lancing ownership inscription, 1921, a book with a telling story, opened the bidding, fetching £1300 (est. £750–£1000); at the Hobson sale in 1996 it had made £550. Waugh's *P.R.B.* 1926, his first adult book, was inscribed by his father to his sister, the author's aunt Elspeth, and by him, 'Bequeathed by her to the au-

thor Evelyn Waugh', £7500 (est. £5000–£7000; Hobson sale £3200). An autograph postcard from Waugh to Robert Byron, February 1928, was unpublished, £1600 (est. £600–£800). 'I deal with God as best I can,' wrote Waugh. *A Handful of Dust* 1934 inscribed, 'Do read this if you have time. I think it is better than the others', made £8000 (est. £10,000–£15,000; it made £14,000 at the Hirschhorn sale in 2012, but the dustwrapper was not then described as 'supplied'); it was exceeded by an uninscribed US edition, in dustwrapper with wraparound band, £8200 (est. £4000–£6000). No 'private' edition of *Brideshead Revisited*, but a copy of the trade edition in a mildly repaired dustwrapper more than doubled its high estimate at £2600. A large-paper *Helena* 1950 inscribed to Christopher Sykes fetched £1900 (est. £1000–£1500; Hobson sale £650), and a large-paper *Pinfold* 1957 to the same £2000 (est. £1500–£2000, Hobson sale £1300), still significantly less than the £3200 the Devonshire copy scored at Sotheby's in March.

Of other lots, the manuscript of Nabokov's *The Original of Laura* made £60,000 on estimate, and private press pieces from the collector Anthony Dowd performed well, if not spectacularly. Next day's sale, of more antiquarian hue, had mixed results, but this was a promising first sale. September brings books from the collection of another bookseller, the late Nancy Sheiry Glaister, and October 'the full catalogue' of the published editions of Banksy.

FOR MORE THAN TWO decades **SWANN GALLERIES** have been holding specialist auction sales of printed and manuscript African Americana. In 1995 it was a newly emerging market with few dealers or collectors having an overview of what might be available in the field. Swann helped to coax 'important historical material out of peoples closets, attics and storage facilities' and bring to the market previously unknown or under-appreciated books, manuscripts and ephemera. Their 31 March sale included 466 lots on slavery and abolition, military and the Civil War, civil rights, politics, the Black Panthers, Africa, business, education, literature, art, music and dance, photography and much more. The original pen-and-brush artwork for *A Night-Club Map of Harlem* by E. Simms Campbell, which appeared in the first number of *Manhattan Magazine*, 1932, sold for $100,000. It is both an illustrated guide and a who's who of the Prohibition speakeasies, night-clubs, and ballrooms, the bands and performers, restaurants and street-food sellers of Harlem. The stage manager's heavily annotated working playscript for Lorraine Hansberry's *A Raisin in the Sun*, which opened on Broadway in 1959, made $21,250 (against an estimate of

$2000–$3000). A copy of the 1959 edition of *The Negro Travelers' Green Book* of friendly hotels, motels, restaurants, tourist homes and vacation resorts on the roads to and through the old South fetched $4500, autograph letters by Frederick Douglass $22,500 and $25,000, posters and placards relating to Martin Luther King and the Memphis Sanitation Workers $23,750 and $25,000. *A Narrative of the most Remarkable Particulars in the Life of James Albert Ukawsaw Gronniosaw, an African Prince*, published in Bath *c*1770 and one of the earliest slave narratives in English, bound with several other pamphlets, made $11,875. There were items for all prices, many selling for less than $1000, and there was much to attract new collectors as well as established institutions.

Twelve days later, early printed books were the welcome offering at Swann, though, as usual, with no indication of their immediate provenance. Among the higher prices Scot *Discoverie of Witchcraft* 1584, not in the most wonderful condition, reached $30,000, the same as *Macbeth* 1674. The catalogue of Napoleon's library removed from St Helena (sold by Sotheby, July 1823), a presentation copy from William Upcott though this could only be determined from a rather small reproduction, fetched $4750. There was more, too, than seemed from the description of lot 82, Jewel *Defence of the Apologie of the Church of England* 1567, marked on the title-page in a later hand 'Kentford parish', and with a sixteenth-century note at the head that one Thomas Bean (or Boan?) paid for this book. It fetched $2000.

THE LIBRARY OF THE ARCHITECT Mohamed Makiya and his wife Margaret, sold at **SOTHEBY'S** in New Bond Street on 19 April, offered a fine collection about the Middle East, with especial riches in the decorative arts and in women's travel. But the surprises came when some lots of seemingly innocuous and quite ordinary books were knocked down at figures far above their estimates. An armful of straightforward nineteenth-century books, 'The Levant, a collection of 15 volumes', estimate £1000–£2000, sold for an extraordinary £425,000; and then a couple of lots later, 'The Levant and Egypt, a collection of seven volumes', estimate £700–£1000, sold for £365,000.

BLOOMSBURY on 21 April opened with a handful of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century books from the library of the late Douglas Cleverdon. Then came a group of mostly early dictionaries from the library of Bryan Garner (see *Garner's Modern English Usage* and *Black's Law Dictionary*). Williams *English and Chinese Vocabulary*, Macao, 1844, fetched £550 amidst an eclectic assemblage that bore testimony to a man of near-universal linguistic interests. In a library said in the

catalogue to contain 45,000 volumes, the sale will have made barely a dent. For some of the later parts of the sale, offering books from other sources, bidders sat on their hands.

MUSIC MANUSCRIPTS AND twentieth-century books from the library of Kurt Maschler were included in **SOTHEBY'S** sale on 24 May. Among the others, Bartholomaeus de Sancto Concordio (Paris, not after 1473) from the library of the late Duchess of Roxburghe, damaged and not among the books she bequeathed to Trinity College, Cambridge, failed to sell. A 1543 *Horae* made the most of a covering by Etienne Roffet added later. Later on came several books from the Mendham library, once the responsibility of the Law Society. On the whole, the music did better. Linenthal, on commission, secured an annotated copy of the second part of Bach's *Clavier-Übung* (including the Italian concerto) for £370,000, estimate £120,000–£150,000: this is a record price for printed music. Wendy Cruise took an early manuscript copy of the Toccata in D for £32,000; among her other purchases was a complete set of Thomas Morley's *First Booke of Balletts to Five Coyces* '1595' (really 1605–6). An important group of drafts for the *Enigma Variations*, given by Elgar to Edward Speyer and seen not so long ago, went for £58,000. Papers from the archive of the Viennese music publisher Tobias Haslinger fetched £16,000, but the considerable collection of retained copies of letters from the Berlin publisher Adolph Schlesinger, as well as the working manuscript of the closing recitative and chorus of Mendelssohn's *St Paul*, were unsold. Far and away the most significant manuscript in the sale was the autograph score of Sibelius's symphonic fantasia *Pohjolan Tytär* bought, it is to be hoped, for the Finnish national library.

THE GROUP OF FOUR Shakespeare Folios assembled for **CHRISTIE'S** King Street sale on 25 May were all sold to the same person. The First Folio was a discovery, once in the same library as the Shuckburgh copy of the Gutenberg Bible sold some years ago and now in Mainz. Like most copies, this First Folio had been made up at some point, with several leaves that were short, probably when it was bound by Roger Payne. The hammer price was a satisfactory £1.6m against an estimate of £800,000–£1.2m. Of the other Folios, 1632, sold in New York in 1985 for $21,000, fetched £160,000 – to be compared with the good Pirie copy sold last year for $350,000; 1664 (a fine copy, also Shuckburgh) fetched £300,000; and 1685 (Shuckburgh again) fetched £38,000, well over the estimate.

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WRITING THE *Independent* obituary of Lloyd Austin (1915–1994), editor of Mallarmé's correspondence and Drapers Professor of French at Cambridge from 1967 to 1980, Christine Crow paid tribute to his roundedness as a teacher and scholar – 'his untiring attempts to encourage others to appreciate and discover for themselves the joys and passions of art and literature… exemplified by the convivial hospitality offered in the elegant, book-filled houses kept in Cambridge and, outside Paris, in Lozre-sur-Yvette, by himself and his supportive, French-born wife'. **DOMINIC WINTER** on 5 June included, immediately before the closing assortments of cartons and quantities, his working library of French literary criticism. Just over 3000 books sold for fractionally over one pound apiece, the kind of price that a bookseller might have given without much thought, and without charging further commission – save that, presumably, there are no longer many booksellers willing to take on that number of books of this kind.

ON 8 JUNE **BONHAMS NEW YORK** opened with a fanfare, the Masterman-Sykes-Syston Park copy of Theodore Gaza's translation of Aristotle *De animalibus*, Venice, 1476. One of just two copies known on vellum, and beautifully decorated probably in Venice (albeit with the arms of the original owner unidentified), it fetched $941,000. The other prize in the sale was a much better-known book, the coloured copy, on thicker paper than usual, of Harington's translation of *Orlando Furioso* 1591, formerly in the library of Arthur Houghton ($81,250 – a little less than the Pirie copy sold a few months ago to Quaritch for $95,000). Later on came a small group of books by and about William Beckford from the library of his bibliographer and editor Robert J. Gemmett, including some of Beckford's mocking notes on 'Puppy Dibdin'.

THE GERALD N. WACHS collection of nineteenth-century English poetry was sold by **SOTHEBY'S NEW YORK** on 13 June. In March 1970 Jerry Wachs walked into the office of Ximenes, then on 45th Street, looking for a birthday present, and was guided to Byron *Hebrew Melodies* 1815, his first purchase. After a few years and more visits he decided to collect books seriously, and with the advice of Steve Weissman he settled on English poetry from Wordsworth to 1900, a field where interesting titles were available and the prices often quite reasonable. Condition was to be paramount, but there was to be some flexibility for significant presentation copies, manuscript revisions, or rarity. Acquiring books in collaboration with Weissman for forty

years, and on an increasing budget, he put together a large and coherent collection, its scope not wholly apparent at auction following the gift by his family of some 600 less expensive titles to the University of Chicago. The collection before dispersal was exhibited at Chicago last autumn.

The highest price was $65,000 for the Bradley Martin copy of Elizabeth Barrett Browning *The Battle of Marathon* 1820, $65,000; another Bradley Martin book, her *Sonnets* '1847' (but *c*1893, the celebrated 'Reading Sonnets', a Wise forgery), fetched $4200. Byron rarities included *Poems* 1807, $30,000, *Euthanasia* 1812, $24,000, *The Curse of Minerva* 1812, $24,000, and *Fare Thee Well* 1816, $10,000, but *Waltz* 1813 failed to sell. Coleridge *Fears in Solitude* 1798 fetched $24,000, Lady Caroline Lamb's copy of *Christabel* 1816 in wrappers $10,000, and *Zapolya* 1817 with Coleridge's autograph notes and additions $15,000, but the original periodical printings of *The Watchman* 1796 and *The Friend* 1809–10 were bought in. The periodical *Annals of the Fine Arts* 1817–20, which unexpectedly includes the first printing of Keats's 'Ode to a Nightingale' and 'On a Grecian Urn', fetched $13,000. Shelley's two juvenile novels, *Zastrozzi* 1810 and *St. Irvyne* 1811, made $26,000 and $14,000, and the Nowell-Smith copy of *Prometheus Unbound* 1820 in the original boards, the only title by Shelley to reach its estimate, made $8000. Southey was mainly unsold, including *Joan of Arc* 1798, inscribed to Charles Lamb, another Nowell-Smith book. A Hallam family copy of Tennyson *The Lovers Tale* 1833, intended for *Poems* 1833, actually set into type but suppressed by the author who allowed a few copies to be printed off for his friends, was sold for $12,000, the high estimate but a low price for such a great rarity. Tennyson had a thousand copies of *The Charge of the Light Brigade* 1855 printed as a leaflet as a patriotic gesture for distribution 'among the brave soldiers before Sebastopol'; this copy was sold for $24,000, but it had a curious earlier history. Browsing in the autograph department of Goodspeed's, Boston, in 1976 while waiting for their antediluvian system to produce an invoice, Theodore Hofmann came across it unpriced in a file, but was told that it was too much trouble to write a second invoice for such a minor piece. So they gave it to him. Wordsworth's first book, *An Evening Walk* 1793, was unsold (estimate $50,000–$70,000); his second book, *Descriptive Sketches* 1793, fetched $37,000, both Bradley Martin copies.

Although the books were exceptional and the estimates, if a bit uneven, were probably in line with historic costs, more than half of this sale sold well below estimate, and a fifth of the lots were bought in. Can this be a harbinger of declining interest in one of the traditional fields of collecting? The results would have been even worse apart

from one determined telephone bidder, the American collector Stuart Rose. There was apparently an utter lack of institutional buying, and only limited support from the trade, the few trade buyers in the room including Christopher Edwards, Pom Harrington, James Cummins, and the Nineteenth Century Shop.

LAST YEAR THE SESQUICENTENARY of the publication of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* was celebrated in exhibitions and events throughout the world. Only twenty-two copies of the rare suppressed first edition, the '1865 *Alice*', survive – of which six are still in private hands. Of those private copies just two are in the original red cloth binding, decorated in gilt. On 16 June **CHRISTIE'S NEW YORK** offered an opportunity to purchase one of the two. Jon Lindseth, collector of Lewis Carroll for more than twenty-five years and bibliographer of the translations of *Alice*, was the sixth owner of this distinguished copy. The first was George William Kitchin, a colleague of Carroll's at Christ Church, who gave it to his eldest daughter Alexandra, a child friend of Carroll whom he frequently photographed. It was subsequently acquired by Carl Pforzheimer, Harriet Borland of Chicago, and the American collector William Self, who sold it privately to Lindseth. The collector explained that his own collection of Carroll will be gifted to the British Library, which already holds a copy of the 1865 *Alice*, and he thought it was time for his copy to find a new home. Estimated at $2m–$3m, *Alice* failed to meet the reserve and was unsold on the day.

OF THE MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS sales, **CHRISTIE'S** King Street offered illuminated manuscripts from the collection of Maurice Burrus (1882–1959), a name that only really emerged into the limelight at Christie's sale of his early printed books at Paris last December. The preface rightly emphasized the mid-fifteenth-century manuscript of Alain Chartier, a wonder of script and illumination alike, and lost to the world since it figured as one of the jewels in the crown at the Clumber sale in 1937, when it was sold to Maggs. With its series of illustrations by the Dunois Master, successor to the Bedford Master as leading miniaturist in the French court, it is perhaps comparable only with the Rothschild manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale. But it was bought in at £1.3m, bidders perhaps discouraged by its less than perfect condition. Digulleville's *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine c*1470–80, perhaps from eastern France, looked in better condition, save that it lacked at least fifty leaves, these presumably also with miniatures. Estimated at £250,000–£350,000, it was bought in at £200,000.

Linenthal bought on commission the lovely twelfth-century Gospels written for the Benedictines at Mountmajour, near Arles, but lost two humanist manuscripts, one written and illuminated by Pietro Cennini at Florence and the other from probably Verona or Mantua. Tom Symonds bought a fifteenth-century breviary from the abbey of Saint-Loup, near Troyes; and Quaritch, bidding on commission against an Italian telephone, went above the estimate for a much less usual book, a compilation of French history belonging to the bibliophile Anthony of Burgundy, the 'Grand Bâtarde'. Pregliasco successfully bid £90,000 (against an estimate of £30,000–£50,000) for a sixteenth-century manuscript of Valturius, with coloured illustrations closely related to the woodcuts introduced in the edition of 1472.

Both **SOTHEBY'S** sale of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts on 5 July and that at **BLOOMSBURY** the next day was largely of fragments, as seems increasingly the case. Both sales had mixed results. At Sotheby's thirteen out of 71 lots were bought in. At Bloomsbury thirty-three out of 112 failed to find a buyer, albeit most of these were items on which the reserve was well under £1000, sometimes much less. The Sotheby's sale was dominated by an extended duel between Quaritch and a telephone bidder for an illustrated Netherlands Book of Hours, *c*1510, that eventually went to the latter for £330,000, against an estimate of £60,000–£100,000. This was, by a considerable distance. the highest price of either sale. The register of Thomas Bourchier, the fifteenth-century archbishop of Canterbury, sold for £18,000 (est. £5000–£7000) for Lambeth Palace. A single fourteenth-century Italian leaf of the Three Maries at the sepulchre was the most successful of the fragments, making £35,000, also on the phone (est. £12,000–£18,000).

At Bloomsbury, Linenthal was the most active bidder in the room; he obtained eleven lots, the most notable a very large eleventh-century Spanish Visigothic leaf for £21,000 (est. £10,000–£15,000) and the most expensive item in the sale, a substantial fragment of a Hebrew Bible for £70,000 (est. £80,000–£120,000). Much of the other action was on line, with prices generally falling within the published estimates.

THE MIXED SALE MAINLY of manuscripts and printed books at **CHRISTIE'S** on 13 July was in some respects more successful. The Von Erlach early-sixteenth-century prayer book, possibly containing the earliest representation of the Turin Shroud, once owned by Pierre Louÿs, reached £95,500 (est. £80,000–£120,000). An autograph letter of Martin Luther's did less well, making £80,000 against an

estimate of £80,000–£120,000. The highest price was for a Bach autograph music manuscript in keyboard notation, estimated between £1.5m–£2.5m, which reached £2,175,000. Several items of Einstein memorabilia also did well: a leather jacket of his made £90,000 (est. £40,000–£60,000); his pocket watch reached an astonishing £220,000 (est. £15,000–£20,000) and a set of children's building blocks he had owned £50,000 (est. £5000–£8000). A long run of cricket books and memorabilia (including several accomplished pen-and-ink caricatures by the Australian test cricketer Arthur Mailey) all sold, mainly within their estimated range.

IN THE SALE OF ENGLISH LITERATURE at **SOTHEBY'S** on 12 July a series of Tudor letters belonging to the Marquess of Anglesey and sent to auction for charity included two letters from Elizabeth to William, Lord Paget, one in 1550 as princess aged 16 (£28,000), the other in 1561 as Queen (£13,000). A bible presented by Charlotte Brontë to her close friend Ellen Nussey in 1837, the year of their separation, fetched £26,000 (Harrington). A corrected proof of Browning *Bells and Pomegranates, No, VI, Colombe's Birthday* 1844 was sold for £11,000 (Meredith). Keats *Poems* 1817 in somewhat worn original boards went to Harrington for £19,000, but a group of printed Pope items that had been on the market for several years mainly failed to sell apart from six autograph letters that found buyers around the low estimates. Coleridge *Fears in Solitude* 1798, including the first version of 'Frost at Midnight', was the most important of several titles that had also appeared at Sotheby's New York in the Wachs sale in June, a sale of which Sotheby's London seemed curiously unaware. In New York *Fears in Solitude*, estimated at $25,000–$35,000, fetched $24,000, in London, a very similar copy estimated at £8000–£12,000, was sold for £11,000, a bargain for a rarity that has apparently only came to auction four times in the last fifty years, in 1966, 2007, and now twice in 2016. Both sales had Shelley's juvenile novel *Zastrozzi* 1810, but they were not really comparable, as the copy in London, although wanting the half-title and with other defects, included an early letter to one of Shelley's publishers asking for literary advice (£11,000, Edwards); the same buyer acquired Shelley's other early novel *St. Irvyne* 1811 for £4500. A series of draft autograph poems and essays by Swinburne, including 'A Note on Charlotte Brontë' (£14,000), were shared between Christopher Edwards and Richard Linenthal. Among the moderns an advance copy of Fleming *Casino Royale* 1953 inscribed by the author to Ralph Arnold was sold for £34,000, while a corrected typescript of

You Only Live Twice 1963 made £38,000. Galleys for twenty gatherings of Tolkien *The Return of the King* 1954 with corrections by the author on two pages were sold for £18,000. What it was doing in a book sale we cannot imagine, but the No. 10 football jersey worn by Geoff Hurst at the World Cup final against Germany in 1966, estimated at £300,000–£500,000, failed to sell.

CATALOGUES

IT IS TOO LONG since **ARTHUR FREEMAN**'s last set of printed catalogues. He has now more than compensated with a book-length miscellany in electronic form covering the long (very long) eighteenth century, 1660 (actually 1659) to 1820 (actually 1821). It runs to 165 items and 208 pages, which defy summary save to say that every item is either odd or rare or important, and many all three. The Los Angeles County Law Library, whence a number of the items were 'extruded' or 'released' via Bonhams in 2014, is a source, but not the only one.

The tone is set by the second item, Perrot *A Sea of the Seed's Sufferings, through which Runs a River of Rejoycing* 1661, £2800, 'the mystical verse of a well-travelled Irish Quaker' on his missionary journey to Venice, Livorno, Zante, Athens, Smyrna, heading for Constantinople which, providentially, he did not reach. On the way back he was imprisoned in Venice and Rome, where he was interviewed by Alexander VII, who found him 'theologically incomprehensible'; prison left him with time for obscure but not unimpressive poetry. The details of his journeys are in *A Narrative of Some of the Sufferings of J.P.* 1661, £1200, 'printed for Thomas Simmons', publisher of other sectaries, among them Milton. After that comes straight literature, Dryden *All for Love* 1678, £750, followed by a fine run of Swift and Swiftiana, notably the second known copy of *Esquire Bickerstaff's Reply to Dr Patridge's Pretended Answer* 1708, £18,000. Pope *An Essay on Criticism* 1711 was £2800, and *The Dunciad Variorum* 1729, given by Bolingbroke to Lord Orrery, £3800. Edward Young's letter to Dodsley, 24 December 1755, with the text of his poetical address to Voltaire, was £8500, an unrecorded broadside *The Apparition or The Cock Lane Ghost* c1762–5, £2500.

Then the fun starts. In the Autumn 2004 issue of THE BOOK COLLECTOR Freeman showed that a naughty poem, *N=wt=n's Principia, or Live to Love* 1782, was probably by William Gifford, and this explained its verbal prefigurations of *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*. Now from the LA Law Library came not only another copy of *N=wt=n's Principia*, but the report of Mrs Newton's trial for adultery, the unique *A Poetical Address from Mrs N****n to L**γ W*****γ* [the equally naughty Lady Worsley] and the ensuing crim con trial of Maurice George Bisset, altogether five pieces on this multiple scandal, £8500. Five other pieces documented what Walpole called 'the Gunningiad', the tale of the disreputable General Gunning, his wife Susannah and

his daughter Elizabeth, £2800. Another LA Law Library trophy was Colley Cibber's cross-dressing daughter Charlotte Charke's *The Mercer, or Fatal Extravagance c*1755, £3200 – 'she died, ever penniless, in 1760, and needless to say has become a key figure in modern-day gender studies'. Another from the same source was *Sheppard in Aegypt, or News from the Dead* 1725, the post-mortem adventures of the infamous Jack, £2200. *The Surprising Life and Dying-Speech of Tobias Donkin, the Quaker and Famous Highwayman* 1754, previously deemed fiction, turns out to be fact, £1500. A set of five trials, four unrecorded, were the publisher's receipted copies for Stamp Tax (the subject of David Foxon's unpublished Sandars Lectures), £3200.

Earlier and more innocent prizes included Evelyn *A Character of England* 1659, £5500, and Izaak Walton's presentation *Reliquiae Wottonianae* 1672 to Wotton's Huguenot servant Nicolas Oudart, £2200. Defoeiana included *A Journal of the Plague Year* 1722, £4200, Davys *The Reform'd Coquet* 1724, £5800, and the undoubtedly rare Fielding *Apology for the Life of Mrs Shamela Andrews* 1741, £8000. Wordsworth gave *Poems* 1807 to Archdeacon Wrangham, £8500. 'The Maid of Buttermere', as Wordsworth called her, was betrayed by John Hatfield, who got his comeuppance at Carlisle, where *The Trial of John Hatfield for Forgery* 1803 was printed, £750. The Perreau twins were also hung together for forgery in 1775, their accomplice Margaret Rudd lucky to escape (two pamphlets, £1500) and later entrance Boswell, whose interleaved and corrected copy of *An Account of Corsica* 1768 was the most expensive item at £28,000. There were more modest delights, too, Lewis Theobald *The Fatal Secret* 1735, adapted from *The Duchess of Malfi*, or *The Muses Miscellany* 1741, cribbed by Chatterton, £180 each, the earliest critical *Remarks on Spenser's Poems* 1734, by John Jortin, only £150, and the ever-popular Bourne *Poematia* 1743, a mere £120. Americana included the 1709 exculpatory letters of Lord Cornbury, Governor-General of New York and New Jersey, returning home to favour with Queen Anne, £9500, and the unrecorded Edinburgh printings of the five crucial Acts, 1764–6, £12,500. A wonderful 1732 letter from Joseph Spence, after visiting Vesuvius, £3200, should be in the Osborne Collection. Newton *Opticks* 1721 was annotated by Bentley's friend, John Davies, with a twelve-page memoir of the author, £8500.

All these highly diverse pieces pursue the highways and byways of their period in unfamiliar as well as familiar ways; all are illuminated with the learning and perception that enlivens anything that catches Freeman's fancy. We hope not to wait too long for another instalment.

HOW CAN YOU LOOK AT medieval manuscripts? If you go to the website of **LES ENLUMINURES** you will see them as perhaps most scholars see them: details of contents, of provenance, of decoration, of the binding, information about authors, a good collection of references to literature, including perhaps a reference or two to online resources. But that is not the only way to look at books, and in their latest catalogue 'Traces: people and the book', written by Laura Light, Les Enluminures took another path, dividing the manuscripts up under six headings: People making manuscripts, People using manuscripts (adding things), People using manuscripts (removing things), People reading manuscripts, People owning manuscripts, and 'Unused? Unread?' On the whole the manuscripts under discussion were not of first–class quality, though a couple hail from the Ferrell collection exhibited by the firm at the end of last year. They bear all kinds of marks of use, and the purpose is to make readers look at the penumbra of matter that accumulates in almost any old book. The catalogue is a useful didactic tool; but it could have been made even better by references to the firm's website, where much fuller details are available and which anyone considering a purchase should in any case seek out more before going further.

IN GERMANY, **GÜNTHER** 'Early Printed Bibles, 1454–1580' had a fragment of the 1457 Psalter (*olim* Kraus), and no fewer than seven German bibles printed between 1474 and 1494. Luther was outstandingly represented by the first three parts of his German Old Testament (Wittenberg, 1523, once in the Crawford collection) and by a lavish copy of a lavish book, the Frankfurt edition of the whole Bible printed by Feyerabend (1564), coloured and in a gilt contemporary Ulm binding. This fine and detailed catalogue ended with a complete copy of the Ostrog Bible (Ivan Fedorov, 1580), with a satisfyingly long provenance. Several of the books in the catalogue, suitably signposted, hailed from the Otto Schäffer collection at Schweinfurt, following on sales of some block-books a little while ago.

Of other foreign catalogues, **WILLIAM REESE** produced one of French Americana, with a special section of eighteenth-century French Caribbean imprints. Here we were on ground that is not often explored, though it is of fast-increasing interest to historians. The catalogue opened with a bang: Edmé-Jacques *Affaires de l'Angleterre et de l'Amérique*, sporting an Antwerp imprint, 1776–9, but in fact published at Paris. The compilation was produced by the French government, as a building block in a Franco-American alliance, and the obfuscation was

designed to preserve an appearance of French neutrality in the War of Independence. The set, here not quite complete, has for years been extremely rare, and even in France Reese could only record a single copy. Later on, among several remarkable works, was a copy of Maréchal *Antiquités d'Herculanum* 1780–1, admittedly (again) not a complete set, but the copy given by Thomas Jefferson to John Trumbull. Most of this part of the catalogue was devoted to before the early nineteenth century; but light relief was afforded by twenty-seven issues of *Buffalo Bill, le héros du Far-West*, published at Brussels in about 1906–10 – a rare relic, printed as usual on the most fragile of paper, of the enormous popularity of these stories in Europe. The second part of the catalogue, on the French Caribbean down to 1804, offered publications from Martinique, Guadeloupe, Grenada and Saint Domingue at a period when the sugar trade brought considerable wealth to the last in particular. Mostly concerned with government at various levels, the very active printing trade in these islands was all but destroyed in the wars following the French Revolution, and these pieces are not easy to find.

BOTH PAUL JAMMES 296 '63 Livres Choisis' and **JEAN-CLAUDE VRAIN** (unnumbered) were in landscape format. Vrain began with Theodore Williams's Nuremberg Chronicle in earlier English green morocco, €145,000. The 1543 Vesalius in later calf was €550,000, as was a fine coloured Braun & Hogenberg. Of three Montaigne editions, that of 1588 was full of fascinating marginalia by someone who knew the author but failed to reveal his identity, €450,000. The pictorial diary of a surgeon, Brémond, otherwise unknown, sailing from Brest to Siam in 1687–8, €140,000, was matched by the prints of Levantine figures commissioned in 1714 by the Marquis d'Argental as *ambassadeur* at the Porte, €180,000, and Costa *Delicie del fiume Brenta* 1750–6, views of the Palladian villas, €340,000. Baudelaire *Théophile Gautier* 1859, presented to Flaubert, €450,000, *Les Fleurs du mal* 1857, given to Armand Dumesnil, €185,000, the manuscript of Proust's 'Réflexions sur le Style', €350,000, were later treasures. Mallarmé's desk-standish and English dictionary were sold, and the manuscript of Louÿs 'Trois Filles de leur Mère' was 'prix sur demande'. There was a fine portrait of a blazered Cocteau by Jacques-Emile Blanche, €280,000, and Dubuffet's of Léautaud, €290,000.

Jammes, less stratospheric, had the 1532 Estienne bible, marked up for reading in a monastic refectory, €12,500, and the Flemish Dodoens *Cruydeboek* 1552–4, €35,000. Early Calvin included *Sermons… sur l'Espitre aux Galates* 1563, €1200, *Commentaires… sur les cinq livres de*

Moyse 1565, €900, and *A Harmonie on the Three Evangelists* 1584 with contemporary signature of Benjamin Taylor, €2000. A fine set of Bertelli *Diversarum nationum habitus* 1589–96, €35,000, was matched by a fine writing book, Boissens *Promptuarium variarum scripturarum c*1594, €18,500. Here too were Amico *Trattato delle piante e immagini… di Terra Santa* 1620, with Callot's plates, €15,000, the exotic *Hasshu Gafu* 1710, a Chinese pictorial anthology anticipating 'The Mustard Seed Garden', €16,000, and Kaempfer *Amoenitates exoticae* 1712, €12,000. There were several early type specimens, Luce *Epreuve du premier Alphabeth* 1740 and *Essai d'une Nouvelle Typographie* 1771, €5000 and €20,000, and Verronnais *Epreuves des caractères vignettes et fleurons*, Metz, 1803, €8000. A group of 'Arrests', witness of Luneau de Boisjermain's attempts to suppress the *Encyclopédie*, 1752–76, was €26,500, and Lavoisier's copy of Lalande *Astronomie* 1764, €5500.

A GRAND BROCHURE was issued by **THOMAS-SCHELER** advertising the album of exceptionally beautiful sixteenth-century ornithological watercolours prepared by Pierre Gourdelle, and preceding the publication of Belon's great *Histoire de la nature des oiseaux*, published in 1555. In a distinguished fanfare binding, the album was carefully studied when the Pierre Berès collection was exhibited at Chantilly in 2003. **COULET** 62 opened with the Loménie de Brienne copy of Monstrelet *Chroniques d'Enuerran*, Paris, 1572, and proceeded via horsemanship and Antoine de Balinghem on excess eating and drinking (1615) to a collection of thirty-two volumes of the Elzevir little republics bound to match by Duseuil. By entry no. 34 we were with Stendhal *Histoire de la peinture en Italie* 1817, the presentation copy to his friend Félix Faure, and so to Breton *Manifeste du surréalisme* 1924, a present to René Crevel. The whole finished up with Blaise Cendras and a manuscript scrap by Céline. It was a rapid romp, but full of good things.

MICHEL SCOGNAMILLO (33 rue de l'abbé Groult, 75015 Paris), dedicated his first catalogue to Pierre Bergé and likewise crossed the centuries. Beginning with a coloured copy of Bartholomeus Anglicus *Le Propriétaire des choses*, Lyons, 1492, he also offered the rarer *Hecatomgraphie* 1540, a collection of woodcuts with accompanying apophthegms by the humanist Gilles Corrozet and here also in a coloured copy. By halfway through the catalogue he was with Flaubert (a presentation copy of *Trois contes*, 1877), and less than twenty entries later we had reached futurism. The whole closed with Bataille's *Ma mère* (1966), suitably in a binding decribed as 'voluptueuse'. It was a

masterpiece of a first catalogue designed to seek out as many customers as possible. **COULET** 61 focused on Paul Valéry, beginning with a presentation copy of his rare first book, *Introduction à la méthode de Léonard de Vinci* 1895. Again, the focus was very much on special copies.

KNUF announced the purchase of the books about bookbinding assembled by the Dutch binder and collector J. L. Frieling. Catalogue 230 offered several from his collection, but serious collectors are encouraged to contact the firm as it deals with over 400 books and periodicals on the subject. These apart, especial attention was given to a copy of Crispijn de Passe *Miroir des plus belles courtisannes du temps* 1630, with a long note on the complicated publication history of these plates.

A **NUMBER OF RARITIES** from the Robert S Pirie sale were on offer in **CHRISTOPHER EDWARDS** 69. Association copies included Bernard *The Life & Death of… James Us[s]her* 1656, arguably Oliver Cromwell's copy, £4500; the grammarian John Danes *Paralipomena orthographiae, etymologie, prosodiae* 1638, Archbishop Laud's copy, in black morocco with his arms on the covers, £2000; and Milles *The Treasure of Auncient and Moderne Times* 1613, Edward Gwynn's copy with his name stamped on the upper cover, £3000. Sold by Sotheby's as part of a lot of seven 'English and Continental imprints' was the wonderful Galli *Rime* 1609 with a long poem describing a performance of Jonson *The Masque of Beauty* at the Banqueting House, apparently an eyewitness account and very rare as such, £12,500. Other works included Flecknoe *Miscellania* 1653, verse by the Catholic poet satirized by Dryden in *MacFlecknoe*, £4000; Hookes *Amanda* 1653, amatory and occasional verse, £8000; two exquisite small oblong volumes of instrumental music by John Lenton, performed at Court on New Year's Day 1602 and 1603, bound for presentation to Princess (in 1603 Queen) Anne, £17,500; Marston *Histrio-mastix* 1610, his first play, £20,000; Mill *A Nights Search* and *The second Part* 1640–6, a survey of London low life in verse, £15,000; and Rutter *The Shepheards Holy-day* 1635, a tragicomedy by one of the 'sons of Ben', £3500.

Replete with books from the Pirie sale, the **BRICK ROW BOOKSHOP** Miscellany 70, was also notable for a copy of John Philip Kemble *Fugitive Pieces* ('1780'). This copy was one of the forgeries printed by someone in the book trade after Kemble apparently repented of his early efforts, and sought to destroy all copies of the original. His offer to buy back copies had an all too predictable result, in that a facsimile was printed, and thus more copies kept turning up. Miscellany 71 had Byron's *Fare Thee Well!* ('practically impossible to acquire' according

to Wise, though in fact a copy turned up at Bloomsbury a little while ago, and there was another, better, copy offered in the Wachs sale at Sotheby's New York in June). Brick Row asked $38,000. Rarity is evidently occasional as well as local.

E. M. LAWSON 347 offered a group of books by Joseph Glanvill, including a large-paper copy of *Essays* 1676, £650, *Plus Ultra* 1668, £650, and *Scepsis scientifica* 1665, £850. Cleland *The Surprises of Love* 1765 was £1250; Concanen and Welsted *A Miscellany on Taste* 1732, a satire on Pope by two of his 'dunces', £850; and the rare Swift broadside *The Virtues of Sid Hamet the Magician's Rod* 1710, £3650.

FOUNDED IN YORK in 1766, **SOTHERAN'S** opened their first London shop in 1816 and their current catalogue, 'Two Hundred Years of Bookselling in London', celebrates the anniversary with one item from each year, including Dickens *Sketches by Boz* 1836–7, £2995, Arnold *The Strayed Reveller* 1849, £498, Kipling *The Absent-Minded Beggar* 1899, £298, Darwin *The Golf Courses of the British Isles* 1910, £1500, Wodehouse *Psmith Journalist* 1915, £1100, Whitehead *The Principles of Relativity* 1922, £600, Betjeman *Ghastly Good Taste* 1933, £750, Fermor *The Traveller's Tree* 1950, £498, and Tang Xianzu *Dream in Peony Pavilion* 2016, £12. Before arriving at their present premises in Sackville Street in 1936 the firm moved several times within London during the 200 years, and there are drawings and photographs of some of their earlier shops.

THE PERIODIC CATALOGUES issued by **JARNDYCE** on Charles Dickens are always worth study. 'The Dickens Catalogue', Jarndyce 218, includes the autograph manuscript of *Mrs. Gump with the Strolling Players* 1847, a skit written to raise money for Leigh Hunt's Benefit (Mrs Gump is a character in *Martin Chuzzlewit*), £65,000. Among autograph letters is one to Dickens's solicitor Thomas Mitton complaining about the low profits from the first numbers of *Master Humphrey's Clock* 1840 because of high expenses ('I'm half master of God knows how many thousand reams of printed paper'), £3800. Outstanding among novels in parts are the Suzannet copy of *Nicholas Nickleby* 1838–9, £5800, and *David Copperfield* 1849–50, £12,500. A proof copy of *The Chimes* 1844 sent with a letter before publication to Lady Blessington is priced £28,000, and a volume of proof Reading Copies of *Great Expectations*, *Mrs. Lirriper's Lodgings*, and *Doctor Marigold* c1861–6, £38,000, although only the last was actually performed by Dickens, the most successful of his readings on both sides of the Atlantic.

This latest catalogue was especially good on America (the first appearance of Dickens in print in America was in *The Albion* –103 issues, 1834–5, are here offered for £2500). With no fewer than 1528 items this was a mammoth undertaking, and Jarndyce regularly adds to our knowledge as well as to the bibliography of an author of whose reputation we still have to understand the nature and extent.

THE SUBSTANTIAL DANTE LIBRARY of Barbara Reynolds (1914–2015), best known as editor of the *Cambridge Italian Dictionary* (1962–81) featured in **BENNETT & KERR** 196. She had already completed Dorothy Sayers's unfinished Penguin translation of *The Divine Comedy,* with a last thirteen (of thirty-three) cantos of the *Paradiso* (1962) that were hardly distinguishable in elegance and verve from her late friend's *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*. Reynolds went on to produce a *Vita Nuova* for Penguin and, very late in life, biographies of Dante (2006) and Petrarch (2014). Inevitably, the collection of a centenarian was no longer a cutting-edge instrument, but it was none the worse for that. Here was many an immortal work, in handsome condition, at Bennett & Kerr's irresistible prices. A special delight were the many volumes that Reynolds had inherited from Mary Acworth Orr in 1949. These had formed the reference library for her classic *Dante and the Early Astronomers* (1913), a new edition of which Reynolds published in 1956. How pleasant for their new owners to imagine these old books as they had been before the Second World War, lining the shelves at Kodaikanal Observatory in South India, remote from any university library. Orr admitted in her preface that no collector's library is ever quite large enough:

> An observatory on a mountain top is an ideal place in which to write on astronomy and poetry, but it has one drawback: the difficulty of obtaining books on special subjects. My husband's criticisms and help have been invaluable, and of books on modern astronomy there is no lack; but many others which I have wished to consult I have been unable to procure, and doubtless there are many more which I ought to have read, but of whose existence I am ignorant.

A century later, there is no author so well served by the web as Dante. Dartmouth (just for starters) is a hemisphere, and a click, away.

SIXTY-THREE LOTS OF 'ARCHIVES, photographs, albums, manuscripts, scrapbooks, collections and other primary materials' were on offer in **BRIAN CASSIDY** 11. A number of photograph albums and

collections document everything from Potato Spraying Experiments in 1904 ($500), Hurricane Damage along the Connecticut River *c*1938 ($450), the Construction of the Madeira-Mamore Railroad *c*1909–12 ($6000) and the Golden Eagle Steamboat Sinking 1947 ($400) to Atomic Bomb Damage in Hiroshima (two photographs, $950), Paris protest events in May 1968 photographed by Michael Montfort ($10,000) and a 'semi-lurid collection of photographs vividly capturing the mangled aftermath of car wrecks on rural highways outside of Eugene, Oregon in the mid-1980s' ($800). From Paramount Novelties of Los Angeles a salesman's sample book from the early 1940s offers laces and cotton and nylon decorative trims ($750) and a collection of twenty-nine printing plates from the 1970s includes clip art and multi-panel comic strips used by the United Steelworkers Union for their publications ($800).

EVEN THE SLIGHTEST OFFERING from **WILLIAM REESE** is bound to contain some major item, and Bulletin 43 'Cartography' is no exception. Beginning with Jefferys *The American Atlas* 1782, $140,000, and ending with the Popple *Map of the British Empire in America* *c*1735, $195,000, it also contains Melish's *Map of the United States*, Philadelphia, 1816, $85,000, and an accomplished manuscript map of Penobscot Bay, Maine, made by Rear-Admiral Sir Jahleel Brenton (1729–1802), $60,000. But the prize piece is 'the First American Atlas' by Matthew Clark, the eighteen sheets, joined to make nine charts of irregular size depicting 'The Coast of America from Cape Breton to… the Entrance of the Gulph of Mexico', and published in Boston in 1790. This maritime treasure is 'of the greatest rarity'. Until recently, all eight known copies were in institutional libraries. This, 'deaccessioned from the Philadelphia Free Library' (why is not stated) 'is likely to be the last complete example that is ever offered on the open market', here at $650,000.

AS WE GO to press **JEAN-BAPTISTE DE PROYART** 8 has arrived, conventional in format but not so in content. The first score include a manuscript of Monstrelet's *Chroniques* signed by the scribe Thomas de Lenoghe and dated 29 July 1464, with the binder's stamp 'Capelier', €130,000, a vast Rhenish gradual with 450 elegant initials, €380,000, the 1483 Koberger German bible in contemporary colour and binding, €400,000, the Estienne polyglot bible, 1538–40, bound for Claude de l'Aubespine III by the Binder of Mahieu's Aesop, later among Frances Richardson Currer's wonderful bible collection, €145,000, and Giovio

Elogia Virorum bellica virtute illustrium 1575 in exceptional contemporary colour, €195,000, as was Barrière *Villa Pamphilia c*1675, €150,000. Champlain *Voyages de la Nouvelle France Occidentale* 1632 was in Count Hoym red goatskin, p.s.d. A whole section on Voltaire included his juvenile *Imitation de l'Ode du R. Père le Jay* 1709–11, €15,000, the Wentworth *Candide* 1759, €85,000, Julie de l'Espinasse's *Saul* 1762–3 and Malouin's *Narcisse* 1753, €85,000. There were four remarkable memorials of the brothers Alexandre and Léon de Laborde, including *Voyage pittoresque en Autiche* 1821–2, €50,000, and *Voyage de l'Arabie Pétrée* 1830, €45,000. Writers' association copies ended this ensemble: Villiers de l'Isle Adam *Elën* 1865 inscribed to Baudelaire, €50,000, Maupassant *Une vie* 1883, one of ten *sur japon* with three leaves of an early draft bound in, €48,000, and Breton *L'Air de l'eau* 1934 illustrated with four Giacometti dry-points, €50,000.

THREE YEARS AGO **CALLUM JAMES** produced a catalogue celebrating the centenary of Frederick Rolfe, 'Baron Corvo', all the books from the collection of the distinguished Australian Corvine scholar Robert Scoble. This summer James followed it up with 'Ronald Firbank and six other writers deprecated by unimaginative people: one hundred items from the collection of Robert Scoble', an online catalogue also issued in a special numbered and signed edition of forty copies. Printing an essay by the collector on 'Firbank's Faith', it boasts 'A copy in rose covers of Ronald Firbank's first publication *Odette*, with a rare Laurencin bookplate [£300] A copy of *Santal* inscribed and dated by Firbank [£950] First editions of all Lord Berners's novels [£50–£250] A dustjacketed copy of Richard Rumbold's exceptionally scarce novel *Little Victims* [£380] A dustjacketed copy of Gerald Hamilton's elusive autobiography *As Young as Sophocles*, inscribed by Hamilton [£320] Fine sets of Simon Raven's two novel sequences *A[l]ms for Oblivion* [£880] and *The First Born of Egypt* [£280]…' Scoble has been a determined collector, and is a forceful writer. 'It is important to note,' he asserts, 'that, after Firbank dropped his early interest in diabolism, his characters are invariably portrayed as naughty rather than evil.'

EXHIBITIONS

'BY DAWN'S EARLY LIGHT' IS the title of a wonderful exhibition at **PRINCETON**, revealing the integral part that Jews, Jewish customs, beliefs and traditions, have had in the formation of the American nation. It is based on the work and donations over many years of Leonard L. Milberg '53. Princeton was not always free of the slur of anti-Semitism: this makes amends on a grand scale. Fourteen experts (including the donor) elaborate on the exhibition's themes: 'Dawn's early light' reflecting the nation's founding, the Jewish part in colonial America, Jews in the new republic, immigration up to the Civil War, Jewish religious expression, a Jewish press, Jews and medicine, Jewish women writers, Jews and music, Jewish artists, two in particular, Jewish travellers, and the more subtle subject of Jews as a subversive element in a new-found land.

Like their Christian counterparts, the earliest arrivals wondered if they had found the promised land, or at least the lost tenth tribe of Israel. Antonio de Montezino, a Portuguese *converso*, thought he had found them in Peru, and told Menasseh ben Israel so. This led to the publication of Thomas Thorowgood's *Iewes in America, or, Probabilities that the Americans are of that Race* 1650, but even before that the translators of the Bay Psalm Book were literally devoted to the purity of the Hebrew original, refusing to admit the least word not in the sacred text. Hebrew was obligatory at both Harvard and Yale. But it was commerce, rather than sacred speculation, that made the Caribbean the choice for the first Sephardic settlements. Refugees from Brazil joined colonists from Amsterdam to make Kingston and Surinam Jewish centres; only with the War of Independence did the focus shift to New York, Philadelphia and Charleston. It was in New York that Lorenzo da Ponte, Mozart's librettist, Jewish by heritage, later worked. David Nassy, a Jewish physician, successfully treated victims of the 1793 Philadelphia yellow fever epidemic, and published his results. Uriah P. Levy, a pretty rough diamond, rose to the rank of commodore in the US Navy, found time to make a fortune in real estate, campaign for the abolition of corporal punishment, and buy Monticello, believing that 'the homes of great men should be protected and preserved as monuments to their glory'.

All these figured in the exhibition. Most remarkable was Solomon Nunes Carvalho (1815–1897), born of a family that migrated from Oporto to Amsterdam and thence to Charleston. When the Kahal Kadosh Both Elohim synagogue there burned down in 1838, he offered

its trustees a drawing of the interior, done from memory. This launched his career. He went on to become a painter and daguerreotypist, joining the 'Pathfinder', John C. Fremont, on his western explorations. A daguerreotype self-portrait, imposing oils of Fremont and of Brigham Young, a sympathetic portrait of Wakara, son of a Timpanogos chief, and another of Lincoln himself (with Diogenes and his lamp) in 1865, are witness to his adventures and his talent. But the most striking image in the exhibition was Thomas Sully's beautiful portrait of the powerful Rebecca Gratz (1781–1869), whose hand can be seen in the charitable ventures, Sunday schools, benevolent societies, free sermons, and so on, founded by Jewish women and largely represented here. This was the milieu into which the new, mainly Ashkenazi, immigrants came to find and make their fortunes, the Rosenwalds (Sears Roebuck), Strausses (Levis) and the like. Where commerce had led the older generation to support the Confederate states, the new, making their way in a new world, were for the Union, with B'nai B'rith transcending political as well as religious divisions.

The place built for themselves by Jews in America has never been given such ample, generous coverage. Every aspect of the society in which a Jewry drawn from so many different sources grew and flourished – in paintings, engravings, maps and print – was covered. The catalogue, *By Dawn's Early Light: Jewish contributions to American culture from the nation's founding to the Civil War* (edited by Adam D. Mendelsohn; Princeton University Press, $50), besides describing the 200 exhibits, includes thirteen thematic essays by experts in the fields they describe; it is handsomely printed and solidly bound. It will be a proper memorial to a notable act of restitution and a critical part of the American heritage.

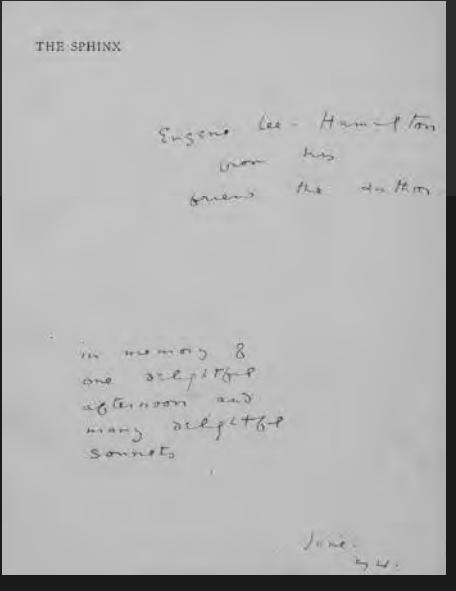
'OR NOT TO BE...' IS THE FOCUS of the **BODLEIAN LIBRARY**'s 400th anniversary exhibition, 'Shakespeare's Dead'. The constant presence of death in Shakespeare's comedies as well as his tragedies, the art of dying, the art of killing, sex and death, the choice of how and when to die, the impact of the plague on Shakespeare's imagination, combat and heroic death and the 'royal fellowship of death', the staging and choreography of death, Shakespeare's sense of the afterlife are all explored in a fascinating exhibition and accompanying catalogue by curators Simon Palfrey and Emma Smith (available from the Bodleian Shop and online at £19.99). On view are early Shakespeare quartos, folios and editions including those from the collection of Edmond Malone with his annotations and Robert Burton's copy of *Venus and*

Adonis which he gifted to the Bodleian, contemporary printed texts and broadsides, images from illustrated and illuminated manuscripts, contemporary drawings, commonplace books and casebooks (including astrological readings by the playgoer, astrologer and physician Simon Forman), later prints and paintings, and *memento mori* objects. As Richard Ovenden notes in a foreword to the catalogue, 'Death in Shakespeare turns out to have the contradictory quality of affirming life. In memory; in epitaph; in the living body of the actor; in the refusal to go quietly; in the return of ghosts and the missing: Shakespeare's dead turn out to be anything but.'

ROLL TWO DICE... At the **GROLIER CLUB** a new generation was introduced to the 400-year-old Royal Game of the Goose. Roll two dice, move along the 63 spaces of a spiral track and land, if lucky, on the symbol of a goose. The unfavourable spaces symbolize the adversities of human life with space 58 being death, and requiring the player to begin again. The exhibition drew on the collection of Adrian Seville with more than 70 of these 'beautiful and strikingly printed games' ranging from the earliest educational games of the seventeenth century to modern games of advertising, politics and propaganda. The numerology of some of the early games represent love, others incorporate forfeits. There were games celebrating science and invention while others promoted new products. Those devoted to images of America included the Noble Game of the United States based on a novel by Jules Verne 'in which the possible benefactors of a Chicago millionaire's will battle for money by competing in a gigantic Goose game ranging across the States of the Nation'.

A fully illustrated catalogue accompanied the exhibition and is available from Oak Knoll Books ($50). This was followed by an exhibition on 'Artists & Others: the Imaginative French Book in the 21st Century'. Focusing on work designed and produced in the last fifteen years, the exhibition emphasized various aspects of modern typography and art.

OSCAR WILDE
The Sphinx. *London: Elkin Matthews and John Lane, 1894*
Presentation copy inscribed to Eugene Lee Hamilton



From the Archive

AUTUMN 1966: News & Comment

[T]he main part of the sale [at Sotheby's, 13 June] was devoted to music. Letters from Beethoven (irritable, to Diabelli) and from Mozart (also irritable, to Constanze Weber, for allowing the calves of her legs to be measured by a *chapeau* [= gallant]) made £2000 and £2600 (both Haas). But the most striking part of the sale was lots 168–202, the major part of Sullivan's manuscripts, sold by the trustees of his nephew's widow. These fetched the astronomic sum of over £50,000, the top price (£11,000, El Dieff) being paid for his diaries from 1881 to 1900. The autograph full scores accounted for most of the rest, and the prices revealed a rather curious order of priority. Here it is:

1. *Trial by Jury*	(Lloyd Maxwell, £9000)
2. *HMS Pinafore*	(Miss Myers, £6000)
3. *Patience*)	(Wontner, £5500)
4. *The Gondoliers*)	
5. *The Pirates of Penzance*	(Quaritch, £5000)
6. *Princess Ida*	(Wontner, £4500)
7. *The Sorcerer*	(Martin, £2000)
8. *The Grand Duke*	(Eadie, £1200)
9. *Cox and Box*	(Eadie, £1000)

Now why should *Trial by Jury* be top by such a margin, and why (of the Savoy Operas) should *The Sorcerer* be bottom by as much? It will be interesting to see where they all end up. Sir Hugh Wontner's purchases were made on behalf of the D'Oyly Carte Opera Trust, supported by the proceeds of a popular appeal launched three weeks before the sale; *The Gondoliers* are, it seems, to go to the BM and *The Pirates* to the Pierpont Morgan Library; the destiny of the others is not at present clear.

The MSS of 'Trial by Jury', 'HMS Pinafore', 'The Pirates of Penzance' and 'Cox and Box' went to the Pierpont Morgan Library; 'Patience' and 'The Gondoliers' are in the British Library, and 'Princess Ida' is in the Bodleian Library; Sir Arthur Sullivan's diaries are at the Beinecke Library. Until recently at least, 'The Sorcerer' and 'The Grand Duke' remained in private hands.

OBITUARIES

Alan Anderson

Alan Alexander Anderson : born Dunfermline, Fife, 23 August 1922 ; died Beauly, Inverness-shire, 6 June 2016

David Burnett called it 'the principal private press in Scotland'. But the truth is that the Tragara Press, the press founded by Alan Anderson in 1954, didn't have much competition. Also, it didn't operate much like a 'private press' : there were no fine bindings, great folios, *pièces de résistance* ; it was, like its proprietor, very un-grand, very un-showy. Typical productions were pamphlets printed on decent but not fancy paper, in Perpetua, Bembo or Baskerville, and bound in plain wrappers, perhaps with a printed label. Editions were small, round the hundred mark, and prices modest. What Anderson was interested in doing was presenting texts ; cleanly, carefully, and without flourish. Most of these texts were chosen by him, or suggested by close friends ; commissions from others had to be consistent with his canon.

For the bookseller George Sims, Anderson printed stationery, bookplates, catalogues, poems, anthologies. Through him he was introduced to Julian Symons and Roy Fuller, for both of whom he was a safe haven. 'I think the Tragara's chaste and modest style v. agreeable, & suitable for us 60-year-olds,' wrote Fuller to Symons in 1974 after Anderson printed a first poetry collection for Fuller, *An Old War*. 'In a way one begins to feel that this kind of publication is all one wants – half way between meagre commercial sales and the desk drawer.' Fourteen years later Peter Levi was writing in *The Spectator*, 'Some of my most treasured books have been pamphlets' – for example 'the thrilling bottle-green pamphlets of poems that the Tragara Press have been producing recently for Roy Fuller'.

One does feel with Fuller and one knows what Levi means about pamphlets. When Anderson wasn't serving them plain, he dressed them in wonderful marbled papers. They looked slight, but things of beauty. The texts inside were austere but easy to look at, inviting. The first publication of the press was John Gray's *A Phial*, in 1954, and there was always a strong emphasis on Anderson's favourite 1890s writers, Vincent O'Sullivan notably, along with Beardsley, Cory, Dowson, Gissing, and Wilde. Other favourites were Norman Douglas, whose

books Anderson collected, Edward Thomas, whose widow Helen he met through Sims, and Frances Cornford, whose bibliography he compiled in 1975. Amazingly, he published Sylvia Plath's first separate publication (after writing a fishing letter to Ted Hughes), *A Winter Ship*, in 1960. Among those who commissioned him in his long printing career were Donald Weeks, bowling him items of Corviana; Alan Clodd, usually for the Enitharmon Press; David Burnett, the librarian poet and patron of presses who wrote the introduction to Steven Halliwell's 2005 Tragara bibliography; the booksellers Morley Jamieson, Peter Jolliffe, Julian Nangle and Timothy d'Arch Smith; the former bookseller Anthony d'Offay; and the poet/musician/artist David Tibet. Latterly he became friends with Barry Humphries, whose Nineties anthology of the 'unpublished and unfamiliar', *At Century's Ebb*, he printed in 2008; it deserves much wider circulation.

When in 1991, after thirty-seven years, Anderson decided to close his press, he was typically diffident about his achievement. He wrote to Sir Angus Fraser, for whom he had printed three very useful pamphlets of George Borrow letters,

> At this stage I wonder if it has really been worthwhile: certainly not in financial terms, but I suppose we have made a few modest contributions to scholarship and it has put me in touch with some interesting people. The trouble is 90% of our business was with the trade, who never trouble to express any opinion of the work, and apart from half a dozen private customers the only enthusiastic response I ever had was from that array of Borrow collectors with whom you put me in touch . . .

That catches Anderson's habitual tone – there's an element of the bookseller's grumble; but he puts his finger on a 'private press' problem, that the majority of privately printed books are bought by collectors who have little intention of reading them; indeed, the more pristine the books remain, the better.

Privately, Anderson was a man of enthusiasms, whether for jazz, art (Braque, Klee, Samuel Palmer, Edward Lear), film (Orson Welles, Fellini, Hitchcock) or opera; a quiet man, for whom the lone pursuit of scholarship was all, the din of public recognition irrelevant. Three months after writing to Fraser, he thanked Alex Bridge, a Tragara Press collector, for an article he had written in *ABMR*:

> It was most kind of you to take the trouble to write that piece on the Tragara Press, and my wife and I greatly appreciated it. I only once had something written about the press, by a journalist working for the Scottish edition of the Times Educational Supplement, and it was so full of misprints, erro-

neous statements and general absurdities that I vowed never to encourage anything of the sort again.

For Anderson, printing was an activity entire unto itself: no applause was necessary, accomplishment was all – the satisfaction it gave was complete. His daughter's most vivid memories of him when she was a child are of Sunday mornings when he was printing or setting type in the printing room. He would have Mozart's Clarinet Concerto playing in the background and she and her brother would 'sit on the floor beside him and build towers and make buildings using his wooden printing blocks'.

Alan Alexander Anderson was born in Dunfermline in 1922, the only child of David Allan Anderson, master draper, and his wife, Penelope Farquharson Sim. His father was 50 when he was born, and Alan remembered a happy country childhood, the family house, 'Gowanbrae', four-square and comfortable, being on the edge of the town, with a large garden surrounded by farmland; his father bred Dandie Dinmonts, while his mother was a keen reader. The live-in maid was assigned to take Alan to Dunfermline Public Library, and he must have patronized the local bookshop Campbell's – a copy survives of *Peter Pan* with their ticket, and Alan's schoolboy inscription in a neat hand. After Dunfermline High School, he took banking exams, and went to work in 1939 at the Commercial Bank in Lochgelly, there meeting his future wife, Jennie (Janet Easton Thomson).

George Sims, born in 1923, did his war service in the Army and at Bletchley, carrying a Penguin of *A Quest for Corvo*. Alan Anderson did his, from 1942 to 1946, in the Navy, as a signalman, peppering his letters home with book requests; he had become a book collector in his teens. Trained at HMS *Collingwood*, he served on the *Monarch of Bermuda*, HMS *Woolwich* and HMS *Blenheim*, anywhere from Stornoway to Egypt. He was on the Free French sloop *La Moqueuse* when she docked, momentously, at Naples; given shore leave, he crossed to Capri – an island to which he would often return, the first time in 1949 with his girlfriend, Jennie, the second two years later with her as his bride.

On demob Anderson attended St Martin's School of Art in London, to study textiles, and in 1947 he joined the family drapers' firm in Dunfermline. It was only on the death of his father, in April 1951, that he felt able to be his own man: in August, he married Jennie, and it was probably on their honeymoon in Capri that he made his decision. Every day for almost a week that they were there, he was asked up to the villa that the local literary magus, Norman Douglas, shared with Kenneth Macpherson. In February 1952 Douglas died; in July the

following year, the month Anderson's daughter, Penelope, was born, he and another Douglas devotee, Cecil Woolf, organized a Norman Douglas memorial exhibition at Edinburgh Central Library. Next month the family moved to Edinburgh, naming their house 'Tragara' after the via Tragara on Capri, and Anderson was installed as a bookseller with the firm John Grant on George IV Bridge. He started taking evening classes in printing at Edinburgh College of Art; in 1953 he acquired not only a son, David, but also, four months later, an imperial octavo Peerless treadle platen press. The Tragara Press was in business.

Over the next nineteen years, Anderson mixed printing and bookselling, amassing some forty entries in Halliwell's bibliography, and buying a new, heavier, crown folio Arab treadle platen press in 1969. In 1960 he went solo as a bookseller, buying the North Bookshop on Dundas Street (Alan Rankin, another Grant's alumnus, joined him as an assistant), and twelve years later he became one of the founder members of the Scottish branch of the Antiquarian Booksellers' Association – exhibiting in March 1973 at the first Edinburgh Antiquarian Book Fair. But that same year he decided to sell his shop and become a full-time printer. Even after he nominally 'closed' the press in 1991, he carried on printing, commissions for others, *jeux d'esprit* and literary *trouvailles* for himself. His publications were disseminated exclusively through the antiquarian book trade. And he would have printed until death if his eyesight hadn't failed, if his treadle foot hadn't finally let him down. His last publication was a little-known obituary of Rupert Brooke by Edward Thomas, issued in forty-five copies in 2012; he had proofed pages of the second book of verse by his sometime fellow bookseller Edward Nairn (of John Updike, four years Anderson's senior and a graduate of James Thin's, round the corner from Grant's) but was unable to finish it.

Anderson's last years had their difficulties. His wife Jennie died in 2002, after 50 years of marriage; and in 2007 he left Loanhead, their final marital home, for Beauly, north of Inverness, where he was cosseted by his daughter, Penny, and her husband, Douglas – setting up his press in their garage. He had his books and his music, and their fine garden looked on to the hill. But he missed the book chatter of Edinburgh and, as his sight diminished, felt increasingly isolated. In 2014 his son, David, a colourist who began his career as a schoolboy working for Grant's, suddenly died. Alan complained, mildly, that he had nothing to live for; but, get him talking on a good day, and he was as lively as ever on his special subjects, and keen to hear word of his old friends, such as George Sims's gallant widow, Beryl, older than them both, who survives him.

In old age, Anderson became something of a grandee of Norman Douglas studies. He it was, reports the Cologne-based pianist and conductor Michael Allan (a Douglas collector), who in 1997 suggested that an edition be prepared of Douglas's letters. In 2008 *Respectful Ribaldry*, volume 1 of Norman Douglas's *Selected Correspondence* (General Editors, Michael Allan and Arthur S. Wensinger), was published by the Vorarlberger Landesbibliothek in Bregenz, Austria – centre of Douglas studies (he was born in Thüringen). It was dedicated to Anderson, and volume 9 is now in preparation. Although he could not be persuaded to attend any of the biennial Norman Douglas Symposia, the first of which took place in November 2000 in Bregenz and Thüringen, Anderson followed their proceedings with interest, and was, remembers Allan, unstinting with help and advice, as he was, reports his fellow Douglas scholar Cecil Woolf, to Woolf's wife Jean Moorcroft Wilson over her 2015 biography of Edward Thomas. Thanks to the generosity of Penny Stevenson, a number of books from her father's library, including books inscribed to him by Douglas, are to find a new and permanent home at the Norman Douglas Forschungsstelle in Bregenz.

Asked by George Sims in 1958 to write in his 'Likes & Dislikes' book, Alan Anderson included among his Likes, 'Catalogues from G. F. Sims', 'Greece and Italy', 'Hock', 'Coal fires', 'Countryside; hill walking in Highlands', 'Norman Douglas', 'Conversations with close friends'. And among his Dislikes, 'Postcards from booksellers: Regret sold…', 'Houses without books', 'Gin; parties; head waiters', 'D. H. Lawrence' and 'Distributing type after printing'.

JAMES FERGUSSON

Rocky Stinehour

Roderick Douglas Stinehour: born Montreal, Quebec, 21 March 1925; died Littleton, New Hampshire, 2 July 2016

'Rocky' he was to all who knew him, and to the much wider public who only knew of him. It was a good name: unchanged in appearance, solid in taste and opinions, imperturbable by events or sights that would have shocked a lesser man, he was a man to be relied on, who never let you down. A 'Green Mountain Boy' if ever there was, he was born Roderick Stinehour across the frontier in Montreal, but raised in Whitefield, New Hampshire. He joined the US Navy in 1943, and was

honourably discharged as a naval aviator in 1947. Providential chance took him to Dartmouth College, where he fell under the spell of Ray Nash, who ran the Graphic Arts Workshop there from 1937 to 1970. To make both ends meet he apprenticed himself to Ernest Bisbee, historian and jobbing printer at Lunenburg in Vermont, working there during summer vacations. He graduated in 1950, and in the same year Bisbee died. Rocky bought his plant and with it set up the Stinehour Press, still at Lunenburg. He was to make both name and place famous, but even before that he had taken another step with as lasting effect. He met and in 1947 married Elizabeth Maguire. If he was a rock-like figure to customers and employees alike, Elizabeth was the rock on which his life and work depended. They had eight children between 1948 and 1962. It became a very family business.

In 1953 Stinehour founded *Printing & Graphic Arts*, a journal devoted to typography, printing and the graphic arts, ancient and modern, with Nash as co-editor. The emphasis on vernacular lettering came from Nash, while his co-editor provided distinction in both prose and typographic style; it ran until 1965. Stinehour's motto was 'to do common things uncommonly well', and to begin with he had plenty of jobbing work, as well as catalogues and larger books. Among the press's early masterpieces were John Langdon's *Canadian Silversmiths and their Marks, 1667–1867* (1960), Edward Lathem's *Robert Frost: his 'American Send-off' – 1915* (1963) and Edward Tyler's *The Visions of Mary* (1972), with wood-engravings by Gillian Tyler. Stinehour also did high-quality work for the Limited Editions Club, notably Jack London's *White Fang* (1973), Shaw's *Pygmalion and Candida* (1974) and, memorably, Mark Twain's *Pudd'nhead Wilson* (1974).

The choice of types, Baskerville, Bembo and Bulmer in particular, suited the increasing amount of work that came to the press from libraries, museums and historical societies. Increasingly, these required photographic illustration, and this led to ever closer co-operation with Harold Hugo at Meriden Gravure in Connecticut. Like Stinehour, Hugo had begun work as a schoolboy, working during vacations on the collotype process for which Meriden became famous. He was quick to see the potential of photolithography, and very soon the combination of Stinehour's impeccable letterpress and Meriden's photographic plates, indistinguishable from collotype at 300-line, became the ideal for exhibition catalogues. The Houghton Library, Harvard, the Pierpont Morgan Library and the John Carter Brown Library at Providence were among their many clients. By 1975 the press could look back, and *Twenty-Five Books/Twenty-Five Years*, linked with an

exhibition at Dartmouth, showed that the press had more than come of age. In the same year Hugo retired from managing Meriden, and by natural synergy the two businesses merged to become the Meriden-Stinehour Press, with Hugo as chairman and Stinehour as president and CEO; he succeeded Hugo again in 1985, remaining chairman of the joint firm until 1995. But the times were against a business that specialized in short-run quality printing. In 1998 it was sold to an Irish group, and it closed in 2008, not before Boston Public Library was able to display 'The Stinehour Press, Work of the First Fifty Years' in 2003.

Stinehour had always resisted the temptation to come south. The press with its red barns never lost its rustic appearance, and blended so well with the landscape that in 1993 a vixen found shelter under the plate store to have her cubs, undisturbed by human comings and goings. As well as the press, he was busy with other local institutions: he was Co-Publisher of the *Coös County Democrat* and President of North Country Publishing Company and of the Weeks Memorial Hospital. Dartmouth gave him an honorary doctorate in 1981. Further afield, he was a director of the Spiral Press, a Fellow of both the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Pierpont Morgan Library, a member of the Grolier Club, the Typophiles and the Double Crown Club, the Century Association and the Club of Odd Volumes, the American Antiquarian Society (Vice-President, 1980–7) and American Printing Historical Association (Director, 1992–6) and the Printing Historical Society.

The Stinehour name continues under his sons Stephen, who publishes Stinehour Editions, and Christopher, engraving letters on stone, both maintaining the tradition of good design. *Printing as a Way of Life: Rocky Stinehour & The Stinehour Press* by Elton Wayland Hall (2014), a tribute to all he did, summed it up in his favourite saying: 'There are many paths to finding God; typography is one of the better ones'.

NICOLAS BARKER

Frank Collieson

Francis Robert Collieson: born Hanwell, Middlesex, 30 March 1926; died Cambridge, 1 May 2016

It is impossible to think of any bookish body or occasion in Cambridge over the last fifty years without Frank Collieson. He was always there,

usually lending a hand with whatever was going on, offering encouragement, finding a book for someone who needed it, putting on an exhibition, the life and soul of any book launch or other such event. It is hard to imagine Cambridge without him, or what it was like before he arrived, so much was he part of its landscape.

His career started in 1962 when he answered an advertisement from Heffer's for a post as editor and production assistant in their printing works, then near the War Memorial in Hills Road. It was still very much a family firm, with the bookshop that was its public face still in Petty Cury. Will Carter had worked there before setting up the Rampant Lions Press on his own, there was the Cambridge Bibliographical Society based at the University Library, Gray's the bookbinders and half a dozen other booksellers, all close together in the middle of the city. Collieson's responsibilities at Heffer's spread to include advertising and display, and the exhibitions that became his hallmark. He had friends everywhere, and was always happy to introduce newcomers to a world of which he was so much part.

But there was a pre-Frank Cambridge, beginning, improbably, in Hanwell, Middlesex, where his parents lived, his father Albert a postman, his mother Jessie a children's nurse. They had married in 1919 after Albert returned from a prisoner-of-war camp in East Prussia. Frank went to Drayton Manor Grammar School in Ealing, leaving after taking the School Certificate. His first job in 1942 was as an office boy for the London Bureau of *The New York Times*, situated in the Savoy Hotel. In 1944 he was conscripted for war service as a 'Bevin Boy' and moved to Northumberland to work in the mines. Released in 1947, he worked first for the newly established London Electricity Board, later moving to the National Coal Board, where he met Mary Adnitt, who was secretary to the future chairman, Derek Ezra; they married in 1953.

All this time, however, reading had been the counterpoint of Frank Collieson's life, reading increasingly informed by a natural taste for typography. His school-friends remember this as already evident then, and it got a new outlet about 1955 when the Colliesons moved to Bedford where Frank worked for Gordon Fraser, whose first shop had been at Cambridge. Almost accidentally, Frank too moved there, and fell in love with the place. Heffer's Petty Cury shop was demolished in 1969, and the bookshop moved to Trinity Street, where a new shop was built opposite the great gate of Trinity College. His remit now extended over more of the editorial and production part of Heffer's business, and in 1969 he became one of four Joint General Managers, the nucleus of 'Heffers Booksellers', so constituted that year.

Besides his business life, he became Honorary Secretary and also Treasurer of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society, which he served for over 20 years, as he did the Friends of the University Library and of the Fitzwilliam Museum. He was editor of the Sydney Smith Association Newsletter, a member of the Robert Louis Stevenson Society, and a regular supporter of the Fry Gallery, Saffron Walden, where he befriended the local artist Edward Bawden. He was as busy with other exhibitions and literary and typographical events, in and outside the university. He was in his element at the parties given at Heffer's on all such occasions, ready with a graceful speech or a word of congratulation. His energy and devotion to the university were rewarded with an Honorary Degree as Master of Arts in 1987.

Frank Collieson was one of the last of that once recognizable caste, the self-taught man of letters. The width of his reading was immense, but never indiscriminate. What he read he remembered, and nothing gave him greater pleasure than to see it printed or reprinted in apt typography. Printer and publishers who met and shared his tastes and standards, like James Stourton, artists and illustrators, notably George Mackie, learned to respect his judgement and sympathetic appreciation of their work. Not only Cambridge, but all who care for these things as he did, will miss all that he gave to them.

NICOLAS BARKER

Howard Radclyffe

Howard Edgar Radclyffe: born London, 22 October 1927; died Stevenage, Hertfordshire, 17 June 2016

Howard Radclyffe was born in 1927 at 13 Regent's Park Road, Primrose Hill, the only child of Harold Albert Radclyffe, a sergeant in the Metropolitan Police, and his wife, Elizabeth Mary (née Macdonald). 'It was a happy life in those days for I only had to go round the corner and there was the Regent's Park Zoo,' he wrote in his school notebook. Another entry in the notebook is an essay on Bird Study: 'To start this hobby the best thing to do is to get some books on the subject.' An uncanny foreshadowing of what he was to spend his life doing.

In November 1944, having failed his Matriculation, he applied for the job of 'junior office clerk at a leading firm of London Antiquarian Booksellers'; this turned out to be Bernard Quaritch Ltd, 11 Grafton

Street. He was interviewed by H. R. T. Williams, the managing director, who also ran the natural history and science department. He and Howard got on well, and due to his interest in natural history Howard was offered the job of junior assistant in the natural history department rather than the office job he had applied for. 'Williams was an excellent mentor. In the year I spent with him, I was given a sound grounding in natural history books,' he said later.

Looking back, Radclyffe saw that first year as memorable in many ways; the explosions of German V2 rockets, the many boarded-up bombsites, and streets almost devoid of traffic. Customers included King Haakon of Norway, Alexander Korda, Queen Mary (who demanded a discount) and Viscount Alanbrooke who relaxed from endless meetings by buying bird books. Howard was sent to Downe House to collect some Darwin items that the family were selling (what were they, we wonder?). 'They were stacked in a musty old cellar' – and his comments on the venue were not appreciated.

Radclyffe's wage was increased to £2 a week and he was assured his job would be kept open for him as he departed for National Service in the RAF. However, when he returned, later than expected because of the Berlin Airlift, he found that E. H. Boxall had returned from active service and was in charge of the natural history department; Radclyffe became his assistant. They were a mismatched pair. Boxall's knowledge was wide but his conservative view of prices meant that he found it difficult, in a rapidly rising market, to apply his considerable knowledge to buying books. When John Collins joined the firm in 1963 the stock was outclassed by Wheldon & Wesley, and Radclyffe's obvious enthusiasm for the bird books was damped down by Boxall, a small dour figure crouched over his desk and not very inviting to potential customers. Coal was still being brought up from the cellar to feed the departmental fire on the second floor, and every afternoon Radclyffe was called across to put Boxall's letters in order and take them down to the post room.

However, all was about to change. Howard Radclyffe's friends at the Tryon Gallery sent along one Commander James, nephew of the modest millionaire Vivian Hewitt, who had recently died leaving a stupendous collection of bird books on his estate in Anglesey. Before long, these were removed to the commander's factory in Dorking, and then to Grafton Street. Among the purchases was the folio Audubon (priced at £25,000, though it was folded to 4to), a complete set of Gould at the same price, and a mass of other fine bird books that sold like hot cakes. Quaritch catalogue 868, 'Fine Bird Books' (1966), listed some of them, and put the firm on top of the natural history book

trade in the UK. Other Radclyffe coups included the second part of the 'Lady' sale (actually French trade) at Sotheby's in 1963 when no one else turned up and Radclyffe bought all the best lots for next to nothing, and welcoming Robert de Belder when he came timidly into the shop looking for botanical books. This was an association that had important consequences for Quaritch. Radclyffe was cut free from Boxall, made a director in 1973, and never looked back. He finally retired at his own request in 1987, after over forty years with Quaritch.

Radclyffe knew all the important natural history books, plate by plate, comparing in his mind all the different copies he had seen and where one copy perhaps had the edge over another. People came from far and wide to have the benefit of Radclyffe's knowledge and to share his infectious enthusiasm. One of the first people Wendy Cruise showed into his room was David Attenborough, and there were collectors and librarians from all over the world. Radclyffe greeted them all as friends and loved to share his passion for the books – and of course they couldn't resist. He was a great salesman.

Howard Radclyffe loved the books, and he loved the customers, and business and pleasure were often combined. The doors of the great collections and libraries were open to him and he travelled widely. He was thrilled to see rare Lammergeier vultures on a trip to South Africa, and he particularly enjoyed visiting Australia with Derek McDonnell. The latter recalls how Howard always enjoyed the memory of this 'thoroughly eccentric trip down under'. He loved going on bush walks and up into the Blue Mountains, and did things he had never considered – the two of them rented a yacht and sailed on the Swan River in Perth. Howard protested that he had no idea what to do but always said afterwards that it had been one of his best days. There was no doubting the warmth of his friendship, and in London everyone wanted to visit him. Howard would do anything for his customers and they knew it and loved him for it. One particularly demanding librarian – perhaps testing Howard to see how far his friendship would stretch – asked to be taken to the Raymond Revuebar in Soho. Howard took a deep breath and booked them in to a show. The next morning his colleagues were all agog to hear about it, but Howard had nothing to report – he confided that he had kept his eyes closed throughout.

Outside Quaritch Howard led a full and happy life with his partner, Bunny (William Francis, 1947–2013). Bunny was a real anchor in Howard's life, and they were together for 45 years. On 21 December 2005 – the first possible day – they became one of the first couples in Britain to enter into a civil partnership. They travelled together, and

were often to be seen at concerts and the opera, sharing a love of classical music. At the age of 60 Howard retired with Bunny to Welwyn Garden City, where together they cultivated the beautiful garden, and filled the house with bird books and pictures, a grand piano, an army of CDs, and an affectionate and much-loved golden retriever, Riga, named after a recent holiday destination.

When Bunny died three years ago, Howard felt the loss very deeply, but he was supported and sustained by good neighbours and friends who helped him remain in his beloved bungalow and garden. He retained to the end his great sense of fun, and nothing delighted him more than a good gossip about the old days at Q. He would take you round the garden, and point out Milo the garden gnome, with a chuckle which would take you straight back to the old Natural History department – always known to Howard as 'the second floor', even though the entire shop at Lower John Street was on the ground floor. The stories would flow, sometimes quite eye-opening tales, and he would always finish by saying, 'I have been so fortunate.' He never ceased to be surprised at all the exciting and good things which had come his way. Howard Radclyffe loved life. He looked back thankfully on all the opportunities he had been given, and he never lost the sense of wonder and excitement he had experienced as a child at the beauties of nature.

JOHN COLLINS & WENDY CRUISE

Tom Valentine

Thomas Valentine: born Castlecary, Stirlingshire, 23 December 1929; died Falkirk, Stirlingshire, 5 April 2016

Born in 1929 at Castlecary, where North Lanark and Falkirk meet, Tom Valentine went to Kilsyth Academy, leaving at the age of fourteen to join the great Falkirk bookbinding firm, Dunn & Wilson. There he might have stayed, but for the chance that took him to Stow College, the first, and then still new, further education college in Glasgow, where he got a good all-round training in bookbinding; he was awarded the course medal in 1948. Three years' National Service in the RAF followed, spent in Hendon and Germany, after which he returned to Dunn & Wilson in 1954.

Valentine's energy and inventive mind had already marked him out for promotion, and in 1958 he was chosen by the Crown Agents to

establish a bookbinding service for the Government Printing Service in Nigeria. West Africa was a new experience for him; always self-reliant, he learned how to deal with unexpected problems of all kinds, many of them nothing to do with bookbinding. More important, he met and in 1959 married Madeleine Upton, working as a secretary. They returned to Falkirk, and Tom to Dunn & Wilson, where he rose from charge-hand to junior manager. By the mid-1970s, bookbinding was changing; the emphasis was changing from 'library binding', built to stand the strain of circulation for new books and old. The new watchword was 'conservation', repairing original structures as well as supplying new. In 1977 the British Library, which had done all its binding, even of periodicals, 'in-house', invited tenders from binding firms big enough to handle orders for hundreds of books at a time.

For Tom Valentine this was an opportunity not to be missed. He persuaded a reluctant management to take it, and went himself to London to learn the new techniques of deacidifying and supporting paper, as well as properly tanned leather, conveniently available from Hewitt's in Edinburgh. He made firm friends with the library staff, among them Roy Russell, the library's works manager. Dunn & Wilson made him works director for a new Conservation Department.

But Valentine was always his own man, and in 1981 he decided to set up as a binder himself, reckoning that he could make a living from the new skills he had acquired. He quite underestimated the demand; he was soon swamped with work. In 1989 he had to find new premises, and the Carronvale Bindery was established at Larbert, not far from the once famous ironworks and paper-mill, where it continues the tradition he started.

Little in stature (not much over five feet), he was large in everything else – great in enterprise, great in generosity, great in heart. He was also a great fisherman, with a rod in the back of his car, ready if he saw a promising stretch of water. He loved his homeland, was president of the Polmont Rotary Club, trustee of the Raasay Heritage Trust and Officer of the Order of St John, Edinburgh. The National Library of Edinburgh, as well as the British Library, owes much to his care. He was a Founder Member of the Society of Bookbinders of Scotland, proud to be a member of the Scottish Library Association, the Society of Archivists and the Institute of Paper Conservation. By all these he will be missed, but even more by those who only knew the small, determined, occasional mischievous, irresistible figure, once met but never forgotten.

NICOLAS BARKER

BOOKS RECEIVED

Adam D. Mendelsohn, ed.
BY DAWN'S EARLY LIGHT
Jewish Contributions to American Culture from the Nation's Founding to the Civil War
Princeton University Library, 2016
Pp. xx + 330 incl. 75 col. & b/w figs
ISBN 0 87811 059 3 $50.00

Jean Paul Barbier-Mueller
DICTIONNAIRE DES POETES FRANÇAIS de la seconde moitié du XVIe siècle (1549–1615). A–B
Librairie Droz, 2015
Pp. 997. ISBN 2 600 01851 7 SFr89.00

Staffan Fogelmark
THE KALLIERGES PINDAR
A Study in Renaissance Greek Scholarship and Printing
Dinter, 2015
Vol. I: pp. xvii + 497 incl. b/w figs. Vol. II: pp. 501–787 incl. facsimile plates
ISBN 3 924794 60 6 €180.00

John Crichton, ed.
FRANKLIN GILLIAM, TEXAS BOOKMAN
Eight Reminiscences
Book Club of Texas, 2014
Pp. 60 incl. b./w illus.
ISBN 987 1 930639 07 4 $45.00

Mark Godburn
NINETEENTH-CENTURY DUST-JACKETS
Private Libraries Association/ Oak Knoll Press, 2016
Pp. 216 incl. col. illus.
ISBN 978 0 900002 88 5 (PLA)/ 978 1 58456 347 1 (OK) £50.00/$75.00

Michael Broomfield
HIS PLACE FOR STORY
Robinson Jeffers: A Descriptive Bibliography
Oak Knoll Press, 2015
Pp. xxvi + 318 incl. b/w illus. with col. illus. on CD. ISBN 988 1 58456 338 9 $75.00

Chris Sheppard
A SENSE OF PROPORTION
An Alternative View of the Special Collections of Leeds University Library
Leeds University Library, 2016
Pp. [iv]+ 64 incl. col. illus.
ISBN 978 1 874331 57 5 £10.00

Bruce O'Brien & Barbara Bombi, ed.
TEXTUS ROFFENSIS
Law, Language and Libraries in Early Medieval England
(Studies in the Early Middle Ages, 30)
Brepols, 2015
Pp. xiv + 420
ISBN 978 2 503 54233 1 €100.00

Simon Palfrey & Emma Smith
SHAKESPEARE'S DEAD
Bodleian Library, 2016
Pp. 192 incl. col. illus.
ISBN 978 1 85124 247 4 £19.99

Rosanna Gorris Camos & Alexandre Vanautgaerden, ed.
LES LABYRINTHES DE L'ESPRIT
Collections et bibliothèques à la Renaissance / Renaissance Libraries and Collections
(Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, DLI)
Bibliothèque de Genève/Librairie Droz, 2015
Pp. xxx + 674 incl. b/w illus.
ISBN 978 2 600 01909 5 SFr55.00

INCLUSION IN THIS LIST DOES NOT PRECLUDE SUBSEQUENT REVIEW

BOOK REVIEWS

Graham Jefcoate
DEUTSCHE DRUCKER UND BUCHHÄNDLER IN LONDON 1680–1811
Strukturen und Bedeutung des deutschen Anteils am englischen Buchhandel
De Gruyter, 2015
Pp. xxviii + 610 + [2]
ISBN 978 3 11 031120 4 $50.00

'The British, on the whole, don't travel to Germany and don't read German literature.' Thus Neil MacGregor, then Director of the British Museum, talking to Simon Schama for *The Financial Times*, in 2014. That year, when three major anniversaries – the Hanoverian succession, the beginning of the First World War, and the fall of the Berlin Wall – coincided, may prove to have marked a turning-point in the way Britain sees Germany, away from the yobbish 'two World Wars and one World Cup' attitude still sadly prevalent in some quarters today.

There has certainly been a lot to read: in 2014, the series of posts on the British Library's European Studies blog looking at Anglo-German cultural relations and the role of Germans in Britain, 1714–1914 (still available online), and Neil MacGregor's own splendid *Germany: memories of a nation* – printed in Germany, I note – published to accompany the BBC Radio 4 series of the same title (itself now available as a six-CD set) and the museum's own exhibition. Then, in 2015, appeared two further important contributions to the history of Anglo-German relations and the books which document it: Nicola McLelland's *German through English Eyes: a history of language teaching and learning in Britain 1500–2000* (Harrassowitz Verlag) and Graham Jefcoate's *Deutsche Drucker und Buchhändler in London 1680–1811* ('German Printers and Booksellers in London: the form and impact of the German contribution to the English book trade').

Jefcoate is perhaps uniquely qualified to write this book. His career-long research into the early history of German involvement in the London book trade dates back to the 1980s and his work on the Eighteenth-Century Short-Title Catalogue. German-language printing and bookselling in colonial America was already being investigated (witness Bötte and Tannhof's *The First Century of German Language Printing in the United States of America*, Göttingen, 1989, reviewed for THE BOOK COLLECTOR by Graham Nattrass in Spring 1991), but Britain lagged behind. Bernhard Fabian, whose own Panizzi Lectures, *The English Book in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (1992), show us something of the other side of the coin, was quick to spot the possibilities offered by ESTC and suggested the topic to Jefcoate, who had published an article on the Deutsche Lese-Bibliothek, a German circulating library operating in the Strand in the 1790s, in *The Library* in 1987. Fast-forward to 2002 and the publication of the British Library's *Foreign-Language Printing in London 1500–1900*, itself born out of a one-day conference at the library on the subject two years before, masterminded by Jefcoate himself. His subject then, and in various articles in between, was German printing and bookselling in eighteenth-century London, which has been duly expanded into a fuller discussion, and exhaustive bibliography, in the present work.

Jefcoate takes as his date range the long eighteenth century, from the publication of the first German

book in London (Martin Aedler's *High Dutch Minerva*, 1680, the first grammar of German for English speakers) to when Johann Benjamin Vogel and Gottlieb Schulze, publishers of *Der Treue Verkündiger*, London's first German newspaper, dissolved their partnership in 1811. The first 120 pages set the scene, offering an overview of the three main phases of German activity in the London book trades (printers, publishers, booksellers) and of the institutions of 'German London' at the time.

This is followed by detailed chapters on particular characters: the Pietist Johann Christian Jacobi, who opened London's first German bookshop *c*1709, stocked with titles from the SPCK's publisher Joseph Downing; Johann Christoph Haberkorn, operator of London's first German press, 1749–67, with an output of over 100 books in four languages (notably Thomas Chippendale's *The Gentleman and Cabinet-maker's Director*, 1754, James Stuart's *Antiquities of Athens*, and fellow émigré Michael Combrune's *Theory and Practice of Brewing*, both 1762); Andreas Linde, 'Book Binder to His Highness Prince George', but also active as a bookseller and publisher (e.g. the influential German translation of Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty*, 1754); Nikolaus von Zinzendorf and his publications for the Moravian Church; Christlieb Gottreich Seyffert, a major importer of German books into England; Haberkorn's successor Carl Heydinger, who was also active as a literary translator (Haller, Wieland) and the only London bookseller in the period to make several visits to the Leipzig book fairs; James Remnant, 'English and German Bookseller in London', with a bookselling brother, William, in Hamburg; the Swiss Heinrich Escher (known to Coleridge, and memorialized in a doggerel letter from the poet to J. J. Morgan in 1812: 'My dear Morgan / I wish you would be my Organ / And when you pass down Piccadilly / To call at Escher's, who sells books wise and silly / But chiefly in a Lingo by the Learned called German…'); and the publisher Constantin Geisweiler, who benefited from the 'rage for German literature' of the 1790s. None of these was featured in the *DNB*, and whilst this oversight is, thanks to Jefcoate, in many cases now happily remedied in the *ODNB*, a fuller account of each is given here.

If the descriptive section were not proof enough, Jefcoate's bibliography demonstrates the impact these men had on the London book trade: around 550 books are listed, each either printed in German or with the involvement of German-speaking printers, publishers, or booksellers in London. Full titles are given, plus pagination, format, and references to both ESTC and VD 18, with additional references where appropriate.

SIMON BEATTIE

Jon A. Lindseth & Alan Tannenbaum, ed.
ALICE IN A WORLD OF WONDERLANDS
Translations of Lewis Carroll's Masterpiece
Oak Knoll Press/Lewis Carroll Society of America, 2015
Vol. 1: Essays, pp. 837pp, 16 col. plates and b/w figs. Vol. 2: Back-Translations, pp. 787, b/w figs. Vol. 3: Checklists, pp. 1011, b/w frontis. ISBN 1 58456 331 0 $295.00

Pooh, Bond and *Alice* – there are some texts so sacred that the right, the only, quantity is more. Some, e.g. Bond, can be extended by hiring other writers to enlarge the canon. But the texts of A. A. Milne and Lewis Carroll cannot be so treated – illustrations, yes, as

Disney has found to its advantage, but not the text. But translation is another matter. There are countless versions of *Pooh*, and the special challenge of Carroll's nonsense has caused the *Alice*-in-translation industry to grow to Herculean proportions. This represents a challenge in itself, now met by this colossal work.

It records a whole world, charted on the elegant endpapers in a map that shows the distribution of translations into 153 languages, adding eight constructed languages (e.g. Esperanto), twelve transliterations into other alphabets, including 'Deseret' (found in Salt Lake City) and one 'Parody of an Imaginary Language'. Going further in, we find that the work is appropriately dedicated to the memory of William Weaver (1923–2013), the Grand Old Man of Alician studies. Eight essays and 100 pages, three by the indefatigable Morton N. Cohen, and one each by Selwyn Goodacre, Edward Wakeling, Michael Suarez, Emer O'Sullivan and William Weaver, mainly bibliographical in tenor. One hundred and seventy more essays follow, outlining the history of translation into as many languages. Classification is a bit dodgy: Brazilian Sign Language is regarded as separate from Brazilian, the aboriginal language of Jersey is treated as distinct from Breton, Middle Breton and Manx, and while eleven Scots dialects (including West Central Ayrshire) and three Gaelic all qualify as separate languages, the English equivalents (Old, Middle, Cockney, Scouse and Appalachian) are relegated to the level of dialects. There are more essays on illustrations and comics, concluding with 'Zumorigénflit: a Parody of This Project', which must take self-referentiality to the limit.

So much for volume 1. Volume 2 is devoted to 'back-translation', a category devised by William Weaver. It means returning foreign-language versions to an English so literal that Carroll addicts can get a feel of the linguistic problems involved in the self-inflicted distortion imposed by the native structure of the languages into which translation has been attempted. This raises the total number to 208, including the Kabulic dialect of Dari and, at last (1998), Occitan. The total is inflated by separate renderings into the same language; there are two different Swedish versions (1870 and 2009), two each for Latvian, Ukrainian and 'Finish'. But this is not the end; if the number of Scots dialects (so called here) remains eleven, Seychelles Creole is included for the first time.

The third and longest volume gets down to the serious bibliographical record, recording, in separate checklists, all the editions of all the versions in 174 different languages, a figure neatly corresponding with that on the endpaper maps, in chronological order of issue, *Through the Looking-glass* following *Alice in Wonderland*. It even provides locations, listed in twelve pages, using an abbreviation system peculiar to this work (AK is for 'Amazon Kindle'). No figure is given for the total number of editions or issues thus recorded (Chinese alone runs to 67 pages), but it is not far short of 10,000. The number of versions in unfamiliar languages issued from 'Westport, Ireland' betrays the inventive hand of Jon Lindseth. Serious criticism of so vast a corpus is impossible, but it would be improper not to note that the place of publication of the 2005 edition of *Alicia al pais de les meravelles* is not 'Badalona' but Barcelona.

Now that this prodigious task is complete, will the compilers turn to the rest of the Carroll corpus? *The Hunting of the Snark* they will take in their stride, but what about *Sylvie and Bruno* and *Sylvie and Bruno Concluded*? We look forward to the gardener's songs in

Armenian – how to render 'He thought he saw a Rattlesnake that questioned him in Greek, He looked again and found it was the Middle of Next Week'?

NICOLAS BARKER

Karen Attar, ed.
DIRECTORY OF RARE BOOK AND SPECIAL COLLECTIONS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND
Facet Press, 2016
Pp. xx + 586. ISBN 978 1 78330 016 7 (hardback),
978 1 78330 148 5 (e-book) £175.00

Since the publication of a second edition in 1997, the *Directory of Rare Book and Special Collections* has been an essential accompaniment to the discovery of these islands' bibliographical resources. Prepared under the auspices of the British librarians' professional association, CILIP, it represents a vast amount of work on the part of dozens of people besides the editor. So, a third edition is an important event. Much has happened in this world since 1997. There have been removals, sales and other changes brought about by the re-focusing of academic and public libraries alike. As the most convenient record of rare book collections, the *Directory* has a special responsibility.

This new edition is compact: about 150 pages shorter than the last edition, yet set in a larger type. One immediately asks: have libraries really disposed of so much? The answer is not easy to discover. While (according to the editor's introduction) almost a hundred collections have been added, many have disappeared. So, the National Trust is now much better covered, with places like Calke Abbey and Belton House included for the first time. The major acquisitions of Cardiff University Library, from the local public library, are well dealt with. But there are, still, no entries for the great recusant library (to say nothing of the thousands of other early books) at Stonyhurst, nor is there an entry for the rich collections at the Wordsworth Trust in Grasmere.

On sales and dispersals, the pages are tellingly silent if one compares this edition with the old. Wigan public library, once so rich, has disappeared. The Hartland collection at Gloucester no longer figures. Nor does the Mendham library once in the care of the Law Society. Other collections have moved and sometimes (like Sion College) been reduced in the process. But while Sion College is perhaps well enough known, not everyone will realize that, thanks to some usefully constructive thinking, Bromham parish library in Bedfordshire has been moved over the county boundary and now graces the shelves at Canons Ashby. You will not find Bromham in the index, yet the library still exists, and indeed is mentioned under its new home.

Absences make for questions. The Bishop Phillpotts library at Truro is no more. But what has happened to the other collections in Truro: at the cathedral library, and at Cornwall county library, for which there are no longer entries? What has happened to Bedford Museum? To Yielden parish library? To Loughborough University Library? On a larger scale, how much, if anything, survives of Stoke Newington, subject of an anguished article in the *Times Literary Supplement* in 1997? Is anything at all left of the Tate library at Lambeth? Of the libraries once connected to the University of London, Birkbeck College has disappeared, and Queen Mary has been reduced to an entry of just eight lines compared with two columns in the last edition. Habitués of second-hand bookshops know more about what has happened to some of these

libraries (including Sir Sidney Lee's Shakespeariana at Queen Mary); but as they are all indiscriminately absent, and not all have been sold or destroyed, readers of the *Directory* will be left in wholesale ignorance.

An editorial decision was taken to reduce the length of most of the entries. The last edition was notable for the detailed attention given to the libraries of London. So, last time the old Shoreditch parish library at Hackney had 57 lines. Now it has ten. Elsewhere, Manchester central library is perhaps of especial interest, as it has been widely criticized for its stock reduction of 240,000 volumes. The old edition gave it no fewer than nineteen columns. Now it has just four, in larger type, and detail has been not so much pruned as slashed off.

Compilers of directories depend on collaboration, and at the end of this volume is a list of 'Possible special collections', no fewer than 117 libraries where entries have been dropped because there was no reply to repeated enquiries. The inclusion here of many public libraries may not necessarily indicate dispersal. It certainly indicates lack of interest, and lack of appropriate staff. On the other hand some of the others in this list are simply bewildering. But for other features in this book there is less excuse, and readers may be even more bewildered that professional librarians can permit an index that includes a sequence under 'Brown' proceeding in the order Adrian, Dr Iain Gordon, Dr John, Frank S. … Kenneth, Prof. James Campbell, Prof. Thomas Graham, Revd Dr James. Computer sorting can only do so much. Meanwhile, use this new edition, but keep the old one as well.

DAVID MCKITTERICK

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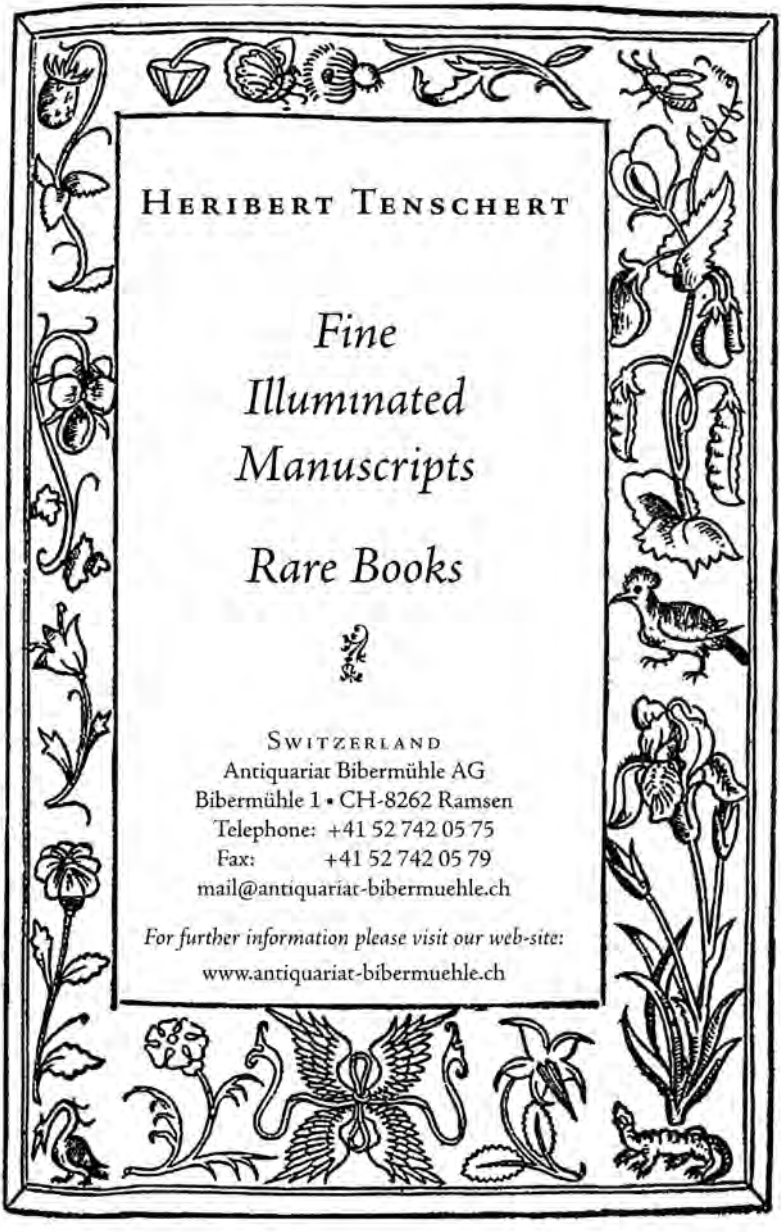

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