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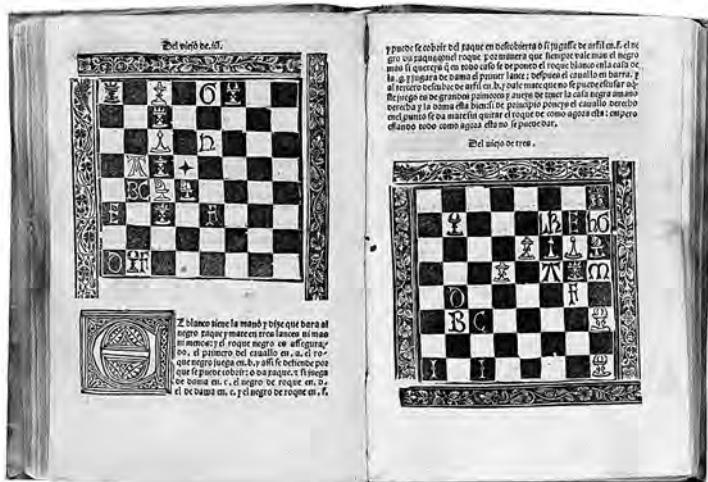
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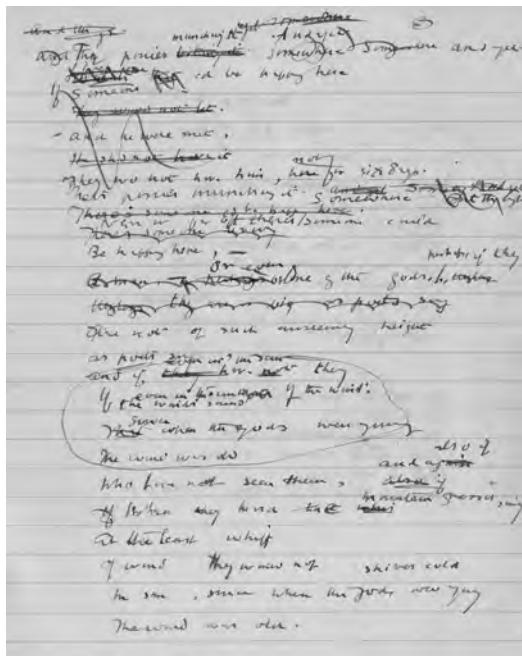
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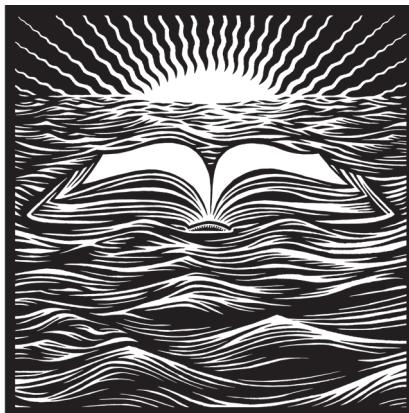
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A typical gathering of Murray authors in the Drawing Room c.1820
Courtesy of John Murray

Musings from 50 Albemarle Street

JOHN R. MURRAY

As a publisher I helped to nourish the variety of the Murray's list in the fields of history, travel, biography and art and archaeology but my position was always a mix of editor, salesman and administrator. One of my side interests was typography and design. When I was young my sister and I were given a small Adana hand printing press. Joe Tanner, director of the Frome printer Butler & Tanner that printed many Murray books, was a friend of my father and kindly supplied us with fonts of Bembo, Baskerville and Gill Sans. We used to print party invitations, Christmas cards, letter headings and suchlike for family and friends. This led to my fascination with printing and during later years I collected a wide range of printers' specimen type books, books on design as well as runs of *Alphabet & Images*, *Signature* and the *Newsletters of the Curwen Press*.

I pursued this particular interest and created a number of books, which I edited, designed and, on one occasion, typeset and bound myself. One of these was *A Gentleman Publisher's Commonplace Book*. After my father Jock Murray's death, I decided to make a selection from the enormous number of little blue notebooks in which he'd jot down any quotes, sayings or proverbs he came across whether wise, thoughtful, witty or sometimes simply dotty, and to assemble the best in a slim volume. I added illustrations from our archive by such as Osbert Lancaster, John Piper, John Betjeman, Kathleen Hale of Orlando fame and Johnnie Craxton as well as designs by Edward Bawden, Reynolds Stone and others. To my surprise we sold over 35,000 copies with four reprints. Another book I had fun producing was *Old Chestnuts Warmed Up*, a volume of narrative verse I learnt by heart at school. Antonia Fraser reviewed it in the Literary Review as 'an utterly delightful book. Inside you find a plethora of favourites'. Jeff Fisher, a friend and well known for the jacket of *Captain Corelli's Mandolin*, kindly designed the eye-catching cover

and once again I had great fun illustrating it with all kinds of pictures from personal sources.

Early on I learnt that to the Murrays publishing was a way of life and that work and play merged into each other. While I was at boarding school my father used to write me letters with the latest news of what was going on at 50 Albemarle Street, the home and later the publishing offices of the Murrays since 1812. My father would describe how he went exploring parish churches with John Piper and John Betjeman in preparation for their county guides and how he would visit Dame Felicitas, Abbess of the enclosed order of Benedictine nuns at Stanbrook Abbey, to discuss with her through a grille her book *In a Great Tradition*. I also remember his description of the excitement when Paddy Leigh Fermor tracked down Byron's slippers in Missolonghi and sent back a tracing of them to my father to check them against Byron's boots in our collection. Then there was the evening spent in the drawing room at 50 Albemarle Street with Harold Nicolson and Peter Quennell reading through original Byron letters brought up from the archive, trying to discover what Byron was up to on a certain date in May 1815 that was a vital piece of information required by Harold Nicolson for a book he was writing. When my father read out a certain letter Harold Nicolson jumped to his feet exclaiming 'so that's where he was on that evening!' This gave me an idea of what the Murray style of publishing was like.

My parents were close friends with their authors and there was clearly an overlap with the family as can be seen by the choice of their children's godparents. Sir Francis Younghusband, who led Lord Curzon's notorious invasion of Tibet in 1904, was my elder sister's godfather, Freya Stark, the Arabian traveller, was my godmother, Osbert Lancaster, the cartoonist, writer and theatre designer, was my younger sister's godfather and John Piper was my brother's godfather.

I found early on that the Murrays were often much more than publishers in their duties to their authors. John Murray II collected from the London docks the body of Byron's illegitimate daughter Allegra, who had died in a convent in Italy, and arranged for her to be buried beside the porch of Harrow Church. John Murray III

organised for David Livingstone's daughter to receive music lessons in Paris and provided her with pocket money. Freya Stark asked my father to send her a hip bath to the Hadhramaut by diplomatic bag, and Noni Jabavu, the first Bantu author to be published in English, asked me to send her a pot of Plush Prune nail varnish urgently. I had no idea how to procure this so I had to ask the advice of a young secretary.

From 1812 the drawing room at 50 Albemarle Street became the great meeting place of authors, politicians, explorers, scientists and archaeologists. Walter Scott described these gatherings as 'Murray's Four o'clock Friends'. Its historic rooms are still lined with portraits of generations of authors including Byron, Walter Scott, Coleridge, Darwin, David Livingstone and those who came later. Up to 1928, when the publishing offices took over, No. 50 was the home of the Murrays and in many ways my father continued to treat it as home. Indeed, it still has the feeling of a family house. After the Second World War he re-established the tradition of commissioning portraits of his 20th-century authors and these now adorn the beautiful 18th-century staircase up to the first floor. When I'm in the main rooms alone in the evening as it gets dark, I can imagine the authors coming out of their frames like the scene in the haunted gallery in Gilbert & Sullivan's *Ruddigore* and picking up their conversations from where they'd left off.

In my father's time, Osbert Lancaster always popped in for a gossip after doing his pocket cartoon for the *Daily Express*. John Betjeman was another regular visitor and a great friend. They had met at Oxford, and my father had taken an interest in his early poetry. Betjeman's first collection, *Mount Zion*, was published privately in 1931 in a small hand-printed edition. My father took a copy to show his uncle old Sir John Murray, then head of the firm, saying 'You won't have heard of Betjeman, but I'm anxious to publish his verse.' Sir John replied, 'Poetry doesn't pay. Betjeman? Probably a German. No, no, no.' My father didn't give up and sold his few shares in Bovril to finance the publication of *Continual Dew* in 1937. It was Betjeman's second book of poetry and included one of his most famous lines, 'Come, friendly bombs, and fall on Slough!' My father would often take Betjeman to Murray's warehouse where

he enjoyed exploring the building and watching the staff at work packing books. At his request, the same wrapping paper was used for the dust jacket of the first edition of *Summoned by Bells*.

My father had great charisma and taught me how to get on with even the most difficult authors. An example of this is how he won over Kenneth Clark. Murray's had published a few of Clark's books before the enormous success of *Civilisation* in 1969. While the television series and book were being discussed with the BBC, Clark came to see my father and said, 'Jock, I've signed and sealed the contract with the BBC.' My father, in a way that only he could do, persuaded him that Murray's would serve him best and he amazingly agreed that he should renegotiate the book rights with the BBC. This was a demonstration of Clark's loyalty to my father, and it became the BBC's first book to be jointly published with a commercial publisher. That year my father arranged for K's royalty cheque to be put in the toe of his Christmas stocking. Who else could have got away with this?

When I became a publisher myself I learnt a similar lesson. A publisher's job was, it seemed to me, to give the best advice to an author for the success of his/her book. However, I quickly found that this was not always easy as authors rightly tend to be very possessive about their writing and are usually experts on their subject. This was certainly the case with Peter Hopkirk who came to me with the typescript of his first book *Foreign Devils on the Silk Road*. This taught me that any ideas an editor may have, if they were to be adopted, should appear to come from the author. Having read the first draft of Peter's book I realised it needed considerable attention and when I returned it to Peter, it was covered with my pencil suggestions. First, we immediately agreed on one point: that the end of one chapter should irresistibly lead the reader to the next one, an idea that Peter adopted as his own for this and all his later books. We had many tussles in the future but ours was a creative relationship. I had learnt always to see myself as a general reader and to persuade authors that a book was of little use if it was not intelligible to people like me.

It was, I think, always assumed that I would join the family firm and in hindsight I suppose I should have seen myself as an iron filing

attracted to a magnet. After my time at Eton I went up to Magdalen College Oxford and not being academic I graduated with an excellent third-class honours degree in Modern History (this only went up to the end of the 19th century beyond that was ‘current affairs’!).

Speaking of Magdalen (and as a diversion), I was sitting there with a friend one evening reading an account by John Buchan of a walk he took from London to Oxford on a Sunday. In a fit of undergraduate enthusiasm we decided to follow his example and borrowing a friend’s car, drove to London and set off on foot at 6 am from Hanger Lane. We followed the old A40 all the way to Oxford and walked exhausted twelve hours later into Hall at Magdalen for dinner. Just the kind of mad thing an undergraduate would do. On another occasion I swam the Bosphorus from Europe to Asia before wandering across Turkey to the Syrian border. I claimed to have followed in Byron’s footsteps (breaststrokes!) until someone reminded me that Byron swam the Hellespont not the Bosphorus (needing much greater stamina). On the way back to England I climbed Mount Parnassus by moonlight up a stream bed and was nearly eaten alive by one of the fierce mountain hounds trained to defend sheep from the rustlers. I luckily survived and managed to watch from the summit the sunrise over the Peloponnese. Three months later a backpacker was found dead in the mountain as a result of an unfortunate meeting with one of these bloodthirsty hounds.

Before joining Murray’s in 1964, I decided I should learn something about business and signed on to Ashridge Business School. There, far from learning how to cope with a small family publishing firm, I was trained to run businesses such as steel mills. I was almost the only person on the course coming from a company of under 500 employees. Murray’s had thirty-seven and unlike the others was more like a large family. When, on joining Murray’s I tried to implement critical path analysis to streamline the systems, I was firmly told by one of the packers in our warehouse, ‘Young John, you can’t possibly use that here’. There was an uproar and rightly so; the firm was too small for this to work and was also too steeped in tradition.

I then spent some time in Frome at the printers, Butler & Tanner, where I decided for my apprenticeship to produce a little book of my own to demonstrate the skills I was learning. It was made up of a

selection of quotes from letters sent to my ancestors describing their visits to 50 Albemarle Street. From such as Byron, Washington Irving, David Livingstone, Cavour and Herman Melville. It was entitled *Variations on Number Fifty. A Limited edition compiled and printed by John Murray VII for his friends and the friends of Fifty Albemarle Street*. It was illustrated by line drawings by Osbert Lancaster, of which I made steel repro plates, and I personally designed the cover showing the front door of No. 50. When I arrived at Butler & Tanner I was put under the supervision of a wonderful no-nonsense foreman. Reg had an incredible eye from years of experience – and complete contempt for ‘new-fangled’ designers who had just come out from art school. He sensibly designed by eye not by measurement. In those days the print unions were all-powerful: you only had to touch the machinery or the stone for them all to go out on strike. As a concession I was allowed to typeset *Variations on Number Fifty* on a monotype machine, but I could only use Centaur as the letter ‘t’ was missing from the font and I had to insert each missing ‘t’ by hand. Because of this they were happy for me to set the book as I wasn’t depriving their members of any work.

Once I was installed at Murray’s I was sent on an overseas marketing tour to meet our main overseas agents and booksellers. Wherever I went I received a warm welcome as everyone seemed to know of the famous house of John Murray. Oxford University Press had represented us for many years in Pakistan and India where I was to meet the Minister of Education. On arrival his secretary sat me down and asked me to wait. After I had waited a long time, I asked when my meeting would take place. He replied, ‘As soon as Mr. Murray arrives’. When I explained that I was Mr. Murray, the secretary told me that they had been expecting an elderly man with a long white beard. Murray’s and their books had been famous for so many years on the subcontinent that they clearly did not expect a youngster like me. We had a marvellous agent in Karachi who arranged for me to visit the Karachi Girls’ High School, where I planned to talk about Murray’s educational books with the head-mistress. However on arrival and without warning I was told I was to give a talk to the sixth form and was led to the assembly hall and guided onto the rostrum in front of a room full of beautiful Pakistani

girls wearing their shalwar kameez. I was naturally terrified, having had no time to prepare for this. However I was saved as, after starting hesitantly, I discovered that I had to pause after each sentence so that it could be translated into Urdu thus giving me a moment to think what next to say. When at the end there was a Q & A session I must admit I made up most of my answers but nobody seemed to notice. This was a useful experience as it taught me that I should always be prepared to speak wherever I went.

The following years saw a great transition in the publishing world. The Standard Book Numbering system was being introduced and I was made responsible for responsible for implementing the system for Murray's. Much of my time was now spent away from editing books as I became involved in the business side of the firm. Clearly if Murray's was going to survive, it had to move with the times. So gradually we moved the entire business onto computers. Meanwhile we had a warehouse in Clerkenwell Road on five floors with a lift that moved at a snail's pace. We were often several weeks behind with orders, and unbelievably still had an employee who remembered as a boy making deliveries to bookshops with a horse and cart. We decided to sell the warehouse and put our distribution in the hands of Grantham Book Services part of the Random House group. This proved an excellent move as Murray's were publishers not distributors and had none of the essential skills needed for handling orders.

During this time our sales were increasing considerably. *Civilisation* was selling vast numbers both in hard cover and paperback and we were also selling millions of copies of D.G. Mackean's *Introduction to Biology*. On the general side, 1975 saw the publication of Ruth Prawer Jhabvala's novel *Heat and Dust* that won the Booker Prize and was later made into a film by Merchant Ivory Productions. In 1978, Patrick Leigh Fermor received the W.H. Smith Literary Award for the first volume of his travel autobiography, *A Time of Gifts*. Without our new distribution arrangement we would have been in serious trouble.

Throughout my working life, and in the same way as my predecessors, I was totally immersed in the family publishing business not simply as a profession but as a way of life. To be working in

a building that was world famous and attracting visitors (authors, ex-authors, friends, those who wished to visit the haunts of Byron, Water Scott, Darwin, Livingstone and others) added an interesting perspective to our normal publishing day. Many of our authors drew on original material in our archives for use in their books.

In my free time away from publishing I have always found collecting rare books irresistible. Whenever travelling round the country I have invariably dropped into second-hand and antiquarian bookshops. Over the years I have built up a collection of early books on canals and railways as well as landscape design and atlases. These I dip into whenever I have moments to spare and they lift me out of the world of editing and the involvement of running a publishing house.

One exciting discovery early on was when I tracked down a copy of Thomas Horner's *Brief Account of the Colosseum, in the Regent's Park*, 1829, in an antiquarian bookshop run by a grumpy old bookseller called Stanley Crowe off Museum Street, near the British Museum. It contains a wonderful panorama of London, sketched by Thomas Horner from a cradle that he built on top of the dome of St Paul's Cathedral. Paul Paget, who was then Surveyor of the Fabric of St Paul's, kindly offered me the opportunity to go up onto the dome with him when it was being renovated. One of the builders working up there gave me a large square nail that he had just pulled out of the lead with his pliers. It fascinated me to think that one of Sir Christopher Wren's workmen was the last person to touch that nail before I took it. It remains with my book collection.

When I first came into publishing, it struck me that the lunch break was a complete waste of time. I decided with the journalist and writer Simon Jenkins that, during lunchtimes, we should prepare a book on the gables, pediments, turrets and other wonders above our heads. The plan was for him to produce the text and me the photographs. As we both became too busy nothing happened until 2007. I then decided to complete it myself. It would be designed by our son Octavius with my text and photographs with the title *London Above Eye Level*. The book should really have been called *A Passion for Looking Up*, as it developed from my great interest in architectural detail above ground level.

I was always determined that neither of our two sons should feel obliged to join the firm. Octavius, our elder son, after a period as a drummer in a band, performing on one occasion at Glastonbury, studied Typography and Graphic Design at Reading University and Edinburgh College of Art. He is now a free-lance graphic designer and occupies an office at the back of No. 50. He designs books for the Bodleian, the National Portrait Gallery, the Royal Collections Trust and Kew amongst others. He has also designed several books for me including the book I wrote for the Roxburghe Club, *The Brush has Beat the Poetry! Illustrations to Lord Byron's Works*. It was the first Roxburghe Club book to be produced by a member and designed by his son. Now that the publishing house has been sold there is no danger that either he or our younger son, Charlie, who has gone into television, will be sucked into Murray's as I was.

By the late sixties authors began to use literary agents to negotiate for them. In most of my father's time there were few middlemen and he always dealt directly with his authors and in this way had built up a very close and loyal relationship with them. This also meant that he would often look after much more than just their books, acting as a kind of confidante to them and more often than not sorting out their financial or sometimes their amatory affairs. His great strength was that his authors always trusted him. He would give them sound advice on any problems they had and this was why they remained so loyal to him. Those who did leave him tempted away by high advances from literary agents quite often returned when they found that their new publisher did not give them the support they had received at Murray's. My father was also particularly fortunate in attracting authors with private means who were not dependent on advances and who appreciated the Murray's special qualities that their extraordinary history and friendship could offer. When Billy Collins, head of the publishing giant William Collins, took Patrick Leigh Fermor to lunch and promised to double any advance that Murray's offered him, Paddy was sharp with his answer: 'Mr Collins, do you realise that Jock Murray is my publisher?' and walked out. Billy Collins tried this on many Murray authors and received the same brush-off. However, Murray's never stood in the way of an author who wished to leave because of financial reasons.

We always realised that with mortgages to pay and children to educate, it was understandable that they should accept a higher offer. We would say goodbye yet always remained friends.

By the millennium I realised that it was time for us to sell the firm and I was determined that we should do this while it was enjoying success. By this time I had seen Gollancz, Deutsch and Dent and other medium-sized publishers with whom I had worked closely go under or be absorbed by the large conglomerates. Nick Perren, our brilliant managing director, shared with me the view that the days of the medium-sized independent publisher were clearly coming to an end and after over 234 years of independence (longer than any other publisher of our kind in the world) we decided we needed to find a good home for the imprint. Nick rightly assessed that Hodder was a firm that would benefit from Murray's list and had the finances to support the imprint as an important part of their group. In 2002 he skilfully negotiated the take-over with Tim Hely Hutchinson, who promised to keep the Murray imprint and to cherish its reputation. Sixteen years after the sale, Murray's remains a separate and thriving imprint and Hodder benefits from its remarkable history.

The most difficult part of selling the firm for me was keeping the planned sale completely secret until it had taken place and I was not even able to breathe a word of it to members of our own family. Luckily I had the full support of my wife Virginia and my brother Hallam (the only two members of the family in the know). For weeks before the sale, we spent time writing over 1000 letters, signed personally by me, to authors, agents, booksellers, friends and colleagues and also the Press explaining why we had decided to sell. All the letters were posted on the same day, timed to arrive the day of the actual sale. It was heart warming that the response was so positive. Everyone appreciated why we were making this move and congratulated us for taking such a brave step. Luckily it was possible to retain 50 Albemarle Street in our family trust and we continue to work there and to welcome visitors as we have in the past. Hopefully this will continue for another two hundred years.

The Invention of Rare Books¹

ROBERT HARDING

There are common rare books, scarce rare books, and rare rare books. How this apparent conundrum came to become accepted in the 200 years from the mid-seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries was the subject of David McKitterick's Panizzi Lectures at the British Library in 2015. He has now greatly expanded on these in *The Invention of Rare Books: Private Interest and Public Memory, 1600–1840*.

McKitterick asks how, in the age before the near-omnivorous collecting of modern national libraries, and faced with an ever-increasing avalanche of old printed books in circulation (due not just to the massive expansion in production during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries but also to the natural dispersal of older collections culminating in the continent-wide upheavals stemming from the French Revolution), a consensus was reached among scholars, librarians, collectors, and booksellers on defining a corpus of older books that should be considered suitable for both the private and institutional library? This gradual process resulted in the first steps towards modern bibliographical standards and the 'orderly setting out of editions in a comprehensive way that has survived to be still acceptable today.'

In this wide-ranging investigation McKitterick also aims to make a second and larger enquiry: 'how are canons of knowledge, of reading, of taste or of values constructed?' While the answers have changed over time these are, as he notes, questions faced by today's librarians in the face of an overload of born-digital, printed, and manuscript materials, all demanding preservation.

Rarity was not, then, a statistical actuality (that has only come,

1. THE INVENTION OF RARE BOOKS: Private Interest and Public Memory, 1600–1840 by David McKitterick. Cambridge University Press, 2018. Pp.xii, 450 inc b/w illus. ISBN 978-1-108-42832-3 Hardback. £45

albeit still imperfectly, in the modern age) nor was it even a matter of perception until well into the period considered as the number of printed sales records and other bibliographical resources built up. It was, and in many ways still is, more a matter of merit or admiration, in the ‘O Rare Ben Jonson’ sense.

McKitterick is interested in establishing what criteria made a particular book worthy of distinction from the common mass and therefore made it worthy of preservation, of competition for possession, and of bibliographical record. What it was, indeed, that made it valuable, not only financially but also historically. It was, as he notes, ‘no sudden discovery. It was a prolonged affair, proceeding at different speeds in different subjects and different literatures, and it was expressed in several different ways.’ In order to achieve this manageable corpus, entire categories of books, mostly but not exclusively in more popular genres such as lighter literature, personal piety, domestic economy and technical manuals that were genuinely rare were excluded from the corpus of acceptable books. Exclusion could be ruthless; as McKitterick notes, in 1805 La Serna Santander suggested that of the 15,000 editions he calculated had been printed in Europe in the fifteenth century, ‘it would be difficult to find 1,500 worth the attention of the curious, and justifying a special place in libraries’.

In what sometimes seems like a litany of bibliographical saints McKitterick clearly has a number of special heroes. One of the first was Lamignon’s librarian Adrien Baillet whose encyclopedic compilation of *Jugemens des savans sur les principaux ouvrages des auteurs* (9 volumes, 1685–6) is ‘of especial interest in understanding the emerging priorities that were to affect taste for future generations. In particular, and besides the considerable range of his reading in different subjects, he gathered a conspectus of printers who could be regarded as exemplifying the best of the past, sometimes thanks to the accuracy of their editions, sometimes because of the appearance of their books, sometimes (ideally) thanks to both.’ Thus attention was drawn to the work of the better early printers such as Aldus, the Estiennes, and the Elzeviers who have retained their high position among collectors (except and only recently for the last) to today.

This increasing appreciation of typography led in part,

McKitterick suggests, by the production of type-specimens in book-form that could be bound and shelved with other books, inspired fashions for purchasing and lavishly binding (though apparently seldom reading) handsome books from the contemporary presses of, for example, Tonson, Baskerville, Bodoni and Didot.

Once a concern for the appearance of books had developed taste naturally turned to matters such as paper quality (and size, with an increasing attention paid to Large Paper copies) and ‘external appearances’, by which we mean fine bindings. This applied equally to older books and ‘was driven less by antiquarian enthusiasm than by taste in modern books. Their importance was more social than textual. They provided a measure of wealth, masquerading as taste.’ It’s important to recall though, as McKitterick warns, that such tastes were always for the minority with economy usually overcoming extravagance – ‘for most book collectors these were irrelevancies’. Most copies of most books were plainly bound for utility rather than show.

The fine balance between economy and extravagance can be particularly seen at work in auction and trade catalogues where the costs of printing dictated that descriptions should be as short as possible, as indeed they were until such copy-specific information as large paper, morocco bindings or gilt spines began to be detailed, albeit often contracted into a system of initials, after 1660. While noting that ‘tastes developed among sections of the bibliophile community in the second half of the seventeenth century for books with decorated spines, as part of the furnishing of a room’, McKitterick does not equate this ‘surge of interest’ with the great turn-round that took place as books that had been stored ever since they were removed from chests or desks and placed on shelves with their spines inwards were turned-round and replaced with their spines outwards. This created a sudden demand for gilt-tooled spines with title-labels both on new bindings and added to old ones, a taste most obvious to visitors to Samuel Pepys’s library at Magdalene College, Cambridge. Nor does he consider the economic imperative: it could well be cheaper to buy an older edition in a handsome binding at auction or from a bookseller than to buy a new one and then have to pay to have it bound as well.

This was a socio-economic impact on the market that is an exception to McKitterick's general theme of evolving bibliographic progress. He sees printed bibliography largely as proactive rather than reactive, as the determiner of taste rather than the result: 'As a general rule, collecting followed bibliographical guidance.' This is exemplified in a letter (which he does not quote) that James Mowat wrote from Paris on 30 January 1663 to William Kerr, third Earl of Lothian:

I have bought and payed all the bookes mentioned in the incloas'd memoir, all bond in one fazon, *de veau marbre*, with the titles in gould letter on the back. I will say nothing of the handsome and proprenes, only that knowing men hath mad esteeme of them.²

Another bibliographic hero, and one of the first to apply some methodology to his perception of rarity, was the Italian-born Nicola Francesco Haym whose *Notizia de' libri rari della lingua Italiana* (London, 1726) cannot be separated from his work in London as a composer and librettist of Italian operas, the fashion that had been introduced by returning Grand Tourists and Italian residents in London.

An extract from Haym's address to the reader (here translated from the Italian) is almost McKitterick's thesis writ small and as he does not draw on it in detail, it seems worth quoting:

As well as the author and the subject attention has also been paid to the merit of the impression, in the quality of the types used, the correctness of the text, whether it is fuller than other editions, and often, and this is of some importance, the quality of the paper used, and had the meanness of printers not been joined to another step, it is certain we would not see printing in such a state of deterioration compared with what it was in its earliest days; and if it were not for the fact that today some few printers who are ashamed of present abuses, know their own power to maintain this noblest of arts, we should see it reduced to nought. Thus books printed from about 1460 until 1600 and shortly afterwards are more sought after and valued than those printed later.

A crucial factor in Haym's ground-breaking book (which in 2. *Correspondence of Sir Robert Kerr, First earl of Ancram and his son William, third earl of Lothian*, Edinburgh 1895, Vol. II, p. 531.

its later revisions remained a standard work into the nineteenth century) was his use of an asterisk to mark those books which are ‘rarest among the rare’ and to grade the relative rarity of others.

Haym’s view on the use of booksellers’ catalogues for reference is also worth quoting although twenty years later some had improved enough for McKitterick to devote a chapter to another of his heroes, Thomas Osborne and his retail catalogues of the great Harleian Library (5 volumes, 1743–5) which had descriptions ranging from a single line to hundreds of words though their use for reference was hampered by the absence of printed prices which were by then becoming the norm:

I have abstained from using the almost infinite number of booksellers’ catalogues of books for sale in their shops as they are generally compiled by people of little intelligence, or even by booksellers themselves, and are not precise and therefore not to be trusted ...

However, I distinguish from these the catalogues written and published by highly intelligent people, such as those of the libraries in Naples. Florence, and so on ...

As McKitterick notes of Haym’s book, ‘there had been nothing quite like it in England before.’

On a scale even larger than the Harleian dispersal was the sale in Paris of the library of the duc de la Vallière (‘the greatest library to be assembled in late eighteenth-century France’). The library was consigned for auction to the erudite bookseller Guillaume de Bure, author of the influential *Bibliographie instructive* (7 volumes, 1763–8), who employed the young Joseph van Praët (future librarian of the Bibliothèque Royale) to catalogue the manuscripts. The nine volumes of catalogues for the two series of sales (1783–4) were pioneering in including illustrations, an expensive investment justified by the high prices achieved. They ‘became part of the bibliography of collecting, to be referred to – if more rarely read – when benchmarks were sought for rarity or for value.’

Passing over the enthusiastic but much-ridiculed influence of the Rev. Thomas Frogmire Dibdin, McKitterick’s last great hero is Jacques-Charles Brunet, who ‘was to have easily the widest influence, far beyond his own country, far beyond England, and far beyond his own times.’ His *Manuel du Libraire, et de l’amateur*

November, 1, 1742.

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du livres first appeared in 1810 and in its final much-revised and supplemented edition (1860–5) is the only one of all those earlier works whose comments on rarity are still occasionally quoted by booksellers today (at least by those who can find nothing else to say. Maggs currently quote his assessment of a 1545 Estienne Lucan: ‘Bonne édition, peu commune’)

McKitterick’s concentration on trade and auction catalogues gives a somewhat unbalanced view of the 200 years he covers as only those libraries dispersed in the period tend to be discussed. Hence there is no mention of the extraordinary recently-dispersed library at Shirburn Castle in Oxfordshire that had been created by two successive Earls of Macclesfield in the eighteenth century which, with its emphasis on scientific books of all periods, was distinguished from most private libraries formed at the time. The large library of mostly post-1660 books formed on universal encyclopedist principles by George II’s wife Queen Caroline in the second quarter of the century is not mentioned either, while the great libraries formed by the sixth Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth and the second Earl Spencer at Althorp merit only passing references.

The bibliophilic of Queen Caroline extended beyond her court into literary patronage and an intellectual *salon* while the bibliomania of King George III had a great effect on competition for incunabula and early English books and, hence, on auction prices. Where their interests led, others in high society, or aiming to be there, would often follow and so on down the line. Later royal generations would have similar effects on game-shooting and horse-racing.

Queen Caroline’s library makes us realise what a male world it was that McKitterick describes. The index includes only three women with even passing mentions: Katherine Bridgeman whose ‘books included little of value ... [so] were listed with as little expense as possible’ in Cock’s auction catalogue of February 1741/2; Catherine de Medicis because she received a specially-bound large paper dedication copy of Jacques Bassantin’s *Astronomique discours* (Lyon, 1557) and other elaborate bindings; and Elizabeth-Jane Weston because she wrote a Latin poem in praise of printing.

Although McKitterick’s title promises to cover the years 1600–1840 it is only on reaching the conclusion that the reader will

understand why the first decades of the seventeenth are dealt with relatively cursorily. Despite the title the intention was to cover the period 'from the mid-seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries', beginning when printed auction and retail catalogues start to become the norm.

In asking what it was that made an old book 'rare' David McKitterick has raised questions that are still valid today. As he concludes: 'The challenge, what to keep and how to keep it, is in fact simply an old question posed in a twenty-first century context.' With its chronological as well as thematic approach McKitterick has produced a historiography of pre-analytical printed bibliography in the period 1640–1840 that should be read by everyone interested in the field. The book is let down only by its illustrations, mostly of title-pages, which are printed in the grey sludge that only Cambridge University Press seems to use.

What rare books one should buy may, perhaps, be summed-up in Arnold Bennett's words in *Literary Taste* (1909) as recently quoted by 'J.C.' in *The Times Literary Supplement*:

Buy! Buy whatever has received the *imprimatur* of critical authority.
Buy without immediate reference to what you read. Surround yourself
with volumes as handsome as you can afford.

The Jolly Roger

Lady Chatterley's Lover and its Pirated Editions

RICHARD OWEN

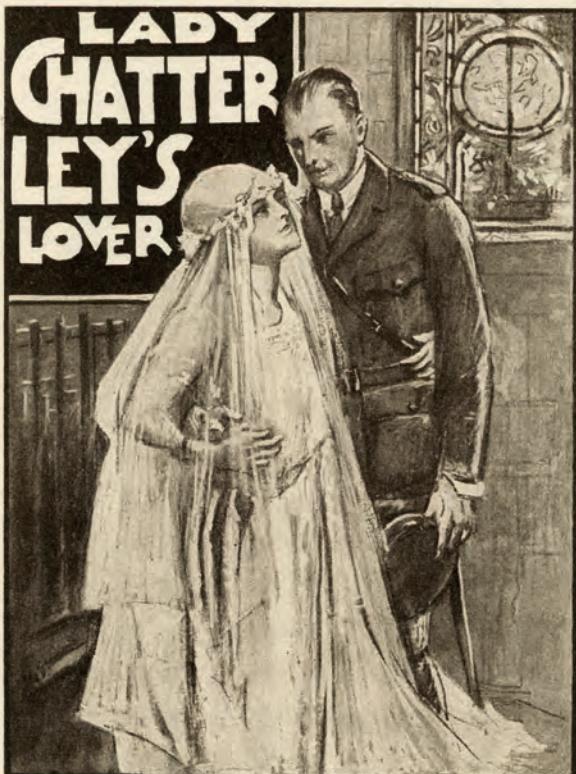
*O Pino
What a bean-o!
When we printed Lady C!*

(D.H. Lawrence, 'To Pino', 1928).

'I have had in my hand a very funereal volume, bound in black and elongated to look like a bible or long hymn-book, gloomy'. So wrote D.H. Lawrence in 1930 in an essay entitled 'A Propos of Lady Chatterley's Lover'. It was the year of his death, at the age of only forty-four. But what made Lawrence think funereal thoughts was not so much his impending demise but the fact that in his hand was a pirated edition of his most famous (or infamous) novel.

Whatever else one may think about Lawrence's novels and short stories, for bibliophiles at least one of them is an absolute treasure trove. I speak of course of Lady C. In Britain there's a tendency to think that the 1960 Lady Chatterley trial raised the curtain for the very first time on a novel that Lawrence himself described as 'very improper'. In fact by that time there were already numerous pirated editions in circulation, both expurgated and unexpurgated. However, these were modest affairs commercially. What distinguished the 1960 trial (apart from the hilarity it occasioned) was the fact that Penguin had gambled on a favourable verdict and printed 200,000 copies in advance. *Lady Chatterley* was about to be promoted from the collector's bedside table to worldwide distribution. The change of status was dramatic. Lawrence's estate was to receive sums of money that would have been unimaginable to the author.

Most of Lawrence's essay 'A Propos of Lady Chatterley's Lover' amounts to a defence of his use of 'obscene language' to describe what Constance Chatterley and Oliver Mellors get up to in a novel



FRONTISPICE

he intended as ‘honest and healthy’. ‘A Propos’ contains some truly memorable passages, such as ‘I want men and women to be able to think sex, fully, completely, honestly and cleanly’ or (and this one I particularly like) ‘Far be it from me to suggest that all women should go running after gamekeepers for lovers’ (to which he added – and you can almost see the wry smile on his face – ‘Far be it from me to suggest that they should be running after anybody’).

But what exercised Lawrence in the essay just as much as the mysteries of sexual fidelity and infidelity was the pirating of his book. By the end of the 1920s he was the celebrated author of *Sons and Lovers* (1913), *Women in Love* (1920) and *Aaron’s Rod* (1922) as well as of short story collections such as ‘The Prussian Officer and other Stories’ (1914). His publisher Martin Secker feared that publishing *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* was a step too far: it would lead to prosecution, with damaging consequences for his publishing business.¹ Lawrence was scornful. In March 1928 he wrote to his agent, Pollinger, ‘Of course Secker is a born rabbit²...dammit, do you think the young are going to knock their knees together at the sound of the word *penis*, in terror! What rot! My novel is perfectly normal, and the phallic part of it is, or should be, part of every man’s life and every woman’s.’ He defied any human being to find *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* ‘anything but wholesome and natural,’ adding, ‘but the printer is already printing here – and I’ve made my favourite design of the phoenix rising from the nest in flames, for the cover. I nearly put the motto ‘I rise up’ under the bird. But he who runs may read. Avanti!’ A little later he wrote to Secker that his book was ‘frankly a novel about sex, direct sex. I think it’s good, but you may not like it’.

He was right, Secker didn’t. Lawrence therefore turned to a friend of his, an Italian bookseller and bibliophile called Pino

1. Secker was from a German immigrant family and had been born Percy Martin Secker Klingender. The publishing industry in Britain at that time was still quite rigid, socially. Secker, who had published Lawrence’s first book, *New Poems*, in 1918, was right to feel nervous.

2. ‘The same could not be said for Lawrence’s publisher in the United States, Thomas Seltzer, who was forced into bankruptcy by his struggles against censorship. He almost worshipped Lawrence and ‘would not let his wife touch Lawrence’s letters without washing her hands.’ (Keith Sagar, *The Life of D.H. Lawrence*, p. 149)

Orioli, who had links to the celebrated printing firm Tipografia Giuntina in Florence, founded by Leo Olschki.³

Thus it was that the first edition in any form of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* came to be printed in Florence in 1928, in an edition of one thousand copies, on 'mulberry-coloured paper boards, printed in black on upper cover', with the top edges rough-trimmed and the fore and bottom edges untrimmed.⁴ It was priced at £2 in Britain and \$10 in the US. Various friends of Lawrence, including Aldous Huxley and Richard Aldington, acted as agents for its distribution. Orders (and cash) went to Lawrence: the books were despatched from the printers. The recommendation of people like Huxley together with the thrill caused by rumours of police raids were better than any advertisement. The '1,000 edition' sold well and Lawrence quickly followed it up with a 'cheap paper issue' of 200 copies in the same year that was priced at 21s.⁵

A top-shelf novel, a sensational novel, a novel by a famous author unprotected by the laws of copyright was a novel ripe for piracy. The pirates fell upon it with joy. The 'very funereal volume' Lawrence held in his hand was the third pirated American edition he'd come across: the first 'stolen edition', he discovered, had appeared in New York almost within a month of the first 'genuine copies' being issued in Italy, and was sold for fifteen dollars as opposed to the ten dollar price of the Florence edition.

In 1929, in order to combat the pirates, Lawrence wrote an introduction to a popular edition of 3,000 copies, published in Paris at 60 francs. Neither place nor imprint is stated in the book.

3. Olschki had been born into a family of Jewish typographers in East Prussia but moved to Italy, managing a German bookshop in Verona in 1883 before founding a publishing firm, Casa Editrice Leo S. Olschki, three years later and making Florence his permanent home, returning there in 1921 after a period in neutral Switzerland during the First World War. The firm is still going strong.

4. The standard bibliography of Lawrence, which I will refer to as 'Roberts' is *A Bibliography of D.H. Lawrence*, Third Edition, WARREN ROBERTS and Paul Poplawski, Cambridge University Press 2001.

5. A third man was involved in Britain, S.S. Koteliansky, a Russian who was the business manager of *The Adelphi*. He and Aldington apparently held a stock of the book that the police never got wind of. In October 2018 the Edinburgh auction house, Lyon & Turnbull, sold a cheque in Lawrence's favour dated 10 August 1928 for £5.2.0 drawn on the Midland Bank (Rochester Row branch).

The publisher was actually Edward Titus.⁶ It was this edition that first carried 'My Skirmish with Jolly Roger', which later became 'A Propos of Lady Chatterley's Lover'. In the same year another edition (of 500 copies) appeared that says it was printed in Florence but was actually printed surreptitiously in London. In 1932 Secker, taking heart, published an authorised expurgated edition of 3,440 copies simultaneously with Knopf publishing the same text in the United States in a run of 2,000 copies at \$2.50.

As has always been the case, the question of expurgation was far from simple. 'I find I simply don't know how much and how little to expurgate' Lawrence wrote to Secker in March 1928, adding that he was 'not sure what was supposed to be proper and what not'. He also expressed his reservations about a 'castrato' edition to Orioli, writing 'if the dirty public haven't the guts to get hold of the existing edition, let them do without. Why should I trim myself down to make it easy for the swine! I loathe the gobbling public anyhow.' In fact the text for the Secker/ Knopf edition was concocted by the publishers themselves from the Faro edition of 1930, which was probably the best of the early pirated editions.

This New York version was 'a facsimile of the original, produced by the photographic method' and had been sold 'even by reliable booksellers' to the 'unsuspecting public' as if it was an original first edition, Lawrence wrote. Then there was another facsimile edition printed either in New York or Philadelphia (Lawrence was not sure which): he himself possessed a copy, a smearily-produced 'filthy looking book bound in a dull orange cloth' containing his forged signature. These references are to the versions that appeared under the William Faro imprint.

This publishing house was the creation of Samuel Roth (1893–1974), a man who'd already been imprisoned for printing and distributing pornographic works (including *Ulysses*).⁷ His warehouse was more than once raided at the instigation of the New York Society of the Suppression of Vice. A battler (like the Girodias father and son) for freedom of sexual expression, he was to be the subject of *Roth vs United States*, which concerned a publication called

6. The husband of Helena Rubinstein.

7. Roth was apparently animated by extreme hatred for J. Edgar Hoover.

American Aphrodite. The case was heard by the Supreme Court in 1957. Although the court found against him 6–3, the opinions aired were instrumental in the decision by the US Court of Appeals in 1959 to legitimise *Lady Chatterley*, which had been banned in 1929 along with *Tropic of Cancer* and *Fanny Hill*.⁸ It is ironic therefore that it was Roth's version of *Lady Chatterley* that was now being sold openly by Secker and Knopf. From a collector's point of view, the Faro editions⁹ are notable for the dust-wrappers: by A.K. Skillin for the 1930 edition and Nat Falk for the 1931 edition.

In 1930 Lawrence died and his estate fell into the formidable hands of his wife, Frieda. It is at this point that the pirated editions begin to multiply out of hand. Roberts, after calling it 'the most interesting book of this century with respect to its printing history' says frankly¹⁰ that 'the complexities of the novel's history are far too great to be dealt with in other than outline here' and recommends readers to consult the Cambridge University Press editions of 1994 and 1999. Gertzmann¹¹ writing in 1989, noted fifty-eight editions of *Lady Chatterley* prior to it being declared legal.

Naturally there are a number of 'points' that differentiate the various editions. According to Stephen J. Gertz in his Booktryst blog ('The Most Pirated Novel of the 20th Century', Monday December 12, 2011), buyers should beware 'very well done' pirated editions. There are, Gertz noted, several ways of detecting a true Florentine first edition, the most effective being the text block bulk measurement – 20.1 mm of lightweight, smooth white laid paper with no watermark. The measurements of all the editions mentioned above are crucial and are given by Roberts. The errors made by printers who knew no English and their gradual elimination in successive editions speak for themselves.

8. Senator Reed Smoot said of *Lady Chatterley* at the time: 'It is most damnable! It's written by a man with a diseased mind and a soul so black that he would obscure even the darkness of hell.'

9. In 1931 there was a dramatisation by Roth himself and also a parody called *Lady Chatterley's Husbands*. The following year 'a new sequel' appeared, *Lady Chatterley's Friends*.

10. Roberts p.147

11. Jay Gertzmann, *A Descriptive Bibliography of Lady Chatterley's Lover: with Essays towards a Publishing History of the Novel*, New York and London, 1989



Puis il s'assit un moment sur le tabouret, l'attira vers lui d'une main ferme tandis que de l'autre il palpait son corps, nu sous un mince jupon.

'Although Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* in its time has been called many things, it is unquestionably one of the most interesting bibliographical specimens of the century' write Roberts and Poplawski. 'It has been pirated extensively, expurgated and bowdlerised, condemned and confiscated, translated into many languages, and published in a great variety of formats.' Had there been but a single version of the text it would have been difficult enough but in fact there were three manuscript versions of *Lady Chatterley*, each with its own publication history. The first edition of Lawrence's first manuscript was published in the United States in 1944, by Dial Press, in an edition of 1,000 copies. It was reprinted several times and then re-set for an Australian edition produced probably in 1946. Heavily expurgated editions came from Avon in 1950 and Shakespeare House in 1951. The first British edition of this version was published by Heinemann in 1972. The first edition of the second manuscript version was published by Mondadori in 1954. The third and final version was the one we've been tracing.

Then there are the sequels and parodies. Roberts's Appendix I deals with twenty-two items in this class, such as, for example, *The Hounding of John Thomas* by Craig Brown, Century 1994.¹² His Appendix 1B covers Piracies and Forgeries. But as Roberts admits, versions unrecorded by him have popped up in many languages and countries simply because of the absence of copyright protection.

It took 30 years after Lawrence's death for things to change: in 1959 the New York Court of Appeal overturned a ban on publication of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* on the grounds that it was written with 'power and tenderness' which were 'compelling'. Accordingly on 4 May 1959, Grove Press, having reprinted three times before publication, sent out 45,000 copies in the United States. In Britain the same year the Obscene Publications Act said that even if a book was judged obscene by some it could still be published if it was shown to have 'redeeming social merit' or to be in the interests of science, literature, art, or learning. Penguin printed 200,000 copies - a huge gamble, presumably based on the likelihood that the New York ruling would be followed in Britain

12. 'John Thomas' is slang for the penis in Britain. Etymology unknown.

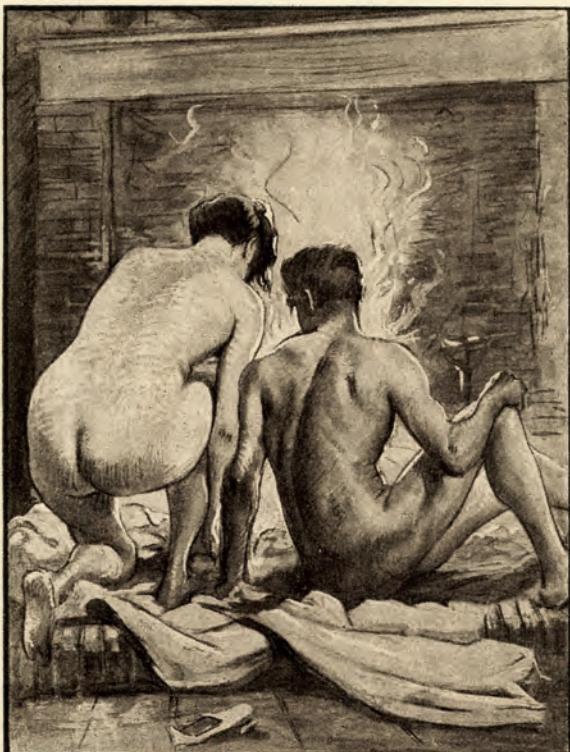
- and sent a dozen to the Director of Public Prosecutions, who duly took Penguin to court.

At the trial Penguin and their chief defence counsel, Gerald Gardiner QC (later Lord Chancellor), produced thirty-five witnesses for the defence, including Dame Rebecca West, who said the book was a beautiful allegory, although one of its faults was that Lawrence had no sense of humour; E.M Forster, who said he had known Lawrence personally and thought highly of him, and compared him to Blake and Bunyan; Richard Hoggart, senior lecturer in English at Leicester University and author of *The Uses of Literacy*, who insisted Lawrence's intentions in writing the book had been 'puritanical' rather than licentious; and Dr John Robinson, Bishop of Woolwich (later the author of *Honest to God*), who maintained that Lawrence had sought to portray sexual relations as something sacred, an act 'almost of holy communion'.

The prosecution by contrast failed to persuade any noted writer or academic to testify on their behalf in favour of censorship: they apparently thought of Rudyard Kipling, unaware that he had died in 1936. One suspects that Kipling would in any case have declined to appear, as did T.S Eliot,¹³ and Enid Blyton, who said she would love to help Penguin but had never read the book, adding not only that there would be something 'slightly comic' about her appearing but also that her husband had ordered her not to: 'I'm awfully sorry but I don't see that I can go against my husband's most definitive wishes in this'.

As John Sparrow, barrister, bibliophile, polemicist and Warden of All Souls, Oxford, later wrote in a famous essay in *Encounter* (*Regina v Penguin Books Ltd: An Undisclosed Element in the Case*, February 1962), the prosecution missed a trick by not drawing attention to Lawrence's veiled reference to anal intercourse – or as Sparrow put it, 'buggery' – when Connie Chatterley and Mellors experience 'a night of sensual passion, in which she was a little startled and almost unwilling' but none the less 'let him have his way' in 'burning out the shames....in the most secret places'.

13. It is sometimes asserted that Lawrence based the character of the cuckolded Chatterley upon T.S. Eliot.



Le devant du corps exposé au feu, ils s'étaient assis côté à côté sur une grosse bûche, se séchant à la flamme...

If the prosecution had understood what was meant,¹⁴ and had spelt it out, Sparrow suggested, ‘the verdict might have been a different one’. Instead Mervyn Griffith-Jones, the prosecuting counsel, probably helped to secure a not guilty verdict by loftily asking members of the jury if *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* was a book they wished their wives or servants to read. The 200,000 copies sold out on the first day of publication, at 3s 6d a copy, and two million copies were sold within a year.¹⁵

The trial was the subject of a drily humorous piece in this journal in the summer of 1960 (*The Book Collector*, Volume 9 No. 2) which noted that ‘As Mr F. Warren Roberts’s forthcoming bibliography of D.H Lawrence will show, American collectors and readers have always been able to obtain the unexpurgated text of *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* in a variety of editions, in hard covers or paper-backed, authorised, unauthorised or impudently pirated.’ Their British cousins, on the other hand, ‘after long years of deprivation, are only now about to be supplied with a Penguin edition’.

The article then reprinted a review from *Field and Stream*¹⁶ of the American edition of the book which stated that ‘this fictional account of the day by day life of an English gamekeeper’ contained interesting passages on pheasant raising, the apprehending of poachers, ways to control vermin, and ‘other chores and duties of the professional gamekeeper’, though unfortunately one was obliged to ‘wade through many pages of extraneous material’ to profit from these ‘sidelights on the management of a Midlands shooting estate’. *Lady Chatterley’s Lover*, the reviewer added, could therefore never replace J.R Miller’s *Practical Gamekeeping* (the joke – or rather the additional joke – being that ‘J.R. Miller’s *Practical Gamekeeping*’ was an invention).

14. The illustrations in this piece were by Carlo Lapido for a Paris edition of 1932. The first shows Lady C. in her wedding dress with Sir Clifford. The last four show Lady C. without her wedding dress and without Sir Clifford. Had the jury been shown these, Penguin would surely have been sunk.

15. The judge at the trial, Sir Lawrence Byrne, had his wife read and mark up a copy to indicate the naughty bits. On 30 October 2018, this copy came up at Sotheby’s in London together with the hand-stitched damask bag, in which Sir Lawrence carried it into court. It was sold for £48,000 (hammer price).

16. November 1959, p.142

The Lady Chatterley trial now seems something from a past era. But its epoch-making significance has obscured a key question: if the novel is set in the Midlands, and Lawrence came from Nottingham, why was it published in Florence in the first place? The answer is that Lawrence had a long and deep involvement with all things Italian, and *Lady Chatterley's Lover* was conceived not in England, but in Italy.

I first became aware of this as Rome correspondent of *The Times*, when I went one day to my mailbox at the Foreign Press Club and found a letter from Anthea Secker, daughter-in-law of Martin Secker. I had published a piece in *The Times* about a scheme by F.A.I (Fondo Ambiente Italiano), the Italian equivalent of the National Trust, to open up places in Italy associated with British writers – among them D.H. Lawrence. Mrs Secker, a *Times* reader, noticed my reference to Lawrence: she had at her house in Buckinghamshire a collection of unpublished letters and documents relating to Secker and Lawrence, and more particularly to Secker's Italian wife Caterina, known for short as Rina. Was I interested?

I was. I already had an interest in Lawrence dating back to my time as a student at Nottingham University, where the library had a bust of the writer, although it was kept well hidden from view – not so much, I suspect, because of the controversy over the Lady Chatterley trial but more because Lawrence had committed the unpardonable offence when he was himself a student at Nottingham of running off with the wife of a professor, Frieda Weekley.

Lawrence and Frieda started their life together by escaping to Europe and crossing the Alps. Lawrence spent a third of his adult life in Italy, setting some of his most memorable works there – *Sea and Sardinia*, for example, or *Etruscan Places*, or the poem ‘Snake’, written in Sicily. He found the Italian landscape ‘so beautiful it almost hurts’, and he fell in love too with all the other aspects of Italian life Anglo-Saxons inevitably find irresistible – the sunshine, the art, the wine, the people, the culture.

When I started researching my book about Lawrence and Italy, *Lady Chatterley's Villa*, I found that very few people I spoke to even knew that Lawrence had had an Italian life. At first this seemed odd, until I realised that we have a tendency to airbrush out the

foreign ‘exiles’ of British (or Irish) writers: James Joyce for example is associated indelibly with Dublin, but spent much of his life in Zurich and Paris, and lived for a decade in Trieste. Muriel Spark lived in Rome and Tuscany for close on forty years, while Graham Greene lived on the Cote d’Azur and Lake Geneva and had a house on the island of Capri for over forty years.

Perhaps (as many expats can testify) living overseas only reinforces one’s Englishness. ‘The thing to remember about Lawrence’s exile,’ wrote Anthony Burgess in *Flame Into Being: The Life and Work of D.H. Lawrence* ‘is that it enabled him to serve England, or at least England’s literature, far better than if he had stayed at home.’

Towards the end of his life Lawrence rented a villa at Spotorno on the Italian Riviera, where Frieda began an affair with their landlord, the dashing Bersaglieri officer Angelo Ravagli. At Spotorno, Lawrence and Frieda were closely observed by Rina Secker, as I discovered from her letters. Born Caterina Capellero to a Piedmontese family in Monte Carlo, where her father Luigi ran an hotel, Rina moved as a child to London, where Luigi managed first a cafe at Archway and later a restaurant in Clapham.

She met Secker on a train in Italy when he was on his way to Capri to see Compton Mackenzie, one of his authors: according to Mackenzie she helped Secker with his Italian, though I discovered from his letters that Secker’s Italian was actually not that bad, so possibly he used this as a ruse to get to know Rina better. Rina for a while worked for Secker’s publishing firm, until they fell in love and were married.

Secker was nearly fifteen years older than Rina, thirty-nine to her twenty-five. Their son Adrian was somewhat sickly as a child and Rina took him to Italy where her father was by now running a hotel at the seaside resort of Spotorno, capitalising on the beginnings of Mediterranean tourism in the 1920s.

It was Rina’s idea that Lawrence – who increasingly suffered from tuberculosis – should also enjoy the benefits of sun and sea, and Rina who found the Villa Bernarda for them up on the hill overlooking Spotorno bay. Lawrence was enchanted by the sparkling blue Mediterranean, the red and white wine, the fried chicken and pasta flavoured with basil, the roasted coffee and the oranges, and

the local Italians. ‘It’s Italy the same as ever,’ he wrote, ‘whether it’s Mussolini or Octavian Augustus’.

What neither he nor Rina foresaw was that Frieda would enjoy the benefits not only of sunshine, wine and pasta but also of an adulterous liaison with the handsome Ravagli. Ravagli later recalled how when he showed Frieda the villa she walked ahead of him with ‘well calculated movements of her body’ and then sat on a bed, remarking that it was ‘perfect for making love’ while looking straight into Ravagli’s eyes. In her letters to Martin back in England Rina described the frequent rows between Frieda and Lawrence, who evidently was aware of his wife’s infidelity and frustrated by his apparently growing impotence. Life at the Villa Bernarda was hectic, Rina wrote to Secker: ‘I can almost see its walls palpitating from the pent-up storms of emotion’.

Lawrence was beginning to form the idea of a novel about adultery, and at Spotorno wrote two short stories which prefigure *Lady Chatterley*: ‘The Virgin and the Gipsy’, in which a young girl discovers sexual desire when being rescued from a flood by a gipsy; and ‘Sun’, based on Rina, in which a young woman in Italy with her child but without her husband sunbathes naked in the woods and is tempted to make love to a local peasant who spies on her.

The Spotorno episode must have caused Lawrence pain: whereas Frieda was sometimes generous with her physical affections (she confessed to making love with a fellow hiker when she and Lawrence were crossing the Alps to start their life together), Lawrence was (except for one lapse) faithful and monogamous. But he was starting to put together ideas for what would become *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* (initially entitled *Tenderness*), and his wife’s affair with Ravagli undoubtedly contributed to its composition. It was, as Lawrence’s biographer John Worthen puts it, a ‘verbal act of love to Frieda’ at a time when she had taken a lover and he was ‘less sexually involved with her than in their entire life together’.

He started writing it when they moved to Florence, or more precisely to Scandicci just outside Florence, in April 1926, renting a villa on a hill overlooking the Val d’Arno, the Villa Mirenda. In his

memoir *Adventures of a Bookseller*¹⁷ Pino Orioli, Lawrence's Italian publisher, described the villa as 'a dilapidated place....with no water supply and only one small fireplace'. But in fact there was a well (it is still there), the views from the villa were – and are – quite marvellous, and Lawrence was happy there, writing the first version of the novel (there were three altogether, the second one entitled *John Thomas and Lady Jane*) sitting with his back against an umbrella pine tree with lizards and birds nearby and woods full of violets and gladioli.

The novel, he told Secker in October, was set in the coal mining area of the Midlands and was 'rather improper'. The story asked whether a woman could have a permanent relationship with a social inferior, a man of a lower class, a peasant or a gipsy – or a game-keeper. Secker, as we have seen, was not interested in taking on the risk thereby leaving the way open to Orioli becoming the facilitator, if not the publisher, of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*.

Orioli – whose real name was Giuseppino though he was always known as Pino – was born at Alfonsine near Ravenna in Emilia-Romagna in 1884, the son of a sausage-maker who (according to Richard Aldington) lost his job after nailing a donkey's head onto the house of the local priest. He left school as a young teenager to work for a barber, but after encountering the English expat community at Fiesole discovered he had a passion for books – and for English. An autodidact, he left Italy for Paris and then for London (where he at first earned a living singing *O Sole Mio* to passers-by in Oxford Street) and then for Cambridge to teach Italian to undergraduates before returning to Florence to run an antiquarian bookshop.

He spoke fluent English, albeit with a heavy Italian accent and a host of Italianisms. He was familiar with English literature and English writers – in fact he was more than familiar with one in particular, namely Norman Douglas, the openly gay author of *South Wind* and *Siren Land*, who became Orioli's companion when he settled in Florence in 1922: they both lived at 14 Lungarno alle Grazie (where E.M Forster had set *A Room with a View*), with a speaking tube between their two flats. So close were they¹⁸ that as

17. Chatto & Windus, 1938, London. The title page gives G. Orioli, author of *Moving Along*.

18. Together they wrote *Venus in the Kitchen or Love's Cookery Book*, a collection of

an item they were known as Pinorman, the subject of a waspish memoir by Aldington.¹⁹

Lawrence had first met Orioli in Cornwall²⁰ during the First World War, and the two got on well: in Aldington's view Orioli was 'devoted' to Lawrence, and the rather less than complimentary references to Lawrence's 'meanness' and supposed suppressed homosexuality in Orioli's memoir were the work of Douglas – who fell out badly with Lawrence – rather than Orioli himself. Lawrence was aware that Orioli had opened bookshops both in London (initially in the Charing Cross Road, later at 24 Museum Street) and in Florence (first in Via Vecchietti, later on the Lungarno) with his business partner Irving Davis, whom he had met at Cambridge.

In 1929 Orioli launched a publishing venture, the Lungarno Series, which included Norman Douglas's *Capri* and Lawrence's *The Virgin and the Gipsy*. 'O Pino/What a bean-o!/when we printed Lady C.!' wrote Lawrence in a light-hearted poem entitled simply 'To Pino'. 'Little Giuntina/couldn't have been a/better little bee!/>When you told him/perhaps they'd scold him/for printing those naughty words/All he could say:/"*But we do it every day!/like the pigeons and other little birds!"*'.

Unfortunately, even though Orioli himself had spent time in London the Italian printers had not, and there were therefore numerous misprints in the Tipografia Giuntina edition of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. In his essay 'A Propos of Lady Chatterley's Lover' Lawrence was remarkably tolerant, saying 'the wonder is the book came out as well as it did'. If there were spelling errors, this was because 'the book was set up in a little Italian printing shop' in which 'nobody knew one word of English', Lawrence wrote. It was a mercy there were not more errors, he added. As for suggestions that the head of the Florentine printers had been 'deceived' into printing it without knowing the contents, Lawrence had on the contrary given him a frank account of 'certain things' described in the book, only to

aphrodisiac recipes that was published in 1952 under the pseudonym Pilaff Bey.

19. *Pinorman: A Composite Portrait*, Heinemann 1954

20. The Cambridge edition of Lawrence's letters, Vol. 5, p. 450, n. 3, repeated by Brenda Maddox in her biography (1994). But a later biographer, Jeffrey Meyers, says that by the time Lawrence went to Cornwall, Orioli had returned to Italy to fight.

receive the reply “O! ma! – but we do it every day!”. And so the thousand Florence copies entered history.

Of all the multitude of pirated *Lady Chatterley’s*, it is the Florence Thousand that have value. In 2015 a copy made \$10,000 at auction. For a collector coming to it from a different angle there’s the frontispiece to Eric Gill’s *Clothing without Cloth* (London 1931). This wood engraving depicts Mellors, the gamekeeper, for which Gill used himself as the model. Two copies of the engraving were sold for \$2,125 at auction, lettered ‘CC’ with ill’s initials signed in reverse.

Does anyone still care about *Lady Chatterley’s Lover*? The baggage that it’s acquired since publication has rendered it somewhat risible when compared to that other great tale of sexuality, *Lolita*. One view of Lawrence is that he’s a writer who is barely read nowadays, not least because he is seen as misogynist, male-orientated and patriarchal. In Kate Millett’s *Sexual Politics*, she calls *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* ‘largely a celebration of the penis of Oliver Mellors’. On the other hand in *Women in Love* Rupert Birkin, Lawrence’s alter ego, argues that men and women should be ‘two pure beings, each constituting the freedom of the other, balancing each other like two poles of one force’. And in *Sun Juliet* (or Rina Secker) ponders the choice between her absent husband and the muscular peasant she feels drawn to, but then thinks ‘Why should I have to identify my life with a man’s life?’. She is tempted to meet the peasant for an hour to make love to him, but only on her own terms, for ‘as long as the desire lasts, and no more’.

There is a D.H. Lawrence Society, based at Eastwood in Nottinghamshire, where he was born, whose declared purpose is ‘to promote knowledge and understanding of the life and work of a man who was unarguably one of the greatest writers of the twentieth century’, and a Birthplace Museum at 8A Victoria Street. There is a Lawrence Collection of manuscripts and correspondence at Nottingham University, and his poetry and travel writing are more appreciated than ever (some place them higher than his fiction in terms of literary excellence).

In Italy the Villa Bernarda at Spotorno is now a block of flats. But the street it stands on, high above the sea, has been renamed Via David Herbert Lawrence, and a plaque on the wall reads ‘The



A cheque for three copies of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*

eternally young Mediterranean, the shining moon, the lights of the village, brought peace to the unquiet heart of D.H. Lawrence, who stayed here with Frieda in the winter of 1925–1926'.²¹ So began the last phase of his life, which would lead him to Connie and Mellors, the Villa Mirenda, Pino Orioli – and a printing press in Florence.

21. 'Il Mediterraneo, eterno di gioventù, la lunasplendente, le luci del villaggio, portarono pace al cuore inquieto di D. H. Lawrence che qui soggiornò con Frieda nell'inverno 1925–1926'.

A Dibdin Rarity

George Lewis's 'Remarks' on his dispute
with Thomas Frognall Dibdin¹

MARIE ELENA KOREY

George Lewis's 'Remarks' is an eight-page statement in which the artist set forth his grievances against Thomas Frognall Dibdin in the dispute over payment for his work on the illustrations in Dibdin's *A Bibliographical Antiquarian and Picturesque Tour in France and Germany* (1821). William A. Jackson had seen two copies, one of them in the Harvard collections.² John Windle and Karma Pippin located five copies unknown to Jackson and lamented the disappearance of the second copy seen by him.³ Jackson described it as 'an Advertisement'; Windle & Pippin, as having the drophead title 'Advertisement'. Both works state that it had been suppressed by its author and, as a result, was rare. The story now appears to be a bit more complicated, as Lewis 'printed and made public' two versions of his statement.

One, hitherto unnoticed, begins with 'The following observations' and was produced about mid-June 1822. The second, the version known to the bibliographers, was revised some time after August 1822, possibly for inclusion with Lewis's *A Series of Groups, Illustrating the Physiognomy, Manners, and Character of the People of France and Germany* (1823), based upon drawings made during the tour. Eleven copies of Lewis's statement have now been located (see

1. I am grateful to William P. Barlow Jr and John Priddy for the wealth of information on material in their collections and for their comments on drafts of this article. I also want to thank Robert Harding (Maggs Bros/Wormsley Library), Peter Accardo (Houghton Library, Harvard), Meghan Constantinou (Grolier Club), Dennis C. Landis (John Carter Brown Library), James Cummins, John Windle, Roland Folter, and Jonathan A. Hill.
2. William A. Jackson, *An Annotated List of the Publications of the Reverend Thomas Frognall Dibdin* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), p. 41, item 56, note.
3. John Windle and Karma Pippin, *Thomas Frognall Dibdin, 1776–1847: a bibliography* (New Castle, 1999), pp. 245–6, item D13.

p 696) and it is hoped that more may come to light as possibly ten other copies have been recorded. While the tale of this unfortunate episode in Dibdin's life has been related,⁴ the recognition of the earlier version warrants another look at the events that led to the production of Lewis's statement.

For the purposes of his Continental tour and projected publication, Dibdin felt he required an artist who could render the antiquarian and picturesque subjects as well as the bibliographical. He certainly was aware of the engraving skills of George Robert Lewis (1782–1871), who had executed some of the plates for *The Bibliographical Decameron* (1817). As Dibdin recollects in his *Reminiscences*:⁵

Mr. Lewis, at starting, was less known to me than his brothers:⁶ but as he was recommended to me by a very old friend and competent judge, Mr. Masquerier;⁷ and as his manners were simple and obliging, and his diligence, activity, and versatility, beyond all question, I consented, scarcely without a moment's hesitation, to engage him. I put forth no tenders. I made no public announcement for competition. My 'compagnon de voyage' was to eat out of the same dish, and to partake of the same fare, in all respects, with *him* upon whom the entire expenses of the tour devolved. He travelled like a gentleman, and he fared like one. For a young man, imperfectly known in his profession, the opportunity was, in every sense of the word, a GOLDEN one.

The 'companions' commenced their journey in mid-April 1818 and, if Dibdin's account in the *Tour* is to be believed, remained on good terms throughout the lengthy excursion. They arrived back in England in late October or early November. Following their return, Dibdin made a selection from the artist's sketches and finished drawings, then engaged him to complete the drawings as well as to supervise the work of the engravers. He also paid Lewis £100 for his time during the tour in two bills of exchange due in May 1819 and January 1820. Lewis accepted the work and the payment although he later would present the amount received for his time as the first of his grievances.

4. Anthony Lister, 'A Bibliomaniac Abroad' in *Antiquarian Book Monthly Review* 11 (August and September, 1984): pp. 200–5 and 346–9.

5. Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *Reminiscences of a Literary Life* (London, 1836), pp. 654–5.

The publication of the *Tour* progressed slowly: the work of engraving was considerable and Dibdin had other commitments. He later recalled: 'For upwards of two years, conjointly with *Ædes Althorpianaæ*, was the Tour progressing at the press and with various artists'.⁸ In addition to this work, he had to see the fourth (and final) volume of the *Typographical Antiquities* through the press; it appeared in June 1819. He also was engaged in collating the many purchases made on behalf of and by George John, second Earl Spencer, which resulted in *A Catalogue of the Rare and Valuable Duplicates from the Library of the Rt. Hon. Earl Spencer, K.G. including a Considerable Portion of the Library of the Duke di Cassano*, sold by Robert Harding Evans (1777–1857) on 2 March 1821. Finally, he was preparing the catalogue of the fifteenth-century books from the library of the Duke di Cassano Serra retained by Spencer, which was published in 1823.

The long-awaited *Tour* appeared at last in the spring of 1821 to be taken up by the various subscribers, including members of the book trade. Dibdin immediately put the income to use, paying the bills for the various elements of production.⁹ At this point, according to Lewis, he requested one from the artist. What Dibdin had anticipated is unclear: perhaps he expected a greater appreciation from Lewis of the praise and patronage bestowed upon him when adding up his bill. Lewis, however, had a strong sense of the value of his work and submitted an account for £431, roughly six guineas for each drawing. It was at this point that the relationship between the two men began to disintegrate. When Dibdin objected, the dispute was referred to a group of arbitrators who ruled in Lewis's favour.

Meeting this unanticipated expense put an additional strain on Dibdin's precarious financial situation. He already had discounted to the trade some of the 'extra' copies of the *Tour* on which he had hoped to make a profit by selling at full price. He lamented to his printers, William Bulmer and William Nicol, in a letter of 30 July

8. *Reminiscences*, p. 654; *Ædes Althorpianaæ* was published in 1822.

9. The expenses for drawing and engraving amounted to £4740, while the printing, paper, copperplate printing, and boarding cost about £3000. Dibdin stated he lost £120 as book debt with travelling expenses of about £300 'unredeemed' (*Reminiscences*, pp. 654, 663).

1821:¹⁰

I expected to have cleared 2000 guineas by my Tour, which would have placed a large number of bills in your desk. By a strange fatality, and by a result, in which ingratitude & persecution have not been wanting, I shall be £80 minus – when all the outgoings are settled.

Nevertheless, Dibdin paid Lewis £50 initially and, in early August 1821, arranged to pay the remainder in a series of bills at four, five, six, nine, and twelve months: December 1821 (£50), January (£50), February (£50), May (£150), and August 1822 (£80).¹¹ Dibdin offered the drawings back to Lewis, to sell speculatively, but was turned down. After several attempts to raise funds by disposing of the drawings privately, Dibdin consigned them to Robert Evans, who added them to the end of the sale of the library of George Isted, 11–14 February 1822.¹² Many of Dibdin's friends attended the sale and several bought heavily to support him. Some, no doubt, had plans to include the drawings as extra-illustrations in their copies of the *Tour*. George Lewis was present, carefully annotating his copy of the offprint with prices and buyers (it survives in a private collection).¹³ Comments may have been made before, during, or after the sale and, according to Lewis, these reports wrongly accused him of overcharging Dibdin. Within a month of the sale, the artist had written several letters to Dibdin on this subject, at the same time stating his intention to publish an account of their arrangements with the final part of his *Groups*.

10. Transcribed and reproduced in facsimile, along with Nicol's reply, by Henry Watson Kent, 'Another Day: a retrospective note on Thomas Frognall Dibdin and the printers of the Shakespeare Press' in *The Colophon* Part Two (1930). Kent read 'my Tour' as 'any hour' and *Aedes as Odes*. He took the printing bill discussed in the letters as referring to the *Typographical Antiquities*, one dating from 1819. Although Dibdin did mention a large debt he had been carrying for several years (some of it resulting from family expenses), it seems to me that the letters relate to the work just completed, the *Tour*. Regarding Dibdin's financial matters, see Renato Rabaiotti's introduction in Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *Horae Bibliographicae Cantabrigienses* (New Castle, 1989).

11. Lewis, 'The following observations', [1822], p. 5; 'Advertisement', [1822/3], p. 5.

12. There are two issues of this catalogue: one with both the Isted lots and the Lewis drawings and an offprint containing only the Lewis drawings (Windle & Pippin A43).

13. The gross sale proceeds were about £568 (figures vary slightly), although Lewis gives £440 as the 'sum-total' for the sale in both versions of his statement, p. 4.

George Lewis
1822

THE following observations were written for the purpose of being added to the Introductory Remarks, intended to accompany the Third Part of the Groups. Several of those, whose opinions I most value, have urged the immediate printing of them for distribution; as, it may yet be two or three months before I shall be able to complete the Third and concluding Number of this Work.

I feel compelled to notice some reports which have reached me from various quarters, respecting the prices which I charged the Rev. Mr. Dibdin, for the sketches and drawings made to accompany his Tour. I find it has been very generally supposed, that the prices fixed by me were exorbitant, and far more than should have been demanded, or indeed than the designs were worth. Works of Art are not capable of so accurate and so complete a scale of price or valuation, as articles in more general demand and use; and the criteria from which an estimate of their price is to be formed, are more difficult to ascertain. I shall, however, state, as accurately as I am able, the nature of the transaction between Mr. Dibdin and myself; and leave the Public, or rather the friends or patrons of Mr. Dibdin and myself, to judge how far the accusation, which I understand has been brought against me, is well or ill founded. I feel this is not only the fairest, but the only mode in which justice is likely to be done to both parties.

In the year 1818, Mr. Dibdin proposed that I should accompany him to the Continent. Mr. Dibdin agreed to pay a guinea a-day for the time we should be absent, he paying the travelling expenses: for this, I was to make designs of whatever subjects he required; and I believe Mr. Dibdin had no cause to complain of my zeal in attending to his wishes. With respect to the merit of the designs, I almost hesitate to refer to Mr. Dibdin's own testimony by reason of the flattering manner he has expressed his approbation of nearly every subject which has been engraved. Whatever may be the real merit of the designs, I feel justified in referring to their varied character. On our return, after an absence of about seven months, Mr. Dibdin selected from the

'The following observations': the first version of George Lewis's 'Remarks' on his dispute with Thomas Frogmell Dibdin, issued mid-June 1822. The pencil notes at the top are in the hand of Robert S Pirie.

Landon/Korey Collection.

The delays in the production of the plates for the *Groups* must have been another source of frustration for Lewis. He had planned to issue the etchings in three parts, each containing twenty plates with some larger ones counted as two. An undated prospectus, but probably from 1821, stated that the first part was to appear on the first of May and the other two parts at intervals of three months. The plates for the first part all are dated 'May 1st, 1821', but there were delays in producing the remainder of the plates. Those intended for the second part have dates of May, September, October and December 1821, while the plates for the final part are dated November 1822.¹⁴ Lewis finally decided to issue his statement in advance of the third part and explained the circumstances in a preliminary paragraph to the remarks:

The following observations were written for the purpose of being added to the Introductory Remarks, intended to accompany the Third Part of the Groups. Several of those, whose opinions I most value, have urged the immediate printing of them for distribution; as, it may yet be two or three months before I shall be able to complete the Third and concluding Number of this Work.¹⁵

Lewis presented his concerns: reports had reached him from various quarters that he had charged Dibdin exorbitant prices for his drawings and he felt compelled to set forth the nature of the transactions between the two, as accurately as he was able, in justice to both parties. First, there was the matter of payment for his time during the tour itself. Dibdin, he stated, had agreed to pay him a guinea a day but, on their return, had offered him only £100, less than half the amount owing. Lewis reluctantly accepted the lesser sum, taking into consideration Dibdin's previous commissions and the additional expenses of the tour, as it had taken much longer than

14. Lewis's *Groups* (1823) is described in Jackson 56 and Windle & Pippin A44. In the latter, the note states: 'The plates are all on india paper pasted-in, and all bear the full imprint and date of publication'. The dates given here are based on the large-paper copy in the Landon/Korey personal collection. The accompanying text includes a list of the plates, instructions for placing them in the *Tour*, and a fifteen-page description of the plates headed 'Advertisement'. The text is printed on Whatman paper with watermarks of 1821 and 1822. There is an engraved dedication leaf.

15. George Lewis, 'The following observations', p. [1].

planned. But the artist still felt justly entitled to the full amount.

Then came the work of making the finished drawings and overseeing the various engravers. No price was fixed at the time of the commission, but Lewis agreed to take it on, expending the next two years in ‘unremitting labour’. Only when the work was published did Dibdin request an account, apparently making an observation to their mutual friend, Mr. Masquerier, which Lewis found inappropriate for fixing the prices. He submitted his account, reflecting the value of the drawings alone and not the time devoted to supervision of the engraving. Dibdin objected. Arbitrators were chosen and awarded Lewis £430 6s 6d (less 13s 6d of Lewis’s bill of £431). It took two more months before Dibdin and Lewis settled on a schedule of payments: these were over a long period, no interest was allowed, and £80 remained outstanding (the August 1822 bill). All this, Lewis claimed, he had borne in silence but the reports so damaging to his reputation led him to act:

I addressed Mr. Dibdin on the subject; and also requested, that as the original drawings had been sold, he would take up his remaining bills.
— To two of my Letters I received no answer; except a message, that the bill for 150*l.*, due in May would be taken up when the money from the sale of the drawings was received.¹⁶

Lewis included his third letter to Dibdin, one of 12 March 1822, in which he repeated the concerns that forced him to a ‘public discussion’, ending: ‘I trust, however, that, in making a statement of the exact nature of the transactions between us, I shall neither be led into any impropriety of expression, nor incorrectness of statement.’¹⁷ He printed Dibdin’s reply of the same date in which the author denied any knowledge of the damaging reports and reserved the right of a reply to the statement. Lewis closed his remarks with a reiteration of the modest sums received and that part of it was still unpaid, ‘though it is now four months since Mr. Dibdin sold the drawings, and put the price in his pocket’.¹⁸

In these words, Lewis provides an approximate date for the earlier

16. Lewis, ‘The following observations’ and ‘Advertisement’, p. 5.

17. Lewis, ‘The following observations’ and ‘Advertisement’, p. 6.

18. Lewis, ‘The following observations’, p. 8.

version of his statement. The sale of the drawings had taken place in mid-February 1822, which places the statement at the middle of June. He sent a copy to Dibdin who returned it with a covering letter dated 25 June 1822 (in a private collection). Not surprisingly, the latter found it a partial view and denied any recollection of the agreement regarding the amount to be paid for the travel time. Dibdin assured Lewis that the final bill would be honoured when due, but did not refer again to a public reply.

Lewis did make changes to his text for the final version. The opening paragraph was deleted and the drophead title ‘Advertisement’ added to the first page. He removed the references to the £80 outstanding and stated that all the money had been paid, which places this version after August 1822 when the last bill was taken up. He also made more than thirty editorial revisions of wording and style. (The two versions employ the same setting of type although the changes did involve shifting a good bit of it.) The most significant alteration, added to Dibdin’s comment, ‘I must reserve to myself the power of a public reply, should that statement be fallacious’, in his letter of 12 March 1822, was a new footnote: ‘As this statement has now been printed and made public for several months, and as no “*public reply*” has been made to it, I am justified in inferring that Mr. Dibdin has not found any thing in it which he conceives to be “*fallacious*”.’¹⁹ And he revised his summary to read, ‘this sum was paid at long intervals; and the greater part of it long after Mr. Dibdin sold the drawings, and put the price in his pocket’.²⁰ Lewis seemed intent on publishing his statement, possibly with the completed *Groups*.

How widely Lewis distributed the first version of his statement is unclear. He may have sent it to individuals who subscribed to his *Groups*, especially members of the Roxburghe Club and, thus, part of Dibdin’s circle. Some of the surviving copies were included in extra-illustrated sets of the *Tour* originally belonging to subscribers. Lewis did make copies of the second version available although, again, the circumstances are not clear. I have found records of twenty-one copies, the details of which are given below.²¹ There is, po-

19. Lewis, ‘Advertisement’, p. 6.

20. Lewis, ‘Advertisement’, p. 7.

21. This list is by no means comprehensive. It is based primarily on a survey of private

ADVERTISEMENT.

I FEEL compelled to notice some reports which have reached me from various quarters, respecting the prices which I charged the Rev. Mr. Dibdin, for the sketches and drawings made to accompany his Tour. I find it has been very generally supposed, that the prices fixed by me were exorbitant, and far more than should have been demanded, or indeed than the designs were worth. Works of Art are not capable of so accurate and so complete a scale of price or valuation, as articles in more general demand; and the criteria from which an estimate of their price is to be formed, are more difficult to ascertain. I shall however state, as accurately as I am able, the nature of the transaction between Mr. Dibdin and myself; and leave the Public, or rather the friends or patrons of Mr. Dibdin and myself, to judge how far this accusation, which I understand has been brought against me, is well or ill founded. I feel this is not only the fairest, but the only mode in which justice is likely to be done to both parties.

In the year 1818, Mr. Dibdin proposed that I should accompany him to the Continent. Mr. Dibdin agreed to pay a guinea a-day for the time we should be absent, he bearing the travelling expenses: for this, I was to make designs of whatever subjects he required; and I believe he had no cause to complain of my zeal in attending to his wishes. With respect to the merit of the designs, I almost hesitate to refer to Mr. Dibdin's own testimony by reason of the flattering manner he has expressed his approbation of nearly every subject which has been engraved. Whatever may be their real merit, I feel justified in referring to their varied character. On our return, after an absence of about seven months, Mr. Dibdin selected from the sketches and finished drawings made by me, all such as he considered might be necessary for his work: and then, for the first time, suggested, that 100*l.* was considered by his friends, (with whom he said he had advised,) as a sufficient remuneration, instead of the one guinea a-day, originally agreed on.

As no complaint of want of skill or attention, on my part, was made by Mr. Dibdin, I was at least surprised at this proposal,

'Advertisement': the second version of George Lewis's 'Remarks' on his dispute with Thomas Frogmell Dibdin, issued in late 1822 or 1823.

Landon/Korey Collection.

tentially, some duplication. When it is mentioned in earlier records, Lewis's piece is described variously as 'remarks' (copies 1, 2, and 3); 'observations' (copies 4, 14, 15, and 21); 'statement' (copies 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9), and 'advertisement' (copies 11 and 13). Ten copies of the statement were bound either with the *Tour* or in separate volumes with related material, intended to complement the *Tour* (copies 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 9, 11, 13, 16, and 21). Four were included with Lewis's *Groups* (copies 7, 8, 12, and 18). Five are unbound (4, 10, 17, 19, and 20); two, bound separately (copies 14 and 15); and one, now disbound (copy 21). Of those recorded, eleven have been located: six of the first (copies 2, 9, and 19, Wormsley Library; 3, Austrian National Library; 10, John Carter Brown Library; and 21, Landon/Korey) and five of the second (copies 12, Cummins; 16, Houghton Library, Harvard; 17, Barlow; 18, Priddy; and 20, Landon/Korey).

It is unclear when the claim that Lewis's statement had been suppressed first appeared in print. The roughly contemporary descriptions in the 1827 sale of Drury's library (copy 1) as well as the 1833 sales of Hanrott's (copy 2) and Haslewood's (copy 3) made no mention of it. Thorpe's note in his 1837 catalogue (copy 4) stated it was 'privately printed', as did the notes in the 1848 Eyton sale (copies 5, 6, and 7) and the 1867 George Smith sale (copy 9). The earliest reference I have found is in Joseph Sabin's 1875 description of the set in Menzies collection (copy 11), which included a comment on its scarcity. The notes for those in the 1909 sale of William Wheeler Smith's collection (copies 14 and 15) also link suppression and rarity. Jackson reiterated this, stating of the 'Advertisement' that Lewis 'was persuaded, or decided on his own, to suppress. It is now very uncommon'.²² Whether these comments have any connection to the note on the copy at the John Carter Brown Library (copy 10) is not known.

The 'mutual friends' may have intervened with Lewis as he was

library and auction catalogues in the Landon/Korey collection, as well as the microfilm of Sotheby catalogues for selected sales. Mr. Barlow kindly provided the information from the Haslewood and G.H. Freeling catalogues in his collection. The descriptions often do not provide sufficient detail to determine the contents of a lot and can vary from one sale to the next: e.g., G.H. Freeling's set is more fully described in the 1848 Eyton sale (see copy 5).

22. Jackson, p. 41.

preparing to distribute the final version, but it was not as ‘carefully suppressed’ as they had hoped. And there likely are more copies of the earlier version still to be discovered. Perhaps a closer look at extra-illustrated copies of the *Tour* and related material will reveal those not presently located and others not yet recorded.

1. THE REV'D HENRY DRURY (1778–1841), Dibdin's ‘Menalcus’, had the etchings from Lewis's *Groups* inserted in his large-paper copy of the *Tour* and brought together various pamphlets relating to it, including Lewis's ‘Statement respecting the Drawings’, in a fourth volume. These were uniformly bound in Venetian or green morocco by Charles Lewis. Drury's library was sold by Evans in two parts, 19 February–3 March and 12–23 March 1827. The set appeared as lot 1133, followed by twelve separate lots of Lewis's drawings (which generally sold for less than half what Drury paid in the 1822 sale). William Pickering paid £47 5s, probably on behalf of Philip Augustus Hanrott (1776–1856), who also acquired many of the individual drawings after the sale. The set was described as ‘Mr. Drury's copy’, still with the additional volume containing illustrative tracts and ‘Lewis's Remarks on Dibdin’, as lot 359 in the second part of Hanrott's sale, held by Evans on 5–17 August 1833. Thomas Geeves, a bookseller at 141 Regent Street, paid £33 10s for it. I have not been able to trace it beyond this sale.

2. THE COPY DESCRIBED by Dibdin as ‘one of singular beauty and perfection, extracting and combining the splendour of three similar copies’²³ was based not, it would seem, on Drury's copy but on one owned by George Hibbert (1757–1837), Dibdin's ‘Honorio’. In the first part of Hibbert's sale, conducted by Evans on 16 March–4 April 1829, it was lot 2362, a large-paper copy, three volumes, in red morocco by Charles Lewis, with thirteen of Lewis's original drawings bound in.²⁴ There is no reference

23. *Reminiscences*, p. 697.

24. None of the drawings are from the Drury sale. The remaining sales were 4–16 May and 25 May–6 June 1829. Hibbert also had a small-paper copy of the *Tour*, which was lot 8746 in his sale.

to the etchings or any of the text from the *Groups* in the description. It was bought by Pickering for £92 8s, again for Hanrott. He expanded the *Tour* to six volumes, bringing the number of drawings to thirty-one and adding numerous proofs and other plates, including Lewis's etchings with his text to the etchings and his 'remarks on his own Drawings and Dispute with Dr. Dibdin'. Uniformly bound in red morocco with a seventh volume containing related pamphlets, it was offered as lot 2412 (i.e., 2413) in the first part of Hanrott's sale by Evans, 16–29 July 1833. The description noted that the 'foundation of it was Mr. Hibbert's copy'. It sold for £178 10s to James Baker of Coleman Street who expanded it yet again to bring it to eight volumes. This copy appeared as lot 222²⁵ in Baker's Sotheby & Wilkinson sale of 24 May 1855 and went for £168 to James Toovey who sold it to Henry Robert Westenra, third Baron Rossmore (1792–1860). It is now in the Wormsley Library, sadly lacking volume I, part I, but with the copy of 'The following observations' present. It was not recorded in Windle & Pippin.²⁶

3. JOSEPH HASLEWOOD (1769–1833), Dibdin's 'Bernardo', was closely associated with Dibdin and the Roxburghe Club, as was reflected in the sale of his library by Evans, 16–24 December 1833. His set of the *Tour* was lot 375, three volumes in four, bound by Lewis in red morocco, gilt leaves. Like Drury's copy, it included the various pamphlets relating to the *Tour* as well as Lewis's etchings and his 'Remarks relative to his Drawings'. This copy almost certainly reappeared as lot 437 in the sale of George Henry Freeling's library, conducted by Evans on 7–8 June 1842, when it sold for £15 15s to Adams. It seems that the set went through at least one other collection before coming to its present home.²⁷ It now is in collections of the Austrian National Library and the

25. The set included five letters from Dibdin, on one of which Baker commented that his letter to Dibdin 'wishing to part with the work was a mere "ruse"' (see *Reminiscences*, pp. 698–9, where Dibdin reprinted some of the correspondence).

26. Windle & Pippin note that they recorded the Rabaiotti copies now in the Wormsley Library but were not able to examine other copies there at that time (Preface, p. xiv).

27. A later description is in volume I, see p. 5 in <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC11868761>.

'Remarks' can be confirmed as the first version.²⁸

4. THE BOOKSELLER THOMAS THORPE (1791–1851) listed a copy of 'G. Lewis's Observations respecting his charges for the Drawings executed by him for Dr. Dibdin's Tour, privately printed, the size of the Tour', along with a copy of 'A Merry and Conceited Song', one of the prospectuses for Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* and a 'Circular for a Roxburghe Club Meeting, with the Autograph of Dr. Dibdin, addressed to Sir F. Freeling', all offered for a guinea as item 469 in his *Catalogue of Books, Part X for 1837*. (There is no binding description so they simply may have been grouped together.) Sir Francis Freeling (1764–1836), Dibdin's 'Licius', had a choice collection of his works, many of them extra-illustrated, which were included in the sale of his library by Evans, 25 November–10 December 1836. His large-paper copy of the *Tour*, extended to four volumes with proof impressions of the plates and Lewis's etchings, was lot 327.²⁹ One of the final lots in the sale is a 'Collection of Various Scraps and Miscellanies', which might have been the source of Thorpe's offering. It is not located.
5. SIR GEORGE HENRY FREELING (1789–1841), Dibdin's 'Philelphus', shared his father's interest in collecting and outdid him in an enthusiasm for extra-illustration. In addition to the Haslewood copy (see 3), Freeling owned two other extra-illustrated sets of the *Tour*: lots 424, three volumes in four, and 427, three volumes in six. The descriptions in Freeling's 1842 catalogue do not mention George Lewis's remarks, but subsequent sales of lot 427 do. Bound for Freeling in olive morocco and richly tooled by Charles Lewis, it was purchased by Pickering for £89 5s for Joseph Walter King Eyton (1820–1872).³⁰ In Eyton's sale by S. Leigh Sotheby & Co., 15–22 May 1848, it was lot 489, with full credit given to its previ-

28. Reproduced at pp. 371–8 in <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC11868783>.

29. Sir Francis Freeling's *Tour* was listed in Quaritch Catalogue 1077 (1987), item 41.

30. Mr Barlow's copy of the G.H. Freeling catalogue was Eyton's own copy with his notes regarding the Dibdin lots. He had considered the Haslewood copy (lot 437) but decided against it. Eyton produced a manuscript catalogue of his purchases at the G.H. Freeling sale in at least two copies, one of which is in the Grolier Club library.

ous owner for the perfection of the volumes. The description noted the presence of 'a Statement by George Lewis, respecting the prices he charged for the Sketches and Drawings for this Work, Privately Printed'. It sold for £61 19s to Joseph Lilly for the art collector Benjamin Godfrey Windus (1790–1867). In his sale by Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, 23–26 March 1868, it was lot 198 and went to Harvey for £240. An American collector, John A. Rice (1829–1888), acquired it. Two years later, the set appeared as lot 567 in Rice's sale, 21 March 1870 by Bangs, Merwin & Co, when it sold for \$1920 to Sabin. Although the copy was said to have been broken up,³¹ it was offered as the G.H. Freeling-Eyton copy, lot 90 in a Christie's (London) sale of 9 December 1976. It sold for £3700.

6. EYTON HAD A SECOND COPY of the *Tour*, lot 490 in his 1848 sale: three volumes, large paper, uncut, with a copy of Lewis's 'Statement' described as in the previous lot. It sold for £13 15s to Sotheberan; it is not located.
7. EYTON ALSO OWNED A THIRD COPY of Lewis's 'Statement', bound with a large-paper copy of his *Groups*, listed as lot 499. The note is similar to that in lot 489. This copy sold for £1 11s to Lilly; it is not located.
8. EDWARD VERNON UTTERSON (1776–1856), Dibdin's 'Ulpian' and 'Palmerin', had two Sotheby & Wilkinson sales, 19 April 1852 and 20 March 1857, with most of the Dibdin titles in the second sale. While Utterson had extra plates in his copy of the *Tour* (lot 406), he had a large-paper copy of Lewis's *Groups* bound separately in calf, gilt edges. Offered as lot 977, with the note, 'Inserted is a printed statement as to [the] conduct of Dr. Dibdin towards the talented artist (Geo. Lewis), whom he employed during his Picturesque and Bibliographical Tour on the Continent', it sold to Lilly for £1 1s. It is not located.

31. Bernard Quaritch, ed., *Contributions towards a Dictionary of English Book-Collectors* (London, 1969), p. 235. I am grateful to Roland Folter for the information on the Rice sale.

9. ANOTHER LARGE-PAPER SUBSCRIPTION COPY of the *Tour* has an unidentified bookplate of the 1830s prior to coming into the collection of George Smith of Russell Square. At his Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge sale of 10 July 1867, it was lot 1944: four volumes, morocco super extra, gilt edges, by Charles Lewis, containing ‘G. Lewis’s privately printed statement respecting the prices agreed to be paid by Dr. Dibdin for the drawings, &c.’ It sold to Boone for £100 and passed into the collection of Henry Hucks Gibbs, first Lord Aldenham (1819–1907). The set appeared, with no mention of the Lewis piece, as lot 572 in the 3–5 May 1937 Aldenham sale by Sotheby & Co. and sold to Joseph for £5 15s. It later was owned by Renato Rabaiotti and now is in the Wormsley Library. It is recorded in Windle & Pippin as the ‘Advertisement’ but it is the first version, beginning with ‘The following observations’.

10. A COPY OF ‘The following observations’ in the John Carter Brown Library is a folded sheet, unbound. It has a note in a contemporary but unidentified hand at the head of first page, ‘Carefully suppressed at the desire if [of] mutual friends’. There is no information as to when it came into the collections, nor its provenance.³² It is not recorded in Windle & Pippin.

11. ONE OF THE EARLIEST REFERENCES to Lewis’s remarks as ‘Advertisement’ is in the 1875 catalogue of the library of William Menzies (1810–1896), a pioneer in the collecting of Americana who also had a considerable collection of bibliography. The catalogue was compiled by Joseph Sabin (1821–1881) and used as the basis for the sale he conducted for Leavitt on 13 November 1876. The Dibdin collection was listed in twenty-nine lots, many of the volumes being on large paper. Item 580 is an extra-illustrated copy of the *Tour*, three volumes in four, with Lewis’s etchings and the text to that work, including, in Sabin’s words, ‘the very

32. There is a copy of the *Tour*, bound in red morocco, gilt, three volumes in six, from the library of John Russell Bartlett (1805–1886), John Carter Brown’s personal librarian. Also in the collection is a large-paper copy of the *Tour*, three volumes in brown morocco, but with no provenance noted.

scarce and exceedingly tart eight page “Advertisement” subsequently suppressed, respecting the “little unpleasantness between Mr. Lewis and the Author of the Tour”. It was not known to Windle & Pippin and is not located.

12. JOHN WHITEFOORD MACKENZIE (1794–1884) was a solicitor and collector known for his literary and antiquarian interests. Dibdin visited him in Edinburgh during his northern tour and wrote: ‘His library is a sort of *Book-Nest* – everything being so cunningly wrought and so curiously dovetailed. It is unambitious, but it has an air of attic elegance’.³³ Mackenzie’s library was sold in Edinburgh by T. Chapman & Son in two sales: 24 March and 27 April 1886. The first part listed some thirty lots of Dibdin’s works and related material, including a large-paper copy of Lewis’s *Groups*, bound in quarter morocco. Although not mentioned in the catalogue description of the *Groups* (it was lot 2156), the ‘Advertisement’ is bound in the volume. It now is in the collection of James Cummins. It is not in Windle & Pippin.
13. JACKSON KNEW OF BUT NEVER SAW an extra-illustrated copy of the *Tour*, sold by the Anderson Auction Company early in the 20th century.³⁴ This appeared in sale 652, 6–7 April 1908, including the library of John D. Elwell and other property. It was lot 168, contemporary half vellum, uncut, described as ‘The choice Crawford copy’, containing the etchings from Lewis’s *Groups* and his ‘eight-page “Advertisement” of the same. Numerous neatly written marginal notes by the bibliomaniacal collector James Roche’. Crawford was William Horatio Crawford, of Lakelands, County Cork (1815?–1888), whose library was sold by Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge on 12 March 1891. In that sale, the set was lot 978 but the description does not mention the Lewis advertisement. It went to Sotheran for £11 10s. The ‘bibliomaniacal’ collector may refer to James Roche (1770–1853) of Cork. It is noted but not located by Windle & Pippin.
33. Thomas Frogmire Dibdin, *A Bibliographical Antiquarian and Picturesque Tour in the Northern Counties of England and in Scotland* (London, 1838), p. 619.
34. Jackson mentioned it in his letter to the proprietors of Seven Gables (see copy 21).

- 14 & 15. WILLIAM WHEELER SMITH (d. 1908), a New York collector and member of the Grolier Club, had a substantial collection of Dibdin, offered in his Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge sale, 13 December 1909. There were two copies in the sale, both listed as Lewis's 'Observations'. Lot 391 in half morocco, imperial 8vo, has the note, 'only a few copies printed and afterwards suppressed'. Lot 393, bound with Lewis's text to the *Groups* in half morocco, royal 8vo, has the description: 'The Observations were intended to accompany the third part of the "Groups," but were suppressed, and are now rare'. Neither of these copies is located.
16. JAMES F. HUNNEWELL owned an extra-illustrated copy of the *Tour* with the 'Advertisement' bound in. His Dibdin collection was presented to Harvard in 1942. This is the copy described by Jackson in his note to item 56 and is listed in Windle & Pippin.
17. A COPY OF THE 'Advertisement' most likely preserved by Lewis himself made its way into the collection Major John Roland Abbey (1896–1969), along with some of the correspondence between Dibdin and Lewis and Lewis's annotated copy of the offprint of the 1822 auction catalogue. These were sold on 14 November 1966 as lot 867, in the second portion of the Abbey sale by Sotheby & Co., where the statement is described as 'a copy of Lewis's privately printed version of their dispute about payment'. According to Windle & Pippin, it is 'as issued, unsewn, untrimmed'. It is in the collection of William P. Barlow Jr.
18. WINDLE & PIPPIN list a copy bound in an 8vo set of Lewis's *Groups* in original parts. The 'Advertisement' is in part II of the set, following the title-page and other preliminary text. It is in the collection of John Priddy who also has a quarto set of the *Groups* in original parts, with the preliminary text divided between parts II and III. On the wrappers, Lewis used '*A Series of Etchings, Pourtraying*' as the first part of the title but revised it to '*A Series of Groups, Illustrating*' for the printed title.
19. RENATO RABAIOTTI had a second copy of Lewis's remarks, de-

scribed by Windle & Pippin as the ‘Advertisement’ and as ‘a folded sheet, unbound’. It is in the Wormsley Library and is the earlier version of the text.

20. THERE IS A COPY of the ‘Advertisement’ preserved as a folded sheet, unsewn and unopened in the Landon/Korey collection. It was acquired in 1995 and is recorded in the ‘Addenda’ in Windle & Pippin.

21. THEN THERE IS THE COPY owned by Robert S Pirie (1934–2015). It appeared as part of lot 1064 in his sale by Sotheby’s, 2–4 December 2015. Disbound, with gilt edges, it was listed as the ‘Advertisement’, along with the offprint of the 1822 auction catalogue of the Lewis drawings, and two plates from the *Tour* (one, ‘The Halt of the Pilgrims’, is a proof before letters).³⁵ Laid in with these items is a letter of 27 April 1964 from William A. Jackson to John S. Van E. Kohn and Michael Papantonio, the proprietors of Seven Gables, returning the volume of the Dibdin *Tour* sent for his inspection. Jackson reported that he had made a description of the prospectus and stated that it was ‘in your hands’. He also pointed out the importance of the ‘Lewis little piece’. In the notes to Lewis’s *Groups* (item 56) Jackson wrote, ‘the only other copy we have traced is the J.H. Markland copy, bound with the *Tour*, now (1964) at the Seven Gables Book Shop’.³⁶

James Heywood Markland (1788–1864), Dibdin’s ‘Pamphilius’, sold a portion of his library through Sotheby & Wilkinson on 11 June 1859. There was a second sale on 29 May 1865 by Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge. In the first sale, lot 14 is an octavo copy of the *Tour*, bound in three volumes, russia extra, gilt edges, by Charles Lewis, with additional plates, including the ‘Halt of the Pilgrims’ in two states. The description stated: ‘In this copy are also bound up the original Prospectus with Autograph Note of the Author,

35. ‘The Halt of the Pilgrims’ has the title and the names of the artist and engraver added in pencil, but there is no imprint. Some areas have been touched up for additional engraving. The portrait of Charles Arbuthnot has been defaced. The sewing holes for the remarks and the offprint of the auction catalogue align.

36. Jackson, p. 41.

the Observations of G. Lewis on his Claims for Remuneration, and the Sale Catalogue of the Original Drawings'. It sold for £8 8s to Lilly. Where this copy may have been for more than a hundred years before it surfaced at Seven Gables is unknown. However, at the end of his notes for the *Tour* (item 48) Jackson stated: 'A prospectus of this book is at Harvard (Jackson, the kind gift of John S. Van E. Kohn and Michael Papantonio and the only one the compiler has seen)'.³⁷ If this came from the Markland copy, perhaps the 'Lewis little piece' and the sale catalogue of the drawings did as well to fill a gap in Mr. Pirie's collection. The Markland-Pirie copy is the first version of the text. It is now in the Landon/Korey collection. When it was compared with the other copy here, the differences between the two became apparent.

Postscript: Some time after this article was completed, I saw a copy of Lewis's statement not reflected in the above list. It is the second issue and is bound with Lewis's *Series of Groups* in contemporary calf. The volume bears the circular bookplate of Max Salomon but no signs of earlier provenance. The copy was in the stock of James Cummins Bookseller in 2017. It is now in the collection of William P. Barlow Jr. The total of located copies is now twelve, six of each issue.

³⁷Jackson, p. 37.



The binding on Michel Wittock's copy of the Aldine Latin orthography (1591),
painted to appear as if bound in calf.

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Hidden in Plain View

Decoration and Double Meaning in the English Private Library

ED POTTER

In the early 1640s an unidentified and scholarly Oxford book buyer acquired for himself a three-volume set of the *Bartenura*, the commentary on the *Mishnah* of *Ovadiah* ben Abraham of *Bertinoro*. Printed in Kraków in 1642, and bound either there or nearby soon after publication, the book's plain, provincial binding clearly stood out on the shelves. In an attempt to introduce uniformity, whilst minimising expense, its frugal English owner sent it to a local binder to have the spines gold tooled and lettered in a characteristically English style.¹ The boards remain unaltered, but a casual viewer of the shelves would see no difference between the spines. This Oxford scholar was not alone. The Michel Wittock Collection, sold through Christie's in 2004, contained a similarly duplicitous copy of the 1591 Aldine Latin orthography, bound in contemporary white vellum. The original binding was later coloured and decorated in such a way as to change the book's appearance on the shelf and to give the impression that it was bound in brown calf, with a gold-tooled spine, redolent of the late-seventeenth century.²

Whether they knew it or not, these seventeenth-century English book owners were early foot soldiers in a long campaign of obfuscation in English libraries, ranging from small deceptions practised

1. These volumes now reside in the Fellows' Library of Clare College, Cambridge, where they have been since 1721. The tooling on them matches tooling found on at least four other books now at Clare College. All came from an as-yet unidentified English collection, dispersed in Oxford in the 1670s and early 1680s, there acquired by the Hebraist Humphrey Prideaux (1648–1724).

2. *The Michel Wittock Collection: Important Renaissance Bookbindings*, Wednesday 7 July 2004 (London: Christie's, 2004), lot 78, p.124. In 2007, George Bayntun offered a remarkably similar volume, this time a 1674 copy of the Elzevier *Lucius Annaeus Florus*. I am grateful to Ed Bayntun-Coward for drawing this binding to my attention: *George Bayntun EBC Catalogue 15* (Bath: Bayntun, 2007), item 15.

on a single book to large-scale trompe-l'œil, encompassing whole rooms. The reasons behind such deceptions are as varied as the methods employed, but invariably the library shelves were utilised to demonstrate wealth, erudition or status. From the outset, the skills of the bookbinder were a useful tool in so doing.

The earliest examples of bibliopegic sleight-of-hand were driven primarily by economics and a desire for uniformity, but they also represented a response, witting or unwitting, to a series of contemporary developments and trends, tastes and fashions in book collecting, library use, and library design. Fundamentally, this period saw a vast increase in printed output – there were simply a great many more books to be accommodated. With a few notable exceptions,³ most early seventeenth private libraries were ‘closet’ libraries, small collections of practical books kept in a locked chest or in a closet off a bedchamber, and as such wholly private spaces for study, devotion and contemplation. With the increase in printed output in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, books became more affordable and more widely accessible. Libraries began to outgrow the closet. By the time our anonymous collectors had saved a few pence by tarting-up the spines of their bindings, the private library was morphing into something altogether more ambitious and serving a very different function.

The early years of the eighteenth century saw dramatic changes in the content, use and architecture of the private library. New tastes in book collecting saw the emphasis shift from content to materiality. For the first time a book’s age and antiquity, its rarity, status or place within a ‘canon of collectible books’⁴ added value. Simultaneously ‘several members of the British nobility became ... seized by a violent desire to collect incunabula ... the first great

3. There was a library room created at St. James’s Palace in 1609–10 to accommodate Lord Lumley’s books, whilst at Hatfield House a ‘boke chamber’ was created in the ground-floor apartment of Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, in 1607–11. See J. Newman, ‘Library Buildings and Fittings’, in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland Volume II 1640–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp.207–08.

4. A. Hunt, ‘Private Libraries in the Age of Bibliomania’, in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland Volume II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 439.

collectors of early-printed books, not only in England but in Europe'.⁵ Responding to these changes, the library began to change from a site of private study and devotion into a more public realm.⁶ By the 1720s the 'architectural library' was fast becoming 'a normal feature of the great house'.⁷ By c.1735, for example, William Kent's glorious library at Holkham Hall served a dual purpose, being simultaneously a library and a family living room, displaying both dynastic erudition and wealth, but also an awareness of the most contemporary trends in book collecting and interior design.

This shift was from the outset viewed by many with a degree of sniffiness; writing in 1739, the anonymous author of a collection of prim *Essays and Letters on Various Subjects* noted:

When I came first into this family, I thought my master was a very learned man, and my lady much given to reading; for he had a large fine library, and she a closet of choice books, curiously bound, gilt, and lettered; but I soon found my master never went into the library but to shew it to company, and my lady's books were rarely taken out of the case but to be dusted ... I was informed that a study is as necessary in a nobleman's or gentleman's house, altho' he does not read, as a chapel, tho' he never hears prayers.⁸

These changes in the function of the library coincided with the peak of the Anglo-Palladian movement. The publication of the first volume of Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* in 1715 popularized neo-Palladianism. At the same time there was a boom in Whig country house construction. Symmetry was central to the formal classical temple architecture of the Ancient Greeks and Romans, Palladio's inspiration, and with the library's transformation into a public space, symmetry in interior design became every bit as important as symmetry in the external façade. The unfortunate necessity for internal doors and windows, however, could really

5. S. de Ricci, *English Collectors of Books & Manuscripts 1530–1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930), p. 33.

6. This oversimplifies a complex and multifaceted transition. See S. West, 'An Architectural Typology for the Early Modern Country House Library, 1660–1720', in *The Library*, 7th ser., 14 (2013), 441–64.

7. J. Newman, 'Library Buildings and Fittings', p. 209. See, for example, Robert Walpole's library at Houghton Hall, built c.1722–35, or the library designed by James Gibbs at Wimpole Hall to house the Harleian Library, completed in the early 1730s.

upset one's Palladian ideal, leading to a variety of ingenious methods for disguising openings. Key amongst these was the 'jib door', defined by the *OED* as 'a door flush with the wall in which it stands, and usually painted or papered so as to be indistinguishable from it'.⁹ Often hidden by a convenient tapestry or papered with suitably neoclassical wallpaper in other staterooms, jib doors in libraries could serve a unique dual purpose. When decorated with false shelves and false book spines, they maintained symmetry and at the same time gave the impression that one's library (and hence one's learning) was significantly more extensive than it was.

The importance of this latter function should not be underestimated, and library trickery of all sorts could be employed to give the impression of a vast dynastic family library, housed in an equally vast library room. The famous Hugh Douglas Hamilton conversation piece of the extravagant Sir Rowland Winn (1739–85) and his Swiss wife Sabine (d.1798) at Nostell Priory is a fine example. Intended for their St. James's London house, it depicts the couple in their newly commissioned Robert Adam Library at Nostell Priory, in front of the huge Chippendale Library desk. In Hamilton's picture the library room has been 'flattened', the four walls morphing into one wall behind the subjects, giving the impression that the Yorkshire Library was four times its actual size.¹⁰

The extraordinary rococo library interior at Shugborough is as deceptive in the flesh as Hugh Douglas Hamilton's portrayal of the Nostell library room was in oils. One of only two interiors at Shugborough to predate Samuel Wyatt's 1790–98 remodelling of the house, the library was designed by Thomas Wright and was described by Lady Gray on a visit in 1748 as 'exceedingly odd and pretty' with good reason.¹¹ It straddles the divide between the late

9. 'jib-door, n.' *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed March 3, 2016. The *OED* cites the earliest known use as 1800 in E. Hervey's *Mourtray Family*, but it was undoubtedly in use considerably earlier (see references in footnote 18).

10. See A. Laing, 'Sir Rowland and Lady Winn: A Conversation Piece at Nostell Priory' in *Apollo* (London: National Trust, published in association with Apollo Magazine, 2000), 14–18, and V. Coltman, 'Classicism in the English Library: Reading Classical Culture in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', in *Journal of the History of Collections*, 11 (1999), 35–50.

11. Bedfordshire County Record Office, Grey MSS:L30/9a/2/3, cited in J. M.



Hugh Douglas Hamilton, Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Bt (1739 - 1785), and his wife Sabine Louise d'Hervart (1734-1798) in the Library at Nostell Priory.

© National Trust Images / John Hammond.



The rococo library interior at Shugborough Hall.

© National Trust Images / John Hammond.

seventeenth-century house and the wings added in the mid-eighteenth century with a load-bearing arch across the main axis of the room, and has been carefully designed and decorated to create a trompe-l'œil effect, suggesting the room is significantly larger than its relatively meagre forty feet. This wider deception is enhanced by Wright's fine jib door, decorated with false spines.¹²

The use of false books in English libraries has a long precedent. The earliest example yet found appears in the famous satirical description of 'Leonora's Library' from *The Spectator*.¹³ In 1711 Mr. Spectator writes of his visit to the 'Lady's Library' of Leonora, 'formerly a celebrated beauty ... a widow for two or three years' who subsequently has 'turned all the passions of her sex, into a love of books'. There he found 'several ... counterfeit books upon the upper shelves, which were carved in wood, and served only to fill up the number, like faggots in the muster of a regiment.' For this practice to be satirized, it seems likely to have been well established by 1711.

Although the activities of later architects often eliminated evidence, jib doors and false spines were probably part of the first generation of architectural libraries. Recently unearthed evidence concerning the Long Library designed by William Kent in c.1735 at Holkham Hall, perhaps the greatest Anglo-Palladian house, suggests that a jib door was part of the initial conception. In Kent's original drawing for the east wall of the Long Library the press next to the fireplace where the jib door was constructed is annotated, requesting 'A halfe door to be contriv'd here', with a superscript mark possibly suggesting 'herein'.¹⁴ Whether this door was dis-

Robinson, *Shugborough* (London: National Trust, 1996), p. 33.

12. I am grateful to Jane Gallagher for confirming that the jib door is likely to be part of Wright's original design.

13. *The Spectator* No. 37. Thursday, April 12, 1711 (London: S. Buckley and A. Baldwin, 1711) pp. 203–08. This famous listing of a 'lady's library' has been much discussed; see, for example: R. M. Wiles, *Serial Publication in England Before 1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), p. 12, R. Tierney-Hynes, *Novel Minds: Philosophers and Romance Readers, 1680–1740* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2012), pp. 32–5; K. Lubey, *Excitable Imaginations: Eroticism and Reading in Britain 1660–1760* (Plymouth: Bucknell University Press, 2012), p. 94.

14. Holkham Archive: P/M5, 'A sketch for Ld Lovell's library at Holkham, W. K. 1737'. The drawing is illustrated in D. P. Mortlock, *Holkham Library: A History and*

guised with false spines from the outset is debatable – the present decoration dates from c.1820 – but it seems likely.

The National Trust has jib doors and false books in many of its libraries, historic and otherwise, with some notable eighteenth-century examples. The Book Room at Felbrigg Hall in Norfolk is entered through a concealed jib-door in one of the presses. The original plans for the Library, drawn up by James Paine for William Windham II (1717–61) c. 1752 and executed in the mid-1750s, show the proposed door, and the set of shelving designed to disguise it.¹⁵ Unsurprisingly, Robert Adam was a particular fan of the library jib door. There is a fine set of doors executed at Nostell Priory near Wakefield, c.1767, the spines, ‘neatly Gilt and letterd’ and supplied by Thomas Chippendale, no less,¹⁶ and an Adam jib door of the same year but to a different design at Osterley Park, executed for Robert Child (1739–82).¹⁷

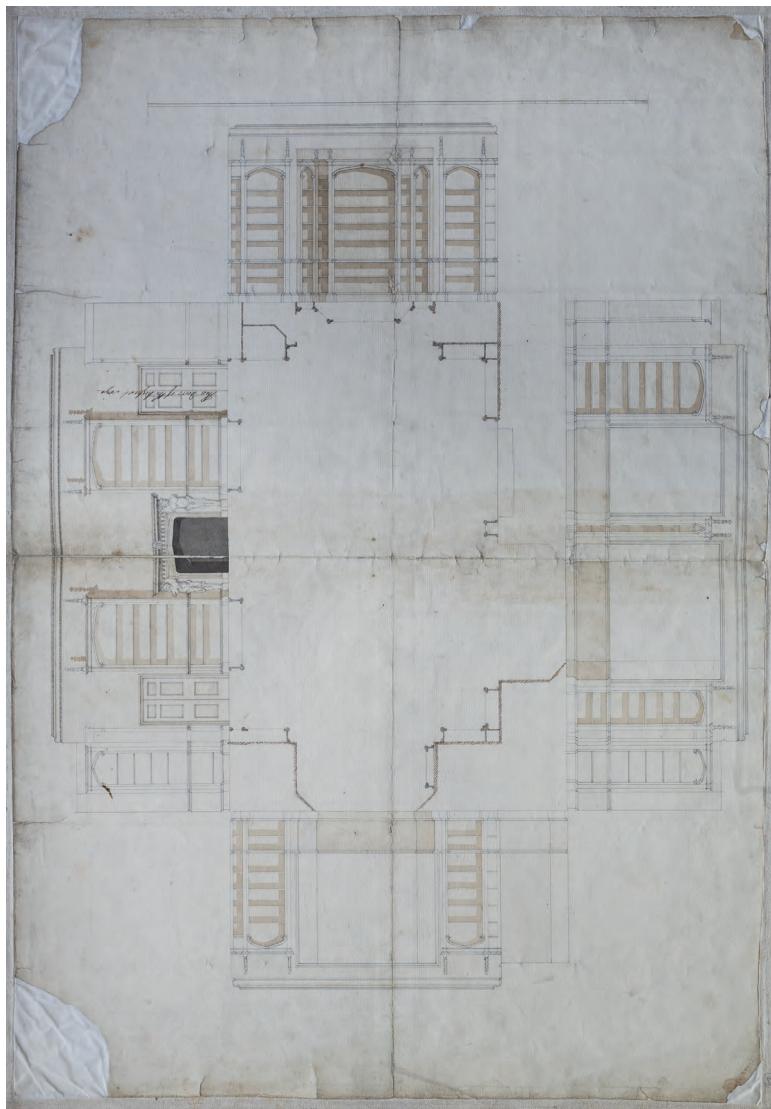
The popularity of the jib door is evident from trade books. As early as 1776 *The Builders Price-book* quoted joinery prices for the construction of ‘Gib doors’, whilst *The Carpenter and Joiner’s Assistant* contains a detailed description of their construction and hanging. By 1791 the phenomenon of false books was so widespread as to motivate William Creech to warn of the dangers of ‘wooden libraries’ and the ensuing ridicule to their owners should someone attempt to remove a volume from the shelf, ‘the gilded volume torn from its glue, and lacerating his brother’s sides’. False books also begin to appear in contemporary fiction. Samuel Jackson Pratt’s

Description ([s.l.]): Roxburghe Club, [2006]), p. 5. The annotation, presumably in the hand of Thomas Coke, 1st Earl of Leicester (1697–1759), is now almost invisible and I am grateful to Dr Suzanne Reynolds and Christine Hiskey, Archivist at Holkham for drawing it to my attention.

15. The Felbrigg jib door is of a slightly different type – the door is lined with shelves which are populated with real books rather than false ones.

16. C. Gilbert, *The Life and Work of Thomas Chippendale* (New York: Macmillan, 1978), vol. 1, pp. 181–85.

17. Osterley’s jib door is like that at Felbrigg – shelves with real books. In addition, there are library jib doors in Adam interiors at Croome Court, Syon House, Lansdowne House and Newby Hall (see E. Harris, *The Genius of Robert Adam: His Interiors* (New Haven: Yale University Press for The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2001), pp. 45, 80, 128–29, 131, 231). Others will no doubt surface as more research is undertaken.



Detail of 'Design for the Library', (1752) by James Paine the elder (1717–1789).
© National Trust Images / Chris Lacey.

1779 *Shenstone-Green; or, the New Paradise Lost* mocks ‘Lord George Gildcover’, who ‘hath the largest library of wooden books I ever saw. Remarkable for having the best imitations of leather bindings in England’. In Mary Meeke’s 1800 *Anecdotes of the Altamont Family* Lord Fitzarran gives express instructions for his library, ‘fearful the good man would fob me off with wooden books’.¹⁸

The majority of Trust examples date from the first half of the nineteenth century, by which time the library jib door decorated with false books was very much *de rigueur*. There are early nineteenth century examples at Tatton Park, Cheshire, by Lewis William Wyatt (executed 1809–12) and a beautifully preserved door at Philipp’s House, near Salisbury, by Sir Jeffrey Wyatville, executed 1817. If the Trust’s libraries are representative, the heyday for the private library jib door seems to have been the 1830s; highlights include the door at Charlecote Park near Stratford-upon-Avon, c. 1833, possibly by Crace, Castle Ward in Strangford, c. 1835, Salvin’s wonderful example at Scotney Castle in Kent, and Buckler’s at Oxburgh Hall in Norfolk, c. 1839.

As with much else in the Palladian house, the origins of the use of false books stemmed directly from the influence of Grand Tour. Tourists visiting Santa Maria in Organo or Monte Oliveto Maggiore in Siena, the Basilica di San Dominico in Bologna, the duomos of Florence or Modena, or the Palazzo Ducale in Gubbio, would have been surrounded with the very finest examples of Italian *intarsio* and wood carving. Optical illusions were central to the work of craftsmen like Francesco Pianta, Fra Giovanni da Verona, Fra Damiano Zambelli, Christophero and Lorenzo Canozi and Giuliano da Maiano. All used wooden books, shelved in presses, artfully glimpsed through partially-closed cupboard doors or open, as if in use, as central motifs in their bewilderingly complex inlays and carvings.

18. *The Builders Price-book* (London: I. Taylor, 1776), pp. 36, 38; *The Carpenter and Joiner’s Assistant* (London: I. and J. Taylor, 1797), p. 31; W. Creech, *Edinburgh Fugitive Pieces* (Edinburgh: W. Creech and T. Cadell, 1791), p. 30; S. J. Pratt, *Shenstone-Green; or, the New Paradise Lost* (London: printed for R. Baldwin, 1779), vol. 1, p. 165; M. Meeke *Anecdotes of the Altamont Family* (London: printed at the Minerva-Press, for William Lane, 1800), vol. 2 page 183.

In Painta's allegorical carvings in the Sala Capitolare of the Scuola Grande di San Rocco, for example, we see between Fury and Curiosity, five shelves of exquisitely-carved books, 64 volumes in total, described by the artist as 'The library whereof the librarian is deceit'. From the early fifteenth century *studiolis* decorated with intarsio were increasingly a staple feature of Italian Renaissance palaces, retreats where owners could study, entertain and show off their cabinets and places of pilgrimage for Grand Tourists. Their example influenced generations of library owners and architects.

The choice of titles selected for the false spines has long been noted as a source of entertainment, and false spines abound with in-jokes and humorous puns. Perhaps the most famous examples are those executed c.1820 covering a cupboard door in the library at Killerton Park, designed for Sir Thomas Dyke Acland.¹⁹ The quirky selection was being commented on by as early as 1832,²⁰ and has been a regular staple ever since. Killerton's library contains essential reading such as *Hobble on Corns*, *Wig without Brains*, *Heavisides on Muscular Compression*, *Hard Nuts to Crack* and *Sermons on Hard Subjects*. Near the hinges we find *Squeak on Openings*, *Bang on Shutting* and *Hinge's Orations*.

Writing in 1831 in response to a request from the Duke of Devonshire, Thomas Hood produced a list of suggestions for slightly more subtle puns for the entrance of a library staircase at Chatsworth. It includes *Johnson's Contradictionary*, *Cursory Remarks on Swearing*, *Shelley's Conchologist* and the truly awful *Percy Vere. In 40 volumes*.²¹ Even Charles Dickens succumbed to the fashion for false books. On his move to Tavistock Square in 1851 he commissioned the bookbinder Thomas Robert Eeles to produce false books to fill two recesses, specifying exactly what he wanted on

19. Although the library presses (and hence the false spines) were moved from elsewhere in the house into what was then the Drawing Room in 1900, they date from c.1820.

20. T. Allom, W.H. Bartlett, J. Britton and E.W. Brayley, *Devonshire & Cornwall Illustrated* (London: H. Fisher, R. Fisher and P. Jackson, 1832), p. 35.

21. T. Hood, *Memorials of Thomas Hood* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1860), vol. 1, pp. 29–32. Occasionally, Hood's references were so cryptic as to need explanation: 'others appear to be such Bonâ fide works that one does not always catch the hidden meaning ... 'The Life of Zimmerman (the author of Solitude) By Himself' (p.30).



A detail of Francesco Pianta's allegorical carvings in the Sala Capitolare of the Scuola Grande di San Rocco: "The library whereof the librarian is deceit".

© Scuola Grande di San Rocco.

the imitation book backs. His ‘entertaining’ list included *Drowsy’s Recollections of Nothing*, *Heavyside’s Conversations with Nobody*, *Lady Godiva on the Horse* and *The Quarrelly Review*.²²

Occasionally, the choice of spine titles can prove historically significant, as well as humorous. Dummy book blocks in the library commissioned by John Brownlow, 1st Viscount Tyrconnel (1690–1754) at Belton House contain the usual humorous asides (*Paradise Improv’d*, *Wooden Lectures*, *Leath’r Works*), and also a clue as to the craftsman’s identity. The punning titles were in place at Belton by the 1740s, when they were commented on by Simon Yorke of Erddig (1696–1767).²³ Two entries stand out amongst the puns and the titles of real works: *Bower’s Works* and *Wightman’s Works*. The former links the false books with the work of a binder who, although unknown in the literature, was demonstrably binding books for the family at Belton in the early eighteenth century. Seven bindings survive at Belton executed for Tyrconnel, on books dated between 1684 and 1728, with one further in another collection, which are stamped with the binder’s mark of ‘Bower’,²⁴ whilst the reference to Wightman might refer to the Grantchester bookseller Thomas Wightman.²⁵ It would appear that both left their subtle mark on the false spines at Belton, and if the dates of publication of the books bound by Bower are any indication, suggest a date of c. 1730 for the false spines.

At Mount Stewart House in Northern Ireland survives an ex-

22. C. Dickens, *The Letters of Charles Dickens* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1880), vol. 1, pp. 265–66.

23. See R. Watson, ‘Some Non-textual Uses of Books’, in S. Eliot and J. Rose, eds., *A Companion to the History of the Book* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), p. 489.

24. See books listed in the National Trust Collections Database at NT 3003704, NT 3019743, NT 3019820, NT 3021458, NT 3021459, NT 3023382 and NT 3020793. A copy of the third issue of John Ogilby’s *Britannia Depicta*, dated on the engraved title page as 1720, but actually produced in 1723 (ESTC N471357), recently discovered at Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery in the Hart Collection (HART.13794), is in a Bower binding and is signed: Eliz: Tyrconnel. This identifies it as a book owned by Elizabeth Cartwright (d. 1780), the second wife of Sir John Brownlowe, Viscount Tyrconnel (1690–1754), later passed by her to her Cartwright relations, first Anne Cartwright in 1780, then Frances Cartwright in 1804.

25. Ex inf. Peter Hoare. See H. R. Plomer, G. H. Bushnell and E. R. McC. Dix, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England Scotland and Ireland from 1726 to 1775* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1932), p. 262.

traordinary example of false books used in a different context, lining the Library window shutters so that they mimic the shelves.

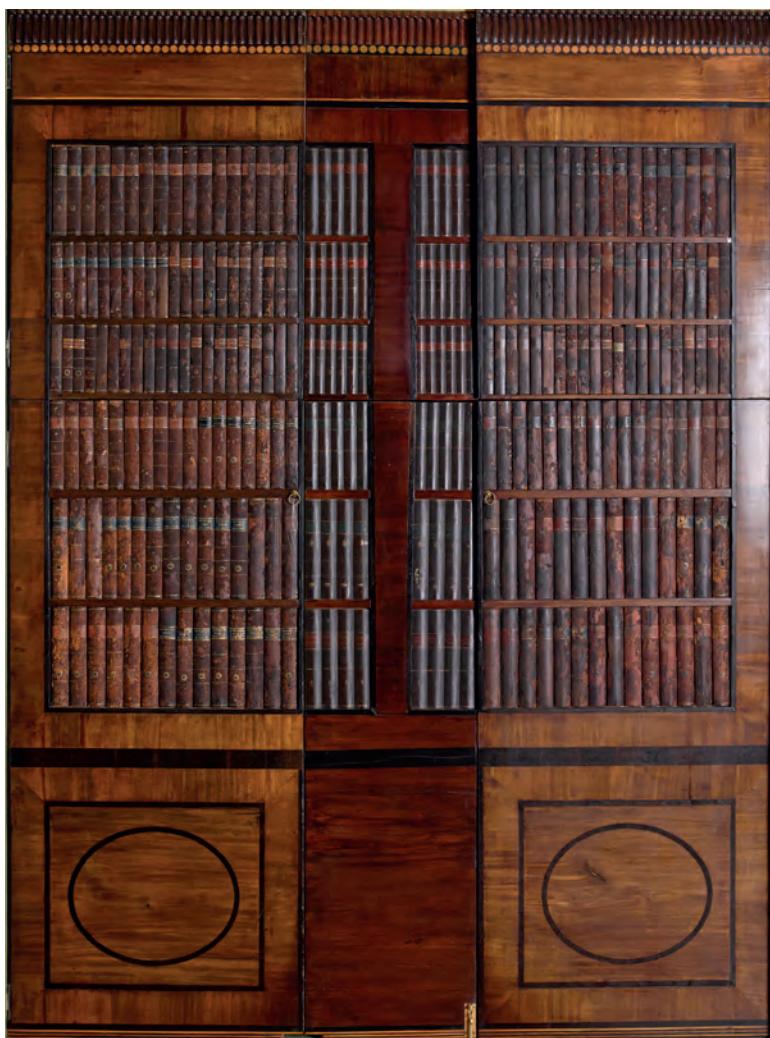
Following the accession in 1781 of Robert Stewart (1739–1822), a long programme of enhancement was undertaken at Mount Stewart, converting the existing modest house into the family's principal seat. Some 40 years of building work ensued, which included in 1804–5 the addition of a new wing to the west end of the house according to designs drawn up partly by George Dance Junior (1741–1825) and partly by the carpenter and architect John Ferguson.²⁶ The shutters were commissioned for the new library room, which formed the south-most end of the new extension. The date of their creation can be established with certainty. Two receipts in the estate papers record that on 18 February 1805 Lord Londonderry paid £14.7s.7d 'For binding mock books for window shutters',²⁷ then on 29 April 1807 a further £16:17s:2d, 'For mock books for the doors and windows',²⁸ but sadly they make no note of the payee. Alas, no visual record survives of them *in situ*, but the library room c.1807 must have been an imposing sight. The mahogany veneer presses have suffered much over the past 210 years, but when first fitted the contrast of the different coloured woods must have been striking. Closing the shutters and the monumental cantilever doors between Library and Music Room, presumably also decorated with false books, would have created a wholly book-lined space, to great dramatic effect.

When compared to Killerton or Chatsworth, the false spine titles at Mount Stewart appear at first glance to be a rather drab selection: there are certainly no immediately apparent puns. A closer examination of the selection of spine titles, however, reveals much more. It rapidly becomes apparent that a great deal of effort has been put into the specific selection of the authors and works cited on the spines. Far from filling the false shelves with endless runs of *Philosophical Transactions*, or *Gentleman's Magazine*, which would have produced

26. The carpenter was responsible for creating the marquetry floor within the Temple of the Winds in the 1780s, but by 1805 was acting as executant architect at Mount Stewart for Dance.

27. Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, D654/H1/4, fol. 58 [henceforth: PR ONI].

28. PR ONI D654/H1/4, fol. 130.



The Mount Stewart shutters.

© National Trust / Bryan Rutledge.

exactly the same visual effect, at Mount Stewart care has been taken to select a variety of books that reflect the wider library and promote a palpable message. The selection has been made to give the impression of erudition, worldly and local, and an awareness of, and interest, in contemporary publications.

The contemporary nature of the false spines is perhaps best demonstrated in its selection of ‘polite’ literature. There are no fewer than 24 novels printed in the 1790s and 1800s amongst the spines produced c.1805–7, many of which are now all but unknown. Female novelists predominate, as do Minerva Press books. Amongst the better known of a crop of novels now all but unread, are Catherine Cuthbertson’s *Romance of the Pyrenees* (1803), Helen Craik’s *Stella of the North, or The Foundling of the Ship* (1802) and Mary Meekes’s *The Sicilian*. Of more interest, however, are the rarities: Jane Harvey’s *Warkfield Castle* (1802), *Adamina: A Novel by a Lady* (1801) and Marian Moore’s *Ariana and Maud*, now unknown outside the Corvey Collection, but clearly circulating in Ireland on publication. Margaret Minifie’s *The Count de Poland* (1780) appears to be the only novel simultaneously published in a London and Dublin edition.

Despite the suggestion of intent, it is possible to argue that the selection of the false books at Mount Stewart was wholly random, perhaps replicating the current content of the binder’s workshop. However, there are two specific sections of the shutters where it is apparent that the selection was purposeful and where we see the long tradition of the in-joke surface, albeit in a more subtle and refined way than at Killerton or Chatsworth.

Fifteen volumes in the false library purport to be authored by Edmund Spenser, nine of which are prefixed on the spine labels as ‘Spenser’s Comedies’. Spenser’s contemporary printed output was used by the poet as a means of advertising his poetry, and he famously took ‘full advantage of the opportunities offered by print publication’ to promote his forthcoming work.²⁹ *The Shephearde’s Calender* (1579), the Spenser-Harvey Letters (1580), and the preface

²⁹ J. L. Black and L. Celovsky, ‘Lost Works’, Supposititious Pieces, and Continuations’, in R. A. McCabe, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Edmund Spenser* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 349.

by publisher William Ponsonby to Spenser's *Complaints* (1591) all make reference to a series of works by Spenser, some of which have survived, many of which, however, have subsequently been lost, or never existed in the first place. The commissioner of the false spines at Mount Stewart was well aware of this and the Spenser spines make reference to 'lost' works drawn from these three sources. Spenser's 'nine Englishe Commoedies' are known only from reference made to them in the Harvey-Spenser *Letters*. Likewise, the *Epithalamion Thamesis* is unknown save for Harvey's mention of it. *Purgatory*, *Sennight's Slumber* and *The Hell of Lovers* are similarly lost, the only reference to them found in the publisher's preface to the 1591 *Complaints*, whilst *The Court of Cupid*, the *Dreams* and the *English Poet* are known only from the *Shepherd's Calendar*.

The clever and subtle self-referential theme of populating the fake shelves with lost works finds its best expression, however, in the selection of works of the Ancient philosophers. Fifty authors and works are identifiable from the surviving spines and in every case those authors or the works cited are lost or known to us only from fragments or from references in later authors. The false library contains a series of works by wholly mythical authors. The *Opera Chirurgica* of Podalirius, the brother of Machaon, both legendary healers, sits alongside the *Poetica* of Orpheus, the legendary musician, poet, and prophet of ancient Greek myth. Subtler still are the references to known works of antiquity lost to scholarship. Hesiod's *Heroogony*, *Aegimius*, and the *Astronomia*, for example, all appear on the shelves. There are four volumes of *The Catalogue of Women*, one of the greatest 'lost' genealogies, and seven volumes of the *Periodos Ges*.

The majority of the false spines, however, chart the supposed works of authors whose entire output has subsequently been lost, and is known only from references in later sources. *En masse* the list of authors reads like the *Pinakes*, Callimachus's catalogue of the lost library of Alexandria: Pyrrho, Antiochus of Ascalon, Archelaus, Arete of Cyrene, Alexinus of Elis, Anaximenes of Miletus, Phaedo of Elis, Polemon, Menedemus of Eretria, Hipparchia of Maroneia, Anacharsis, Democritus, Gnaeus Pompeius Trogus, Saint Pantaenus, Zeno of Citium – hundreds of volumes of the lost texts



Two shelves of lost or fictional works of the Ancients.

© National Trust / Bryan Rutledge.

of the Ancients, many obscure. So, hidden in clear view amongst the false spines at Mount Stewart is a fictional library containing a significant body of ancient philosophy, satire, comedy, drama, history and biography wholly lost to the scholars and classicists of the early nineteenth century. The reference to the *Pinakes* is pertinent and the message is clear, if slightly tongue-in-cheek – the library at Mount Stewart presented as a modern day Alexandria.

The false books at Mount Stewart are an intellectual conceit, a self-referential in-joke, and one which ultimately proved too clever by half. The erudition of the Belfast classicist William Bruce (1757–1841), who must have provided the list of lost classics for Robert Stewart, should be applauded. It fits neatly into what W. B. Stanford described as the tradition of ‘rustic’ Irish classical scholarship, which had at its heart ‘an element of showmanship’ and a tradition of Irish academic humour, ‘the playful use of erudition’, stretching back to Columbanus.³⁰ There was no published list of lost works in 1805, indeed, the earliest attempt comprehensively to list the lost Latin works of antiquity did not appear until the 1950s

30. W. B. Stanford, *Ireland and the Classical Tradition* (Dublin: Allen Figgis, 1976), pp. 173–75.

with the publication of H. Bardon's *La Littérature Latine Inconnue*.³¹ Earlier authors were certainly interested in the topic,³² and Bruce's papers suggest that he drew some of the names from his list from Thomas Blackwell's 1735 *Enquiry into the life and writings of Homer*,³³ but the majority of his information was sourced directly from obscure references within extant works. Despite this herculean effort, within a generation his work was forgotten; knowledge of the in-joke died with Robert Stewart, only to be rediscovered 200 years later.

The identity of the craftsman responsible for the Mount Stewart shutters remains frustratingly elusive, but he was almost certainly a Dublin bookbinder who bound both books for the family as well as executed the false spines. Evidence from elsewhere suggests that this aspect of interior design was usually outsourced to a professional binder. A patchy account survives of the ordering of the jib door at Nostell Priory, supplied by Thomas Chippendale in 1767.³⁴ Chippendale's bill for the door is dated 30 June 1767, and a series of other documents chart its creation and installation.³⁵ An undated list, probably a schedule of work delivered or completed, includes reference to '157 Sham Books for the upper part of the library Door, Gilt & Letterd', then later '81 Sham books for the door of the library'. More detail emerges from the accounts for 1767:³⁶

31. H. Bardon, *La Littérature Latine Inconnue* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1952–56). An earlier attempt was made by A. F. West, 'The Lost Parts of Latin literature', in *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 33 (1902), xxi–xxvi. West cites no earlier listing.

32. Thomas Browne's *Museum Clasum, or Bibliotheca Abscondita* listed 'some remarkable books, antiquities, pictures and rarities of several kinds, scarce or never seen by any man now living'. (See G. Keynes, ed., T. Browne, *The Works of Sir Thomas Browne*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1946), vol. 3, pp. 109–19). Voltaire wrote an epitaph on the poets cited by Ovid, but subsequently lost; see T. Besterman, ed., Voltaire, *Voltaire's Notebooks* (Geneva, Oxford [printed]: Institut et Musée Voltaire, 1952), vol. II, p. 384.

33. National Library of Ireland, MS 20, 887, p. 12: Bruce read Blackwell's *Homer* in 1804, the year before the shutters were commissioned. Blackwell's book contained a lengthy list of the poets who preceded Homer.

34. See Harris, *The Genius of Robert Adam*, p. 200 and p. 354, note 20.

35. See Gilbert, *The Life and Work of Thomas Chippendale*, vol. 1, pp. 181–85.

36. Gilbert, *Life and Work*, vol. 1, p. 181–82.

June 30

To wood & making 81 sham books for the doors of the library /6	2 - 6
To binding 20 large royal folio backs coverd with Calf & Gilt & lettrd /3	
To 29 Folio crown size 2/3	
To 32 Royal quarto 2/	9 9 3

July 4

Carriage of shambooks by fly ³⁷	4 10
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Sept 21

157 sham book neatly Gilt & letterd for the upper part of the library door	12 -
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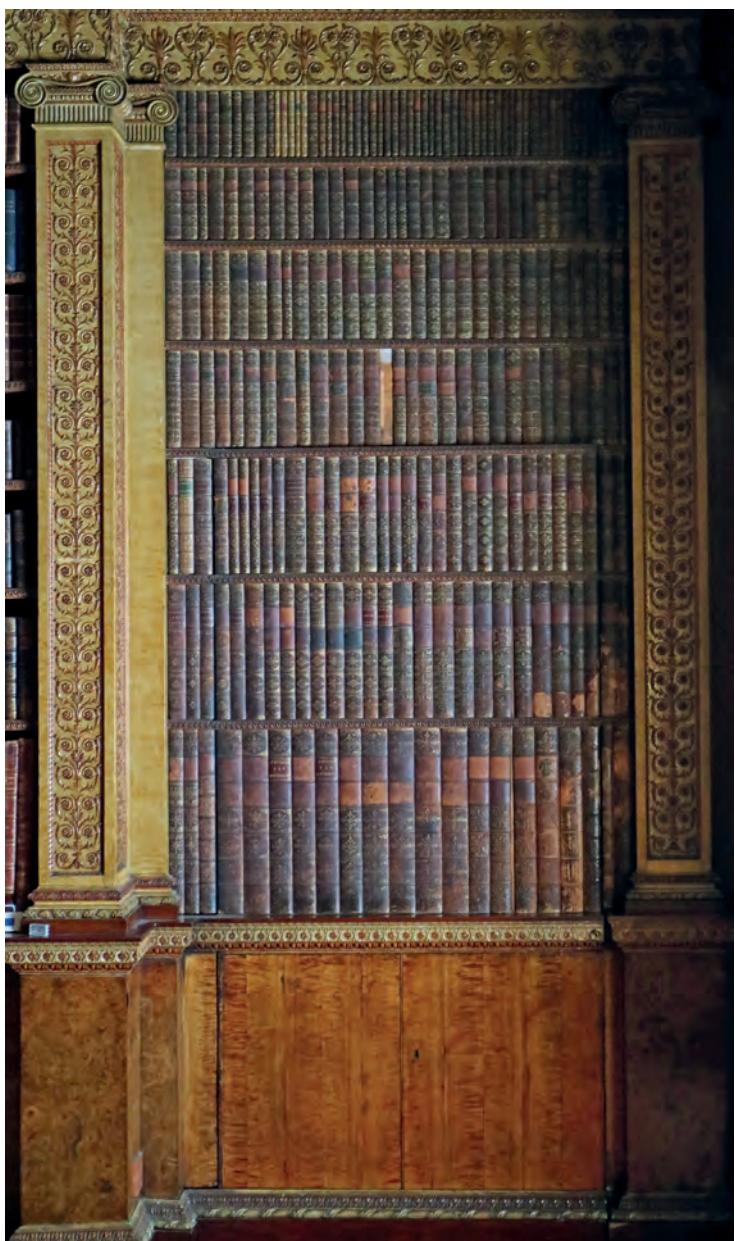
From these references it is clear that Chippendale supplied 238 sham book backs; 226 of these were used on the door and its surround, and 18 loose, unused spines survive at Nostell. There is no reason to suspect that most of these loose spines do not share a common origin with those affixed to the door. Equally, there is little evidence to prove that they do.³⁸

The first set of sham books was delivered to Nostell on July 4, 1767, the second set came later, on September 21 of the same year. Both were shipped from London.³⁹ A number of non-book leather-

37. The fly was that run by Robert Cave – see the trade card in the Nostell archive: WYW 1352/1/15/18.

38. Five of the eighteen spines are decorated in a very different style from the rest, and from those which appear on the jib door. Two were demonstrably affixed to the door at some point and have been replaced, the remaining eleven were probably amongst those supplied by Chippendale. Occasionally a different approach to creating false spines was adopted. A number of ‘sample’ spines survive at Basildon Park, Berkshire, which were constructed using real spines, guillotined from volumes of *Bayleys’ Magazine of Sports and Pastimes* from the 1880s and pasted to wooden backs. I am grateful to Caroline Bendix for supplying information on these examples.

39. See: a letter from Henry Allen to Rowland Winn, June 30, 1767: ‘Saturday nights post brought [sic]me a letter from Mr. Chippendale dated the 2d Instant advising me



The Nostell Priory jib door.
© National Trust / Simon McCormack.

work items were ordered for Nostell,⁴⁰ and it seems likely that the various leather candle spots and desk covers were outsourced. The sham books, which required a specific set of skills and tools, were definitely an outside commission.⁴¹ The finishing and hanging of the jib door caused problems. It required the assistance of William Belwood of York (1739–90), an architect, surveyor and mason ‘who [had] done things of that kind before at Sion’ and was then taking work at nearby Newby and Harewood.⁴²

As at Mount Stewart, the identity of the bookbinder responsible is elusive, but circumstantial evidence suggests a strong candidate. Unlike at Mount Stewart, where the provincial nature of some of the binding tools used is distinctive, those used at Nostell are almost uniformly generic and derivative. One or two are distinctive enough to be matched to real books elsewhere in the Library, suggesting that the binder responsible for the sham books also bound real books for the Winn family, but this does not help with identification. Records of book acquisition and bookbinding in the Nostell archive in this

of a Quantity of Furniture which is coming down from London and also a number of Sham Books which was sent by the flye on the 30th June last, which as yet I can hear nothing of (C. Gilbert, ‘New Light on the Furnishing of Nostell Priory’, in *Furniture History*, vol. 26 (1990), 56–7) and a letter from Chippendale to Rowland Winn, 23 September 1767: ‘The gilt rope border & the Gudroon border, & Sham books was sent of by last Monday’s Waggon from the red Lyon in Aldersgate Street and will be at Wakefield at the usual time.’ (see L. Bolton and N. Goodison, ‘Thomas Chippendale at Nostell Priory’, in *Furniture History*, 4 (1968), 22–3).

40. Gilbert, *Life and work*, vol. 1, p. 57: ‘The durability of leather made it ideal for lining library table tops, ... The Library tables at Nostell and Harewood also preserve their original surfaces, outlined with tooled and gilt borders. ... Sheraton alludes to ‘covers for pier tables, made of stamped leather and glazed, lined with flannel to save the varnish’, and many of Chippendale’s finest marquetry or japanned pier tables and commodes were provided with decorative leather covers. ... Sir Rowland Winn ordered numerous gilt leather ‘spots’ on which to stand candlesticks.” Gilbert, *Life and work*, plates, p. 145: The metamorphic steps at Nostell were ‘originally covered in black leather’.

41. Gilbert, *Life and Work*, p. 48 notes: “The firm was rarely directly involved in house decorating ... There is very little evidence that Chippendale attempted to encroach on the traditional preserves of other tradesmen”.

42. Harris, *The Genius of Robert Adam*, p. 354, n. 20. Adam to Ware, 23 May 1767, WYAS NP 1525/33, see also 1525/28, 2 December 1766; 1525/26, 18 April, 1767. Belwood established his own practice at York in 1774, before which he built designs executed by Robert and James Adam.

period are few and far between, and mostly consist of subscription slips⁴³ and mentions of parcels of books being transported from London.⁴⁴ Specific titles are very rarely mentioned, and book dealers are not often mentioned by name. A box of books was received in 1778 from 'ye Swan at Holbein Bridge',⁴⁵ perhaps a descendant of the London bookseller John Swan (d.1775), whilst the Wakefield stationer John Meggitt was a more local source.⁴⁶

The false spines were crafted in London and, bearing in mind the way in which Chippendale worked, it seems most likely that the contact with the binder was through him. On the surface this would suggest that the pool of possible candidates is considerable. Although Chippendale's shop at number 62, St Martin's Lane was located well away from the traditional sites we associate with the book trade – St Paul's, Ludgate, Fleet Street – he would have had access to a vast array of competing booksellers, stationers and bookbinders. Although the area around Soho was on the periphery, it was still within the main book trade streets and districts.⁴⁷

St Martin's Lane was pedestrianized and elegant,⁴⁸ and the area had attracted numerous engravers, print sellers and booksellers, including Hogarth, Bernard Lintot, Thomas Hookham and the Noble brothers, who established their first circulating library just off St Martin's Lane in 1737.⁴⁹ Bookbinders also inhabited the area. In the 1790s Charles Hering the elder (d. 1809/1813?) established a bookbinding business in St Martin's Lane which would become one of the major players of the period. It is worth noting too that the great Roger

43. See, for example, subscription slips for Thomas Smith's *Perspective View of Chatsworth* (April 18, 1744), and similar slips for James Thomson's *The Seasons* (1729) and Riccoboni's *Histoire du Theatre Italien* (1728), all in WYW1352/1/1/4.

44. See, for example: WYW1352/3/4/3/2; WYW1352/3/4/3/1.

45. WYW1352/3/4/3/1: it comprised: 'A parcel off books'; 'Three poetical books from Mr. Bell:' [presumably John Bell (1745–1831?)] and 'one print for Master Winn'.

46. WYW1352/3/4/3/2, 1790: Meggitt's bill includes: 'Nov. 22 Readg. Buffons Natl. History 2 vol. 4s', 'Dec. 27 Readg. The Favorite 2 vols.' and 'Dec. 28 Londn. Alm: Moro. 1/0'.

47. See: J. Raven, *The Business of Books* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), fig 6.1.

48. Raven, *Business of Books*, p. 186.

49. J. Raven, *Bookscape: Geographies of Printing and Publishing in London Before 1800* (London: The British Library, 2014), p. 138, and Raven, *Business of Books*, pp. 186–87.

Payne (1739–97) also first set up shop in St Martin's Lane, although too late to be a viable candidate for the Nostell jib door.⁵⁰

There is, however, one candidate amongst Chippendale's local bookbinders who stands out. James Fraser (b. 1740) was a prominent master bookbinder, one of the five Prosecuting Masters in 1787 in the famous case which resulted in five journeymen being imprisoned for combination. He actively sought to settle the disputes, publishing a series of broadsides and pamphlets addressed to the master and journeymen bookbinders of London.⁵¹ His business is recorded at a number of addresses, the earliest being 4, White Hart Court, Castle Street. Just around the corner from Chippendale's shop, Castle Street was linked to St Martin's Lane by St Martin's Court. The BBTI has him active, presumably at this address, by 1765,⁵² and by 1794 he had relocated to 9, Frontier Court, St Martin's Lane, advertising himself as follows:

Gentlemen's libraries repaired and ornamented. Sham backs for library doores fitted up in the completest manner.⁵³ It is very tempting to link these two craftsmen. This is the only example the author has yet found of a bookbinder of this period advertising themselves as a specialist in the creation of sham doors for libraries. We know that Chippendale commissioned the Nostell spines in London in 1767 and it seems more than coincidental that a binder specialising in just this activity was in business yards from Chippendale's shop.

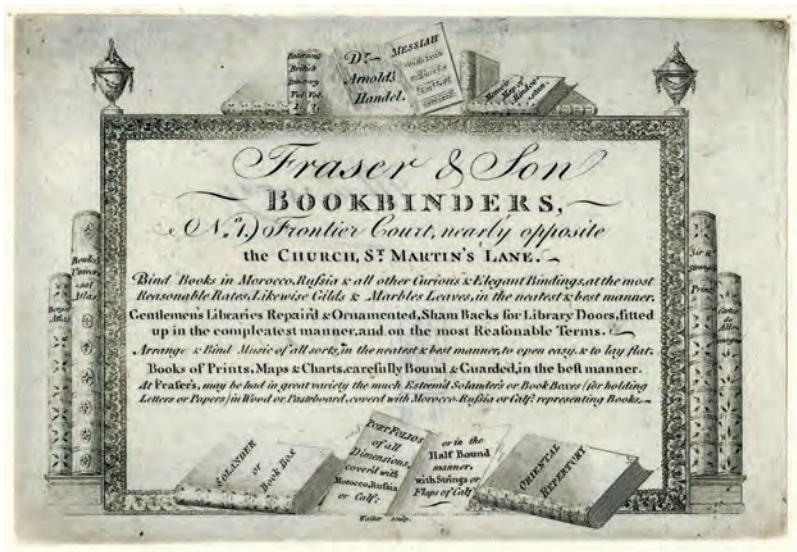
If there was method behind the choice of spine titles at Nostell, it is now too subtle to read. Unlike Mount Stewart, there is no attempt within the Nostell selection to be up-to-date. There are nearly as many seventeenth-century authors as eighteenth, and the selection

50. Payne arrived in London in the mid-1760s, working first for Thomas Osborne, the bookseller of Gray's Inn. The date he established his first independent bindery in St Martin's Lane is uncertain, but it must have been within months of the Nostell commission. The BBTI states that he worked for a Thomas Payne (no relation), who set him up in business c. 1767. <http://bbti.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/details/?traderid=53094>

51. ESTC T216485: *An Address to the Master Bookbinders* ([London: 1787]); ESTC T220627: *To the Bookbinders in General, both Masters and Journeymen* ([London: 1787]); ESTC 216484: *Address to the Master and Journeymen Bookbinders of London and Westminster* ([London: 1787]).

52. <http://bbti.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/details/?traderid=25497>

53. See E. Howe, *A List of London Bookbinders 1648–1815* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1950), p. 38.



"Sham backs for library doores fitted up in the completest manner".

© The Trustees of the British Museum.

from the eighteenth century is hardly cutting edge – the most recent publication is Tyson's pioneering study of comparative physiology, *The Anatomy of a Pygmy*, first published in 1751. The majority of the 'contemporary' books were published before 1730 and some at least of this backward-harking seems deliberate. This was the period of the second great wave of bibliophilia. George II's library had been presented to the nation in 1753, Ames's *Typographical Antiquities* had appeared in 1749, and collectors like Askew, West, Crofts and Topham Beauclerk were actively building their libraries. The impact of this second wave is not striking at Nostell – the 4th and 5th baronets did not succumb to the trend for collecting incunabula and black letter – but it is apparent in the sham books. Perhaps the most evident example is the inclusion of Higden's *Polycronicon*. Conyers Middleton's *Dissertation* had been published in 1735, closely followed by Lewis's *Life of Mayster Wylyam Caxton*, both credited with kick-starting the mania for Caxton. It is notable that the binder labeled the Nostell *Polycronicon* not as Trevisa's translation of Higden, but as 'Caxton's Polychroni'. The emphasis here is clear.

If one can move beyond the awful puns, the use of false books in English libraries has a long history, much of which is unwritten. They offer a rare insight into library history, the development of the private library conceptually and as an architectural space, and into tastes and fashions in book ownership and use. Through them we can explore the motivations of their commissioners, from the seventeenth-century scholar titivating his *Hebraica* to make it uniform with his other books, to the grand tourists of the mid-eighteenth-century seeking to recreate Palladio's Villa Mocenigo just south of Wakefield. We are used to reading and interpreting the hidden meaning and iconography of paintings, decorative motifs and furniture in country houses, and occasionally relating this to real books on library shelves. We are less proficient at interpreting the messages and motivations which underlie the frequent obfuscation and double-meaning we find in library decoration. In a library jib door an owner had the opportunity to create a collection unbound-ed by the usual concerns of availability, affordability or even reality. False books deserve to be read alongside their real companions.

A lengthier version of the account of the Mount Stewart shutters was previously published under the title “The Library Whereof the Librarian is Deceit”: Decoration and Double Meaning at Mount Stewart House’, in National Trust Historic Houses & Collections (London: National Trust, published in association with Apollo Magazine, 2017), 48–55. Some observations on the wider use of false books were published in Literary Review, April 2018 (463), 30–1. I am grateful to Rose and Peter Lauritzen at Mount Stewart for their hospitality and endurance during lengthy discussions of the use of false books.

Fisher T. Unwin and Victorian ‘Library’ Series

PAUL MCGRANE

Victorian publishers were no slouches at marketing. One good example of this is the ‘library’ series: reprints of novels at affordable prices in branded series or libraries. This concept had its tentative beginnings in the 1830s with Colburn and Bentley’s *Standard Novels* series and was fully developed by the Irish firm of Simms and McIntyre whose *Parlour Library* was started in 1847 and went on to be developed successfully in Britain by other publishers. The general environment that made this possible was of course the nineteenth century development of the novel as a literary form in tandem with the explosion in literacy and the growth of a popular demand for affordable literary entertainment. But the library concept specifically took off when the burgeoning railways and the growth of W.H. Smith bookstalls at stations combined to create a mass market for cheap reprints.

The railway network was developed over a 50-year period from the first line opening in 1830. This revolutionised the distribution of daily newspapers which in turn prompted W. H. Smith to develop newspaper and book retailing on station platforms: they opened their first bookstall in Euston in 1848 and over the next fifty years developed the business to well over 1,000 prime sites. Just as railway stations and bookstalls grew together, so did the association of railways with novel reading in the minds of the travelling public.

The launch of Routledge’s *Railway Library* in 1848, modelled on the *Parlour Library* confirmed the association. Other publishers, sceptical at first, soon followed suit with their own cheap ranges, often in the low cost/low quality ‘yellowback’ format, designed for impulse purchase, and with relatively short storylines to accommodate the length of a train journey. Profit margins at this end of the market were thin, but the library series concept helped keep costs down. Each volume in a library both implicitly and explicitly advertised

others, and purchasers were encouraged to collect the complete 'set'. Readers could be loyal to a branded series in the same way they could be to a particular author and as a result, the sales and marketing effort behind such brands could be both economical and effective. From the beginning, this held true for new works as well as for reprints. The *Parlour Library* itself included a number of original works. Bentley's *Standard Novels* (Colburn split off in 1832) included original works in its latter days. And the nineties also saw, for example, John Lane's *Keynotes* series, published by Bodley Head, which brought to market in a uniform series a final total of thirty-three original works by new and established *avant garde* writers.

One innovative publisher in late Victorian times was to make the library series concept his own. T. Fisher Unwin was born in 1848 – the year that saw the first Smith's railway bookstall. He was apprenticed at the age of twenty to Jackson, Walford, and Hodder (the predecessor of Hodder & Stoughton), and eventually struck out on his own in 1882 by purchasing the firm of Marshall, Japp & Co. for £1,000, which he relaunched under his own name. The firm flourished into the 20th Century when, in 1914, Unwin bought a controlling interest in the failing George Allen and Sons to create George Allen and Unwin. His early success was in no small part due to his 'reader', Edward Garnett, who came from a well-connected literary family. Together, Unwin and Garnett built the business and its reputation on an enterprising list of young authors, many of whom were later to become illustrious writers, notably Somerset Maugham, Joseph Conrad, John Galsworthy, and W.B Yeats.

They also showed a particular flair for marketing and exploited the library series concept more than any other contemporary publisher. The Unwin catalogue of 1917 listed no less than twenty-eight different series. The earliest success was a series called *The Pseudonym Library*. Originally conceived by Garnett, it was innovative in a number of ways. First, it focused on original works rather than reprints, while still keeping to the affordable price points established by the existing yellowback publishers. Second, Unwin realised that if they used pseudonyms, they could source that new material from good writers, free of existing contractual constraints. Third, the anonymity created an air of mystery and intrigue around their stable

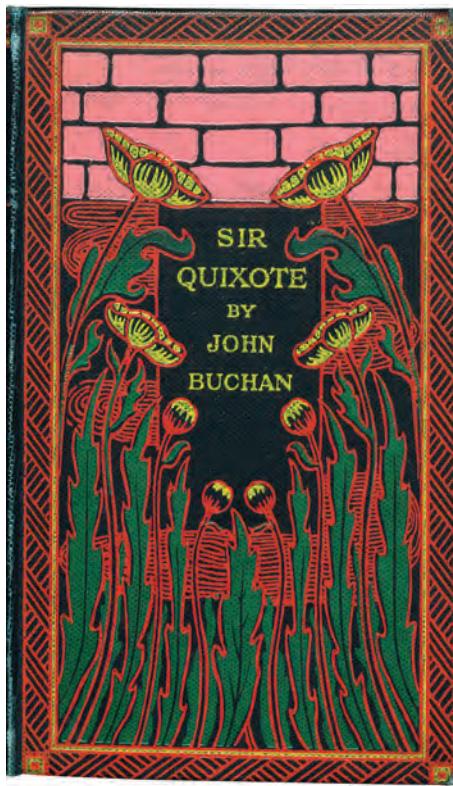
of authors that was to become a source of fruitful public relations. And fourth, recognising the growing demand for portable reading, particularly for rail journeys, they published these new novels in an unusual format – tall (7"), narrow (3 ½"), and slim – to fit handily in a lady's bag or a gentleman's pocket.

The Pseudonym Library was an immediate and considerable success; launched in 1890 (three years before Lane's *Keynotes* series), it covered over 150 titles in its five years life. It was discontinued in 1895¹, not through lack of success but presumably because the anonymity gimmick itself had run out of steam. Even before it ended, Unwin had launched its successor *The Antonym Library* which continued in the same way but now identified its authors.² *The Antonym Library* continued the 7" x 3 ½" format, but was less successful than its predecessor so Unwin needed to find a new way forward. The question he needed to answer was whether the concept of new writing, issued in library series, could be applied to more conventional single volume novels. In 1895–6, he seems to have experimented with one particular solution that he then abandoned, leaving collectors today with a series of seven books of indeterminate edition status. The series seems never to have been given a name, but all seven titles were published more conventionally in the same format (7 5/8") and with the same pictorial binding design (although as was usual at the time, cloth colours vary and the colour printing also varied to match) involving a brick wall with poppies growing against it. The front cover design which I am calling here 'Poppies' – is illustrated on page 735. The back covers are blank. Inside before the main text block are the publisher's decorated imprint; half title; list of other titles 'Uniform with this Volume'; title page; and copyright details.

The designs are not signed but the poppies are drawn in an attractive Art Nouveau style which, emerging in Britain from the Arts and Crafts Movement of the 1880s, was inspired by the natural, curving forms of plants and flowers. This was the period when

1. Although briefly revived in 1903.

2. For an excellent discussion of both 'Libraries', see 'The Series as Commodity: Marketing Fisher Unwin's Pseudonym and Autonym Library' in *The Culture of the Publisher's Series: Authors, Publishers and the Shaping of Taste*. Vol. 1, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.



Sir Quixote of the Moors (1895, John Buchan's first book)



Detail from Front Cover of Image's design for Radford's 'Old and New' (Unwin, 1895).

Talwin Morris became Art Director at Blackie in Glasgow and, influenced by Charles Rennie Mackintosh and the Glasgow School, was introducing that style to the covers of Blackie's list. Morris had originally trained as an architect which was presumably where he encountered the Art Nouveau movement. Attracted to new design ideas, he changed career and moved to Cassell's where he worked in art editorship until he secured the role at Blackie in May 1893. His work there became extremely influential in Victorian book design and other publishers were not slow to pick up on the new design aesthetic. John Lane for example was using Aubrey Beardsley for designs and posters advertising his *Keynotes* series. We know that Unwin was attracted to Art Nouveau through the work of Beardsley. He commissioned him to produce illustrations for children's books in the early 1880s and in 1893/4, two posters – one for the *Children's Library* and one for the *Pseudonym* and *Antonym Libraries*. Another Art Nouveau artist employed by Unwin was Althea Gyles who, at Yeats's request, designed the cover for his 'Poems' published in 1899. But the Poppies design was not produced by any of these; it is unsigned but I believe it is the work of Selwyn Image.

Better remembered today as a designer of stained glass, Image worked across a variety of media, including book design, and was a leading figure in the British Arts and Crafts and Art Nouveau movements. He was a member of the Rhymer's Club, co-founded in 1890 by Yeats, which also counted among its membership the poet Ernest Radford. Both Yeats and Radford at this time were published by Unwin, and Radford's volume *Old and New* appeared in 1895 with cover design and decorated title page by Image – see illustrations on page 735. Comparison of these with the Poppies cover design confirms a close similarity of style. In a letter to Unwin of 29 April 1895³, Image apologises for forgetting to sign his work and thanks Unwin for giving him acknowledgment in the preliminary pages of the book. I think we can conclude he forgot to sign also in the case of Poppies – but Unwin (inconveniently for us) omitted in this case to make the acknowledgment.

The titles in the Poppies series are as follows (listed in the order

3. Letter from Selwyn Image to Unwin in Container 1.6 of the T. Fisher Unwin Collection, Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin

they appear in Ouida's *Le Selve* which appears to be the last title published in the series). I have examined them all (but one – see below) in the British Library and all have Poppies suggesting that this was indeed the first edition design, supplied to the library under its copyright library legal obligation. I also checked the AbeBooks listings on 3 August 2018.

1. *A Gender in Satin*, by Rita (Pub. 1895).

'Rita' was Eliza Margaret J. Humphreys (1850–1938), a very prolific⁴ author of popular novels and short stories. Sadleir⁵ did not have it, but Wolff⁶ had a copy [No. 5847] which he regarded as a first edition. He does not mention the Poppies design but describes 'Greyish beige unglazed buckram blocked in dark green, orange, and gold, and lettered in gold on front and spine'. This corresponds with the British Library copy. AbeBooks has only one original copy that is also Poppies.

2. *The Making of Mary*, by Jean Forsyth (Pub. 1895).

'Jean Forsyth' was Jean Newton MacIlwraith (1858–1938), a now forgotten Canadian writer of historical romance and short stories. Neither Sadleir nor Wolff had a copy and there are none on AbeBooks.

3. *Diana's Hunting*, by R[obert] Buchanan (Pub. 1895).

Buchanan (1841–1901) had some success as a poet before turning to novels and plays. He is largely forgotten today for his writing, although his *North Coast* (1868) is collectable for its six illustrations by G.J Pinwell, the fine 1860s wood engraver; and for his *Ballad Stories of the Affections* which has an attractive decorated trade binding by Albert Warren.⁷ Again, neither Sadleir nor Wolff had a copy and there are none on AbeBooks.

4. *Sir Quixote of the Moors*, by John Buchan (Pub. 1895).

Buchan (1875–1940) needs no introduction: this was his first nov-

4. Around 120 published volumes.

5. *XIX Century Fiction, A Bibliographical Record*, Michael Sadleir (2 vols., New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc.) 1969.

6. *Nineteenth Century Fiction, A Bibliographical Catalogue*, Robert Lee Wolff (5 vols., New York: Garland Publishing, Inc.) 1986.

7. *Victorian Decorated Trade Bindings: 1830–1880*, Edmund M. B. King (London, The British Library) 2003. No. 746.

el. Blanchard's bibliography for him⁸ describes the Poppies design and regards that as the first edition. In fact, Blanchard records two variants of this, one with the full title on the cover and one with a short title. This reflects a problem with the Poppies design in general: that it leaves too little room for long titling. This may perhaps be one reason the design/series was discontinued. Wolff had a copy [No. 890]: 'Black buckram, blocked in pink, red, yellow, and green on front, in all but pink on spine; lettered in yellow on both'. He regarded this as the first edition, and although it doesn't mention the Poppies design, his description corresponds in other respects precisely with the British Library copy. AbeBooks lists nineteen copies – all Poppies in the two Blanchard variants and in different colours.

5. *Dreams*, by Olive Schreiner (Pub. 1894).

Schreiner was a South African liberal intellectual whose writings are remarkably free from the racist and religious cant of so many of her contemporaries. Honoured more in her homeland than elsewhere, she deserves more attention than she gets. The British Library has no copy of this edition and there are none on AbeBooks. It seems to have been the first title to be published in the series and was a reprint. It was first published also by Unwin in 1890 and went through five editions up to 1893. This was the '6th Edition' and was explicitly identified as such in the list in *Le Selve*. Since none of the other titles listed there has any 'edition' qualification, I believe we can assume that after publishing this title, Unwin changed strategy for the series and all the other titles were to be first editions.

6. *The Honour of the Flag and Other Stories*, by W. Clark Russell (Pub. 1896).

William Clark Russell (1844–1911) started life in the merchant navy and became a prolific writer of seafaring tales. This is a rare title: there are no copies for sale on AbeBooks. The British Library copy is Poppies.

7. *Le Selve*, by Ouida (Pub. 1896).

Maria Louise Ramé⁹ began as something of a 'sensation' novelist but ended up writing historical romance, of which genre this short

8. The *First Editions of John Buchan: a Collector's Bibliography*, Robert G. Blanchard (Hamden, CT.) 1982.

9. Her pseudonym 'Ouida' was her childhood mispronunciation of 'Louisa'.

novel is an example. If this was the last title in the series as I believe, then Unwin changed strategy again with it. AbeBooks lists nine copies as firsts that are not the Poppies design. They seem consistent with Sadleir's copy (No. 1926): 'Smooth apple-green cloth, blocked in dark green and brick red and lettered in gold'. Wolff had something similar (No. 5331), but with 'dark red' and 'lettered in reverse'. Both regarded their copies as firsts and seem to have been unaware of the Poppies version. There are no copies of the Poppies design cover on AbeBooks. I believe therefore that the novel was first issued with the Poppies design, and a copy of that duly submitted to the British Library. This is the real first edition – as its scarcity online would surely suggest. The plainer, green cloth cover was in my view a reissue later that year when Unwin had decided to abandon the Poppies series.

In conclusion, all these titles (with the exception of *Schreiner's Dreams*) were first published as part of a new Unwin library series in the Poppies design cover by Selwyn Image. This includes *Le Selve* (which in any case, is, I think, more attractive in Image's art nouveau design than in the later and plainer green cloth binding). This suggests that, for the bibliographer and the collector concerned to establish true first editions, some caution is needed. Just because a title appears in one of Unwin's 'Library' series, does not indicate, as with many other publishers of the time, a later edition or reprint. In fact, quite the reverse: given Unwin's marketing strategy, the assumption must be that the series title is the first edition unless there is good evidence to the contrary. More generally, the identification of 'firsts' (for better or worse) is one of the cornerstones of the antiquarian book trade. I am not suggesting that the publication of original, new works in library series was in any way common; but equally, to assume that any volume from a publisher's 'library' must by definition be a reprint or later edition, is a dangerous oversimplification.



James Weatherup (1856–1935)

From the collection of Anthony S. Drennan

James Weatherup's Great Find: the discovery, identification and sale of a copy of the *Bay Psalm Book*

ANTHONY S. DRENNAN

The Eleventh Copy

In 1933 the eleventh and most recently discovered copy of the 1640 *Bay Psalm Book* (the earliest surviving book printed in British North America) was purchased without its title-page for one penny (two cents) by coal merchant and provincial bibliophile James Weatherup from a second-hand bookshop in Belfast, Northern Ireland. Of this discovery, and Weatherup's identification of the edition, the famous American book dealer Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach claimed 'the man who could identify the Bay Psalm Book minus the title page was a wonder!' Weatherup sold his copy to Rosenbach and today it resides in the Rosenbach Museum & Library in Philadelphia, recently renamed The Rosenbach.¹

The sale at auction of a copy of the *Bay Psalm Book* for a world record \$14,165,000 in November 2013 briefly illuminated this dark corner of the bibliographical world.² Although the previous sale of a copy in 1947 also created a world record \$141,000 for a printed book, few people have heard of the *Bay Psalm Book* let alone seen one. No bibliographical comparison of the eleven existing copies

1. The story has been summarized in Edwin Wolf 2nd and John F. Fleming *Rosenbach: a Biography* (Cleveland, 1960) and Donald Oresman 'The Belfast Bay Psalm Book' *American Book Collector* (1986), both based upon Rosenbach and Weatherup's exchange of telegrams deposited in Rosenbach's files.

2. *The Bay Psalm Book Sotheby's Auction Catalogue New York 26 November 2013* gives the most complete census of each of the eleven copies.

has ever been undertaken and as a result historical references to the work contain errors and misunderstandings.

James Weatherup (1856–1935) and his wife Emily Alberta (Wallace) had a family of eight children, including Elizabeth and Margaret ('Peggy') and son Edwin who were christened with the additional forename Blow after their ancestor James Blow who worked the first printing press in Belfast.³ Weatherup's surviving box of book collecting ephemera includes booklists, local auction catalogues, his own library catalogue, and correspondence – all bearing witness to the classic symptoms of an inveterate book collector. The birth certificates of two of his sons (dated 1910 and 1913 respectively) state their father's profession as 'Coal Merchant', as does his entry in the 1901 Census.

How the Book was Discovered and Identified

In a letter to his son Arthur (8 August 1933) James Weatherup stated that he had purchased the book for one penny. In the 1980s his son recalled that his father came across it in a box on the street outside Hugh Greer's old bookshop in Wellington Place – but that address was a more recent location for the shop. The Greers have long been known in Belfast since Henry Greer first advertised his bookshop in North Street in 1819. Over the decades the location of the shop moved several times and throughout the 1920s and 1930s annual catalogues were issued from the 'Cathedral Book Store, 18 Gresham Street Belfast, Hugh Greer Bookseller' – a typical provincial second-hand bookshop containing mostly Victorian books relating to Ireland and of local interest. The shop window was crammed with books, portable bookshelves either side of the door, a bench below the window and even a few larger books sitting on the ground beneath. It was the ideal sort of place where a local book collector could rummage through a box of damaged old books at a penny each, scrutinize the annual catalogue, and scour the shelves for a prize addition to his library. An eminent Belfast antiquarian book-

3. James Blow and Patrick Neill set up the first Belfast press in 1694. James Weatherup's library included a printed history of James Blow and his ancestors, and a very rare portrait of his son the printer Daniel Blow (c.1720–1810) – the descent from James Blow is via James Weatherup's wife and her family the Wallaces.

Want to title page (4 lines)
Preface ** ** 2 ** 3 (7 pp.) (Should be
6 pages?)
Psalm. Psalm.
4 To Old Mor?
Preface leaves stained
~~(pp.)~~ prepaged

No of leaves - psalms) 144
An adoration to the Reader on last
Errata leaf at end - Entitled
- Faults excepted in Printing -
Pages not numbered (135 + Errata + 136)
Signature D. Wanting pp 8
16. verse 35 to end missing to Balmer 19, 20, 21 part of 22.

James Weatherup's initial notes on his copy of the *Bay Psalm Book*, 1933

From the collection of Anthony S. Drennan

seller who was a friend of the Greer family recalled that they were understandably reticent to talk about how they let the *Bay Psalm Book* slip through their hands and missed the discovery of a lifetime. Yet without the title page there was nothing obvious to identify the seventeenth century volume of Psalms as something special, let alone unique – especially since an owner of the book had inscribed his name and ‘Glasgow’ which would misdirect the reader to suspect that it was a bibliographically uninteresting edition of the *Scottish Psalter*.⁴

Having purchased this unidentified edition of *The Book of Psalms*, James Weatherup’s first task was a careful examination of the book in order to discover any distinguishing features which might determine its date and printer. A small card in Weatherup’s hand survives from this period. On it he sets out his initial identification evidence for the book as a series of points :

wants title page
Preface ** **₂ **₃ (4 leaves 7 pp.) (should be 6 leaves ?)
PSALM ✓ PSALME ✓
4to old mor ?
preface leaves stained
pp1 unpaged
No of leaves – psalms)
An admonition to the Reader on last page
Errata leaf at end – entitled
– Faults escaped in Printing –
pages not numbered (135 + Errata = 136)
Signature D wanting pp8
16 verses 35 to end missing + Psalms 19 . 20 . 21 + part of 22⁵

A comparison between the card and the consolidated version of the identification list in the letter sent to Rosenbach offering it for sale shows that this card recorded Weatherup’s initial investigation of the book he had just purchased and was the evidence he used to confirm his discovery that he now owned a copy of the *Bay Psalm Book*.

4. ‘James Lawrence, Glasgow’ according to *The Bay Psalm Book Sotheby’s Auction Catalogue New York 26 November 2013*.

5. This card and the extracts from the correspondence of James Weatherup recorded below are from the collection of Anthony S. Drennan.

The book was clearly missing a title page, and since the pages were unnumbered James was unsure how many preliminary leaves should have been present in the volume. Four leaves of the Preface survived – ★★² ★★³ and ★★⁴. Although his note omits ★★⁴ this is because the leaf was the only one unsigned in the gather and he confirmed a total of 4 leaves in brackets afterwards. His initial assumption was that there were ‘6 leaves?’ of preliminaries, comprising signature ★★ preceded by a signature * of two leaves to include the title page and start of the Preface. When Weatherup wrote to Rosenbach this quandary was restated as ‘a few leaves missing’ suggesting he was unsure whether the first gather contained two or four leaves.

The other group of missing pages was signature D. The initial comment ‘Signature D wanting pp8’ had, by the time of the letter to Rosenbach (and presumably after a closer examination of the binding) become the more confident statement that the missing leaves of signature D ‘do not ever seem to have been in this copy’. The sheet D hiatus is one of the few documented anomalies in surviving copies of the *Bay Psalm Book*. At least two of the copies have sheet D turned the wrong way in reiteration. Hugh Amory argues that the printer Steven Day’s indenture terminated with the printing of sheet D, after which he was able to charge for the remaining thirty-three sheets of the *Bay Psalm Book*.⁶ If this sheet had never been bound into the Weatherup copy it would strengthen the supposition that there was a break in the continuity at the time of printing sheet D.

A third aspect, the tick marks on the card against the running title spelling PSALM on the verso and PSALME on the recto pages, strongly suggest Weatherup was double checking this curious anomaly. These ticks were omitted in the letter to Rosenbach. Fourthly he began recording the page numbers with ‘pp1’ only to score it out and write ‘unpaged’ instead. The final comment on the card confirms the missing text was sixteen verses of Psalm 18 (commencing with verse 35), all of Psalms 19, 20 and 21, and up to the first two lines of verse 15 Psalm 22. The collation formula for a complete copy of the *Bay Psalm Book* is ★-★★⁴, A-Ll⁴ (24 letter register omitting J and U)

6. Hugh Amory, “Gods Altar Needs Not our Pollishings”: Revisiting the Bay Psalm Book” in *Printing History the Journal of the American Printing History Association* vol. XIII no 2 (1990) p. 9.

giving a total of 148 leaves, so the Weatherup copy was thus missing the two complete signatures * and D. From these tick marks, the pagination, and the differing descriptions of missing leaves, it is clear that this small card (which has been carefully preserved) recorded his initial examination of the little volume and formed the basis of the information provided to Rosenbach.

On 30 May 1934 James Weatherup wrote to his son Arthur including another version of his identification points list:

The Psalm Book

Author, or compiler name not known. size of book (about 7 1/2" or 8" x about 4 1/2"). I omitted to take the measurements. A great oversight on my part. However although the above measurements are a usual 8vo size the book was really small 4to, and was one of my clues to the identification of it. Dr. Cotton – a leading bibliographical expert of 100 years ago disputed the statement of Thomas in his History of Printing in America that he had seen an entire copy except the title page (which was missing) he describes it as 8vo but Dr. Cotton says he is mistaken in that as the size should be 4to. My find settles that point as it is a 4to.

The Running Title (on top of leaves) is in Roman type & on the right hand page is printed Psalme, while that on the left is Psalm (another identification).

Paging – there is not any paging on the leaves

Admonition to the Reader on last page, followed by an Errata leaf entitled "Faults escaped in printing"

number of leaves in its present condition 136.

The Title page missing (it presumably would not have given any information as the Printer's name & where published were not printed on it originally. The printer, however, was Steeven [sic] Daye, Cambridge, New England.

Here we have the evidence of an inveterate book collector, the minutiae of taking measurements, analysing whether quarto or octavo, a methodical list of identification points built up from examination of the volume. The question arises as to what information was available to James Weatherup to enable him to determine the edition and date of the book. In the above letter James Weatherup informed his son Arthur that the identification was based upon clues that matched Dr. Cotton's statements, and disputed the statement

of Thomas concerning the size of the book.

From a comparison of Weatherup's identification points with the contents of the dozen or so potential reference sources in both Britain and America it is apparent that Cotton's *Editions of the Bible* (second edition, Oxford, 1852) was the book that James Weatherup used to confirm the identity of the mysterious book of Psalms he had just purchased. The information he provided in the list above was sufficiently explicit to identify the work, in particular Weatherup's recording the 'Errata' details as an identifier which was previously only mentioned in Cotton's 1852 *Editions of the Bible*. It is a sobering thought to reflect that the eleventh copy of the *Bay Psalm Book* was only discovered as a result of Henry Cotton going to the expense of personally purchasing a copy of Thomas 1810 *History of Printing in America* because none was available to him, thus enabling his identification of the Bodleian copy of the *Bay Psalm Book*. James Weatherup managed to gain access to a copy of Cotton's 1852 *Editions of the Bible* which documented the Bodleian copy and confirmed the importance of the incomplete copy of the Psalms in his possession as the earliest surviving book printed in Colonial America.

The Weatherup Sale Correspondence

We do not know the exact date when James Weatherup became the owner of a copy of the *Bay Psalm Book* in early 1933, but very shortly after purchasing it he decided to sell the volume to the legendary American bookseller A. S. W. Rosenbach.

James Weatherup knew of Rosenbach's visit to Ulster in 1928 – his draft sale confirmation to Dr. Rosenbach mentions that he was aware of Rosenbach's purchase of the Percy Shakespeare First Folio and Quartos at Caledon. The lack of evidence in Weatherup's *Bay Psalm Book* notes indicate that James did not consider approaching London booksellers as potential purchasers of the book and indeed the tone and content of the letters below all attest to his delight at dealing only with 'the world's greatest bookseller'. This course of action may have been considerably assisted by the coincidence that James' daughter Peggy, who at this time was living in the United States, was about to pay him a visit back at the family

home in Belfast. She could therefore conduct the sale on her father's behalf when she returned to New York. The subsequent sequence of events is disclosed in a series of surviving documents written by James Weatherup to his daughter Peggy and son Arthur.

The correspondence began in late May or early June 1933 when James Weatherup wrote to Rosenbach offering the book for sale. The effect of this letter on Rosenbach was surely a mixture of caution and amazement. If Rosenbach had only received the letter, it would most likely have been dismissed out of hand. But this accompanying identification based upon the card provided sufficient evidence to indicate that Mr. Weatherup was at least capable of correctly identifying a copy of the *Bay Psalm Book* when he saw one. Given that he could inspect the volume at his New York premises and quickly determine its authenticity, Rosenbach replied with a short low-key note dated 13 June 1933 stating that Rosenbach was unable to do anything until he had inspected the book, but confirmed that he would be delighted to meet James Weatherup's daughter and go into the matter fully.

On or about 1st July 1933 Miss Peggy Weatherup set sail for New York. 12 July 1933 she met Dr. Rosenbach, bringing the book with her to his premises at 15 East 51st Street, New York. The positive identification of the volume by Rosenbach was greatly assisted by the availability to him of Wilberforce Eames *Facsimile Reprint of the Bay Psalm Book* published in 1903 for the New England Society of New York.⁷

If anyone could spot treasure when he saw it Rosenbach could. After examining the book and confirming that it was indeed a copy of the *Bay Psalm Book*, he lost no time in exchanging cables with James Weatherup, who was back home in Belfast nervously awaiting developments. With an economy of effort and understatement of the book's true significance and worth which made him the greatest book dealer of his day, 'Rosy' quickly agreed one of the purchasing coups of his career. A day or two later James Weatherup wrote to his daughter Peggy, confirming the sequence of events, an agreed price of £150-0-0, and giving instructions for the payment

7. Wolf, *Rosenbach* p. 386.

arrangements between her and Rosenbach:

My dear Peggy. I had a cable from Rosenbach on Thursday saying "Book receivd [sic] regret condition. We do not make offers so kindly cable your price in pounds" to which I replied "150 pounds Weatherup". I had their reply (inside 45 minutes) "Offer 150 pounds accepted will arrange with your daughter for payment Rosenbach". I cabled you next day to Locust Valley – which I hope you received all right – Weatherup Mrs Tulley & Locust Valley Long Island "Rosenbach to pay you 150 pounds". I hope you recvd [sic] my cable all right. We have not yet had a letter from you, but there is a mail due tomorrow & I shall keep this over until the afternoon in case one should arrive. I am writing Rosenbachs. I'm afraid I shall not get time to re-write this in ink, as my letter to Rosenbach's is a long one & will take some time to write it. You can call at Rosenbach's when you have an opportunity, and I think it will be as well to let them get a Bank draft on either a London or Belfast bank. This would save you the charges (bank) on the draft, I hope you are quite well all here as usual. We are looking forward to getting news tomorrow. I did not notice that this sheet was already scribbled on until I had got pretty well through with writing. You will just have to excuse me re-writing. Be careful of crooks in case Rosenbach's pay you cash.

With much love, Your Affectionate father.⁸

Although cables were expensive to send, their brevity as quoted in the above letter clearly exemplifies Rosenbach's style of never making an offer when purchasing books from a member of the public. This avoided any haggling over the selling price, and in most if not all cases resulted in a lower amount being agreed. Normally books in poor condition or with missing leaves were worth significantly less than a complete copy. James' fear that this was the case was greatly reinforced by Rosenbach's opening comment in his reply after having inspected the book – that crushing phrase 'regret condition' which Weatherup repeated in the letters to both his daughter and son. The last sentence, concerning payment in cash, highlights James Weatherup's preoccupation with the monetary aspect of the deal. Indeed the whole tone of his correspondence suggests his underlying anxiety at possessing such a rare volume.

On July 19 1933, only one week after her original visit to

8. The letter is written in pencil on a sheet of ruled paper the reverse of which is covered in lists of small monetary amounts.

Rosenbach, Peggy returned to 15 East 51st Street to receive a Draft of the Philadelphia National Bank on the Belfast Banking Company Ltd. for the amount £150-0-0 (\$636 at that time). James Weatherup replied to Rosenbach for the last time with a brief note dated 1st August 1933 confirming his receipt of the draft and thanking Rosenbach for the attention shown to his daughter. A week later (8 August 1933) James wrote to his son, Captain Arthur Weatherup, to inform him of the events that had occurred over the previous month. Torn and missing pieces of this letter (of perhaps two or three words duration) are indicated as [...] in the following extract:

We had a weekend visit from Peggy when she was over in June, and as I had picked up a very rare book of American interest just then I thought it would be well to take advantage of her going back to New York to send it out with her. I then wrote to Dr. Rosenbach of N.Y. giving him particulars of & telling him what the book was, and mentioned that my daughter, who would be returning to N.Y. shortly, would take it to him for inspection. The book unfortunately was in very bad condition – title page and about 20 pages missing, binding dilapidated, and some of the pages scribbled on in ink—so there was no clue to the author, place of printing, name of printer or date ... and, as I told mother, there are not three—probably not one persons in the British Isles who would have given it a second look, or would have known anything about it if they had. Well, a couple of hours after arriving at Lancefield Road I had got pretty well on the way to identifying it, and that bad condition & all that it was it was (sic) of value. I expressed the opinion that had the missing title page and other leaves been in it its value would be not less than £2,000 and on further consideration I have little doubt but that a complete and perfect copy in the original binding would realise at least £5,000, in an American Auction Room. Peggy took the book with her & called with the Rosenbach [...] and had a long chat with him [...] establishment, & down to the specially built vaults that contain almost priceless treasures of books & manuscripts. He asked her if I had been long in possession of the book that she brought out and told her that it would have been worth a fortune had it been perfect: he also paid me a compliment by telling her that he should like to meet her father, and said that the man who could identify a "Bay Psalm Book" minus the title page was a wonder... I told Peggy not to take a small price for the book & just to bring it home again if she wasn't offered a pretty large sum. However, Dr. Rosenbach did not make an offer to her, but cabled to me saying "Regret condition of book, we do not make offers, Cable your price in English Pounds". I was

in very poor form & had been for some time in fact so poorly that Helen had to assist me to the Cable Office. I could hardly make up my mind as to what price I would ask, but had previously decided that it should be worth £400 to me. However, being in the state of health that I felt anything might happen suddenly & that it would be best to get rid of the book at any substantial price, rather than leaving it among the other books for in that case if I dropped off it would not realise one penny – the amount I paid for it – consequently after debating in my mind as to the amount I should ask as to make sure of a sale, I cabled “One hundred and fifty pounds”. Rosenbach lost no time in clinching the bargain as in less than hour I had his reply – “Offer £150 accepted will arrange payment for your daughter” ... I’m sure the compensation is something that I should be ashamed of but because of my general weakness rheumatic fingers, & failing eyesight I have not the energy to do better.

This family correspondence, and in particular the letter to Arthur Weatherup, also bring us to the crux of the matter concerning the relationship between amateur book collector and professional book dealer. Rosenbach’s manipulation of the situation – his initial telegram regretting the book’s condition and the swiftness and ease of his subsequent actions show how he was able to control the deal when purchasing a book. The seller of the book would not, if it were a rare or unusual item, be aware of the current or potential market price for such an item. Dr. Rosenbach, on the other hand, made his profits by understanding which book he could sell and, equally importantly, to whom. His clients included multi-millionaire American collectors, and once Rosenbach sold the idea to them that they needed a specific book for their collection, the amount he charged them became of secondary importance to such wealthy and competitive individuals. Thus James Weatherup, who clearly had little idea as to the true worth of the book to rich American collectors, was always fated to come out second best in the deal.

Today one can surf the internet and find copies of a book offered for sale in a variety of conditions and prices sufficient to give the potential seller an indication of its worth. But even this enlightened environment is unable to cope with extremely rare items to which the concept of a ‘standard market price’ does not apply. George Brinley’s published library catalogue entry for his copy of the *Bay Psalm Book* included the opening statement that ‘To offer any re-

marks in the RARITY or the IMPORTANCE of this precious volume would be sheer impertinence'.⁹

Two aspects could have guided James Weatherup in his estimate of the value of the book – a knowledge of previous purchases and an adjustment to its worth based upon the condition of his copy. In the 1930s James Weatherup had few, if any, guidelines on which to base his expectations. In his later correspondence with his son Arthur, and undoubtedly with hindsight, Weatherup stated a complete copy would be worth £2,000 (\$8,480) and a perfect copy at least £5,000 (\$21,200) at auction. The initial consideration that Weatherup imparted to his son was a figure of £400 (\$1,700). It is unclear whether there was a basis for any of these figures, especially when comparing them to earlier public sales of the *Bay Psalm Book*, but given auction prices of £823 (1903), £87 (1894), £310 (1881) and £350 (1879) it does not seem that a valuation of £400 was an unreasonable guess.

The second problem for James Weatherup was the incomplete condition of the volume which normally, for a more common edition of the Psalms, would greatly decrease its worth. In this light a reduction from £400 to £150 (\$636) might have seemed acceptable. This erroneous assumption is highlighted by Winterich's comment on incomplete copies of the *Bay Psalm Book* that 'A book without a title page is in general as valueless as a building without a roof. But there are many buildings without roofs which are carefully preserved as survivals of significant civilizations'.¹⁰ Finally it is clear from his surviving correspondence that James Weatherup was not a well man at this time, and his ill health combined with the stress of the great significance of his find weighed heavily on his mind.

Rosenbach's appreciation of the Weatherup deal was recorded in a postscript to the story many years later in 1945. In that year The Rosenbach Fellowship Bibliography Series published George Parker Winship's *The Cambridge Press 1638–1692* which naturally included significant chapters on the *Bay Psalm Book* and the first Massachusetts press. My collection of Weatherup books and docu-

9. *Catalogue of the American Library of the late Mr. George Brinley* (Hartford, 1878–97) part I p. 115.

10. J. T. Winterich *Early American Books & Printing* (Boston, 1935) p. 32.

ments includes a copy of Winship's book inscribed 'Miss Margaret Weatherup, with the Best Wishes of A. S. W. Rosenbach. March 13th, 1946.' providing evidence that 'Rosy' never forgot the day a young lady from Belfast, Northern Ireland, arrived at his shop with a small book under her arm.

How much did Dr. Rosenbach think the book was actually worth? In the *New York Times* of 13 June 1920 he is quoted as saying 'It would not be surprising to see a perfect copy [of the *Bay Psalm Book*] sell at auction for \$25,000' – yet in hindsight Wolf gave the considered opinion that this was one of the few times Rosenbach grossly underestimated the potential price of a book.¹¹ It is hard to believe Rosenbach would not have agreed a substantial offer if James Weatherup bluntly insisted upon one. And what did 'Rosy' really think of this imperfect little book? Although according to Wolf he suggested he might give it to the Library of Congress, Rosenbach never did sell the Weatherup copy and it became one of the treasures of his private library.

Conclusions

Dr. Cotton only identified the Bodleian Library copy of the *Bay Psalm Book* because he personally acquired a copy of Thomas's *History of Printing in America* (1810); and James Weatherup in turn correctly identified his copy in Belfast only because he had access to a copy of Cotton's *Editions of the Bible* (1852) which contained details of the Bodleian copy. Yet the discovery of both these copies of the *Bay Psalm Book* in the United Kingdom offers hope that further copies might be located there. Winship has suggested that as many as half of the 1,700 printed copies might have been shipped to London; and we know that the *Bay Psalm Book* was used by Scottish ministers and revisors as the basis of their 1650 *Psalms of David in Meeter*.¹² A further possible reference to an unaccounted-for copy of the *Bay Psalm Book* (which may be the Lennox copy which first appeared at a London book auction) is given in the Appendix below.

11. Wolf Rosenbach, p. 137.

12. 269 lines from the *Bay Psalm Book* were retained in the revised 1650 *Scottish Psalter* – Miller Patrick, *Four Centuries of Scottish Psalmody* (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1949) p. 102.

No bibliographical comparison of all eleven surviving copies of the *Bay Psalm Book* has been attempted – Amory, for example, was reduced in 1990 to comparing four facsimile editions in order to uncover some bibliographical evidence.¹³ But perhaps one of the gravest failings in the literature is the lack of recognition of the bibliographical abilities of a Belfast coal merchant, and that the identification of the eleventh copy of the *Bay Psalm Book* by James Weatherup as documented in his notes and correspondence above finally accords its re-discoverer his proper due.

Appendix: A Twelfth Bay Psalm Book?

In the second half of the nineteenth century the acquisition by private collectors of three of the five or six copies of the *Bay Psalm Book* owned by the Old South Church Boston unleashed the possibility that wealthy collectors of early American imprints might acquire other copies. Charles Deane was a subscriber to *A Literal Reprint of the Bay Psalm Book* (1862) which was printed for only 50 subscribers.¹⁴ At the back of his copy of the *Literal Reprint* Deane had bound-in a series of letters and notes dated 1880–85 which illustrate the confusion surrounding the number and location of *Bay Psalm Book* volumes, including erroneous statements that circulated at that time, and speculative hopes of obtaining a copy by the leading American bibliophiles in the late nineteenth century.¹⁵ Amongst this correspondence there is mention of what appears to be an unaccounted-for *Bay Psalm Book* copy.

The evidence is in the form of two letters from John Russell Bartlett asking Charles Deane to confirm a list of known copies of the *Bay Psalm Book* documented by Justin Winsor.¹⁶ In the first letter

13. Amory, ‘Pollishings’ pp. 12–13.

14. *A Literal Reprint of the Bay Psalm Book* (Cambridge, Mass., printed for Charles B. Richardson, 1862) was described by Hugh Amory as being ‘only marginally more common than the original’ commenting that it ‘is noteworthy for its amazing ability to reproduce in metal all the typographical flaws of the original’ Amory, ‘Pollishings’ p. 6.

15. Correspondence between Charles Deane and James Hammond Trumbull, Wilberforce Eames, H. B. Shurtleff and John Russell Bartlett in the collection of Anthony S. Drennan.

16. Charles Deane (1813–89) was known for his library which was described as amongst the most valuable in New England; John Russell Bartlett (1805–86) was benefactor

to Deane (dated Providence 20 November 1880) Bartlett states 'I am desirous to know in what public and private libraries copies of the *Bay Psalm Book* are to be found. Can you give me any information beyond that attained from Mr. Justin Winsor. His list as follows....'. The last item in Justin Winsor's list as transcribed by Bartlett for Deane is:

8 Mr. Winsor says he has been told that Mrs. Sam. T. Armstrong of Boston has a copy, but does not know it for a fact.

Do you know Mrs. Armstrong, and whether, if she has the book, she is a lady who would like to part with it.

This item leaps out from the first Bartlett letter – a unique mention of an unrecorded copy of the *Bay Psalm Book* owned by Mrs. Samuel T. Armstrong. In his second letter to Charles Deane, dated 21 August 1882, Bartlett updates the list of known copies, omitting mention of the Mrs. Armstrong copy and adding the James Lennox copy in its place. Of the five copies bequeathed to the Old South Church, Boston, by Thomas Prince in 1758 two copies were released (or in Justin Winsor's phrase 'surrendered') to Edward Crowninshield and George Livermore in 1849 by Samuel T. Armstrong who in his role as deacon of the Old South Church had joint custody of the Prince library. The two books were received in exchange for the cheap rebinding of two of the other remaining copies in the hands of the church. In 1860 a third Prince/Old South Church copy was exchanged for two books from the library of Nathaniel Bradstreet Shurtleff.

Samuel Armstrong had married Abigail Walker of Charlestown in 1812. Would his wife have retained a church copy in his possession for thirty years after her husband's death in 1850? In 1876 the Old South Church tried to retrieve the Shurtleff copy but lost the court case due to the statute of limitations, so on this basis did Mrs. Armstrong feel safe enough after 1876 to reveal the existence of her book to whoever told Justin Winsor?

Although a 'Mrs. Armstrong' copy might initially be dismissed

to, and cataloguer of, the John Carter Brown University Library who purchased their copy of the *Bay Psalm Book* in 1881; Justin Winsor (1831–97) was Librarian of Harvard University Library, which also owned a copy of the *Bay Psalm Book*.

as yet another piece of *Bay Psalm Book* misinformation a closer inspection of the known facts suggests two possible scenarios for the claim. The attribution of existing ‘Old South Church’ copies to specific Prince catalogue entries is not straightforward. Of the five copies noted in the 1846 Prince catalogue two (the Shurtleff and one of the Boston Library copies) have Prince New England Library bookplates c.1758. The Crowninshield copy has since been washed and rebound and the second Boston Library copy and Livermore copy do not have Prince numbers which were recorded in 1846. It is also unclear whether other copies of the *Bay Psalm Book* were at one time held separately by the Church and their attribution to Prince without clear evidence has confused the issue. To complicate things further another Prince copy disappeared some time after 1830. Benjamin Weisner in his *History of the Old South Church in Boston* (Boston, 1830) wrote concerning Prince’s improved edition of the *Bay Psalm Book* (published in 1758) that ‘I have found in the Old South library, and there now lies before me, the very copy of the New England version which he [i.e. Prince] made use of in his preparing his Improvement, with the various changes he made written with a pen’. This is the last time this copy was recorded, and no subsequent description of any of the eleven existing copies includes these identifying annotations.

The James Lennox copy of the *Bay Psalm Book* has the least convincing provenance of all the surviving copies. It first appeared in the auction of William Pickering’s stock at Sotheby & Wilkinson’s in 1855 and the only person to identify it was American book-dealer Henry Stevens, who had seen the Bodleian copy. He purchased it at a bargain price and added twelve leaves from the Livermore copy before selling it on to James Lennox. It has been suggested that the Stevens/Lennox copy originated in the Old South Church Library but this has been dismissed by some on the grounds that the sale was kept secret. But if it was in Armstrong’s possession might his wife have sold it on between his death in 1850 and it appearing at Sotheby’s in 1855? Bartlett’s second letter replaced the ‘Mrs. Armstrong’ copy from the first letter with the copy in the ‘Lennox Library’ – might this actually imply that the Armstrong copy was in fact the *Lennox copy* at the time of writing the second letter?

The second possibility is that the Mrs. Armstrong copy was still in her possession at the time of her death. Bartlett's second letter above omits mention of the copy. Unfortunately between his first and second Bartlett letters (of November 1880 and August 1882 respectively) Mrs. Armstrong died in March 1882. Samuel Armstrong, a few years before his death in 1850, wrote an autobiography which Uriel Crocker, friend and partner of Samuel, was at an unrecorded date shown the manuscript by his widow. When Abigail herself died Crocker searched for the autobiography but the manuscript could not be found. The Armstrong's had no children and after her death relatives took her business manager Warren Blodgett to court to recover \$500,000 he had extorted from Mrs. Armstrong since 1877. The jury found Mrs. Armstrong had been of unsound mind between 1877 and her death, and Mr. Blodgett guilty. What happened to her husband's library (including his autobiography and potentially a *Bay Psalm Book*) is unknown – it is even possible that Mr. Blodgett (who had total control of Abigail's household) sold off books from the library before her death. In conclusion it seems unlikely but certainly not impossible that Mrs. Armstrong had, at some time after her husband's death, possession of an unrecorded Old South Church copy of the *Bay Psalm Book*.

Voyages of an Eton Librarian

STEPHANIE COANE

My life has been marked by travel. Some of my earliest memories are of learning that my family was going to emigrate from the United States where I was born, to Italy where I grew up. As a young adult I lived for a time in Germany, attended universities in the United Kingdom and France, and finally settled in the United Kingdom, completing my higher education at Oxford where my doctoral research focused on literary aspects of late 18th-century French explorers – Bougainville, La Pérouse and others. I had been advised to abandon a projected comparative study of French and English accounts and mutual translations, which left a feeling of unfinished business when I turned to a career in libraries.

On starting work at Eton College Library in 2013, I was delighted to find a set of first editions of Cook's three voyages on the shelves alongside Johann Reinhold Forster's English translation of Bougainville's *A Voyage Around the World* (1772) and many other early modern travel books. 'Voyage' was a word that stuck in my mind, and as I explored the collections further an idea began to form. Previous exhibitions had focused on individual travellers such as the Old Etonian Wilfred Thesiger, whose literary archive is at Eton, or topographical subjects such as Venice and St Petersburg, but apart from an exhibition on the Grand Tour, none had explored our holdings of travel books more generally.

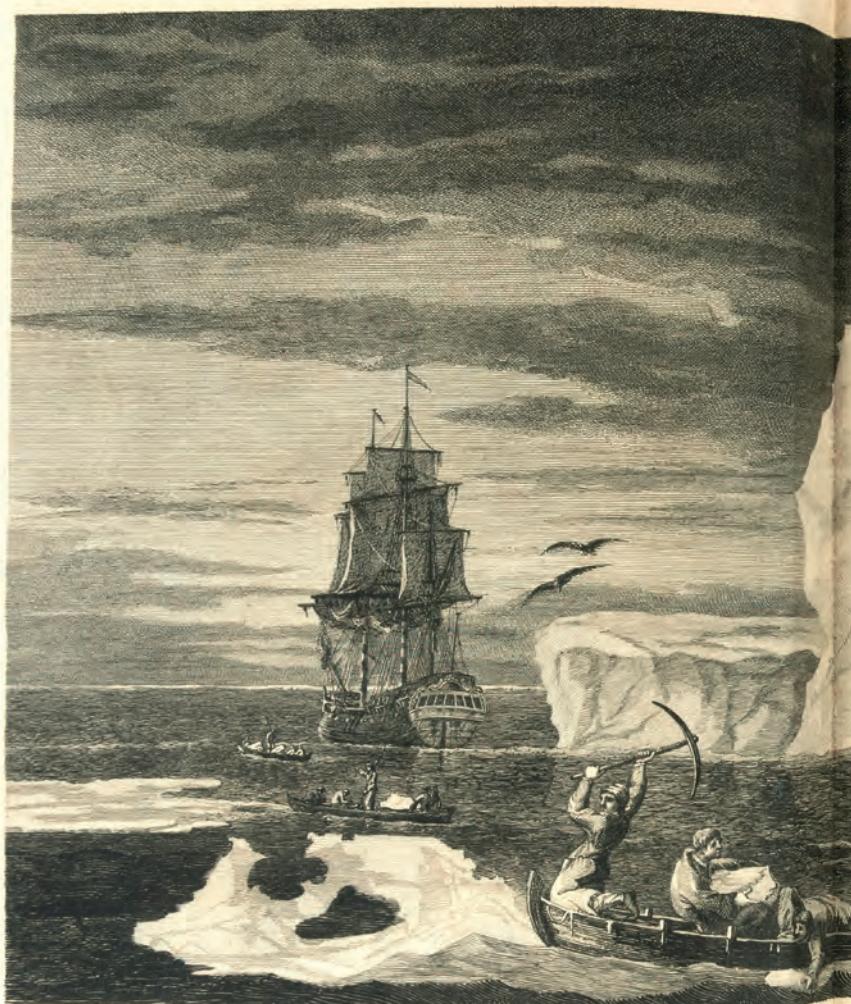
I hadn't done much more than draft an early outline structure reflecting the stages of a journey (planning and departure, transit, arrival, return home) when, after working predominantly with the library's pre-1800 holdings, I was appointed Deputy Curator of Modern Collections in late 2016 and decided to use the exhibition as an opportunity to get to grips with this new area of the library.

Eton's 19th- and 20th-century collections are especially strong in English literature, and include a remarkable copy of James Joyce's *Ulysses*, one of the 100 copies on Dutch paper signed by Joyce, in a striking designer binding by Jean de Gonet. It so happens that our

early collections include a late 15th-century manuscript of Homer's *Odyssey* by a Greek scribe working in Florence identified as Johannes Scutariotes, from the library of the humanist scholar Giorgio Antonio Vespucci, uncle and tutor of the more illustrious Amerigo. The display caption practically wrote itself! These two books gave me the theme of the first section of the exhibition ('*Odyssey*') and also brought literary as well as historical travelling to the forefront, suggesting the themes of the next two sections: historical travels ('*Explorations*') and literary travels ('*Imagined travels*'). I spent some happy weeks delving into the catalogue and browsing the shelves, creating a longlist of books that sparked my interest, and mentally assigning them to these three categories; a fourth section, of course, was going to highlight some of the many travellers to emerge from Eton.

This was my first exhibition as lead curator, and I initially had only the vaguest idea of how I was going to approach the business of selection and structure. My work on previous exhibitions ('Aldus Manutius and the Renaissance book' in 2015 and 'Shakespeare on page and stage' in 2016) and my existing familiarity with the subject and Eton's collections suggested that a linear historical or geographical approach would need to work around the inevitable gaps in the library's holdings. The collecting interests of the college's Provosts and Fellows since the 15th century and its major donors during the period of the collection's major growth during the 18th century, and those of later librarians and bequests, mean the collection has great diversity and some surprising highlights, but the lack of a guiding collecting policy for most of the library's history means that some key works and collecting areas are not so well represented. I was also mindful that the restricted dimensions and fixed layout of the exhibition cases might be particularly challenging for travel books, which often include large folded plates or atlases.

From the start I was lucky to have the support and guidance of experienced colleagues. Our highly creative exhibitions coordinator encouraged me to start thinking in terms of 'star objects', and I soon had a rather eclectic shortlist of about a dozen 'must-haves' and an ever-growing longlist of 'nice-to-haves', chosen for their importance, their visual appeal, or for sparking ideas in my mind. I



Drawn from Nature by W Hodges.

THE ICE ISL

Published Feb 1st 1777 by W^m Strahan No 26 St



Engrav'd by B.T. Pomer
N^o. XXX.

LANDS, seen the 9th of Jan^Y 1773.
See Lanck The Captain in the Strand London.

have to admit that the biggest challenge was to massage the longlist into themes!

The other serendipitous inspiration was an unassuming book I had encountered while working on a project funded by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation to catalogue the Parikian collection of early Armenian printing at Eton, which had been bequeathed in 1988 by the Anglo-Armenian violinist and book collector Manoug Parikian. A slim volume in contemporary limp parchment, Girolamo Rocchi's *Funerale della signora Sitti Maani Gioerida della Valle* (Rome, 1627) commemorates the wife of the humanist traveller Pietro Della Valle, who spent twelve years travelling widely in the Levant. In Baghdad he married a beautiful Syriac Christian, Sitti Maani Gioerida (Arabic: Ma'ani Juwayri), who died in Persia in 1621 after the miscarriage of their first child. Della Valle had his wife's body preserved and transported back to Rome for burial in the family vault. Nearly four centuries later, the book suggested questions about how travel marks our lives, and made me think about what we bring back from our journeys. It remained at the back of my mind as I wondered how to conceive an exhibition that would allow me to include it. This book, together with the slim manuscript account book (from the late 18th century) of the Christopher, a Liverpool slave ship, eventually formed the core of what became the final section of the exhibition ('Ways of travelling'), the Old Etonian travellers having been reabsorbed into the various sections.

Eton is incredibly fortunate to have such rich and varied collections. Exhibitions have been held regularly in College Library since the mid-1990s, when a dedicated gallery designed by Alec Cobbe was opened in Lupton's Tower. The exhibitions were originally organised in-house by librarians and keepers, but in 2011 the opening of a second exhibition gallery brought a dedicated exhibition coordinator onto the team and put our exhibition work on a more ambitious footing, including loan exhibitions and fruitful collaborations with contemporary artists, such as our recent exhibition 'Creative Destruction: volcanoes inspiring art and science', which brought Eton's copy of Sir William Hamilton's *Campi Phlegraei* (1776) into dialogue with the work of modern vulcanologists at

the University of Bristol, geological specimens from the Natural History Museum, and works of art by Emma Stibbons R.A.

Exhibitions are a major strand in how we interpret our collections, set them in a wider context, and make them accessible to audiences beyond the school. We now aim to hold up to four exhibitions a year, of which two are usually curated by library and archives staff (the college's senior collections, as stipulated in its earliest statutes). Previous exhibitions have explored a variety of themes and special collections within the library, ranging from bindings, book illustration and assorted Etonian authors to the King James Bible, the theatre designer Edward Gordon Craig, and the Topham Collection of antiquarian drawings as a source for British neo-classicism.

Depending on the subject of each exhibition, we engage with a range of audiences from scholars and bibliophiles to the more general public, always remembering that our core audience comprises young people of secondary school age. We also have an active programme of outreach and engagement with the local community, and I wanted to ensure that the exhibition would be accessible to visitors of all ages.

My point of departure for this was the recognition that in our hyperconnected, globalised world, travel is a nearly universal experience that affects all of us through our lives, our families, the people we meet and the food we eat. I began to choose exhibits that would be thought-provoking no matter the level of expertise: something for everyone to engage with. They included items ranging from a sumptuously illustrated private press edition of *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* to the Old Etonian Maurice Baring's travelling library, a selection of historic passports, and a 16th-century portolan chart. One of most rewarding comments I received was from a parent who was delighted that the exhibition had held the attention of her primary school-aged children for over an hour; another was from the elderly and longstanding researcher in the College Library and Archives who had suggested William Wey as possibly the earliest Etonian pilgrim, whose response was, "It was *fun!*"

The Tower Gallery's use of wooden exhibition cases and paneling, with wooden ceiling beams and large bay windows reminiscent of the stern windows of a ship, brought to mind the memory of

the British Museum's 'Hadrian' exhibition in 2008 and its inspired use of the museum's Round Reading Room to evoke his architectural masterpiece the Pantheon, to which it is often compared. This became an opportunity to be playful with the space, using large graphic panels in shades of marine blue and other accoutrements of travel such as a postcard spinner, a wooden signpost created for the occasion by the college's Buildings department, and the loan of vintage suitcases by the Provost of Eton.

When the exhibition opened in 2018 I was surprised (though perhaps I shouldn't have been!) at the warm feedback especially from the book trade, until I realised that perhaps my own joy in being let loose among such wonderful treasures to assemble my own virtual collection of books and other objects on a subject which has had such an impact on my life, was calling forth the response of those who made their way to Eton to see the exhibition. It also reminded me how very lucky I am to work in an area where I can combine the joy of collecting and love of books.

The special exhibition *Voyages: a journey in books*, was on display at Eton College Library earlier this year and will be itself travelling to London in the new year, where it can be viewed at Bonhams Knightsbridge from 7th to 18th January 2019.

The Evolution of Prize Bindings 1870–1940: their Design and Typography

LAUREN ALEX O'HAGAN

Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century, schools and Sunday schools commonly awarded books to children in recognition of good behaviour or attendance. The widespread distribution of prize books grew chiefly as a direct consequence of the 1870 Education Act – the first piece of legislation to deal with education in England and Wales – which saw the awarding of books as a new, formalised measurement of competency.

Initially, the only feature that distinguished a prize book from a normal book was the premium *ex libris* pasted on the endpaper that outlined the child's name, the awarding institution and the reason for the prize. However, the downward spread of schooling, as well as the Victorian obsession with Britain's growing 'vanity trade', was the catalyst that led publishers to create the concept of prize bindings – a new type of book marketed explicitly at teachers and superintendents and moulded to the requirements of the organisations which gave them away.

Little attention was paid to the quality of the text itself, which publishers saw as disposable. Indeed, denominational magazines of the time described most prize books as 'second-rate tales' and 'innocent rubbish in the shape of wishy-washy stories' with 'namby pamby elements'.¹ Instead, publishers concentrated on making the outside of the book as aesthetically appealing as possible, leaving the

1. Taken from Sunday School Chronicle, 30 December 1897, p.771, 'Function of the Sunday School Library', Methodist Recorder, 15 March 1915, 'Wesleyan Methodist Sunday School Department' and Methodist Recorder, 15 April 1894, 'Books for the School Library' respectively and cited in Dorothy Entwistle's 1990 PhD Thesis entitled *Children's Reward Books in Nonconformist Sunday Schools, 1870–1914: Occurrence, Nature, and Purpose*.

inside with thin paper and highly compressed print. This was made possible by the introduction of mass-production newspaper print methods and machinery, which enabled decorative cloth covers to be printed at a very low cost.

The decorative boards of prize bindings were said to transform the relationship between publisher, bookseller, customer and reader, as books could now be sold based on their external properties over their internal contents. Furthermore, those responsible for the purchase of prize bindings recognised that making them appear as valuable as possible would reflect well on their institution, and consequently on their supposed generosity, both of which could potentially bring benefits, such as increased membership or monetary donations.

The first publishers to produce prize bindings were religious organisations such as the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the Religious Tract Society and the Sunday School Union. Following the introduction of compulsory education in 1880, commercial publishers also began to acknowledge the benefits of tapping into the prize book market. The first commercial publishers to do so were the large London houses, such as Thomas Nelson & Sons, Cassell and Ward and Lock & Co. However, as the practice of prize-giving spread from the sphere of education to social clubs, associations and organisations, the provincial publishing houses also began to take part. By the beginning of the twentieth century, prize bindings had become a lucrative trade that brought vast wealth to publishers.

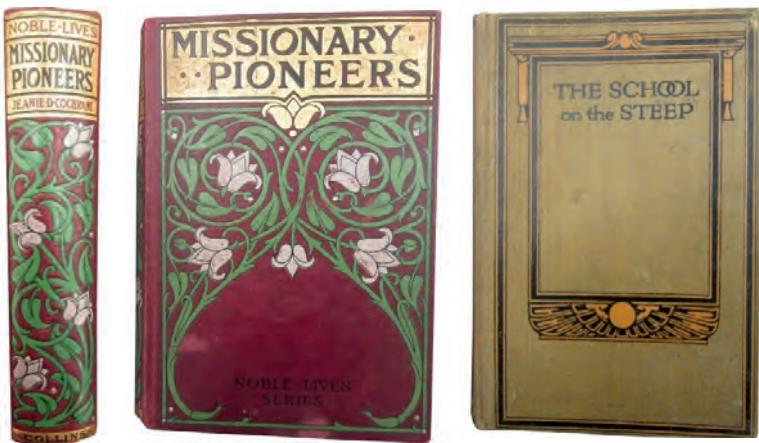
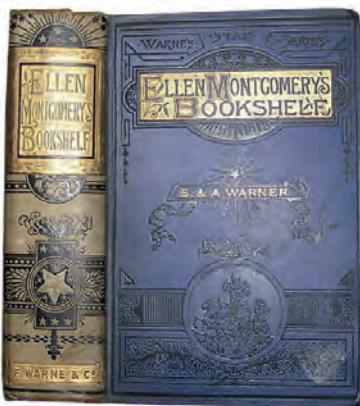
Up until now, the prize bindings that have been described are those that were largely bought by faith, board and Sunday schools to award to working-class children. These books were typically religious fiction and were used by teachers acting *in loco parentis* to convey moral messages as a form of protection against undesirable models in working-class children's lives. At this point, it is also worth briefly mentioning in the paragraphs below another form of prize binding that was specific to children that attended grammar and boarding schools.

Books awarded by these institutions were not selected from the standard list of books categorised by publishers as rewards or prizes; instead, most grammar and boarding schools allowed their largely

middle- and upper-class pupils to select their own book from a shortlist of appropriate titles that the head teacher had prepared. These books typically included works from the literary canon, such as Shakespeare, Dickens and Scott, in addition to well-established history, biography and science books. Unlike the head teachers of schools attended by working-class children, who were largely concerned with using prize books to instil habits of obedience, the heads of grammar and boarding schools recognised their responsibility to promote classic texts to pupils based on tradition and prestige. Although the content of prize books varied considerably according to the typical attendees of each awarding institution, one common factor was shared across all: they were used by each school to present their pupils with a worldview that suited the role they were expected to play in class society. For this reason, the giving of prize books is often viewed as a deeply ideological practice.

The greater disposable income of the grammar and boarding schools also meant that more money could be invested in the outward appearance of their prize books. Unlike working-class prize books, which were bound and decorated in-house by publishers, the middle- and upper-class prize books arrived at a local bindery unbound. They would subsequently be bound with full calf leather boards and stamped or embossed with the school emblem in gilt on their front cover. The title and author of the book would be printed on the spines in gilt. In contrast to the working-class prize books, these bindings also had far greater attention paid to their internal properties. Text was printed on high quality vellum or Japan paper, endpapers were marbled, and the turn-ins of the boards were decorated with a roll in blind. Grammar and boarding schools considered it important to uphold tradition; thus, it was no coincidence that these editions were made to resemble the fine bindings of the eighteenth century.

Although publishers did not directly advertise prize book series for grammar and boarding schools, many did promote series of ornate gift books ranging between 10s and 20s in price; the specific prize book series aimed at working-class institutions cost just 1s or 2s. The use of a price tier system, coupled with the difference in quality of each book, supports William St. Clair's view that external packaging



Typical Prize Bindings, arranged in chronological order from 1870–c.1900

became an essential aspect of situating texts in the market in the late nineteenth century.² The marked difference between the colourful pictorial boards of working-class prize bindings and the minimalist gilt-embossed leather of middle- and upper-class prize bindings influenced the transformation of the prize book into a class-based tool and suggests that it may be useful to reframe the practice into two distinct categories: the prize book and the book as prize. The sections below focus specifically on the evolution of the working-class prize book between 1870 and 1940, given that the middle- and upper-class prize book remained largely unchanged during this period.

The Birth of the Prize Book

Nothing changed more obviously than the outward appearance of books between the beginning of Queen Victoria's reign in 1837 and that of King Edward VII's in 1901. In the 1830s, most books were still published in plain wrappers or brown paper-covered boards with the assumption that a stronger binding would be supplied subsequently by booksellers. The development of machine binding resulted in publishers taking responsibility for the entire book-making process for the first time. This brought about the introduction of cloth covers, which enabled books to be printed more quickly and in larger numbers.

The introduction of cloth marked a period of experimentation in book design whereby grains were impressed into cloth to give the surface a distinct pattern in order to disguise its weave, or ribbon embossing was used to stamp additional designs onto the cloth from blocks cut to size. The new potential that cloth offered as an attractive and marketable device for publishers strongly influenced the development of the prize book genre. The genre was also boosted by the creation of new methods that enabled gold and black ink to be blocked straight onto cloth, resulting in eye-catching layouts.

As the prize book evolved into an established part of British religious and secular education, it became more uniform in design: from 1870 onwards, all prize books featured symmetrical patterning and gold and black title blocks on their covers and spines (prior to 1870,

2. William St Clair, 2004. *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

the spines of most books simply featured a pasted label of the title and author). Covers from this period make heavy use of symmetry on their borders, imagery and typography. Symmetry was believed to constitute a canon of beauty and served to emphasise the book's supposedly high monetary worth. Similarly, the combination of gold and black gave the impression that the book was valuable and important, thus making it more likely to be purchased by awarding institutions who were keen to be viewed as benevolent by parents and guardians.

The 1880s marked the arrival of increasingly more productive rotary machinery, which further reduced the production costs of books and enabled more new printing techniques to be implemented. Prize books from this decade show more complicated cloth grains, patterned endpapers, coloured book edges, embossed vignettes and decorative lettering. Even more importantly, whereas previously only black ink could be blocked, now any colour could be blended, thereby providing prize books with a new elegance. No longer was the book cover a simple page protector; rather, it had become an object of design that could be used to advertise the book and communicate information about the text inside.

Towards the end of the Victorian era, prize bindings reached new levels of sophistication through the rise of artist-designers who created stylised designs and ornamental layouts. Late-nineteenth-century covers showcase a wide range of styles and reflect the growing popularity of the Arts and Crafts movement, Art Nouveau and Anglo-Japanese prints, both in terms of their design and typography. Titles are written in lettering with embellished stroke endings, high and low waistlines and top and bottom weighted stresses, while decorations feature the whiplash curves of the natural world – all characteristics of Art Nouveau. At this time, decorations also began to extend from the front cover across the spine, showing artistic leaves, vines and flowers. These features stimulated a modern renaissance in book cover design and provided schools and Sunday schools with highly ornate objects which were held in high regard by working-class children not only for their aesthetic appeal but also for providing visible evidence of an achievement that could be displayed in the home.

The Early Twentieth Century

The Edwardian era began with the continual growth of elaborate prize book covers influenced largely by Art Nouveau. During this period, new and decorative typography continued to develop, leading the type founder, Talbot Baines Reed, to bemoan, ‘Herod is out-heroded every week in some new fancy which calls itself a letter, and which, in response to a voracious demand, pours into our market, either from native foundries or from the more versatile and supple contortionists of America and Germany.’ However, while the outside of the prize book boasted artistic typography and colourful designs, the inside of the book marked a stark contrast. After thirty years of trade, publishers had come to realise that the prize book was primarily purchased based on its external appearance. As a consequence, they began to invest as little money as possible on its interior, using low-quality chemical wood pulp paper on which writing was printed in a highly compressed format and no longer decorating page edges with gilt. In order to ease legibility, they favoured the use of Bodini, Century, Baskerville and Garamond typefaces used due to their relative clarity even when printed in small-scale. This change in production strategy led to increased profits for publishers, providing the book trade with a language for self-advertisement and marking a high point in the history of prize bindings.

Not one to rest on their laurels, as Britain entered the reign of George V in 1910, the publishing industry began to capitalise on the prize book’s popularity by offering different coloured covers of the same edition. This provided consumers with choice and encouraged a growing commodity trade as institutions became influenced by the notion of purchasing all binding varieties for their pupils. Nonetheless, further cost reductions took place in the production of the book’s interior. This can be seen in the transition from decorative to plain and unmarked endpapers and the replacement of wood pulp paper with the cheaper and lower quality esparto (a type of grassy fibre). In addition, less care was taken to ensure that writing was set properly on the page, thus often resulting in skewed or warped print. Awarding institutions gradually came to accept that the more ornate the book’s covers, the poorer the quality of its pages.

However, this did not dissuade them from continuing to purchase prize books in their thousands: as long as the recipients were happy, they were too.

The Great War

The outbreak of the Great War in 1914 had a massive impact on the book industry as efforts were made to save paper. As a result, low-quality versions of the prize book began to appear, with covers stripped of their characteristic decorative features in favour of simple and minimal details. Covers and spines from the 1914 to 1918 period show no examples of gilt or blocking, typography is far less elaborate, and images are restricted to two-tone or black and white designs. The book's exterior also evolved from a cloth to a more economic buckram weave. This change can be noted specifically in the dramatic decrease in the weight of the prize book from 480g in 1913 to 330g in 1914 – a difference of 150g. Within the book, esparto paper continued to be used, albeit with a reduced thickness and featuring a more compressed printed font. The most marked change, however, was the introduction of advertising on the book's endpapers. Typical adverts were for food products, such as Fry's cocoa and Edwards' Yorkshire puddings, but items such as Swan pens and Pears soap were also promoted.

Over the course of the war, the specific marketing of prize books by publishers declined. Whereas prize books had previously been categorised under 'gift and reward' series in catalogues, many became rebranded through a change in the name of the series or by simply dropping the tagline 'gift and reward books'. For example, Ward, Lock & Co.'s 1918 catalogue shows the Lily Series, which previously had the strapline 'Gift Books, Prizes and Rewards', now rebranded as the New Lily series. As there was nothing within a physical copy of a prize book to state that it was one, publishers were able to rearrange their stock easily and produce new lists to give people what they wanted.

While this vast change in the marketing of prize books was likely due to the reduced ability to rely on the book's aesthetic appeal, as well as to the diminished resources and disposable income of institutions, it was also influenced by the fact that the vast devastation and

bloodshed of the war meant that people had grown increasingly suspicious of institutions and no longer blindly accepted the messages presented in religious prize books. Accordingly, prize books after the war period show a marked difference in topic, as well as in their physical appearance.

Post-War

Following the Great War, the prize book experienced a transition: now, classics and adventure novels as opposed to religious fiction were marketed as prize books. This is generally believed to have arisen as a result of a burgeoning need for escapism, as well as a recognition that girls did not need so much guidance on how to lead their lives, given the important role that females had played in the war efforts.

Alan Powers describes the prize books of the 1920s and 1930s as ‘low-grade imitations’³ of their Victorian and Edwardian counterparts. This was largely due to the fact that the aftermath of the war and its effects on production costs meant that commercial binding was heavily influenced by bare necessity only. As the cost of blocking became too expensive, publishers began to introduce the dust-jacket. The dustjacket not only gave the prospective purchaser an immediate indication of the book’s content, but also protected the book while it was in a shop or warehouse. It also enabled the proper book cover underneath to remain plain and unadorned, in this way keeping costs low, while not compromising the book’s outward appearance. This was particularly important, given that most books were now printed on a low-quality clothette fabric in dull greens, browns or greys, with steadfastly conservative typography. While prior to and during the war, the inside of the prize book was characterised by its thin and low-grade paper, the paper was now artificially bulked with air to make it thicker. This served to make the book look longer than it actually was and to convince awarding institutions that its purchase was good value for money.

Much of the material base of prize books was lost when the centre of English publishing in Paternoster Square was hit during

3. Alan Powers, 2003. *Children’s Book Covers*. London: Mitchell Beazley.

the London Blitz in 1940–41. This marked an end to the tradition of the prize binding. Although books continued to be awarded as prizes throughout the 1940s and 1950s, no longer were specific prize books produced by publishers. The introduction of paperback books for children in 1940 under the Puffin Books imprint facilitated book-buying for children, thus reducing the ‘special occasion’ that receiving a book once constituted. Furthermore, decreased Sunday school attendance and the push for schools to divert money to equipment for common use (i.e. reference books, paints etc.) also contributed to the prize book’s decline. As schools became concerned with the behaviourist idea of small incentives every day as opposed to formal ceremonies, they introduced new more economic ways to reward children, such as stamps, badges, stickers, charts and certificates. While the book as prize continued to be given in boarding and grammar schools as symbols of prestige, it was replaced by the book token in most other awarding institutions – a practice that still survives today.

Since the mid-twentieth century, books have come to be somewhat taken for granted and generally accepted as a part of our everyday life. Yet for working-class children in the nineteenth and early-twentieth century, the prize book was a source of great pride. The pristine condition in which many prize bindings still survive today stands as a testimony of just how cherished these books were by their owners. Through their designs and layouts, a tangible history of the rise and fall of the British prize book movement can be established. While many awarding institutions no longer exist and recipients have passed on, these prize books remain as evidence of a practice that once played an essential role in the education of young children across Britain.

Pindar and Theocritus in the 16th Century

NICOLAS BARKER

Of the many Greeks who fled to Italy in the fifteenth century, we remember those whose teaching and writing did so much to preserve a culture in danger of loss. Two in particular left a lasting mark on both Greek literature and printing: Marcus Musurus and Zacharias Callierges, each the subject of recent substantial monographs. Both were born in Crete, Musurus probably and Callierges certainly, in Candia (Rethymno), about the mid-1470s. When they came to Italy is not certain, but Musurus had followed Janus Lascaris to Florence in 1486, drawn by Lorenzo de' Medici's plan, aborted by his death in 1492, for a Greek academy there. Callierges probably went first to Venice, where he earned a living as a copyist of Greek texts, and was then drawn into the new profession of printing. An able scribe, he learned the harder art of engraving letters on steel punches, to be struck into copper matrices in which printing types were cast. Cursive Greek script was a greater challenge, since it must imitate the lines that joined letters together. The experiments that gradually solved this problem took place in Milan (the steel-working centre) and Florence, under the eyes of Demetrius Chalcondyles and Demetrios Damilas. Among the latter were the Greek Anthology, editions of Euripides and Lucian, and the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius, printed 1494–6, the texts in capitals and scholia in lower-case, texts and types alike inspired by Janus Lascaris, whose stated aim was to restore Greek letters to their primary form. Here we may see the hand of Callierges at work for the first time. By July 1499 the *Etymologicum Magnum*, the first and greatest work that bears Callierges' name, was printed in partnership with another Cretan, Nicolaus Vlastos, with a famous commendatory poem by Musurus, hailing it as a Cretan triumph. He was careful to avoid technical plagiarism of the types of Aldus, patented by the latter in 1495. Musurus already knew him, having written two sets of verses for

the Aldine *Musaeus*, in Greek for the 1495 edition, adding Latin for the later bilingual edition. He was to have a constant part in most of the Aldine editions thereafter.

It is customary to treat the two Greek publishing initiatives as in competition with each other. But Aldus had already announced the *Etymologicum Magnum* for future publication, so the Callierges-Vlastos consortium clearly filled a gap. Its other two books, published later, were Aristotelian commentaries, appropriate for Aldus, who may have been glad of a respite to build up reserves before the launch of the octavo classics in 1501. The unsold Callierges-Vlastos stock was certainly transferred to the Aldine press, and was listed in the 1503 catalogue of the press's publications. In 1501 Callierges was at Padua, active as a scribe, and in 1503 he was joined by Musurus, appointed professor of Greek at the university. Among the texts he taught there were Pindar (1509) and Theocritus (1506). The French invasion forced him to leave Padua for Venice in 1510. There he found Callierges printing again, this time with a new type, and far-reaching plans for further publications, few of which came to fruition. Musurus himself was kept busy with local affairs, translating diplomatic Greek letters and teaching young men for official service. Work for Aldus filled the rest of his time: the great complete Plato (1513), more Aristotelian commentaries, the dictionary of Hesychius, and Athenaeus. His name is not mentioned in the editions of Pindar and the Greek orators (both 1513), but it hardly needed to be. Aldus thanked him for urging the grammar of Manuel Chrysoloras in 1513, and after his death in 1515 Musurus saw his Greek grammar through the press, followed by Gregory Nazianzen and Pausanias (both 1516).

In 1513 too, Lorenzo de' Medici's son Giovanni became Pope as Leo X, and in conjunction with Lascaris determined to found a college to teach Greek to young men of suitably noble birth. It was to be based in the house of Angelo Colocci, a member of the papal literary court, who had his own plans. As early as 1511 he had written to Scipione Forteguerri in search of Callierges to become teacher for a 'Neakademia'. He had come and so did the first 12 boys, who arrived from Greece to meet the Pope on 15 February 1514. It can have been no coincidence that one of them was Leo Callierges, surely a son or

nephew of Zacharias. Besides Greek, they were to be taught Latin, by Benedetto Lampridio. If there was to be a press attached to this academy, it too should have been in the house of Angelo Colocci. But it was not, at least in 1514. Instead, Callierges set up a printing house in the house of the merchant prince, Agostino Chigi, where the second edition (after Aldus's of 1513) of Pindar was printed and completed on 13 August 1515. On the verso of the title-page in all but one copies is a short poem by Lampridio, dedicating the book to Cornelio Benigno of Viterbo and asserting that it has come about thanks to his gifts. The colophon, however, states that it was printed at the expense of Chigi, with the encouragement of Benigno, and the labour and skill of Callierges.

In fact, Chigi did put up the money for Pindar and the Theocritus that followed it. Benigno paid the bills incurred (his 'gifts'), collected the proceeds, including the sale of the residual stock, and repaid Chigi the money he had advanced. Similarly, with Theocritus, where Benigno is simply acknowledged as paymaster.

After the completion of Theocritus, there was a marked change in the work printed with Callierges's types. Not classical, but liturgical and grammatical texts followed in 1516–17, the *Horae*, Thomas Magister and Phrynicus. There was then another change. The Callierges types were set aside, and in 1517–19 the old *Scholia in Iliadem*, edited by Janus Lascaris, Porphyry *Quaestiones Homericae*, the *Scholia in Sophoclis Tragedias*, Geras Spanion and *Apophthegmata Philosophorum* edited by Arsenios Aristoboulos and dedicated to Leo X, all printed in the types used at Florence in 1494–6 for the Greek Anthology, Callimachus, Euripides, Lucian and Apollonius Rhodius; undated editions of Isocrates and Cebes seem more likely to date from now rather than earlier. Over all these events, the great shadow of Janus Lascaris hovers, whose part in them can only be surmised. Invited by the newly elected Leo X, he had come to Rome in 1513 to set up the 'Medicean College' on the Quirinal, and with him came the type for the books of 1517–19. It is customary to see the different initiatives of Callierges and the Medicean press as rivalry, but it seems more likely that they took it in turns, each alternately addressing a different part of the minute market for Greek books. The death of Aldus and then of Leo X brought

further expansion of Greek publication to an end, with the great *Lexicon* of Guarino Favorino (1523) the last typographic venture of Zacharias Callierges.

These events form the background to two recent books, Staffan Fogelmark's two-volume *The Kallierges Pindar* (Cologne, Jürgen Dinter, 2015, ISBN 978 3 924794 60 6) and Luigi Ferreri's *L'Italia degli Umanisti I: Marco Musuro* (Turnhout, Brepols, 2014, ISBN 978 2 503 55483 9), also in two volumes. Few books have been subjected to such detailed analysis as Fogelmark has bestowed on the famous 1515 *editio Romana* of Pindar; only the 42-line Bible and Hinman's First Folio offer parallels. It opens with an account of the introduction of printing in Greek to Rome under Leo X and Callierges's part in it. It then turns to detail of composition and press-work, structure and special characteristics (red printing, measure, page-depth, and special features, notably the use of asterisks). It quickly emerges that in two places passages of the text, one large, another shorter, have been reset. The reasons for this are not clear; some accident required the replacement of most of four sheets, and a lesser quantity of another. Different compositors and paper stocks distinguish the variant settings, but no attempt was made to keep the variant sheets together, with the result that no two copies are the same. Later editions set from a copy of the *editio Romana* exhibit inevitable variants. Disentangling priority of readings is difficult, made more so by variants in Callierges's favourite setting copy, the manuscript previously Gian Francesco Asolano's, now BNF MS.gr.2709, apparently made after its early use. Callierges also used editorial prerogative to supply what he thought were superior readings, especially when supported by the 12th-century MS Vat. gr. 1312, formerly Pietro Bembo's. Few editors, not even the latest, Jean Irigoin, emerge from this complex unscathed by Fogelmark's comprehensive analysis of the potential for variation. 28 *editio Romana* readings are unique: are they perhaps evidence of a now lost manuscript?

Fascinating as this is, it pales by comparison with Fogelmark's other discovery, made on 20 June 1991, 'a warm and sunny day', when he went to look at the 1515 Pindar at Jesus College, Cambridge. Instead of the usual prelims, dedicatory poem from

Lampridio to Benigno, lives of Pindar and metrical information, he found an incomplete but powerful prose dedication by Callierges to Musurus, with a missing leaf, breaking off in mid-sentence to end inconsequentially with the metrical notes. The text gives praise to Benigno as mediator and Chigi as financier, but moves to greater praise of Musurus, cut short just as he promises that Pausanias, Strabo and Xenophon will follow Pindar. They did, but not from Callierges, but the Aldine and Giuntine presses. Another exotic find followed. When Pausanias appeared from the former in 1516, it bore another stately dedication, by the editor, Musurus, to Janus Lascaris. Examination shows that quite large parts of this are lifted from Callierges's dedication of Pindar to Musurus. Flattery of Chigi is transferred literally to Lascaris. Plagiarism? Really? Or, since the words had originally been addressed to Musurus, was he free to use them for his own purpose? Who can say? But it seems to me another piece of evidence that the scenario of competing patrons and presses is all wrong. The number of competent Greek editors, compositors and printers, the market for Greek books as a whole, were too small. The complex events are more easily understood if we see the participants as collaborating, helping each other, making the most of the money and means that sometimes erratic patronage provided.

Fogelmark's long pilgrimage through the 1515 Pindar, to borrow James Henry's words about *Aeneidea*, has turned up a mass of fascinating fact. If sometimes wrong (he suggests that Callierges read aloud while composing type himself, forgetting the age-old function of the copy-reader, more likely here Callierges to a Greek compositor), he is more often right, and if repetitious, only like the Bellman, 'What I tell you three times is true'. He has carefully identified six compositors, using paper evidence as well as traditional punctuation as guide. Watermarks, rather faint, are reproduced with equal care, and the alternation of paper-stocks between presses charted by colour-coding. The great mass of information, textual, physical and historical, is set out in generous, almost sumptuous typographic form, even to the extent of reproducing both the variant settings in their entirety, for which the publisher deserves as much credit. It is as grand a piece of Greek typography as Proctor's *Odyssey* (Oxford, 1909).

A year after the appearance of the *editio Romana* of Pindar, Zacharias Callierges produced his edition of Theocritus. Like the parallel editions of Pindar, this was a complicated affair. Earlier editions of some of the Idylls had been printed by Bonus Accursius (1481) and Aldus (1496), but in 1516 two editions appeared, one by Frosino Bonini printed at Florence by Filippo Giunta, the other by Callierges at Rome. Both, according to their prelims, owed much to the editorial hand and eye of Musurus, who lectured on Theocritus in Padua c. 1506–7. The two editions differ in order, but are otherwise, as might be expected, textually similar. This double edition occupies a central position in Luigi Ferreri's monograph. Like Fogelmark, he is at pains to bring together every fact on every part of Musurus's scholarly work, his teaching, writing, editorial work, and the books that belonged to him. He begins with a series of essays on Musurus the individual: as a transmitter of texts, on the known or deducible details of his life up to his election as bishop of Monemvasia in June 1516 and death, aged not yet 50, in the night of 24–5 October 1517; this includes the full text, in Greek and Italian translation, of a moving letter written by Demetrius Chalcondyles, replying to Musurus in 1497 (this exists only in a collection of similar letters made for Janus Lascaris by George Hermonymus, whose travels took him to France and England), and a useful bibliography going back to 1742, when Humphrey Hody (mis-spelt throughout) published his pioneering survey of Greek writers and scholars in the renaissance.

The main part of the book consists of a survey of Musurus's known work, divided rather uneasily into 'editions', 'probable or possible editions', 'collaborative editions', 'probable and possible collaborations' and 'editions uncertainly or wrongly attributed'. In every case, the full text of the supporting documents, dedications and supplementary letters, is given in Greek or Latin and Italian translation. These stretch from the 1498 Aristophanes and 1499 *Epistolae* to the posthumous edition of Aldus's Greek grammar (1515) and the Gregory Nazianzen and the famous Pausania (both 1516). The distinction of the 1495/7 Musaeus, Crastonus *Dictionarium* 1497 and Pindar (1513) as 'probable or possible' is not useful: throughout this period Musurus was on close terms with the Aldine press and his support was constant. 'Collaborations' are a more interesting

matter, including the 1499 *Etymologicum Magnum* and 1502 Statius (Musurus wrote elegiac couplets in Latin as readily as in Greek), Politian (1498) and the Greek Anthology (1503), Cicero's letters (1513), replete with chic Greek phrases, Strabo's geography (1516) and the great 1518 Septuagint, where his participation is confirmed by Andrea d'Asola's introductory letter to Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo. Even the 1502 Sophocles, cautiously demoted to 'uncertain', includes Aldus's vivid picture of the Neacademia sitting round the fire in winter with Musurus at hand. Similar quotations fill out the account of the lectures that Musurus gave in Padua and as a visiting lecturer in Venice, alternating with his Roman period.

Musurus had a very distinctive if variable hand, and over the last thirty years a quantity of manuscripts by him or books that were annotated by him have been identified, at the Escorial, the Laurenziana (which has his scholia on Euripides) and Riccardiana at Florence, the famous Burney 96 (the Greek orators) and Harley 5577 at the British Library, Musurus's autograph introduction to the 1498 Aristophanes at the Rylands, two books in his hand at the Ambrosiana, another each at Modena and at Sélestat, five at the Bibliothèque de France, four at the Vatican plus three annotated incunables, four at the Marciana and two at Vienna. In each case Ferreri gives full contents, details of quiring and watermarks, and a bibliography, with details of when identified and by whom. There are also a dozen books that belonged to Musurus, listed with locations. Outside public collections remain the famous collection of letters by Musurus, the Gregoropoulos family, Callierges and Vlastos, acquired by Renouard, printed by Ambroise Firmin-Didot, and currently in transit between Milan and Venice. Finally, there is the composite volume of print and manuscript, to which Ferreri devotes his second volume.

As with Pindar, there is a lost manuscript to contend with. There is a letter in the 1516 Giunta Hesiod to Frosino Bonini from Filippo Pandolfini, in which he describes a Theocritus he had seen corrected by Musurus from a very old book then in the hands of Paolo Capodivacca. This was used to supplement the Giunta Theocritus, probably with the agreement of Musurus, who mentions the same 'old book' in a note in his copy of the 1494 Greek Anthology. This

may be the source of other similar references. Similar readings in the Giunta and Callierges editions of Theocritus confirm the hand of Musurus in both, but at least in one place Musurus composed six lines himself to fill a gap, present in both 1516 editions. These complexities have confused later editors, who have also had to cope with the 'discovery' of other 15th-century manuscripts, among them BNF gr. 2726, and later with still earlier manuscripts, at the Ambrosiana (C.222, 12th-century) and Vatican (gr. 915, 13th-century), and finally papyrus fragments. Editors from Ziegler, Ahrens, Hiller and Wilamowitz-Moellendorf to Gow and Gallavotti have wrestled with the textual implications of these witnesses, the last originally sceptical of the *Patavinus deperditus* but later more inclined to credit it. The pattern of these events is revealed in Ferreri's 'examen philologique', an apparatus criticus of significant readings which forms the nucleus of this volume.

The emergence in recent time of a hitherto unknown Theocritus manuscript in the hand of Musurus, containing *Idylls* 24–7 and *Epigrams* 1–15 is thus an event of considerable importance. As far as Ferreri is concerned, this object appears to have sprung from nowhere, Athene from the brow of Zeus, or rather popped up in the Roman bookshop Libreria Philobiblon. It is bound with the 1495 *Grammar* of Theodore Gaza, and the second, 'emendatior', issue of the 1496 Theocritus, where it appears at a break in the quiring before the text of Theognis. 'J'ai eu peu de temps pour consulter le volume', says Ferreri; why, he does not say, but he was supplied with photocopies of the manuscript, faintly reproduced here. He supposes no connection between the manuscript and print, and the ensemble created by its 18th-century owners.

In fact, it has a provenance going back to the 17th century. I first saw it in 1992, when it was exhibited to the Rome Congress of the Association Internationale de Bibliophilie, and I can remember the *frisson* when I recognised Musurus's hand. This was news to its then owner, Fiammetta Soave. Previously it had been bought for \$26,000 by Michel Wittock at Sotheby's New York sale on 12 December 1991 of the Raymond and Elizabeth Hartz collection. They had bought it from W.H. Robinson, who had it from the Phillipps collection, and Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792–1872) acquired it from Thomas Thorpe

in 1836. Before that it belonged to Sir John Sebright (1767–1846), whose bookplate it bears, whose father, also Sir John (1725–94), inherited historic manuscripts from the Welsh antiquary and linguist, Edward Lhuyd (1660–1709). Lhuyd acquired it after the death without heir of Sir Thomas Darcy (1632–93), who had had it finely bound with his arms painted on the fore-edge. His father-in-law, Sir Simonds D'Ewes (1602–50), also had a fine library, much of it bound with his large armorial stamp and brass clasps. This is documented from D'Ewes's own catalogues, printed and amplified in Andrew Watson's *The Library of Sir Simonds D'Ewes* (1966), from which it emerges that D'Ewes studied Theocritus with his Cambridge tutor, Richard Holdsworth, and also bought books for his daughter, Lady Darcy. He had an excellent classical library, including Casaubon's *Animadversiones in Athenaei Dipnosophistas* (1597) presented by the author to Dominicus Baudius. Our book is not identifiable in his lists, unless it be 'a paper booke of greke words'.

What light does Musurus's manuscript throw on the complex stemma of Theocritus? Careful consideration of accentuation, dialectal forms (Musurus avoids the presumably original Doricisms), parallels and actual readings induces Ferreri to see 'véritable témoins... de la tradition directe, c'est-à-dire que les vers qu'elles citent sont tirés d'un témoin manuscrit perdu (vraisemblablement du *Patavinus* perdu)'. If so, this is a discovery on a par with Fogelmark's of the interaction of Callierges and Musurus in the 1515 Pindar. Together, these massive works illuminate remote and unfamiliar aspects the works of two authors who have engaged the attention of scholars ever since 16th century.

Anglo-Saxon at the British Library

A. S. G. EDWARDS

The British Library's latest exhibition, *Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms Art, Word, War*, opened on 19 October and will run until 19 February 2019. The exhibition is accompanied by a catalogue of the same title, edited by Claire Breay and Joanna Story (ISBN : 978 0 5208 4), that contains descriptions of all the items on display by a team of seventeen scholars, five of whom have also contributed brief introductory essays. (Throughout parenthetical numbers will refer to items in the catalogue.) The exhibition brings together materials not just from the Library's own collections but from sixteen other repositories in the United Kingdom as well as from others in France, Italy, Ireland, Italy, The Netherlands, Sweden and the United States. It is the most ambitious exhibition of Anglo-Saxon culture ever attempted.

First, the exhibition itself. It is not without its minor irritations. Although well captioned, none of the exhibits has the corresponding catalogue entry number; and while full shelf marks are given for British Library manuscripts none are given for loan items.

The overwhelming majority of the 161 items on display are, unsurprisingly, manuscripts, embodying the 'word'. 'Art' in other respects is restricted to about thirty items. The recently discovered gold and cloisonné Winfarthing pendant (12) and the inlaid silver Fuller brooch (65) display particularly well. There are some items from the Sutton Hoo (13, 14) and Staffordshire (15) hoards and some other jewellery. Sculpture is represented by the Lichfield Angel (from the late 8th or 9th century), a cross shaft from Durham Cathedral (80) and a replica of the Ruthwell Cross (88), with passages from the verse *The Dream of the Rood*. The most brilliant display of this material is of the tiny Alfred jewel (63), so adroitly back lit that every exquisite detail is visible.

But it is the verbal and visual dimensions of the 'word' in manuscripts that are most recurrent. These are nearly all well presented,

with the exception of the 8th century Lindisfarne Gospels (30), acclaimed here as 'the most spectacular manuscript to survive from Anglo-Saxon England', yet crammed between two other manuscripts, without proper emphasis on its stature. Such conspicuous underemphasis stands in contrast to the Codex Amiatinus (34), the earliest complete Latin Bible, produced at Wearmouth-Jarrow in the early 8th century and taken from there by Abbot Ceolfrith for presentation to the pope. He died on the journey and the manuscript never made it to Rome. Now, after more than 1300 years it makes its first return to England in from its home in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence. It is displayed separately, below eye level, open at its first full page miniature, with the enormous bulk of its text visible below (it has a leaf size of 505 x 340 mm, over 1000 leaves, and weighs more than seventy five pounds). To the left of it is the tiny (137 x 95 mm) St Cuthbert Gospels (32) from Wearmouth-Jarrow, with the earliest European binding, retrieved from Cuthbert's coffin in 1104. Not far away in the exhibition is the 9th century Canterbury Royal Bible (55) which suffered a crueler fate. It was originally over 900 leaves and conceived as a manuscript of the highest quality, with some leaves stained in purple, with gold and silver lettering and a number of miniatures. Only seventy seven leaves remain, a poignant reminder of what the ravages of time have wrought.

At the aesthetic extreme from these de-luxe manuscripts are those that embody the secular 'word' and form another distinctive aspect of the exhibition's achievement. The four crucial manuscripts that contain the bulk of the Old English poetic corpus are all displayed together for the first time: the *Beowulf* (86) and the Junius (89), and manuscripts the Vercelli (87) and Exeter (90) books. Vercelli must be among the most notable loans. It returns to England for the first time in 900 years from the Bibliotheca Capitolare. The achievement in bringing these codices together a coup that deserves to be applauded.

One final imaginative conjunction concludes the exhibition. Displayed in parallel are the Utrecht (137), Harley (138) and Eadwine (139) psalters. The first comes from 8th century France and it provided the model for the 11th century Harley psalter, one of the great productions of Christ Church, Canterbury. The Eadwine

Psalter is another Christ Church triumph of the same date and another copy of the Utrecht psalter, marked by both an increased visual and linguistic complexity: it incorporates material in Latin, French, Old English and Hebrew. It is unfortunate that the three manuscripts have been placed in a narrow passageway that may limit full appreciation of their shared display.

It is the range and depth within particular categories that is particularly striking. This is especially so with the Gospel books. They form the largest single group in the exhibition. The earliest is the 6th century St Augustine Gospels (8) made in Italy and perhaps among the earliest books brought by Christian missions; from the 8th century is the breathtaking Stockholm Codex Aureus (58), decorated in gold and silver, with purple pages and other colour; from the 11th century are still more books from Christ Church, Canterbury, the Arenberg (132), Grimbald (133), Bury (135) and Cnut (144) Gospels. From Ireland comes the Echternach Gospels (20), the Book of Durrow (25), the MacDurnan Gospels (73), a tiny pocket Gospel book (74) and the MacGregor or Rushworth Gospels (with an interlinear Anglo-Saxon gloss). From the Continent comes the Harley Golden Gospels (50) and a Gospel book from Tours (51), both reflecting Insular influences, the Boulogne Gospels (129), done in France, but illustrated by an English artist and the Bodmin Gospels (150), from Brittany, but in Cornwall by the 10th century. The chronological and geographic range with the attendant diversity of styles and formats makes these books a particularly rewarding aspect of the exhibition.

The Catalogue generally succeeds in giving helpful accounts of the items exhibited and the inclusion of excellent colour photographs of all them (sometimes more than one) is a generous bonus. The catalogue also includes a series of five short essays: ‘Anglo-Saxon England and the Continent’ (Joanna Story); ‘Language, Learning and Literature’ (Andy Orchard); ‘Interactions with Ireland’ (Bernard Meehan); ‘The Emergence of a Kingdom of England’ (Simon Keynes); ‘Conquest and Continuities’ (Julia Crick). Some of these essays elaborate the odd disjunction of the sub title: ‘Art, Word, War’. The alliterative conjunction of ‘word’ and ‘war’ is scarcely a reflection of what is on display. There are very few items

that point to Anglo-Saxon martial prowess; and such events as the Viking incursions and their influence on Anglo-Saxon culture get only the briefest of mentions. More strikingly, there is no essay devoted specifically to Anglo-Saxon manuscript art or to its manuscript culture. The lack of any attempt to offer any sort of overview of either the materiality or the aesthetics of the manuscripts that comprise the bulk of the exhibition seems curious. The dynamics of manuscript production invite proper contextualization. Where were the chief sites of production? How did scripts and decoration evolve? What was their range of their sources of influence? The lack of clear guidance on such fundamental matters, so centrally related to the exhibition, must be a cause for regret in a catalogue that will deservedly become a standard reference tool and hence a guide for those newly approaching Anglo-Saxon manuscript study.

Printing House and Engraving Shop, Part II

Further thoughts on ‘Printing House and Engraving Shop:
A Mysterious Collaboration.’

ROGER GASKELL

The mystery of the collaboration between book printers and copperplate printers has become less mysterious since the publication in 2008 of Bowen and Imhof’s meticulous work on the Plantin archives. Another mystery has been resolved by the appearance of a copy of a lost work, known previously only from secondary sources, *An essay on engraving and copper-plate printing. To which is added, Albumazar, or the professors of the black art, a vision.* By J. Hanckwitz, copper-plate printer (London, 1732). It is a short poem in heroic couplets on the art of engraving, the appended ‘vision’ being a riveting dream sequence in tetrameters. The purpose of this note is to draw attention to work which has been done on the history of intaglio printing, as it relates to book illustration, since my 2004 article for *THE BOOK COLLECTOR*; to introduce an overlooked source for the economics of the printing trades; to describe the *Essay on engraving*; to report on the installation of a replica rolling press at Rare Book School, University of Virginia and to provide a few corrections to the article.

In ‘Printing House and Engraving Shop’ I explained the process of printing copper plates on the rolling press and how engravings were printed for inclusion in books, whether as inserted leaves of plates or integrated in the text, processes on which neither letterpress nor intaglio manuals give any information. The main purpose of my article was to draw attention to the fact that, in marked contrast to the printing of verbal texts, we know very little about the origination, production and printing of images in books and have only limited ways of describing the finished products. The rapidly expanding body of research on scientific and other genres of book

illustration show that there is no lack of interest in the illustrated book but that little attention is being paid to how illustrated books are made. I argued that without understanding the production history of the illustrated book, we cannot properly interpret it. We not only need to try to understand how the book was viewed by its original readers, but as Peter Kornicki has remarked with reference to block-printed Japanese books (where the text is an image of the original calligraphy), physical books, books as material objects, ‘mediate between us and the mental worlds of the past.’¹ To understand properly the illustrated book it will be necessary to develop methods of bibliographical analysis and description of illustrations as rigorous as those that we already have for the verbal texts. Little or no progress has been made here.

The most important recent contribution to the literature of intaglio book illustration, from a technical and economic point of view, is Karen Bowen and Dirk Imhof’s *Christopher Plantin and Engraved Book Illustrations in Sixteenth-Century Europe*.² In addition, the history of the technical side of making and printing intaglio plates is now much better documented thanks to Ad Stijnman’s *Engraving and Etching 1400–2000*, an indispensable work of reference.³ However, Stijnman has little new to say about the collaboration between printing house and engraving shop. Much more informative on the business of intaglio printing, both for single sheet prints and for book illustration, is Antony Griffiths’ magnificent *The print before photography*.⁴ In a chapter on book illustration Griffiths is sensitive to the issues of printing plates for binding into books, ignored by Stijnman, such as leaving stubs for binding. Where engravings are printed in the text leaves, Stijnman inexplicably tells us that, ‘One of the unanswered questions in the history of illustrated books is ...

1. Peter Kornicki, *The Book in Japan. A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001) p. 39.
2. Karen Bowen and Dirk Imhof, *Christopher Plantin and Engraved Book Illustrations in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
3. Ad Stijnman *Engraving and Etching 1400–2000. A History of the Development of Manual Intaglio Printmaking Processes* (Houten: Archetype Publications Ltd in association with Hes and De Graaf, 2012). See my review in *The Library* (2013) 14 (4): 467–471.
4. Antony Griffiths, *The Print Before Photography. An Introduction to European Printmaking 1550–1820* (London: British Museum, 2016).

whether the text was printed first and then the plate, or the other way around.⁵ Griffiths accepts without question what we have always known: the letterpress is printed first. Bowen and Imhoff provide documentary evidence that Christopher Plantin's practice in Antwerp in the sixteenth century was always to print the letterpress first. Furthermore, engravings were often printed in batches as required, one of the logical reasons why it makes sense to print the letterpress first. In typographic printing, the whole edition of each sheet must be printed in one press run so that the type can be distributed and re-used for subsequent sheets (the cost of type normally prohibiting keeping whole books in standing type). But intaglio plates can be printed in short runs and the plates stored for later use, as demand arises. As Bowen and Imhoff explain, this not only helps the publisher's cash flow, but does not overload the printer who probably has other clients breathing down his – or in the case of Plantin's most frequently used printer, Mynken Lieferinck, her – neck, waiting for their job to be printed.

What is not known is not which was printed first, letterpress or intaglio, but how register was achieved. It was not always very precise: we are familiar with skewed engravings and overprinting of the text, but it certainly could be, witness for example, the skill of the copperplate printers commissioned by Plantin in the sixteenth century in producing neatly registered engravings in letterpress sheets.

The answer to the problem of registration may be that the plates were printed face down, the reverse of the usual procedure where the inked plate is laid on the press face up, which makes it difficult to position accurately the damp printing paper over it. In my article I pointed out the passage in Charles-Nicolas Cochin's 1745 revision of Abraham Bosse's treatise where Cochin says that this is the way to print several small engravings on one sheet.⁶ This would be a reliable

5. Stijnman p. 366.

6. 'Cela se fait ainsi quand la sujetton le requiert, comme pour l'impression des images satinées, ou bien quand il faut tirer plusieurs petites Planches à la fois sur une même feuille de papier, & lorsqu'on est obligé d'imprimer sur du carton ou du papier si épais qu'on ne peut appercevoir ne sentir la Planche au travers, ce qui est essentiel pour pouvoir la marger juste.' Abraham Bosse, revised by Charles-Nicolas Cochin, fils, *De la maniere de graver à l'eau forte et au burin ... Avec la façon de construire les presses modernes*,

method of registering engravings in printed sheets since it would be straightforward to position the coppers face down in the spaces left in the letterpress sheets. At the Rembrandt House in Amsterdam I asked Tim Verberk to try face down printing on the replica rolling press constructed from the designs published by Bosse in the first edition of his treatise (1645) with one of the copies of Rembrandt etching plates used for the daily demonstrations of intaglio printing.⁷ A perfectly satisfactory print was obtained. More rigorous experiments have since been conducted by Peter Freeth for Antony Griffiths, though Freeth did not follow Bosse's directions in placing blankets on the bed of the press as directed by Bosse.⁸ Griffiths now believes that it is impossible to print multiple plates face up on a full sheet of letterpress and that the plates must have been printed face down.⁹

In my article I speculated that the 5s a day paid to a rolling press printer, John Ebrall, at the Cambridge University Press at the end of the seventeenth century, might not have been his own wages, but the wages for a press crew, and so not more, but possibly less per man than the 1s 6d to 3s a day that the letterpress printers earned.¹⁰ A source which I do not believe has been utilised by book bibliog-

& d'imprimer en Taille-douce ... Nouvelle édition revue, corrigée & augmentée du double (Paris: Chez Charles-Antoine Jombert, 1745) p. 150.

7. H. DenOtter, 'De houtenestpers in het Rembrandthuis', *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* 63 (2009), 36–49.

8. 'Only I will tell you, that there are certain necessities, where they lay the Cloaths first of all on the Table of the Press, and over them a bluring Paper, and the Paper, Pasteboard, Satin, or other thing you Print upon; and turn the Engraved side of the Plate downwards, then two or three Clothes over it to prevent the bending of the Plate, as also that it spoil not the Roller when they turn the Handle, and all pass and print as before. This is done so when necessity requires it, as in the Impression of Satin Prints, which were the occasion of a Fancy of mine to do what I shall tell you afterwards.' Bosse 1645, translated by William Faithorne as *The art of graving and etching... The second edition. To which is added, the way of printing copper-plates, and how to make the Press* (London: printed for A. Roper, 1702), p. 68. Bosse's 'fancy' was to print a plate face down on an impression from an outline plate which had been coloured by hand (pp. 69–70). Also, in his list of articles necessary for the copperplate printer, Bosse includes 'Cloths to put upon the Plates, and sometimes under, in Printing them.' (p. 60).

9. Griffiths pp. 183–3; and p. 520 n. 8; Antony Griffiths, 'Upside-down printing', *Print Quarterly*, XXXI (2014), 324.

10. The figures are from D. F. McKenzie, *The Cambridge University Press 1696–1712* (Cambridge, 1966), i, p. 93.

raphers seems to bear this out: *Kearsley's Table of Trades, for the Assistance of Parents and Guardians* (London: for George Kearsley, 1786).¹¹ This is a wonderful resource for hundreds of trades, including twenty-two trades relating to printing and bookselling, giving apprentice fees, the sum required to set up in business, what the journeyman can expect to be paid with and without board, and whether the occupation is 'laborious'. For example, we learn that to set up in business as a copperplate printer might cost between £50 and £200, a considerable sum it would seem, but not much compared with the £300 to £2000 needed to set up a printing house. A journeyman copperplate printer can expect to earn 2 to 3s per day, while his opposite number in the printing shop earns 3s to 4s 4d per day. Bowen and Imhoff found that two centuries earlier the Antwerp copperplate printers earned about as much as a skilled stone mason.¹² Kearsley does not consider stone masons, but he does tell us that a brick-layer earns somewhere between a copperplate printer and a printer of books, 2s 4d to 3s 6d. The £5 to John Ebrallin in Cambridge must therefore surely have been for a press crew, not for a single workman. Further confirmation perhaps comes from Hanckwitz's poem which describes a workshop employing three men, though admittedly with three presses.

The re-discovery of *An Essay on Engraving and Copper-plate Printing* is a significant addition to the literature of copper-plate printing, vividly evoking the working conditions of early eighteenth-century rolling press printers.¹³ The work is an octavo in half sheets of sixteen

11. I am grateful to the curators of the British Library exhibition *Georgians Revealed* where I came across this in the catalogue by Moira Goff, John Goldfinch, Karen Limper-Herz and Helen Peden, (London: The British Library, 2013).

12. Bowen and Imhof p. 56.

13. *First proofs of the Universal catalogue of books on art, compiled for the use of the National Art Library and the schools of art in the United Kingdom* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1870) p. 782; Howard C. Levis, *A Descriptive Bibliography of the most important books in the English language relating to the Art and History of engraving and the collecting of prints* (London: Chiswick Press 1912 and 13, reprinted by Wm Dawson & Sons Ltd. 1974), mis-spelling the author as 'Hauckwitz' and noting 'I have not been able to find a copy of this book, so can give no details. It is mentioned in the Universal Catalogue of Books on Art and in other Bibliographies' (p. 94 and a similar note on p. 514). The only copy now recorded is at the Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Paris, shelfmark Duplessis 1147, ESTC N477145.

pages. Its full title is as follows:

An essay on engraving and copper-plate printing. To which is added, Albumazar, or the professors of the black art, a vision. By J. Hanckwitz, copper-plate printer [rule] Good Nature and good Sense must ever join / To err is human, to forgive divine. Essay on Criticism. [rule] By J. Hanckwitz, Copper-Plate Printer. [rule] London: Printed in the Year M DCC XXXII.¹⁴

Nothing is known about the author except what he tells us on the title page, that he is a copperplate printer, and in the second part of the poem, we learn that he works with two others, Smutty Dick and Black Tom. The poem is valuable for what it tells us about the status of engraving and, most significantly, brings out the very human aspects of the work of these ‘dismal smutty Printers’.

A brief ‘Introduction’ is followed by the ‘Essay’ in which the author decries the state of engraving in Britain compared with that in France. This deficiency is attributed to the fact that our artists attempt engraving without a grounding in the rules of drawing and perspective, available to the French in the academies founded by Louis XIV. The value of engraving in disseminating information is illustrated by the example of a mariner’s chart.

The second part, the ‘vision’, is headed ‘Albumazar; or, the Professors of the Black Art, &c.’ and occupies the remainder of the pamphlet. This is the most interesting part of the poem, as we know so little about the working life of the trade. No wonder that after ‘labouring most furiously; by glimm’ring Lights,’ when he finally retires to bed at midnight, ‘With limbs fatigu’d, and pond’ring Head’ the author’s mind is full of apparitions prompted by the appearance of the copperplate presses:

Methought I stood upon a floor,
Which three odd fashion’d Machines bore;
Compos’d of Cylinders and Crosses,
In modern Terms call’d Rolling-Presses,

The cylinders are of course the rollers, the crosses, the windmill like arms of the press, or star wheel, on which the pressmen must

14. My description of the copy in the Bibliothèque de l’Institut de France with an annotated transcript of the text is forthcoming in the *Journal of the Printing Historical Society*.

strain to turn the rollers and draw the bed or plank of the press between the pair of rollers.

As he dreams, Hanckwitz, with Smutty Dick and Black Tom, is visited by an astrologer, Albumazar (rhyming with 'star-gazer') who begins to tell them of his art. They profess their ignorance:

We Printers know no Globe or Sphere,
Our Judgement lays in good *strong Beer*,

They know nothing, they say, of the mathematical sciences of cartography and cosmology, let alone astrology. Albumazar is un-convinced, seeing in the appearance of the ink-smeared printers and their sinister machines the evidence of their diabolical pursuits:

Altho' it seems by common Fame,
You're cloak'd up by a specious Name,
Call'd Printers of the Rolling Press,
'Tis plain you the *Black Art* profess.

Enraged by this accusation, the printers set upon Albumazar; there is a clap of thunder, the devil carries him away and Hanckwitz wakes up. Hearing the clock strike five, he hastens to put on his shabby work clothes and go back to labour at his rolling press.

The significance of the *Essay* is that it gives us a rare insight into how engraving was regarded in Britain at the time. It shows the persistence of the association of printing with Satanism into the eighteenth century and the extension of this association to copperplate printing. We are reminded of the long hours of eighteenth-century printers and the 'Vision' gives us an unprecedented glimpse of the copper plate printers' workshop.

In comparison with platen presses for letterpress printing we know very little about the construction and operation of early rolling presses. Historical presses survive in relatively small numbers: something of a puzzle. The latest census of surviving wooden typographic presses or common presses lists seventeen presses in the UK alone; the census of wooden rolling presses lists eighteen worldwide, including only one in the UK. Admittedly the latter, published in 1996, needs updating: I know of another six presses, but none in the UK. The ratio of seventeen common presses to one

rolling press still stands.¹⁵ This is surprising considering not just the quantity of engraved book illustration but the vast size of the print trade in the eighteenth century. A number of replica wooden typographic presses have been built and used for research and teaching, but when I wrote my article, no equivalent wooden rolling press was in use. The only experience most bibliographers had of intaglio printing depended on the use of nineteenth and twentieth-century iron presses. Replica rolling presses have indeed been built, like the Rembrandt House Press, which is used to demonstrate the printing of ‘Rembrandt’ etchings rather than its relevance to book illustration. In university departments teaching bibliography there were no wooden rolling presses and in fact very few iron rolling presses, even then not always appropriate examples. The Historical Printing Room in Cambridge University Library does have an iron rolling press, but one designed not for printing on paper but for printing silk hat bands. The issue, of course, is that, starting with ‘The Bibliographic Press’ set up at Yale University Library in 1927, the aim of these presses, as of bibliography, was to further literary studies – texts in which images were considered of little or no importance. Philip Gaskell wrote that: ‘By a “bibliographical press” is meant a workshop or laboratory which is carried on chiefly for the purpose of demonstrating and investigating the printing techniques of the past by means of setting type by hand, and of printing from it on a simple press.’¹⁶

The point of my article was to argue that bibliography must now move beyond typographic printing of text and in addition take account of the technologies and workshop practices of picture printing and specifically the complexities of intaglio printing. I

15. Alan May, ‘A new census of wooden presses in Great Britain, *Journal of the Printing Historical Society*, New Series 24 (2016) 63–89; Ad Stijnman, *De ontwikkeling van de houtenetspers, 1460–1850, Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* 50 (1996), 2–40; I have not made a systematic attempt to locate further wooden rolling presses and I am sure more will come to light.

16. Philip Gaskell, ‘The bibliographical press movement’, *Journal of the Printing Historical Society* 1 (1965) 1–13 on p. 1. See also Steven Escar Smith, ‘A Clear and Lively Comprehension’: the History and Influence of the Bibliographical Laboratory’, in Ann R. Hawkins, ed., *Teaching Bibliography, Textual Criticism, and Book History* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2006) 32–37.

made my pitch to Michael Suarez, S.J., director of the Rare Book School at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville. Suarez, who has done so much to enlarge the scope of bibliography, was sympathetic and the result was a commission to build a replica of an eighteenth-century press. I designed the press on the basis of the engravings published in Diderot's *Encyclopédie*.¹⁷ A number of constructional details were worked out by examining a press of very similar design which I had originally seen in the print shop of the Louvre, sadly no longer on public view but in storage at the Atelier des Arts, Chalcographie et Moulage at St Denis to the north of Paris. The replica press was built by John Milnes and myself in Oxford, shipped to Charlottesville and installed in the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library in May 2017. In the same room is a replica of an eighteenth-century common press. In July 2018 students in my Rare Book School class printed intaglio images on separate sheets (and later folded and stitched them into a quarto section) as well as printing intaglios into spaces left in letterpress sheets that they had themselves printed. This is certainly a first for a bibliographical press.

We are still some way from an adequate knowledge of the techniques, workshop practices and personnel involved in intaglio printing for book illustration. The re-discovery of Hanckwitz's poem, recent research and the opportunity for practical experimentation get us a step closer. This will, it is to be hoped, encourage the development of the bibliographical analysis and description of book illustrations. Bibliography tells the story of production, human and cultural history in its own right, but this story is conspicuously lacking from the extensive and growing literature of book illustration which only starts with the image on the page.

ERRATA for Roger Gaskell, 'Printing house and engraving shop: a mysterious collaboration'. *The Book Collector* 53 (2004) 213–251

Page 221, l. 10 for '1837' read '1836'

Page 223, l. 18 for 'Hauckwitz' read 'Hanckwitz'

17. 'Imprimerieentaille-douce,' *EncyclopédieouDictionnaireraisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, 8:620–623 (Paris, 1765); Planches, vol. 7, (Paris, 1769). The two plates are signed 'Goussier Del. BenardFecit' and are accompanied by 1 page of captions.

- Page 223, l. 27 for ‘These editions were read’ read ‘The edition of 1745 was’
- Page 230, penultimate line, for ‘Cochin’s 1745 edition of Bosse’ read ‘Bosse (1645, p. 71)
- Page 231, l. 1, for ‘Cochin’ read ‘Bosse’
- Page 231, l. 3, for ‘He goes on to say’ read ‘Cochin in 1745 adds’
- Page 235, Bosse, 1701, this edition was also issued by Pierre Emery.
- Page 235, l. 3, for ‘Traicté de’ read ‘Traicté des’
- Page 235, last entry, for ‘Hauckwitz’ read ‘Hanckwitz’.

A Northern Tour by the AIB

ANTHONY DAVIS

Bibliophily and good fellowship have long been associated, probably even before Jean Grolier adopted the motto ‘et amicorum’ to decorate his precious books. Both are features of the Association Internationale de Bibliophilie, whose annual trip visiting libraries and (where possible) eating grand meals took place this year in North East England, centred on Durham and York. For those who do not know the organisation, it comprises book lovers from many countries (chiefly, but not exclusively, the USA, France and the UK) including distinguished collectors, scholars, librarians and antiquarian dealers. The main activities are an annual conference, or *colloque*, and some important publications including the *Bulletin du Bibliophile*.

The ancient cathedrals and university libraries of Durham and York formed the backbone of the visit, with excursions to other notable collections nearby including the Brotherton Library in Leeds. The splendid medieval buildings provided an extraordinary backdrop to the marvellous books.

Our opening session was in Durham’s twelfth century chapter house (somewhat reconstructed after a nineteenth century clerk of works pulled out the keystone of the roof but, nonetheless, possibly the oldest setting for an AIB ceremony so far). The opening by the Lord Lieutenant was followed by a lecture, ‘Books in Medieval Durham’, given by Professor Richard Gameson with appearances from his cat (she was upstaged later in York by a 1641 prayer book bearing muddy footprints of the pet of an early owner, Marmaduke Fothergill). Library highlights included a sixth century fragment of the *Book of Maccabees* from Italy (almost certainly known to Bede himself), the early eighth century *Durham Gospels*, a copy of Cassiodorus, *Commentary on the Psalms*, reputed to be copied by Bede and the earliest illuminated Romanesque Latin Bible with an English provenance (the *Saint-Calais*, or *Carilef Bible*, Normandy, late eleventh century).

The next day we visited the library of Ushaw College, a Roman Catholic school and seminary still containing a few books from the library of Douai College in a building partly designed by A W N Pugin. The other visit was to spectacular Alnwick Castle, where books shown by kind permission of the Duke of Northumberland included an exquisite manuscript translation of Ecclesiastes, made for Anne Boleyn (once affianced to the Duke's forebear Harry Percy) and her daughter's warrant for the execution of the seventh Earl in 1572. The visit to Durham finished with dinner in the impressive setting of the Hall of Durham Castle.

Bowes Museum came as a surprise. The superb collection, set in an unexpected French-style chateau amidst the Durham countryside, was made by Joséphine and John Bowes in the mid-nineteenth century and focuses on the decorative arts, so the books and manuscripts are little known. Indeed, several discoveries were made in compiling the display. We saw, among other things, some good Italian and French bindings, overshadowed by a magnificent Portolan Atlas by the cartographer Jean-François Roussin (Marseilles, 1644). From there, members had the choice of examining the country house libraries either of Castle Howard ('This place is kinda swell', commented one American) or of Harewood House.

The York sessions began with a lecture by Professor Brian Cummings on 'The Archbishop of York and the Reformation of the Minster Library'. The library showed treasures including Royal books: Catherine of Aragon's prayer book was notably more utilitarian than her successor's book shown in Alnwick while mother-in-law Elizabeth of York apparently owned a Wycliffite New Testament from the early fifteenth century. There was a missal slashed by Protestant reformists and Archbishop Tobie Matthew's preaching diary from 1583–1622, shown, incongruously, beside a table of material relating to Jonathan Martin who almost burned the Minster down in 1829. At the University Library we saw (among other things) incunabula, Stuart manuscripts and an outstanding group of bindings by 'Edwards of Halifax' alongside some of the workshop's binding tools. Within the university, the Borthwick Institute for Archives produced manuscript material relating to Laurence Sterne and the Brontes, as well as a fascinating diary kept

by Lord Halifax when Ambassador to the USA, describing the US reaction to the bombing of Pearl Harbor.

The final day of the *colloque* offered the participants the choice between a visit to the Brotherton Library and attending the first afternoon of the York Book Fair, concluding with dinner in the medieval Merchant Adventurers' Hall.

Trips such as this rely on the enthusiasm and generosity of the various librarians, institutions and owners. We were all extremely appreciative of the work put in to make our week so worthwhile by those connected with all the places we visited and by the organisers, Mirjam Foot, Christopher de Hamel and Adrian Seville (with the author of this article).

A binding by John Winstanley of Manchester

on a presentation copy of the Reverend William Parr
Greswell's privately published
The monastery of Saint Werburgh: a poem (1823)¹

English & Foreign Bookbindings 136

DAVID KNOTT

It is over sixty years since Tim Munby wrote that 'A bookbinding signed with the name of the craftsman who executed it is a document in the history of one of the minor arts'.² The example discussed here was formerly part of a small collection of ticketed British provincial bindings belonging to Michael Papantonio (1907–1978) of New York.³ More recently Laurence Worms has published some essential information about the career of John Winstanley (1784–1856) and the subsequent history of the firm under his son, also John, and other members of the family.⁴

The life of the Reverend William Parr Greswell (*bap.* 1765, *d.* 1854), Church of England clergyman and bibliographer, is fairly summarised in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.⁵ This account notes that the reception of his two substantial works on the early Parisian press was less than wholehearted. They were said to be inexact by none other than Charles Brunet, although others continue

2. A.N.L. Munby, 'Collecting English signed bindings', *The book collector*, 2, no. 3 (Autumn 1953), 177–193, p.177. See also *Ticketed bookbindings from nineteenth-century Britain* / Willman Spawn & Thomas E. Kinsella ... (Bryn Mawr, Pa : Bryn Mawr College Library ; New Castle, DE : Oak Knoll Press, 1999).

3. Probably better known for his early American bindings; information kindly provided by Steve Weissman of Ximenes Rare Books Inc. in 2007.

4. 'John Winstanley of Manchester – Bookbinder' – accessible at <https://ashrarebooks.wordpress.com/2013/10/31>, accessed 10 December 2017.

5. C. W. Sutton, 'Greswell, William Parr (*bap.* 1765, *d.* 1854)', rev. Zoë Lawson, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.idpproxy.reading.ac.uk/view/article/11512>, accessed 25 May 2017]



The monastery of St. Weburgh : a poem (1823). Bound by John Winstanley of
Manchester. Approx 222 x 145 x 15 mm. Front board.
(Bennetto Photography)



Binder's ticket. Original 12 x 23 mm.

(Bennetto Photography)

to be more complimentary. His Latin translations of the memoirs of Angelus Politianus and others were also described as being careless and unmethodical in a contemporary review. By contrast the work under consideration here is a topographical poem, printed by Henry Smith of Manchester for private circulation, and was described by Bertram Dobell, perhaps a little grudgingly, as 'not destitute of merit', with ample notes 'full of interest'.⁶

The monastery of Saint Werburgh is not a particularly rare work. Research on the internet can easily come up with between thirty and forty original copies. They appear often to have been issued originally in paper covers or paper- or cloth-covered boards, to judge from many of these surviving examples. This copy of *The monastery*, in the possession of the writer, is inscribed "From the Author" on the title-page. While there is little doubt this inscription is in Greswell's hand it may not indicate an intimate association between the author and the unnamed recipient.⁷ However, the ticketed J. Winstanley binding adds a considerable further level of sophistication. Finally, and in addition, the volume is extra-illus-

6. Catalogue of books printed for private circulation / collected by Bertram Dobell, and now described and annotated by him. (London, 1906) p.123.

7. Especially as Greswell is often quite specific and more effusive in his not uncommon presentation inscriptions.

trated, suggesting we are dealing with an example of an altogether exceptional order.⁸

The contemporary full blue-black, grained leather binding is tooled to a panel design in gilt and blind, the spine similarly in four compartments with a title panel lettered: MONASTERY OF ST. WERBURGH. Although now tender at the joints the whole remains impressive. The pale green watered silk doublures are panelled and gilt, as are all the edges. Winstanley's ticket with an early address at the Old Church Yard, Manchester, occupied by him between 1822 and 1824, places the production of book and binding in the closest relationship.⁹ Stylistically also it is more of its time than the eighteenth century pastiches by him illustrated in the British Library bindings database.¹⁰

It is tempting to speculate that this may be a binding specially commissioned by Greswell for a few exceptional copies of his poem intended for presentation. The sale catalogue of his library displays a modest interest in bindings both historical and of his own time.¹¹ Unfortunately, no similar examples to this have as yet been found that might confirm this conjecture. The Pforzheimer copy comes closest in that it is similarly extra-illustrated but is unfortunately disbound and has no apparent authorial connections.¹² The copy under consideration here could simply be the result of the anonymous recipient's choices. That said it nonetheless neatly documents the earlyish and non-routine work of the provincial craftsman responsible.

8. With eight engraved plates and a plan by James Storer from *History and antiquities of the cathedral churches of Great Britain*, v. 1 including Chester (1814–1819)

9. Data from the British Book Trade Index, accessible at bbti.bodleian.ox.ac.uk

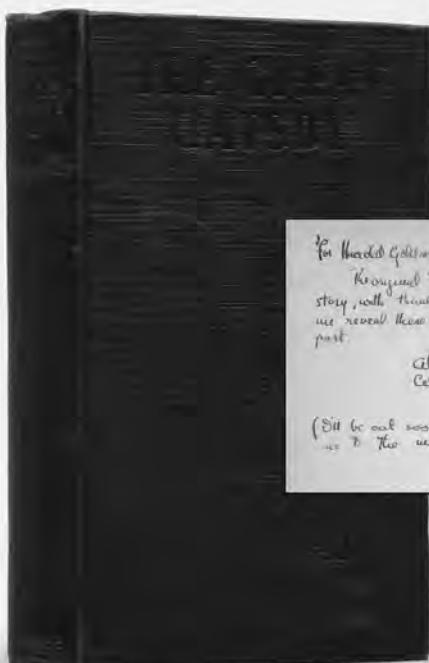
10. Accessible at <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/bookbindings>

11. *Catalogue of the valuable classical, historical, philological, and miscellaneous library, of the late Rev. W. Parr Greswell, ... which will be sold ... by Messrs. S. Leigh Sotheby & John Wilkinson ... 1855 ...* Among the British binders noted by the cataloguers are Clarke, Hering, Lewis, Mackenzie, Payne and C. Smith.

12. New York Public Library – Pforz (Greswell, W./Monastery) 1823. I am grateful to Dr. Elizabeth Denlinger, the curator, for her close examination of this copy.

PETER HARRINGTON

L O N D O N



FITZGERALD, F. Scott., *The Great Gatsby*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925

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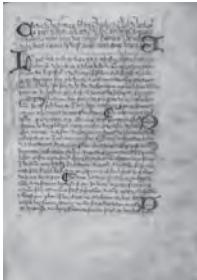
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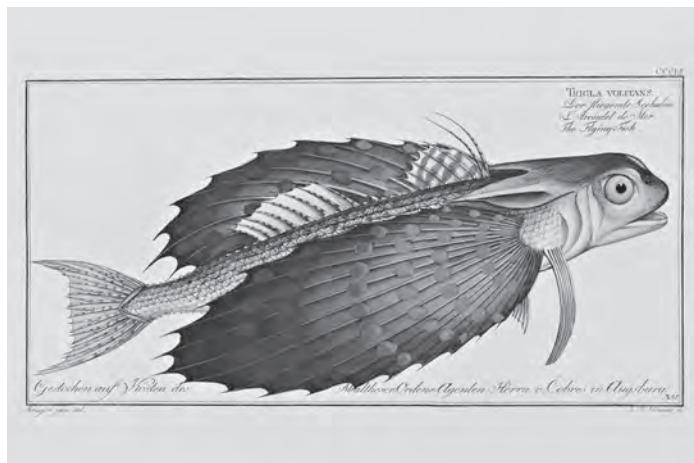
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JACK PRELUTSKY

I met a dragon face to face
the year when I was ten,
I took a trip to outer space,
I braved a pirate's den,
I wrestled with a wicked troll,
and fought a great white shark,
I trailed a rabbit down a hole,
I hunted for a snark.
I stowed aboard a submarine,
I opened magic doors,
I traveled in a time machine,
and searched for dinosaurs,
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NEWS & COMMENT

PRIZES GALORE are available to younger book collectors. But where to find them? Sarah Bennett has been in touch with all the main sponsors and will report in our next issue. For one of them, however, The California Young Collector's Prize, the deadline is on our very doorstep – 1st December 2018. The chair, Ben Kinmont (bkinmont@gmail.com) assures us that some leeway will be tolerated and so we give the details here and now:

- Collectors must be under 35 and living in California,
- What the judges will be looking at is thoroughness, the collectors' approach to their subject and the seriousness with which the collection has been catalogued,
- The winner will get \$500 to spend at the next California International Antiquarian Book Fair, \$250 in expenses getting there and setting up, the chance to exhibit the collection, a year's membership of the Book Club of California and,
- A year's subscription to **THE BOOK COLLECTOR** which means getting four printed issues of about 200 pages each and access to our archive since 1947.



RICK GEKOSKI, who was born in 1944 (a banner year), has had a long and distinctive career as a writer and book dealer. A few years ago he broke away from the world of cancels and missing maps to write *Darke*, a novel that garnered plaudits from all sides. He has now written a second novel entitled *A Long Island Story*, published by Canongate. According to one reviewer it's on the very threshold of the 'Great American Novel' genre.



WHEN OLIVER GOLDSMITH died in 1774 he was living in The Temple but was so poor from having spent most of his life in the literary desert that he had to make do with what was virtually a pauper's grave just outside the Temple railings. Now, 244 years later, his tombstone is fast deteriorating. We should care about this. "The Vicar of Wakefield" came first, then "The Deserted Village". Finally, in 1773, he attained one of the high spots of eighteenth century literary life with "She

Stoops to Conquer”, which is still performed to packed houses in the West End every two or three years. Dr Johnson: ‘There was nothing he touched he did not adorn’. Indeed, but the trouble was that he was Irish and the Irishness of his manners and conversation lay poorly with English society. An appeal is being put together to restore his tomb. More news will follow.



ANYTHING TO DO with the suppression of texts has to be of the keenest interest to collectors. In this connection mention must be made of the death, at the age of ninety-one, of John Calder, co-founder of the publishing firm Calder and Boyars that lasted for the twelve years between 1963 and 1975. Those were no ordinary years. They were the years of an awakening that empowered all that’s followed, trampling without mercy on the politics and mores of the past. On Calder’s list were three winners of the Nobel Peace Prize and nineteen winners of the Literature Prize. Beckett was his (naturally) and so was Hubert Selby Jr. In 1964 Selby’s *Last Exit to Brooklyn* was published by the Grove Press, the same firm that had got *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* through the American law courts. In 1966 Calder took on *Last Exit* for the British and Commonwealth market. Despite having lost the *Lady Chatterley* case (see p. 677), the government decided to double down and to prosecute Calder under the obscenity laws. It won. To challenge a government, any government, in the courts at that period was no trivial undertaking for a small publisher. But Calder did, and won the case on appeal, a decision that spelled the end of literary censorship in Britain. As *The Times* remarked, A is for Audacity, B is for Bravo, C is for Calder. His autobiography, *Pursuit: the Uncensored Memoirs of John Calder* was published in 2001.

Two other deaths must be reported: M.J. Long (1939–2018) and Inge Feltrinelli (1930–2018). Mary Jane Long, known throughout her professional career as ‘M.J.’, came from Summit, New Jersey. Trained as an architect, she found her way in due course to London. In 1974 she and her husband, Colin St John Wilson, were asked to assess the feasibility of the Euston Road site for the new British Library. The building of it took more than thirty years. By the time it was complete the two babies she’d had had left home. ‘That the British Library works so well owes everything to M.J. Long’ said *The Guardian* newspaper. It was she who had charge of the operational aspects of the library: storage, procurement and reading, a process of immense complexity. If books still take only twenty minutes to reach the reading room from

the basement stacks, M.J. Long is the person whom we have to thank.

Inge Feltrinelli was the widow of the publisher (most notably of *Dr Zhivago* and *The Leopard*) and pseudo-revolutionary, Giangiocomo Feltrinelli. After he lost his life in March 1972 trying to modify the operation of an electricity pylon by night, it was she who kept the business going. That one sees in Italy bright, busy, encouraging bookshops under the banner of Editore Feltrinelli is largely her doing.



EDITH SITWELL and William Walton gave the first public performance of *Façade* there in 1923. Nicolas and Joanna Barker held the reception there after the marriage of their daughter Cecilia in 1989. The historic book collection of Erwin Tomash has now been sold there. So, great events only at the Aeolian Hall in Bloomfield Place, which is almost directly opposite Sotheby's.

Sotheby's book department moved there from Bond Street in 1981. In 1998 it moved back to Bond Street and now, fittingly, it has returned to the site, which has been renamed Lower Grosvenor Gallery.

During the interregnum the Aeolian Hall auction room was put to other uses, even though the books consigned for sale and all the staff remained in Bloomfield Place. Rolling shelves were installed in a low-ceilinged viewing room on the ground floor in the main Bond Street building – so low that many of Sotheby's taller auctioneers appeared to be crouching during the conduct of their sales. This was the saleroom scene for the twelve-session dispersal of the Macclesfield Library between 2004 and 2008. A designated books and manuscript saleroom had always been a factor of great importance for Sotheby's, which originally made its mark as auctioneers of literary property beginning in 1744. Most recently, this designated saleroom was said to have played a part in the decision-making to hold the sale of the Franklin Brooke-Hitching Library there between 2014 and 2015.

The present auction room is between one half and two thirds of its original dimensions. This allows for secure storage of the lots as they are sold and then made ready for collection by the purchasers in the remaining space. Also, the smaller seating area than the 1981 – 1998 plan makes very sensible allowance for the fact that so many more attendees at auctions nowadays participate by telephone or online. How apt, then, that the Tomash sale was all about the history of computing, just another sign of change in the public auction process.

And so to maths. Numbers fascinate. The alarm at six, the 94 bus, *le cinq à sept*, the 007 film, the sheep we count to help us to sleep, in

one form or another, numbers are with us every moment of the day. We love them, we hate them, but we cannot live without them. And there is more to it than mere usefulness. To some people they have become an obsession and comprise a branch almost of religion in their unknowability. May such thinking be correct, that numbers have some lofty presence that cannot be explained? We cannot say. We will never be able to say. A charming novel by the Japanese writer Yoko Ogawa, *The Housekeeper and the Professor*, approaches the subject in this way:

We tried picturing the square root of negative one in our heads: $\sqrt{-1}$. The square root of 100 is 10; the square root of 16 is 4; the square root of 1 is 1. So, the square root of -1 is...

He didn't press us. On the contrary, he fondly studied our expression as we mulled over the problem.

"There is no such number," I said at last, sounding rather tentative.

"Yes, there is," he said, pointing at his chest. "It's in here. It's the most discreet sort of number, so it never comes out where it can be seen. But it's here."

The sale of the extraordinary, other-worldly library of Erwin Tomash was in two parts: Part 1 (Mubashir Ibn Ahmad al-Razi to Babbage) was on Tuesday 18 September 2018 and Part 2 (Babbage to Turing) on the following day. The intellectual quality of the cataloguing was supreme, as befitted the subject. Tomash (d. 2012) and his wife Adelle (b. 1925) founded the Charles Babbage Institute and with the help of Professor Williams, drew up and fulfilled a strategy to form a collection that would, in effect, describe the mechanisation of mathematics. The sale did them proud. If a time comes when we need to reacquaint ourselves with the fundamentals of computer mathematics, the texts that were on sale in the old Aeolian Hall will be counted as the incunabula.

Stephen Massey reports on the details of the sale on p. 849.



IT HAS BECOME OUR CUSTOM to report on the appearance of the various volumes of the late Gershon Legman's *Autobiography of Innocence Peregrine Penis* (see, for example News & Comment, Winter 2016, 568–9; Summer 2017, 311–13). Now volume 4, *Musick to my Sorrow* (published by Createspace, 2018: ISBN 978-1984077745) has thudded onto our shelves. We use the verb advisedly. It amounts to 598 pages, which means that it has now taken nearly 3,000 pages to get our hero almost through his twenties. This might not matter if Legman's life was as interesting as he evidently felt it to have been. There are

brief, if unilluminating, passages about Legman's career as a writer of pornography. And there is an entertaining account of his encounters with the bibliographical establishment when he submitted (ultimately successfully) an article on Caxton to *The Library*. But Legman's main preoccupations are the appetites of youth. Food and (particularly) sex drive his narrative, the sex being described in a manner heavily influenced by the early prose of Henry Miller. For anyone interested in the seamier side of the New York book world in the 1940s reading this book is like panning for gold: occasional nuggets amid much tedium. It is sobering to reflect that Legman died at the age of 82. Unambitious calculation suggests that are at least 5,000 more penis-related pages to come. Caveat lector.



'**PICK OF THE BUNCH**' was how Nicolas Barker described the first catalogue of J. & J. Lubrano in 1979. Forty indomitable years on, John and Jude Lubrano have just held, on October 6th, their first online auction of Music & Dance. The material is drawn from across the board of classical music and includes manuscript, printed and photographic works. If it succeeds, more auctions may follow. It is of special interest to us at **THE BOOK COLLECTOR** on account of the long series of auction prices in our archive from the days when music and books were sold together. There are 469 lots, no reserves, and the premium is a modest 15%. We wish the Lubranos all good fortune.



'**WH**', AS IT'S BEING CALLED (by people getting over-familiar with *Wuthering Heights* rather than W.H. Auden) has given the whole Brontë clan lots of column inches this year, which is the 200th anniversary of Emily's birth. 'The twentieth century's favourite nineteenth-century novel' is how the critic John Sutherland described the book. Elizabeth Hardwick wrote of the sisters, 'They were gifted, well-educated, especially self-educated – and desperate.' Their books have spawned a multitude of children: films, songs, sequels, prequels, adaptations, abbreviations, elongations, every conceivable variation, even a play starring Cliff Richard as Heathcliff. In its no. 6017 the TLS opened the throttle and went full out at the subject. 'Still baffling, still strange' was its strapline and then it quoted Julian Barnes from his novel *The Only Story*: 'Would you rather love the more, and suffer the more; or love the less and suffer the less?' This, says the TLS, goes to the heart of WH. To the heart of life itself, some might add.

As a matter of fact, we at THE BOOK COLLECTOR have our own Brontë story, 'Stoning Charlotte Brontë' by Ann Baer (Summer 2014 issue). I would like to say *Lord of the Flies* was based on the incident Ms Baer describes but it might be untrue.

The Cheltenham Literature Festival this year also had a sensational angle. *Heathcliff vs Darcy: Who's The Bigger Sh*t?* was the subject of a Forum discussion under the leadership of the novelist Sebastian Faulks. 'Is Heathcliff a tragic victim of overwhelming passion or a vicious sociopath? Is Darcy a cold, controlling snob or an honourable, intelligent hero...' throbs the blurb. Without question it will have drawn a full house.

Furthermore (cue finger-wagging), what about Becky, waiting cutely in that little chintzy upstairs sitting room with the curtains drawn and but two candles lit? Yes indeed, Becky Sharp, looking after herself as usual, has just made her latest TV debut, on this occasion assisted by Amazon. The inescapable fact is that ever since Colin Firth emerged moistened from a lake (shades of Ursula Andress?) in a 1995 TV version of *Pride and Prejudice*, the great heroes and heroines of English nineteenth century fiction have been taken prisoner by every sort of enterprise and are now kept in a communal donjon from which they are allowed out for a spin about every five years. And who's to say this is wrong? It stimulates interest and thus demand, which is all to the good.

What with the shenanigans in British politics, it may not be long before Taper and the loathsome Tadpole are taken into custody by the moguls. But girls will have to be found. Despite *Sybil*, Disraeli's novels are not famous for their petticoat roles.



IRISH READING SOCIETIES is the short title of a book James Raven reviews for us on p. 880. Among these societies was the Rathfriland Society, Co. Down and among its members was a Mr Porter, who wrote as 'Tisander'. One day in 1811 he discovered that the Society had acquired a copy of Scott's newly-published *Lady of the Lake*. He wrote thus,

‘A Highland lassie, buskit braw,
Wha’s face, I’m sure, I never saw,
Tho’ very fair her fame is;
O, how I languish for her sake!
The lovely *Lady of the Lake*
For that I think her name is.’

Some charming verses followed, concluding with this assurance,

‘Now, a’ that I desire or seek,
Is just her company a week,
To keep my spirits cheery:
‘Twad mak’ me happy, I declare,
To corlie wi’ a lady fair,
At e’en when I am weary.’

No librarian, then or now, could surely resist such an overture.



A BOOK OF BOOK LISTS: a bibliophile’s compendium’ has emerged from the British Library since our last issue. At only 176pp, the author, Alex Johnson, has had to think carefully about the direction of travel. A compass might have been handy for it all seems a bit wacky. Books in space, books banned at Guantánamo, books most often abandoned in hotels are one thing but a Future Library, 100 books to be published in the year 2114, is hard to get one’s head round and harder still to collect. ‘The Making of *The Wind in the Willows*’ just out from the Bodleian Library (to whom Grahame left his copyrights when he died in 1932) looks an easier read. Apparently, the word ‘willows’ appears nowhere in the book.



IN THE SAME NUMBER of the TLS mentioned earlier (6017) is a letter from R.M. Healey of Royston, Herts, stating that the first English translation of Knut Hamsun’s *Hunger* was not published in 1921, as previously believed, but in 1899 by Mary Chavelita Dunne writing under the alias of George Egerton. The writer concludes, ‘I know this because my own copy of this book is inscribed by the translator.’ Now there’s a ‘point’ if ever there was one.



ERIC KORN ANECDOTE coming up. Our correspondent from LA relates how she and her husband Bill were in a cab going to a book fair in New York sometime in the 1980s. With them were Roddy Brinckman of Monk Bretton Books and Roddy’s then wife Sheira who, by virtue of her birth and marriage, had superimposed a Ladyship on an Honship and as a result was sometimes touched by delusions of imperium.

As the cab was waiting for the lights to change, Victoria saw Eric Korn walk past. ‘Look,’ she exclaimed, ‘there’s Eric, you know what, I

love that man.' Sheira said, 'Huh, Eric Korn, he makes me homesick.' Victoria was unable to imagine two more disparate people than Sheira and Eric and said doubtfully, 'Eric Korn makes you homesick?' 'Oh yes,' said Sheira, 'he reminds me of my dogs and I miss them.'



IN OUR LAST ISSUE we wondered out loud if anyone collected suffragette material. Thanks to the good offices of the *New Statesman* we now have an answer. In their Summer Special they ran a piece entitled "Objects of desire: writers on their prized collections". In it, mirabile dictu, the British author, journalist and broadcaster, Hunter Davies, told the tale of his suffragette collection. Maybe we should try and get an article from him, this being the era of feminism and our issue in Spring 2019 having women and books as its theme.

Others had different stories. Lucy Hughes Hallett, prize-winning biographer of D'Annunzio, told of the drawers full of women's gloves, each of which had belonged to a conquest of his. For David Baddiel it was Billy Bunter comics, for Erica Wagner, the American who used to be the literary editor of *The Times*, coronation mugs of Edward VIII since they demonstrated the superiority of a republican system of government. (Is she now de-accessioning?) For some their collections were identity projects, as their owners readily confessed.

The greatest number of our subscribers are, by a long chalk, individuals. Some will be active collectors, others will be interested bystanders. Over the years we have printed a huge number of words on collections being formed and collections being sold, on their importance or otherwise and so on. Except in Sheila Markham's marvellous interviews, we have seldom sought to trace that wandering path by which collectors reach their destinations. The subject seemed to arouse pleasantly nostalgic memories for the *New Statesman*'s writers. Might it do the same for THE BOOK COLLECTOR's readers? If any of our subscribers felt like writing a couple of hundred words or so on how they got to where they are, editor@thebookcollector.co.uk would be glad to hear from them.



THE ARCTIC CIRCLE is 66.5 degrees north of the Equator. Continue north and you'll eventually reach Hammerfest, which bills itself as the 'northernmost town in the world'. Its population is 8,000 souls. It's been a trading port since medieval times. It has a one-room museum. And it's been, since 1963, the home of The Royal and Ancient Polar Bear Society. Anyone wishing to sport their splendid-looking lapel pin

must go to the Society rooms in person to collect it. Why does this concern THE BOOK COLLECTOR? Because one of our subscribers read our Polar Special from start to finish while in the town, laughed ‘hideously’ at our penguin joke and asked if we could give the polar bear a mention since it is as wonderful a creature as the penguin. We are very happy to do this, not only because it confirms the truth of our strapline: ‘The Book Collector Covers the Globe.’



UNTIL 9 NOVEMBER 2018 the Book Club of California has an exhibition devoted to all who ‘go down to the sea in ships, that do business in great waters.’ It’s called *Nautical Fiction: Covers, Colors, and Contents* and is curated by David Pettus. The sea is crucial both to the United States and the United Kingdom. William Bradford writes of the Pilgrims’ first landfall at Cape Cod: ‘they fell upon their knees and blessed the God of heaven, who had brought them over the vast and furious ocean, and delivered them from all the perils and miseries thereof, again to set their feet on the firm and stable earth, their proper element.’ It’s good that the BCCA show gave precedence to the fictional aspects of the sea for these are, for the most part, relatively benign. In the real world there’s no such thing as a kindly sea as is illustrated by item 60 in John Drury’s catalogue 190: *The bye-laws and regulations of the Marine Society*. The Marine Society, the world’s oldest public maritime charity, was founded in 1756 at the instigation of the traveller (and ‘inventor’ of the umbrella) Jonas Hanway with the purpose of getting men and boys to join the Royal Navy without having to rely on the brutal methods of the press-gang. Little could have been worse than to have been nabbed by a press-gang and torn from all that was familiar to live out a life of ‘rum, sodomy and the lash,’ in Churchill’s echoing phrase. Impressionment ceased with the defeat of Napoleon.



IN OUR ISSUE for Winter 2017 the leader, written by James Fergusson, was ‘The Wigtown Diarist’. It concerned the latest exponent of bookshop rudeness, Shaun Bythell, who had just published *The Diary of a Bookseller* (Profile Books, £14.99). Shaun (if I may) owns and runs one of the largest secondhand bookshops in Britain. Being his own employer puts him beyond any necessity to bow and scrape if he doesn’t feel like it. This summer (2018) he was speaking at the Edinburgh International Book Festival. According to *The Times* newspaper, he’s become a heroic figure for having picked up his father’s shotgun and

with it consigned a Kindle e-reader to the sort of Boot Hill that's reserved for such devices. The corpse he had mounted on a wooden shield which he displays in his shop. We know exactly what he's driving at but the observation is worth making that many who were terrified at school by the mere sight of a printed page have discovered via the Kindle that there's nothing to be frightened of and that 'books are great'. The enemy is not the Kindle but the slow strangulation of reading itself.



A MAYDAY CHOIR sings from its tower, punts glide beneath its bridge, deer lounge in its park and in the library of Magdalen College, Oxford, lie some of the most important scientific books ever produced. The librarian, Daryl Green, has listed them under the title 'Ten Books that Changed the World.' They are:

Physica by Aristotle (1472), the first ever printed edition.

De Revolutionibus by Nicolaus Copernicus (1543), 'one of the major game-changing texts of the scientific world.' Printing finished on 20 April 1543 in an edition of between four and five hundred copies, one of which was sent immediately to Copernicus who was on his deathbed. *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* by Andreas Vesalius (1543). The Magdalen copy still survives in its 16th century binding.

SystemaCosmicum by Galileo (1632).

Historia Plantarum by Theophrastus (1644), 'one of the key reference texts for any botanist or medic in the 17th century'. The Magdalen copy was bequeathed to it in 1655.

Micrographia by Robert Hooke (1665). The engravings of the louse and the flea are the most famous of the plates. This was the book that coined the word 'cell' when examining dissected plants.

Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society (1665), the first journal devoted exclusively to science.

Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica by Sir Isaac Newton (1687). 'This book set down his four laws of motion, as well as a new, rigorous philosophy of scientific reasoning that would come to dominate scientific enquiry and observation for the next 300 years.'

What is Life? By Erwin Schrödinger (1944), the theoretical biological framework that paved the way for the work of Watson and Crick.

The Double Helix by James Watson (1968), the book that spawned the age of the 'rock star' scientist.

On another plane, we have pleasure in pre-viewing an exhibition upcoming at Magdalen called 'Lawrence of Oxford'. In the final months

of 1910, T.E. Lawrence was elected to a Senior Demyship at Magdalen College, which supported him as a member of the British Museum/Ashmolean archaeological dig at Carchemish, in northern Syria, until the war broke out in 1914. The college has always had a collection of Lawrenciana and this has now been enhanced by the acquisition of the library and archive of Jeremy Wilson.

Wilson died in April 2017 and was obituarised magnificently by Ed Maggs in the columns of *THE BOOK COLLECTOR* in our issue for Autumn 2017. He was Lawrence's official biographer and knew every wrinkle of the man's life. *Lawrence of Arabia* came out in 1989, the year after Wilson oversaw the Lawrence exhibition at the National Portrait Gallery. With his wife Nicole, he was co-owner and publisher of the Castle Hill Press. Their first book ('momentous' was Ed Maggs's word) was the Oxford 1922 edition of *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, a complete eye-opener for those familiar only with the 'over-wrought' prose of the official 1926 edition. Apparently, the exhibition will also touch upon the vivid exploits in Arabia of another Magdalen alumnus, Wilfred Thesiger. It bodes well.

Lawrence of Arabia

At Magdalen College, Oxford from 5 November 2018 to 1 May 2019



A PROPOS PHILIP ROTH in our last issue, Alan Taylor's anecdote is relevant. As a young man he worked in the McDonald Road public library in Edinburgh. 'One morning, a woman took me aside and asked if we had a copy of a book called *The Complaint*. I asked if she knew who the author was and she said 'Portnoy'. When I retrieved it for her, I was told by the deputy branch librarian to put it in a brown paper bag. What an age of innocence it was.'

Ian Fleming's brother, Richard, an eminent banker, had *The Spy Who Loved Me* wrapped in brown paper before taking it on a transatlantic flight. Yes, those were very different days.



WE MOAN AND MOAN in Britain about the decline of the public library, one of our most revered and worthy institutions. In the United States, which in this respect has a similar cultural history, the problem has been aired by making a movie: *Ex Libris: the New York Public Library*, producer and director Frederick Wiseman. It's a remarkable achievement. At 3hrs 26m one can safely say that it covers the ground

thoroughly. What it demonstrates above all else is that in poor communities institutions that are trusted are in short supply; that the public library stands head and shoulders above all others in terms of public esteem; and that with imagination and strong leadership it can be the lynchpin in giving people hope and direction in their lives.

It's also possible to do things on a smaller scale: micro-libraries. The FT.COM/MAGAZINE took the subject up. Stephanie Nsom, a German living in south London, noticed that her neighbours put their old books out in the street for others to take. She got a friend to build a cheerful-looking box (30 cm x 30 x 70) and put it at the end of her garden. It was an immediate success. 'Passers-by stopped to look, borrow and donate books – and to talk to one another...People even left notes to each other inside the library...I realised that people were craving conversation as much as books,' said Ms Nsom. Another factor is the absence of that feeling of intimidation that can linger in some orthodox libraries. Moreover, you don't need to provide proof of address in order to borrow a book from a micro – a rule that prevents homeless people from borrowing from public libraries.

In the US Little Free Library is another example. It began in 2009 and now boasts 70,000 micros in eighty-five countries. Among these countries is Sudan, which has sixty-five micros.

In the Philippines is the Book Stop Project, which includes government-funded micros. In Britain the national phone company, BT, says that book exchanges are the most popular use of its old red phone boxes. These can be purchased from BT for the nominal fee of £1 in its Adopt a Kiosk scheme. Elsewhere there is a micro at Banbury railway station and at Arsenal Underground. As one of their supporters says, the plus points are numerous: they have long opening hours, are convenient, cheap, self-sustaining and above all, foster community spirit.

A statistic supporting this that pops up quite regularly compares the decline in reading habits to the rise in loneliness. The figures are almost a perfect match. The fact is that the company of a novel, whether 'good' or 'bad', is company indeed. Whoever felt lonely reading about a sh*t like Darcy?



MACINTYRE'S PARADOX comes in two parts: the first, that man is born with a surplus of brain cells, the second, that the wastage caused by normal dissipation leaves him or her with perfect intellectual equilibrium. Here is Agnès Poirier on the subject of Sartre: 'Orthédrine was a freely available 'upper', or *excitant* as it was known in French. It had been the

stimulant of choice of the *résistants* during the war. Sartre preferred Benzedrine or Corydrane... But whereas journalists would take a tablet or half-tablet to get them going, Sartre took four. Most people took them with water; Sartre crunched them. Besides Corydrane, Sartre smoked two packets of unfiltered Boyards a day and gulped litres of coffee and tea. At night, he usually drank half a bottle of whisky before taking four or five sleeping pills to knock himself out.' All this has arisen apropos our mention of Carl Williams's catalogue based on mind-altering substances.



FROM CHRISTIE'S comes the news that in their October 23 sale they are to offer a picture created by algorithms. The giveaway clue to 'Portrait of Edmond Bellamy' is at the bottom right:

This is, apparently, the first time that such a work will be auctioned

$$\min_G \max_D \mathbb{E}_x[\log(D(x))] + \mathbb{E}_z[\log(1 - D(G(z)))]$$

anywhere in the world. Will the book be next in line to suffer such an indignity, we may ask ourselves? Those amongst us who read Mickey Spillane in our youth won't need telling that best-selling authors (and their imitators) have been writing algorithmically for donkey's years. Against a high estimate of £10,000 it actually sold for £273,420 (hammer price).



IN THE BUNDOBAST department it may be a bit too feeble for some bibliophiles but to the rest of us it's nothing less than drop-dead gorgeous. Only one recent book about books can fit that description: *The World's Most Beautiful Libraries* by Massimo Listri, Georg Ruppelt and Elizabeth Sladek, 560pp published by Taschen with a price tag of £150. The first thing one can say on looking at any of these truly stunning photos is, Thank God for the book, and the second thing, Thank God for the thoughts that fill them. It would be cheap to draw any sort of comparison with micro-libraries (see p. 826). They are all of the same family and exist for the same purpose.



MARK SAMUELS LASNER, the renowned scholar-collector whose collection has been donated to the University of Delaware, and his partner Margaret Stetz, the Mae and Robert Carter Professor of

Women's Studies and Professor of Humanities at the University of Delaware (who was listed in 2015 as one of the '25 top women in higher education'), teamed up to give a joint presentation at the Book Club of California on Monday August 6, 2018. The occasion was the first of the Windle-Loker Lecture series, which we previewed in our last issue.

Mark spoke first, outlining the history of fin-de-siècle book illustration as represented in his collection. Delivered with a plethora of images and without any notes, it was an absolute tour-de-force by the foremost scholar-collector in his field, who has been legally blind his entire life. Margaret followed with an equally fascinating presentation on Oscar Wilde's "The Happy Prince" from the first illustrated edition by Walter Crane to the present day. She posed serious and challenging questions about the sexuality of the Prince and how it is represented across the last 130 years.

Although the event was capped at 100 over 120 people came. No one was turned away, the Fire Marshall didn't drop by and a good time was had by all. The Q&A session was exceptional and many people stayed on to chat with Mark and Margaret, making this one of the most successful evenings in the tenure of the new Executive Director Kevin Kosik who is breathing new life into the 106 year-old Club.

Forthcoming annual lectures in the series will include Dan de Simone on 16th-century woodcut illustration, Sandra Hindman or Christopher de Hamel on illuminated manuscripts, Michael Suarez on the illustrated book of the future, and Chris Loker on 20th-century American children's book illustration. We aim to bring you reports on all of them.



JEREMY GRIFFITHS, scholar and dealer in books and manuscripts, died untimely in 1997 at the age of 42. To commemorate his life, his father, John Griffiths, first established a Memorial Studentship for a graduate student in the English Faculty and then the Jeremy Griffiths Professorship in Medieval English Palaeography. Both of these endowments reflect matters close to Jeremy's heart. John Griffiths died on 2 September at the age of 95. His services to scholarship should be remembered with gratitude, not least by all who knew his son.



LONG LIVE lending libraries and long live Leeds Library in particular, which in August 2018 celebrated its 250th anniversary. The *Leeds Intelligencer* announced the idea in August 1768 and in September the

committee held its first meeting. Joseph Priestley, the scientist, was chosen as the Secretary and a bookseller, Joseph Ogle, as the librarian. Its existing premises, on Commercial Street, were purpose-built for it at the turn of the 18th century. Among its treasures are Melville's *The Whale*, one of only 500 copies of the English edition before he changed the title to *Moby-Dick* and a first of *On the Origin*. Its librarian, Jane Riley, is proud to be following in the footsteps of two pioneering women librarians, Mary Ogle (1774–1813) and Mary Robinson (1813–1825).



RARELY DO TWO PIECES of financial news alight upon the book trade in one month. First, which has often been bruited, comes the sale of Bonhams. The private equity firm Epiris, which specialises in investments between £80 and £500 million, has bought out all the private shareholders and placed the company in its Fund II. Among its previous investments has been the portfolio of magazines of Time Life Inc. UK, which included *Country Life*, *Ideal Home* and *Horse & Hound*. Bruno Vinciguerra, an old Sotheby's hand, becomes executive chairman.

Second is Waterstone's acquisition of Foyles, which has been in and out of profit for the last few years. Any mention of Foyles is guaranteed to stir the cockles of all older bookies' hearts, especially those of publishers' reps who in Christina's day (1911–1999) needed to produce only one lofty sentence in praise of a new novelist for an order of twenty copies to be assured. These copies would then disappear into the bowels from which few would emerge until Mr Pordes, that most enterprising of remaindermen, paid a call. However, it was Christina who, by her obstinacy and belligerence, kept the firm going when all around were falling. She hated the unions, hosted literary lunches that were famed the world over and kept nothing in her fridge except champagne and smoked salmon. In this she was of the same mind as François Truffaut who when writing to his friend Hitchcock in 'Nouillyorck' assured him he'd find the fridge well-stocked, by which he meant champagne and milk – only.



THE COOK ANNIVERSARY has brought to the surface many interesting titbits. One: could he swim? And thus, was he killed because he couldn't swim to the safety of a boat?

Another is a copy of the famous Tupaia chart that Hordern House were selling (no. 44) in their 2018 catalogue. What makes it so interesting is that it's in Russian. '[? St Petersburg], [c.1778]' is how Hordern

House put it. The image was first published in some (but not all) of Forster's *Observations made during a Voyage round the World...* (1778), a book that came out in Berlin in 1783 and in Vienna in 1787. Say Hordern House 'but to date no Russian edition has been noted, though there was a Russian edition of the official account of the second voyage (six volumes, St Petersburg, 1796–1800.)' It's the context of the ongoing Russian obsession with access to the oceans that makes this item tingle.



BECAUSE OF THE EDITOR'S poor attitude to filing, the piece written to puff Grantham's Gravity Fields science festival (26 to 30 September) never made it into our last issue. We bend our heads. It was a crying shame for the festival, which was inspired by Grantham's most famous son, Sir Isaac Newton (as in the Isaac Newton Shopping Centre), will not be held again until 2020. Barring Acts of God, by the time you read this, lectures will have been given on quantum theory, black holes, William Stukeley, anti-gravity, Joseph Banks and, from Anke Timmermann, who'll be writing on the subject in our next issue, alchemical recipes and remedies. Furthermore, it is expected that over 70,000 people will have visited the festival, a number that surely renders questionable the oft-repeated statement that interest in the sciences is in rapid decline. Entrance to most of the lectures was £3 or £4.

In the same neck of the woods as Grantham is the Spalding Gentlemen's Society. Founded in 1710 by a local lawyer, Maurice Johnson, who wished to replicate in Lincolnshire his coffee-house conversation in London with the likes of Pope, Addison and Steele, it's the oldest provincial learned society in Britain and its collection is the second oldest after the Ashmolean. Its library is of key significance for the study of the Enlightenment.

The residue of Johnson's books came up at Sotheby's in 1970. He is said at one time to have owned sixteen Caxtons. Our man in the rooms had this to say: 'He had a messy habit of writing his name in a large pretentious hand on title-pages that deserved better treatment, although his vast bookplate (by Vertue) is an ornament to most of the books he stuck it in.' A long note about the Society may be found in **THE BOOK COLLECTOR** for Summer 2012.



ERIC WHITE'S *Editio princeps: A History of the Gutenberg Bible* has been awarded the 2018 DeLong Book History Prize of the Society for the History of Authorship, Reading and Publishing (SHARP).

It was reviewed in our last issue by Liam Sims who described it as 'brimming with new research' and gave it high praise for resurrecting long-forgotten pieces of evidence. It is, he assured us, aimed at a general readership, which is always good to hear.



THAT PILLAR of our community, the Bibliographical Society of America, has appointed a full time Executive Director to better meet the diverse needs of its members. Her name is Erin Schreiner and she took up her position in September. An independent bibliographer for many years, she was Special Collections Librarian and Digital Humanities Curator at the New York Society Library where she led a project to design City Readers, a digital humanities research tool. I know that all our readers will join me in giving her a warm welcome.

Incidentally, to be a member of the BSA and so receive their journal, *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, is good value: \$80, and for Emerging Bibliographers it drops to \$25. Only **THE BOOK COLLECTOR** is comparable for value for money. Visit them on the web at <https://bibsocamer.org/about-us/join-bsa/> to learn more.



AMONG THE GLORIES of the Tomash sale at Sotheby's was lot 846, Jevons, *Pure logic, or the logic of quality apart from quantity...* London 1864, which fetched £800 at the hammer head. According to the catalogue note, ten months after publication it had sold but four copies.

It would be nice to think that one of those four copies was the one that was being sold by Bloomsbury in February 1999 at the very moment that a young dealer called Carl Williams was walking past. Seeing the chance to turn a pound or two he bought it for £120, taking a chance with its condition (which is invariably poor, he says). Down the road and round the corner he went with it to Pickering & Chatto. There Jolyon Hudson took one look at it and asked very politely if Carl could leave it with him as it didn't look 'right'. What Jolyon had spotted was the blind stamp of the London Library. And thus, with this Jevons, began the unmasking of the book thief William Jacques, who has now served two prison sentences for his crimes. The story is unbeatable. The miscreant: mid-thirties, 2.1 degree in economics, qualified accountant, good job with Shell. The various plaintiffs: Britain's top libraries. The goods: Newton's *Principia* (two editions), Malthus, Galileo, Descartes et alios. The value: immense. The sleuth: Detective Constable Paul Hewitt, whose favourite author was Wilbur Smith.

Go online and read about it at ‘There was a Bookish Man’, an *Observer* classic. Jay Rayner’s account is the best, not least because we learn from it that George I, in gratitude to the University of Cambridge for having supported his scarcely sat-upon throne during the Jacobite rebellion of 1715, bestowed upon it the library of John Moore, Bishop of Ely, in which there reposed these two copies of *Principia* and other nice things. Thus does history make its connections.



THE BIG LIE about books was totally disproved by this year’s York National Book Fair where three floors of dealers and three floors of happy bustle made for yet another record year. The total take was over £900,000, up 10% on last year. What was particularly encouraging was the substantial presence from overseas in the form of both dealers and visitors. Indeed, for the hundred-odd (as opposed to hundred odd) members of the Association Internationale de Bibliophilie, it was to be one of the highlights of their week’s tour of the great libraries of the north. The fair’s organisers point out that both the average and the median take was well up, showing that the success of the fair benefited most exhibitors. For its part, **THE BOOK COLLECTOR** was well placed on two accounts, by being at the very entrance and having a stand next to the Private Libraries Association. Note to the organisers: same again next year, please!



GRAHAM CHAINY has been to Brighton. While there he remarked upon the Brighton & Hove Bus Company’s tradition of naming its vehicles after famous former residents. A Graham Greene trundled past (number 640) and ‘a bit later, Fanny Burney, Tom Paine and Eric Gill went by in convoy’, he told readers of the TLS. After a while he got onto the subject of the dustwrapper of *Brighton Rock*, which arrived in the bookshops in July 1938. It is, he says, the scarcest dustwrapper in existence for the simple reason that even though the print run was 8,000, everybody loathed the striped rose-pink wrapper and its chunky black lettering and threw them away. Copies with the wrapper, he continues, ‘fetch £25,000, or £50,000, or even £70,000.’ AbeBooks offers copies with a facsimile wrapper which is ‘clearly labelled a facsimile’, a statement which sets even an honest mind churning.



CHEERY-PICKING: the article on Apsley Cherry-Garrard in our Polar issue elicited from Selby Kiffer of Sotheby's New York the titbit that Robert Pirie's sale of December 2015 included not only Cherry's copy of Herbert's *The Temple* 1633 (bought by Cherry for £850 in June 1953 and now sold for \$26,000) but also four works in Pirie's incomparable assemblage of John Donne. This came towards the end of a correspondence about the coverage by THE BOOK COLLECTOR of online sales. This was in turn prompted by the omission in our Sales Report of any mention of the Sotheby's online sale of June 18 at which a presentation copy of the French 1875 edition of *Das Kapital* had been sold for \$150,000, which contrasted favourably with the price of £100,000 asked by Peter Harrington Ltd for the 1867 edition, which we referred to. There can be no doubt that online sales are here to stay but at least one London auctioneer maintains that a physical sale often achieves a better result. When a bidder hesitates, he can always try, he says, to hold him with his glittering eye and as it were, prise one more bid from him. There is also the sociable aspect of live auctions and man is nothing if not a sociable animal. It would be interesting to be able to have discourse from both sides of the argument.

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MATTHEW COLLINS, *Highlights from the Illustration History of Dante's Commedia at the Harvard Art Museums: from the Quattrocento to the Digital Age*

Recensioni

PRINTING COLOUR 1400-1700. HISTORY TECHNIQUES, FUNCTIONS AND RECEPITIONS, ed. by AD STIJNMAN and ELIZABETH SAVAGE, LEIDEN-BOSTON, BRILL, 2015, pp. XXX, 248, ill. (125 illustrazioni a colori) (ILARIA ANDREOLI) • DES JARDINS & DES LIVRES, SOUS LA DIRECTION DE MICHAEL JAKOB, GENÈVE, METIS PRESSES - FONDATION MARTIN BODMER, 2018. CATALOGO DELLA MOSTRA DES JARDINS & DES LIVRES, FONDATION MARTIN BODMER, COLOGNE (GENÈVE), PP. 462, ILL. (592 ILLUSTRAZIONI A COLORI), (MASSIMO VISONE) • XAVIER GIUDICELLI, PORTRAITS DE DORIAN GRAY. LE TEXTE, LE LIVRE, L'IMAGE. PRÉFACE DE PASCAL AQUIEN, PARIS, PRESSES DE L'UNIVERSITÉ DE PARIS-SORBONNE, 2016 (HISTOIRE DE L'IMPRIMERIE. RÉFÉRENCES), PP. 404, ILL. (155 ILLUSTRAZIONI) (FRANÇOIS DUPUIGUERET DESROUSSELES) • FERENC PINTÉR. L'ILLUSTRATEUR PARFAIT. MUSEO ETTORE FICO OUTSIDE (TORINO 24 GENNAIO-22 APRILE 2018) A CURA DI PIETRO ALLIGO E ANDREA BUSTO (ERIK BALZARETTI) • EZIO GRIBAUDO. I LIBRI, METAFORA DI UNA VITA, A CURA DI PAOLA GRIBAUDO, PISTOIA, GLI ORI, 2018, PP. 136, ILL. (TAVOLE A COLORI) (PASQUALE FAMELI)

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SALES

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Stephen Massey writes: For those with long memories of auctions devoted to books on scientific subjects, the collections of E. N. da C. Andrade, C. E. Kenney, Harrison D. Horblit (authors A to G of the alphabet), Robert B. Honeyman, and the Macclesfield Library from Shirburn Castle, have been sold at Sotheby's London over the past fifty-plus years. Christie's London had the distinction of handling the sales of the Scott Collection (London 1974) and the Haskell F. Norman collection (New York 1998). Now it was the turn of Erwin Tomash (see also p. 818).

The total estimate for **SOTHEBY'S** sale was £2,380,170 to £3,356,610. The sold total by hammer price was £2,950,220. Of the 947 lots offered for sale, 634 lots were sold (i.e. 66.95% sold and 33.05% unsold by lot). The sold total was 23.94% above the low estimate for the sale.

Following a practice used for the sale catalogue of the Wardington Library in 2005 – 2006, dealer provenances were scrupulously noted, including in many cases the prices Tomash paid for the books. Reserves were strictly set at the published low estimates. This policy is somewhat unusual in the practice of dispersing entire collections at auction. More often the items of high value have fixed reserves while the group lots of lesser value are often offered without reserve. Possibly due to the highly specialised subject of the collection, this rigid approach by the sellers gained much by way of transparency for the transaction of the sale but nevertheless allowed for 313 lots to fail to sell. This may, however, have been caused by the abstruseness of the matter in hand. In places the layman could only sit back and wonder. As the sale progressed, the thought occurred that prices were being held back by the obscurity of the material being sold and, concomitantly, by the small pool of potential buyers. However, it was the very obscurity that proved the authenticity of the collection.

There were not many bidders throughout the two days and four sessions. Paddle 117, apparently a continental European institutional buyer, was the dominant competitor throughout the sale. No matter how high or low the estimate, 117 would exceed the limits of his underbidders. Indeed, he was only beaten on three lots: Ludovico Paris, *Scala d'Araceli multiplicata* (Rome, 1652), estimate £300 – £500, went against him to Christopher Edwards for £8,500; Babbage, *Passages*

from the life of a philosopher (London, 1864), estimate £1,500 – £2,000 went to Paddle 10081 for £8,000; and Peter Harrington won [Augusta Ada Lovelace, translator] L.F. Menabrea, *Sketch of the analytical engine invented by Charles Babbage* (London, 1843) at £60,000. This lot had an incorrectly set estimate of £6,000 – £8,000 to begin with and a sale notice further announced that this was a special Lovelace family copy bearing the ink stamp of their Horsley Towers Library.

Christopher Edwards and Sokol Books were his main competitors present in the saleroom; four or five telephone bidders were also persistent throughout. Giovanni Bianchini, *Tabulae astronomiae et canones* (Venice? before 1474), a manuscript, went for £75,000 to Loo49. Baldassare Capra, *Usus et fabrica circini cuiusdam proportionis* (Padua, 1607). £40,000 to Loo17. The run of 16 lots by Galileo was led by an unappealing copy of his important first published work, *Le operazioni del compasso geometrico, et militare* (Padua, 1606). Estimated at £60,000 – £80,000 this went for £130,000 to Loo45 against another telephone bidder. The next lot was the authorial presentation copy of *Difesa*, attractive in contemporary limp vellum, though showing signs of some cleaning of the first leaves. The previous comparable example had been sold by Peter Harrington in 2005 at the London Book Fair (priced at £500,000) to Jonathan Hill who sold it to the Library of Congress in 2011 (list price \$750,000). The Tomash copy was sensibly estimated at £300,000 – £400,000. It fetched £380,000 to Loo49 against another telephone. Seven of the remaining 14 Galileo lots remained unsold. Ramon Lull, *Ars generalis ultima* (Venice, 1480) went to 117 against a telephone for £32,000. The Arabic manuscript commentary on arithmetic by Mubashir Ibn Ahmad Al-Razi (Baghdad or Damascus, 576 AH / 1180 AD), estimate £20,000 – £30,000, fetched £70,000 to Loo41. Fourteen lots by John Napier were highlighted by the first edition, first issue, of *Mirifici logarithmorum canonis descriptio* (Edinburgh, 1614), which went to Richard Linenthal, holding a Sotheby's land line telephone for a private European collector, for £60,000 versus an online bidder. There was keener interest in the Napier than the Galileo lots: only four remained unsold.

An unexpected star of the first day was Maria Cunitz's *Urania Propitia...cum Artis Cultoribus*, 1650, a book of astronomical tables. If not the first female scientist she must be well up there and it's perhaps for this reason that it made £26,000 against the high estimate of £9,000. Kepler *Nova Stereometria ... 1615* fetched £55,000 but *Chilias Logarithmorum* 1624 was bought in at £14,000. Five lots were given up to Turing and his work. *On Computable Numbers* made £24,000 (esti-

mate £10,000) and *Computing Machinery and Intelligence* 1950 also did well at £3,800 against £1,200. Many of the books were grouped under headings such as Tables, French; Surveying Instruments; Slide Rules, Keuffel and Esser; Semiconductors; Servomechanisms. In most cases these did well to meet their low estimates.

Tomash began collecting his library in good time for the Honeyman dispersals and the *en bloc* purchase by H.P. Kraus of the remaining H to Z of the Horblit books not offered at the two 1974 auctions. It was these (and other) provenances, that enriched the quality of so many of the books. Tomash also bought at the Macclesfield sales. Not all of these auction prices paid over a decade ago were exceeded.

The auction prices of collectibles tend to move in the same direction as levels of disposable wealth. This was a first class sale, both intellectually and conceptually. It would be pleasing indeed if the indomitable Paddle 117 turned out to be a connection of Google, Apple, Amazon or another of the great beneficiaries of computerised mathematics.

STAYING WITH SOTHEBY'S, we missed in our last issue their New York online sale (18–28 June), 'Fine Books and Manuscripts, including Americana.' This was an important event. Other houses have held online sales but Sotheby's is not an 'other' house. At any rate, they were extremely pleased with the outcome, both as to the total and the sell-through rates – in the latter case by percentage of lots as well as by value.

It started slowly with a run of British Empire titles, few of which were sold. Books such as *Hog Hunting in Lower Bengal* 1861 no longer have much of a pull. A grade above these was the Aurel Stein, *Innermost Asia* 1928, which sold at \$8,000. Catlin's *North American Indian Portfolio* c.1875 made \$35,000 after which came a lovely collection of 141 printed treaties between the United States and Indian Nations, Washington 1810–1869. Anything which preserves the name of the Two Kettles Band of Dakota deserves eternal sanctuary. The lot made well over estimate at \$45,000. McKenney & Hall's *Indian Tribes of North America* 1836, 1838 and 1844 made \$30,000. Purchas 1625, 1626 made \$20,000 and was followed by a run of bibles, all of which did well: a Matthew's Version 1549 got to \$10,000, a 'Wicked' Bible 1631 \$45,000 and a 'very rare' edition of the Oxford 1769 'standard' bible, a Wardington copy, reached \$30,000.

A 'stained, soiled and worn' Connecticut printing of *Articles of Confederation* 1777 sold for \$35,000 and Fitzgerald *This Side of Paradise* 1920, with an ALS but no d/w, made \$6,000. Three letters from Freud made a total of \$12,000, Gill's *The Four Gospels* 1931 made \$10,000 and

then came the Keats's copy of *Hudibras* 1761 inscribed by Keats to his brother George. It came from a home in Lexington, Kentucky where George's widow had lived out her life. Six books are known to have been exchanged between the brothers. A total of twenty-eight books are recognised so far as having been owned by Keats. In view of all this the hammer price of \$30,000 may be thought to have been on the modest side. A Martin Luther King typed letter did well at \$15,000, Lewis & Clark *History of the Expedition...1814* – the Philadelphia official report – sold for \$150,000, at the top of the estimate and the show-stopper, a copy of *Le Capital* 1875, signed by Marx to the banker Sigmund Schott, sold for \$150,000, twice the estimate.

Swallows and Amazons 1930, with Ransome's signature laid in, fetched \$8,500, the working MS of Bruce Springsteen's *Born to Run* [1974] made \$200,000, the *Lord of the Rings* trilogy in d/w, 1954–55, got to \$15,000 and two autograph letters by Tolkien made a total of \$18,000. THE BOOK COLLECTOR always pricks its ears up when a typewriter is sold: Tennessee Williams's portable (used for writing *A Streetcar Named Desire*) fetched the good price of \$30,000. But by far and away the best lot, more than tripling the high estimate, was an eighteenth-century French manuscript map of what is now the southwest United States. It made \$591,000.

FORUM held an online sale on 6 September. Bulgakov's *The Master and Margarita* 1966/67 reached £1,300 (3 bidders). A signed copy of the fourth printing of *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* 1997 made £1,200 (4 bidders) and a first of *The Goblet of Fire*, also signed, made £800. Are the figures for the number of bidders a reliable indication of demand? One would assume so. Here a lot of Agatha Christie firsts had only one bidder and was sold for £100 whereas a lot of Enid Blytons had six bidders and sold proportionately well. But at Sotheby's on July 9–10 a copy of Christie's *Murder on the Orient Express* 1934, admittedly in a Sangorski and Sutcliffe binding, reached £4,800.

The English Civil War continues to attract interest. At **DOMINIC WINTER'S** 30th Anniversary sale on 12 September there was a good number of such lots, most of which improved materially on estimate. Sale's translation of the Koran was the standard edition for well over a hundred years. A first edition, 1734, with a map of Arabia and a folding plan of Mecca, in modern gilt, made £1,360. A copy (c. 1570) of a 1546 will of Henry VIII made £6,500. At lot 82 was the autograph commonplace book of Augusta Leigh, née Byron, 1802–21. Despite a long puff

from the auctioneer, the contents, mainly copies of poems written by others, couldn't help but look terminally dull. It made £2,500. A signed photograph of an elderly Einstein made £2,500 but an autograph letter from C.S. Lewis to 'Grittletonians' in 1952 doubled the high estimate to reach £9,800. Bloch's *Ichthyologie* 1785–88, six volumes bound in three, 'each volume with antique-style modern reback' made £11,600. Finally, what was billed as the earliest and most comprehensive treatise on Chinese architectural technology, later eleventh century, which was only rediscovered in 1919 and here printed in Shanghai, 1925, in eight volumes, beat the high estimate to realise £6,400.

We failed to remark in our last issue that on 25 July, **DOMINIC WINTER** sold a rubbed set in original cloth of George Eliot's *Scenes of Clerical Life* 1858 for £1,650. In the same sale, Cecil Beaton's *The Book of Beauty* 1930, one of 110 signed copies, made £1,150 and the second Dandy annual [1940], repaired and margins browned, made £200. Dorothy Sayers's *Aeneas at the Court of Dido* 1945 with a typed letter fetched £340 and a first edition, first issue of *Treasure Island* 1883 reached £2,600.

FORUM had some excellent material to sell on 27 September and did so handsomely. Gonzalez de Barcia's *Historiadores Primitivos de las Indias Occidentales* Madrid 1749, the first collected edition of a useful work, made £3,200; sixteen volumes by Alfred Wallace, many of them first editions, in uniform half green morocco, made £2,200 and a very nice copy of Gulliver's *Travels into Several Remote Nations* 1726, Teerink's 'A' edition, doubled the high estimate to sell for £40,000. A delightful piece, twenty albumen prints of The Island of San Lazzaro or the Armenian Monastery, looked good value at £320. Then came some serious and solid works from the library of the Marquis Giulio Stanga Carlo Trecco (1794–1832), among them four d'Alemberts of which the best was *Traité de Dynamique* 1744, which went for £3,200. Three Eulers did less well but then Fourier *Théorie Analytique de la Chaleur* 1822, uncut in original wrappers, doubled the high estimate to sell for £18,000. The first edition of the book that introduced the world to the metric system, Mechain and Delambre *Base du Système Métrique Decimal* 1806/07/10 fetched £15,000, Boccaccio's *Genealogiae Deorum Venice* 1472 went for £11,000 and Thomas Aquinas *De Veritate*, 2nd edition Rome 1476, went for £13,000. Cicero *Rheticum* Aldus Manutius 1514 did as expected, £2,000, but the Quintilianus of the same year doubled the estimate to sell for £3,600. A 3pp letter from Byron's friend Trelawny to Claire Clairmont made £4,000 but one

from Nelson dated August 1795 ('almost blind' and 'in very great pain') disappointed at £5,000. A single autograph page from Darwin fetched £8,000 and then a small archive of worries from that most trying woman, Jean Rhys, surprised everyone by reaching £1,300. *Emma* 1816 in three volumes, lacking two half-titles but a decent set, made £11,000 and *Dracula* 1897, without advertisements, 'the earliest and rarest of all the issues, one of only a small number of copies sent out for review', made £4,500. The sale ended with Plath's *Ariel* 1965 with its bellyband, a near fine copy (£480) and Siegfried Sassoon's hat (G.A. Dunn & Co. Ltd, light soiling) and spectacles (half-moon, tortoiseshell) which had been given to their owner as a token of help when Sassoon was moving out of Heytesbury House. They made £1,100.

At **SWORDERS** on 11 September a set of nine H.G. Wells signed to a Muriel Davies who used to fly with Mrs. Wells to go shopping in Paris, failed to sell. Remarque *All Quiet on the Western Front* 1929 in d/w made £220. A little later W.G. Grace *Cricket* 1891, a de luxe large paper copy, one of ten specials with extra illustrations made £1,850. The copy was further noteworthy for having an enclosed ALS: 'we are awfully short of bowlers or I would not ask...'. Two by Nancy Mitford did well, at £500 apiece: her second novel, *Christmas Pudding* 1932 in d/w and *Wigs on the Green* 1935, also in d/w.

An early one-page letter by Wilde went for £2,400, a note from Mendelssohn with a photograph made £520 and then came the star of the show: *The Lord of the Rings*, 1969, the first India Paper edition, no d/w, inner hinges cracked but signed by Tolkien on the ffep to one of the secretaries at his publisher, George Allen & Unwin, sold for £5,000. According to a catalogue note, Tolkien much preferred the company of the secretaries to that of his publisher, with whom he was obliged to have lunch. If the character that emerges from the Bodleian Tolkien exhibition (THE BOOK COLLECTOR Autumn 2018) is anything to go by, the note is entirely believable.

At **SKINNER** of Boston a copy of that favourite of all bestiaries, Topsell's *The Historie of Foure-Footed Beastes* together with *The Historie of Serpents*, 1607–08, first editions both, fetched \$12,500. John Donne's *Pseudo-Martyr* 1610 made \$17,500, Hobbes *Philosophical Rudiments* 1651 made \$4,500 and *Paradise Lost* 1669 with the title page of the seventh edition, made \$11,000. The second issue of *Paradise Regain'd*, however, with *Samson Agonistes* made only \$3,500. John Bunyan's *A Holy Life* 1684, reached \$8,500. The Shakespeare Fourth Folio, 1685,

a tidy-sounding copy, made \$41,000. Towards the end an uncommon book, *The Royal Game of the Ombre* 1660, made \$5,500.

At **POTTER & POTTER** of Chicago, *Tarzan of the Apes* 1914, first edition, first state made \$600 and a first of Blackwood's *Lord Jim* made \$700. Ray Bradbury's *The Martian Chronicles* 1950 in d/w together with a signed wine label from the author's vineyards made \$400. Costume designs for the character Dick Diver in the film of *Tender is the Night* fetched \$1,200. Khalil Gibran's *The Prophet*, written in 1923, was extremely fashionable in Britain in the 1960s. It since faded in the same way that another in-title from the same period, Durrell's *Alexandria Quartet*, has faded. But a copy of Gibran's *The Son of Man*, signed and in d/w, went to \$1,800, which suggests there is still serious interest in him. *Gone with the Wind* 1936 in d/w was bought in and Ayn Rand *Atlas Shrugged* 1957 in d/w made \$600. A first edition, second state, of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* 1900 made \$3,000.

Prices at the sale by **DOYLE** of the Johnson angling collection appeared low in view of the quality of the material on offer. What seemed to be in demand were the privately printed accounts of the fishing camps established by the wealthy. One such, which concerned staying with the Engelhards at Camp Chaleur, fetched \$1,000. Another, *Indian Summer* 1974, by Roy and Susan O'Connor, also apropos Camp Chaleur, made \$2,400, perhaps because it was printed by the Stinehour Press. Salt water fishing, especially for tarpon, also seemed to appeal. The by-laws of the Texas Tarpon Club of Sport, Texas, realized \$1,200. The catalogue gave some explanation of this apparently injudicious bidding. 'The wealthy members of the Club, needing to receive and send mail, incorporated the town of Sport in an area that was otherwise without significant habitation. This met the Post Office requirement that there be a town in order for a Post Office to be opened.' At Doyle's September sale the first collected edition of *The Federalist*, two volumes, second issue 1799 made \$70,000 at the hammer head.

At **WHYTE'S** in Dublin a distinctly battered copy of Golding *Lord of the Flies* 1975 reached €900 on the strength of having belonged to Paul Hewson, aka Bono.

The star lot at **BONHAM'S NEW YORK** sale of Exploration, Travel and Americana was the Ptolemy of 1513, the first 'modern' edition with the first map in an atlas entirely devoted to America. Estimated at

\$250,000 – \$350,000, it failed to sell, as did many others. Of those that did sell, several were below the low estimate. A complete set of Cook first editions (nine text 4to volumes and one folio atlas) made \$20,000, the limited and signed edition of Murray and Marston *Antarctic Days* 1913 made \$4,000 and the four volumes of the *South Polar Times*, all in the light blue titled d/ws made \$20,000. These were all at the low estimates. A little above was *Aurora Australis* 1908, the first book published and printed in Antarctica, which made \$78,000. Scoresby *The Franklin Expedition* 1850 went for \$4,000. Moving on, 108 albumen photographs of Canton c. 1880 did well at \$12,000, a Samuel Adams 2 pp letter of 1793, written on his first day as Governor, beat the high estimate at \$14,000 as did *The Laws of the Territory of Louisiana* 1808, ‘first edition of the first book printed west of the Mississippi’ – \$10,000.

In the morning of 27 September **SWANN** sold the Harold Holzer collection of Lincolniana and in the afternoon 516 lots of general Americana. Among the latter was Paine’s *The American Crisis*, ‘probably early 1777’, 8pp in early plain wrappers, which did well at \$32,000. Seventeen letters to a friend from Richard Konter, who was hired as Byrd’s chief radioman to go to the Arctic and Antarctic, beat the high estimate to make \$850. Another lot to beat the estimate was the Philadelphia bible of [1782] 1781, the first printing of the complete bible in English in America. Two volumes in one, it made \$36,000. *Jesse James: the Life and Daring Adventures* Philadelphia [1887] made \$550 and a photographic carte-de-visite of General Custer, his wife Elizabeth and their son Thomas (who was also killed at Little Bighorn) made \$4,600. The horribleness of war is never diminished by time, nor the antagonisms it arouses. ‘DIRTY HIPPIE BASTARD – HOPE THE VIET CONG CUTS YOUR HEAD OFF’ read one anti-youth graffito in San Diego in 1968. Now twenty Vietnam War prints, done in a portfolio in Palo Alto, CA in 1967 or 1968, to publicise ‘Stop the Draft Week’, went for \$2,200.

LYON & TURNBULL started their 2 October sale by selling J.K. Rowling’s *The Tales of Beedle the Bard* 2008 for £4,200. It had been inscribed by her (“Jo”) and came in a fancy binding with an envelope of ten Collector’s Edition Prints, all housed in a brown calf box within a white card sleeve marked ‘This Side Up.’ ‘Hugh Macdiarmid’s’ *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle* 1926 in d/w made £500, *The Brothers Karamazov* London 1912, with adverts, made £3,400, which is interesting to compare with the Rowling, and a defective copy (lacking an

Appendix and a folding map) of *Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of... the Beagle* 1839 made £5,800.

At **DOMINIC WINTER** on 3 October a nice set of *The Worst Journey in the World* 1922 (with the spare spine labels tipped in, as appears to be *de rigueur*) fetched £2,600, a Russian atlas of 1852 produced by the Military Topographic Depot and with the ink-stamp of the imperial library at Tsarskoye Selo greatly exceeded its estimate to sell at £4,800 and Prejevalsky's *From Kulja across the Tian-Shan to Lob-Nor*, first English edition 1879, with the Signet Library bookplate, was good value to someone at £760, as was Stein's *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, 2 volumes 1912, at £500. These explorers' narratives are all highly topical in view of China's western expansion via its 'Belt and Road' Initiative. Finally, Thomas Blanckley's *A Naval Expositor, Shewing and Explaining the Words and Terms for...Fitting a Ship for Sea* 1750, an attractive copy, comfortably beat its estimate to sell for £1,300. For writers of marine fiction, it's a text of some importance.

The next day they held a sale of Vintage and Modern Photography. The usual leaders such as Frith, Tripe and Beaton all did poorly, many lots being unsold. Things perked up with the archive of a complete unknown, Godfrey Dickson Tanner (1876–1964), his far eastern scenes in particular fetching good prices, but the cream of the sale were two lots of the notorious Cottingley Fairies. The first, 'Iris and the Gnome' taken by Frances Griffiths in 1917, top estimate £1,000, fetched £5,400 despite (or because of) a hat pin being just visible protruding from the gnome's stomach. The next lot, 'Alice and the Fairies', taken by Elsie Wright in 1917, was the first in the series of five Cottingley Fairies. The hat pins by which the fairies were secured to the ground were not visible in this one, which raced away from its top estimate of £1,000 to sell at £15,000. After this the worthy Ponting photographs, confusingly described in the catalogue, were a bit of a come-down. But they all sold.

OMISSIONS: after all our blethering in the last issue about how wonderful a Peanuts strip was we failed entirely to report on a far superior illustrator – Quentin Blake. His first drawing was published by *Punch* when he was sixteen. Since then he's collaborated with the likes of Russell Hoban, Joan Aiken and Roald Dahl and been much garlanded, including with a Légion d'Honneur in 2014. In July **CHRISTIE'S** sold thirty original illustrations in their rooms and a further 148 online. At

the lower level, the results appeared evenly matched, around the £3,500 mark. A small group were around £10,000 – *Mr. and Mrs. Twit, The Enormous Crocodile* – but the overall star was sold in the rooms, *Charlie, Willie Wonker & Grandpa Joe*, which fetched £42,000.

Staying with omissions and **CHRISTIE'S**, in their July 11 sale there were a number of Wisden lots, all of which sold well but none as well as the sixth edition of 1869, in original wrappers. To followers of the noble game, this edition is famous not only for its rarity but also for being the first edition in which *Cricketer's* becomes *Cricketers'*. Is this the most valuable apostrophe ever auctioned? The hammer did not fall until £26,000 was reached.

CATALOGUES

We're currently reviewing various aspects of our website including the treatment of booksellers' catalogues. We hope to be able to offer a new system by the New Year. Meanwhile we continue to welcome first catalogues and would appreciate receiving details of these, whether on paper or electronically. The latter should be marked 'First catalogue' in the subject line.



Golden rule number 1 for publishers, authors, plaintiffs, revolutionaries and writers of love letters: get the reader to turn the page.

Here are three first catalogues that do so in an exemplary fashion, firstly by someone having taken time over the design and secondly by explaining the ways in which the book has relevance. Condition and edition are of course paramount, but the hook has to be swallowed before they can play their part.

'Science + Medicine' is the title given to twenty items from **TYPE & FORME** (aka Mark James & Anke Timmermann), which 'spans the sciences from Michael Faraday's electrical experiments to Gregory Pincus's pioneering researches into in vitro fertilisation via John Venn (the inventor of the eponymous diagram) and Elie Metchnikoff.' What is rather pleasing in all these catalogues is a decent Table of Contents. From that single page one can see and grasp the purpose of the whole.

In fact, the word 'span' in Type & Forme's description comes in the largest size in the shop for among the books listed are works on midwifery, gerontology and atomic theory among others. With only twenty items it's possible to really think about the position of each idea in our civilisation. The most prescient (and one might say, from an overall point of view, the most original) is no. 15, McFarland, Ross Armstrong: *Keeping Fit for Flying. An Analysis of Important Factors Influencing the Health and the Efficiency of Civil Airmen* [New York] 1943, 325pp, printed typescript, published by Pan American Airways System (£150). Sixty-two pages plus a six-page bibliography are dedicated to nicotine and smoking: 'particularly notable are the sections on the relation of tobacco to cancer, which present very strong evidence for a causality between the two.' It was to be another twenty years before the medical profession could agree on this. The best single-subject catalogues from booksellers contain information not easily found anywhere else. Type & Forme's, with its plurality of subjects, is like an encyclopaedia.

VOEWOOD RARE BOOKS is a continuation of Simon Finch Rare Books. ‘I had not really intended to buy the house [Voewood] but was captivated by its beauty and rarity: the criteria which I try to apply to the purchase of books,’ writes Simon Finch in the foreword. First, the catalogue itself gives author and designer ample room to illustrate the subject matter; second, it is stylish; third, while not all the eighty items are beautiful and rare they are all interesting and fourth, every page has plenty of unfilled space. Important? Indeed. A reader hemmed in and oppressed by thickets of dense black prose grows weary of turning the page. For £3,750 one could have bought Alexander Macmillan’s copy of the first novel published by his firm – Kingsley’s *Westward Ho! or, the Voyages and Adventures of Sir Amyas Leigh, Knight, of Burrough in the County of Devon* (1855). According to the catalogue its success reconciled the Macmillans to the idea ‘that a book could be both serious and popular,’ which is of itself a nice line upon which to dwell. For a smaller sum came the first publication of “Amazing Grace”, in *Olney Hymns* 1779, ‘now one of the most potent messages of political, social and racial solidarity and hope.’

Amazing Grace! (how sweet the sound)
That sav’d a wretch like me!
I once was lost, but now am found,
Was blind, but now I see.

The catalogue is divided into sections: The Making of a Book, Poetry, Pornology and so on until the last one, Death and the Devil, which has three items, the final one being a Death Warrant of 1789.

The last catalogue we’re reviewing is unusual, but not unique, in that you have to pay for it (\$18/£15). It’s 164pp, copiously illustrated (mainly in colour) and comes in midway peony-pink wrappers. A deep masthead lists all the many people involved in its production. Beneath that we learn that it was printed by a Workers Co-operative, Calverts, whose name is ‘an homage to Giles & Elizabeth Calvert, radical printers and publishers during the English Revolution of the 1640s.’ The title is **THE SECOND SHELF, A QUARTERLY OF RARE BOOKS & WORDS BY WOMEN.**

Those who might think it’s primarily a polemic would be wrong. Its purpose without question is to sell books. Where it is strikingly different (apart from having a price) is in the juxtaposition of title versus title and title versus illustration. For instance – ‘Joan of Arc’ has three items, Vita Sackville-West *Saint Joan of Arc* 1936 37/ 120, £260; John Ellian *Sian D'arc Y Plant* 1953, Joan of Arc in Welsh, £20 and lastly a

CATALOGUES

life-size Joan of Arc, lithography on board, painted and collaged shield, made in 1909 (the year of her beatification) for £1,250. Here's another example: 'Women at War' which has seven items including two Land Girl Figurines (£60), Vita again with *The Women's Land Army 1944* (£80) and a very pertinent publication by Penguin Books called *Refugees 1960*, which is priced at £60. Many aspects of womanhood are touched upon in this catalogue. It cannot be long before it becomes a collector's item itself.

EXHIBITIONS

YO HO HO!

An Exhibition of Nautical Books and Prints at the Book Club of California
from 20 August to 9 November 2018.

John Windle writes:

David Wingfield Pettus decided some forty-plus years ago to start collecting nautical fiction. With Ron Randall as his primary agent and by together casting a wide net over dealers, auctions, and collectors (and even at least one major writer), he has assembled a library of some 20,000 plus books, manuscripts, prints and drawings beautifully displayed in his custom-built library in Marin County, California. From his treasures he has chosen for our delectation an astonishing selection of sixty items, each of which represents a different area of the collection. From 18th-century hand-coloured engraved writing sheets with naval themes around the borders, to the Kubasta pop-up ‘How Columbus Discovered America’ with the Niña, Pinta, and Santa Maria magically appearing with full rigging when the slim quarto is carefully opened (how many can possibly have survived a child’s delight?), to a unique copy (ex-Doheny) of Southeby’s *Life of Nelson* in a lavish morocco binding decorated with semaphore flags spelling out Nelson’s famous message “England expects that every man will do his duty”; from the astonishing Lakeside Press edition of *Moby-Dick* with the incomparable Rockwell Kent woodcuts (and yes, he does have the first edition fine in the original cloth), to the logs kept by midshipman Kelly on board the HMS *Temeraire*, *Sultan*, and *Caliope*; from *Dangerous Work* by Arthur Conan Doyle illustrated by the author with original sketches by him overlaid onto the text, to perhaps your reviewer’s personal favourite “How to abandon ship”, a serious manual which Pettus notes is ‘often reproduced as a humorous postcard’, each selection show the breadth and depth of the collector’s interest.

In a far too brief but most entertaining introduction to the exhibit, Pettus recounted the influences from *The Odyssey* and Horace, the Bible and Sir Thomas More, Swift and Defoe, up to Auden and Patrick O’Brien that drew him to the literature of the sea. Pettus notes that although his primary interest is textual this exhibition focuses on the visual and only hints at the depths behind each of the sixty exhibits. ‘Here,’ he writes, ‘are the great illustrators, Kent and Moser, Pyle and Pogány,

Doré and Langmaid, Dulac and Sheets, Wilson and Cruikshank... here are samples of graphic art that in some cases provided the inspiration for the great sea tales... here is Boydell's plate depicting the battle between John Paul Jones's *Bonhomme Richard* and *HMS Serapis* when Jones declared "I have not yet begun to fight"... here are the original steel plate engravings for Verne's *20,000 Leagues under the Sea*... here are clipper ship sailing cards and the first edition of Exquemelin's *Bucaniers of America* the sine qua non of pirate literature... here are Patrick O'Brien and Masefield and Robert Louis Stevenson'. You name it, Pettus has it, in every edition and variant, entire works by his favourite authors filling entire walls at his home, the whole barely hinted at by the treasures displayed at the Book Club of California.

Pettus closed his introduction with a moving quote that has guided him on a steady and clear-eyed course: "[Joseph Conrad] loved the sea and looked at it with consummate understanding. In his sea tales the sea inter-penetrates with life; it is in a subtle way a factor in the problem of existence and, for all its greatness, is always in touch with the men who, bound on errands of war and gain, traverse its immense solitudes. His descriptions have the magisterial amplexness of a gesture indicating the sweep of the horizon. They embrace the colours of sunset, the peace of starlight, the aspects of calm and storm, the great loneliness of the waters, the stillness of watchful coasts, and the alert readiness which marks men who live face to face with the promise and the menace of the sea." In sharing so generously from his wealth of material, Pettus has reminded us of the inestimable value of such a collection, a sober, even sombre, reminder of the promise and menace of life itself and the perspective we gain on our own small lives when faced with the boundless, the infinite majesty of the sea.



The Lost Treasures of Strawberry Hill
268 Waldegrave Road, Twickenham TW1 4ST,
from 20 October 2018 to 24 February 2019

As for road closures and weddings, so for exhibitions: advance warning is good. 'The Lost Treasures of Strawberry Hill' is sponsored by Bonhams and will be well under way by the time this issue reaches you. In a previous manifestation Strawberry was called Chopp'd Straw Hall and consisted of two small and dilapidated houses. But its position on the banks of the Thames was pleasing (one wet summer's day Horace

Walpole saw a hay stack floating past with a dog asleep on the top of it) and it was a mere two hours' carriage drive to the parts of London that mattered. In 1749 Walpole bought it and there he spent the rest of his long life being plagued by gout and visitors and designing, building and adorning the Gothic headquarters from which he sent out into the world a very great number of letters.

Walpole died in 1797, at the age of eighty. Family problems ensued. In 1842 a steamer service brought interested parties up the Thames twice a day for each of the twenty-four days that the sale lasted in order to gawp at the contents, the bidders and the folk with carriages. Every single item, including some of the old painted glass in the windows, went on the block. For the Waldegrave family, whose ancestor was responsible for the sale, it disfigures a connection that remains alive and thriving to this day.¹ But all was not lost for ever, thanks to Wilmarth "Lefty" Lewis who made it his life's mission in the 1920s to reassemble, by one means or another, as much Walpoliana as he could lay his hands on.² Much of what escaped him – especially the objets d'art – has slowly been gathered in recent years by the Strawberry Hill Trust and is now the subject of this exhibition, which cannot fail to be other than magnificent.

So numerous have been the possibilities for collectors of Walpoliana that it's easy to overlook Walpole's very considerable importance as a witness to one of the most telling periods of history. His first known letter dates from 1725 and was written to his mother. His first mature letter (to Charles Lyttelton of Hagley Hall) was written in 1735 and his last on 6 February 1797, to the Duchess of Gloucester. He was sociable, intelligent, garrulous, sufficiently acerbic and blessed with a vivid eye for detail. Here he describes the execution of the Jacobite lords in August 1746:

'Lord Kilmarnock tried the block, the executioner who was in white with a white apron, out of tenderness concealing the axe behind himself... Then came old Balmerino, treading with the air of a general. As soon as he mounted the scaffold, he read the inscription on his coffin... he took the axe and felt it, and asked the headsman, how many blows he had given Lord Kilmarnock; and gave him three guineas... and then pulled off his coat and his waistcoat and lay down; but being told he was on the wrong side, vaulted round, and immediately gave the sign by tossing up his arm, as if he were giving the sign for battle.'

1. See Horace Walpole's Description of the Villa at Strawberry-Hill, edited by Nicolas Barker, The Roxburghe Club 2010, p. 21

2. Now at the Lewis Walpole Library, Farmington, Connecticut.

Except towards the end of his life, he doesn't seem to have been much of a worrier. Pen half a dozen letters – watch a haystack float past – hear of an execution, a war, a revolution – write a novel – walk across the yard and talk to his printer – he observed the world instead of worrying about it. The extent to which he did so can only be fully understood by looking at the indexes to the letters. These come in five fat volumes. Glancing through them one can come across such gems as the fact that the descendants of Charles I and Oliver Cromwell married in the fourth generation. (Charles II – Lady Lichfield – Earl of Lichfield – Earl of Lichfield : Lady Russell – Lady Frankland – Sir Thomas Frankland – Dinah Frankland who married, in 1745, the 3rd Earl of Lichfield.) Two footnotes down (p. 443 in Volume 33 of the Yale edition) falls an anecdote about Richard Cromwell, the second protector. At the age of ninety he had reason to be in the House of Lords. A new peer (Lord Bathurst) asked him how long it had been since he was last in that House. "Never, my lord," answered Richard, "since I sat in that chair" – pointing to the throne.

Yet one still finds people who ask what the point is of collecting old bits of stuff. Thanks to Lefty Lewis and Yale the whole marvellous tapestry of Walpolian history can be viewed at www.walpole.library.yale.edu/collections.



The Last Tsar : Blood and Revolution

The Science Museum, London SW7

from 21 September 2018 to 24 March 2019

'Come the hour, come the man' is a saying that's mostly true. But in the case of an autocracy it can go horribly wrong, as it did for Nicholas II. Despots, dictators, autocrats, they are, in general, all as vile as the means by which they get to the top and they all end up in the same sort of honey bucket. Nicholas, however, did not mean to be vile. He was rather stupid, rather dull and from being both malleable and obstinate at the same time, displayed poor judgement whenever a crisis came along. This wouldn't have mattered had he been a card-playing, land-owning nobody. But he wasn't. He'd been brought up to know exactly who he was, and it showed. Was he not Tsar of All the Russias? Was he not his peoples' Little Father and responsible unto God for them? This, at least, was a mission he could understand. As for the rest, he was the wrong man in the wrong place at the wrong time. He was unlucky to

come up against a man such as Lenin and an idea such as Bolshevism but in the end he was always likely to end up in an Ipatiev House. If not Lenin, then another.

The whole ghastly story has been told hundreds of times. But this exhibition at the Science Museum, though small, has come up with a new way to illustrate the tragedy of the family – the rare haemophilia B that Nicolas's heir, Alexei, carried. We see a bridal belt to promote fertility, Alexei's wheelchair and most wondrous of all, a vast wooden chest, one of eight of its kind, that bore the royal family's travelling pharmacy in their private train. There's some attempt to demonstrate how involved the Empress Alexandra was in the wartime hospital effort but it fails to persuade. Nor does the newspaper photograph of Nicholas captioned 'The Tsar take command' do any better: though looking suitably authoritative he actually has an English sporting gun over his shoulder. In the last room is the story of the aftermath, how most of the bodies were found and identified by DNA taken from other members of the family (such as Prince Philip). Alexei and his sister Maria were not found until 2007. Unlike the others, they have yet to be buried.



A preview of an exhibition at Magdalen College, Oxford entitled 'Lawrence of Arabia' will be found in News & Comment on p. 825.

From 12 October to 27 January, the Morgan are staging an exhibition to celebrate the 200th anniversary of Mary Shelley's Frankenstein. Anyone going is advised to read Sammy Jay's article with an identical title in the last issue (2018–3, Autumn) of THE BOOK COLLECTOR. It was he, after all, who discovered in his late grandfather's library a copy of a first of Frankenstein inscribed by Byron. How can Morgan match that?

OBITUARIES

William Reese

William Reese, antiquarian bookseller, was born 29 July 1955 and died 4 June 2018. What follows is from the address given at his memorial service by George Miles, Curator of the Yale collection of Western Americana.

Bill's death was a wound, a searing pain that brought tears to my eyes and left me speechless for weeks afterwards. As the months have gone by, that raw wound has begun to heal and I have begun to recover my emotional composure. My soul still aches when I think of Bill; I expect that it always will. But I have come to appreciate that ache, for while it is painful it also triggers memories, memories of time with Bill that remind me how fortunate I am to be able to say I was a friend of Bill Reese. I hope you won't consider me self-indulgent if instead of providing a dry, accurate summary of Bill's many accomplishments and of his extraordinary service to the Beinecke Library and to Yale University in general, that I share a few stories. Personal narratives, to steal Bill's phrase, drawn from memory. You'll have to decide whether the narrator is reliable or not.

The earliest, oldest memory I can summon of Bill is 43 years old almost to the day or to the week. It is late September or early October of 1975 though I can't recall the specific week, I know that it was a Wednesday afternoon because we were sitting in Howard Lamar's graduate seminar on the history and culture of the Trans-Mississippi West which met every Wednesday that fall in the Beinecke Library's room 28. I was in my second year of graduate school, one of nearly a dozen graduate students in the seminar. Bill was a junior history major, the only undergraduate in the class. And I confess that through the first few weeks of class, I can't recall taking notice of him. But each class session would begin with student reports intended to spark and shape class discussion. Typically, us being graduate students, they focused on interpretative differences among scholarly experts.

But at this class, the third or fourth of the semester, Bill had taken responsibility for starting our conversation about Lewis and Clark and American exploration of the Trans-Mississippi West. And there was Bill in what I came to recognise as his unofficial uniform: running



shoes, khakis and an open collar shirt. He was sitting beneath William Clark's magnificent 5ft x 3ft manuscript map of the West which hung framed on the classroom wall. And over the first 30 minutes of class, Bill not only discussed what the expedition accomplished, but also the bibliographic history of its publications. He introduced a cast of 19th and early 20th century editors, printers, and publishers unknown to me at the time from Nicholas Biddle and Paul Allen, to Elliot Cruise, Francis Harper and Reuben Gold Thwaites. He traced the history not only of the expedition, but the history of how the story of the expedition reached the American public.

It was a bibliographic tour de force that anticipated all the things we now think of as the history of the book. It was one that left me, and from the looks I saw on the faces of most of my graduate colleagues, thinking back to Butch Cassidy talking to Sundance about the Pinkertons: who is this guy? At that point Howard knew what we didn't know: that the previous winter Bill had identified a 16th century map of Mexico City at a furniture auction in New York, had purchased it at a steal and sold it to Beinecke for the cost of his remaining undergraduate tuition.

By mid-spring of that year, he had, while completing the sophomore year at Yale, purchased a private collection of more than 4,000 volumes of rare Americana, partnered with Fred White Jr. to found the rare book firm Frontier Americana, and would spend that next summer cataloguing and selling books in College Station Texas. A few

months after his presentation in Howard's seminar, Bill published his first bibliography, to which Clarence referred earlier, *Six Score: 120 Best Books on the Range Cattle Industry*. I had been introduced to genius. Nearly six years later in spring of 1981, I was fortunate to be offered the opportunity to succeed Archie Hanna as curator of the Yale collection of Western Americana. Rudy Rogers, the University Librarian, appointed Bill to be advisor to the collection.

It was the best bon voyage present that any wet behind the years academic novice curator could ever receive. Bill never regarded his appointment as conferring authority or power to make decisions about the collection. He treated it as a commitment to be available, to answer any and all questions that this naïve young academic might have about the antiquarian book trade and to generally guide my development. Meeting antiquarian booksellers was the first priority. Early in my tenure I recall Bill hiring a town car to take us to Montclair New Jersey to chat with the legendary bookseller Lindley Eberstadt.

I was a little puzzled that we needed a town car to do this, but Bill knew that the best way to get Lindley to talk freely about Americana and the book trade was to take him to lunch at his favourite Chinese restaurant. Lindley never drove, and Bill observed that we had zero chance of persuading him to get into either of the beat-up used cars that we were driving at that point. Lesson one: know your audience.

But Bill didn't just introduce me to the old guard, many of whom were about to retire from the trade. He went out of his way to make sure that I got to know the emerging figures in the field. Indeed, I can't recall a book fair at which Bill did not encourage me to visit one or another dealer. "They have interesting things," he would say. My visits to 409 Temple Street were an advanced seminar in primary resources for innovative scholarship in American history and culture. Bill allowed me to occupy him for hours at a time, to chat not only about the books and manuscripts in the latest Reese Company catalogue but those that were available in the trade at large. He helped me to appreciate that academically trained scholars too frequently focused on the same canonical sources, overlooking opportunities to delve into neglected sources.

We bonded over a mutual fascination with Native American languages, illustrated travels, and 19th century city directories. Bill was especially helpful in guiding me through the ins and outs of auctions. He would gently dissuade me from placing overly aggressive bids on books and pamphlets that he knew would reappear in the trade shortly.

A lot of times he warned me that my proposed bid wouldn't get

the job done. In June 1998 Pacific Book Auctions aka PBA Galleries listed for auction a copy of G R Fardon's *Views of San Francisco*, the first photographic view book of any North American city. Only a half dozen copies of the album could be located, and none had been offered at auction in a hundred years. It was a book that fitted Beinecke's interests. It was a book that excited Bill as well as me. Over a course of a couple of weeks, we decided that since it was unlikely we would ever have another opportunity to obtain a copy, we should bid extremely aggressively. With Bill's encouragement and the support of Beinecke's director Ralph Franklin, we set a maximum bid at three times the high estimate; \$150,000 hammer. If we won the lot at that bid, the house commission would raise the total cost to nearly \$175,000.

It was by far the highest bid I'd ever proposed. At the sale on June 25th we ended up being the under-bidder to the Fraenkel gallery of San Francisco. I resigned myself that we would never acquire a Fardon album for Yale and began to think about other acquisitions. Less than two weeks later, I picked up the phone in my office to hear Bill at the other end say: "How would you like to get a Fardon with more pictures for less money than you were willing to pay at auction?" He had learned about an album that had been in the hands of an East Bay family since November 2nd 1858 when James de Fremery had inscribed it as a gift to his wife. De Fremery had added additional photographs of his house and neighbourhood to the album and that album had stayed in family hands for 150 years. The publicity generated by the sale had led the family to reach out to Bill who leveraged the auction house premiums to set a price that cost us less and paid the family more than either of us would have realized at auction. I think he took special pleasure in being able to do that.

Over the next few years, the Fraenkel Gallery broke the copy they had purchased, selling the photos individually. I suspect that Bill knew he could have done the same thing, but instead he wanted to see that volume at the Beinecke. Later today, if you want, you can see that copy, acquired with the help of Bill's magic touch, in a small exhibition back at the library. In 1987 Terry Belanger asked Bill to teach a class in Western Americana at the Rare Book School then operating at Columbia University. Bill generously told Terry he would do so only if I was appointed co-instructor. We eventually taught four times at Columbia and once at the University of Virginia. I've never told Terry, but I was always afraid that he would realize that I was learning as much as I was teaching in all those classes and demand that I pay for the privilege. It was also in teaching those classes that I came to appre-

ciate that the impish qualities of the undergraduate Bill Reese survived into his more mature years. Those of you who have taught or attended classes at Rare Book School know that Terry and his successor Michael Suarez do a fabulous job of arranging for evening lectures by scholars, collectors, librarians and dealers. Faculty are expected to attend. But that hot summer week in Virginia, a friend of Bill's approached us and said he could take us to Monticello that night. We decided to play hooky and commune with the ghosts of Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings rather than attend that evening's lecture. Terry forgave Bill who went on to deliver several notable stellar RBS lectures. I think I may still be in the dog house.

I can go on and tell many more stories that reveal Bill's erudition, his curiosity, his entrepreneurial skills, his commitment to Yale. But I would like to close with two memories, one from my earliest days with Bill and one from this past winter, which remind me that Bill was as passionate about people as he was about books, and suggest to me that the Reese company was as much about making friends as it was about making money. 409 Temple Street was always more than a site of business for Bill. He used to host visiting scholars on that third-floor bedroom and I discovered early on that the best time to visit 409 Temple Street was lunch time when Laura Halladay would be serving her signature chili, seasoned by Archie Hanna's home-grown jalapeno peppers. Over the years, takeout replaced home cooked meals, but Bill's reputation for hospitality never faded. Whether it was hosting dinner for the old book table or inviting rare book school students and instructors to drinks at Temple Street, Bill loved a good party. Last February at the California Antiquarian Book Fair, my wife and I were fortunate to join Bill and Dorothy and more than two dozen of Bill's colleagues in the trade for a dinner he threw after the book fair closed for the night. Bill's enormous smile, his booming voice, conveyed the pleasure he took in sharing the time and the space with friends. That night it seemed as if, for Bill, the book fair's principal purpose was to get together with friends. Books were important to Bill, but the friendships they created were his lifeblood.

Thank you for allowing me to recall Bill, to summon him in memory this afternoon and I think I am probably channelling Reverend Jackson because I know that all of you have stories of your time with Bill. When you see me, today or in the future I hope you will share them with me. They'll make me ache, but they will also remind me of the great blessing I enjoyed in meeting and knowing and working with an extraordinary man.

TO THE EDITOR

From Alastair Johnston, Berkeley, California, USA

Dear Editor,

Like you, I grew up with Ian Fleming. You write ‘Fournier was Ian Fleming’s favourite type’; how it became G. B. Shaw’s is interesting. Shaw paid the printer (R. & R. Clark) in order to have control over the appearance of his books. He initially opted for the quintessentially English typeface Caslon, as he admired the Chiswick Press production of William Morris’s *The Roots of the Mountains* (1892), printed before Morris went off the deep end as an interior decorator-turned-book designer. From *Plays Pleasant and Unpleasant* (1898) onward, ‘the Shavian octavos in their drab covers ... have proclaimed themselves among brighter-clad volumes much as low-toned clothes gave Napoleon prominence amid the more brilliant uniforms of the members of his staff,’ noted Holbrook Jackson. Shaw was such a typo-tyrant he rewrote in order to get rid of loose lines in proof. At first he insisted on handset type, but when Monotype Caslon came along he happily acceded to the printers’ suggestion of machine composition. Even more startling was his abandonment of English-as-John-Bull Caslon when the French typeface Fournier was released by Monotype to which he switched for the standard edition of his works published by Constable in the thirties. Again, William Maxwell of Clarks was the persuasive force, according to Duncan Glen in the Edinburgh *History of the Book in Scotland* (2007).

You also mention paraphrases of the famous opening of *Pride & Prejudice* (1813): ‘It is a truth universally acknowledged, that a single man in possession of a fortune must be in want of a wife.’ I found this at the start of the *Gentleman’s Stable Directory* (1789): ‘It is a truth generally acknowledged and universally lamented that, amidst all the improvements of the present age, none has received so little advantage from the rays of refinement as the Art of Farriery.’ In spoofing William Taplin, Austen gave us a gambit as memorable as ‘I wish either my father or my mother, or indeed both of them, as they were in duty both equally bound to it, had minded what they were about when they begot me,’ or ‘The sun shone, having no alternative, on the nothing new.’ But did Austen think of potential wives as livestock? Or indeed how asinine is Mrs Bennet, ‘a woman of mean understanding, little information, and uncertain temper’?

Alastair Johnston

Bibliographical Notes & Queries

QUERY 528: Mars and Mercury at Market: An Engraved Title-Page for Noel van Barlement, *Dictionariolum et colloquia*, 1662.

A recent article on Noel Van Barlement and his *Colloquia et dictionariolum* carried an illustration of the engraved title-page to the 1632 Amsterdam edition, one of two such editions.¹ The other engraved title is found to the 1662 edition published in Antwerp by Hendrik Aertssens. This engraving is much more elaborate with a considerable amount of intricate detail much of which has symbolic signification; some overt, some not so obvious to twenty-first-century eyes. There is also a puzzle that some readers might be able to unravel.

The engraving is an added title-page in Dutch to this eight-language edition which also has the normal Latin title on the following leaf [A2] recto.² The engraving, signed ‘Lommelin sculp’, shows eight men, in two groups of four, conversing under some trees, either side of a monument which carries the title. The monument is surmounted by a Janus head. The outer layer of symbolism is uncomplicated. The eight men represent the eight languages offered, coupled with Janus signifying a gateway. This idea of language books constituting a gateway to the learning of a language or languages had already been adopted, first by William Bathe in his *Ianua linguarum* (‘The Gate of Tongues’), and a few years later J.A. Comenius, in a not wholly respectful homage, tweaked the same title for his similar work *Janua linguarum reserata* (‘The Gate of Tongues Unlocked’).

The Preface to the *Dictionariolum et colloquia* lists the publishers’ target group of readers/purchasers: merchants, those with business at court, soldiers, and the general traveler. It goes on to specify what benefit the reader will gain from the book: the ability to converse directly with people of other nations without the need of an interpreter will encourage friendship between peoples, thus assisting commerce and thereby

1. Nigel Stoughton, ‘The First Foreign Phrasebook’, *THE BOOK COLLECTOR* (vol. 64, Autumn 2015).
2. In this edition the normal order of the title has been reversed: *Dictionariolum et colloquia octo linguarum . . .* rather than the usual *Colloquia et dictionariolum . . .* The whole title is repeated in contrasting and smaller type underneath in French. However, the Dutch title that would normally be found beneath that is carried by the engraving on the preceding leaf. This special and unique treatment implies that this edition was designed for the Dutch home market.

the acquisition of wealth, and help the governance of foreign lands and cities. The contents underline these aims, the dialogues are largely angled towards markets and trading as are the form business letters, but also offer something for all travelers in general.

A closer look at the engraving shows these aims clearly revealed in the finer detail. Unusually Janus has two distinct faces. Facing right, with winged hat, is Mercury, protector of merchants, marketplaces, and travelers. Facing left, older, bearded and with rudimentary armor, is Mars – in this case apparently in his less familiar office, ‘Mars Pacifier’, for facing him is an olive branch, his attribute when in this role. The idea of Mars as a pacific influence makes sense today in that to be well armed and prepared is a good way to deter potential aggressors. In addition, Mars is not just a bringer of peace, he is a peacemaker because he subdues his enemies. The symbolism of Mercury’s ivy is less clear. In this case it seems that it is probably that of love (clinging) and thus friendship.

The eight men are divided into two groups: those on the left are merchants, with behind and to the left of them symbols of their occupation, a barrel and a bale of wool. They are depicted presumably doing business in what is clearly a friendly spirit. They are under the direct influence of Mars Pacifier and the hostile military battle is replaced by the benign ‘battle’ of haggling and trade. The right-hand group are themselves split into two. The couple to the front, to whom we are directed by the trailing stem of ivy, are greeting each other in friendship; hats removed in the traditional gesture of salutation, and with one clasping the elbow of the other. This strengthens the case for interpreting the ivy as representing friendship. Here Mercury, the divine embodiment of travel and trade, is generating friendship across linguistic boundaries. These same two are more grandly dressed and could be imagined as being of some eminence and having business in government and at court. The role, if any, of the other two figures on the right is not clear. They may just be travelers. The one in the long cloak is distinctively dressed and there may well be other hidden messages in this picture.

There is, however, one real puzzle. The bale of wool beside the merchants is clearly marked 4/EQ, which undoubtedly must have some significance in the context of this engraving. So far research has not yielded any answer. I would be delighted if someone could come up with an explanation.

NIGEL STOUGHTON
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BOOKS RECEIVED

MUSIC TO MY SORROW, BEING BOOK FOUR OF G. LEGMAN'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF INNOCENCE, PEREGRINE PENIS by G. Legman. Createspace 2018

THE UNCOLLECTED A. EDWARD NEWTON by Joseph Rosenblum. Oak Knoll Press 2017

STEAM-DRIVEN SHAKESPEARE: or Making Good Books Cheap: Five Victorian Illustrated Editions by Alan R. Young. Oak Knoll Press 2017

THE ARCHITECTURE OF LIBRARIES IN WESTERN CIVILISATION by K. Sp. Staikos. Oak Knoll Press 2017

THE HISTORY OF THE LIMITED EDITIONS CLUB by Carol Porter Grossman. Oak Knoll Press 2017

IN THE BEGINNING: the Privately Printed Bible, Private and Fine Press Editions of Biblical Texts in the British Isles and North America 1892–2000 by Ronald Patkus. Oak Knoll Press MMXVII

IN THE SERVICE OF SCHOLARSHIP: Harold Hugo & the Meriden Gravure Company by William J. Glick. Oak Knoll Press 2017

MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS FROM WÜRZBURG IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY: a descriptive catalogue by Daniela Mainhofer. Bodleian Library Publishing 2018

BOOKS WILL SPEAK PLAIN: A Handbook for identifying and describing historical bindings by Julia Miller. The Legacy Press 2014

MEETING BY ACCIDENT: Selected historical bindings (with DVD) by Julia Miller. The Legacy Press 2018

THROUGH THE PAGES: 250 years of the Leeds Library edited by Ruth Robbins and Christopher Webster. The Leeds Library 2018

MANUSCRIPTS & PRINTED RARITIES FORMERLY IN PRIVATE COLLECTIONS compiled by Joe Crawford. Published Privately in 2018 by the author, 14 Derrybrusk Road, Tamlaght, Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh, BT74 4LE

Inclusion in this list does not preclude subsequent review

BOOK REVIEWS

COLLECTORS, BOOKSELLERS AND LIBRARIES: ESSAYS ON AMERICANISTS AND THE RARE BOOK TRADE by William S. Reese, Overland Press, 2018. Pp. viii, 321.

\$45.00

The untimely death of William Reese on 4 June 2018 robbed the book world of one of its most prominent figures. Reese had been a dealer since the age of nineteen, while still an undergraduate at Yale, and the William Reese Company produced over three hundred and fifty catalogues during his lifetime. The range and quality of the books he sold, particularly (but not only) in the field of Americana, established him as one of the preeminent modern dealers.

Reese was also a scholar and an important thinker about the evolving patterns of bookselling in the modern world. His abilities in these respects are demonstrated in the collection of his writings published just before his death. The twenty essays here, a number printed for the first time, include appraisals of various historically important dealers in Americana, such as Henry Stevens and Joseph Sabin, and of various collectors in this field, including Thomas and Frank Streeter and Richard Dietrich. Paul Mellon is the subject of two essays, the overall effect of which is to greatly enhance understanding of the wide interests of a figure Reese terms ‘one of the greatest book collectors of the 20th century.’ The most personal and most vivid of these essays is the account of the sale of Frank Siebert’s collection, in which Reese was crucially involved as the chief buyer, and which led to him becoming the subject of a (wholly unjustified) FBI investigation.

There is also a series of essays that surveys aspects of the changing rare book market mainly in relation to Americana, including assessments of such fundamental matters as value, rarity and the roles of dealers and research libraries. Reese’s experience gives a distinctive authority to the trenchancy of his thinking about the problems confronting all those involved in the rare book world.

There is a degree of overlap between some of these essays that results in quite a lot of repetition. There is also a scattering of small errors of fact and lacunae (at one point information is marked for inclusion that does not appear). And occasionally there is a slackness about the prose verging on cliché. Such points are not offered as criticism but as a poignant acknowledgement that the completion of this book must have been a race against time. As such it is an achievement that must make us

both grateful for what Reese was able to leave and saddened for what scholars and collectors have lost.

A.S.G. EDWARDS

ARE YOU SITTING COMFORTABLY? The Book Jackets of Edward Bawden by James Russell and Peyton Skipwith, Maidstone Press, 2018. Pp. 176, incl. col. Illus. ISBN 978 0 9576665 4 2

Readers of *The Book Collector* may often encounter Bawden's work in the form of the PBFA's logo – a cat sat on top of an open book – that the artist executed in linocut in 1983. Several members were puzzled by such feline nonchalance towards their precious books, but this gently rebellious streak is precisely what makes Bawden's art so appealing.

Rebellion began early: Bawden's unkind caricatures of his school-teachers in Saffron Walden and an attempt to shove his classmate down a manhole provoked the headmaster to send him once a week to the Cambridge School of Art, which he would attend full-time after the First World War. He won a scholarship to the Royal College of Art in South Kensington, enrolling in autumn 1922 on the same day as Eric Ravilious – not in the faculty of painting, but in the Design School where his special subjects were Writing and Illumination. At the RCA, Bawden developed the distinct style that would permeate his work right until the end of his life in 1989; as his fellow student Douglas Percy Bliss put it, 'line was his weapon... not solid form, not tone, not atmosphere.'

Are you sitting comfortably? opens with an essay by another of Bawden's friends, the former Fine Art Society director Peyton Skipwith. This entertaining overview of Bawden's career ranges from his early forays with the Curwen Press and work for the London Underground to canonisation by the Folio Society in the last decades of his life. Then follows a handsomely-illustrated chronological survey of 'the jackets', divided into pre- and post-war phases, with commentary by James Russell. Russell curated 'Edward Bawden', Dulwich Picture Gallery's major summer 2018 retrospective, and is the perfect guide to what he calls the artist's 'springy line and zany humour'.

However, by the third item in the survey, it becomes clear that this book's subtitle is a misnomer: 'Pottery Making at Poole' is a brochure, neither 'book' nor 'jacket'; the eleventh item, *Patchwork Quilt*, was issued without a dust-jacket, its diamond-patterned cloth covers

instead being depicted here. In addition, it is often maddeningly unclear what we are being shown: is this the original design for the jacket, the printed version, a title page, or some other illustration? In his catalogue for the Dulwich exhibition, by contrast, Russell takes a more scholarly approach, with full details of medium, dimensions, and present location – admittedly more relevant for original artworks than for published images. Looser cropping in the Dulwich catalogue also gives a better sense of the book as object. *Are you sitting comfortably?*, with its lack of precision and jaunty (but unexplained) title, sits more comfortably on the coffee table than in the library.

If the title is misleading, thankfully there is more logic to this study's pre- and post-war division. Bawden was an official war artist, drawing scenes of the evacuation from Dunkirk before heading to the Middle East, North Africa, and Arabia; he was interned in Casablanca after a torpedo attack midway through the war. In the 1930s, the Bawdens had shared a house in Great Bardfield, Essex, with Eric and Tirzah Ravilious, and his illustrations from that time echo the optimism and Englishness of that other bohemian haven, Charleston – 'an innocence and naivety that he never revisited post-war', Skipwith argues. Bawden's pre-war surrealism (a top-hat-wielding giant lobster, a disembodied hand with icing nozzles worn as thimbles, benignly anthropomorphic insects) becomes 'tougher, the humour darker and less spontaneous': an otherwise festive crowd outside Broadcasting House conceals a man being run over by a taxi; a soda siphon in the foreground distracts from an Indian being beaten in the distance; and a besuited Death stalks Aldous Huxley's hero in the claustrophobic dust-jacket vignette for *After Many a Summer* (1953).

Before the 1983 Imperial War Museum exhibition of his war art, Bawden was asked if he had stopped being a designer and become an artist. 'But there's no difference between one and other,' he replied. Throughout his commercial work are reflections of twentieth century 'fine' artists – Matisse's cut-outs, De Chirico's perspectives, and of course Picasso's linocuts. But Russell and Skipwith convincingly focus on that which makes the quietly rebellious Bawden unique: his mastery of techniques from pen and ink to pochoir and collage, his eye for pattern and lettering, his balance of three-dimensional shapes with whimsical line drawings, and his constant awareness of the absurd.

MATTHEW HALEY

THE BIRGITTINES OF SYON ABBEY, PREACHING AND PRINT by Susan Powell

Brepols, 2017. Pp. xxii + 348, incl. b&w illustrations.

ISBN 978-2-503-53235-6

€90

The house of Birgittine nuns at Syon in Middlesex was founded by Henry V in 1415, close to London and Westminster. It has an important place in the map of late medieval book production and circulation in England. In *The Birgittines of Syon Abbey* Susan Powell constructs a detailed picture of the texts in use at Syon, the forms in which they were transmitted, and the networks in which they were produced and read.

The core of the book is five chapters based on articles previously published over the last two decades. Preceding these is a newly written chapter that surveys the forms of evidence for Syon's concern with the written word. This chapter provides appropriate background for three previously published articles on preaching at Syon. Although many sermons must have been composed and delivered, little trace of these remains. Chapters 2 and 3 carefully assemble such evidence as can be found, and give a full account of a manuscript compilation of sermons, now in private hands, owned by Syon brother John Lawsby. Chapter 4 examines references to Ston in the *Quattuor Sermones* printed by Caxton and in many subsequent editions until 1532. Although English Birgittines were initially slow to exploit the potentialities of print, their activities from about 1490 onwards suggest a keen involvement in this new means of textual dissemination. Chapter 5 outlines Syon's connections with printers like Wynkyn de Worde, and the development of a woodcut Birgittine logo. This material leads naturally into a study of de Worde's patron Lady Margaret Beaufort (Chapter 6), whose piety and patronage intersected with Syon's concerns in influential ways, and whose interests Powell documents from exhaustive study of her household accounts. A final, newly written chapter explores networks of readers associated with Syon in the decades leading to the Dissolution and the closure of the house in 1539. Founded on both family and community relationships, some of these would continue into later years, as the nuns of Syon moved into exile, returned briefly during the reign of Mary, and then left again.

As this account of the book indicates, much of it has already been published. The author has, however, taken pains to revise and update the previously published material, and to set the chapters in a coherent narrative whose terms of reference are established in the newly written chapters. An introductory note supplies an overview of recent

scholarship, of which there has been a great deal. Furthermore, each individual chapter is framed by a headword and afterword that set its original aims in context and review how it has stood the test of time: additions that can sometimes seem fussy but are commendably honest. Compiling a book from a series of articles inevitably makes for some repetition, but overall here the chapters distil coherent lines of argument about Syon's importance in late medieval spiritual and cultural life, and its concern to communicate the word by a variety of means.

JULIA BOFFEY

BROUGHT TO BOOK: Print in Ireland, 1680–1784 by Toby Barnard, Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2017. Pp. 395 ISBN 9 781 846826290

IRISH READING SOCIETIES AND CIRCULATING LIBRARIES FOUNDED BEFORE 1825: Useful Knowledge and Agreeable Entertainment by K.A. Manley, Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2018. Pp. 248 ISBN 9 781 846827174

The telling title to this magisterial study encapsulates its scope and argument: the transformation in the production and reception of books in Ireland from the late seventeenth to the late eighteenth century. Self-evidently, books enjoyed a fame and cultural status in Ireland long before the coming of the printing press – as the current exhibition in Trinity College, contextualising the Book of Kells, makes abundantly and refreshingly clear. Before print, however, few books were sighted outside the monasteries and even after the establishment of printing and of the King's Printer in Ireland, the primers, bibles, catechisms, ballads and other small productions imported and printed locally enjoyed but fitful and limited circulation. A scholarly debate continues, for example, over the reception and significance of the celebrated casting of letters in Irish. An Irish Gaelic typeface based on medieval Irish uncial script was sponsored by the proselytising and colonising government of Elizabeth for a catechism of 1571. *Brought to Book* affirms beyond doubt the marginal and declining use of such Irish type, but also that Irish was retained for manuscript and oral use despite a common belief in its decline. An underlying theme of this eighteenth-century history is the eclipse of traditional types of print 'by those that aimed to make money for authors and entrepreneurs'.

Toby Barnard builds on his earlier pioneering researches to offer a rich and vivid history of the real coming of books to Ireland and their dissemination. But it is also much more than a simple history of the

printed book. *Brought to Book* is a landmark study that questions why print was favoured above manuscript in eighteenth-century Ireland. The golden age of Irish printing and the importation of literature from London and elsewhere developed as part of an expansive but – in different ways – hideously unequal society. Print and especially the newspaper became an establishment but also transgressive and provocative medium of communication.

This historical trail was illuminated first by Mary (Paul) Pollard, whose *Dublin Trade in Books* and then her monumental dictionary of printers and booksellers allowed others to deepen Irish bibliographical history. Subsequent studies by Richard Cargill Cole and niall ó ciosáin presaged the contributions to the third volume of *The Oxford History of the Irish Book: The Irish Book in English, 1550–1800* edited by Raymond Gillespie and Andrew Hadfield. In that volume, Toby Barnard gave the foundational essay on ‘Print Culture, 1700–1800’. Significantly, *Brought to Book* cautions against casual use of the term ‘print culture’ as well as the relative and per capita weakness of Dublin printing in comparison to Edinburgh and Glasgow.

The book, elegantly produced and finely printed, is structured around genres rather than a cover-to-cover chronology. Within each chapter both development and constraints are given measured explanation exemplified in some remarkable vignettes and archival discoveries. Chapters explore print and politics, civic authority, the historical and the contemporary, faith and salvation, entertainment and sectarianism. All of these highlight the circulation of books, their collection and their arrival from elsewhere as much as their local writing and production. To appreciate how these different registers of books contributed to different aspects of social, political, religious and cultural change is the real achievement of this compelling volume.

Also published by Four Courts Press is the very welcome study of early reading societies and circulating libraries in Ireland by Keith Manley. Our understanding of the penetration of print in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Ireland is greatly enriched by this detailed and perceptive exploration of the establishment and development of a great variety of book reading and lending institutions. Most of these were in Dublin, but a particular strength of this history is its recovery of libraries, commercial circulating libraries, reading societies and book clubs throughout the island. An appended list of these foundations, from Connaught to Ulster, offers invaluable information about the dates, locations and forms of the establishments and their activities (although the term ‘dividing book clubs’ is not readily explicable).

The clerical foundations of many Irish libraries are given new attention. The influence of William Bray on the Church of Ireland has been overplayed in some past studies and Manley stresses the relative failure of the established Church to extend its library provision, despite the celebrity of some of its philanthropists. More pertinent was the activity of Catholics, and also and more particularly of the Presbyterian association with ‘mutual improvement’ and the foundation of the workers’ reading society movement based in Belfast. The other obvious consequence of the expansion of libraries in Ireland, which has also been given emphasis by Toby Barnard, is the reinforcement of the English language, whatever the confessional hue of clerical initiatives. The sheer assortment of sizes, motivations, regulations and stock of proprietary subscription libraries features heavily. The majority of these private institutions were very small and leave fragmentary evidence – sometimes no more than a name in a newspaper advertisement and it remains impossible to gauge the extent of the influence of many of them.

In Ireland, the first proper circulating library, or rather a bookseller lending out books for rent, seems to date from a 1735 advertisement by James Hoey, senior, of Dublin. Like their English equivalents, Irish circulating libraries became associated with the lending of novels and other, much criticized, imaginative literature. The Act of Union which took effect on 1 January 1801 proved a significant divide. The number of books printed in Ireland sharply declined, with major consequences for circulating libraries, their attempts to stock ‘latest’ literature, and their even greater reliance on imported volumes. The dependency of circulating libraries upon catalogues, with customers rarely attending the actual libraries, is also given proper consideration. A notable reference is given to William Lane and his journey to Dublin in 1789 to promote his sale of ready-made circulating libraries. As vehicles for Lane’s Minerva novels, such libraries were apparently brought to various towns in England. It is a shame, but unsurprising, that so little has yet been uncovered about Lane’s exploits in Ireland, particularly as his reputation is currently under review. A revisionist interpretation of Lane and his press continues and further understanding of his reception in Ireland might add to his rehabilitation – or not.

JAMES RAVEN

BIBLIOTECA SALMO SALAR: A Selection of Rare Books, Manuscripts, Journals, Diaries, Photograph Albums, & Ephemera on the Subject

of Atlantic Salmon Fishing from the Collection of Charles B. Wood III. Pp. 242, many illus, b&w and colour. David R. Godine Publisher, 2017.

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Most angling book collections veer towards the brown trout since it's much cheaper to fish for trout than it is for salmon and therefore more people do it and write about it. Moreover, the trout has an attractive personality over and above its dappled beauty. It is by turns wary, capricious, knowing and foolish. Many are the young boys and girls who've cut their teeth on a basket of small, pink-fleshed eating trout.

Salmo salar is different. For centuries its prime function has been to provide a source of protein for brown bears, otters, ospreys and mankind. It is via the nets, both at sea and at river mouths, that man has taken its harvest. The river nets were never about sport. They were a hard-nosed commercial operation that thought little and cared even less about fish getting through their mazes for the pleasure of upstream anglers. In fact angling for sport is a real newcomer on the scene. It was only with the advent of the railway and the steamship that the great salmon rivers of Scotland and Norway became accessible and with the advent of capitalism that people had surplus income with which to enjoy themselves.

The salmon is actually rather boring. It has only one respectable livery and (trout-fishers will tell you) basically hooks itself. However – and it's a very big however indeed – it has a nobility that the pudgy little trout totally lacks; it is a creature of mystery in that we still don't understand its life cycle; it's a bonny fechter when hooked, as any Scot will tell you, and the rivers to which they return on their annual pilgrimage are generally in surroundings that are majestic almost beyond description. The crack, the dram, the midges, the pelting rain, the involuntary bathing, the smell of a dead sheep, the hills, the tramp, a soaring eagle, these are what make a day's salmon fishing memorable.

Noble and worthy is a good combination, and that goes for Mr. Wood's book as well. It has only 217 entries on its 242 pages and these are divided into eight chapters: Norway, Britain, Canada, Salmon Clubs, Books with Actual Flies in Them, Photograph Albums, Manuscripts, Proofs and Journals and a final section called Miscellany. This is not a reference book but a book to be read, as it should be by many. They will not be disappointed. The format allows the author room to elaborate on his titles, on their historical, social or sporting significance. Thus on the one hand there is Ted Hughes ('salmon angler extraordinaire') and

his *The Best Worker in Europe* 1985, a rhyming poem on the life cycle of the salmon, and on the other hand *One Day's Takings* by Jon Tassell, a book put together by a jobbing printer to commemorate a one-day expedition to the river Oykel by a man and his son. In between come a number of books in the style of *We Go Fishing in Norway*, privately printed 1954, by Joseph Pulitzer Jr, which is an account of a five-week trip to the Alta, a big-fish river in Norway. The final section of the book is a travelogue of their leisurely trip home. At a diplomatic gathering in Stockholm, Pulitzer has a chance to meet several of his countrymen. He comments, 'I can discover neither fairies nor Pinks among them.' Mr. Wood comments nicely, 'How very fifties!'

There are excellent things to be discovered in this book. The illustrations are first class, as is the production in general. The author has a good ear for the mood music that can make a day's fishing stand out. It may be that an interest in American and British society (at all levels, let me be clear) is as important as an interest in salmon fishing and this is how it should be. The essence of fishing is congenial company.

JAMES FLEMING

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

A.S.G. EDWARDS is deputy editor of THE BOOK COLLECTOR.

ANTHONY DAVIS is a book collector.

ANTHONY DRENNAN is an independent scholar specialising in the history of the print trade in Belfast and currently writing a book on James Blow and his Bibles.

DAVID KNOTT first contributed to the *The Book Collector* in 1967. He retired as Head of Collections at Reading University Library in 2002 and was Visiting Research Fellow there until 2014.

ED POTDEN was formerly an Associate Director, Joint Head of Special Collections and Head of Rare Books at Cambridge University Library, before setting up Pinakes, his own consultancy business. He is currently a Research Associate in the Centre for Medieval Studies at York University and in the Department of History at the University of Durham.

JAMES FLEMING is a novelist, publisher and proprietor of THE BOOK COLLECTOR.

JAMES RAVEN is a Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge, and Professor of Modern History at the University of Essex. His *What is the History of the Book?* was published by Polity Press earlier this year.

JOHN R. MURRAY is the seventh generation of the Murray family that ran the famous publishing house from 1768 to 2002. After 234 glorious years of independence it was taken over by Hodder.

JULIA BOFFEY is Professor of Medieval Studies at Queen Mary, University of London.

LAUREN ALEX O'HAGAN recently completed a PhD in Language and Communication at Cardiff University. She currently works as a research assistant for the Object Women digital archive and freelance translator.

MARIE KOREY is a retired rare book librarian who continues to add to the personal collection formed with her late husband, Richard Landon.

MATTHEW HALEY is director of Books and Manuscripts at Bonhams, and also appears on the Antiques Roadshow.

NICOLAS BARKER was the editor of THE BOOK COLLECTOR from 1965 to 2016.

PAUL MCGRANE collects Victorian first editions and is the author of *The Christian Fallacy*.

RICHARD OWEN ran the Rome office for *The Times* for fifteen years and is the author of *Lady Chatterley's Villa* and *Hemingway in Italy*.

THE BOOK COLLECTOR

ROBERT HARDING is a Director of Maggs Bros. Ltd., specialising in Early Modern Britain.

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IN THE NEXT ISSUE

The power of women as writers has long been attested. Their influence as collectors and dealers has received less attention and is the subject of our next issue.

One of the most outstanding collectors of women's social history is Lisa Baskin, who here talks to Sheila Markham about her work. Complementary to this are the articles by Victoria Dailey, who writes about fallen women in nineteenth century France and their place in her collection, and Jackie Colburn who looks at Mrs. Gaskell's life of Charlotte Brontë and the unenviable position of Victorian governesses in fact and fiction. The first in a series of four articles on Alchemy by Dr. Anke Timmermann will be there, an account of the Duchess Anna Amalia Library in Weimar, now restored after its tragic fire, and a wonderful piece by Moira Goff, who presides over the Garrick Club's collection of dance books, called 'The Ballerina and the Book.' Finuala Dowling writes from South Africa on 'Jane Austen's Cape Connections', John Stokes describes the Oscar Wilde collection of Mary Hyde, later Lady Eccles, and another of our new writers, Katrina Du, will be examining the career of a woman who reputedly met her husband via her job as a telephone operator and went on to amass a collection of books more fabulous than any hitherto known. We speak, of course, of Mrs. Estelle Doheny. Continuing our series on National Trust libraries will be Peter Hoare on Belton House, where Dame Alice Brownlowe was the first woman known to have her own bookplates (1678 and 1698). Richard Owen will be looking at the issue of censorship that was raised by the Grove Press shenanigans surrounding the publication of an unexpurgated edition of Lady Chatterley in 1959 and finally from Canada comes Spencer W. Stuart to set our beverage buds tingling with some splendid images from the Savoy Cocktail Book of 1930. A bumper issue indeed!

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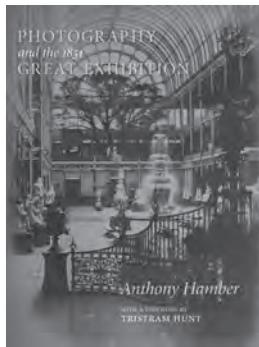
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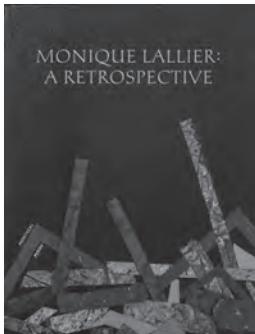
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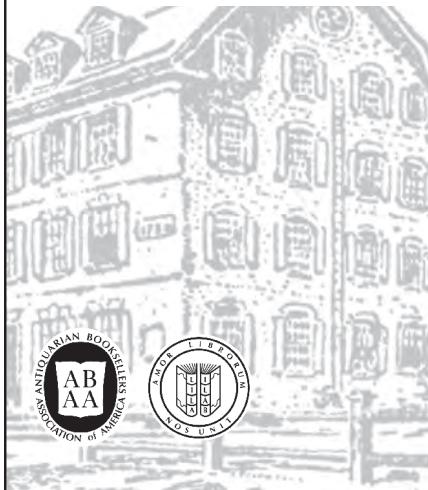
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