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BIBLIOGRAPHY

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John Carter: An Assessment and a Handlist

by

G. THOMAS TANSELLE

JOHN CARTER WAS ONE OF THE MOST PROMINENT AND SIGNIFICANT figures in the Anglo-American book world in the twentieth century. Indeed, he held a unique position, for he distinguished himself as a bookseller, a collector, a scholar, and a writer, equally at home and equally recognized on both sides of the Atlantic. He created innovative rare-book catalogues for the Scribner Book Store; formed several notable collections, especially of Catullus and Housman; was a pioneer investigator of the bibliographical problems of nineteenth-century publishers' bindings; performed (with Graham Pollard) a classic piece of bibliographical detection in uncovering the Wise-Forman forgeries; produced a scholarly edition of Sir Thomas Browne's *Urne Buriall and the Garden of Cyrus*; and wrote (or co-wrote or co-edited) several celebrated works—*An Enquiry into the Nature of Certain Nineteenth Century Pamphlets* (1934), *Taste and Technique in Book-Collecting* (1948), *ABC for Book-Collectors* (1952), and *Printing and the Mind of Man* (1967).

A record of his published writings is obviously a basic guide to his accomplishment. But such a record is also desirable for another reason that would not apply to many people: nearly every piece he wrote, no matter how small (including brief reviews and letters to editors), is worth reading for its style and wit. I am therefore presenting here a handlist (following in Carter's tradition of handlist-writing) that will enable readers to find these pieces. Carter published so prolifically (some 1500 items are known) in such a wide array of venues that there are bound to be many items I have missed, especially among his letters to editors. But what is here is a comprehensive nucleus to which additions can be made. As Carter said in his handlist of Stanley Morison, it is "intended to serve as a series of signposts now and as a basis for amplification, correction and addition in the future."

As an introduction to the handlist, I shall attempt a brief assessment of Carter's achievement, which is a by-product of the overview provided by the handlist. It is inevitably biographical to some extent; but the emphasis is on Carter's writings, not his life, because a book-length biography already exists: Donald C. Dickinson's *John Carter: The Taste and Technique of*

a *Bookman* (2004). The biographical details selected for mention here and in the handlist (many of which do not appear in the Dickinson book) are those that seem to me most relevant for understanding the background and context of his writings and his wide influence. I knew John Carter for only the last ten years of his life: some of my recollections were written up in section 36 of my memoir, “The Living Room” (published in volume 59 of *Studies in Bibliography* and then in *Books in My Life*, 2021), and I dedicated my book about book-jackets to his memory. I shall not forget the many kindnesses he showed me and the important favors he did for me, and the present offering is a reflection of my gratitude.

ASSESSMENT

THE 1930S

John Carter’s first post-collegiate publication on a bookish subject, an article on “Original Condition” in the 15 November 1930 issue of *Publishers’ Weekly*, came only three years after college and inaugurated an amazing four-year period of brilliant productivity. Born John Waynflete Carter at Eton on 10 May 1905, he was educated at Eton and King’s College Cambridge, where he achieved a double first in the classical tripos and an honors degree in 1927. By that time he was already collecting Catullus and had become interested in textual criticism through the influence of A. E. Housman’s lectures. Almost immediately after leaving Cambridge he was hired (in September 1927) by the London office of Charles Scribner’s Sons to locate rare books to be sold in their New York shop. In the three years between then and that 1930 article, he was becoming acquainted with the book dealers and collectors both in Britain and in America (his first visit to New York being January to April 1929). But he was clearly doing more, for his first three letters to the *Times Literary Supplement* (in 1931–33) show that by then he was already immersed in research on Sir Thomas Browne, publishers’ bindings, and the pamphlets that became known as the Wise-Forman forgeries—the subjects of his first major publications (and of his early articles for the main book-collecting journals of the time, *The Book Collector’s Quarterly* in England and *The Colophon* in America).

In May 1932 he published *Binding Variants in English Publishing, 1820–1900* as the sixth volume in Michael Sadleir’s important *Bibliographia* series, which had the significant subtitle “Studies in Book History and Book Structure” (where “structure” makes clear the interest in bibliographical analysis). Sadleir, a publisher (Constable was his firm), novelist, and collector, had already established himself (he was sixteen and a half years older than Carter) as a bibliographical scholar and a pioneer historian of publishers’ bindings. He had published a bibliography of Trollope in 1928 (a landmark through its explicit demonstration that an author bibli-

ography can be a contribution to the history of publishing); and two years later *The Evolution of Publishers' Bindings Styles, 1770-1900* came out as the first volume in his *Bibliographia* series. Carter's admiration for Sadleir is suggested by a letter he wrote to *The Times* on 20 December 1957 to supplement *The Times*'s obituary of Sadleir: "None of those who moved in his orbit . . . was ever made to feel a satellite. But in our corner of the sky a star has fallen." An "avowed disciple" of Sadleir (as he called himself in a 1970 article), Carter had been following Sadleir's lead in investigating edition binding; and he had published articles on the subject in 1931 and 1932 that he was able to incorporate into his 1932 book. In the first chapter of that book, he modestly called it "a rather swollen appendix" to Sadleir's book, but it is much more than that in several ways.

First, the chapter called "Historical," though it is a condensed account of the beginnings and early use of cloth for bindings, draws on his own original research in publishers' catalogues and trade journals. Second, the bulk of the first half is a detailed account of how to go about investigating the bindings of nineteenth-century books and determining the order of variant bindings. He touches on the use of publishers' records and catalogues, review copies, inscriptions, inserted advertisements, end-papers, and edge treatments, among much else, and he deals with such topics as special bindings, series variants, and bindings-up of parts, along with the description of cloth grains. The first half of the book ("General"), which also includes a "specimen investigation," provides a "method of attack" that is then applied in the second half ("Particular") to numerous books by some five dozen authors. This extensive survey of examples, based on the examination of an impressive number of copies, is yet another contribution of the book, making it useful for reference—and in the process displaying Carter's cautious and undogmatic way of reaching conclusions.

The book is addressed to "students and amateurs of book-structure" (p. xi), and Carter is concerned throughout to advance bibliographical study. He hopes to show "what an immensely important part of bibliography they [binding variants] become when they are taken seriously," and he wants to help "develop a scientific method on general lines for dealing with so frequent a phenomenon" (p. 6). He makes clear that "the attitude of mind most desirable in a bibliographer is suspicion" (p. 39), and he stresses the necessity for examining multiple copies. His more specific observations on analyzing bindings form a perfect set of instructions for the beginner on how best to approach a nineteenth-century book: they have not been superseded, nor have they been stated in more attractive prose. Of the several pioneer studies of publishers' bindings by Carter and Sadleir, this one is the most continuingly useful, still valuable as a guide.

A few months after *Binding Variants*, another of Carter's major publications came out: his edition of Sir Thomas Browne's *Urne Buriall and*

the Garden of Cyrus (originally published in 1658, with “Urne Buriall” as a subtitle to “Hydriotaphia”). It was a lavish production, elegantly printed by the Curwen Press and published (in an edition of 215 copies) by Cassell & Company with thirty drawings by Paul Nash (printed by collotype and colored by pochoir) and a morocco and vellum binding designed by him. This handsome book is regularly regarded as one of the masterpieces of twentieth-century book production—as, for example, in Martin Hutner and Jerry Kelly’s *A Century for a Century* (Grolier Club, 1999). But the work also makes a scholarly contribution to the study of Browne. Carter had been reading Browne since his Eton days, and by the early 1930s he was on the trail of author-corrected copies of the first edition (as his letter to the *Times Literary Supplement* on 16 July 1931 shows), while he was working on a new edition, at the request of Desmond Flower (of Cassell’s). He was able to locate and use six such copies before his edition came out, only two of which had previously been known. The thoroughness of his work is symbolized by his annotated copy of Edward H. Marshall’s 1929 Macmillan edition: its leaves, mounted on larger paper, were interleaved with blanks, which were covered with his notes reporting collations, references, and critical observations (described in G. F. Sims catalogue 102 [1979], item 85). As he noted in his introduction, he had collated all editions before 1800 and all published in Great Britain since then (though he does not mention collating multiple copies of the early editions).

Carter’s editorial approach was admirable. Because the successive lifetime editions were unreliable, he based his text on the first edition and reported all his departures from it (except the correction of turned, dropped, or transposed letters), as well as the results of his collations. Aside from the adoption of Browne’s own corrections, the departures were few because he retained the punctuation and spelling of the first edition (except the long *s* and the “sporadic” use of *v* for *u*). He correctly recognized that Browne’s “use of commas and semicolons, like his use of initial capitals and italics is too much a part of himself and his period to submit to this wholesale modernization [of earlier editors].” Nevertheless he did make an “irreducible minimum of corrections where the compositor’s carelessness has produced intolerable obscurity.” Clearly there is room for disagreement here, for some of the obscurity may not have been caused by the compositor, and in any case what is intolerable is a subjective matter. But critical editing necessarily entails judgment, and these alterations are all recorded in the notes. The introduction ends with a gracious point not often made: although he has criticized earlier editions, he says, “one cannot begin to criticize an edition until one has used it thoroughly, so that criticism becomes almost a proof of obligation.”

On 2 July 1934, less than two years after the Browne edition, Carter’s third major publication appeared—the one that made him a book-world

celebrity: *An Enquiry into the Nature of Certain Nineteenth Century Pamphlets*, written in collaboration with Graham Pollard, a bookseller with the firm of Birrell & Garnett. The story of how Carter and Pollard uncovered the Wise-Forman forgeries has been told often; indeed, it is one of the best-known episodes in bibliographical history, familiar to many people outside the book world (as a result of such treatments as Richard D. Altick's, in his 1950 book *The Scholar Adventurers*, and Dwight Macdonald's, in a 1962 *New Yorker* article, as well as Carter's own accounts). Its wide appeal is understandable, as the story of two young booksellers who, through persistent research, were able to bring down a dominant and respected figure (for Thomas J. Wise was a distinguished collector and widely known book-world symbol, the author of many bibliographies, and a former president of the Bibliographical Society). It also has the elements of a detective story, with parts of a puzzle gradually, but inexorably, falling into place. And in the *Enquiry*, given the panache of Carter's prose, the story was given a presentation that increased its appeal.

Many of the people who are attracted to the story for all these reasons, however, do not recognize its important contribution to bibliographical scholarship. Identifying the perpetrators (which the book did not explicitly do) is a different activity from proving that the pamphlets are indeed fraudulent. In the absence of explicit documents, the former involves circumstantial evidence, such as the fact that the suspected pamphlets entered the market from the stock of a single dealer (Herbert E. Gorfin). But the latter requires physical evidence from the items themselves. The use of such evidence for investigating books of earlier periods was well established by this time, but the bibliographical analysis of nineteenth- and twentieth-century books was in its infancy. The attention paid to "points" in modern books by collectors, dealers, and the writers of author bibliographies was a form of physical examination, but it was often undisciplined and lacking in a concern for uncovering book-production history. Publishers' bindings, however, were beginning to be seriously studied, under the leadership of Sadleir and Carter. And the *Enquiry* took a major step forward in demonstrating ways in which the analysis of paper and type could also be applied to post-1800 books.

It is possible that Carter's collecting of detective fiction played a role in inspiring the analysis of paper reported in the *Enquiry*. He was certainly aware of the detective stories of R. Austin Freeman (discussed in his essay in *New Paths in Book Collecting* as reaching "a new level in scientific detection"), and it is not unlikely that he knew "The Apparition of Burling Court" (1923; collected in *The Puzzle Lock*, 1925). In that story, the detective, Dr. Thorndyke, proves a book to be fraudulent through several physical tests, the decisive one being a laboratory examination of the paper, which showed that the paper contained mechanical wood-pulp and

esparto. Thorndyke stated that “esparto was not used until 1860,” which was twenty years after the purported date of the book. It turns out that the presence of esparto in the paper of some of the pamphlets that Carter and Pollard were investigating was the basis for proving them to be forgeries. (Although Dr. Thorndyke is not referred to, another fictional detective, Edgar Allan Poe’s Auguste Dupin, is cited as a precursor in a later chapter [p. 87].) Whether or not there was any connection with Dr. Thorndyke, Carter and Pollard used the same procedure: after having the papers of the pamphlets tested and determining the dates when esparto and chemical wood-pulp were introduced into papermaking, they found that twenty-two of the pamphlets had printed dates that preceded the dates when their paper would have been available, and thus they were fraudulent.

The authors were aware that their use of paper evidence was more groundbreaking than that of typographical evidence. The paper test, they said, “has not hitherto been applied to bibliographical purposes” (p. 42), whereas, in the opening sentence of the chapter on type, they call attention to Robert Proctor’s work, decades earlier, identifying the printers of incunabula through the type designs. They also note that Proctor, a friend of William Morris, had in 1898 questioned (on the basis of its type) the Morris pamphlet that Carter and Pollard proved to be a forgery. The typographical tests they used throughout were proposed by Stanley Morison (they could hardly have had a greater typographical adviser). He noticed the kernless “f” and “j” and the tilted question mark used in many of the pamphlets; and these characteristics not only provided another dating test (based on the earliest use of a kernless font) but also led to the identification of the printer as Richard Clay & Sons (Clay had added that question mark to the font). The Clay firm was not involved in the deception: having been commissioned by Wise to print many facsimiles for the Browning and Shelley societies, they had no reason to question the imprints and dates being placed on these other pamphlets. Carter and Pollard concluded that sixteen of the fraudulent pamphlets were definitely printed by Clay & Sons and that all the rest probably were.

The analysis of paper and type is set out in chapters 4 and 5 with meticulous care and exemplary thoroughness. These chapters are part of the six that constitute part I, “Deduction,” tracing the story from the initial suspicion to the “proved conclusion.” In the last chapter of part I, the authors say, “With all its drudgery, detective work has a great intellectual fascination” (p. 93)—and this fascination has been conveyed to the reader. With the “machinery of detection” having been set forth, the authors move in part II, “Reconstruction,” to a description of the forger’s motivation, methods, and marketing strategies. Then comes the largest section of the book, part III, “Dossiers,” in which each of forty-six pam-

phlets (by fifteen authors) is given a thorough account, reporting (among other things) the history of references to it, the location of known copies, the results of tests, and a conclusion. The book as a whole not only demonstrates the use of certain paper and typographical tests in bibliographical analysis but also provides a model of how to draw conclusions cautiously and present the results responsibly.

Another attraction of the book is its prose style. Although the book was a true collaboration between Carter and Pollard, Carter's voice emerges plainly at many points, and some chapters are clearly his work, especially those in part II. The opening one, "The Modern First Edition Market, 1885–1895," is an expert survey of the development of interest in literary first editions (a preview of the more detailed account in *Taste and Technique in Book-Collecting*), providing the necessary context for understanding why the kinds of pamphlets that Wise produced were sought after. It has many characteristic touches, such as this: "New vistas were opening before the collectors' eyes, each with a glint of Eldorado at the end" (p. 107). In "these feverish and speculative conditions," Carter added, "it would have been almost surprising if there had *not* been some collateral descendant of Annius to perceive this golden opportunity. . . . At this time, the thing was, comparatively, easy money: the fish were rising, he [the forger] found (after a few experiments) the right fly, and they swallowed it with a regularity and unanimity which must have been to him exceedingly satisfactory" (pp. 108–09).

The chapter on "Establishing the Pedigrees" shows Carter at his most skillful, for he convincingly points the finger at Wise without saying outright that Wise created the forgeries (which could not be said, since the documentary evidence that later turned up—incriminating Harry Buxton Forman as well as Wise—was not known at that time). Wise could be criticized in other ways, however, especially for his supposed failure to be suspicious of the pamphlets, given the circumstances of their appearance and his bibliographical expertise. His behavior, Carter suggests, "soured of Nelson with the telescope to his blind eye" (p. 134). Carter was unsparing in his condemnation of the "shocking negligence" of Wise (even though he had to call the forger "anonymous") and of the resulting damage:

Mr. Wise, by his credulity, by his vanity in his own possessions, by his dogmatism, by abuse of his eminence in the bibliographical world, has dealt a blow to the prestige of an honourable science, the repercussions of which will be long and widely felt. . . . Like the thirteenth stroke of a faulty clock, which discredits the accuracy of the hours which have gone before, the spuriousness of these books must inevitably cast aspersions on many similar books which are, in fact, genuine. . . . If Mr. Wise, one of the most eminent bibliographers of our time, can be so extensively wrong, who can we be sure is right? (pp. 141–42)

The *Enquiry* is a landmark of bibliographical analysis and the presentation of bibliographical evidence, and it is written in such a way that it is an enduringly readable story of detection.

The three major books of 1932-34 were not Carter's only significant publications of the early 1930s. In November 1934, four months after the *Enquiry* appeared, Constable (in London) and Scribner's (in New York) brought out a volume of essays (planned by him and Michael Sadleir) that he edited, entitled *New Paths in Book Collecting*. There had of course been a number of books about book collecting during the previous forty years, but what made this one distinctive was that it consisted of essays by different writers, each taking up an appealing direction for collecting. The authors were drawn primarily from his and Sadleir's circle of book-world friends, half of them dealers and half collectors: Carter (on "Detective Fiction"), Sadleir ("Yellow-Backs"), P. H. Muir ("Ignoring the Flag" and "War Books"), Graham Pollard ("Serial Fiction"), David A. Randall ("American First Editions, 1900-1933"), Thomas Balston ("English Book Illustration, 1880-1900"), C. B. Oldman ("Musical First Editions"), and John T. Winterich ("The Expansion of an Author Collection"). When Carter commented on this book in 1948 (in *Taste and Technique in Book Collecting*), he called it "only one instance of the responsible part taken in recent years by professional booksellers, not merely through their practical influence exerted in the course of business but also by their contributions to bibliophilic literature and propaganda, in the formulation and the exposition of theory, of policy and of practice in the book-collecting world" (Cambridge edition, p. 84). Here he was not only observing a development but also describing the path he saw for himself as a bookseller, one he faithfully followed.

The title of the volume was not meant to suggest that the subjects discussed were entirely new, for some collectors were already focusing on them; but they were new in the sense that they were not traditional, and the purpose of the book was to call attention to, and encourage, the approach to collecting represented by these trends. It was the paths that were new, not necessarily the subjects: the book aimed not to "dictate" but "to suggest by means of examples" (p. 7). As Carter remarked in *Taste and Technique*, the volume was "one gambit" in the "general propagandist movement towards diversity of method" (p. 84). Throughout his career, Carter argued that collectors should think on their own and not simply repeat what earlier collectors had done. In the introduction to this volume, for example, he says that collectors should have "enough independence to dislike joining the herd movements which are always ploughing their way across the book market" (p. 6). The point is made several times in the opening pages through metaphor. For example:

A collection of “high spots” may sound the chord of C major, which is indeed a fine and resounding noise; yet there are other and more subtle harmonies, the pleasantest of which are those which we evolve for ourselves. These are composed of notes which anyone can use and many have used, but by our own arrangement of them we can achieve a sound never heard before. (p. 11)

Earlier, in a visual metaphor, he says that the coherence of such a collection can reveal a “beautiful pattern” (p. 4). This newly revealed pattern, like the “sound never heard before,” makes a “contribution to knowledge” (a phrase used on the first page). Implicit in all the essays that follow (“essays in method,” he calls them), and often explicit as well, is a recognition that collecting is a form of historical study and that following new paths increases our understanding of the past. With this kind of grounding, *New Paths* remains one of the most perceptive and inspiring of introductory guides.

Carter followed up on this book in two ways the same year. With Sadleir, he organized an exhibition “arranged to illustrate” *New Paths* at J. & E. Bumpus, accompanied by a substantial annotated catalogue; and for the Scribner Book Store he put together a catalogue on detective fiction (largely from his own collection). (In the next few years, he and David A. Randall, head of Scribner’s Rare Book Department in New York as of March 1935, publicized many more new paths in their catalogues.) His interest in publishers’ bindings also led to further contributions to their history in the form of two introductions to Elkin Mathews catalogues (1932) and two small books, *Publishers’ Cloth* (1935, in connection with an exhibition at the New York Public Library) and *More Binding Variants* (1938, a supplement to his 1932 book).

His editorial work also continued with editions of Housman’s *Introductory Lecture* (1933) and *The Collected Poems* (1939) and an incomplete edition of Catullus (two fascicles only, 1934-35). (*The Collected Poems* was published without an editor’s name; but four years later, in the course of an article in the *Times Literary Supplement* on 5 and 12 June 1943, Carter revealed his editorship publicly.) These efforts, however, did not have the scholarly merit of the Browne edition. The Housman *Collected Poems*, to take the primary example, could have been a triumph; but it was hastily produced and involved faulty editorial judgments. Housman’s will authorized his brother Laurence to destroy some manuscripts and to oversee the use of the others; and Laurence in turn asked Carter (who had helped organize the manuscripts) to produce an edition of the poetry. The result was criticized, beginning in the autumn of 1952 (when the book was in its thirteenth impression), by two American scholars, Tom Burns Haber (Ohio State) and William White (Wayne State), leading to an acrimonious feud that erupted periodically in the pages of the *Times Literary Supplement* (and, to a lesser extent, *The Book Collector*) over the next sixteen years.

It started on 26 September 1952 in the *TLS* with a letter from White, using information from Haber, who had studied the Housman manuscripts, beginning in 1950, much more thoroughly than Carter had. White's letter, referring to Carter's "slip-shod editing," alludes to the two concerns that were the basis of their criticism: the outright errors in the text and the questionable judgment underlying the handling of uncanceled manuscript alternatives, where Carter followed the choices made by Laurence Housman in the poems included in his posthumous editions. Carter's response (24 October 1952) was weak on both counts. Regarding the first, he said he had only claimed "a *more* correct text." As for the second, he asserted that "the person authorized to perform this [choice among variants] . . . was the author's brother, whose judgment they [White and Haber] are not entitled to challenge." Haber's long letter on 7 November mainly described the history of the manuscripts and his work with them; and it was not until a year later (2 October 1953) that Haber, in a good letter summarizing the situation, made a proper reply to Carter's second point. Carter, he said, "is speaking wildly when he says (of the poet's brother) that consanguinity endows an editor with omniscience when choosing between alternative readings in a manuscript." Haber ends by regretting that the text "should be toyed with once again," since the fourteenth impression, about to appear, was not to be a thorough revision.

That fourteenth impression, "freshly corrected" according to Carter (23 October 1953), still contained errors that were noted by White (12 February 1954), who also questioned Carter's assertion that Housman's will gave his brother the right to choose between variants. Despite Carter's assurance (5 March 1954), White's quotation from the will (14 May 1954) suggests that Carter was incorrect. But this point, of course, is a legal one and is irrelevant to a scholarly editor's obligation to think through textual decisions independently. The debate was quiescent for the next five years; but during that time Haber's *The Manuscript Poems of A. E. Housman* (1955) appeared, and it produced discussion in the *TLS* (1 July 1955; 15 June, 20, 27 July 1956) and *The Book Collector* (4:110–14) that intensified the lack of civility between Carter and Haber—though the anonymous front-page *TLS* review of Haber's book on 29 April 1955, one of the most severe attacks the *TLS* has ever published, was not by Carter but by his friend and occasional collaborator John Sparrow.

The controversy over *The Collected Poems* revived again when Haber brought out a volume in 1959 called *Complete Poems: Centennial Edition* (from the same American publisher as *The Collected Poems*), which contained the same poems as Carter's edition but with different texts. Carter asked (29 May 1959) whether Haber had received authorization from the Housman estate, questioned a number of readings, and said that Haber's textual es-

say "follows the expectable line of quiet superiority." After Haber replied (24 July 1959), Carter maintained that only his edition was authorized and that Haber was not qualified to "tamper" with the text; and he concluded his letter (14 August 1959) as follows:

I am if anything more conscious to-day of the fallibility of my eyes and of my judgment than I was, thirty-odd years ago, when Housman lectured to us on textual criticism at Cambridge. Mr. Haber, as students of his writings must by now be well aware, is afflicted with no such humility. This puts him at an advantage in the protracted controversy into which I have been, most reluctantly, drawn. But I am not sure that the advantage is shared by the poet and his readers, whom each of us is trying in his own way to serve.

Haber's *Complete Poems* was withdrawn after several impressions (following the English publisher's insistence that it was unauthorized), and the debate over *The Collected Poems* finally ended almost a decade later, when White reported (11 January 1968) only three "trifling errors" in the latest impression (the correction of which he acknowledged on 1 October 1971). But since in the same issue (11 January 1968) Haber pursued his feud with Sparrow, Carter could not resist one more sarcastic retort (14 March 1968). Reacting to Haber's account of first looking into the manuscripts, Carter says, "It is as if stout Cortes had beheld the Pacific for the first time (except that Cortes, if Keats is to be believed, was silent)." And in the same letter Carter calls White "that indefatigable vigilante of Housman's text." The condescending tone was inappropriate, for Carter should himself have been such a vigilante, having accepted the task of editing these poems. Nevertheless, his 1939 edition gave readers convenient access to the body of Housman's poetry for the first time; and, in its successive revisions, it remained the standard text for many decades.

Aside from his various book publications of the 1930s, Carter made important contributions to the book world during these years through his journalism and his participation in other activities that promoted communication among members of that world. His first book-related journalism appeared in *Publishers' Weekly*, as a result of his having become acquainted with its editor, Frederick G. Melcher, during his first trip to New York in 1929. At that time *Publishers' Weekly* was a crucial journal for the antiquarian-book world as well as the new-book world through its inclusion of a department called "Old and Rare Books," which provided substantial articles and reviews along with columns by Frederick M. Hopkins ("Rare Book Notes") and Jacob Blanck ("News from the Rare Book Shops"). Carter became a regular contributor, producing nearly seventy pieces (articles, reviews, letters) from 1930 through 1947, at which time the function of the rare-book section was taken over by a new periodical, *Antiquarian Bookman*. (*Publishers' Weekly* did not forget its role in Carter's

career and offered one of the most informative biographical articles about him in its issue of 3 January 1953.) When, in the issue of 20 December 1941, he looked back on his *PW* writings, he found "some couched in the intolerant language of youth, others in the autocratic style of middle age, but none of them expressing sentiments to which their writer would not still subscribe." They include some of the best articles he ever wrote.

At the same time Carter was playing a role in the creation of another outlet for book-world news, the back page of the *Times Literary Supplement*. Michael Sadleir was the prime mover in this endeavor: in early 1931 he convened a group of friends (including Carter, Pollard, Percy Muir, John Hayward, and Dudley Massey) to discuss with Simon Nowell-Smith, a new member of the *Times* staff, the possibility of expanding the coverage of the book world on the *TLS* back page from the limited "Notes on Sales" it presently carried. This group, which became known as the "Biblio Boys," continued (with an evolving membership) to have monthly dinners for many decades; it stands as a major example of the role that social connections and personal communication can play in the responsible development of a field (as glimpsed in Bertram Rota catalogue 290, *The Biblio-Boys*, 1999). The earliest instance of the group's influence was the invigoration of the *TLS* back page, which did become a widely followed forum for the antiquarian-book world. Carter was by far its most prolific contributor—and, beginning in 1946 during Stanley Morison's editorship, its formally appointed supervisor, a position he kept (except during his Washington years, 1953-55) until 1967, when the bibliographical page ceased to be a regular feature. He wrote about 700 reviews for the *TLS* between 1931 and the end of his life, along with some 300 other pieces (letters, articles, and notes, many of them amounting to additional reviews). His sensible and well-expressed views (which had a scholarly underpinning) were thereby given wide circulation. But the *TLS* policy of anonymity meant that most readers (those not privy to book-world gossip) were not aware that Carter's was the dominant voice through which they were being provided with remarkably thorough coverage from the antiquarian-book world, including reports of auctions and exhibitions as well as reviews of bibliographical journals and books.

Another product of the Biblio Boys' conversations, though of much shorter duration, was *Bibliographical Notes & Queries*, a periodical that Muir undertook to edit from the Elkin Mathews shop, beginning in January of 1935. Carter did his part to make the journal succeed by furnishing a large number of queries and replies (many under pseudonyms), covering a wide range of topics, from publishing practices to specific books (often with substantial discussions). But the services to scholarship provided by the journal were not sufficiently used to allow it to continue past the May 1939 issue. It was nevertheless a valiant attempt to promote the inter-

change of ideas and information, a perennial concern of Carter's circle of book-world friends. His own efforts—in reviews, notes, catalogue entries, talks, and conversations—took up a lot of his time, but they played a major role, through their ubiquity and style, in educating all kinds of participants in the book world. And they did not prevent his producing substantial scholarly work. In May of 1939, when *BN&Q* ended and he marked his thirty-fourth birthday, he could look back on a decade of impressive accomplishment, rarely equaled in bibliographical history.

THE 1940S

Carter's role in the war effort began in September 1939, when he became a press censor for the Ministry of Information, serving as information secretary to the Minister, Brendan Bracken. His duties there allowed him to continue his work at Scribner's (whose office at 23 Bedford Square was around the corner); but four years later, in November 1943, he was named director of the General Division of the Ministry's New York office, called British Information Services, which necessitated his taking a leave of absence from Scribner's. (In his New York position, which involved being supervisor of publications, he wrote in 1945 an anonymous and widely circulated pamphlet, *Victory in Burma*, intended to show, as he says at the outset, that Britain's Burma campaigns "have been an integral and a vital part of the over-all Allied strategy in the war against Japan.") His government service ended in October 1945; and at the beginning of 1946 he was named managing director of Scribner's London office, with new responsibilities added to his previous ones. It is understandable, therefore, that the pace of his writing in the 1930s could not be maintained in the 1940s. But he did produce a major book and kept up his journalistic presence, even adding two mass-circulation magazines, *The Atlantic Monthly* and *The Cornhill Magazine*, to his outlets (having written some theater reviews for *The Spectator* in 1940).

His reviews and reports for *Publishers' Weekly* in the late 1930s and early 1940s contain many moving references to the war. He begins his comment on the first volume of W. W. Greg's drama bibliography this way: "This is the week of Hitler's invasion of Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg and France. It is, therefore, a week in which the words 'important' and 'a major event' sound a little odd when applied to a book." Later in the same column, he notes the ending of *Bibliographical Notes & Queries* and adds, "Let us hope that it may revive, with other humane activities, when we reach that post-war world which now looks so much like a mirage" (15 June 1940). The title of another piece, "Bomb-Proof Bibliography" (21 October 1939), is explained at the outset: "When the newspapers are full of the war, and our sleep is constantly interrupted by air-raid

warnings, it is comforting to turn, for a change of air, to these scholarly pages" (referring to Dorothy Blakey's *Minerva Press bibliography*). In the spring of 1941 he could report, in reference to the Maggs shop, that "the nightingale is still singing in Berkeley Square—this year in the key of B minor" (19 April 1941).

One of the high points of the war years for him, and one of the most emotional, was the occasion (7 July 1941) when he presented to Churchill the manuscript of Clough's poem that Churchill had read in a radio broadcast two months earlier; his charming account, in the issue of 2 August 1941, is "Clough to Churchill." On that occasion he also gave Churchill a copy of *Grim Glory*, the 1941 book of wartime photographs edited by his wife, for which he had composed the dedication to Churchill. (Five years earlier, on 26 December 1936, he had married Ernestine Fantl, a native of Savannah, Georgia, who was then the curator of architecture at the Museum of Modern Art.) The most memorable of all these pieces, "A Bookseller's Day in London" (2 November 1940), reports that "it's three weeks now since I went to sleep not hearing a German bomber somewhere overhead"; and he wakes up to "the now all too familiar sound of the demolition squads shovelling piles of broken glass into trucks." Instead of reading the morning papers he turns to a favorite essay by his great-great-uncle William Johnson Cory, "which makes me think of sanity and the classics and all the things I was brought up to respect." His account of his day's routine under wartime conditions is journalism at its best, vividly conveying the atmosphere of a particular time and place.

Carter's major book of the 1940s resulted from his being asked to deliver the Sandars Lectures in Bibliography at Cambridge in 1947. Entitled *Taste and Technique in Book-Collecting*, the book was published on 26 July 1948 by R. R. Bowker in New York (the publisher of *Publishers' Weekly*) and, three months later (on 29 October), by Cambridge University Press in England. (The Cambridge edition is preferable, with its wonderful typography, its comfortable feel in the hand, and its old-fashioned use of recto running-titles, obviously written by Carter, that summarize the content of each two-page spread—this last a feature of the *Enquiry* also. For typographic excellence, the book was named one of the "Fifty Books of the Year" by the National Book League.) It is, in my opinion, Carter's best book, and the best book about book collecting ever written. Although it has many devotees, it has nevertheless been overshadowed by several of his other books. The reason may be its title, which sounds like a how-to manual. But the book is actually a perceptive historical study of book collecting, along with an account of the role of taste and technique (that is, connoisseurship) in making it a serious scholarly pursuit. He states in the preface that it is "not a primer or a text-book or a manual for beginners" but rather "a somewhat ruminative treatise"—or, as he later says,

an “advanced treatise of a general kind” (Cambridge edition, p. 107). And he begins the second part by describing what is to follow as “reflexions, not advice.” No one, he believes, “can learn how to collect from manuals or at second hand” (p. 91). Nevertheless, the book is full of well-reasoned observations, and anyone who takes them to heart will have acquired the best kind of preparation—not conveyed by instructions but by penetrating insights born of wide experience and learning.

The book is a *tour de force*, or a series of such *tours*, for each chapter is a showpiece. Elegant in structure, as in all other aspects, it is divided into two parts of six chapters each: the first part is called “Evolution” and the second “Method.” This pairing is not to be equated with “taste” and “technique,” because the latter two (for which we could substitute “temperament” and “approach”) run throughout the book as a unifying thread. The “Evolution” section is a marvelously rich account of nineteenth-century British and American collecting (with a few glimpses of earlier centuries and the European continent)—rich both in the number of individuals cited and in the analyses of the patterns and motives they display (not forgetting the role of literary criticism). The second part, “Method,” includes chapters on “Tools and Terminology,” “Bookshop and Auction Room,” “Rarity” (the longest chapter and a particularly impressive one), and “Condition.” Even the discussion of reference books (in the first of these), is enjoyable; and although it is inevitably dated in its citations, it is still worth reading for its astute comments on categories of reference works. In the same way, the fact that the examples drawn on in every chapter have to be from before 1949 does not make the book seem dated, for they so thoroughly document a wide range of situations that one can see their applicability to any period. And the awesome profusion of examples, one of the hallmarks of the book, is an extreme demonstration of the feats of memory attainable by attentive booksellers.

The final chapter is appropriately on “Condition,” for a subcategory of that topic, “original condition,” turns up throughout the book: the primary movement, after all, in the story that Carter tells of the evolution of book collecting is the growing concern with preserving books in their original condition. The earlier interest in possessing books in fine bindings began changing in the late nineteenth century, with Wise as a principal instigator, to an emphasis on the historical significance of original condition. Carter’s investigations of nineteenth-century publishers’ bindings is an indication of his firm belief in the importance of such condition. If the published forms of books are relatively easy to define after the introduction of edition-binding, they are not obvious for earlier books. From his first article, entitled “Original Condition: An Appeal to Reason” (1930), Carter continually argued for a “reasonable” approach to this question. By that he meant that a collector should not hold out for a copy in the un-

bound or temporarily bound condition that occasionally survives; instead, one should be satisfied with a contemporary bound copy (which could be one of the copies originally offered for retail sale). For this period, in other words, original condition could refer to any of the forms that might have been encountered in a bookseller's shop.

His position is indeed reasonable, but when he writes on this subject, he is inclined to take one false step: to use, as a support for his point of view, the idea that boards or wrappers were "by intention ephemeral" (p. 178), representing "the chrysalis stage of production" (p. 180). The printer's or publisher's assumption that wrappers or boards would be replaced does not alter the historical fact that such a stage existed and is therefore worthy of attention. Carter does recognize the value of the bibliographical evidence (as he always does), but there was no need to introduce, as if it were relevant, the presumed expectations of the producers of the books. To do so may be a consolation for collectors, but it is a rare lapse in logic for Carter.

As usual, his prose is a delight (even though in the 1970 reprint he claimed to detect "a certain stylistic dandyism" in it). The book should be read slowly, so that each paragraph (and most of its constituent sentences) can be savored. The richness of the texture is created by—to name some of its elements—balanced syntax, precise but often surprising diction, striking metaphors, a profusion of proper names and italicized titles, a judicious sprinkling of foreign words (including untransliterated Greek), and an affinity for colons. One cannot help but think that his love of seventeenth-century prose, especially Thomas Browne's, played its part. Dipping into the book anywhere is likely to pull up a memorable, and often aphoristic, sentence, such as: "whenever expertise becomes an end in itself instead of the means to an end, it results in empty virtuosity" (p. 81). Or, on the fondness some collectors feel for books of their youth: this attraction "often reflects the unpredictable influence of some miscellaneous shelf which the mere accident of propinquity at a receptive period has endowed with an unforgotten magic" (p. 72). Or, for a more extended example, dealing with one of Carter's favorite, and most important, topics:

And if I return now to individuality of taste and the variety of approach involved in breaking new ground—both healthy signs of originality, enterprise and intelligence—it is for the purpose of emphasising the importance of a sense of balance in the general structure. For although I have been, and remain, a proponent of idiosyncrasy, a warm supporter of the unusual approach in book-collecting, I have detected in myself and have sometimes suspected among my book-collecting friends a tendency to a certain esotericism of taste which is analogous to, and is indeed sometimes allied with, that conscious virtuosity in technique to which I referred earlier. It is, equally with the other, a perfectly legitimate tendency in the sophisticated collector, as long as it is clearly recognised as such. But since it is the sophisticated collectors

who most influence the unsophisticated, there is always a danger that their mannerisms, whether of taste or method, will be imitated (and usually exaggerated) while their underlying purpose remains unrecognised: just as many an architect who slaps on a swag here or a cupola there fondly supposes himself to be thereby qualifying for comparison with Wren or Brunelleschi. (pp. 88-89)

The rhythms of this paragraph, the placement of its pauses, leading toward the summarizing simile, make it a characteristic performance.

The personality that comes through is learned and humane—to use the adjectives that Carter applied on the first page to A. W. Pollard's great essay on book collecting in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Carter's scholarly temperament, and his consequent concern with history, are evident throughout, epitomized perhaps in his insistence that any "restoration" of a book be accompanied by a statement in which "the nature of the repairs made to it" are "recorded indelibly" (p. 185). He insisted that scholarly bibliographical analyses have "a strong claim on the attention of the average collector" (p. 114), and he recognized the role of collectors as scholars: "the ultimate value of the bibliophile to pure scholarship depends on his recognition as an active entity, not a mere appendix" (p. 99). In his discussion of Sadleir's *Bibliographia* series, Carter observed that it was "marked by a scholarly appreciation of the importance of book-structure and publishing practice to the intelligent collector, whose acquiescence in this proposition was enlisted by being taken for granted" (p. 61). There could be no better description of Carter's own book.

The same mind is obviously at work in his journalism of the 1940s. For example, in reviewing J. D. Cowley's *Bibliographical Description and Cataloguing*, he said, "The principles of bibliography are valid for books of all periods, and even the chronicler of a living author is the better for having learned how to collate an incunable" (*Publishers' Weekly*, 16 March 1940). And after the war, when he described the great Yale convocation of October 1946 to "mark the return of the University's collections to peacetime use" (*Publishers' Weekly*, 23 November 1946), he concluded his highly laudatory account with these important reflections:

Objects—books, pictures, or bones—are part of the stuff of scholarship, of culture, of ideas. It is axiomatic that it is the duty of institutions to acquire, preserve and catalog them; generally agreed, though not everywhere achieved, that they should be readily available to those who need to study them; but much less often recognized that they require to be actively injected into the thoughts and studies of the academic, and also of the wider, world outside their glass cases. Every year museums and libraries get fuller and the problem of exploiting their resources more formidable. The methods by which this can best be done vary with the circumstances; but the amount of imagination and enterprise being devoted in this country [the United States] to making such collections as Yale's not a mere adjunct but an integral and living part

of the world of taste and scholarship is something of which Americans may rightly be proud.

That these enlightened ideas, and others like them, were expressed in a journal with the wide readership (mostly nonbibliographical) of *Publishers' Weekly* was fortunate; and one cannot help regretting that Carter's voice was not much heard there after the rare-book department was ceded to the *Antiquarian Bookman* in 1948.

Two other publications of the 1940s deserve mention. In 1941, Carter and Brooke Crutchley (of Cambridge University Press) produced a revised edition of Harry G. Aldis's 1916 *The Printed Book*. Although their edition is now superseded, it is significant for the role it played for a decade or two. Their contribution was to provide up-to-date coverage of the nineteenth-century revolution in book production, especially the introduction of publishers' binding and new methods of printing and illustration. The book was one more element in Carter's ongoing effort to promote the study of nineteenth-century books. And since it sold well (with reprintings occurring in 1947 and 1951), it served that purpose effectively. At the other end of the decade, in 1948, another of Carter's perennial concerns was represented in *The Firm of Charles Ottley, Landon & Co.* (the title-page authorship credited to Carter "with Graham Pollard"). As the subtitle indicated, it was a "footnote to *An Enquiry*," proving four more pamphlets fraudulent and serving as the first interim report on the continuing investigation of the Wise-Forman forgeries.

THE 1950S

The next decade was one of dramatic change in Carter's life. In early 1953 Scribner's closed most of its London operations, thus ending Carter's quarter-century association with the firm (during which time he had made thirty-six Atlantic crossings). And in October of 1955 he happily joined Sotheby's book department as a half-time associate, with special responsibility for being the American representative (a particularly appropriate appointment since he already knew the American scene so well); this arrangement left him free to engage at the same time in independent consulting for collectors and librarians, an activity that extended the influence of his ideas.

During the two and a half years in between (from April 1953 to October 1955), he was based at the British Embassy in Washington as the personal assistant (with the rank of Counsellor) to the British ambassador, Sir Roger Makins (a service for which he was later named Commander of the Order of the British Empire). He was a perfect choice, with his wide knowledge of the United States and his elegance in manner and dress as

well as in speaking and writing. The job had a large social component, and Carter and his wife greatly enjoyed this period of their lives. (In her entertaining and perceptive 1974 autobiography, *With Tongue in Chic*, she says, "The Washington years were golden years.") The flavor of their Washington life is suggested by a thank-you note from T. S. Eliot written on 22 May 1955, after a luncheon party at the Carters' Georgetown house (quoted from R. M. Smythe auction catalogue 157, 13 November 1996, lot 412, with one correction):

Dear Ernestine

I can't leave Washington without writing to thank you & John for your hospitality - for a delicious lunch beautifully served in perfect surroundings and in a company at once distinguished and sympathetic. And if you were leaving Washington in the autumn for any other destination than London, I should say how sorry I was not to be able to look forward to a similar occasion next year.

Yours gratefully
Tom Eliot

The glamorous life implied here (or "glittering," as Ernestine called it) was not an unaccustomed one for the Carters: given the connections Carter had made through the international world of collecting and the fact that Ernestine had been, before the move to Washington, an influential fashion journalist with the English *Harper's Bazaar* (becoming Women's Editor of *The Sunday Times* on their return to London, and later Associate Editor), their combined circle of celebrity acquaintances was impressive, as was their entertaining. I have remarked in the past on the interdependence of all parts of a person's life and on how the scholarly (or bibliographical) and the social nourish each other. One illustration of this point that I have used is the life of Mary Hyde, and it happens that the Hydes were New York friends of Carter. When Carter was setting up a New York office for Sotheby's, Donald Hyde provided space and secretarial help in his law firm's financial-district premises at 61 Broadway. Carter's writings, no less than his bookselling activities, benefited from the knowledge and contacts furnished by his full social life.

Eighteen months before Carter began at the embassy in Washington, he delivered one of the Windsor Lectures at the University of Illinois and produced for that occasion a landmark essay, "Some Bibliographical Agenda"—agenda, that is, for the study of nineteenth-century English books, which was the subject of this lecture series in October 1951. (The essay was published the next year in a volume that included the essays by the other two lecturers that year, Gordon N. Ray and Carl J. Weber; Carter also selected it for his 1956 collection, *Books and Book-Collectors*.) In his essay, Carter set the stage for future work: after summarizing the revolutionary changes in book production in the nineteenth century that

complicate bibliographical research on books of that period and after outlining what little work had been done, he focused on a few of the complicating features, such as cancels, binding variants, and inserted advertisements. His comments, as always, are grounded in an understanding of the importance of printing and publishing history for bibliographical analysis and description.

At the time, Fredson Bowers's *Principles of Bibliographical Description* was a relatively new book, having been published at the very end of 1949; but Carter had absorbed it, and he ended his essay with a generally shrewd assessment. He was sympathetic, of course, with Bowers's conception of bibliography as historical scholarship, and he welcomed Bowers's efforts to systematize work on modern books. But he correctly noted that Bowers's lack of experience (at that time) with nineteenth- and twentieth-century books weakened his treatment of them, which showed "signs of the rigidity natural to a cautious man operating in comparatively unfamiliar territory." One result, as Carter recognized, is that Bowers inappropriately extended to the period of publishers' bindings the idea that only the sheets (and not the binding) of a book could be a determinant of *issue*. The one place where Carter slipped up was when he said that Bowers's collation formula might be "unnecessarily elaborate" for nineteenth-century books, seemingly not recognizing that the formula was not elaborate for books with a simple structure and that the formulary had to be prepared to handle complex structures, which many nineteenth-century books certainly do have. But if we make allowance for this misjudgment, we can still read the essay with profit for its many helpful insights and its point of view.

About a year after Carter delivered this lecture, his *ABC for Book Collectors* (1952) was published—the book that has proved to be his most famous one. It has sold well throughout the English-speaking world for several generations and is now in its ninth edition (having been sensitively revised several times since his death by Nicolas Barker, most recently with Simran Thadani). The book was not the first glossary of book-world terms: a well-established one, *The Bookman's Glossary*, had been published in 1926 by R. R. Bowker, the publisher of the American edition of Carter's *Taste and Technique*, and was in its third edition in 1952. Carter's concern with improving it had been shown in a letter noted in *Publishers' Weekly* on 11 August 1945; but the *Glossary* was geared more toward librarians and publishers than collectors and dealers, and the *ABC* was, as Carter says in his preface, the first "to deal comprehensively with the terminology of this particular subject and no other." He benefited from the advice of an impressive group of consultants, enumerated in the preface as "a sort of Tenth Legion," and the result was a remarkably thorough treatment. It included not only terms one encounters in dealers' catalogues and basic

concepts of collecting (such as "condition") but also standard reference books and fundamental points of bibliographical analysis.

Indeed, Carter's recognition of the essential role of bibliographical scholarship in collecting is a notable feature of the book. One learns, for example, about formes and collations, the bibliographical meanings of "sheet" and "signature," and the importance of distinguishing integral from inserted advertisements. And the information is sound, as when he emphatically states that collations are necessary for modern books. He even brings up press figures, clearly summarizing the current knowledge of them and then adding, "The bibliographers have not made much out of them yet. But they will." The only place I have found in the first edition where Carter slips up seriously is when he says that valuing dust-jackets is "a matter of taste," noting that Morris L. Parrish, "one of the greatest sticklers who ever lived," threw them away; he should simply have said that Parrish was wrong. (The reference to Parrish was deleted twenty years later, in the fifth edition.) Another distinguishing characteristic of the book is that its advice is conveyed in the entertaining prose that was by then well-honed. Commenting on the undiscriminating citation of author bibliographies (at the end of the entry for "Bibliography"), Carter says,

The judicious collector soon learns that verdicts are not infallible just because they are in print; that the cry of "Not in Prism" should excite him only if Prism's book both claims to be comprehensive and has some reputation for accuracy; but that as long as others continue to cherish a variant or issue canonised by however incompetent a bibliographer, so long will booksellers continue to cite even an incompetent bibliography rather than none at all.

And the long entry on "Rarity" begins this way (with what is probably the most quoted passage in the book):

Rarity is the salt in book-collecting. But if you take too much salt, the flavour of the dish is spoiled; and if you take it neat it will make you sick. Similarly, those book-collectors who exalt rarity above any other criterion tend to develop third-degree bibliomania, which is a painful and slightly ridiculous ailment.

It is easy to see why this book is such a pleasure to consult. The book world is fortunate to have a reliable source of basic information that has been, through its appeal, widely disseminated and influential.

In 1958 Carter brought out a revised edition of Browne's *Urne Buriall and the Garden of Cyrus*, marking the three-hundredth anniversary of its original appearance. As published by Cambridge University Press in a compact and attractive volume, it gave Carter's text a much wider circulation than it had achieved in the limited edition of 1932, a not inconsiderable service. And the two-page preface shows the skill and charm that Carter brought to the writing of such pieces. In his praise of Browne's two

great essays as “the perfected products of his maturity,” Carter displayed the maturity of his own prose:

in *Urne Buriall*, the curious lore, the strange fantasies, the whimsical speculations, the extraordinary conceits, the relish for picturesque legend and equally picturesque reality, the fascination exerted on the author by bizarre historical and mythical figures—all these jewelled elements, like the thousand small pieces of stained glass in a great rose window, are harmonised by Browne’s deeply reflective imagination, and patterned, with the most polished and elaborate artistry, into paragraph after paragraph of baroque magnificence.

Carter was able to emend Browne’s text with a few further authorial corrections, drawn from six additional author-corrected copies that had become known since 1932 (bringing the total to twelve), as well as several other justifiable emendations.

Otherwise, however, this edition is less desirable in three ways. First, Browne’s marginal references are omitted. Second, Carter reports that “a quarter of a century’s reflection has convinced me of the over-severity of my earlier reaction” against the modernizing of previous editors, and he therefore modernizes spelling and punctuation in a few places—in only a very few, fortunately, or so it seems (though one cannot be sure without a full collation, since these changes are not listed). Third, the short list of “Emendations in the Present Text” records only the emendations to his 1932 text (except, that is, for the occasional modernizing of accidentals), and thus one does not have a complete list of emendations to the first edition, such as the one in his 1932 edition—“which,” he says, “was too elaborate to repeat in a reading edition and to which readers concerned with such things are referred.” But that earlier edition can be consulted only in rare-book rooms. And in any case, the idea of a “reading edition”—“for the general reader, not for the antiquarian or for the specialist”—is suspect. Ordinary readers are often interested in textual alterations; and when they are not, the presence of the information does not deter them from reading. That Carter continued to be concerned with Browne’s text is shown by his “working copies” of the two impressions of this edition, in which he marked eleven possible revisions in the first and eight corrections in the second.

Carter’s other publications of the 1950s were mostly useful continuations of his long-standing enthusiasms: handlists of A. E. Housman, Stanley Morison, and William Johnson Cory (plus an edition of Cory), showing how valuable the handlist genre can be; and essays on book collecting, Wise, and publishers’ bindings, some of them in the new journal *The Book Collector*. He also continued to produce reviews steadily and to write occasional biographical accounts and obituaries, primarily (but not exclusively) of book-world figures. Two obituaries from *The Times* in this

period display his prose in response to two contrasting personalities. Of Belle da Costa Greene, Morgan's librarian, he wrote (19 May 1950):

The elder J. Pierpont Morgan was a formidable and autocratic grandee, and not, one may suppose, an easy master. His librarian steadily enhanced his original confidence in her without sacrificing one jot of her own imperious temper, so that in her later years the posture of the autocrat came perhaps the more naturally to her. She was always direct, she was no respecter of persons, she could on occasion be high-handed; but in a world where dust settles as easily on persons as on things these are refreshing tactics.

In his portrait of Wilmarth Lewis's wife, he said (14 May 1959):

She was Annie Burr Auchincloss; and the stamp of that aristocratic lineage was as plainly visible in her handsome presence as it was subtly perceptible beneath the charm and friendliness of manner which endeared her not merely to her own wide acquaintance but to hundreds of scholars, students and connoisseurs whom her husband's dedicated passion for Strawberry Hill and its master continually drew into the Farmington orbit.

These examples of Carter's effectiveness in this genre can be duplicated from all parts of his career. The bookseller A. W. Evans, for example, "would dominate you by a combination of personal charm and an easy, urbane scholarship which endowed the transaction with an atmosphere of mutual privilege" (19 April 1943). And who besides Carter would have said that the death of the collector Louis H. Silver extinguished "a fire before which his many friends delighted to warm their hands" (5 November 1963), or that there was an "ironically sad splendour" in the timing of the choreographer Andrée Howard's death (20 April 1968)? (His writing about Howard reflects his love of ballet; his use of "sad splendour" may echo the title of Sadleir's novel *Desolate Splendour*.)

Two publications of 1956-57 serve to mark these years (when he was beginning work at Sotheby's) as a turning point: one consolidated what had gone before, and the other looked forward. The first was a gathering of his essays called *Books and Book-Collectors* (1956), consisting of eighteen pieces written between 1934 and 1955 and including treatments of Wise, detective fiction, the study of nineteenth-century books, and collecting history, along with eight biographical sketches and his amusing review of his own ABC. It is an appealing selection, which served to introduce new readers to his prose. And it preserved in book form essays that are otherwise not very accessible. (There are many more that deserve to be collected.) The other publication—the one that looked forward to his new life—was *Sotheby's 213th Season, 1956-1957*, a pictorial review of the season in pamphlet form, with an introduction by him. Carter initiated the idea of an annual review (which he edited for the first few years) in this modest fashion, and it evolved into the series of elaborate volumes called *Art at Auction*.

THE 1960S AND 1970S

From the time he began at Sotheby's in 1955, Carter was occupied with devising ways to bring American auction business to London, a task he was ideally suited for and very successful at accomplishing; and after 1960, when Sotheby's decided to open a full-time New York office with Peregrine Pollen as head, he was also helping to get that office established. His efforts to publicize Sotheby's were coincidentally assisted by the three American lecture tours he was asked to make for the English Speaking Union in 1961-63. Another instance of his supporting the sale of art during this period (though without any mention of Sotheby's) was a letter he wrote to *The Times* from New York (published 21 March 1962), which serves as a good illustration of his epistolary style:

Everyone's Business

Sir,—To an Englishman at this distance the attitudes of Parliament, press, and public towards the Royal Academy seem (with the honourable exception of *The Times*) oddly governessy.

The Academy, surely, is a society of gentlemen accountable, like any other club, to its membership and to the law of the land: but how to anyone else? It owns certain property; it has certain liabilities. Like many other clubs, it is a victim of the economic arithmetic of the 1960s. Some clubs raise the subscription: others charge more for whisky: others again let in cads. The Academy decides to sell a picture.

Would even a member of Parliament, let alone any busybody who can spell Leonardo, presume to interfere publicly in the private affairs of the Athenaeum or White's, of the Beefsteak or the Garrick? And if they did, would you, Sir, print their letters? I take leave to doubt it, while remaining

Your obedient servant,
John Carter

Below his name, he gave his New York address as the Grolier Club, characteristically linking his location with the content of the letter (a practice that goes back to a 1930 letter in *Bookmart* about defining "first edition," where he used the First Edition Club as his address).

But all the travel and negotiations of these years (which he called "hectic" in a 1971 recollection) did not prevent his devoting a great deal of time and energy (in the early and middle 1960s) to the project that led to *Printing and the Mind of Man* (a title for which he was responsible). Carter played a major role, first as an active member of the Supervisory Committee for a historical display (of which Stanley Morison was the "inspirer and foster-father," as Carter put it) to be held in conjunction with the July 1963 International Printing Machinery and Allied Trades Exhibition, and then as co-editor (with Percy Muir) of an expanded catalogue of books that were selected to show the impact of printing on intellectual history.

The majestic volume that appeared in 1967 was designed by John Dreyfus (with title-page lettering engraved by Reynolds Stone) and printed at Cambridge University Press for publication by Cassell. The writing was equal to the design, with substantial commentaries produced by (in addition to Carter and Muir) Nicolas Barker, H. A. Feisenberger, Howard Nixon, and S. H. Steinberg. Carter's hand is evident throughout, though he was the sole author of only a few entries. (The entries are unsigned, but Muir indicated the authorship in a set of proofs, now at Cambridge University Library.) Carter wrote the commentaries on Maimonides, Shakespeare, Lewis Carroll, and Churchill and was the co-author (with Muir) of four others. The Churchill item (his speech of 20 August 1940) is the last of the 424 entries in the book. It is not surprising that Carter wrote this entry, given his admiration for Churchill (as shown by his 1941 account of meeting him, mentioned above). In the entry, having cited the Gettysburg Address, he says, "Lincoln and Churchill were far more than a century apart in temperament, but they shared a genius for language." He ends his commentary by noting that Churchill had "an eloquence that matched the hour."

The volume can be seen as an elaborate presentation of one of Carter's "new paths"—not one taken up in *New Paths* but one that he and Randall had promoted at Scribner's, as reflected in Carter's 1938 catalogue on *Science and Thought in the Nineteenth Century*. But new paths can evolve into established paths, and *Printing and the Mind of Man* became a signpost for collectors, with "PMM" being cited in dealers' descriptions, and it thus turned into the kind of list that Carter always advised collectors not to follow. And, like any selection, its choices were subjective, reflecting in this case an English-language bias. How comprehensive it is as a record of the writings that in printed form have affected Western civilization can be debated. But it remains a readable and well-informed guide to some of the monuments (many of them undebatable) of intellectual history.

Aside from *Printing and the Mind of Man*, Carter's principal publications of the 1960s came at the beginning and end of the decade. First, in 1961, was a useful edition (with a graceful and informative preface) of Housman's *Selected Prose*, which made more widely available some passages from Housman's celebrated prefaces to his Latin editions, as well as some of his other writings on textual criticism. (One may object to the way the prefaces were cut and also to two of Carter's editorial practices: after reporting Housman's concern for accuracy, he says that "minor variations of typographical details [unspecified] have been accommodated to the style in current use at Cambridge"; and he also inserts six commas without noting precisely where these "temerities" occur.) Then in 1968-70 a series of four "Working Papers" for a revised edition of the *Enquiry* were published as pamphlets in limited editions to be distributed

by Blackwell's. (The revision of the *Enquiry* that Carter and Pollard had worked on sporadically for decades never appeared; but in 1983 Nicolas Barker and John Collins brought out a supplementary volume, *A Sequel to "An Enquiry into the Nature of Certain Nineteenth Century Pamphlets": The Forgeries of H. Buxton Forman and T. J. Wise Re-Examined*, bringing together all the Wiseian research that had accumulated.) One product of Carter's New York life in the middle of the decade was a series of six charming pamphlets called "Halcyon Booklets," financed by Mary Jean Kempner Thorne and published (with Carter as editor) between 1964 and 1966 under the imprint of the Halcyon-Commonwealth Foundation, which had been set up chiefly for this purpose. The series gave Carter an outlet for reprinting some favorite essays, such as Churchill's "Iron Curtain" speech and William Johnson Cory's "On the Education of the Reasoning Faculties," a touchstone for Carter throughout his life.

His other publications during these years (aside from reviews) consisted mainly of essays in exhibition catalogues on Wise and Housman and pieces for the *Antiquarian Bookman* and *The Book Collector*. A reminiscent note, not surprisingly (and indeed appropriately), entered into some of these writings, such as those on collecting Catullus, detective fiction, and Housman. Two others should be noted. For the 1970-71 volume of *Art at Auction*, he wrote an essay on the early history of Sotheby's in New York that he subtitled "Some Egotistical Reminiscences": it is of absorbing interest for the study of bookselling history and of Carter's biography. And when the Private Libraries Association in 1970 handsomely reprinted his *Taste and Technique in Book-Collecting*, he added as an "Epilogue" his presidential address to the Bibliographical Society, delivered on 18 November 1969 and entitled "Taste and Technique in Book Collecting, 1928-1968." These dates are significant, for they cover more than the twenty years since his book was first published and go back another twenty years to the beginning of his career. He is thus reflecting on his whole professional life, describing such changes (in which he played a part) as the growth of institutional collecting and of an interest in authors' archives and the monuments of science and intellectual history. The essay is of a piece with the 1948 book in its prose style and its multiplicity of examples, but it is far more personal—as in the delightful five-page tour of the great assemblage of illustrious antiquarian bookshops in London during his time, with his incisive impressions of their proprietors. Although the piece ends uncertainly, with some apprehension as to how collectors will react to the new investigative techniques affecting author bibliographies, the preceding four pages show that Carter, as usual, had kept abreast of developments in analytical bibliography. It does not seem unexpected that he would give this climactic position, in an essay on book collecting, to bibliographical scholarship.

In the spring of 1970 Carter completed his term as president of the Bibliographical Society; and from the autumn onward, his life was dominated by health problems, including some small strokes. He died on 18 March 1975, two months short of his seventieth birthday. During his last year he was awarded the Bibliographical Society's Gold Medal, and two of his publications were tributes to Percy Muir and Graham Pollard, two friends with whom he had been closely associated since the late 1920s. I am glad that Lord Redcliffe-Maud, in his unpublished oration for Carter's funeral at Eton on 5 May 1975, referred to Carter's "unpatronising kindness to people younger (or less learned) than himself." And it was equally important to mention his "extraordinary success in setting himself rigorous, incorruptible professional standards without ever losing his amateur status." These, along with personal loyalty, were prominent among his defining characteristics.

There are many reasons to remember John Carter. The first one I want to mention is his prose style—not that it is more important than his bibliographical contributions, but because it is basic to the role he played in bibliographical history as a communicator to a wide audience. And he does deserve attention as a writer. His prose, stylish and witty, is a joy to read, and once people start reading, they want to read more. That is why the *ABC* has sold so well: it is not simply consulted as a reference book but read all the way through, since one entry leads a person on to the next. Even people not particularly interested in the book world, when they are exposed to an essay of his, want to find another one. And in the process, of course, they learn something about books. Which brings us to his role as an educator. The impulse for a good deal of his writing, I think, was to educate—both the general public and his book-world colleagues, to set them on a sensible course of thinking about books as physical objects. (Sadleir, reviewing the *ABC* in *The Spectator*, referred to Carter's "qualities as an educator.") That motive underlies not only the *ABC*, *Binding Variants, Taste and Technique*, and *Printing and the Mind of Man* but also the running commentary formed by his extensive journalism.

Furthermore, he had the knowledge to be a generally reliable guide. He not only had the practical experience of examining thousands of books as a bookseller and a collector; he also had a thorough acquaintance with the history of his field and the literature of bibliographical scholarship, gained through reviewing many hundreds of books about books (it is hard to imagine that anyone has ever reviewed more of them). Occasionally, however, he faltered. His editions of Browne (the second one), Catullus, and Housman showed that he had not thought as carefully about textual criticism as he had about bibliophily and bibliography. Even in those areas, there were some minor missteps when he commented on original

condition, the collation formula, and dust-jackets. But normally his judgments stand up well, as do his own bibliographical investigations. The study of nineteenth-century books has of course moved on from where he left it; but his *Binding Variants*, *More Binding Variants*, *Publisher's Cloth*, and the *Enquiry* were pioneer efforts, demonstrating ways of focusing on physical evidence in nineteenth-century books. And his own principal collections remain intact, available to support further research: publishers' bindings at the Bodleian, detective fiction and Housman at the Lilly, Catullus at Texas, and Cory at Eton.

John Carter's name was known to everyone in the English-speaking antiquarian-book world of the middle decades of the twentieth century. His presence was felt through his influential conversations and consultations with collectors and dealers, librarians and scholars; his involvement with notable catalogues, important auctions, and celebrated transactions; his place on the boards of organizations and journals; his continuous reporting of bibliographical events and issues; his prolific reviewing of books, periodicals, and exhibitions; his lecturing to both scholarly and general audiences; and his authorship and editorship of innovative and fundamental publications. By means of these activities, he promoted international unity in the antiquarian-book world and publicized the integral role of bibliographical scholarship in bookselling and book collecting. To have been the book-world voice for two generations, leaving a trail of informed and civilized commentary along with several classic works in admirable prose, is a considerable legacy.

HANDLIST

This handlist of John Carter's published writings is divided into five sections: (A) Books and Pamphlets. (B) Books and Pamphlets Edited. (C) Contributions to Books and Pamphlets. (D) Contributions to Periodicals, except the *Times Literary Supplement*. (E) Contributions to the *Times Literary Supplement*. In sections D and E, a letter preceding each entry indicates whether it is an article (A), an editorial (E), a letter to an editor (L), a note or query (N), an obituary (O), or a book or journal review (R). (Articles and notes can be long or short, and the distinction between them can sometimes be subjective.) Offprints of articles, often made available with printed wrappers (and sometimes with changed pagination), are not normally noted; but a few inscribed by Carter are cited. Cross-references consist of a section letter followed by a year (and sometimes, for ease of reference, a month also). All items are signed "John Carter" except where otherwise indicated.

Seven categories of material offer special problems, and my comments on them here are meant to supplement the entries for them in the handlist below:

(1) *Letters to Editors, 1927-75.* Letters to editors formed an important genre of writing for Carter, and he was a prolific writer of them. They appeared in a wide range of journals, and I am well aware that there have to be a large number that I have missed, especially in some of the book-trade weeklies and some of the non-book-world periodicals. But many are here, offering a good sample of his epistolary style, providing a considerable amount of biographical information, and displaying the personality that the letters projected. For Carter's many letters to the *Times Literary Supplement*, see the discussion in section E below.

(2) *Scribner Catalogues, 1927-53.* Carter was employed by Charles Scribner's Sons in September 1927 as the London representative for the Scribner Book Store in New York, with the responsibility for acquiring British and European continental books to be sold in the store's Rare Book Department. The head of that department when Carter was hired was John C. Champion, who was succeeded in March 1935 by David A. Randall, with whom Carter worked until Scribner's London office was closed in 1953. Thus any of the approximately fifty catalogues issued by the Rare Book Department between 1927 and 1953 (or the nearly two dozen Rare Book Bulletins starting in 1939) could include entries written by Carter, especially for books that he had supplied. Beginning with his second trip to New York in early 1932, he worked closely with Champion and was responsible for a changed direction in the catalogues, now featuring books that reflected new approaches to collecting (an interest that resulted in 1934 in his anthology *New Paths in Book Collecting*). The first of these was *First Editions of Famous Adventure Stories, 1831-1922* (catalogue 92, November 1932), and another was *Detective Fiction* (catalogue 98, 1934); Carter wrote introductions to both. After Randall's arrival, the collaboration was even closer, and still more innovative topics appeared. According to Randall's autobiography, *Dukedom Large Enough* (1969), Carter was responsible for catalogues dealing with the Modern Library, "science and thought," and classical music (though of course he would have contributed to many others). There is sufficient evidence for including entries for sixteen Scribner catalogues and one Rare Book Bulletin in section B below,

as pamphlets edited by Carter: catalogues 92 (1932), 94-95 (1933), 98 (1934), 100 (1935), 112-13 (1937), 117 (1938), 119-21 (1938), 124 (1940), 131 (1945), 133 (1946), 137 (1951), and 138 (1953) and bulletin 4 (1939). Other catalogues and bulletins may fall into this category as well (such as the undated and unnumbered 52-page catalogue, reproduced from typescript, of Conan Doyle material). Although Randall stated that he compiled *Familiar Quotations: A Collection of Their Earliest Appearances* (catalogue 102, 1935), it seems likely that Carter collaborated with him on the introduction. A blanket entry for all the Scribner catalogues and bulletins from 1927 through 1953 is included in section C, as a way of representing the scattered entries and notes that he wrote for many catalogues over the years.

(3) *Double Crown Club Menus, 1933-36*. A blanket entry for the delightful menus of this dining club of typophiles (of which Carter was president in 1946) is included in section B because Carter (elected to the Club in 1932) was secretary from 1933 to 1936 and can therefore be thought of as the editor of the menus during those years, each of which was designed by a different person (often a prominent book designer or artist). He designed two himself, numbers 38 (May 1933) and 55 (April 1936); and he was the subject of a third, number 65 (February 1938), which was for the meeting at which he spoke on "Cheap Reprints" (a talk printed in *Typography* for Winter 1938). Forty-eight of the menus from Carter's own collection (ranging from 1924, when the Club began, to 1970, and including the two he designed) were listed in Potter Books catalogue 7 (May 1977). Carter was also one of the speakers who participated in the discussion of Stanley Morrison at the November 1967 dinner, which resulted in a separate publication (see C:1968). A biographical entry for Carter is included in *The Double Crown Club: Register of Past and Present Members* (1949); and James Moran's *The Double Crown Club: A History of Fifty Years* (1974) quotes from Carter's witty reports on the meetings and is entered in section C.

(4) *Pseudonymous and Unsigned Contributions to Bibliographical Notes & Queries, 1935-39*. This journal resulted from conversations among the members of Michael Sadleir's informal dining group (the "Biblio Boys"), who recognized the desirability of greater communication in the rare-book world. P. H. Muir (of Elkin Mathews Ltd.) was its editor from the start, in January 1935, with David A. Randall (of Scribner's) joining him as "American editor" in October. Although members of the group did their best to support the journal through numerous contributions, many under pseudonyms, there was insufficient material for it to continue after May 1939. (At that point fifteen issues—four for 1935 designated as volume 1 and eleven, numbered as twelve, for 1936-39 as volume 2—had been published, totaling 151 pages and containing 330 queries, with replies to many of them; Cordex "self-binding" cases, with gilt-lettered spines, for shelving each of the two volumes were also available.) Carter contributed 39 items using his own name, and some of his comments were substantial: for example, his notes on Thomas Gray's *Odes* (in May 1936 and April and November 1938) amount to more than 2500 words, and those on Florence Nightingale's *Notes* (October 1935), a 1684 edition of Catullus (May 1936), and Melville's *Typee* (February 1937) are at least 750 words each. And the only two articles that appeared in the journal, written to fill out the last two pages of the last two issues, were his. He

also contributed under several pseudonyms. In his own bound set of the fifteen issues (now in my collection), Carter wrote, "Among the pen names adopted by J.W.C. are Richard Gullible, Harriet Marlow, E. Schlengemann, George Waynflete, Milton A. Hellman." He also identified "Harriet Marlow," a name taken from Beckford's fiction, as his in *Publishers' Weekly* 140 (1941 [9 August]): 381. "E. Schlengemann" was the person from whom the British Museum bought its first copies of the forgeries (see the *Enquiry*, p. 145). It is surprising that "Richard Gullible" is in this list because that name was used by Richard Jennings in 1934 for his series of six parodies (sent to Carter and Graham Pollard as letters) that came to be known as the "Gullible Papers"; Carter arranged for the printing of those leaflets, and his account is in *The Book Collector* 8 (1959): 182-83 (see also lot 44 in the Sotheby catalogue of the Carter sale, 24 March 1976). But his listing of the name here means that the two items signed with this name in *BN&Q* can be assigned to him. Since he says that these five names were "among" the ones he used, there were certainly others. Percy Muir, in a letter to me on 5 April 1978, said that "all the Carter aliases" in the journal were "Harriet Marlow," "E. Schlengemann," and "Holmlock Shears"; but he then named two more as "possibles": "Ignoramus" and "Michael Trevanian." The latter is well established as a name used by Simon Nowell-Smith and can be ruled out. But if we accept "Holmlock Shears" (used once) and "Ignoramus" (used twice), we have seven names, and I have included items with all seven signatures in section D below (totaling 42 items). It is likely that there are still other pseudonymous contributions by Carter, and some of the unsigned items might be his as well; to cover this possibility, section D also includes a blanket entry for such pieces at 1935-39.

(5) *British Information Services Pamphlets*. From November 1943 through October 1945, Carter was director of the General Division of British Information Services in New York (at 30 Rockefeller Plaza). One of his responsibilities was to oversee the preparation and production of the many BIS publications, including a large series of pamphlets intended for wide public distribution, as he explained in a detailed article about the BIS operation, "Publishing—But for Free," in *Publishers' Weekly* on 10 November 1945 (148: 2136-39). Any, or all, of the BIS pamphlets published during this period can be considered to have been edited by him, but his exact (and no doubt varying) involvement in them is not known. One that appeared soon after his arrival (and is mentioned in his 1945 article) is likely to have received particular editorial attention from him, given his admiration for Churchill: *Winston Churchill, Prime Minister: A Selection from Speeches Made by Winston Churchill during the Four Years That Britain Has Been at War* (December 1943). The pamphlets dealt not only with the war but also with British life in general; other titles from these years include *Britain's Industrial Cities* (1944), *Britain's Sea Power* (1944), *The British Commonwealth and Empire* (1944), *Fifty Facts about the Middle East* (1944), *Flying Bombs* (1944), *John Britain* (1944), *A Picture of Britain: Background of a People* (1944), *African Achievement* (1945), *Britain's Future in the Making* (1945), *The British Merchant Navy* (1945), and *Miracle Harbor* (1945). To cover Carter's editorial work on BIS publications, a blanket entry is included in section B at 1943-45. Only one of the BIS pamphlets, *Victory in Burma* (1945), is known to have been entirely written by Carter, and it is listed in section A.

(6) *Unsigned Commentary* in *The Book Collector*, 1952-75. Carter's set of *The Book Collector* is at the Library of Congress. There are well over a hundred places where Carter made some kind of marginal note (or put a question mark or exclamation point in the margin), often for the purpose of questioning a statement or its wording; and there are about sixty places where he simply put a line or a check mark or an X in the margin. In only fourteen places did he indicate his authorship of unsigned paragraphs in the "Commentary" (or "News and Comment") section by writing his initials or "I drafted this" in the margin. There may be no distinction between these two kinds of annotation; but it is possible that "I drafted this" indicates later revision by someone else (though the result would probably still be primarily his writing). All fourteen are given entries in section D below. It seems very likely that he wrote still other unsigned paragraphs as well, and they are represented by a blanket entry for 1952-75. As for his pseudonymous contributions of notes and queries to *The Book Collector*, see the discussion above for *Bibliographical Notes & Queries*, since he continued to use the same pseudonyms in this revival of the function of the old journal.

(7) *Sotheby Catalogues*, 1955-72. From October 1955, when Carter became an associate in the book department at Sotheby's, until July 1972, when he retired, he was in a position to write up entries for inclusion in Sotheby auction catalogues, and he occasionally did so. For example, Anthony Hobson told me that Carter gave him a hand in cataloguing Sydney Cockerell's collection in 1956. And John Kerr and P. J. Croft identified for me several lots that were described by Carter: in the 1 December 1964 sale, lots 526 and 528; 6-7 December 1966, lot 611; 8-9 July 1968, lots 782-827 and 840; and 9-10 December 1968, lots 756-57a. He also catalogued the manuscript of Evelyn Waugh's *Scoop* for the sale of 7-8 July 1969 and Lear's *A Book of Nonsense* for the sale of 22 June 1970, and any lot of Housman material was probably catalogued by him. But according to Hobson and Kerr, he did not otherwise write many catalogue entries. I have included a blanket entry in section C for all the Sotheby catalogues from 1955 to 1972, as a way of representing the scattered entries that he wrote over the years. Also entered in section C are a preface, an introduction, and a note of acknowledgment that have been identified as his in the catalogues for the Sadleir (1958), Silver (1965), and Diaghilev (1968) sales. There are two catalogues that have so far been identified as ones that Carter was entirely responsible for: those for the Pariser sale of Wiseiana on 4-5 December 1967 and for the Ewing sale of Victorian fiction on 12-13 October 1970; these catalogues are given entries in section B, as books edited by Carter.

The basis for the attribution of other unsigned or pseudonymous publications, except for those in the *Times Literary Supplement*, is sometimes explained within the entries themselves and otherwise can normally be assumed to be the collections of press cuttings in the Eton and Cambridge University libraries. For the unsigned contributions to the *Times Literary Supplement*, see section E below.

Finally, there are two other matters I must comment on. First is the question whether Carter wrote *The Fall of the Titan* (London: Lincoln Williams, 1934), a novel by "John Waynflete," according to the title page. The authorship of this

work has often been attributed to John Carter by collectors and library cataloguers because his middle name was Waynflete and because he occasionally used "John Waynflete" as a pseudonym beginning in 1944 (having used "George Waynflete" from 1939 and "Waynflete" from 1940). Neither the content nor the stilted style of this sentimental anti-Labour novel suggests Carter's authorship; but the idea has been proposed that it might have been written as a parody. The question is fully discussed in the appendix below. Since Carter's authorship has never been proved or disproved (but seems unlikely), I am mentioning the book here rather than including it in the handlist.

Second, during the time (April 1953 to October 1955) when Carter was the personal assistant to Sir Roger Makins, the British ambassador to the United States, he wrote some speeches and articles for Makins. A few of them, in the form of carbon-copy typescripts (annotated by Carter) and in published form (no doubt revised by Makins), are in the Carter collection at Eton. The extent to which Makins's published articles reflect Carter's ghostwriting is uncertain, and I have not included any of them in the handlist.

I have collected Carter's publications for many years, and that process has brought numerous items to my attention that I would not otherwise have known about. I have also drawn on the collections of Carter material at Eton College, King's College Cambridge, the Cambridge University Library, the Bodleian Library, the Library of Congress, the Lilly Library, the Grolier Club, the Harry Ransom Center, and the R. R. Bowker Company. There are many people to whom I owe a debt of gratitude. I wish first to acknowledge the generosity of A. S. G. Edwards, who has repeatedly alerted me to (and even provided copies of) many obscure items over the past forty years. He also read a draft of this essay and handlist, as did Nicolas Barker (who made helpful comments) and Michael Meredith (whose help included checking some material at Eton that I might not have seen on my visit there). In addition, I wish to record my indebtedness to the following individuals (many of them now deceased): Richard Bucci, Ernestine Carter, Sebastian Carter, Meghan Constantinou, P. J. Croft, Arthur Crook, Brooke Crutchley, Scott Ellwood, Basie Bales Gitlin, Harrison Hayford, Richard Colles Johnson, John Kerr, Marie Korey, Richard Landon, Elizabeth Lynch, Charles W. Mann, William Matheson, David McKitterick, Percy Muir, A. N. L. Munby, Paul Needham, Robert Nikirk, Simon Nowell-Smith, Jean Peters, David A. Randall, Ronald R. Randall, William B. Todd, David L. Vander Meulen, James M. Wells, and David Whitesell. For permission to quote from Carter's unpublished annotations, I am grateful to Michael Meredith, acting on behalf of Eton College Library.

A. BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

A:1932

Binding Variants in English Publishing, 1820-1900. Bibliographia no. 6, edited by Michael Sadleir. London: Constable; New York: Ray Long & Richard R. Smith, 1932. xviii, 172 pp. Marbled-paper-covered boards. Limited to 500 copies, priced at 24s. Includes, in chapter 2 ("Historical"), material also

published in *The Colophon* (D:1931, December) and *The Book Collector's Quarterly* (D:1932, April). Dedicated to C. H. Turner, Oxford scholar and Carter's godfather, with whom he took a book-hunting trip to Italy in 1925. Published in May 1932: the Sotheby catalogue of the sale of Carter's library (C:1976) reproduces this inscription: "for Mother & Father / this the first copy / of my first book / May 19. 1932." (lot 6). In Grenville Cook's copy there is a typed addendum slip with the text of a paragraph omitted from page 65 (Rota catalogue 290 [1999], item 44). Carter's own collection of publishers' bindings is now in the Bodleian Library (see *Bodleian Library Record* 8 [1967]: 5-6).

Oak Knoll subedition: *Binding Variants, with More Binding Variants in English Publishing, 1820-1900*. Introduction by Robert D. Fleck. New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll Books, 1989. xviii, 172, x, 52 pp. Cloth, dust-jacket.

The Iniquity of Oblivion Foil'd. See A:1933.

A:1933

The Iniquity of Oblivion Foil'd, or a Discourse of Certain Copies, Lately Found, of Urne Buriall and The Garden of Cyrus by Thomas Browne D. of Physick; Which (the First Edition Being Very Imperfectly Printed) the Author Corrected with His Own Hand; the Whole Palaeographically, Textually, Bibliophilically Considered with Sundry Observations. By a Gentleman, Lately Scholar of King Henry the Sixth's Foundations of Eton College, & King's College at Cambridge. Campden, Gloucestershire: Alcuin Press, 1932 [i.e., 1933]. [12] pp. Wrappers. Limited to 50 copies for the author. Reprinted (with a new title page) from *The Colophon* (D:1933, February), which had reprinted (with some added introductory paragraphs) the appendix (pp. 141-46) to Carter's edition of Browne's *Urne Buriall* (B:1932). In the copy in my collection (inscribed "ex dono authoris 1933"), Carter changed the printed date "MCMXXXII" to "MCMXXXIII" and (another matter of dating) revised the first line of page [7] by deleting "to be" and "shortly" from the statement that his Browne edition was "to be published shortly." Cf. D:1966 (Autumn) and C:2003 for a later essay with the same title (the first four words of which are a quotation from the last chapter of *Urne Buriall*).

A:1934

An Enquiry into the Nature of Certain Nineteenth Century Pamphlets. By Carter and Graham Pollard. London: Constable; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934. xii, 400 pp. Cloth, dust-jacket. Published 2 July 1934. 2000 copies printed, 700 of them for America. Copies intended for American distribution have "\$6.00" stamped at the top of the front dust-jacket flap. The four-page prospectus, which indicates that the book can be ordered for 15s from Birrell & Garnett (where Pollard was a partner), states that the book "introduces scientific methods which have never before been applied to bibliographical problems of this period." For Carter's later writings on the Wise-Forman forgeries (some of them in collaboration with Graham Pollard), see especially "Thomas J. Wise and His Forgeries" (D:1945, February), "Thomas J. Wise and H. Buxton Forman" (E2:1946, June), *The Firm of Charles Ottley* (A:1948), "Thomas J. Wise in Perspective" (C:1959), the four Working Papers (A:1967-70), "How We Got Wise" (D:1970, March), and "Aftermath of An Enquiry" (in

the 1983 reprint of the *Enquiry* listed below). Carter provided new material for Stephen Potter's "The Clandestine Activities of Thomas J. Wise" on the BBC Third Programme on 28 May 1948 (repeated 10 and 31 August 1948); and he and Pollard discussed the forgeries on BBC Two on 12 November 1966. Most of Carter's papers relating to Wise are at the Harry Ransom Center (University of Texas, Austin).

Haskell House subedition: New York: Haskell House, 1971. xii,400 pp. Carter published a letter in *AB Bookman's Weekly* (D:1972, April) stating that this reprint was unauthorized.

Scolar Press subedition, with an epilogue and notes: Edited by Nicolas Barker and John Collins. London and Berkeley: Scolar Press, 1983. 10,xii,400,11-41 pp. Cloth, dust-jacket. The front flap of the dust-jacket on some copies (presumably review copies) is extra wide and has six lines of publication information printed vertically at the right edge. This subedition includes as an epilogue Carter and Pollard's "Aftermath of *An Enquiry*" (pp. 19-41), plus notes on the 1934 text by Barker and Collins. Published also in leather as part of a boxed set (limited to 80 numbered copies) that includes Barker and Collins's companion volume, *A Sequel to "An Enquiry into the Nature of Certain Nineteenth Century Pamphlets": The Forgeries of H. Buxton Forman and T. J. Wise Re-Examined*, and an original of Elizabeth Barrett and Robert Browning's *Two Poems* (1854), with a booklet, *A Note on "Two Poems,"* by Barker. **Second impression:** Aldershot: Scolar Press; New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll Press, 1992.

A:1935

Publisher's Cloth: An Outline History of Publisher's Bindings in England, 1820-1900. New York: R. R. Bowker; London: Constable, [1935]. 48 pp. Wrappers. Price 2s. Also published in *Publishers' Weekly* (D:1935, February). Written in connection with an exhibition at the New York Public Library (D:1936, August). In a letter accompanying the copy Carter inscribed to Francis Edwards (in my collection), he wrote that "it suffers from having been written in 3 nights in New York (plus a bottle of whiskey) but it has the merit of taking up very little room." See also A:1932, 1938. **Second impression:** Aspects of Book-Collecting series. New York: R. R. Bowker; London: Constable, 1938. 48 pp. Wrappers.

University Microfilms subedition: CLW Reprint Series no. 2. [Abertillery]: Published for the College of Librarianship, Wales, by University Microfilms Ltd., 1970. 48 pp. Cloth. A "Notice" following the title page states: "This little book was written in forty-eight hours in a New York hotel bedroom thirty-five years ago. Readers of a later generation, for whom it is here reprinted verbatim, are enjoined to make the necessary allowances. It is now dedicated to the memory of Michael Sadleir, our master in these studies. Chelsea, 1969. John Carter." In his copy (which he dated March 1970), Carter wrote, "published at the preposterous price of 31/-" (in my collection).

A:1938

Collecting Detective Fiction. Aspects of Book-Collecting series. London: Constable, [1938]. 33-63 pp. Wrappers, with three errata printed on the inside back

wrapper (46.20, for "1908" read "1909"; 50.11, for the question mark read an equals sign; 60, "Leroux' *The Mystery of the Yellow Room*, First issue wrappers, basic colour, brown; later issues, yellow"). Reissued (price 2s) from Carter's anthology *New Paths in Book Collecting* (B:1934), made up of unbound sheets from the original impression (one of four essays from that volume so treated, when the volume as a whole failed to sell well).

More Binding Variants. With contributions by Michael Sadleir. Aspects of Book-Collecting series. London: Constable, 1938. x,52 pp. Wrappers. Price 3s 6d. A few copies were also made available in cloth (with dust-jacket), interleaved with blank leaves for notes. Supplements his 1932 book.

Oak Knoll subedition: *Binding Variants, with More Binding Variants in English Publishing, 1820-1900*. Introduction by Robert D. Fleck. New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll Books, 1989. xviii,172,x,52 pp. Cloth, dust-jacket.

A:1939

To Our Friends the Antiquarian Booksellers. [London: Scribner's], 20 September 1939. Unsigned. An open letter distributed to London antiquarian-book dealers. Reprinted in Dickinson's *John Carter* (C:2004), p. 137.

A:1945

Victory in Burma. New York: British Information Services, July 1945. 32 pp. Pictorial wrappers. Printed by Alco Gravure (Hoboken, N.J.). Unsigned. In the Eton copy, Carter wrote: "The facts and figures came of course from the Information Division of BIS; but this booklet was written single-handed during three or four days' solitary confinement in our apartment in New York. I also selected the photographs, which I still think first-rate." For Carter's account of the publication program of British Information Services in New York (where he was in charge of publications from November 1943 through October 1945), see his "Publishing—But for Free" (D:1945, November). In that article he refers to *Victory in Burma* as one of the "popular pamphlets" dealing with the war but does not reveal his authorship of it. Given the huge numbers of these pamphlets that were printed, *Victory in Burma* must have been the most widely circulated of all Carter's writings, with the possible exception of his *ABC for Book-Collectors* (A:1952). For further comment on his work for British Information Services, see the headnote to the handlist, above.

Canadian subedition: Ottawa: Official Information Services of the United Kingdom Government, 1945. 32 pp. Also distributed by Empire Information in Toronto.

A:1948

Taste and Technique in Book-Collecting: A Study of Recent Developments in Great Britain and the United States. New York: R. R. Bowker, 1948. xxiii,203 pp. Cloth, dust-jacket. The 1947 Sandars Lectures in Bibliography at Cambridge University, delivered on 17 and 24 November and 1 December 1947, with "some substitution of transatlantic titles among the books cited as examples" (as Carter noted in the 1970 reprint). Dedicated to his wife. The four-page prospectus,

indicating that the book could be ordered from Bowker for \$5, notes that Carter's work "is always eagerly awaited by fellow bookmen on both sides of the Atlantic." According to Bowker records, 2000 copies were published on 26 July 1948. An advance extract from the last chapter ("Condition") had been published in *Publishers' Weekly* (also published by Bowker) on 22 November 1947 (D:1947). On 8 June 1948 Carter wrote to Sol Malkin (editor of *Antiquarian Bookman*), asking him to include, in the issue closest to the book's publication date, a notice (in the "Sack Cloth and Ashes Department") of an error in his discussion of a variant in Boswell's *Johnson* (this letter is cited in Richard Cady catalogue 21 [1985], item 23). Then in early 1949, Carter arranged for an erratum slip to be printed, correcting this error: on page 98 he had said that the "gve/give" variant in Boswell's *Johnson* is one of two examples of points that are "neither interesting nor significant"; the erratum slip notes that "the priority of the *gve* reading was long ago established by Prof. Pottle" in his bibliography of Boswell. A proof of this erratum slip, dated 1 February 1949, is in the Bowker files; a copy of the final slip, signed "J.C." in print, is taped into the Rosenwald copy in the Library of Congress. By 7 November 1955, there were still 133 copies of the book unsold, and these were given to Carter.

English (Cambridge University Press) edition: Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948. xi,201 pp. Cloth, dust-jacket. Price 15s. 1500 copies printed (according to a publisher's dummy in the collection of Richard Landon). The Cambridge edition (a new typesetting) was published three months after the American edition, on 29 October 1948, according to a review copy in my collection. And the copy (also in my collection) that Carter gave to his friend Brooke Crutchley, the University printer, has an inscription ("for the printer from a completely satisfied author") dated 26 October 1948. (The American preface is dated 1 December 1947, and the English preface is dated 21 July 1948, only five days before the American publication date.) Since the error that necessitated the erratum slip in the American edition had come to Carter's attention by early June (see above), he was able to make a change during production of the Cambridge edition. A set of the Cambridge proofs in my collection, dated 5-6 May 1948 (with the title-page date of "194", before the fourth digit was known), has the same erroneous text on p. 103 that the American edition has on p. 98. But the Cambridge edition as published in October has a revised text, with the passage altered in two ways. First, the cancels in Shelley and Conrad, which in the earlier text "produced a genuine distinction of issue," now "make a proper bibliographical 'point.'" Second, the Boswell example is attached to this sentence ("as does the misprint 'gve' for 'give' on p. 135, vol. I of *Boswell*"), so that in the next sentence only some transposed lines in *South Wind* (and not the Boswell misprint) are "neither interesting nor significant." The introduction was reprinted (condensed) from the English edition in *Good Living* (C:1948) and, from the American edition, in William Targ's *Bouillabaisse for Bibliophiles* (C:1955); chapter 10 was reprinted (condensed) from the American edition as "Bookseller and Auctioneer" in *The Atlantic Monthly* (D:1948, July) and, from the English edition, as "Bookshop and Auction Room" in *The Bookseller* (D:1948, December); and chapter

11 was reprinted (condensed) from the American edition as "Reflections on Rarity" in *The New Colophon* (D:1948, April). The tenth paragraph of chapter 10 was quoted on the front cover of *AB Bookman's Weekly* for 20-27 September 1976 (58: 1545). **Second impression, with corrections:** 1949. The correction to page 103 made in the first Cambridge impression evidently did not seem adequate to Carter, for in the second impression he deleted the Boswell reference entirely (shortening the page by one line, accommodated by a larger space in the mid-page section division).

Private Libraries Association subedition, with an epilogue:

London: Private Libraries Association, 1970. xiv,242 pp. Cloth, dust-jacket. Additional dedication to S. C. Roberts and Frederic G. Melcher. The text is that of the corrected English impression, with a "Prefatory Note 1970" (pp. xiii-xiv) and three pages (pp. 203-05) of "Corrections & Notes (1969)" added. The epilogue, "Taste and Technique in Book Collecting, 1928-1968" (pp. 209-42) was Carter's presidential address to the Bibliographical Society on 18 November 1969. **Second impression:** 1972. **Third impression:** 1977.

The Firm of Charles Ottley, Landon & Co.: Footnote to An Enquiry. By Carter "with Graham Pollard." London: Rupert Hart-Davis; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948. 95 pp. Wrappers. Price 6s. Includes material "to be read as a paper to the Bibliographical Society [in November]," as stated in a "Prefatory Note" dated 25 October 1948. Dedicated to "S.M." and "M.S." (Stanley Morison and Michael Sadleir). In an inscribed copy (listed in Ulysses Bookshop catalogue 13 [1992], item 104), Carter wrote below the eight-line Latin dedication, "The only work in Latin of John Carter." (But he also wrote a Latin dedication for his Morison handlist, A:1950.) *Reissue with a leaflet of "Corrections and Additions" laid in:* 1967 (leaflet date). [4],95 pp. See A:1967.

A:1950

A Handlist of the Writings of Stanley Morison. With notes by Morison and indexes by Graham Pollard. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for private distribution, 1950. ix,46 pp. Paper-covered boards, dust-jacket. Limited to 500 copies. A tribute to Morison on his sixtieth birthday (6 May 1949). Laid into some copies is Morison's eight-page *Prolegomena ad Curriculum Vitae* (Cambridge, 1949). Carter's copy, with his bookplate, at the Library of Congress provides additional information. At the foot of the front free endpaper he wrote: "First copies bound 7 June for distribution to some of those attending at the Senate House, Cambridge, 8 June, for S.M.'s Litt.D." He also wrote on this endpaper: "There are two states of the dedication leaf: this is the second." The dedication in this copy reads "EDVARDO / DIANAE FILIO / VIATICVM". On a letter of thanks from Morison to Carter, 15 June 1950 (laid in), Carter noted: "a longer and more specific dedication was provided (at the printer's request) for the majority of copies." In a fuller account for *The Book Collector* ("Morisonianum," D:1965, Autumn), Carter gave the text of the longer dedication: "EDVARDO / HVNC PATRINI SVI / SCRIP- TORIVM CATALOGVM / A PATRE EXCVSVM / DICAT EDITOR". He also explained that the shorter dedication was his original and preferred one and that he asked the printer to use it for a few copies after the main

press run had been completed. Thus the second state as printed preserves the earlier version of the text. There is also a printed presentation slip ("with the compliments of the author and printer") laid in Carter's copy and an erratum slip stapled to the verso of the dedication leaf: "For MR MORISON, read DR MORISON, *passim* / (The edition of this *erratum* is limited to 25 copies)". Although the book was not intended for public sale, Carter reported in his *Book Collector* piece that fifty copies in 1958, and twelve more in 1965, were sold to Elkin Mathews for sale to the public. For Carter's later corrections and additions to this handlist, see C:1959 and C:1976.

A:1952

A. E. Housman: An Annotated Hand-List. By Carter and John Sparrow, with a "Preface" (pp. 5-6) signed by Carter. Soho Bibliographies no. 2. London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1952. 54 pp. Cloth, dust-jacket. Price 25s. For the original periodical form of this list, see D:1940 (September). For Carter's own Housman collection, see A:1965.

Revised edition: *A. E. Housman: A Bibliography.* By Carter and John Sparrow; revised by William White. St. Paul's Bibliographies no. 6. Godalming, Surrey: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1982. xvii, 94 pp. Cloth, Mylar jacket. *ABC for Book-Collectors.* London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1952. 191 pp. Cloth, dust-jacket. Dedicated to John Hayward: the dedication copy, inscribed to "the foster-father and sternest critic of this book," is dated "14 Aug (for 12 Sept) 1952" (Sotheby catalogue of the Carter sale [C:1976], lot 3). The four-page prospectus, indicating that the book could be ordered from Bertram Rota for 15s and providing two specimen pages, contains prose that is characteristic of Carter: for example, the book is said to be "salted with well-distributed prejudices," and it "belongs on the private shelf of all but the most omniscient of antiquarian booksellers." **American subedition:** New York: Alfred A. Knopf, [1952]. 191 pp. Cloth, dust-jacket.

Second edition: Hart-Davis, 1953. 196 pp. In the copy of the second edition inscribed for John Hayward (in the stock of Colophon Book Shop in 1987), Carter wrote, "falsely dated 1953." **American subedition:** Knopf, [1953]. 196 pp. Reprinted 1960.

Third edition: Hart-Davis, 1961. 208 pp. **American subedition:** Knopf, 1961. 208 pp. Reprinted 1963. **Mercury subedition:** Mercury Books no. 12. London: Mercury Books, 1961. 208 pp. Paperback. On the back cover of one of my copies of this paperback, Nicolas Barker indicated that he was responsible for the blurb and photograph on the cover.

Fourth edition: Hart-Davis, 1966. 208 pp. On the copyright page, this is called "Third edition, reprinted with corrections"; but the jacket says "Fourth Edition," and this printing is counted as the fourth edition in the record on later copyright pages. Reprinted 1967 (with corrections), 1971. **American subedition:** Knopf, 1966. 208 pp. On the copyright page this is called "Fourth edition, revised, 1966"; but the jacket says "Third Edition, Revised." According to a note of Carter's quoted in the Sotheby catalogue of the sale of his library (C:1976), "the main stock had to be stripped and rebound" (lot 1). Reprinted 1970 (with corrections).

Fifth edition: London: Hart-Davis, 1972. 211 pp. Reprinted by Hart-Davis, MacGibbon 1973, 1974 (with corrections). **Granada subedition:** London: Granada Publishing, 1978. 211 pp. **American subedition:** Knopf, 1972. 211 pp. Reprinted 1973, August 1976, September 1977, February 1978, February 1980, September 1981 (with label stating "Distributed Exclusively by Beekman Publishers, Inc., P.O. Box 888, Woodstock, N.Y. 12498 U.S.A."), March 1985, March 1987, April 1988, March 1990, March 1991, December 1992.

Sixth edition: Revised by Nicolas Barker. London: Granada, 1980. 219 pp. Reprinted 1982, 1985 (with errata slip on front endpaper). Knopf declined to publish the sixth edition in America because their stock of the fifth edition had not been exhausted when the sixth edition appeared in England; Knopf continued to issue impressions of the fifth edition until 1992 (see above), while the sixth edition was available in England (with copies distributed in America by Beekman Publishers). **American subedition:** New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll Books, 1992. 219 pp. Reprinted September 1992, August 1993, March 1994.

Seventh edition: Revised with an introduction by Nicolas Barker. London: Werner-Shaw, 1995. 224 pp. Reprinted 1997, 1998, 2000, 2002.

American subedition: New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll Press, 1995. 224 pp. Reprinted 1997, 1998, 2000, 2002.

Eighth edition: Revised with an introduction by Nicolas Barker, now listed as co-author. New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll Press; London: British Library, 2004. 232 pp. Reprinted 2006 (with corrections by Raymond B. Williams), 2010.

Ninth edition: Nicolas Barker and Simran Thadani, *John Carter's ABC for Book Collectors*. New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll Press, 2016. 263 pp. Published 15 July 2016.

A:1956

Books and Book-Collectors. London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1956. 196 pp. Cloth, dust-jacket. Dedicated to his godsons, John Murray VII and Giles Munby. Copies exist in wrappers stamped "Proof Copy." Carter's inscription to John Hayward (in the Grolier Club copy) is dated 7 November 1956. Contains a "Preface" (pp. 9-10) and nineteen reprinted essays: "Introduction" (originally entitled "Book-Collecting," C:1954); "Thomas J. Wise" (D:1937, May); "Two Beckford Collections" (D:1939, March); "Carroll Atwood Wilson" (E2:1951, January); "Michael Sadleir" (E2:1951, April); "Wilmarth S. Lewis" (E2:1952, May); "Lord Rothschild" (E2:1955, March); "Daniel Berkeley Updike" (E2:1948, March); "Stanley Morison" (D:1950, June); "Collecting Detective Fiction" (C:1934); "Off-Subject Books" (D:1935, Autumn); "Collecting A. E. Housman" (D:1938, Winter); "Bentley Three-Deckers" (D:1937, May); "Fashions in Book-Collecting" (D:1950, Fall); "Thomas J. Wise and His Forgeries" (D:1945, February); "Thomas J. Wise and H. Buxton Forman" (E2:1946, June); "Nineteenth-Century English Books: Some Bibliographical Agenda" (C:1952); "Operation Shuckburgh" (D:1951, February); and "ABC

for Book-Collectors" (D:1952, September). **Second impression:** 1956. Mylar jacket.

American (World Publishing) subedition: Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1957. 196 pp. Cloth, dust-jacket. The prospectus order blank is addressed to the New York dealer Philip C. Duschnes, giving the price as \$4.50.

A:1959

William Johnson Cory, 1823-1892. Cambridge: Rampant Lions Press, 1959. [11] pp. Wrappers (with cover title *William Johnson Cory: A Great Eton Master*). Unsigned. Review of Faith Compton Mackenzie's *William Cory* (C:1950). Reprinted from the *Times Literary Supplement* (E2:1950, June), with three errors corrected. In the colophon, Carter noted, "Written by one great-great-nephew of its subject, it is now reprinted by another." For Carter's other writings on Cory, see B:1951, 1964; and D:1946 (June), 1948 (February), 1949, 1961 (January, March), 1966 (June), 1967, 1969 (June), 1970, 1973. **Second impression:** June 1959.

A:1961

The Ceremony of the Lilies and Roses, 21st May at 6:30 pm, H.M. Tower of London. Cambridge: Rampant Lions Press, 1961. [11] pp. Wrappers. "Devised by John Carter, sometime scholar of Eton and King's, London Rose Bearer, and printed by Will Carter, father of a Kingsman." Includes a photograph of Carter's father, Thomas Buchanan Carter, "begetter of this ceremony," and an introduction by Carter (unsigned), pp. [3-4].

A:1963

The Dry Martini. Illustrated by Osbert Lancaster (unsigned). [Worcester and London: Printed by Ebenezer Baylis], 1963. [8] pp. Stiff wrappers with printed label. Limited to 200 copies. Reprinted from the revised edition (1963) of Ernestine Carter's *Flash in the Pan* (C:1953). In the Harvard copy (and many others), on page [8], line 2, Carter crossed out "five" and wrote "six" in the margin ("five" is erroneous because six "deviations" are listed). In the Eton copy, there is a carbon typescript of Carter's letter to Osbert Lancaster on 23 May 1963 (when the booklet was at the printer's) with this sentence: "Its elegance (but not necessarily its chastity) would be greatly enhanced by a pocket-size portrait of the author's heroine, preferably holding a martini glass, to accompany the dedication." The dedication is to the Countess of Littlehampton, one of Lancaster's characters. Lancaster did provide the drawing.

A:1965

The John Carter Collection of A. E. Housman. Bloomington: Lilly Library, Indiana University, [1965]. [8] pp. Wrappers. Unsigned. Limited to 500 copies "for bookmen of Indiana and friends of the Lilly Library" (laid in David A. Randall's *Report of the Rare Book Librarian, The Lilly Library, Indiana University, July*

1, 1963 – June 30, 1965 and referred to on page 30) and 100 copies for Carter. Carter's authorship is established by material at the Lilly Library: his typescript and the letter from Carter to Randall, 27 July 1965, enclosing the typescript; in that letter he says that the piece "is, as it were, my farewell to Housman" (echoing his earlier article "Farewell, Catullus" [D:1960, Autumn], written when his Catullus collection went to Texas).

A:1967

Precis of Paden, or The Sources of "The New Timon." By Carter and Graham Pollard. Working Papers for a Second Edition of *An Enquiry into the Nature of Certain Nineteenth Century Pamphlets* no. 1 (February 1967). Oxford: Distributed for the authors by B. H. Blackwell, 1967. 24 pp. Wrappers. 105 copies for sale (out of 140) at one guinea. (In nos. 3 and 4 [1969-70] and in the second impression of nos. 1 and 2, the printing record states that 96 copies of no. 1 were for sale.) The first of four working papers for a revision of the *Enquiry* (A:1934). Its original title was "Child's Guide to Paden," as shown by a revised six-page typescript of an earlier version laid into the copy of the pamphlet that Carter labeled "working copy" and dated 18 February 1967 (in my collection). He marked this copy at seven places: on page 2, he put a short line in the margin by line 28, as he did by line 4 on page 4, by lines 16-18 on page 8, and by line 9 on page 12, and he put a longer line by lines 13-23 on page 23; he corrected a typographical error in line 31 of page 4 ("of" for "on"); and in the upper margin of page 11, at the head of the list of known copies of *The New Timon*, he wrote "20 Mch 1925 Anderson mixed sale 263 sewn uncut \$36".

Second impression: July 1967. 200 copies for sale.

The Forgeries of Tennyson's Plays. By Carter and Graham Pollard. Working Papers for a Second Edition of *An Enquiry into the Nature of Certain Nineteenth Century Pamphlets* no 2 (February 1967). Oxford: Distributed for the authors by B. H. Blackwell, 1967. 21 pp. Wrappers. 105 copies for sale (out of 140) at one guinea. (In nos. 3 and 4 [1969-70] and in the second impression of nos. 1 and 2, the printing record states that 96 copies of no. 2 were for sale.) **Second impression:** July 1967. 200 copies for sale. In the copy of the second impression that Carter labeled "working copy" (in my collection), he wrote the numbers 8 and 11 on the front wrapper; on page 8 he put a line in the margin by lines 14-16, and on page 11 he marked for deletion the phrase "at the company" in lines 37-38 (a typographical error). Laid in is a photocopy of page 797 from *Book Auction Records* for 1936-37, with a line in the margin marking the entry for Tennyson's *The Cup and the Falcon* and a note in the upper right corner ("2 stats p 1").

Corrections and Additions (1967) to "The Firm of Charles Ottley, Landon & Co." (1948). By Carter and Graham Pollard (unsigned). [London: Hart-Davis], 1967. [4] pp. This list of fourteen alterations was primarily distributed with the unsold copies of the 1948 booklet (see A:1948).

A:1969

The Gold Medal of the Bibliographical Society: Graham Pollard, Fredson Bowers, 6 May 1969. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969. 7 pp. Wrappers. Remarks de-

livered by Carter as president of the Bibliographical Society on 6 May 1969. The remarks on Pollard are reprinted in C:1975.

The Mystery of "The Death of Balder." By Carter and Graham Pollard. Working Papers for a Second Edition of *An Enquiry into the Nature of Certain Nineteenth Century Pamphlets* no. 3 (January 1969). Oxford: Distributed for the authors by B. H. Blackwell, 1969. 21 pp. Wrappers. 200 copies for sale at one guinea. (In no. 4 [1970], the printing record states that 300 copies of no. 3 were for sale.) In Carter's set of "working copies" of the four Working Papers (in my collection), this is the only one not marked "working copy"; it simply has Carter's signature on the front wrapper. The first of its two annotations is "Todd dustjacket / 7i" in the upper right corner of the title page. The reference is to *Thomas J. Wise: Centenary Studies*, edited by William B. Todd (C:1959), the jacket of which is mentioned in the first sentence of this pamphlet. Carter may simply be calling attention to the fact that the jacket copy considers *The Death of Balder* a potential Wise forgery, whereas this Working Paper shows that it was not. The significance of "7i" is not clear, but possibly Carter wished to make a change (not necessarily connected with that jacket) in the footnote (numbered 1) on page 7. The only other annotation is on page 11, where he underlined "three years" and put a question mark in the margin.

A:1970

Gorfin's Stock. By Carter and Graham Pollard. Working Papers for a Second Edition of *An Enquiry into the Nature of Certain Nineteenth Century Pamphlets* no. 4 (December 1970). Oxford: Distributed for the authors by B. H. Blackwell, 1970. 36 pp. Wrappers. 400 copies for sale at one guinea. In the copy that Carter labeled "working copy" and dated 22 December 1970 (in my collection), he wrote on the title page, "except for pp. 30/32 mostly H.G.P." (i.e., Pollard); then on page 30 he marked as "JWC" the passage beginning with "We do not foresee", and on page 32 he marked the end of the passage at the eleventh line.

A:1972

The Origins of Publishers' Cloth Bindings. Monograph no. 2. [Orange, Calif.]: Rasmussen Press, 1972. [19] pp., including fold-out illustrations of cloth grains. Wrappers. "Limited edition for the friends of Lucile and William Rasmussen." Reprinted from *The Colophon* (D:1931, December).

B. BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS EDITED

B:1930

A Fragment Preserved by Oral Tradition and Said to Have Been Composed by A. E. Housman in a Dream. Printed for Carter and John Sparrow (for use as a Christmas card). [London], 1930. [4] pp. Limited to 37 copies printed by Unwin Brothers, Woking. Carter-Sparrow-White (A:1952) 8. Includes the four-line stanza "The bells jostle in the tower." For Carter's other editions of Housman, see B:1933, 1939, 1961, 1968, 1969.

B:1932

Thomas Browne, *Urne Buriall and the Garden of Cyrus*. Edited by Carter, with an "Introduction" (pp. xv-xx) and "Apparatus Criticus" and "Appendix" (pp. 123-46). London: Cassell & Co., at La Belle Sauvage, 1932. xx, 146 pp., with 30 collotype illustrations by Paul Nash (hand-colored by pochoir). Vellum binding inlaid with morocco, designed by Nash. Limited to 215 copies, priced at 15 guineas. Printed at the Curwen Press, overseen by Oliver Simon. The four-page prospectus (including a specimen of page 26) states: "One copy consisting of two volumes, the first *Urne Buriall* and *The Garden of Cyrus*, the second a portfolio of all Mr. Nash's original drawings, both specially bound, at 350 guineas." An indication of Carter's research for this edition is offered by his copy of Edward H. Marshall's 1929 Macmillan edition, interleaved with his extensive notes and the results of his collations of earlier editions (described in G. F. Sims catalogue 102 [1979], item 85). There is a set of proofs at the Grolier Club and another in my collection, with material in both cases relating to the preparation of the 1958 revised edition. My set, which is the earlier of the two, is a bound one that Carter gave to John Sparrow (who wrote his name and "d.d.editor" on the front free endpaper). On the half-title, Carter noted, "2nd proof corrected", and he wrote "final proof" on the divisional title for "The Garden of Cyrus"; he entered fourteen marginal revisions on five pages of the introduction and 27 corrections on fifteen pages of "Urne Buriall." Laid into the volume is a list of ten "proposals" for changes to be made in the text being prepared for the 1958 Cambridge edition—a list that was marked to be sent to Geoffrey Keynes, John Hayward, John Sparrow, and Jeremiah Finch (a Browne scholar at Princeton). The Grolier set (also bound, from Carter's library) is designated as the final proofs on the spine and incorporates in the printed text all of the changes entered in the margins of my set. It does contain numerous marginal revisions and corrections, but they are for the 1958 edition, and they include all but one of the proposed changes on the list laid into my set. (The one not included consists of three alterations in the passage beginning at line 12 on page 74: "their" for "the" before "true", "or" for "of" after "ours", and "contrive" or "contain" for "continue".) The fortunes of the 1932 edition after publication were partly told in a letter from Desmond Flower (of Cassell's) to Geoffrey Keynes on 8 February 1965 (the copy sent to Carter is at the Grolier Club). Upon publication, only 29 copies were sold at the original price of fifteen guineas (owing to the Depression), and soon afterward 37 sets of sheets were sold to the Redfern Gallery. In 1941 Cassell's premises at La Belle Sauvage, an old Ludgate Hill coaching inn, were destroyed by German bombs, and 20-30 bound copies were lost. But some sets of sheets (possibly close to a hundred), having been stored in a subsidiary warehouse, were spared. Many of these were made available to the Folio Society, which was licensed to sell them in a binding with Nash's original designs. In an advertisement headed "Treasure Trove" in *The Book Handbook* for June 1951 (2.2:x), the Folio Society announced the availability of copies bound by Sangorski & Sutcliffe, in a slip-case, for twenty guineas. The

price had gone up to £36 by 1965, when sets of sheets were still available for binding to order. The "Appendix" (pp. 141-46) was reprinted, with some added introductory paragraphs, as "The Iniquity of Oblivion Foil'd" in *The Colophon* (D:1933, February) and as a separate (A:1933); the last chapter was reprinted as a separate by the Rampant Lions Press (B:1946).

Revised edition: Edited by Carter, with a "Preface" (pp. vii-viii) and appendixes (pp. 115-20). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958. viii, 120 pp. Cloth, dust-jacket. 3000 copies. The copy that Carter inscribed to his aunt, Faith Compton Mackenzie (in my collection), is dated 28-29 October 1958. In the copy that Carter labeled "working copy" on the dust-jacket and the front free endpaper (in my collection), he listed four page numbers (45, 48, 58, 89) on the front free endpaper and called them "Queries" (not corrections), but his annotations appear on other pages as well. Most of them contain references to "LCM"—that is, L. C. Martin's 1964 edition—but without any implication that the Martin readings should be accepted (and indeed those at 48.4 and 68.30 had already been rejected in his published notes). The LCM annotations are as follows: 30.5 "LCM"; 37.24 "LCM unlike" [for "nor like"]; 48.4 "LCM contriving" [for "continuing"]; 48.22-26 "?see LCM"; 66.1 "LCM conjecture contained" [for "continued"]; 68.30 "LCM conjecture containe" [for "continue"]; 69.6 "LCM [delete sign]" [deleting a comma after "divisions"]. There are three other annotations relating to Browne's text. On page 45, Carter marked for possible deletion (with a question mark) the comma after "hope" in line 18, adding the marginal note "(see Lytton Strachey)"—whose analysis of Browne's style is referred to twice in Carter's preface. And there are marginal notes on pages 58 (the insertion of "which" before "with" in line 14) and 89 ("seases" for "creases" in line 24, with a question mark), both of which are marked out. In "A Note on the Text," he changed "compositor" to "press-corrector" (117.27). **Second impression:** 1967. 2000 copies. The Grolier Club copy of the 1967 impression, which Carter labeled "working copy" on the dust-jacket, has, on the front free endpaper, the date 8 August 1967 and a list of nine page numbers headed "Correct" along with one page number labeled "Queries." Two of the page numbers refer to editorial matter, but the other eight point to readings requiring correction in Browne's text, and all eight had been reported to Carter by Geoffrey Keynes in a letter of 4 June 1968 (laid into the Grolier Club copy). That letter was apparently occasioned by a letter from Carter following the publication of Keynes's edition of Browne's *Selected Writings* (Faber & Faber, 1968), which includes Carter's texts. Keynes begins, "I could have sworn I did send you a list of errors," and the list is as follows (erroneous readings first): 33.16 body of] body of the / 35.21 *Ecclisiastes*] *Ecclesiastes* / 36.6 acccount] account / 77.17 pastick] plastick / 84.25 hioides of] hioides or / 95.17 road and] and road / 102.10 *hypoethros*] *hypaethros* / 103.14 vehicle or] vehicle of. Readers using Carter's Cambridge edition should be aware of these corrections.

First Editions of Famous Adventure Stories, 1831-1922. Edited (unsigned) by Carter, with an introduction ("On Collecting Adventure Stories," pp. [5-7]) and "A

Note" (p. [9]) on edges and ads. Catalogue 92. New York: Scribner Book Store, 1932. 208 items. Wrappers. In an undated letter to Michael Sadleir, Carter (referring to this catalogue) said, "I am rather proud of the Ballantynes & Mayne Reid & Verne, and you are about the only person, outside the trade anyway, who has any idea how hard they are" (quoted from Rota catalogue 290 [1999], item 41). Cf. C:1967.

B:1933-36

[Double Crown Club menus.] London: Double Crown Club, 1933-36. These menus are included here because Carter, as the Club's secretary from 1933 to 1936, would have overseen (or "edited") the Club's printed menus, each designed by a different person. Carter designed two of them: numbers 38, *The Printing of Menus* (May 1933), and 55, *German Book Printing since 1900* (April 1936). For further comment, see the headnote to the handlist, above.

B:1933

- A. E. Housman, *Introductory Lecture, Delivered before the Faculties of Arts and Law and of Science in University College, London, October 3, 1892*. Printed for (edited by) Carter and John Sparrow, with an unsigned prefatory note (p. [5]) by Carter. Cambridge: Printed at the University Press, 1933. 26 pp. Wrappers. Limited to 100 numbered copies, two of them on blue paper. Carter-Sparrow-White (A:1952) 1a. Housman wrote to Carter on 9 November 1933 saying that, although he "was not a willing party to the original publication [in 1892] . . . your flattering proposal, if carried out, will not make matters perceptibly worse; so I offer no objection." On 5 December 1933, he added, "I should like to have it stated that the Council of University College, not I, had the lecture printed [in 1892]. I consented, because it seemed churlish to refuse." The copy in my collection, which came from Carter's library, has a pencil line in the margin beside the bottom eleven lines of page 21 and the top five of page 22 (on the importance of "the hunger and thirst for knowledge" in human life), and another one beside the bottom five lines of page 22 and the top ten of page 23 (on the value of knowledge), with lines 7-8 underlined ("let us insist that the pursuit of knowledge, like the pursuit of righteousness, is part of man's duty to himself"). For Carter's other editions of Housman, see the references at B:1930.

Classics of Discovery & Exploration, 1773-1933. Edited (unsigned) by Carter, with a "Note" (p. [7]). Catalogue 94. New York: Scribner Book Store, [October 1933]. 134 items. Wrappers.

First Editions of Music by Famous Composers. Edited (unsigned) by Carter, with a "Note" (pp. [3-4]). Catalogue 95. New York: Scribner Book Store, [1933]. 78 items. Wrappers.

B:1934

Catullus, *The Mill House Press Catullus*. Edited by Carter (the Latin text) and translated by Robert Gathorne-Hardy. [Stanford Dingley]: Mill House Press, [1934-35]. 80 pp. in two fascicles (out of a projected six). The fascicles sometimes have a label on the front wrapper, but not always. A four-page prospec-

tus, *Proposals to Issue by Subscription "The Poems of Gaius Valerius Catullus,"* states that the poems will be "for the first time arranged in chronological order." *New Paths in Book Collecting: Essays by Various Hands.* Edited by Carter, with an "Introduction" (pp. 3-11). London: Constable, 1934. vi,294 pp. Cloth, dust-jacket. Includes Carter's essay "Detective Fiction" (pp. 31-63); for reprints of this essay, see C:1934; for his own collection, see Scribner catalogue 98 (the next entry below) and "Hawkshaw Rides Again" (D:1963, Summer). The other contributors were Thomas Balston, P. H. Muir, C. B. Oldman, Graham Pollard, David A. Randall, Michael Sadleir, and John T. Winterich.

American (Scribner's) subedition: New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934. vi,294 pp. Cloth, dust-jacket.

Books for Libraries subedition: Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1967. vi,294 pp. Cloth. Carter called this an unauthorized reprint in "An Unsolicited Review" (D:1969, Spring), which includes some autobiographical comments on the origins of the anthology.

Detective Fiction: A Collection of First and a Few Early Editions. Edited (unsigned) by Carter, with an "Introduction" (pp. 5-7). Catalogue 98. New York: Scribner Book Store, 1934. 388 items. Wrappers. The Eton copy has this note by Carter: "Compiled by me and comprising as to 90/95% my own collection." His collecting of detective fiction is described in "Hawkshaw Rides Again" (D:1963, Summer); see also his "Detective Fiction" (C:1934). The contents of this catalogue, after being sold *en bloc*, were later bought by the Lilly Library.

Catalogue of an Exhibition Arranged to Illustrate "New Paths in Book Collecting." Edited (unsigned) by Carter. London: J. & E. Bumpus, November 1934. 52 pp. Wrappers. The Eton copy is annotated by Carter: he says that he edited this catalogue; that the "Foreword" (pp. 3-4) was by Michael Sadleir, with "revisions and additions by JWC"; and that he wrote "The Evolution of 'Trade' and Publishers' Binding, 1600-1900" (pp. 10-12) and the section of "First Editions of Detective Fiction" (pp. 32-36).

B:1935

First Editions of Music. Edited (unsigned) by Carter, with an "Introduction" (pp. [3-4]). Catalogue 100. New York: Scribner Book Store, [1935]. 184 items. Wrappers.

B:1937

Bach to Stravinsky: First Editions of Music. Edited (unsigned) by Carter. Catalogue 112. New York: Scribner Book Store, [February 1937]. 188 items. Wrappers.

Science and Thought in the Nineteenth Century: A Collection of First Editions. Edited (unsigned) by Carter, with an "Introduction" (pp. [5-6]). Catalogue 113. New York: Scribner Book Store, [1937]. 413 items. Wrappers.

B:1938

Scribners Present The Modern Library in First Editions. Edited (unsigned) by Carter, with an "Introduction" (pp. [5-8]). Catalogue 117. New York: Scribner Book Store, [April] 1938. 331 items. Hardback.

Clerihews: An Unofficial Supplement of "Biography for Beginners." Edited by Carter, with a note on "The Authors" (pp. [31-32]). Cambridge: Will Carter at the Rampant Lions Press, 1938. [40] pp., including seven blanks "for additions." Stiff wrappers. Edition of about 500 copies. In the Harvard copy, Carter wrote "Designed by John Carter."

Second edition "revised and enlarged": *Clerihews by Various Hands.* Edited by "John Waynflete, B.A.", with a note on "The Authors" (pp. [57-59]). Cambridge: Rampant Lions Press, 1946. [64] pp., including four blanks "for additions." Stiff wrappers. Edition of about 275 copies. In his note on "The Authors," Carter identified nine clerihews as written by "John and Ernestine Carter in collaboration." John Sparrow, in his copy at Eton, added "Barra" to the list of the Carters' contributions.

[Three-catalogue set with continuous item numbering:] *First Editions: Johann Sebastian Bach, Ludwig van Beethoven, Johannes Brahms. Famous Operas from Lully to Richard Strauss. First Editions of Music: Important Recent Acquisitions.* Edited (unsigned) by Carter. Catalogues 119-21. New York: Scribner Book Store, [December 1938]. 157 items. Wrappers. An inserted leaf in catalogue 119 is headed "A Collection of Scores, Orchestral Parts and MS. material from the library of Sergei Diaghileff in use from 1909 to 1929 by his Ballets Russes"; a three-paragraph description (unsigned, but by Carter, who had brought the collection over from Paris) is on the reverse. The Grolier Club has a bound original (ribbon) typescript describing this collection, with 29 annotated items and a three-page introduction that includes some of the same prose as on the leaf inserted into catalogue 119; this typescript has annotations in Carter's hand. The binding of the typescript matches that of the buckram boxes in which the collection was housed, and the volume would have accompanied the collection if it had been sold *en bloc*, as had been intended; but according to Carter's note, "22 items left Oct 52".

B:1939

First Editions of Adventure and Detective Stories. Edited (unsigned) by Carter. Scribner's Rare Book Bulletin 4. New York: Scribner Book Store, June 1939. 109 items. Wrappers.

- A. E. Housman, *The Collected Poems.* Edited (unsigned) by Carter, with a "Note on the Text" (pp. 248-49). London: Jonathan Cape, 1939. 256 pp. Cloth, dust-jacket. Carter-Sparrow-White (A:1952) 14. In the Lilly Library copy, Carter states that 5000 copies were printed, with 3000 bound for publication on 1 December 1939. This is an advance copy with the original state of the "Contents" leaf (A3); a cancel A3 was substituted before publication (and, according to the publisher, before review copies went out) in order to incorporate an acknowledgment of the Richards Press (see also the Sotheby catalogue of the Carter sale, C:1976, lot 337). In the course of a 1943 article for the *Times Literary Supplement* (E2:1943), Carter revealed that he was the editor. For Carter's other editions of Housman, see the references at B:1930. **Second through thirteenth impressions:** October 1940, May 1941, April 1942, November 1942, April 1943, January 1944, March 1945, September 1946, February 1948, July 1949, August 1950, February 1952. At this point, the text came un-

der attack by two American scholars, Tom Burns Haber and William White, and the controversy thus aroused appeared in the correspondence columns of the *Times Literary Supplement* during the next sixteen years, resulting in corrections in later impressions; for the key moments in this debate, see the letters in the *TLS* on 26 September, 24 October, 7 November 1952; 2 October 1953; 12 February 1954; 29 May, 24 July, 14 August 1959; and 14 March 1968. **Fourteenth impression:** December 1953. With a new "Note on the Text" signed by Carter and dated 1953. A note in Carter's hand in the Lilly Library copy reads: "This 14th impression incorporates some further revisions of the text, resulting from a complete re-collation of the posthumously published poems with the MSS in the Library of Congress." **Fifteenth impression:** 1955. The last impression before resetting. **Penguin subedition:** Introduction by John Sparrow. Penguin Poets D34. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1956. 256 pp. Paperback. Later impressions followed, 1961-95.

Second Cape edition: 1960. 175 pp. With a "Note on the Text," signed by Carter and dated 1959 (p. 165). Later impressions followed, in both hardback and (from January 1967) paperback (JCP51), 1962-94.

American (Holt) edition: New York: Henry Holt, 1940. 264 pp. With a "Note on the Text," unsigned (pp. 249-51). Cloth, dust-jacket (designed by Alan Haemer). Published 15 March 1940. Price \$3. The dust-jacket misleadingly claims that "the poet's notes and manuscripts, in accordance with his own instructions, were destroyed after his death"; but Housman's injunction did not apply to all his manuscripts, and the "Note on the Text" refers to editorial changes made after "further scrutiny of the manuscripts." **Second through tenth impressions:** 1940-56. Hardback and paperback. Holt, Rinehart & Winston (the name of the firm as of March 1960) also briefly had in print a volume called *Complete Poems: Centennial Edition* (published in 1959), with the same contents but with a text edited by Tom Burns Haber; not authorized by the Housman estate, it was withdrawn after several impressions.

Second Holt edition: New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1965. 254 pp. With a "Note on the Text," signed by Carter (p. 5). Later impressions followed, in both hardback and paperback (with variations in imprint), 1965-71. **Buccaneer subedition:** Cutchogue, N.Y.: Buccaneer Books, 1983. 254 pp. Paperback. Reprinted 1985, 1986.

Armed Services edition: *The Selected Poems of A. E. Housman*. No. M-1. New York: Editions for the Armed Services, [1944]. 126 pp. Carter-Sparrow-White (A:1952) 16. Published September 1944. Uses Carter's text with five poems omitted and includes his unsigned "Note on the Text."

British Braille edition: London: Royal National Institute for the Blind, 1956.

American Braille edition: Louisville: American Printing House for the Blind, 1963.

B:1940

Science, Medicine, Economics, Etc. in First Editions. Edited (unsigned) by Carter. Catalogue 124. New York: Scribner Book Store, [May 1940]. 562 items. Wrappers.

B:1941

Harry G. Aldis, *The Printed Book*. Second Edition. Edited by Carter and E. A. [Brooke] Crutchley, with a "Preface" (pp. v-vi). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1941. x,142 pp. Cloth, dust-jacket. **Second impression, "with corrections":** 1947. x,142 pp. **Third impression, "revised":** 1951. [vi],142 pp. In the second and third impressions, Crutchley's name is given as "Brooke Crutchley."

B:1943-45

[British Information Services pamphlets.] New York: British Information Services, 1943-45. Unsigned. These pamphlets are entered here because Carter was director of the General Division of British Information Services in New York from November 1943 through October 1945, and one of his responsibilities was to oversee the preparation and production of BIS publications, which included a large number of widely distributed pamphlets. He can therefore be considered the editor of those pamphlets. The one that he is known to have written, *Victory in Burma* (1945), is entered in section A. For further comment, see the headnote to the handlist, above.

B:1945

Nineteenth Century Pamphlets with an Appendix of Wiseiana. Edited (unsigned) by Carter, with an "Introductory Note" (p. 1). Catalogue 131. New York: Scribner Book Store, 1945. 30 pp. Wrappers. Includes "an almost complete set of the late Thomas J. Wise's forgeries," mostly from the library of Walter B. Slater, a friend of Wise.

B:1946

Thomas Browne, *The Last Chapter of Urne Buriall*. Edited by Carter. Cambridge: Will Carter at the Rampant Lions Press, 1946. [15] pp. Limited to 175 copies, with cover and title-page designs by John Piper. For Carter's full edition, see B:1932.

Music First Editions. Edited (unsigned) by Carter. Catalogue 133. New York: Scribner Book Store, [November 1946]. 196 items. Wrappers.
Clerihews. See B:1938.

B:1947

Victorian Fiction: An Exhibition of Original Editions at 7 Albemarle Street, London, January to February 1947. Arranged by Carter, who signed the "Introduction to the Exhibition" (pp. vii-xi), with the collaboration of Michael Sadleir, who signed the "Foreword" (pp. iv-vi). London: For the National Book League by Cambridge University Press, 1947. xiii,50 pp. Published both in wrappers without illustrations and in cloth (and dust-jacket) with 16 plates. Sadleir, in his copy of the cloth issue (in my collection), wrote on the jacket "marked for authorship," and in the table of contents he entered "MS" or "JC" by each section heading except two (D and G), where he put a question mark. The sections attributed to Carter are A, B, C, F, I, O, Q, and U, plus the introduction to W. The remaining twelve (plus the annotations in W) are credited

to Sadleir. The introduction, condensed, was reprinted in *The Book-Mart* 1 (15 August 1977): 41, 43.

B:1951

William Johnson Cory, *Lucretius*. Edited by Carter, with a "Bibliographical Note" (pp. ix-x, signed "J.W.C."), and by John Sparrow, with an "Introduction" (pp. v-viii). Cambridge: Rampant Lions Press, 1951. xii, 51 pp. Cockerell marbled-paper-covered boards with cloth spine and printed-paper spine label. Limited to 175 copies, printed on Basingwerk Parchment, with title-page lettering by Will Carter. With an errata slip, listing six errors, facing p. v. For Carter's other writings on Cory, see the references at A:1959.

Fifty Distinguished Books and Manuscripts. Edited (unsigned) by Carter. Catalogue 137. New York: Scribner Book Store, [November 1951]. 69 pp. Hardback. In the copy Carter presented to John Hayward, Carter wrote, "The notes for this catalogue were put together in haste, & I am not proud of them. The format is a disgrace to the Scribner press, & I am ashamed of it. But some of the contents are, I think, rather nice, though it's too deliberately mixed a bag to be of more than ephemeral interest. Please do not show it to anyone in or near the trade" (quoted from Rota catalogue 290 [1999], item 99).

B:1953

Rare Books in Science and Thought, 1490-1940. Edited (unsigned) by Carter. Catalogue 138. New York: Scribner Book Store, [April 1953]. 281 items. Wrappers.

B:1957

Sotheby's 213th Season, 1956-57. Edited (unsigned) by Carter, with a preface (pp. [3-4]). London: Sotheby's, 1957. [36] pp. Wrappers. In the impression for America, the prices are in dollars. For Carter's account of the origin of these annual reports, see "Sotheby's of London, New York: The Early Days" (C:1971), pp. 45-46.

B:1958

Sotheby's 214th Season, 1957-58. Edited (unsigned) by Carter, with a preface (pp. [3-4]). London: Sotheby's, 1958. [35] pp. Wrappers. See also 1957 above. Thomas Browne, *Urne Buriall and the Garden of Cyrus*. See B:1932.

B:1959

Sotheby's 215th Season: October 1958 - July 1959. Edited (unsigned) by Carter, with a preface (pp. 3, 5). London: Sotheby's, 1959. 143 pp. Wrappers. See also 1957 above.

- A. E. Housman: *Catalogue of an Exhibition on the Centenary of His Birth*. Assembled by Carter, who signed the "Preface" (pp. 3-4), and by Joseph W. Scott, who signed the biographical introduction (pp. 5-8). London: University College, 1959. 35 pp. Wrappers. A cancel slip relating to item J2 is pasted on p. 35 in some copies. Carter also reported this error (in a photograph caption) in a letter printed in the *Times Literary Supplement* on 11 September 1959, p. 519.

B:1960

Sotheby's 216th Season: October 1959 – July 1960. Edited (unsigned) by Carter, with a preface (pp. 3, 5). London: Sotheby's, 1960. 187 pp. Wrappers. See also 1957 above.

B:1961

- A. E. Housman, *Selected Prose*. Edited by Carter, with a "Preface" (pp. vii-xv). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961. xv,204 pp. Hardback (with dust-jacket) and paperback. Carter-Sparrow-White (A:1952) 21. In the Eton copy of the Collamore exhibition catalogue (C:1961), Carter noted that his preface to the *Selected Prose* incorporates most (except for the conclusion) of his address at that exhibition opening. In a note in *The Book Collector* a year later ("Housmaniana," D:1962, Spring), he explained the production history of the book: "The first impression (serving both the British and American markets) bears on the reverse of the title-leaf the legend 'Reprinted in the United States of America'. The collector will naturally infer an earlier printing: he will be wrong. The bibliographer will wonder, reprinted from what? The explanation is that the book was set at Cambridge (the page-proofs, to which I happen to have access, carry the normal imprint of the University Printer); the edition was then produced in the United States by photo-offset from 'reproduction proofs'; it was bound and jacketed (for the cloth issue) and wrapped (for the paperback) also in the United States; and the copies for publication from Bentley House on 8 Nov. 1961 (20 Oct. from CUP New York) shipped across the Atlantic." For Carter's other editions of Housman, see the references at B:1930. **Corrected impression:** Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1962. xv,204 pp. Hardback and paperback.

New Amsterdam subedition. *The Name and Nature of Poetry and Other Selected Prose.* New York: New Amsterdam Books, 1989. xv,204 pp. A Library of Congress discarded copy (in my collection) was received by the Library on 9 August 1989.

B:1964-66

The Halcyon Booklets. Nos. 1-5 edited by Carter. New York: Halcyon-Commonwealth Foundation, 1964-66. Six booklets, with cuts by Reynolds Stone: (1) C. P. Scott, *Newspaper Ideals*, prefaced by Walter Lippmann (1964); (2) William Johnson Cory, *On the Education of the Reasoning Faculties*, prefaced by John Carter (1964); (3) F. M. Cornford, *Microcosmographia Academica*, prefaced by W. K. C. Guthrie (1964); (4) Bernard De Voto, *For the Wayward and Beguiled*, prefaced by Russell Lynes (1964); (5) Winston Churchill, *The Sinews of Peace*, prefaced by Harry S Truman (1965); (6) Pedro Carolino, *The New Guide of the Conversation in Portuguese and English*, prefaced by Brendan Gill and Mark Twain (1966). According to the prospectus, the concerns of the Foundation were "conservation of national resources" and "bibliography, typography, book production and the graphic arts"; one of the "members" of the Foundation was Stanley Morison. The prospectus does not indicate

that the Foundation was financed by Mary Jean Kempner Thorne, primarily for the purpose of publishing the booklets. Copies were available for \$1 from Philip C. Duschnes (New York) and 6s from Heywood Hill (London). For an account of the whole series and the Halcyon-Commonwealth Foundation, see G. T. Tanselle, "The Halcyon Booklets," *The Book Collector* 61 (2012): 568-76; reprinted in his *Portraits and Reviews* (2015), pp. 437-44. The second booklet, containing a preface by Carter, is given a separate entry just below.

B:1964

William Johnson Cory, *On the Education of the Reasoning Faculties*. Edited by Carter, with a "Preface" (pp. 3-5). Halcyon Booklets no. 2. New York: Halcyon-Commonwealth Foundation, 1964. 59 pp. Wrappers. Printed at Cambridge University Printing House. See also the entry for the series just above. For Carter's other writings on Cory, see the references at A:1959.

B:1965

John Hayward, 1904-1965: Some Memories. Edited by Carter, with a preface, "Some Memories of John Hayward" (p. 2). [London: Shenvale Press, 1965.] 44 pp. Wrappers. Reprinted from *The Book Collector* for Winter 1965 and includes Carter and Arthur Crook's "John Hayward: Bibliophile and Anthologist" and Carter's "John Hayward: A Valediction" (D:1965).

B:1966

Printing and the Mind of Man: A Descriptive Catalogue Illustrating the Impact of Print on the Evolution of Western Civilization during Five Centuries. Edited by Carter and Percy H. Muir. London: Cassell, [1966]. 16 pp. Wrappers. A "specimen" (so called in the introductory essay on the inside front wrapper) to advertise the full edition (B:1967), it consists of the first sixteen pages of the main text of the projected volume (a single sewn gathering) with added wrappers. The text is in a preliminary state—the major difference being that there is an illustration for the Thomas Littleton entry (no. 23) and none for Aesop (no. 15), whereas the reverse is true in the published book. The recto of the front wrapper reproduces the title-page wording of the book but in a different setting. The essay on the verso of the front wrapper, entitled "The Impact of Print," with Carter's characteristic phrasing, was obviously written by him; it was later used (with the title and the last two sentences deleted, along with nine smaller revisions) on the book's dust-jacket flaps. (It was also used in a four-page prospectus, where Carter is known to have changed by hand the phrase "full descriptions" to "in-depth descriptions" in the third sentence.) In the copy of the specimen in my collection, presented by Carter to Arthur Cohen on Michaelmas 1966, Carter wrote a note on the inside back wrapper regarding the price of "approximately" nine guineas listed among the statistics and specifications printed there: "this was figured before the September estimate reduction: should not therefore be exceeded." The price when published was seven guineas.

B:1967

Printing and the Mind of Man: A Descriptive Catalogue Illustrating the Impact of Print on the Evolution of Western Civilization during Five Centuries. Edited by Carter and Percy H. Muir, assisted by Nicolas Barker, H. A. Feisenberger, Howard Nixon, and S. H. Steinberg; introduction by Denys Hay. London: Cassell; New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1967. xxxiv, 280 pp. Cloth, dust-jacket (different jackets for Britain and America). Printed by Cambridge University Press; designed by John Dreyfus, with title-page lettering engraved by Reynolds Stone. Muir's set of proofs on which he identified the authorship of the commentaries is in Cambridge University Library. It indicates that Carter wrote the annotations for entries 14 (Maimonides), 122 (Shakespeare Folio), 354 (*Alice in Wonderland*), and 424 (Churchill's speech of 20 August 1940) and that he collaborated with Muir on entries 302 (Murray's Travellers Guides), 351 (Gettysburg Address), 373 (General William Booth's *In Darkest England*), and 403 (Frederick W. Taylor's *The Principles of Scientific Management*). As co-editor, Carter would have been involved in revising many of the other entries. Most of his papers relating to this project are in the Bodleian Library. For the catalogue of the 1963 exhibition out of which this book grew, see C:1963; for the advance "specimen" of this book, see B:1966; for Morison's role, see C:1968.

Revised (Pressler) subedition: Munich: Karl Pressler, 1983. With a new introduction by Muir and additional bibliographies by Peter Amelung. xxv,xxxiv,280 pp. Cloth, dust-jacket, slip-case.

German translation: *Bücher die die Welt verändern.* Translated by Kurt Busse. Munich: Prestel, 1968. 789 pp. Cloth, dust-jacket. **Reprint:** Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1969. 789 pp. Flexible fabric. **Taschenbuch subedition:** *Bücher die die Welt verändern: Eine Kulturgeschichte Europas in Büchern.* Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch, 1976. 789 pp. Wrappers.

Japanese translation: *Seijo o kizuita shomotsu.* Tokyo: Yushodo Shoten, 1977. lli,348 pp. 5 plates. Slip-case. Afterword by Hiroshi Tanabe.

Catalogue of the Celebrated Collection Formed by Sir Maurice Pariser, of Manchester, of the Notorious Nineteenth Century Pamphlets and Other Important Wiseiana Manuscript and Printed. Compiled by Carter, with a "Preface" (pp. 5-6). London: Sotheby's, 4-5 December 1967. 139 pp. Edition includes 25 copies on green paper. Unsigned. **After-sale issue:** With corrections and a list of buyers and prices bound in. For Carter's account of the sale, see "Thomas J. Wise at Sotheby's" (D:1968, January); see also E1:1967 (December).

B:1968

- A. E. Housman, *Housman's Cambridge Inaugural: Inaugural Lecture as Kennedy Professor of Latin at Cambridge . . . Delivered May 9, 1911.* Edited by Carter, with a "Note." London: Times Newspapers, [1968]. [3] pp. Limited to 25 copies "for private circulation," printed by Bradbury Agnew Press. Reprinted from the *Times Literary Supplement* of 9 May 1968 (E2:1968). For Carter's published edition of the "complete text," see the next entry.

B:1969

- A. E. Housman, *The Confines of Criticism: The Cambridge Inaugural, 1911: The Complete Text*. Edited by Carter, with a "Preface" (pp. 7-12) and a "Note on the Text" (p. 13). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969. 54 pp. Cloth, dust-jacket. Carter-Sparrow-White (A:1952) 23. Includes an appendix (pp. 47-54), "Shelley, Swinburne and Housman," condensed from an article by Carter and John Sparrow in the *Times Literary Supplement* (E2:1968, November). Published 11 November 1969. In the "Note on the Text," Carter points out that Housman's manuscript has no title other than "Cambridge inaugural." The decision to supply a title, he says, was not his. "But," he adds, "having deferred to the decision, I discovered in myself a disinclination to defer to anyone else's preference in such presumption; so, for better or worse, the title here given to the Cambridge inaugural is mine." Carter reported two errors in a letter published in the *Times Literary Supplement* on 27 November 1969, p. 1362: at 22.19, "preserved" should be "preserve"; at 23.11, "examples" should be "example". Carter first published the lecture, omitting a short paragraph on Shelley and Swinburne, in the *Times Literary Supplement* of 9 May 1968, with an appended "Note" (E2:1968); and he had the *TLS* text reprinted "for private circulation" (see the preceding entry). For Carter's other editions of Housman, see the references at B:1930.

Facsimile subedition: [New Haven: Gary Haller, Jonathan Edwards College, Yale University, May 2001.] Plain wrappers with printed jacket.

B:1970

- Catalogue of a Collection of Victorian Fiction, Mainly Three-Deckers and Autograph Letters: The Property of a Gentleman*. Compiled by Carter. London: Sotheby's, 12-13 October 1970. 66 pp. Wrappers. Unsigned. Collection of Douglas Ewing.

B:1975

- Eton College Chapel: John Waynfielte Carter, Fellow, 10 May 1905 – 18 March 1975*. [Cambridge]: Rampant Lions Press, 1975. [8] pp. The program for Carter's funeral service at Eton on 5 May 1975, which can be considered as edited by him because he arranged the program in detail. It includes a printing of Housman's "O thou that from thy mansion."

C. CONTRIBUTIONS TO BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

C:1927-53

- [Scattered entries], in Scribner catalogues (New York: Scribner Book Store, 1927-53). For the Scribner catalogues that were entirely Carter's work (listed in section B), see the discussion in the headnote to the handlist, above.

C:1932

- "Publishing History and the Collector (with Special Reference to *Binding Variants*)," in *Rare Books in English Literature* (catalogue 48; London: Elkin Mathews Ltd., September 1932), pp. 3-5 (with "Addenda to *Binding Variants*," pp. 6-8, ending with "To be continued"). Addenda to Carter's first book (A:1932). "Additional Notes to *Binding Variants*," in *Rare Books in English Literature* (catalogue 49; London: Elkin Mathews Ltd., October 1932), pp. 3-4. The introduction is continued from the previous catalogue.

C:1933

- [Catalogue entries], in *Sunday Times' Book Exhibition: Catalogue of Modern Books, Rare Manuscripts and First Editions* [at Sunderland House, 6-20 November 1933] (London: Sunday Times, 1933), entries 22 (an author-corrected copy of *Urne Buriall*), 184 (Fergus Hume's *The Mystery of a Hansom Cab*), and 199 (Edgar Wallace's *The Four Just Men*), all lent by Carter. In entry 184, Carter writes, "The copy shewn is the 100,000th; this is the earliest known and is about 240,000 earlier than the copy in the British Museum."

C:1934

- "Detective Fiction," in *New Paths in Book Collecting*, edited by Carter (B:1934), pp. 31-63. Reprinted as a separate (A:1938); then with the title "Collecting Detective Fiction" in Howard Haycraft's *The Art of the Mystery Story* (C:1946); and with revisions and the title "Collecting Detective Fiction" in Carter's *Books and Book-Collectors* (A:1956), pp. 77-93. See also the Bumpus and Scribner catalogues (B:1934), "Hawkshaw Rides Again" (D:1963, Summer), and C:1966.

C:1940

- [Catalogue entries], in *An Exhibition of Printing at the Fitzwilliam Museum, 6 May to 23 June 1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940), pp. 109, 127. On p. viii, Mr. and Mrs. John Carter are among those acknowledged for various kinds of assistance, including "writing catalogue entries." Items 523 ("The Smallest Printed Book": Lincoln's *Addresses*, 1927) and 596 ("A Forged Imprint": Elizabeth Barrett Browning's *Sonnets*, "Reading, 1847") were lent by Carter, and the entry for the latter has a six-line comment.

C:1941

- [Dedication to Churchill], in *Grim Glory: Pictures of Britain under Fire*, edited by Ernestine Carter (who wrote the text and captions), with a preface by Edward R. Murrow and photographs by Lee Miller et al. (London: Lund, Humphries, 1941), p. [3]. Reprinted four times. Carter identified the dedication as his composition in "Clough to Churchill" (D:1941, August). It reads, "Dedicated to / The Right Honourable / MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL / Prime Minister of Great Britain / the embodiment and the inspiration / of the indomitable spirit / of the common people / to which this book / pays tribute". Carter may also have contributed to the captions; for example, one of them states, "Since Waterloo, of course, the playing-fields of Eton have been a legitimate military objective." A further account of the book

is provided by Ernestine Carter in *With Tongue in Chic* (1974), pp. 56-57. **American (Scribner) subedition:** *Bloody but Unbowed: Pictures of Britain under Fire*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941. The American title, quoted from Henley's "Invictus," was suggested by Carter (see *With Tongue in Chic*, p. 56).

C:1946

"Collecting Detective Fiction," in *The Art of the Mystery Story: A Collection of Critical Essays*, edited by Howard Haycraft (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1946), pp. 453-70. Reprinted from Carter's *New Paths in Book Collecting* (B:1934). **Second impression:** 1947 (with index added). **First subedition:** New York: Grosset & Dunlap Universal Library, 1947; reprinted 1961. **Second subedition:** New York: Biblo & Tannen, 1974; reprinted 1975, 1976. **Third subedition:** New York: Carroll & Graf, 1983; reprinted 1992.

C:1948

"Bibliomania," in *Good Living: The Thirteenth Contact Book*, edited by A. G. Weidenfeld (London: Contact Publications Ltd., 1948), pp. 78-80. Reprinted (condensed) from the introduction to Carter's *Taste and Technique in Book-Collecting* (A:1948).

C:1949

"Adjudicators' Notes," in *Third International Exhibition of Book Design Arranged by the National Book League First Held at 7 Albemarle Street, W.1, June-July 1949* (London: For the National Book League by Cambridge University Press, 1949), pp. 3-4 (by Walter Lewis), 4-6 (by Carter).

C:1950

"Preface" and "The Technical Approach," in *Book Collecting: Four Broadcast Talks by R. W. Chapman, John Hayward, John Carter, Michael Sadleir* (Cambridge: Bowes & Bowes, 1950), pp. [7], 29-35. Carter's talk was broadcast on the BBC Third Programme on 26 June 1950 and repeated on 28 June.

"A List of William Cory's Printed Works," in Faith Compton Mackenzie's *William Cory: A Biography, with a Selection of Poems, Some Unpublished, Others from "Ionica," and a List of Cory's Works* (London: Constable, 1950), pp. 189-92. Dedication: "for John and Ernestine Carter" (Mackenzie was Carter's aunt). Cf. D:1946 (July), 1948 (February), 1949, 1967, 1970; for Carter's other writings on Cory, see the references at A:1959.

C:1951

"Preface," in *Modern Books and Writers: The Catalogue of an Exhibition Held at Seven Albemarle Street April to September 1951* (London: For the National Book League by Cambridge University Press, 1951), pp. 5-7. Carter's edition of Browne (B:1932) is listed as item 42.

"Note," in *Scenery of the British Isles, 1775-1860: An Exhibition of Aquatint and Other Colour-Plate Books from the Library of J. R. Abbey* (London: National Book League, 1951). Signed "Jno.C."

[Sample of Carter's handwriting], in Aubrey West's *Written by Hand* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1951), p. 60.

C:1952

"Some Bibliographical Agenda," in *Nineteenth-Century English Books: Some Problems in Bibliography* (Windsor Lectures in Librarianship, October 1951; Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1952), pp. 53-81. In the copy of the offprint that Carter inscribed to me in 1966, he wrote in the margin of page 58, near his list of "the fathers of modern bibliography": "today I should add Gordon Duff". (He also corrected the date of Buxton Forman's Shelley bibliography on the next page to 1886.) Reprinted, with the title "Nineteenth-Century English Books: Some Bibliographical Agenda," in Carter's *Books and Book-Collectors* (A:1956), pp. 157-86. (Duff's name was not added to this text.)

"Fashions in Book-Collecting," in *Talks on Book-Collecting, Delivered under the Authority of the Antiquarian Booksellers' Association*, edited by P. H. Muir (London: Cassell, 1952), pp. 53-60. Reprinted from *Virginia Quarterly Review* (D:1950, Fall). An expansion "in more general terms" of the talk originally given (in both London and New York).

C:1953

"The Dry Martini," in Ernestine Carter's *Flash in the Pan* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1953), pp. 129-33. **Revised edition:** (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1963), pp. 123-26. Reprinted as a separate by Carter (A:1963).

C:1954

"Book-Collecting," in *The Concise Encyclopaedia of Antiques*, edited by L. G. G. Ramsey (London and New York: The Connoisseur, 1954), pp. 199-209 (signed). Includes a glossary, largely from the *ABC for Book-Collectors* (A:1952). Reprinted several times, 1955-61, in volume 1 of the five-volume *Concise Encyclopaedia*. **American subedition:** New York: Hawthorn Books, 1954. Reprinted several times, 1955-61, in volume 1 of the five-volume *Concise Encyclopaedia*. Reprinted as the "Introduction" in Carter's *Books and Book-Collectors* (A:1956), pp. 11-13. Also reprinted as "Books and Bookbindings" in *The Complete Encyclopedia of Antiques* [adapted from *The Concise Encyclopaedia*], edited by L. G. G. Ramsey (London: The Connoisseur, 1962), pp. 101-21 (unsigned). Reprinted 1969. **American subedition:** New York: Hawthorn Books, 1962. Reprinted 1965, 1967 (twice), 1968 (three times), 1969.

C:1955-72

[Scattered entries], in Sotheby catalogues (London: Sotheby's, 1955-72). For examples, see the discussion in the headnote to the handlist, above, which also mentions the Sotheby catalogues that were entirely Carter's work (listed in section B) and the identified prefaces (or similar pieces) that he wrote for Sotheby catalogues (listed below in section C).

C:1955

“Definition of a Book-Collector,” in *Bouillabaisse for Bibliophiles: A Treasury of Bookish Lore, Wit and Wisdom, Tales, Poetry and Narratives, and Certain Curious Studies of Interest to Bookmen and Collectors*, edited by William Targ (Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1955), pp. 19-30. Reprinted from the introduction to Carter’s *Taste and Technique in Book-Collecting*, (A:1948). **Scarecrow subedition:** Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Reprint Corporation, 1968.

C:1958

“The Auction Room,” in *Money at Work: A Survey of Investment*, edited by Milton Grundy (London: Sweet & Maxwell, 1958), pp. 139-62. An offprint in blue printed wrappers (with no change in pagination) was also produced. **Revised edition:** (London: Sweet & Maxwell, 1960), pp. 147-70. An offprint in brown printed wrappers (with no change in pagination) was also produced. On the front wrapper of my copy of the offprint from the revised edition, Carter wrote, “The worst designed book of the year—nay, the decade—probably of the century.”

“Introduction,” in *Catalogue of First Editions in English Literature, Private Press Books and Bibliography, the Property of the Late Michael Sadleir, Esq.* (London: Sotheby’s, 17-18 November 1958), p. [3]. The introduction, signed “Sotheby & Co.,” was written by Carter: a carbon typescript of a draft (9 September 1958), much longer than the published version, is in Carter’s copy of the catalogue at Eton.

C:1959

[Comments quoted], in “John Carter,” *Current Biography, 1959* (New York: Current Biography, 1959), pp. 57-59.

“Additions and Corrections” [to his Morison handlist (A:1950)], in P. M. Hando-ver’s *Stanley Morison: A Second Handlist, 1950-1959* (Bishop’s Stortford: Elkin Mathews, 1959), pp. 55-56. Reprinted from *Motif* (D:1959). The copy Carter presented to John Hayward (in my collection) is dated 12 December 1959. See also C:1976.

“Introduction,” in Stanley Morison, *Typographic Design in Relation to Photographic Composition* (San Francisco: Book Club of California, 1959), pp. [iii-vi]. Limited to 400 copies printed at the Black Vine Press.

“Thomas J. Wise in Perspective,” in *Thomas J. Wise Centenary Studies*, edited by William B. Todd (Austin: University of Texas Press; Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1959), pp. 3-19. **Second impression:** undated, on smaller paper. For the periodical publication of this book as a supplement to *Texas Quarterly*, see D:1959 (Winter).

“John Henry Wrenn, 1841-1911,” in *Grolier 75: A Biographical Retrospective to Celebrate the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Grolier Club in New York* (New York: Grolier Club, 1959), pp. 31-34. Correspondence at the Grolier Club shows that Carter felt he knew very little about Wrenn (Wise’s best American customer).

C:1961

"Introduction," in *English Private Presses, 1757 to 1961* (London: The Times Bookshop, 1961), p. [5]. The edition includes 100 copies on special paper, 50 of which were for private distribution. Lists 95 items, based on an exhibition held 12-22 April 1961.

"A Footnote," in *A. E. Housman: A Collection of Manuscripts, Letters, Proofs, First Editions, Etc., Formed by H. B. Collamore of West Hartford, Connecticut, and Presented to the Lilly Library, Indiana University* (Bloomington: Lilly Library, 1961), pp. 33-37. Carter-Sparrow-White (A:1952) 63. Based on an exhibition held 1-30 April, 1961. In the Eton copy, Carter says that this "Footnote" was the conclusion of his address at the opening of the exhibition (and the rest of the address was used in the preface to *Selected Prose* [B:1961]). He also states that the following sentence (on p. 36, lines 18-19) was written by David Randall: "The Sophocles and Plautus I managed to rescue must be among the few which survive today." In my copy, in the blank space on p. 37, he adds: "this was not said by me, & is not true. They came from some other, or through some other, source."

C:1963

"Preface" by Frank Francis, Stanley Morison, and Carter, in *Printing and the Mind of Man: Catalogue of a Display of Printing Mechanisms and Printed Materials, Arranged to Illustrate the History of Western Civilization and the Means of the Multiplication of Literary Texts since the XV Century, Organized in Connexion with the Eleventh International Printing Machinery and Allied Trades Exhibition . . . Assembled at the British Museum and at Earls Court, London, 16-27 July 1963* (London: F. W. Bridges & Sons and the Association of British Manufacturers of Printers' Machinery, 1963), pp. 7-9. (Cover subtitle: *Catalogue of the Exhibitions at the British Museum and at Earls Court, London, 16-27 July 1963*.) In a letter to David Randall on 18 December 1964 (at the Lilly Library), Carter says that the preface "was, as a matter of fact, written by the third of the signatories to it." Carter was a member of the Supervisory Committee and would have been involved in various aspects of the preparation of this book, but he was not on the Editorial Board—nor on the British Museum Committee, which oversaw the historical exhibition of fine printing that was mounted in the British Museum (whereas the Earls Court exhibition displayed, along with printing equipment, books that were monuments of intellectual history). The catalogues of both exhibitions are included in this publication but are separately paginated. In the preface to the British Museum part, R. A. Wilson thanks Carter (along with Nicolas Barker and Percy Muir) for special help "in selecting the books and producing the following catalogue." Carter's Curwen Press edition of Browne (B:1932) is listed as item 177. Because the British Museum exhibition was to run two months longer than the one at Earls Court, its catalogue was made available separately, with the imprint of the British Museum and the title *Printing and the Mind of Man: An Exhibition of Fine Printing in the King's Library of the British Museum, July-September 1963*. (There was also *A Keepsake for Visitors* of three pages). For the expanded work (of which Carter was co-editor) that grew out of the Earls Court exhibition,

see B:1967; for Morison's role, see C:1968. In the catalogue for the 1973 Lilly Library exhibition recreating the one at Earls Court, the descriptions are taken from this 1963 publication.

C:1964

"Foreword," in *Wise after the Event: A Catalogue of Books, Pamphlets, Manuscripts and Letters Relating to Thomas James Wise Displayed in an Exhibition in Manchester Central Library*, edited by G. E. Haslam (Manchester: Libraries Committee, September 1964), pp. vii-viii. Limited to 500 numbered copies. From the collection of Maurice P. Pariser. The title of the catalogue is a phrase used by R. B. McKerrow in his 1934 review of the *Enquiry* in *The Library* (4th series 14: 383). Cf. D:1964 (September).

[Letter], in David A. Randall, *The J. K. Lilly Collection of Poe* (Bloomington: Lilly Library, 1964), pp. 45-46.

"Preface" by Frank Francis, Stanley Morison, and Carter, in Robert Birley, *Printing and Democracy* (London: Privately printed for the Monotype Corporation, 1964), p. [5]. "Designed as a pendant to *Printing and the Mind of Man*"; see C:1963 above: given the comment of Carter's quoted in that earlier entry, this preface is probably by Carter alone.

C:1965

"Preface," in *Catalogue of Rare First Editions . . . the Majority Deriving from the Celebrated Collection of the Late Louis H. Silver, the Property of the Newberry Library* (London: Sotheby's, 8-9 November 1965), pp. 3-7. Signed "Sotheby & Co.," but clearly by Carter (given its style, his friendship with the Silvers, and his involvement in the negotiations for the sale). For another preface (or introduction) by Carter that is signed "Sotheby & Co.," see C:1958.

C:1966

"Introduction," in *Victorian Detective Fiction: A Catalogue of the Collection Made by Dorothy Glover and Graham Greene*, edited by Eric Osborne (London: Bodley Head, 1966), pp. ix-xv. Limited to 500 numbered copies, signed by Glover, Greene, and Carter. For Carter's other writings on detective fiction, see C:1934.

C:1967

"Introduction," in Henry Seton Merriman [pseudonym of Hugh Stowell Scott], *The Sowers* (Doughty Library no. 7; London: Anthony Blond, [1967]), pp. vii-x. **American subedition:** New York: Stein & Day, [1968]. In his Scribner catalogue 92, *First Editions of Famous Adventure Stories* (B:1932), Carter called Merriman "that inexplicably neglected master" and this book "the author's masterpiece" (item 130).

C:1968

"The Wise Affair; Printing and the Mind of Man," in *S.M., an Original Member of the Double Crown Club: Observations on Stanley Morison by Five Members and a Guest Given at the Club's 192nd Dinner, 29 November 1967* [London: Double

Crown Club (printed by Hazell Watson & Viney), June 1968]. Limited to 120 copies.

"Preface," in Lord Radcliffe [Cyril John Radcliffe], *Government by Contempt: A Speech in the House of Lords* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1968), pp. 7-8. Includes "Statement on The British Museum Library by the Secretary of State for Education and Science Mr Patrick Gordon Walker."

"Acknowledgements," in *Catalogue of Costumes and Curtains from Diaghilev and de Basil Ballets* (London: Sotheby's, 17 July 1968), p. vii. Signed "Sotheby & Co." but marked by Carter as his in the Eton copy. Also at Eton is a typescript of Leonide Massine's preface revised by Carter, suggesting that he may have written it also.

C:1969

[Recollections of Stanley Morison], in *Stanley Morison, 1889-1967: A Radio Portrait*, edited by Nicolas Barker and Douglas Cleverdon (Ipswich: W. S. Cowell, 1969), pp. 13-14, 31, 35. Limited to 800 numbered copies. Based on a broadcast on BBC Third Programme on 2 February 1969. A transcript (23 pp., reproduced from typescript) was also circulated (a copy is in my collection).

[Carter's description of the Keats-Haydon letters quoted], in David A. Randall's *Dukedom Large Enough* (New York: Random House, 1969), pp. 146-47.

C:1970

"A Personal Appreciation of T.W.S. [Streeter]," *AB Bookman's Yearbook*, 1970, 2: 5-6.

"Taste and Technique in Book Collecting, 1928-1968," in Carter's *Taste and Technique in Book Collecting* (London: Private Libraries Association, 1970), pp. 209-42. Carter's presidential address to the Bibliographical Society on 18 November 1969, printed as the "Epilogue" to the 1970 impression of his 1948 book (A:1948).

C:1971

"Sotheby's of London, New York: The Early Days: Some Egotistical Reminiscences," in *Art at Auction: The Year at Sotheby's & Parke-Bernet, 1970-71*, edited by Philip Wilson and Annamaria Macdonald (London: Thames & Hudson, 1971), pp. 34-47. First paragraph reprinted in a keepsake for a reception at Parke-Bernet on 9 March 1972, honoring Carter on his retirement (at the end of the season), and in *AB Bookman's Weekly* (D:1972, March).

[Comment on the sale of books from his library], in *Bibliography* (catalogue 908; London: Bernard Quaritch, 1971). Unsigned. The books of Carter's that are included, anonymously, are "reluctant extrusions enforced upon a past president of the Bibliographical Society by a drastic constriction of shelf space" (occasioned by a move from 26 Carlyle Square to 113 Dovehouse Street). Since Carter's death, books from his library have turned up in other dealers' catalogues; one extensive group appeared in Stone Trough Books catalogue 2 (Autumn 1986), items 241-318. For the two main auction catalogues containing his books, see C:1976.

C:1974

- “Transatlantic Traffic in Rare Books,” in *AB Bookman’s Yearbook*, 1973-74, 2: 24-25. Reprinted from *Books* (D:1961, May).
- [Quotations from Carter’s reports of meetings], in James Moran’s *The Double Crown Club: A History of Fifty Years* (London: Westerham Press, 1974).
- [Tribute to Percy Muir], in *P.H.M. 80: A Collection of Tributes to Percy Muir on His Eightieth Birthday*, edited by Laurie Deval (n.p., 17 December 1974), pp. 43-45. Limited to 100 copies. Cf. D:1974 (Winter).

C:1975

- “Graham Pollard,” in *Studies in the Book Trade in Honour of Graham Pollard*, edited by R. W. Hunt, I. G. Philip, and R. J. Roberts (Publications, new series 18; Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1975), pp. 3-9. Includes material reprinted from A:1969.

C:1976

- [Reproductions of two presentation inscriptions by Carter (to his parents [A:1932] and John Hayward [A:1952]) and of his fourteen-line account of Richard Jennings’s “Gullible Papers” (D:1959, Summer)], in *Catalogue of the Valuable Collection of Printed Books, the Property of the Late John Carter, Esq., C.B.E., Past President and Gold Medallist of the Bibliographical Society and Sometime Sandars Reader in Bibliography in the University of Cambridge* (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 24 March 1976; with frontispiece photographic portrait by Lord Snowdon), pp. 6, 7, 14 (lots 3, 6, and 44). More books from Carter’s library were included in another Sotheby sale five days later (29 March 1976, lots 24-70). Cf. C:1971.
- [Carter’s corrections of his Morison handlist (A:1950)], incorporated in Tony Appleton’s *The Writings of Stanley Morison: A Handlist* (Brighton: Tony Appleton, 1976). Limited to 600 copies, dedicated to Carter’s memory. See also C:1959, D:1959.

C:1980

- “Bibliography and the Rare Book Trade,” in *The Bibliographical Society of America, 1904-1979: A Retrospective Collection*, edited (unsigned) by Stephen Parks and G. Thomas Tanselle (Charlottesville: For the Bibliographical Society of America by the University Press of Virginia, 1980), pp. 307-17. Reprinted from *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* (D:1954, 3rd Quarter).

C:1983

- “Aftermath of *An Enquiry*,” in Carter and Graham Pollard’s *An Enquiry into the Nature of Certain Nineteenth Century Pamphlets*, edited by Nicolas Barker and John Collins (London and Berkeley: Scolar Press, 1983), pp. 19-41 (of supplementary pagination). This essay is printed as an epilogue to the 1983 impression of *An Enquiry*, which was reprinted in 1992 (see A:1934).

C:2003

"The Iniquity of Oblivion Foil'd," in *The Pleasures of Bibliophilic: Fifty Years of "The Book Collector,"* edited by A. S. G. Edwards (London: British Library; New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll Press, 2003), pp. 100-06. Reprinted from *The Book Collector* (D:1966, Autumn). Cf. A:1933 and D:1933 (February) for an earlier essay with the same title.

C:2004

[Extensive extracts from Carter's letters], in Donald C. Dickinson's *John Carter: The Taste and Technique of a Bookman* (New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll Press, 2004).

**D. CONTRIBUTIONS TO PERIODICALS
(EXCEPT THE *Times Literary Supplement*)**

D:1926

R [Review of Martin F. Nilsson's *Imperial Rome*], *Cambridge Review*, 30 April 1926, pp. 368-69. Signed "J.W.C."

D:1927

R "More of Agate's Folly," *Cambridge Review*, 18 February 1927, p. 269. Signed "J.W.C." Review of James Agate's *The Common Touch*.

D:1928

L "More Vandalism," *Saturday Review*, 1 December 1928, p. 722. Signed "J. W. Carter and V. C. Clinton-Baddeley." On the demolition of statuary at Tottenham Court Road and New Oxford Street.

D:1930

L [Letter on defining "first edition"], *Bookmart*, October 1930, p. 13. Carter's name is signed as from "The First Edition Club, London, W.C.1."

A "Original Condition: An Appeal to Reason," *Publishers' Weekly* 118 (1930 [15 November]): 2277-79. In the Eton copy, Carter noted, "the first article I ever wrote for the Publisher's Weekly."

D:1931

A "Looking Backward," *Publishers' Weekly* 119 (1931 [17 January]): 330-32.

L "The Earliest Cloth Binding," *Publishers' Circular* 135 (1931): 781. On A. Whittaker Ridler's article, pp. 763-64.

A "Looking Forward," *Publishers' Weekly* 119 (1931 [20 June]): 2889-91.

A "Personality in Notepaper," *The Queen*, 12 August 1931, pp. 37, 46. On typography.

R "A Bibliography of Sir William Schwenck Gilbert," *The Book Collector's Quarterly* 4 [1.4] (October-December 1931): 61-64. Review of Townley Searle's bibliography of Gilbert.

L "Sir Thomas Browne," *The London Mercury* 24 (1931 [October]): 361.

A "The Origins of Publishers' Cloth Bindings," *The Colophon* 8 [2.4] (December 1931): unpaginated (10 pp.). In the copy at Eton, Carter noted, "This must have been, I think, the first 'bibliographical' article of mine ever published: deriving from Michael Sadleir's *Binding Styles 1930* and looking forward to my *Binding Variants 1932*." Reprinted (with a different closing paragraph) in Carter's *Binding Variants in English Publishing* (A:1932), pp. 9-22; and as a separate by William Rasmussen (A:1972).

D:1932

- R "Three New English Bibliographies," *Publishers' Weekly* 121 (1932 [16 January]): 286-88. Review of Gilbert Fabes and William A. Foyle's *Modern First Editions*, M. J. Turner's bibliography of F. Anstey, and Frederick T. Bason's bibliography of Maugham.
- A "Notes on the Early Years of Cloth Binding," *The Book Collector's Quarterly* 6 [2.2] (April-June 1932): 46-56. Also available in a limited cloth issue of 75 copies on handmade paper. Includes paragraphs from Carter's *Binding Variants in English Publishing* (A:1932), pp. 23-30. Followed in the next issue with a letter from A. E. Culpin and a reply by Carter: 7 [2.3] (July-September 1932): 92.
- A "The 'Edition or Impression' Controversy," *Publishers' Weekly* 121 (1932 [16 April]): 1733-36. A letter from P. H. Muir on this article appears in the 21 May issue, pp. 2120-21.
- R "A Notable Bibliography," *Publishers' Weekly* 121 (1932 [21 May]): 2119. Review of Geoffrey Keynes's bibliography of Donne.
- L [Letter on early dust-jackets], *Publisher and Bookseller*, 19 August 1932, pp. 293-94.
- R "Two Collectors' Guides," *Publishers' Weekly* 122 (1932 [20 August]): 585-86. Review of Andrew Block's *The Book Collector's Vade Mecum* and John Galsworthy's *Ten Contemporaries*.
- R "Fabes' Galsworthy Bibliography," *Publishers' Weekly* 122 (1932 [17 September]): 1057. In the Eton collection, Carter notes that this piece was "much cut."
- A "Bibliography and the Collector," *Publishers' Weekly* 122 (1932 [19 November]): 1923-26.

D:1933

- L "Literary Oddities," *The Book Collector's Quarterly* 9 [3.1] (January-March 1933): 95. Books on subjects remote from their authors' main subjects; see "Off-Subject Books" (D:1935).
- A "The Iniquity of Oblivion Foil'd," *The Colophon* 13 [4.1] (February 1933): unpaginated (10 pp.). On the author-corrected copies of Browne's *Urne Buriall*. Reprinted (with some added introductory paragraphs) from the appendix in Carter's edition of Thomas Browne's *Urne Buriall* (A:1932); then reprinted as a separate by Carter (A:1933). Cf. D:1966 (Autumn) and C:2003 for a later essay with the same title.
- R "Barrie's First Editions and Their Values," *Publishers' Weekly* 123 (1933 [17 June]): 1971-72. Review of Andrew Block's bibliography of J. M. Barrie.

- R "Fables on Lawrence," *Publishers' Weekly* 124 (1933 [15 July]): 178-79.
- R "Ten More Contemporaries," *Publishers' Weekly* 124 (1933 [19 August]): 508-09. Review of John Gawsworth's *Ten Contemporaries, Second Series*.
- R "Victorian Ladies," *Publishers' Weekly* 124 (1933 [18 November]): 1754-57. Review of M. L. Parrish's *Victorian Lady Novelists*.

D:1934

- R "Eighteenth Century Verse," *Publishers' Weekly* 125 (1934 [17 February]): 790-91. Review of Iolo A. Williams's *Points in Eighteenth Century Verse* and Percy Dobell's *A Catalogue of Eighteenth Century Verse*.
- R "Recent Bibliographica," *Publishers' Weekly* 125 (1934 [17 March]): 1146-47. Review of *The Britwell Handlist*, Chappell on Pepys, Merryweather's *Bibliomania in the Middle Ages*, Herbert on Coppard, Birrell & Garnett's newspaper catalogues, and Nissen on botanical works.
- R "Dickens in Parts," *Publishers' Weekly* 125 (1934 [31 March]): 1303-06. Review of Thomas Hatton and Arthur H. Cleaver's bibliography of Dickens.
- L "Earliest Dust-Wrapper," *Publishers' Weekly* 126 (1934 [22 September]): 1121.

D:1935-39

- N [Notes and queries], *Bibliographical Notes & Queries* 1.1 - 2.12 (1935-39). For a discussion of these pieces, see the headnote to the handlist, above. The pieces that are signed with Carter's name, as well as the pseudonymous ones that have been identified, are listed, issue by issue, below.

D:1935

- A "The 19th Century Pamphlet Forgers: An Early Reference," *Publishers' Weekly* 127 (1935 [9 February]): 719-21. A reference in *The Literary Collector* for March 1901.
- A "Publisher's Cloth: An Outline History of Publisher's Binding in England, 1820-1900," *Publishers' Weekly* 127 (1935 [16, 23 February; 2, 9, 16 March]): 807-09, 901-04, 1006-08, 1085-87, 1167-69. Also published as a separate (A:1935). Written in connection with an exhibition at the New York Public Library (D:1936).
- N [Notes and queries, April 1935], *Bibliographical Notes & Queries* 1.2 (April 1935): 1 (no. 2, dust-jackets), 10 (no. 45, half-titles), 11-12 (no. 49, library bindings), 12 (no. 50, longitudinal labels).
- R "Brewer's Delectable Diversion," *Publishers' Weekly* 127 (1935 [20 April]): 1615. Review of Reginald Brewer's *The Delightful Diversion*.
- A "Off-Subject Books," *The Colophon*, new series 1 (1935-36 [Autumn 1935]): 201-06. Books on subjects remote from their authors' main subjects; for a letter on this topic, see "Literary Oddities" (D:1933). Reprinted in Carter's *Books and Book-Collectors* (A:1956), pp. 94-100.
- R "A New Bibliographical Series," *Publishers' Weekly* 128 (1935 [21 September]): 1013-14. Review of Percy Simpson's *Proofreading*, the first in the Oxford Books on Bibliography.

- N [Notes and queries, October 1935], *Bibliographical Notes & Queries* 1.4 (October 1935): 9-10 (no. 80, Florence Nightingale), 10 (no. 81, publishers' names on spines).
- L "First Editions," *The Bookseller*, 16 October 1935, p. 1042. On Muir's review of Brussel.
- R "American Firsts of English Authors," *Publishers' Weekly* 128 (1935 [26 October]): 1548-50. Review of I. R. Brussel's *Anglo-American First Editions: East to West*. Cf. "English Firsts" (D:1936, September).
- L "A Victorian Prayer," *New Statesman and Nation* 10 (1935 [7 December]): 847. On a prayer put together by Carter's great-great-grandfather.

D:1936

- A "The Woodcut Calligraphy of Reynolds Stone," *Signature* 2 (1936): 21-28.
- N [Notes and queries, January 1936], *Bibliographical Notes & Queries* 2.1 (January 1936): 2 (no. 79, Newman; no. 83, Shelley).
- R "More about Publisher's Cloth," *Publishers' Weekly* 129 (1936 [3 February]): 729-30. Review of Douglas Leighton's *Modern Bookbinding* and Carter's *Publisher's Cloth: An Outline History*.
- N [Notes and queries, April 1936], *Bibliographical Notes & Queries* 2.3 (April 1936): 2 (no. 45, half-titles), 3 (no. 91, detective stories; no. 96, Macaulay; no. 106, Sheridan).
- N [Notes and queries, May 1936], *Bibliographical Notes & Queries* 2.4/5 (May 1936): 2 (no. 74, Du Maurier), 4-6 (no. 152, Thomas Gray), 7-8 (no. 165, Catullus); by "Harriet Marlow," 4 (no. 133, Nietzsche); by "Richard Gullible," 8-9 (no. 166, Chapman, publisher); by "Milton A. Hellman," 9 (no. 171, T. S. Eliot); by "E. Schlengemann," 12 (no. 190, Voltaire).
- N [Notes and queries, July 1936], *Bibliographical Notes & Queries* 2.6 (July 1936): 4 (no. 177, Housman), 4-5 (no. 192, inserted catalogues); by "Richard Gullible," 3 (no. 151, Frank Forester); by "Harriet Marlow," 3 (no. 163, Brontë).
- A "English Publishers' Bindings, 1800-1900: An Exhibition in the New York Public Library," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 40 (1936 [August]): 655-64. Catalogue of an exhibition, with Carter's signed prefatory comment (pp. 655-56) and annotations to the entries. His *Publisher's Cloth: An Outline History* (A:1935, D:1935) was written in connection with this exhibition. One paragraph from the introduction is reprinted as "Importance of Cloth Bindings" in *Publishers' Weekly* 130 (1936 [5 September]): 857-58.
- R "Two Victorians," *Publishers' Weekly* 130 (1936 [15 August]): 525-26. Review of M. L. Parrish on Charles Kingsley and Thomas Hughes.
- R "English Firsts of American Authors," *Publishers' Weekly* 130 (1936 [19 September]): 1151-52. Review of I. R. Brussel's *Anglo-American First Editions: West to East*. States that this volume is less "exciting" than Brussel's first one (D:1935, October) in part because "our capacity for astonishment at the results of the copyright situation in the nineteenth century has been almost exhausted."
- N [Notes and queries, October 1936], *Bibliographical Notes & Queries* 2.7 (October 1936): by "Holmlock Shears," 6 (no. 219, Sayers).

D:1937

- N [Notes and queries, February 1937], *Bibliographical Notes & Queries* 2.8 (February 1937): 1 (no. 50, longitudinal labels), 2-3 (no. 182, Melville), 5 (no. 222, Somerville and Ross); by "Harriet Marlow," 3 (no. 194, Beckford).
- A "The Lausanne Edition of Beckford's *Vathek*," *The Library*, 4th series 17 (1936-37 [March 1937]): 369-94. In the Eton copy, Carter says that in 1960 André Parreaux "blew a large hole through it [this article]"; for Carter's review of the Parreaux book, see D:1960 (Winter). See also Carter's later comment in *The Library* (D:1963, December).
- A "Bentley Three-Deckers," *The Spectator*, 7 May 1937, pp. 856-57. Reprinted in *Publishers' Weekly* 132 (1937 [30 October]): 1738-40 (signed "J.C."); and in Carter's *Books and Book-Collectors* (A:1956), pp. 112-16. Followed by a letter in *The Spectator*, 18 June 1937, p. 1149.
- O "Thomas J. Wise," *The Spectator*, 21 May 1937, pp. 954-55. Reprinted in Carter's *Books and Book-Collectors* (A:1956), pp. 15-21.
- O "The Puzzle of Thomas J. Wise," *Publishers' Weekly* 131 (1937 [29 May]): 2213-14.
- N "Sadleir Publishes Monograph on Wrangham," *Publishers' Weekly* 131 (1937 [26 June]): 2588. Unsigned. Identified by a cutting in the Eton scrapbook.
- L "Clerihews," *The Spectator*, 29 October 1937, pp. 556-57.
- R "Tribute to Maria Edgeworth," *Publishers' Weekly* 132 (1937 [20 November]): 2026-28. Signed "J.C." Review of Bertha C. Slade's *Maria Edgeworth*.
- R "A. E. Housman," *The Spectator*, 3 December 1937, pp. 1010, 1012. Review of Laurence Housman's *A.E.H.*
- R "A Seasonable Study," *Publishers' Weekly* 132 (1937 [18 December]): 2306-07. Signed "J.C." Review of E. Allen Osborne on *A Christmas Carol*.

D:1938

- A "The Typography of the Cheap Reprint Series," *Typography* 7 (Winter 1938): 37-41. Delivered as a talk at the sixty-fifth meeting of the Double Crown Club, 28 February 1938.
- A "On Collecting A. E. Housman," *The Colophon*, new series 3 (1938-39 [part 9, Winter 1938]): 54-62. Reprinted in Carter's *Books and Book-Collectors* (A:1956), pp. 101-11.
- N [Notes and queries, January 1938], *Bibliographical Notes & Queries* 2.9 (January 1938): 2 (no. 78, Locke), 2-3 (no. 240, blind blocking), 3-4 (no. 245, Goethe), 5-6 (no. 249, Housman).
- N "British Rare Book Dealers Petition Government on U.S. Customs Duties," *Publishers' Weekly* 133 (1938 [12 February]): 866-67. Signed "G. H. Last," who wrote the petition as president of the Antiquarian Booksellers Association; in the Eton scrapbook Carter notes that the rest was "written by me."
- A "The Hanging Judge Acquitted," *The Colophon*, new series 3 (1938-39 [part 10, Spring 1938]): 238-42. Shows that the 1887 edition of Stevenson's *The Hanging Judge* is not one of the Wise-Forman forgeries.
- N [Notes and queries, April 1938], *Bibliographical Notes & Queries* 2.10 (April 1938): 1-2 (no. 112, Hugh Walpole), 2-3 (no. 152, Thomas Gray), 4 (no. 232, Suetonius), 9 (no. 273, binders' tickets), 10 (no. 279, George Meredith); by "Harriet Marlow," 10 (no. 278, large-paper issues).

- R "Rondo in F Sharp: Some Charming Evocations," *The Observer*, 3 April 1938, p. 4. Review of Faith Compton Mackenzie's *As Much I Dare*.
- R "A Publisher's Letter Book," *Publishers' Weekly* 134 (1938 [16 July]): 183-84. Review of Theodore Besterman's *The Publishing Firm of Cadell & Davies*.
- R "William Ireland and the Shakespeare Papers," *The Spectator*, 19 August 1938, p. 310. Review of John Mair's *The Fourth Forger*.
- A "Best Sellers and the Atlantic," *The Spectator*, 16 September 1938, p. 446. Reprinted, slightly abridged, in *Living Age*, November 1938, pp. 274-76.
- N [Notes and queries, November 1938], *Bibliographical Notes & Queries* 2.11 (November 1938): 2-3 (no. 152, Thomas Gray), 3 (no. 233, W. H. Hudson), 9 (no. 299, Anna Sewell; no. 301, Stevenson), 11 (no. 308, Edmund Yates); by "Ignoramus," 8 (no. 291, Casanova); by "Harriet Marlow," 9 (no. 300, Sterne), 10 (no. 303, R. S. Surtees; no. 306, Thackeray).
- A "Bibliographica of the Year," *Bibliographical Notes & Queries* 2.11 (November 1938): 11-12.
- R "Publisher's Binding in America," *Publishers' Weekly* 134 (1938 [19 November]): 1823-24. Review of Joseph W. Rogers's "The Industrialization of American Bookbinding" in *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 1938.
- R "The Literature of Golf," *Publishers' Weekly* 134 (1938 [17 December]): 2118. Review of Cecil Hopkinson's *Collecting Golf Books*.

D:1939

- A "News in America," *The Spectator*, 3 February 1939, pp. 172-73.
- L "Sir Thomas Browne: Autograph Collections," *The Library*, 4th series 19 (1938-39 [March 1939]): 492-93.
- A "Two Beckford Collections," *The Colophon*, new graphic series 1 [1.1] (March 1939): [67-74]. Reprinted in Carter's *Books and Book-Collectors* (A:1956), pp. 22-31.
- R "Ruff's Guide to Scott's Verse," *Publishers' Weekly* 135 (1939 [18 March]): 1160-61. Review of William Ruff's bibliography.
- R "Dimidiatus Esdaile, or Block's Century of English Fiction," *Publishers' Weekly* 135 (1939 [15 April]): 1457-59. Review of Andrew Block's *The English Novel*.
- N [Notes and queries, May 1939], *Bibliographical Notes & Queries* 2.12 (May 1939): 1 (no. 78, Locke), 4 (no. 291, Casanova), 9 (no. 319, trade bindings; no. 320, George Eliot), 10 (no. 325, J. G. Lockhart); by "E. Schlengemann," 1 (no. 45, half-titles), 4 (no. 282, Pope), 6 (no. 308, Edmund Yates); by "Harriet Marlow," 1 (no. 178, Housman), 7 (no. 312, Dante); by "George Waynflete," 8 (no. 315, Norman Douglas), 10 (no. 330, Thackeray); by "Ignoramus," 9 (no. 318, Dumas).
- R "Bibliography at Oxford," *Bibliographical Notes & Queries* 2.12 (May 1939): 11-12. Review of Oxford Bibliographical Society's *Proceedings and Papers* 5.3.
- A "The Library at Dormy House," *The Colophon*, new graphic series 2 [1.2] (June 1939): [25-36]. Reprinted in *Princeton University Library Chronicle* (D:1946, November). On Morris L. Parrish's collection.
- A "The Library of Frank Hogan at Washington, D.C.," *The Colophon*, new graphic series 3 [1.3] (September 1939): [55-66].

- R "Bomb-Proof Bibliography," *Publishers' Weekly* 136 (1939 [21 October]): 1624.
 Review of Dorothy Blakey's *The Minerva Press*.
- R "Lowdown on Wise," *Publishers' Weekly* 136 (1939 [25 November]): 1974-75.
 Review of Wilfrid Partington's *Forging Ahead*.
- R "Dryden Anatomised," *Publishers' Weekly* 136 (1939 [16 December]): 2215-16.
 Review of Hugh Macdonald's bibliography of Dryden. Carter published a correction in 137 (1940 [10 February]): 733.

D:1940

- A "The Rare Book Trade in London," *Publishers' Weekly* 137 (1940 [13 January]): 129-32. "The war is so different from anything anyone expected that we have not yet adjusted ourselves to it."
- R "Common Sense about Bibliography," *Publishers' Weekly* 137 (1940 [16 March]): 1183-84. Review of J. D. Cowley's *Bibliographical Description and Cataloguing*.
- A "London Rare Book Notes," *Publishers' Weekly* 137 (1940 [27 April]): 1689-92.
 Signed "Waynflete."
- A "London Rare Book Notes," *Publishers' Weekly* 137 (1940 [15 June]): 2296-98.
 Signed "Waynflete."
- R "Gibbon's Library Reconstructed," *Publishers' Weekly* 138 (1940 [20 July]): 189-91. Review of *The Library of Edward Gibbon*, introduced by Geoffrey Keynes.
- R [Review of Shaw's *The Devil's Disciple*], *The Spectator*, 3 August 1940, p. 119.
- R [Review of Clare Booth's *Margin for Error*], *The Spectator*, 9 August 1940, p. 146.
- R "Two More Victorians," *Publishers' Weekly* 138 (1940 [17 August]): 494-95.
 Review of M. L. Parrish's *Wilkie Collins and Charles Reade*.
- A "A. E. Housman: An Annotated Check-List," *The Library*, 4th series 21 (1940-41 [September 1940]): 160-91. By Carter and John Sparrow. The offprint has a title page dated 1940, and its verso says "Reprinted September 1940"; but the inscription on the copy presented to Graham Pollard by Carter and Sparrow (in Sparrow's hand) is dated 15 April 1940 (in my collection). For corrections, see D:1942 (June). Reprinted with corrections as a Soho Bibliography (A:1952). See also A:1965.
- R [Review of Jean Cocteau's *The Infernal Machine and In Town Again*], *The Spectator*, 13 September 1940, p. 267.
- A "London Rare Book Notes," *Publishers' Weekly* 138 (1940 [21 September]): 1175-76. Signed "Waynflete."
- A "A Bookseller's Day in London," *Publishers' Weekly* 138 (1940 [2 November]): 1764-65.
- R "The Bibliography of Gibbon," *Publishers' Weekly* 138 (1940 [30 November]): 2041-42. Review of J. E. Norton's bibliography, "incidentally showing that antiquarian learning at the old Birrell & Garnett bookshop was not confined to the back room."

D:1941

- L [Excerpts from "Open Letter to an American Collector" quoted by Philip Brooks], *New York Times Book Review*, 16 February 1941, p. 28. For Carter's comments on this use of his open letter, see the next item.

- A "London Rare Book Notes," *Publishers' Weekly* 139 (1941 [19 April]): 1677-78.
Signed "Waynflete."
- A "Clough to Churchill: A Memorable Experience," *Publishers' Weekly* 140 (1941 [2 August]): 309-11. On presenting to Churchill, on behalf of Charles Scribner on 7 July 1941, the manuscript of Arthur Hugh Clough's "Say not the struggle nought availeth," from which Churchill had read two stanzas in his radio address of 27 April 1941. Cf. C:1941.
- L "Final Word on Housman Edition," *Publishers' Weekly* 140 (1941 [9 August]): 381. Points out that an error in his *Colophon* article (D:1938, Winter) was corrected in his "Annotated Check-List" (D:1940, September).
- A "Stocktaking, 1941: An Old P.W. Contributor Looks at the Balance Sheet," *Publishers' Weekly* 140 (1941 [20 December]): 2241-45. Covers the years since he began at Scribner's, 1927-40.

D:1942

- L "The Prices of Imported Books," *The Bookseller*, 22 January 1942, p. 53. Reprinted as "Cost of Shipping to England Analyzed by Carter" in *Publishers' Weekly* 141 (1942 [28 February]): 937.
- A "London Rare Book Notes," *Publishers' Weekly* 141 (1942 [21 February]): 896-97. Signed "Waynflete."
- O "Max Harzof," *The Clique*, 14 March 1942, p. 7.
- A "The British Book Trade in the Third Year of War," *Publishers' Weekly* 141 (1942 [9 May]): 1744-47. Read at the opening session of the American Booksellers' Association convention by Cedric Crowell of Doubleday.
- N "A. E. Housman: An Annotated Check-List, Additions and Corrections," *The Library*, 4th series 23 (1942-43 [June 1942]): 42-43. By Carter and John Sparrow. See D:1940 (September).
- A "London Rare Book Notes," *Publishers' Weekly* 142 (1942 [15 August]): 487-88. Signed "Waynflete." In his account of the Bibliographical Society's fiftieth-anniversary dinner at Magdalene College Cambridge, he says, "An austere collation was succeeded by encomiastic speeches."
- A "The Kern Copy of *Tom Jones*: A Test Case in Federal Court," *The Bookseller*, 27 August 1942, 194-96. By Carter and Percy H. Muir.
- L "The Star-Spangled Banner," *The Times*, 9 November 1942, p. 5.

D:1943

- O "The Rev. A. W. Evans: An Appreciation," *The Times*, 19 April 1943, p. 6. Unsigned. Reprinted in *The Clique*, 1 May 1943, p. 9. Unsigned.
- A "London Rare Book Notes," *Publishers' Weekly* 143 (1943 [29 May]): 2074-76. Signed "Waynflete."
- L "Paper for Books," *The Times*, 13 October 1943, p. 5.
- L [Letter on his posting to New York as director of the General Division of British Information Services in New York], *The Clique*, 16 October 1943.
- L [Letter on the posting of "Waynflete" to New York and his consequent inability to continue his column until after the war], *Publishers' Weekly* 144 (1943 [20 November]): 1962-63.

D:1944

- A "Letter from New York," *The Cornhill Magazine* 161 (1944-45 [November 1944]): 196-201. Signed "John Waynflete."

D:1945

- A "Thomas J. Wise and His Forgeries," *The Atlantic Monthly* 175.2 (February 1945): 93-100. Followed three issues later by "The Wise Forgeries," consisting of a letter from Fannie E. Ratchford and a reply by Carter: 175.5 (May 1945): 26, 28. The article reprinted with one correction in Carter's *Books and Book-Collectors* (A:1956), pp. 129-49.
- L [Excerpts from a letter on *The Bookman's Glossary*], *Publishers' Weekly* 148 (1945 [11 August]): 525.
- N "The Antiquarian Booksellers of London Gather at Brown's," *Publishers' Weekly* 148 (1945 [18 August]): 622.
- A "Publishing—But for Free," *Publishers' Weekly* 148 (1945 [10 November]): 2136-39. On his war work with British Information Services in New York. For further comment, see the headnote to the handlist, above.
- A "The Columnist: An American Phenomenon," *The Cornhill Magazine* 161 (1944-45 [December 1945]): 458-64. Signed "John Waynflete." Reprinted (condensed) as "Those American Columnists" in *The English Digest* (see the next entry).

D:1946

- A "Those American Columnists," *The English Digest* 20.4 (February 1946): 22-25. Signed "John Waynflete." Reprinted (condensed) from "The Columnist: An American Phenomenon" in *The Cornhill Magazine* (see the preceding entry).
- A "London Rare Book Notes," *Publishers' Weekly* 149 (1946 [16 March]): 1659-60. Signed "Waynflete."
- L "M.O.I.," *The Times*, 26 March 1946, p. 5. Calls himself an "ex-bureaucrat."
- R "Fifty Years of the Bibliographical Society," *Publishers' Weekly* 149 (1946 [20 April]): 2219-20. Review of *The Bibliographical Society, 1892-1942: Studies in Retrospect*.
- A "King Henry the Sixth: Death in the Tower Commemorated," *The Times*, 22 May 1946, p. 7. Unsigned ("From a Correspondent"). Report of the lilies-and-roses ceremony (see A:1961).
- L "Victory Stamps," *The Times*, 21 June 1946, p. 5.
- L "Biography of a Great Etonian," *The Eton College Chronicle*, 4 July 1946, p. 2016. Requests additions to his Cory handlist for publication in Faith Compton Mackenzie's *William Cory* (C:1950). For Carter's other writings on Cory, see the references at A:1959.
- L "A Letter from John Carter," *Publishers' Weekly* 150 (1946 [26 October]): 2533-34. Reply to Fannie Ratchford's letter regarding David A. Randall's review of *Between the Lines*.
- A "The Library at Dormy House," *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 8 (1946-47 [November 1946]): 6-14. Reprinted from *The Colophon* (D:1939, June). On Morris L. Parrish's collection.

- A "Celebrations at Yale," *Publishers' Weekly* 150 (1946 [23 November]): 2898-2900. On the October 1946 convocation to "mark the return of the University's collections to peacetime use."

D:1947

- A "The Victorian Exhibition," *Books* [National Book League] 209 (February 1947): 11-12. Includes remarks made by Carter and the Duke of Wellington at the exhibition opening on 21 January 1947.
- L "Books for Export: The U.S. Market: Refund of Paper as Incentive," *The Times*, 19 May 1947, p. 5.
- A "The 21st Birthday of the Double Crown Club," *AIGA Journal* [American Institute of Graphic Arts] 1 (1947-48 [August 1947]): 28-29.
- N "Browne's *Urne Buriall*," *The Library*, 5th series 2 (1947-48 [September 1947]): 191-92.
- N "Tennyson's *Carmen Saeculare*, 1887," *The Library*, 5th series 2 (1947-48 [September 1947]): 200-02.
- O "Obituary [of Carroll A. Wilson]," *Antiquarian Booksellers Association Newsletter* 8 (November 1947): 8.
- A "Condition: A Highly Controversial Subject," *Publishers' Weekly* 152 (1947 [22 November]): 2384-89. Advance extract (condensed) from chapter 12 of Carter's *Taste and Technique in Book-Collecting* (A:1948).
- A "Disequilibrium in the Rare Book Market: A Diagnosis but No Prescription," *Publishers' Weekly* 152 (1947 [20 December]): B433-36. The 1946-47 auction season in London and New York.

D:1948

- L "Biography of William Cory," *The Eton College Chronicle*, 12 February 1948, p. 2250. Requests information for his Cory handlist to be published in Faith Compton Mackenzie's *William Cory* (C:1950). For Carter's other writings on Cory, see the references at A:1959.
- A "Reflections on Rarity," *The New Colophon* 1 (1948 [part 2, April]): 134-50. Reprinted (condensed) from chapter 11 of Carter's *Taste and Technique in Book-Collecting* (A:1948).
- A "Limelight on Bibliographers," *Antiquarian Bookman* 1 (1948 [24 April]): 677. Substantially reprinted from (though dated earlier than) "Notes on Book Collecting" in *Books* (see the next entry).
- A "Notes on Book Collecting," *Books* [National Book League] 225 (June 1948): 88-89. The first half of this column, which is usually by P. H. Muir, is signed by Carter and deals with the award of the Bibliographical Society's Gold Medal to Stanley Morison and Strickland Gibson. Substantially reprinted as "Limelight on Bibliographers" in *Antiquarian Bookman* (see the preceding entry).
- L "A Word for the Navy," *Antiquarian Bookman* 1 (1948 [19 June]): 1063. On proof copies of the Redway edition of Swinburne's *A Word for the Navy*.
- A "Bookseller and Auctioneer," *The Atlantic Monthly* 182.1 (July 1948): 96-99. Reprinted (condensed) from chapter 10 of Carter's *Taste and Technique in Book-Collecting* (A:1948).

- A "The ABA Lectures on Book-Collecting and Bibliography," *Antiquarian Bookman* 2 (1948 [6 November]): 822.
- L "Fashion English," *New Statesman and Nation* 38 (1948 [27 November]): 464.
- A "Bookshop and Auction Room," *The Bookseller*, 11 December 1948, 1402-04.
Reprinted (condensed) from chapter 10 of Carter's *Taste and Technique in Book-Collecting* (A:1948).

D:1949

- A "A Hand-List of the Printed Works of William Johnson, Afterwards Cory," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 1 (1949-53 [1949]): 69-87. Carter's copy of the offprint (in my collection), labeled "corrections & additions" on the front wrapper, has the following annotations: on page 81, entry 20, a virgule is inserted after "Part II.", and the one before "i Paternoster Square" is transposed to after it; on pages 84-85 the section headings beginning with "Second Edition" are to be numbered 21a through 21e; on page 84, "roman" in the second section is changed to "italic caps.;" and, in the "Later binding" paragraph on that page, Carter identifies the copies he has seen as belonging to J. S. L. Gilmour and Rupert Hart-Davis, and he notes that his copy has "no title on front board" and has a comma after "Cory" on the spine. For published addenda, see D:1967, 1970; cf. D:1946 (July), 1948 (February), and C:1950. For Carter's other writings on Cory, see the references at A:1959. Carter's collection of Cory is now at Eton.
- A "The National Book League," *The Penrose Annual*, 1949, pp. 39-41.
- L [Reply to Colton Storm's review of *Taste and Technique*], *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 43 (1949 [Second Quarter]): 245-46.

D:1950

- L "Export Permits for Works of Art," *The Times*, 11 March 1950, p. 7.
- O "Miss Belle Greene," *The Times*, 19 May 1950, p. 6. Unsigned.
- A "British Book Illustration," *AIGA Journal* [American Institute of Graphic Arts], June 1950, pp. 31-32. Reprinted from the *Times Literary Supplement* (E2:1950, August).
- A "Stanley Morison, Designer and Typographer," *Publishers' Weekly* 157 (1950 [3 June]): 2481-86. Originally delivered as "A Modern Typographer" on the BBC Third Programme, 15 February 1950. Reprinted in Carter's *Books and Book-Collectors* (A:1956), pp. 67-76. Translations in *Schweizer Graphischer Mitteilungen*, 1950; *Bogvänner* 8 (1951).
- L "Ernest Hemingway," *The Observer*, 17 September 1950, p. 5.
- A "Fashions in Book-Collecting," *Virginia Quarterly Review* 26 (1950 [Fall]): 382-92. Reprinted in *Antiquarian Bookman* 10 (1952 [6 September]): 586; in *Talks on Book Collecting* (C:1952), pp. 53-60; and in Carter's *Books and Book-Collectors* (A:1956), pp. 117-27.

D:1951

- L "Ministerial Resignations," *The Times*, 23 January 1951, p. 5.

- A "Operation Shuckburgh," *The Bookseller*, 17 February 1951, pp. 254-55. Reprinted in Carter's *Books and Book-Collectors* (A:1956), pp. 187-92. On his transporting a Gutenberg Bible to America.
- L "Happy Hundred," *The Sunday Times*, 24 April 1951, p. 4. On an exhibition at the National Book League. See the next entry.
- A "Modern Books and Writers," *Books* [National Book League] 260 ("Festival of Britain Issue," May 1951): 101-02. On an exhibition organized by Carter and P. H. Muir. See the preceding entry.

D:1952-75

- N [Scattered unsigned paragraphs in the "Commentary" or "News and Comment" sections], *The Book Collector* 1-24 (1952-75). For a discussion of these pieces, see the headnote to the handlist, above; those that have been identified are given separate entries below.

D:1952

- L "Department of Modest Confusion," *Publishers' Weekly* 161 (1952 [19 January]): 197. Correcting the report on the National Book League exhibition in the 17 November issue: Carter was co-chair of the exhibition committee but was not a member of the selection panel.
- N "Cary: *Dante*," *The Book Collector* 1 (1952 [Spring]): 54. Query 1. Signed "Harriet Marlow."
- N "Early Trade Bindings," *The Book Collector* 1 (1952 [Spring]): 54. Query 2. On sixteenth-century binding.
- N "Thackeray's *Pendennis*," *The Book Collector* 1 (1952 [Spring]): 54. Query 3. Signed "George Waynflete."
- L "Books for Australia," *The Times*, 21 March 1952, p. 7.
- L "The Import of Books," *The Times*, 29 March 1952, p. 7.
- N "Borrow: *The Death of Balder*. London, Jarrold, 1889," *The Book Collector* 1 (1952 [Summer]): 129. Query 6. Signed "E. Schlengemann."
- N "A Binding Variant," *The Book Collector* 1 (1952 [Summer]): 130. Query 13. On H. O. Sturgis's *Bedchamber*.
- A "The Richard Jennings Library—A Valedictory Note," *Antiquarian Bookman* 9 (1952 [7 June]): 2027-28. Cf. *Bonniers Litterära Magasin* 21 (1952): 450-52.
- N "Beatrix Potter: Peter Rabbit, 1900-1902," *The Book Collector* 1 (1952 [Autumn]): 196. Query 18. On the private printing.
- A "Fashions in Book-Collecting," *Antiquarian Bookman* 10 (1952 [6 September]): 586. Reprinted from *Virginia Quarterly Review* (D:1950).
- L [Letter to Sol Malkin on the Abbey collection], *Antiquarian Bookman* 10 (1952 [27 September]): 806.
- R [Review of *ABC for Book-Collectors*], *The Bookseller*, 29 September 1952, p. 74. Reprinted in *Antiquarian Bookman* 10 (1952 [1 November]): 1195-96; in Carter's *Books and Book-Collectors* (A:1956), pp. 193-96; and in *AB Bookman's Weekly* 55 (1975 [7 April]): 1618, 1625-26.
- N "[Ronald] Knox's *Absolute and Abitofshell*," *The Book Collector* 1 (1952 [Winter]): 268. Query 21.

N "Note from John Carter on *Black Beauty*," *Antiquarian Bookman* 10 (1952 [13 December]): 1724. Addition to Carter's *More Binding Variants* (A:1938).

D:1953

- L "Pricing a Book," *Financial Times*, 31 January 1953. On William Rees-Mogg's essay on pricing.
- A "The Nomenclature of Nineteenth-Century Cloth Grains," *The Book Collector* 2 (1953 [Spring]): 54-58. Signed by Carter and Michael Sadleir.
- A "The Rare Book Market," *British Book News*, May 1953, pp. 265-68.
- N "Thomas J. Wise's Verses, 1882 & 1883," *The Book Collector* 2 (1953 [Summer]): 158-59. Query 36.
- L "Helpful Publishers," *The Bookseller*, 14 November 1953. Thanks publishing trade for kindnesses to him the past seven years.

D:1954

- O "E. P. Goldschmidt: A Personal Note," *Antiquarian Bookman* 13 (1954 [10 April]): 1076-77. Also published in Antiquarian Booksellers' Association *Newsletter*.
- A [Detailed summary (but without quotations) of Carter's talk on a panel on "Books and Freedom" at a meeting of the American Book Publishers Council, 6 May 1954], *Publishers' Weekly* 165 (1954 [5 June]): 2453-54.
- A "Bibliography and the Rare Book Trade," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 48 (1954 [3rd Quarter]): 219-29. The offprint has changed pagination (pp. 3-13). Address delivered at the fiftieth-anniversary meeting of the Bibliographical Society of America, 22 May 1954. Reprinted in *The Bibliographical Society of America, 1904-1979: A Retrospective Collection* (C:1980), pp. 307-17; four-paragraph excerpt reprinted in *Antiquarian Bookman* 13 (1954 [5 June]): 1708.
- N [On Bruce Rogers], *The Book Collector* 3 (1954 [Autumn]): 168. Two unsigned paragraphs in the "Commentary" section. Identified by Carter in his set at the Library of Congress, with his initials in the margin.

D:1955

- A "Eastward the Course of Empire?", *Antiquarian Bookman Yearbook*, 1955, pp. 9-10.
- L "Literary Treasures," *The Times*, 10 February 1955, p. 9. On the sale of the colored copy of Blake's *Jerusalem* and the procedures for granting export licenses.
- A "The A. E. Housman Manuscripts in the Library of Congress," *The Book Collector* 4 (1955 [Summer]): 110-14.
- R [Review of *Book Collecting and Scholarship* by Theodore C. Blegen et al.], *The Book Collector* 4 (1955 [Summer]): 177-78.
- A "Parkinson's Law," *The Economist*, 19 November 1955, pp. 635-37. Unsigned.

D:1956

- N [Advertisement for Sotheby's by Carter reprinted], *The Book Collector* 5 (1956 [Summer]): 109. Unsigned. Also reprinted in Dickinson (C:2004), p. 201.

- N "J. H. Newman. *The Dream of Gerontius*, 1866," *The Book Collector* 5 (1956 [Summer]): 171. Note 64.
- A "Busy Market in Rare Books," *Financial Times*, July 1956. Signed "John Waynflete."
- N "Notes on Sales," *The Book Collector* 5 (1956 [Autumn]): 273-75. Unsigned. Identified by Carter in his set at the Library of Congress, with his initials in the margin; the last six lines are not by Carter.
- L "An Open Letter to David Magee, Esq.," *Antiquarian Bookman* 18 (1956 [18 October]): 1301. Reply by Magee on the next page.
- A "The Pendulum of Taste," *The Atlantic Monthly* 198.4 (October 1956): 67-69.
- N [On the congress of the Antiquarian Booksellers Association], *The Book Collector* 5 (1956 [Winter]): 314, 317-18. Unsigned note in the "Commentary" section. Identified by Carter in his set at the Library of Congress, with "I drafted this" in the margin.
- A "Sidelights on American Bibliophily," *The Book Collector* 5 (1956 [Winter]): 357-67. Address to the Oxford Bibliographical Society, 14 March 1956. In his set at the Library of Congress, Carter corrected "American" to "America" at 361.2.
- N "Housman Presentation Copies," *The Book Collector* 5 (1956 [Winter]): 384. Note 79. Signed "Harriet Marlow."

D:1957

- N [On a Robert Burton letter], *The Book Collector* 6 (1957 [Spring]): 12-13. Unsigned note in the "Commentary" section. Identified by Carter in his set at the Library of Congress, with "I drafted this" in the margin.
- A "Old and Rare," *The Economist*, 30 March 1957, pp. 1-2. Unsigned (but obviously by Carter, given the style and content). Carter's *Books and Book-Collectors* (A:1956) is cited near the end.
- A "Works of Art as Property," *The Trust Bulletin* [American Bankers Association] 36.9 (May 1957): 2-7.
- R "Housman's Buried Life," *The Sunday Times*, 19 May 1957, p. 8. Review of G. L. Watson's *A. E. Housman*.
- N "A Variant Reading in Housman's *Collected Poems*," *The Book Collector* 6 (1957 [Summer]): 182. Note 80.
- L "Sale of Art Treasures: Threat to Private Collectors," *The Times*, 17 June 1957, p. 11. Responses appeared on succeeding days, e.g., 20, 21, 25, 26 June.
- N [On Harvard Library's appeal for funds], *The Book Collector* 6 (1957 [Autumn]): 224, 227-28. Unsigned note in the "Commentary" section. Identified by Carter in his set at the Library of Congress, with "I drafted this" in the margin.
- N [On Louis Mayer Rabinowitz], *The Book Collector* 6 (1957 [Autumn]): 229-30. Unsigned note in the "Commentary" section. Identified by Carter in his set at the Library of Congress, with "I drafted this" in the margin.
- A "George Eliot's *Agatha* 1869—and After," *The Book Collector* 6 (1957 [Autumn]): 244-52.

- A "A Book-Collector's Bookshelf," *Books* [National Book League] 312 (September 1957): 178-80.
- N "A. E. Housman's Contributions to an Oxford Magazine [*Ye Rounde Table*]," *The Book Collector* 6 (1957 [Winter]): 404. Query 90.
- A "Investing in Rare Books," *Financial Times*, December 1957. Signed "John Waynflete."
- A "The Hub of the Fine Arts Market," *Vogue*, December 1957, pp. 54-57.
- L "Mr. Michael Sadleir: Book Collector and Bibliographer," *The Times*, 20 December 1957, p. 13.

D:1958

- A "Book Publishing in America," *The Times*, 8 February 1958, p. 7.
- L "Publishing," *The Times*, 22 February, p. 7. On the letters responding to his article of 8 February.
- O "Michael Sadleir: A Valediction," *The Book Collector* 7 (1958 [Spring]): 58-61.
- A "Bookshelves," *House and Garden*, 22 March 1958, pp. 67-68.
- L "Gosse and Wise," *The Times*, 31 March 1958, p. 9. Signed by Carter and Graham Pollard. Response to Fannie Ratchford's National Book League lecture.
- L [Letter to Sol Malkin on Sotheby's soliciting bids], *Antiquarian Bookman* 21 (1958 [26 May]): 1825.
- A "Realization on Estate Assets: The International Market in Works of Art," *Trusts and Estates* 97 (1958 [June]): 527-30.
- L "William Ged and the Invention of Stereotype," *The Library*, 5th series 13 (1958 [June]): 141. See also Autumn 1958 below and D:1960 (September), 1961 (June).
- A "Rare Book Market, Still Buoyant," *Financial Times*, August 1958. Signed "John Waynflete."
- N [On Fannie Ratchford's incrimination of Edmund Gosse], *The Book Collector* 7 (1958 [Autumn]): 237-38. Unsigned note in the "Commentary" section. Identified by Carter in his set at the Library of Congress, with "I drafted this" in the margin.
- N "William Ged and the Invention of Stereotype," *The Book Collector* 7 (1958 [Autumn]): 296-97. Query 102. See also June 1958 above and D:1960 (September), 1961 (June).

D:1959

- N [Carter's corrections of his Morison handlist (A:1950)], in P. M. Handover's "Stanley Morison: A Second Handlist, 1950-1959," *Motif* 3 (1959): 52-57. Reprinted as a separate (C:1959). See also C:1976.
- A "Bibliomania in Bond Street," *The Queen*, 1959. Signed "Waynflete."
- L "The Colors of Cloth," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 53 (1959 [1st Quarter]): 79. On the British Colour Council's *Dictionary*.
- A "A. E. Housman: A Centenary Salute," *The Bromsgrovian* 70.2 (April 1959): 3-4.
- N [Extract from broadcast], *The Listener*, 2 April 1959, pp. 585-86.
- O "Mrs. Wilmarth Lewis," *The Times*, 14 May 1959, p. 17. Unsigned. Reprinted in *The Clique*, 6 June 1959, p. 6.
- N "Thomas J. Wise and 'Richard Gullible,'" *The Book Collector* 8 (1959 [Summer]): 182-83. Note 110. An account of the printing in 1934 (arranged by Carter) of the six parodies by Richard Jennings, originally sent to Carter

and Graham Pollard as letters and known as the “Gullible Papers.” Carter’s summary account in fourteen holograph lines, preserved in one of his sets of the leaflets, is reproduced in the Sotheby catalogue of the Carter sale (C:1976), p. 14.

- N [On Stanley Morison], *The Book Collector* 8 (1959 [Summer]): 123-24. Unsigned note in the “Commentary” section. Identified by Carter in his set at the Library of Congress, with “I drafted this” in the margin.
- L “Bredon Hill,” *The Times*, 5 September 1959, p. 7. On the manuscript of Housman’s “Bredon Hill.”
- A “Thomas J. Wise in Perspective,” *Texas Quarterly* 2.4 (Winter 1959): supplement (“Thomas J. Wise Centenary Studies,” edited by William B. Todd), pp. 3-19. For the separate publication of this supplement, see C:1959.

D:1960

- A “Playing the Rare Book Market,” *Harper’s Monthly*, April 1960, pp. 74-76. Brief excerpt reprinted in *Antiquarian Bookman* 25 (1960 [11 April]): 1398.
- N “Betjemaniana,” *The Book Collector* 9 (1960 [Summer, Winter]): 199, 452. Note 140.
- N “Housman Manuscripts,” *The Book Collector* 9 (1960 [Summer]): 204-05. Query 130.
- A “What Happens to Authors’ Manuscripts?”, *The Atlantic Monthly*, July 1960, pp. 76-80. In David McKitterick’s copy, Carter changed “tons” to “crates” in the first paragraph.
- L [Letter to Sol Malkin on multiple bids], *Antiquarian Bookman* 26 (1960 [1 August]): 335.
- L “Holiday Earned,” *The Times*, 18 August 1960, p. 9. On the Prime Minister’s holiday.
- A “William Ged and the Invention of Stereotype,” *The Library*, 5th series 15 (1960 [September]): 161-92. Followed by a postscript in June 1961; see below. Under the title on the front wrapper of a copy of the offprint (in my collection), Carter wrote “largely misdescribed.” For Carter’s earlier notes on the subject, see D:1958 (June and Autumn).
- A “Farewell, Catullus,” *Texas Quarterly* 3.3 (Autumn 1960): 274-84. On his collecting of Catullus. The collection, which went to Texas, is described (not by Carter) in Goldschmidt catalogue 116, lot 69, pp. 20-24, priced at £1225. In the Eton copy, Carter notes that the collection had earlier been offered to King’s College for £250 and declined.
- R [Review of volume 4 of W. W. Greg’s *Bibliography*], *The Book Collector* 9 (1960 [Autumn]): 367. Signed “J.C.”
- A “London and the Fine Art Market,” *Texas Quarterly* 3.4 (Winter 1960): 224-31.
- R [Review of André Parreaux’s *William Beckford*], *The Book Collector* 9 (1960 [Winter]): 473-74, 477-78. Cf. D:1937 (March).
- L “Great Ballets,” *The Sunday Times*, 27 November 1960, p. 12.

D:1961

- A “The Eton Boating Song: Miss Firbank Reveals Who Converted a Barcarole to a Waltz,” *The Times*, 26 January 1961, p. 12. Unsigned. Identified by Carter in

- Etoniana* (D:1966, June); see also D:1961 (March). For Carter's other writings about William Johnson Cory (author of the lyrics), see the references at A:1959.
- N "Trollope's *La Vendée*, London, Colburn, 1850," *The Book Collector* 10 (1961 [Spring]): 69-70. Note 152.
- L "The Eton Boating Song," *The Times*, 2 March 1961, p. 13. Unsigned. Identified by Carter in *Etoniana* (D:1966, June); see also D:1961 (January). For Carter's other writings about William Johnson Cory (author of the lyrics), see the references at A:1959.
- A "Book Auctions," *Library Trends* 9 (1960-61 [April 1961]): 471-82.
- A "Transatlantic Traffic in Rare Books," *Books* [National Book League] 335 (May-June 1961): 79-82. Reprinted in *Antiquarian Bookman* 27 (1961 [26 June]): 2435-36; and in *AB Bookman's Yearbook, 1973-74* (C:1974), 2: 24-25.
- N "William Ged and the Invention of Stereotype: A Postscript," *The Library*, 5th series 16 (1961 [June]): 143-45. See also D:1960 (September).
- L [Letter replying to Richard Wormser's criticism of Carter's article in the 26 June issue], *Antiquarian Bookman* 28 (1961 [31 July]): 354.
- L [Letter critical of Sol Malkin's comments on "Moderns in the Auction Room," an unsigned editorial by Carter in the *Times Literary Supplement* (E2:1961, June)], *Antiquarian Bookman* 28 (1961 [16 October]): 1358.
- A "After Ten Years," *The Book Collector* 10 (1961 [Winter]): 402-07. In his set at the Library of Congress, Carter corrected "for Wier" to "by Wier" in the penultimate line of p. 404.

D:1962

- N "Housmaniana," *The Book Collector* 11 (1962 [Spring]): 84. Note 174. Includes the production history of *Selected Prose* (B:1961).
- L "Everyone's Business," *The Times*, 21 March 1962, p. 13. In defense of the Royal Academy's sale of a painting. Signed as having been written at the Grolier Club in New York.
- O "Sir Sydney Cockerell: Letters and the Fine Arts," *The Times*, 2 May 1962, p. 16. Unsigned. Reprinted in *Antiquarian Bookman* 29 (1962 [14 May]): 1928; and in *Architectural Review*, July 1962, p. 6.
- N "Beckford's *Vathek*, 'Londres 1791,'" *The Book Collector* 11 (1962 [Summer]): 211. Note 99. Signed "Harriet Marlow."
- A "The Hastings Rarities," *New Statesman and Nation*, 24 August 1962, pp. 224, 226. Compares a taxidermist's hoax with the Wise forgeries.
- N "T. J. Wise and the Technique of Promotion," *The Book Collector* 11 (1962 [Winter]): 480-82. Note regarding note 184. See also D:1963 (Summer). In his set at the Library of Congress, Carter made two marginal notations on p. 481.
- N "Who Was Mr Y.Z.?", *The Book Collector* 11 (1962 [Winter]): 484. Query 152.
- N [Postscript written for, but not included in, Fannie Ratchford's *Between the Lines* (1945)], in Dwight Macdonald's "The First Editions of T. J. Wise," *The New Yorker*, 10 November 1962, p. 202.
- O "Lieut.-Col. Bertram Buchanan," *The Times*, 11 December 1962, p. 12. Unsigned.

- L "Mr Acheson's Speech," *The Times*, 13 December 1962, p. 11.
- A "Mr. Chrysler's Controversial Century, or, What Price the Name on the Frame?", *New Statesman and Nation*, 14 December 1962, pp. 865-66. On fakes in an Ottawa exhibition.
- D:1963
- O "Mr. William S. Glazier," *The Times*, 2 January 1963, p. 12.
- L [Letter to Sol Malkin on the J. K. Lilly sale], *Antiquarian Bookman* 31 (1963 [7-14 January]): 10.
- A "Hawkshaw Rides Again," *The Book Collector* 12 (1963 [Summer]): 178-83. On the collecting of detective fiction and his role in it. See also C:1934.
- N "T.J. Wise and the Technique of Promotion," *The Book Collector* 12 (1963 [Summer]): 202. Note regarding note 184. See also D:1962 (Winter).
- N "A Unique Copy of *The Runaway Slave*, 1849," *The Book Collector* 12 (1963 [Summer]): 202-03. Note regarding note 191.
- A "The Framed Dollar," *Harper's Monthly*, July 1963, pp. 23-29.
- L [Letter critical of a *New York Times* article on the Archer Huntington collection], *Antiquarian Bookman* 32 (1963 [1-8 July]): 28. Signed "J.C."
- A "Printing and the Mind of Man: Preview of an Exhibition," *Books* [National Book League] 348 (July-August 1963): 154-56. Reprinted in *Antiquarian Bookman* 32 (1963 [29 July]): 371 (signed "J.C."). Cf. C:1963.
- L "Ghastly Good Taste?", *Country Life*, 29 August 1963.
- N "Sotheby's Season 1962/63," *Antiquarian Bookman* 32 (1963 [23 September]): 1097. Signed "J.C."
- O "Mr. Leslie Hyam," *The Times*, 24 September 1963, p. 13.
- N [Robert Birley], *The Book Collector* 12 (1963 [Winter]): 424-26. Unsigned note in the "Commentary." Attributed on the basis of the subject matter and the statement in the Summer 1966 issue (15: 187) that this section of the "Commentary" was "not, for once, written by John Hayward."
- O "Mr. Louis H. Silver," *The Times*, 5 November 1963, p. 13. Unsigned.
- L "Beckford and Vathek," *The Library*, 5th series 18 (1963 [December]): 308-09. See also D:1937 (March), 1962 (Summer).

D:1964

- L [Letter on free trade], *Antiquarian Bookman* 33 (1964 [10 February]): 652. Signed "J.C."
- A "Newberry Books," *Chicago Daily News*, 16 April 1964.
- N [Extensive excerpts from Carter's talk at a Bibliographical Society of America meeting, 4 April], *Antiquarian Bookman* 33 (1964 [20 April]): 1725-26.
- A "Sale of Books for Nearly £1m. in U.S.: Chicago Library Purchase," *The Times*, 16 May 1964, p. 8. Unsigned. On the Newberry's purchase of the Louis Silver collection.
- A "The Battle of Life: Round Three: A Note by John Carter," *Antiquarian Bookman* 33 (1964 [18 May]): 2203-05. On Sotheby's cataloguing of Dickens's book. Cf. the entry below (25 May).
- L "Building High," *The Economist*, 23 May 1964, p. 801.

- L "The Battle of Life—A Correction," *Antiquarian Bookman* 33 (1964 [25 May]): 2319. Cf. the entry above (18 May).
- N "Thomas J. Wise's Descriptive Formula," *The Book Collector* 13 (1964 [Summer]): 214-15. Query 181.
- R [Review of Wyman W. Parker's *Henry Stevens of Vermont*], *The Book Collector* 13 (1964 [Summer]): 249-50.
- L "Correctly Set," *The Times*, 7 August 1964, p. II. On using quotation marks, not capitals.
- N "The Other Side of James Bond: A Personal Note by John Carter," *Antiquarian Bookman* 34 (1964 [31 August]): 806.
- A "Wise After the Event," *The Bookseller*, 5 September 1964, pp. 43-44. On the Maurice Pariser exhibition in Manchester. For the catalogue, see C:1964.
- A "John Carter on 'The Two-Way Stretch,'" *Antiquarian Bookman* 34 (1964 [5 October]): 1363-64. Excerpt from a talk on British and American trends delivered to the Baltimore Bibliophiles, 23 September 1964, as "Recent Trends in American Book-Collecting."
- A "Newberry Library Triumph," *Chicago Daily News, Panorama* section, 10 October 1964. In a letter to the *Antiquarian Bookman* on 23 November (see below), Carter says that this article was written between midnight and 2 a.m. on 6 October (his twenty-second visit to Chicago). Reprinted in *Antiquarian Bookman* 34 (1964 [9 November]): 1952. On the exhibition of the Louis H. Silver collection.
- R [Review of *American Book-Prices Current, 1962-63*], *The Book Collector* 13 (1964 [Winter]): 534, 537. Signed "J.W.C."
- L [Letter regarding his resignation from the editorial board of *The Book Collector*], *Antiquarian Bookman* 34 (1964 [9 November]): 1953.
- L "On Newberry Silver," *Antiquarian Bookman* 34 (1964 [23 November]): 2172. On his article in the 9 November issue (see above).

D:1965

- L [Letters on reserve bids], *Antiquarian Bookman* 35 (1965 [25 January, 15 March, 14 June]): 298, 623, 2489.
- L "Mr. Justice Frankfurter," *The Times*, 26 February 1965, p. 15. Signed "J.W.C."
- L [Letter on Robert Metzdorf's accusation of fraud in London auctions], *Antiquarian Bookman* 35 (1965 [26 April]): 1795.
- N "Housmaniana," *The Book Collector* 14 (1965 [Summer]): 215-17. Note 247. Cf. D:1968 (Summer).
- A "The Art of Book-Collecting," *The Director*, 18 (August 1965): 258-60.
- N "Morisonianum," *The Book Collector* 14 (1965 [Autumn]): 365-66. Note 253. On the two states of his Morison handlist (A:1950).
- O "Mr. John Hayward: Bibliophile and Anthologist," *The Times*, 18 September 1965, p. 10. Unsigned (first two paragraphs by Arthur Crook; last three by Carter). Reprinted in *The Book Collector* 14 (1965 [Winter]): 445-46. See also B:1965. Marked by Carter in his set at the Library of Congress, with his initials in the margin.

- O "John Hayward: A Valediction," *The Sunday Times*, 19 September 1965, p. 47. Reprinted in *Antiquarian Bookman* 36 (1965 [4 October]): 1218; and in *The Book Collector* 14 (1965 [Winter]): 446-48. See also B:1965.
- N "Some Memories of John Hayward," *The Book Collector* 14 (1965 [Winter]): 444. The preface to "John Hayward, 1904-1965: Some Memories," on pp. 443-86, edited by Carter and reprinted as a separate (B:1965).
- N "A Note on the Newberry-Silver Sale at Sotheby's," *Antiquarian Bookman* 36 (1965 [6 December]): 2077. Cf. E1:1965 (December).
- L "Traffic," *The Economist*, 25 December 1965, p. 1396.

D:1966

- O "Mr. Donald Hyde," *The Times*, 14 February 1966, p. 12.
- O "Mr. Cyril Butterwick," *The Times*, 23 February 1966, p. 14. Unsigned.
- R [Review of *The 1784 Catalogue of the Redwood Library*, edited by Marcus A. McCorison], *The Book Collector* 15 (1966 [Spring]): 84. Signed "J.W.C."
- L "Fouling the Nest," *The Illustrated London News*, 28 May 1966, p. 42. On the University of Texas's acquisitions of authors' manuscripts.
- N [On Eton College Library], *The Book Collector* 15 (1966 [Summer]): 187-88. Unsigned note in the "Commentary" section, probably by Carter.
- A "The Boating Song: Notes and Queries," *Etoniana* 118 (4 June 1966): 282-85. On the history of the Eton "Boating Song," written by William Johnson Cory. Carter had previously written two short unsigned articles entitled "The Eton Boating Song" (identified in this article): in the *Times Literary Supplement*, 5 June 1948, p. 324; and in *The Times*, 26 January 1961, p. 12, supplemented on 2 March (D:1961), p. 13. For Carter's other writings about Cory, see the references at A:1959.
- A "The Iniquity of Oblivion Foil'd," *The Book Collector* 15 (1966 [Autumn]): 279-82. Collector's Piece 21. On his author-corrected copy of Thomas Browne's *Urne Buriall*, plus a revised census, updating the one in his 1958 edition (B:1932). Reprinted in *The Pleasures of Bibliophily: Fifty Years of "The Book Collector"* (C:2003). Cf. A:1933 and D:1933 (February) for an earlier essay with the same title.
- N [The Bay Psalm Book], *The Book Collector* 15 (1966 [Autumn]): 323-26. Unsigned note in the "News & Comment" section. Identified by Carter in his set at the Library of Congress, with his initials in the margin.
- L "Need to Control Noisy Drivers," *The Daily Telegraph*, 30 September 1966.
- L "Housman Ms.," *The Daily Telegraph*, 14 December 1966. Corrects an error in the 8 December report of Sotheby's 7 December sale.

D:1967

- N "Addenda and Corrigenda to 'A Hand-List of the Printed Works of William Johnson, Afterwards Cory,'" *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 4 (1964-68 [1967]): 318-20. Supplements D:1949; cf. C:1950 and D:1970. For Carter's other writings about Cory, see the references at A:1959.
- L "Writers and Honours," *The Times*, 12 January 1967, p. 11. On discrimination against women.

- N [On the sale of a Housman manuscript on 7 December 1966], *The Book Collector* 16 (1967 [Spring]): 55-56. Unsigned note in the "News & Comment" section. Identified by Carter in his set at the Library of Congress, with his initials in the margin.
- N [On Paul Mellon], *The Book Collector* 16 (1967 [Spring]): 56-58. Unsigned note in the "News & Comment" section. Identified by Carter in his set at the Library of Congress, with his initials in the margin.
- N [On National Manuscript Collection of Contemporary Poets], *The Book Collector* 16 (1967 [Spring]): 64, 67. Unsigned note in the "News & Comment" section. Identified by Carter in his set at the Library of Congress, with his initials in the margin.
- N [On John T. Winterich and David A. Randall's *A Primer of Book Collecting*], *The Book Collector* 16 (1967 [Spring]): 68, 70. Unsigned note in the "News & Comment" section. Identified by Carter in his set at the Library of Congress, with his initials in the margin.
- L "Jane Austen's 'Horrid Novels,'" *The Times*, 12 April 1967, p. 11.
- L [Letter on a volume from A. M. Storer's library], *Antiquarian Bookman* 39 (1967 [24 April]): 1698.
- O "Mr Frederic Ferguson: Bibliographical Scholar," *The Times*, 9 May 1967, p. 12. Unsigned.
- A Laurence Housman, "A. E. Housman's 'De Amicitia' Annotated by John Carter," *Encounter* 29.4 (October 1967): 33-41. Carter-Sparrow-White (A:1952) 92. An essay of Laurence Housman's, written between 1936 and 1942, with an introduction, footnotes, and two appendixes by Carter. When the essay was reprinted without authorization in 1976 as *Alfred Edward Housman's "De Amicitia"* (London: Little Rabbit Book Co.), Carter's contributions were not included (nor was any citation of *Encounter*).
- A "Thomas J. Wise and His Forgeries," *Auction* 1.3 (December 1967): 2-3.
- L [Letter on review of *Printing and the Mind of Man*], *AB Bookman's Weekly* 40 (1967 [11 December]): 2155.

D:1968

- L "Exeat Etona," *The Times*, 19 January 1968, p. 9. On the Cabinet "totally bereft of Etonians."
- A "Thomas J. Wise at Sotheby's: An Inside Report," *AB Bookman's Weekly* 41 (1968 [22 January]): 271-73. On the Maurice Pariser sale. Cf. B:1967 and E1:1967 (December).
- O "Andrée Howard: Choreographer and Dancer," *The Times*, 20 April 1968, p. 9. Unsigned.
- N "Housmaniana," *The Book Collector* 17 (1968 [Summer]): 215. Note 247. Cf. D:1965 (Summer).
- L "English Pure and Not So Pure," *The Daily Telegraph*, 13 June 1968.
- L "Withheld from Sale," *The Times*, 19 June 1968, p. 9. On certain Housman manuscripts withheld from sale by Sotheby's. (The typography of the title shows that it is to be taken as a subtitle to that of the preceding letter, "Housman Papers.")

- L "Housman Papers," *The Times*, 9 July 1968, p. 9. Critical of Tom Burns Haber's letter of 2 July regarding lines copied by Laurence Housman.
- N "Wise Forgeries in Doves Bindings," *The Book Collector* 17 (1968 [Autumn]): 352-53. Query 226.
- N "Colour Variations in 19th-Century Publishers' Bindings," *The Book Collector* 17 (1968 [Winter]): 490. Note 302.
- N "Ghosts," *The Book Collector* 17 (1968 [Winter]): 492-93. Query 233. Regarding an entry in the ABC (A:1952).
- L [Letter about an article on Aldous Huxley], *The Eton College Chronicle*, 30 November 1968, p. 6356.

D:1969

- A "An Unsolicited Review," *The Book Collector* 18 (1969 [Spring]): 57-60. On an unauthorized reprint of *New Paths* (B:1934).
- R [Review of Lawrence Clark Powell's *Fortune & Friendship* and *Bookman's Progress*], *The Book Collector* 18 (1969 [Spring]): 113.
- L [Letter on Christie's advertisement], *AB Bookman's Weekly* 43 (1969 [21 April]): 1453.
- R [Review of Matthew J. Bruccoli's *Raymond Chandler*], *The Book Collector* 18 (1969 [Summer]): 240, 243-44.
- A "Indian Summer of an Eton Master," *Etoniana* 122 (7 June 1969): 343-47. Carter's notes about William Johnson Cory, with long excerpts from Cory's writings and reminiscences of him. For Carter's other writings about Cory, see the references at A:1959.
- L "Why Madison Avenue?", *The Times*, 21 July 1969, p. 9. On an editorial referring to Madison Avenue pornography.
- A "Is This a Record?", *The Book Collector* 18 (1969 [Autumn]): 353-59. On prices of the U.S. Constitution and Declaration of Independence. Reprinted in "From the Archive" in *The Book Collector* 58 (2009): 397; and reprinted in part in *AB Bookman's Weekly* 44 (1969 [17-24 November]): 1664.
- N "Thomas J. Wise's Verses, 1882/1883," *The Library*, 5th series 24 (1969 [September]): 246-49.
- L "Walter Lippmann," *The Times*, 23 September 1969, p. 11.
- L "Correspondence," *The Eton College Chronicle*, 10 October 1969, p. 6487. On an article about the reopening of College Library after restoration.

D:1970

- N "Further Addenda and Corrigenda to 'A Hand-List of the Printed Works of William Johnson, Afterwards Cory,'" *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 5 (1969-71 [1970]): 150-51. Supplements D:1949 and D:1967; cf. C:1950. For Carter's other writings about Cory, see the references at A:1959.
- N "Gold Medalists 1969," *AB Bookman's Weekly* 45 (1970 [19 January]): 114. Carter's introduction to his presentation of the Bibliographical Society medals to Fredson Bowers and Graham Pollard on 6 May 1969; for his full comments, see A:1969.

- L "Subsidized Patronage," *The Times*, 28 January 1970, p. 11. On U.S. tax relief for gifts.
- A "The Rare Book Market, 1928-1968: A Retrospective Impression," *AB Bookman's Weekly* 45 (1970 [2-9 February]): 339-44. Reprints "The Market" section from his address to the Bibliographical Society on 18 November 1969, published in the 1970 impression of *Taste and Technique in Book-Collecting* (A:1948).
- O "Mr Dennis Cohen: Publisher and Connoisseur," *The Times*, 26 February 1970, p. 12. Unsigned.
- A "How We Got Wise," *The Sunday Times Magazine* [London], 8 March 1970, pp. 38, 41, 43-44. A draft of this article (along with a copy of the *Enquiry*) was displayed in a 1971 exhibition at Eton (marking the dedication of the library's renovated spaces) and recorded in the catalogue, *Twentieth Century Manuscripts and First Editions from the Eton School Library*.
- R [Review of Warner Barnes's bibliography of Elizabeth Barrett Browning], *The Book Collector* 19 (1970 [Spring]): 101-04.
- L "Mrs Caroline Thorpe," *The Times*, 3 July 1970, p. 10. Unsigned.
- L "Older Authors and Royalties Plan," *The Times*, 16 October 1970, p. 11.
- A "Sadleir Rides Again," *AB Bookman's Weekly* 46 (1970 [9 November]): 1364-66, 1368-70. Reprinted (with additions) from the *Times Literary Supplement* (E2:1970, October). On a three-decker sale at Sotheby's.

D:1971

- O "Dr L. C. Wroth: A Distinguished Bibliographer," *The Times*, 5 January 1971, p. 14.
- L "Mr Eliot," *The Listener*, 14 January 1971, p. 74. On omissions in a BBC program on T. S. Eliot. See also the next entry.
- L "Mr Eliot," *The Listener*, 18 February 1971, p. 212. Correction of previous letter regarding dates when Eliot and John Hayward shared quarters. See also the preceding entry.
- A "The Caxton Ovid," *The Book Collector* 20 (1971 [Spring]): 7-18.
- A "Sotheby's Retrospect & Prospect," *AB Bookman's Weekly* 48 (1971 [20 September]): 706, 708.
- L [Letter on revising the ABC (A:1952)], *AB Bookman's Weekly* 48 (1971 [4-11 October]): 983.

D:1972

- A "The Suzannet Sale at Sotheby's," *The Dickensian* 68 (1972): 43-47.
- N [Excerpt (first paragraph) from "Sotheby's of London, New York: The Early Days" (C:1971)], *AB Bookman's Weekly* 49 (1972 [29 March]): 1172.
- L [Letter on the "wholly non-authorized reprint" of the *Enquiry* (A:1934) by Haskell House], *AB Bookman's Weekly* 49 (1972 [3-10 April]): 1291.
- O "I. R. Brussel, L.O.G.S.," *The Book Collector* 21 (1972 [Autumn]): 402-05. Reprinted in *AB Bookman's Weekly* 50 (1972 [25 December]): 2096. It is said here that a longer version of this piece would appear as the preface to a reprint of Brussel's *Anglo-American First Editions* by Interland Press, but I have found no evidence that this reprint occurred.

- A "Sotheby's Season [of 1971-72]," *AB Bookman's Weekly* 50 (1972 [18 September]): 772, 780, 782, 784, 786.
- R "Sale Catalogues of the Libraries of Eminent Persons," *The Scolar Newsletter* 4 (8 December 1972): 5-7. Review of A. N. L. Munby's series.
- L "Historic Photographs," *The Times*, 9 December 1972, p. 15. On objects not always bought for export.

D:1973

- N "The Halsdon Papers of William Johnson (afterwards Cory)," *Etoniana* 128 (1973): 477-78. Announces that Cory's papers have been given to Eton by Sir Ralph Furse, whose ancestral house, Halsdon, had been occupied for a time by Cory. For Carter's other writings on Cory, see the references at A:1959.
- O "Robert Gathorne-Hardy," *The Book Collector* 22 (1973 [Summer]): 229-30.
- N "Addendum (re Query 36) [Thomas J. Wise's Verses, 1882 & 1883]," *The Book Collector* 22 (1973 [Summer]): 240.
- N "Re H. Buxton Forman," *The Book Collector* 22 (1973 [Summer]): 241. Query 274. Signed by Carter and Graham Pollard.
- L "Survival for Bookstalls," *The Times*, 26 June 1973, p. 17.
- A "The Private Library in America," *American Libraries* 4 (1973 [December]): 665-67.

D:1974

- R [Review of A. F. Johnson's edition of T. B. Reed's *A History of the Old English Letter Foundries*], *Books and Bookmen* 19 (1973-74).
- R [Review of A. N. L. Munby's series of *Sale Catalogues*], *Books and Bookmen* 19 (1973-74).
- O "Margaret Furse: Costume Design," *The Times*, 12 July 1974, p. 20. Unsigned. By "Two friends," probably John and Ernestine Carter. A cutting is among Carter's cuttings of obituaries in the Cambridge University Library. Margaret Furse was the widow of Roger Furse, a member of the same North Devon family as Ralph Furse, about whom Carter wrote when he gave William Johnson Cory's papers to Eton (see D:1973). Ernestine had published an article about Margaret Furse in *The Sunday Times*, 15 February 1970, p. 61.
- R [Review of Caxton's *The Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers* (Diploma Press)], *Books and Bookmen* 20.1 (October 1974): 70-71.
- A "Percy Muir at Eighty," *The Book Collector* 23 (1974 [Winter]): 479-88. Cf. C:1974.

E. CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE *Times Literary Supplement*, 1931-74

Carter made almost a thousand contributions to the *Times Literary Supplement* from 26 March 1931 (a letter on "Original Boards") through 3 May 1974 (a review of Sydney Roscoe's book on John Newbery): about 700 were reviews, and the rest were letters and articles. Together they covered a remarkable number of the books, bibliographical periodicals, exhibitions, auctions, and other book-world events of their time. All the reviews were unsigned (following *TLS* policy until 1974), and all the letters were signed; some of the articles were signed, but

most were not. It would be a pointless duplication to list all these contributions here because a nearly complete (and fully indexed) list is available to subscribers on the internet, in the *TLS* Historical Archive (at <www.the-tls.co.uk>), which identifies the authorship of most unsigned pieces. It is easy to use: one simply enters Carter's name and "Contributor" to see a nearly complete chronological list. In the list, every item has a citation (title, date, page); and for the pieces classified as reviews, there are the names of the authors and the titles of the books and journals reviewed as well. Every item also has a link to a view of the original page.

One can, if one wishes, limit the list to "Editorial" (which means articles and letters) or "Reviews." Choosing "Reviews," however, will not provide a list of all the reviews because some items are incorrectly classified in the Archive. For example, many short "articles," and even some long ones, are actually reviews of books or journals but were not set up in the way reviews usually were, with details of the book or journal in the heading; as a result, they are not classified as reviews. (And occasionally the reverse is true.) Thus if one wishes to see whether Carter ever reviewed a particular book or journal in the *TLS*, one should (after entering Carter's name as contributor) enter the name of the author or title of the book or journal as "Keyword" (rather than "Author" or "Book title"), and it will be located even if it does not appear in the heading of the piece. This search would then have to be supplemented by an examination of list E1 below.

The Archive contains a few other errors, but they are normally obvious and pose no difficulty. For example, Carter's second letter to the *TLS*, entitled "Sir Thomas Browne" on 16 July 1931, is listed twice because another letter on the same page, by three other writers, is entitled "Sir Thomas More," and the entry mistakenly merges these two references and lists the merged entry twice. For a variety of reasons, many other duplicated entries exist, and the extra ones can be ignored, though they cause the stated total number of Carter's contributions to be somewhat inflated—but see the first list below for items to be added, bringing the total back to nearly a thousand.

There are two main sources for *TLS* authorship: the archival set of published issues (with the authors' names written on them) and the "Stock Books" (showing the material available for use each week). Apparently the electronic Archive was based on the first, with occasional reference to the second when the first is unclear, as is implied in Derwent May's 2001 book, *Critical Times: The History of the "Times Literary Supplement"* (p. xi). (This procedure is confirmed by the fact that in some instances the Archive fills the space for "Contributor" with the statement "can't find in stock book.") In 1977 and 1978, Arthur Crook (who had been editor of the *TLS* from 1959 to 1974 and was then hoping to write a history of the journal) kindly allowed me to examine the Stock Books, which I went through for the issues from 31 August 1940 to 5 November 1971 (but the bibliographical "back page" authors were not noted until 30 August 1941). I have checked my notes against the electronic Archive and have found that 59 items credited to Carter in the Stock Books are not assigned to him in the Archive. In all these cases except one, the Archive gives no contributor's name, and many of them are classified as advertisements. (Perhaps the program called for a contributor's name to be entered if "Review" were used; but "Editorial" did not, and it is not clear why "Advertisement" was sometimes chosen

when the contributor's name was not indicated in the archival copies and could not be located in the Stock Books.) In the one instance where the Archive gives a contributor's name for one of these items assigned to Carter in the Stock Books, the Archive is incorrect, as explained in the list below at 2 January 1953.

These pieces clearly are Carter's work and should be added to the list of his contributions. Even with them added, some of Carter's contributions are surely still not accounted for: anyone who attentively reads the *TLS* back page for this period will find elements of Carter's style in other pieces, which is not surprising since he was in charge of the back page from 1946 to 1967 (except for 1953-55, when he was in Washington). But I have not included *TLS* items solely on the basis of my judgment. It is perhaps unnecessary to tell future users of this handlist that the *TLS* Archive, like other electronic files, may at some point be revised—with the result that the errors and omissions noted here may be corrected.

In the first of two lists below, all the additions from the Stock Books (and four other additions) are recorded. The second list brings together Carter's major contributions to the *TLS*, extracted from the full listing.

EI. ADDITIONS TO THE TLS ARCHIVE'S LIST OF CARTER'S CONTRIBUTIONS

The items listed here, with four exceptions, are attributed to Carter in the Stock Books but are not credited to him (or anyone, except in one case) in the electronic Historical Archive. The four additions not from the Stock Books are a letter of 12 August 1944, which is not credited to Carter in the Archive even though it is signed; an unsigned report on the Silver sale (2 December 1965), which is identified by a cutting at Eton; some paragraphs on the Maurice Pariser sale in a "Commentary" column (14 December 1967), which is identified by a type-script photocopy at the Harry Ransom Center; and some paragraphs on Stanley Morison in a "Commentary" column (19 December 1968), which is identified by a corrected proof at Eton. (These last two items raise the possibility, indeed the probability, that Carter made other contributions to the "Commentary" column, which began on 19 October 1967; the contributors to this column are usually not identified in the Archive.) All these pieces are unquestionably Carter's work and should be added to the list in the Archive.

EI:1944

L "Morris L. Parrish," *TLS*, 12 August 1944, p. 396. Signed.

EI:1946

A "The Schwerdt Collection," *TLS*, 20 April 1946, p. 192. Unsigned.

R "Documentation," *TLS*, 8 June 1946, p. 276. Unsigned. Review of *Journal of Documentation*.

EI:1947

A "Rare Book Prices in U.S.A.," *TLS*, 1 February 1947, p. 71. Unsigned.

A "Prices for Pilgrim's Progress," *TLS*, 1 February 1947, p. 71. Unsigned.

A "A 'Black Tulip' among Books," *TLS*, 29 March 1947, p. 148. Unsigned. Sale of the Bay Psalm Book.

A "A Musical Library," *TLS*, 9 August 1947, p. 408. Unsigned. Arthur Hill sale. N [Miscellaneous bibliographical notes], *TLS*, 9 August 1947, p. 408. Unsigned.

EI:1948

N "Suffolk Writers," *TLS*, 19 June 1948, p. 349. Unsigned.

N "Italian MSS. at Oxford," *TLS*, 31 July 1948, p. 432. Unsigned.

A "The Malahide and Fettercairn Papers," *TLS*, 18 December 1948, p. 705. Unsigned.

EI:1949

A "The Union Catalogue of Music," *TLS*, 29 January 1949, p. 80. Unsigned.

R "The Houghton Library," *TLS*, 29 January 1949, p. 80. Unsigned. Review of report for 1947-48.

N "Fine Book-Bindings," *TLS*, 26 February 1949, p. 144. Unsigned. On a Victoria & Albert Museum exhibition.

N "A Boston Press," *TLS*, 5 March 1949, p. 160. Unsigned. Merrymount Press.

N "Bibliography at Cambridge," *TLS*, 12 March 1949, p. 176. Unsigned. The founding of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society.

A "Infinite Riches," *TLS*, 24 June 1949, p. 420. Unsigned. On a Bodleian exhibition.

A "Beatrix Potter Books," *TLS*, 26 August 1949, p. 560. Unsigned.

EI:1950

A "Publishers and the Law," *TLS*, 3 March 1950, p. 144. Unsigned.

N "Early Printing," *TLS*, 24 March 1950, p. 192. Unsigned.

EI:1951

A "The Wilmerding Sale," *TLS*, 19 January 1951, p. 44. Unsigned.

A "Notes on Sales," *TLS*, 13 July 1951, p. 444. Unsigned.

A "The Final Wilmerding Sale," *TLS*, 7 December 1951, p. 796. Unsigned.

EI:1952

A "Abraham Lincoln and Others," *TLS*, 4 April 1952, p. 244. Unsigned. The Oliver R. Barrett sale.

EI:1953

A "Italian Books," *TLS*, 2 January 1953, p. 41. Unsigned. Correctly attributed to Carter in the Stock Books; erroneously attributed to Orlo Williams in the Archive through a confusion with another article in the same issue, "Five Centuries of Italian Books."

EI:1955

R "Morgan Library Accessions," *TLS*, 14 January 1955, p. 32. Unsigned. On the report for 1953-54.

- R "The Houghton Library," *TLS*, 11 February 1955, p. 96. Unsigned. On the report for 1953-54.
A "Merle Johnson Reviewed," *TLS*, 17 June 1955, p. 340. Unsigned. On the Charles H. Milburn sale.

E1:1956

- A "Parrish at Princeton," *TLS*, 11 May 1956, p. 288. Unsigned.
R "Acquisitions," *TLS*, 12 October 1956, p. 608. Unsigned. On the Friends of the National Libraries report for 1955-56.
A "Oxford Libraries in 1556," *TLS*, 2 November 1956, p. 656. Unsigned.

E1:1957

- A "Blake Bicentenary in America," *TLS*, 17 May 1957, p. 312. Unsigned.
R "Gifts to Libraries," *TLS*, 6 September 1957, p. 540. Unsigned. On the Friends of the National Libraries report for 1956-57.
A "Corvo's Order of SS. Sophia," *TLS*, 1 November 1957, p. 664. Unsigned.

E1:1958

- A "Books in Parts," *TLS*, 20 June 1958, p. 352. Unsigned. On the Arents Collection.

E1:1959

- A "Dyson Perrins Continued," *TLS*, 11 December 1959, p. 732. Unsigned.

E1:1960

- A "Notes on Sales," *TLS*, 9 December 1960, p. 803. Unsigned. The third Perrins sale.

E1:1961

- A "E.B.B.," *TLS*, 2 June 1961, p. 348. Unsigned. An Elizabeth Barrett Browning exhibition.

E1:1963

- A "Notes on Sales," *TLS*, 4 January 1963, p. 16. Unsigned. Although this article, assigned to Carter in the Stock Books, is not assigned to him in the Archive (or to anyone), the Archive does credit him with the reply to Charles W. Traylen's criticism of the article (18 January 1963, p. 41).
R "Small Compass," *TLS*, 24 May 1963, p. 380. Unsigned. On the Houghton Library report for 1961-62.

E1:1964

- R "Ink on Paper," *TLS*, 23 January 1964, p. 76. Unsigned. Review of Edmund C. Arnold's *Ink on Paper*, James Moran's *A Brief Essay on the Printing Press*, and L. W. Wallis's *Leonard Jay*, plus *Chapters on Writing and Printing and Private Press Books 1962*.
A "In the Sale Room," *TLS*, 9 April 1964, p. 300. Unsigned.

- N "Citizen Churchill," *TLS*, 14 May 1964, p. 421. Unsigned.
 A "In the Sale Room," *TLS*, 28 May 1964, p. 464. Unsigned.
 A "In the Sale Room," *TLS*, 18 June 1964, p. 540. Unsigned.
 N "Library League," *TLS*, 18 June 1964, p. 540. Unsigned. Library statistics.
 A "In the Sale Room," *TLS*, 3 September 1964, p. 829. Unsigned.
 A "Sir Winston in the Sale Room," *TLS*, 3 December 1964, p. 1114. Unsigned.
 A "In the Sale Room," *TLS*, 17 December 1964, p. 1152. Unsigned.

E1:1965

- A "Shoestring and Scarecrow," *TLS*, 7 January 1965, p. 16. Unsigned. On two American publishers.
 A "Goldy's Ballad," *TLS*, 11 February 1965, p. 116. Unsigned. On Goldsmith's "Edwin and Angelina."
 R "Morgan Biennium," *TLS*, 13 May 1965, p. 380. Unsigned. On the report for 1963-64.
 A "Bibles in Washington," *TLS*, 24 June 1965, p. 548. Unsigned. Carter's note on this piece in the Eton scrapbook says "Fred Goff, edited by J^{no}C".
 A "Silver in the Saleroom," *TLS*, 2 December 1965, p. 1116. Unsigned. Cf. D:1965 (December).

E1:1967

- A "Books in Belgium," *TLS*, 4 May 1967, p. 388. Unsigned.
 A "The Gennadius Library," *TLS*, 4 May 1967, p. 388. Unsigned.
 R "Unwise," *TLS*, 26 October 1967, p. 1024. Unsigned. Review of J. C. Thomson's bibliography of Tennyson.
 A "International Bibliophiles," *TLS*, 2 November 1967, p. 1049. Unsigned.
 N [Paragraphs on the Maurice Pariser sale in the "Commentary" column], *TLS*, 14 December 1967, p. 1223. Unsigned. See also B:1967 and D:1968 (January).

E1:1968

- N [Paragraphs on Stanley Morison in the "Commentary" column], *TLS*, 19 December 1968, p. 1441. Unsigned.

E1:1970

- R "Book Sales in 1966," *TLS*, 16 April 1970, p. 436. Unsigned. Review of *American Book Prices Current*.
 R "Book Sales," *TLS*, 9 July 1970, p. 756. Unsigned. Review of *Book Auction Records*, volume 66.
 R "Ancillary to the Yale Walpole," *TLS*, 4 September 1970, p. 980. Unsigned. Review of Allen T. Hazen's catalogue of Walpole's library.

E2. CARTER'S MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE *TLS*

It may be useful to extract from the full list, for separate recording here, Carter's major *TLS* pieces. The list below consists of (1) editorials (unsigned lead-ers), (2) signed pieces of any length (other than letters), and (3) unsigned pieces

and signed letters that are the equivalent of two full columns or more in length. Reviews that are long simply because they take up a number of bibliographical journals and discuss the contents of each are not included here; they amount to a series of short reviews (and individual issues of journals often do receive independent reviews). Five pieces in this list will not be found under Carter's name in the Historical Archive (those at 20 April 1946, 19 January 1951, 9 April 1964, 29 May 1964, and 17 December 1964). They are among the items assigned to Carter only in the Stock Books and recorded in the list above; since they are long enough to qualify for the present list, they are repeated here.

Eleven pieces in this list were later reprinted: those at 1 June 1946, 20 March 1948, 2 June 1950, 25 August 1950, 12 January 1951, 13 April 1951, 9 May 1952, 18 March 1955, 28 August 1959, 9 May 1968, and 30 October 1970. Twelve pieces were signed: those at 27 April 1933, 22 August 1935, 30 May 1936, 5 June 1943, 1 June 1946, 12 July 1957, 6 September 1963, 14 March 1968, 9 May 1968, 21 November 1968, 27 February 1969, and 30 October 1970. There is one front-page article, at 18 December 1948.

E2:1933

- R "Notes on the Bibliography of Byron," *TLS*, 27 April, 4 May 1933, pp. 300, 316. Signed. On T. J. Wise's bibliography.

E2:1935

- N "Browne's Urne Buriall," *TLS*, 22 August 1935, p. 528. Signed.

E2:1936

- N "Mrs Browning's Poems 1850," *TLS*, 30 May 1936, p. 464. Signed.

E2:1939

- A "Modern' Bibliography," *TLS*, 2 December 1939, p. 708. Unsigned.

E2:1940

- A "Five Centuries of Printing: The Gutenberg Exhibition," *TLS*, 18 May 1940, p. 248. Unsigned.

E2:1943

- A "A Poem of A. E. Housman's," *TLS*, 5, 12 June 1943, pp. 276, 288. Signed. On "The Sage to the Young Man."

E2:1946

- R "A Shropshire Lad' Bibliography," *TLS*, 30 March 1946, p. 156. Unsigned. Review of Carl J. Weber's bibliography and edition.

- A "The Schwerdt Collection," *TLS*, 20 April 1946, p. 192. Unsigned.

- A "Thomas J. Wise and H. Buxton Forman: Further Light on the 19th-Century Pamphlets," *TLS*, 1 June 1946, p. 264. Signed by Carter and Graham Pollard. Reprinted (without the subtitle) in Carter's *Books and Book-Collectors* (A:1956), pp. 150-56.

- E "Book Exhibitions," *TLS*, 15 June 1946, p. 283. Unsigned leader.

A "Frank Hogan's Library," *TLS*, 15 June 1946, p. 288. Unsigned.

R "The 'Short-Title' Catalogue," *TLS*, 7 September 1946, p. 432. Unsigned.

E2:1947

A "The Author and His Publisher," *TLS*, 18 January 1947, p. 38. Unsigned. On Richard Bentley.

R "The Mystery of a 'Leonardo,'" *TLS*, 5 April 1947, p. 155. Unsigned. Review of Harry Hahn's *The Rape of La Belle*.

E2:1948

R "The Sense of Order," *TLS*, 20 March 1948, p. 168. Unsigned. Review of Peter Beilenson's *Updike: American Printer* and George Parker Winship's *Daniel Berkeley Updike*. Reprinted as "Daniel Berkeley Updike" in Carter's *Books and Book-Collectors* (A:1956), pp. 63-66.

A "Book-Collecting in the United States," *TLS*, 3 April 1948, p. 196. Unsigned. On recent auctions.

R "The Calligrapher's Art," *TLS*, 19 June 1948, p. 352. Unsigned. Review of books by Alfred Fairbank, Edward Johnston, Paul Standard, and Jan Tschichold.

A "The Heritage of Culture," *TLS*, 18 December 1948, pp. 705-06. Unsigned front-page article.

E2:1949

A "Modern Book-Binding," *TLS*, 3 June 1949, p. 372. Unsigned.

A "The Bibliographical Jungle," *TLS*, 5 August 1949, p. 512. Unsigned.

E2:1950

E "Books and Bureaucrats," *TLS*, 28 April 1950, p. 261. Unsigned leader.

R "Book and Gown," *TLS*, 28 April 1950, p. 268. Unsigned. Review of *Rare Books in the University Library*.

R "A Great Eton Master," *TLS*, 2 June 1950, p. 340. Unsigned. Review of Faith Compton Mackenzie's *William Cory: A Biography* (C:1950). Reprinted as a separate (A:1959). For Carter's other writings about Cory, see the references at A:1959.

A "Book Illustration," *TLS*, 25 August 1950, supplement ("A Critical & Descriptive Survey of Contemporary British Writing for Readers Overseas"), p. xxxiii. Unsigned. Reprinted as "British Book Illustration" in *AIGA Journal* (D:1950, June).

R "A Bibliography of Francis Bacon," *TLS*, 24 November 1950, p. 756. Unsigned. Review of R. W. Gibson's bibliography.

E2:1951

R "A Great American Collector," *TLS*, 12 January 1951, p. 28. Unsigned. Review of Carroll A. Wilson's *Thirteen Author Collections*. Reprinted as "Carroll Atwood Wilson" in Carter's *Books and Book-Collectors* (A:1956), pp. 32-39.

A "The Wilmerding Sale," *TLS*, 19 January 1951, p. 44. Unsigned.

- R "Mr. Sadleir and the Nineteenth Century," *TLS*, 13 April 1951, p. 234. Unsigned. Review of Sadleir's *XIX Century Fiction*. Reprinted as "Michael Sadleir" in Carter's *Books and Book-Collectors* (A:1956), pp. 39-50.
- A "Mr Wilmerding's Continental Books," *TLS*, 20 April 1951, p. 252. Unsigned.
- A "The Rare Book World," *TLS*, 24 August 1951, p. 540. Unsigned.

E2:1952

- R "Collector and Scholar," *TLS*, 9 May 1952, p. 320. Unsigned. Review of Wilmarth Lewis's *Collector's Progress*. Reprinted as "Wilmarth S. Lewis" in Carter's *Books and Book-Collectors* (A:1956), pp. 51-55.
- R "Bibliography of T. S. Eliot," *TLS*, 26 December 1952, p. 860. Unsigned. Review of Donald Gallup's bibliography.

E2:1954

- A "Recent American Exhibitions," *TLS*, 16 July 1954, p. 464. Unsigned.

E2:1955

- R "The Rothschild Collection," *TLS*, 18 March 1955, p. 172. Unsigned. Review of *The Rothschild Library*. Reprinted as "Lord Rothschild" in Carter's *Books and Book-Collectors* (A:1956), pp. 56-62.

E2:1956

- A "The National Library of Scotland," *TLS*, 6 July 1956, p. 416. Unsigned.
- E "Penguins," *TLS*, 27 July 1956, p. 449. Unsigned leader.
- R "The Literature of America," *TLS*, 31 August 1956, p. 516. Unsigned. Review of Jacob Blanck's *Bibliography of American Literature*, vol. 1.
- E "Action against 'The Ring,'" *TLS*, 14 September 1956, p. 539. Unsigned leader.
- E "T. J. Wise Again," *TLS*, 19 October 1956, p. 617. Unsigned leader.

E2:1957

- E "The Rylands Library," *TLS*, 3 April 1957, p. 273. Unsigned leader.
- R "The Indefatigable Travellers," *TLS*, 28 June 1957, p. 404. Unsigned. Review of Kenneth R. Towndrow's *Travel in Aquatint and Lithograph*.
- A "The Paperback Revolution," *TLS*, 12 July 1957, supplement ("Literary Supplement Paperbacks Section"), pp. ii-iii. Signed. Followed by a letter ("Paperbacks") correcting two errors, 19 July 1957, p. 441.

E2:1958

- A "Anything You Can Do . . .," *TLS*, 30 May 1958, p. 304. Unsigned. On American rare-book libraries.
- A "The Dyson Perrins Manuscripts," *TLS*, 26 December 1958, p. 756. Unsigned.

E2:1959

- R "The Solitary Scribe," *TLS*, 3 July 1959, p. 401. Unsigned. Review of Priscilla Johnston's *Edward Johnston*.

- A "Tragedy at Little Rock," *TLS*, 28 August 1959, p. 491. Unsigned. Review of Virgil T. Blossom's *It Has Happened Here*. Reprinted, slightly abridged and entitled "Little Rock Battleground," in *TLS*, 9 December 2016, p. 34.
- E "Classics at the Museum," *TLS*, 25 September 1959, p. 545. Unsigned leader.
- A "Connoisseurship and Conservation: Buy the Whole Bundle Now and Sort It Out Later," *TLS*, 6 November 1959, supplement ("The American Imagination"), p. xxxvii. Unsigned.

E2:1960

- R "Mr. Tinker and His Books," *TLS*, 8 January 1960, p. 24. Unsigned. Review of *The Tinker Library*.
- E "Locke and Donne to Bodley," *TLS*, 11 March 1960, p. 161. Unsigned leader.
- R "Words for American Ears," *TLS*, 7 October 1960, p. 644. Unsigned. Review of *Dictionary of American English*.
- R "The End of Phillipps," *TLS*, 9 December 1960, p. 803. Unsigned. Review of A. N. L. Munby's *Phillipps Studies*, vol. 5.

E2:1961

- E "Re-Shuffle or Declare?", *TLS*, 3 February 1961, p. 73. Unsigned leader.
- R "Stacked in the Dealer's Favour," *TLS*, 3 February 1961, p. 74. Unsigned. Review of Edwin Wolf and John Fleming's *Rosenbach*.
- R "Defining Terms," *TLS*, 3 February 1961, p. 78. Unsigned. Review of Geoffrey Glaister's *Glossary*.
- E "Moderns in the Auction Room," *TLS*, 30 June 1961, p. 401. Unsigned leader. Letters on this article from David Randall and P. H. Muir appeared on 11 August and 8 September; for Carter's comments, see his letter in *Antiquarian Bookman* (D:1961, October).
- A "American Exhibitions," *TLS*, 8 December 1961, p. 888. Unsigned.

E2:1962

- R "Another Wise Forgery," *TLS*, 26 October 1962, p. 832. Unsigned. Review of *The Guildhall Miscellany* 2.4.

E2:1963

- E "Library Reform," *TLS*, 15 March 1963, p. 185. Unsigned leader.
- A "Modern American First Editions," *TLS*, 5 July 1963, p. 500. Unsigned.
- E "The Library's Place," *TLS*, 9 August 1963, p. 609. Unsigned leader.
- A "Dr. Birley's 'Vale,'" *TLS*, 9 August 1963, p. 616. Unsigned.
- A "Housman, Shelley, and Swinburne," *TLS*, 6 September 1963, p. 680. Signed. Cf. 1968 below.

E2:1964

- A "Beinecke and Others," *TLS*, 16 January 1964, p. 56. Unsigned.
- A "In the Sale Room," *TLS*, 9 April 1964, p. 300. Unsigned.
- A "In the Sale Room," *TLS*, 28 May 1964, p. 404. Unsigned.

A "In the Sale Room," *TLS*, 17 December 1964, p. 1152. Unsigned.

E2:1965

- A "Exhibitions around America," *TLS*, 7 January 1965, p. 16. Unsigned.
 A "Across America," *TLS*, 25 March 1965, p. 244. Unsigned. On library events.
 A "Australiana in the Saleroom," *TLS*, 16 September 1965, p. 816. Unsigned.

E2:1966

- R "2,000 Years of Calligraphy," *TLS*, 6 January 1966, p. 16. Unsigned. Review of *2,000 Years of Calligraphy*.
 A "Hayward in the Saleroom," *TLS*, 31 March 1966, p. 272. Unsigned.
 A "Americana in the Saleroom," *TLS*, 30 June 1966, p. 584. Unsigned.

E2:1967

- A "Streeter and His Americana," *TLS*, 19 January 1967, p. 56. Unsigned.
 R "Houghton's 25th Birthday Cake," *TLS*, 18 May 1967, p. 428. Unsigned. Review of *The Houghton Library, 1942-1967*.
 R "A Publisher and His Authors," *TLS*, 7 December 1967, p. 1196. Unsigned. Review of Simon Nowell-Smith's *Letters to Macmillan*.

E2:1968

- A "Bibliophily on the Eastern Seaboard," *TLS*, 1 February 1968, p. 116. Unsigned.
 L "A Further Note on A. E. Housman," *TLS*, 14 March 1968, p. 278. Signed.
 N "Note by John Carter," *TLS*, 9 May 1968, p. 477. Note at the end of "Housman's Cambridge Inaugural," pp. 475-77, which Carter edited and reprinted as a separate "for private circulation" (B:1968) and then as a published edition (B:1969).
 A "Sandars at Cambridge," *TLS*, 9 May 1968, p. 488. Unsigned. On Howard Nixon's lectures.
 R "His Bibliography . . . and His Books," *TLS*, 20 June 1968, p. 660. Unsigned. Review of Geoffrey Keynes's bibliography of Sir Thomas Browne, and N. J. Endicott's edition.
 A "Shelley, Swinburne and Housman," *TLS*, 21 November 1968, p. 1318-19. Signed by Carter and John Sparrow. Cf. 1963 above.

E2:1969

- A "The Rainbow Prosecution," *TLS*, 27 February 1969, p. 216. Signed.
 R "The Golden West Catalogued," *TLS*, 27 May 1969, p. 332. Unsigned. Review of Colton Storm's *A Catalogue of the Everett D. Graff Collection*.

E2:1970

- A "The Pierpont Morgan Library over Nineteen Years," *TLS*, 30 April 1970, p. 488. Unsigned.
 A "The Shuckburgh Gutenberg," *TLS*, 7 May 1970, p. 520. Unsigned.
 R "Truman's Secretary of State," *TLS*, 11 June 1970, p. 637. Unsigned. Review of Dean Acheson's *Present at the Creation*. This was the third time Carter

reviewed a book by Acheson, a friend from his Washington years, in the *TLS*. On Carter's cutting of the second review (a copy of which is in my collection), dealing with *Sketches from Life* (21 July 1961, p. 443), Carter placed an asterisk at the end of the second paragraph, where he had pointed out that the reader "enjoys the illusion of being behind the scenes." Then in the margin he wrote a sentence that had been "cut here for space": "We almost, but not quite, expect to run into Arketall on the stairs" (referring to Lord Curzon's valet).

- A "Sadleir Rides Again," *TLS*, 30 October 1970, p. 1280. Signed. Reprinted (with additions) in *AB Bookman's Weekly* (D:1970, November).

E2:1971

- R "Cutting Down on the Elaborations," *TLS*, 16 April 1971, p. 456. Unsigned. Review of David Foxon's *Thoughts on the History and Future of Bibliographical Description* and Donald Gallup's *On Contemporary Bibliography*.
- R "ALC Reprinted," *TLS*, 25 June 1971, p. 744. Unsigned. Review of *Ashley Library Catalogue*.

E2:1973

- R "Through the Jungle of Victorian Opinions," *TLS*, 9 February 1973, p. 160. Unsigned. Review of Walter Houghton's *Wellesley Index*, vol. 2.
- A "From Lubbock's Century to Connolly's," *TLS*, 16 February 1973, p. 188. Unsigned.

APPENDIX

JOHN CARTER'S SUPPOSED NOVEL

Those who are familiar with John Carter's writings have long been aware of the 1934 novel called *The Fall of the Titan*, by "John Waynflete." It has regularly been attributed to Carter, whose full name was John Waynflete Carter and who occasionally used "John Waynflete" (or "George Waynflete" or "Waynflete") as a pseudonym, as on the second edition (1946) of the volume of clerihews that he edited for the Rampant Lions Press, the private press of his brother Will. But the novel has not been read by many people because of its rarity. As of August 2020, WorldCat records only four copies worldwide: at the British Library, the National Library of Scotland, Oxford, and Yale (three of which—all but Oxford—attribute the authorship to Carter in their catalogues). There are also copies at Trinity College Dublin and Swansea University, and there may of course be other institutional copies not reported to WorldCat. In addition, I am aware of a few individuals who possess a copy. Nevertheless, it is clearly a very scarce book.

Because I recently acquired a copy (with the assistance of A. S. G. Edwards), I am now in a position to read it, which I have done. The experience, however, was not what I had expected. Carter's writing is known for its elegance and wit, and this novel is written with ludicrous formality and is full of banal sentiments. One only has to read a few pages to begin wondering: did Carter really write this? The name "John Waynflete" is what has caused people to think that he did. But

if he did, the next question is: why would he have written it in that style? And if that question can be answered, there is the question of when, in his pre-1934 life, he would have been likely to have the time or inclination to write it.

Since so few people have read the novel, the best way to begin a discussion of it is to describe its plot (which is relevant evidence in itself). The story encompasses the rise and fall of Silas Burney, a depraved and unscrupulous man who becomes a famous Labour leader. In Book I (of four Books, comprising 38 chapters), we learn that Silas has neglected his wife and four children, being more dedicated to the Socialist Party. The next Book covers his becoming a member of Parliament and a powerful and influential speaker (the titan of the Labour movement); his being befriended by the daughter (named Miles) of Sir John Walker, a “tolerant and kind” newspaper owner who treats his employees well; and Miles’s asking Silas to help a housemaid (Flossie) whom (unknown to Miles) he has seduced. At this point we are told that “there are always forces at work, unseen forces, ever vigilant to bring to nought the evildoer wherever found, and Silas Burney was now to see the first signs of his fall” (p. 147).

In Book III, Miles and Flossie gradually discover that they are in love with the same man (Silas); and a Sir Jacob Randles promises Silas wealth and his daughter’s hand in return for Silas’s arranging for Sir Jacob to be given a title. Silas, in Book IV, vows to pay Flossie to be rid of her (and the child she had by him) in order to accept Sir Jacob’s offer. Sir John, convinced of Flossie’s goodness and with evidence of Silas’s duplicity, manages to bring everyone together in London, where Silas is confronted. Flossie makes an eloquent speech (including poetry) at the end of which she dies, but not before Silas has wept and asked for forgiveness. In a brief Epilogue, we learn that Silas and his daughter have moved to Canada, where he says to her that the bright star they see in the sky “may be your mother’s eyes looking down on you and me, and hoping and praying that you will become like her—a woman who brought ‘the Titan’ down and made him a MAN!”

There are a number of other characters that I have not mentioned; and most of the characters, from time to time, engage in political discussion, often uttering long statements on the dangers of socialism and the corruption of the demagogues who attain office. One character wonders “if the rottenness and canker had gone too far to save the nation” (p. 73). And not only the characters but the narrative voice also raises this concern:

There has been working silently on the English Nation for many years, a spirit alien to everything that makes for honesty of purpose, integrity of character and truthful speech. Turn where we will, this insidious power is at work, ceaselessly, noiselessly, resolutely; bent on undermining the British Character and the British Constitution. (p. 95)

From the opening chapter, the narrator’s views are clear: a minister’s strictures, for instance, are said to have “aroused the bellicose propensities of a certain class who alas! have assumed the reins of government,” and a footnote here states “Labour Government in Office” (p. 11). The formality of expression is illustrated on the previous page when two men conversing on a veranda say they should move inside because of an approaching storm: by doing so, they were “suiting the action to the word.” The style ranges from overly formal to melodramatic:

"Some women who love brush the stars with their shoulders, they bring a touch of Heaven into the dreariest life, they smooth life's wrinkles and chase fear and doubt into night" (p. 83). These examples are perhaps sufficient to suggest the novel's tone and point of view.

The book of 285 pages was published at 7s.6d. in early 1934 by Lincoln Williams Ltd., a short-lived London publisher with offices at 19 Adam Street (and was printed by the Clock House Press of Hoddesdon). It may have been available in late 1933, for it is included in the publisher's advertisement in *The Bookman* for December 1933. The Lincoln Williams firm was active for only three years, from 1932 to 1935, when financial problems brought about its end. It went into administration in July 1935, following a petition from Amy Gilmour, author of a novel called *The Lure of Islam*, which the firm had published in 1933; and the winding-up order is dated 20 August 1935. I am aware of fifty titles with the Lincoln Williams imprint during those years, and they encompass a wide variety of books, ranging from reference books on cricket and books of practical advice to biographies, memoirs, travel writing, historical studies, poetry, and fiction. It seems likely that many of them were paid for by their authors.

The dust-jacket for *The Fall of the Titan* (known from Richard Landon's copy) lists twelve other novels, with titles like *The Seal of Love*, *Hearts Adrift*, and *Noonday Devil*. It carries on the front an illustration by H. W. Perl (1897-1952), the famous (and much collected) artist of pulp-fiction covers, who did other Lincoln Williams jackets as well. No information about the author is given, and the blurb consists of only two phrases: "A powerful story of ambition, intrigue, love and disaster. A novel to put into the hands of thinking young people."

On 5 April 1934 the *Times Literary Supplement* included the book in its section of brief notices of "New Books and Reprints" (pp. 245-46). The short review is worth quoting in full:

In a style so stilted and sententious as to read almost like a parody, the author tells the story of one Silas Burney, a bold bad Labour leader, who, despite the fact he had robbed his employer, left his wife and children to starve, seduced a housemaid, and trifled with the affections of a baronet's daughter, becomes a power in the land and is confidently spoken of as the coming Prime Minister. There is, however, as we are reminded in capital letters, "something in the world that works against a bad man." The "Titan" crashes, and is made to see the error of his ways as the result of a remarkable dying speech by the housemaid which, starting with an impassioned eulogy of Cobden, Bright and free trade, ends up by warning him that "bankruptcy and death are the final heirs of imposture and make-belief."

This review is notable in two ways: the deftness of its plot summary and the perceptiveness of its suggestion that the book might be a parody. The *TLS* historical archive does not give the names of the authors of brief reviews of this kind. But these two points invite the speculation that the review might have been written by Carter himself (if he wrote the book) as a way of instructing readers to treat the book as a parody. (Many years later he wrote a review of his *ABC for Book-Collectors*.) Although he did not become a regular reviewer for the *TLS* until 1936, he had already published a signed article there (on Byron in the 27 April and 4 May 1933 issues) as well as a few letters, and he was already involved, with several others, in reinvigorating the *TLS* back page as a bibliographical forum.

Conceivably the fact that the book was noticed at all shows Carter's influence (of the twelve other novels listed on the dust-jacket for *The Fall of the Titan*, only five were given any notice in the *TLS*). In any case, whether or not Carter had anything to do with the review, the idea that the novel might be a parody is worth considering.

This idea would seem to be at odds with the dust-jacket recommendation that the book should be "put into the hands of thinking young people"—which implies that it should be taken at face value. On the other hand, of course, this blurb could be part of the parody. But if one wished to produce a parody of sentimental fiction with an anti-Labour slant, it would take a remarkable commitment to devote about 90,000 words to the cause. And it is not clear what would be accomplished. Parodying the literary conventions and moralistic tone of popular fiction would affect the expression of political views on both sides. It would not, in other words, be a way of directing the reader's sympathy to move from one side to the other—though possibly it could reveal shortcomings in the arguments on both sides. Or it could simply, through exaggeration, show the weaknesses of popular fiction. But it is not very effective as a parody, since it is tiresome rather than amusing. Viewing it as a parody, therefore, does not redeem it from being an unsatisfactory piece of writing, in contrast with everything known to be from Carter's pen.

The novel does contain a few elements that would be compatible with Carter's authorship, the first being its many classical references. Carter's devotion to the classics, nourished at Eton and King's Cambridge (where he took an honors degree in classics), was lifelong and was reflected in his collecting and editing of Catullus and his admiration for A. E. Housman. Although Catullus is not mentioned in the novel, there are references to Aristotle, Plutarch, Aristophanes, Tacitus, Cicero, Socrates, and Homer. There is even a conversation about remembering classical texts from one's college days (p. 132), and a Latin quotation from Augustine is the subject of another conversation (p. 33). Other literary allusions include Byron, Moliere, Lamartine, Clovis Hugues, and Shakespeare (one character uses the phrase "stale, flat, and unprofitable"). There are few bibliophilic touches, but a character introduced on the first page is "a lover of books" (p. 230), and another character visits a bookshop that had been Dodsley's in the eighteenth century (pp. 51-52). These references do not, however, furnish strong enough evidence to outweigh the overall style and tone, for they are not beyond the competence of many people with a literary education.

If Carter wrote the novel, it is not credible that he wrote it in the years just prior to its publication. Immediately after he came down from Cambridge in 1927, he was fully occupied with the book world, having been hired at once by Scribner's London office to supply rare books to the New York shop. And his letters to the *TLS* beginning early in 1931 show that he was already immersed in the study of publishers' bindings, Sir Thomas Browne, and the Wise-Forman forgeries—the subjects of his remarkable series of publications in 1932-34 (*Binding Variants in English Publishing* and an edition of Browne in 1932 and *An Enquiry into the Nature of Certain Nineteenth Century Pamphlets* in 1934). Also in these years he contributed introductions to two Elkin Mathews catalogues, searched for books

to send to Scribner's, wrote four catalogues for Scribner's, collaborated on other Scribner catalogues, and edited *Catullus* and *New Paths in Book Collecting*. It is hard to conceive of his writing *The Fall of the Titan* at the same time. (The only periods when he might have had some free time on his hands would have been on shipboard when traveling to and from New York in early 1929 and early 1932; but it seems unlikely that he would have given priority to this novel over the bibliographical projects he had in progress.)

So we are left with the possibility that he wrote it for amusement during his college years. But that, too, is hard to believe: why would he have chosen to devote so much time to a work of melodramatic political fiction (or a parody of one), when he was busy with his studies and with book-hunting? And if he had done so, everything we know about him suggests that he would have made a better job of it, even as an undergraduate. The novel as it stands would presumably have been an embarrassment to him by 1934. Why would he have wanted to resurrect it by giving it to a publisher? A possible reason could be that he thought it might bring in some money. But if he wanted to publish it and conceal his authorship, surely he would not have chosen a pseudonym that could so easily be identified with him.

We thus come back to the name "John Waynflete," which remains, after all, the seemingly most persuasive link with Carter—and probably the only one considered by the collectors and library cataloguers who have made the connection. But it is not as decisive as it may at first seem to be. Carter's verifiable uses of the name "Waynflete" did not begin until after 1934: first as "George Waynflete" in *Bibliographical Notes & Queries* in 1939, then as "Waynflete" in *Publishers' Weekly* in 1940, and finally as "John Waynflete" in *The Cornhill Magazine* in 1944. Therefore if someone other than Carter were looking for a pseudonym, even someone attuned to the bibliophilic world, there would have been no reason to avoid "Waynflete" as a name already in use. And Carter was not well enough known (at least until the *Enquiry* came out, a few months after the novel) for many people to have been aware of his middle name. (I realize that Carter's use of "George Waynflete" in 1939 could be seen as his way of distancing himself from the novel he had signed "John Waynflete" five years earlier—though not a very great distancing. But this argument goes both ways: he could also have been distancing himself from the "John Waynflete" someone else had used five years earlier—which he would probably have been aware of through the review.)

If there was no reason for someone else to avoid using "Waynflete" in 1934, what reason would there have been for anyone else to choose it? Actually, there would have been many people to whom the name might have occurred as an appealing and appropriate pseudonym: anyone who had a connection with Eton, Winchester, or Magdalen College. Carter's middle name results from a family connection with William Waynflete, a fifteenth-century Provost of Eton, who was also a Bishop of Winchester and the founder of Magdalen College Oxford. The name is well known to persons who have some association with any of these institutions. And, as Nicolas Barker has pointed out to me, it further impinges on people's consciousness through its use in place names, such as a road in Oxford, a street in London, and a close in Bishops Waltham. The widespread knowledge of the Waynflete name is indicated by its presence even in America: in Portland,

Maine, for example, there is a Waynflete School, which was named for the same William Waynflete. It is not a rare name, in other words, and descendants of William Waynflete survive on both sides of the Atlantic. Someone other than Carter could well have chosen to use "John Waynflete" in 1934. And it might not be a pseudonym at all.

The collections of Carter's papers in various libraries (Eton, King's, Cambridge University Library, Bodleian, and Lilly among them) do not seem to contain anything relevant; Sebastian Carter, John's nephew, knows nothing about the novel; and Michael Meredith tells me that it was not among Carter's copies of his own books at the time of his death. Carter's authorship of it has not been proved or disproved. The question comes down to how one evaluates the likelihood that anyone other than Carter could have used "John Waynflete" versus the likelihood that Carter could have written something, even as a parody, with the style and content of this novel. Unless there is evidence that I am not aware of, I think it seems reasonable to say that the arguments against John Carter's authorship of *The Fall of the Titan* are stronger than those supporting it.

THE SOURCES OF THE SUSSEX DECLARATION: A RECONSIDERATION

by

JOHN BIDWELL

IN April 2017 several newspapers carried stories about the discovery of a manuscript Declaration of Independence. Conjectures about the political significance of the manuscript began to circulate in print and then proliferated on the web where the original announcements are still accessible. The discovery was sufficiently newsworthy that Prime Minister Theresa May and President Donald Trump took time to look at it while Trump was making his UK state visit in 2019. Unfortunately, they and their advisors were misinformed. Basic assumptions about the date and origins of the manuscript are in error and have prompted unfounded claims about its historical importance. I hope to correct those errors here and set the record straight by reviewing the bibliographical arguments that made that manuscript a media sensation.

My main concern is with an article by Danielle Allen and Emily Sneff in the *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* (PBSA). It serves as the definitive announcement of the discovery and a means of explaining the authors' research methods. They describe and date the manuscript (see figure 1) in the article and suggest a route by which it came to its present location in the West Sussex Record Office (WSRO), Chichester, England. In brief this is how they present their findings: sometime between 1783 and 1790 a clerk made a copy of the Declaration of Independence, the manuscript that had been engrossed on parchment for the Continental Congress in 1776. The clerk had trouble reading the original, committed errors of transcription, and even smudged the title, but was ambitious enough to write it out on a large sheet of parchment. Measuring 24 by 30 ½ inches, it was intended for display and was probably commissioned by the Pennsylvania lawyer James Wilson (1742–1798), one of the Founding Fathers who had signed the engrossed Declaration. Wilson played a prominent part in drafting the Constitution, which he also signed, and relied on this copy to argue for a strong national government founded on the will of the people rather than a loose confederation of semi-independent states. His concept of nationhood is evident in the way the clerk transcribed the fifty-six signatures in the engrossed Declaration, not grouped by states as in the original but intermingled in a seemingly

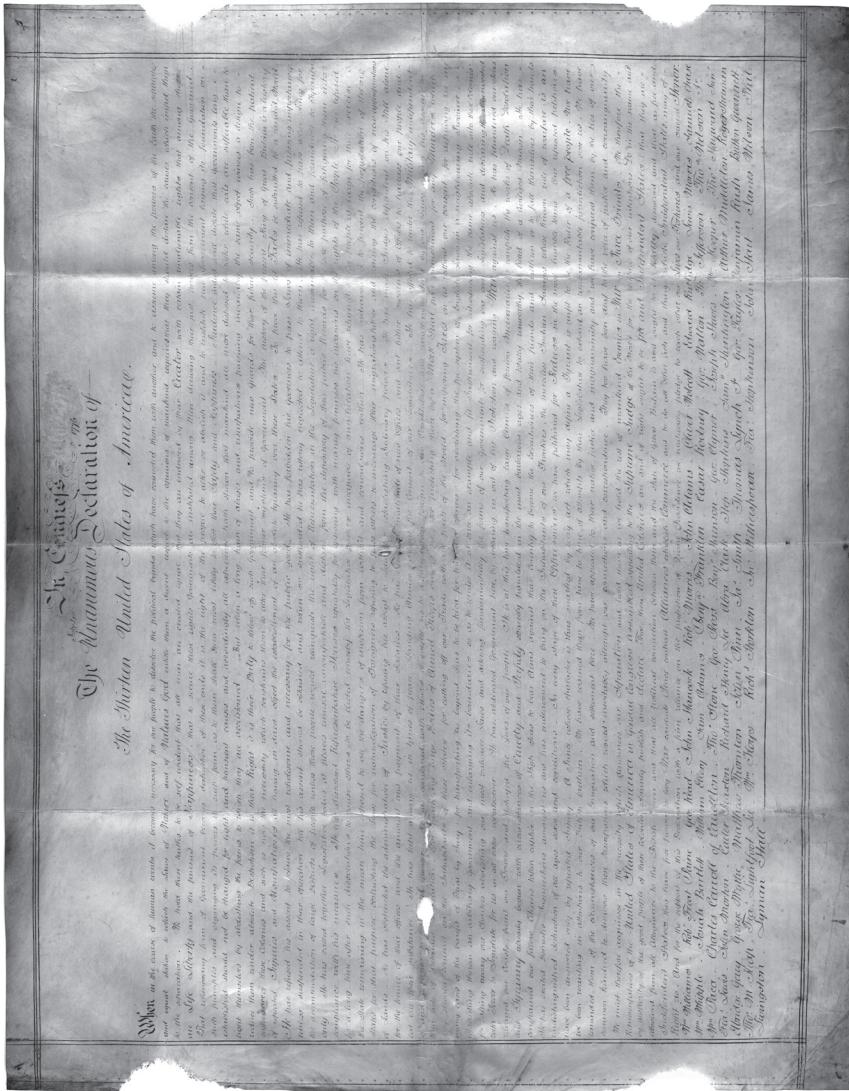


FIGURE I. The Sussex Declaration. West Sussex Record Office, Add MSS 8981.24 $\times 30\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

random order, as if to express the personal convictions of the Signers instead of their duties to the states they represented.¹

After this preliminary overview, the authors explore the historical context in a second article published in the *Georgetown Journal of Law & Public Policy* (*GJLP*). Here they narrow down its dates to 1785–1787 and discuss how it figured in the deliberations of the Constitutional Convention. They note the possibility that it had belonged to Charles Lennox, third duke of Richmond (1735–1806), whose family seat was not far from Chichester. Richmond was an advocate of the American cause, a proponent of parliamentary reform, and a tenacious member of the opposition sympathetic to the ideals enunciated in the Declaration. Allen and Sneff make other conjectures in those two articles and expand on them in statements to the press. They refer to the manuscript as the Sussex Declaration and I will too, although I disagree with them about its origins and significance.²

While the *PBSA* article was being prepared for publication, they issued a press release on 20 April 2017 in collaboration with a Communications Officer at Harvard University. Within days, articles about the Sussex Declaration appeared in the *New York Times*, the *Guardian*, and the *Washington Post*. A CBS television crew showed up at the West Sussex Record Office to film the document on site. A Wikipedia article about the “physical history” of the Declaration cites two of the newspaper reports as well as the press release, which can still be found online in Danielle Allen’s Declaration Resources Project website. They elaborate on their hypotheses in a lecture at the National Archives broadcast by C-SPAN on 6 July 2017 and recapitulated in the online National Archives News with a link to a YouTube version of the lecture. There and in other media appearances they speculate that Thomas Paine may have been an intermediary responsible for bringing the Sussex Declaration to the duke of Richmond. Their claims are less explicit in the *New York Times* article, which only queries the connection with Paine and Richmond. Performing due diligence, however, the reporter consulted outside experts such as a legal historian who observed that even if their attribution to Wilson is wrong, an early manuscript of the Declaration is still “the discovery of a lifetime.”³

At the end of the *PBSA* article Allen and Sneff consider an alternative hypothesis: their document was based on a miniature facsimile Declaration printed in Boston in or after 1836 (figure 2). I brought that facsimile to their

1. Danielle Allen and Emily Sneff, “The Sussex Declaration: Dating the Parchment Manuscript of the Declaration of Independence Held at the West Sussex Record Office (Chichester, UK),” *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 112 (2018), 357–403. Andrea L. Immel, the late William L. Joyce, Elizabeth K. Lynch, Philip S. Palmer, David L. Vander Meulen, Ted Widmer, and Michael Winship very kindly provided advice and assistance while I was preparing the first drafts of this essay.

2. Danielle Allen and Emily Sneff, “Golden Letters: James Wilson, the Declaration of Independence, and the Sussex Declaration,” *Georgetown Journal of Law & Public Policy* 17 (2019), 193–230. This issue contains the proceedings of a symposium on the life and career of James Wilson.

3. Kerri Lawrence, “Historians Discuss Their Discovery of ‘Sussex Declaration,’” National Archives News (10 July 2017), <https://www.archives.gov/news/topics/sussex-declaration> (accessed 20 March 2023); Jennifer Schuessler, “Discovered: An Unknown Declaration,” *New York Times* (22 April 2017), C1 and C4; Declaration Resources Project, <https://declaration.fas.harvard.edu> (accessed 20 March 2023).

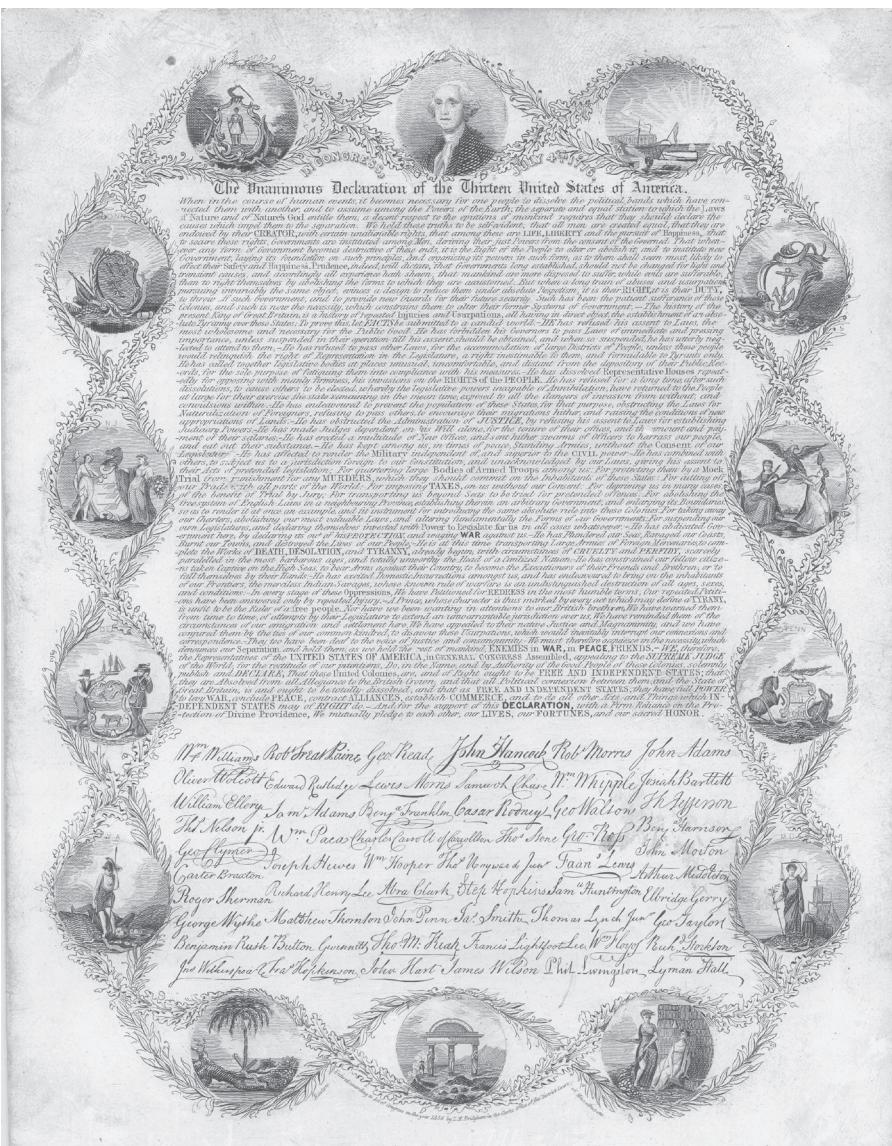


FIGURE 2. The Lewis H. Bridgman miniature Declaration. Author's collection. Reproduced slightly enlarged, 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

attention after they had sent me a preliminary draft of their article. No great amount of scrutiny was required to see that it was the source of the Sussex Declaration. The similarities in style and structure are obvious. In my view they are not dealing with a clerk who rearranged the signatures to fulfill Wilson's political agenda but rather an amateur who transcribed the facsimile in an exercise of penmanship. But they submit that hypothesis only to dismiss it. Their rebuttal touches on several topics, mainly textual inconsistencies and a question of quality: the facsimile was a mass-produced keepsake measuring no more than $5\frac{3}{4}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Why, they ask, would the clerk use such a paltry print to copy out a Declaration on this scale? They defend their position by pointing out anomalies in the layout of the facsimile not repeated in the manuscript, a transcription problem posed by the sequence of signatures. If the clerk had been copying the facsimile, they say, surely those anomalies would be present in the manuscript.

So, what is the source of the Sussex Declaration: the parchment engrossed for the Continental Congress, signed by most of its members on 2 August 1776, the iconic document in the National Archives—or a cheap facsimile printed in Boston some sixty years later? What is the source of the Boston facsimile? In the following I will propose answers to those questions less glamorous than the hypotheses of Allen and Sneff but more consistent with the writing practices and design considerations involved in making a copy of the Declaration. Here, as in other bibliographical endeavors, the pure and simple physical evidence should prevail over less substantial arguments, no matter how many of them may be mustered against a few overriding objections. I will address the main arguments of the *PBSA* article, which is intended to establish the date of the Sussex Declaration. I will not be concerned with the *GJLPP* article, for it is entirely predicated on its predecessor and assumes that the alternative hypothesis has been refuted. If the dates they propose are not valid, then they cannot attribute it to James Wilson and cannot claim that Wilson used it during the Constitutional Convention.

I

Allen and Sneff begin by recounting the provenance of the Sussex Declaration. They note that it was deposited in the WSRO by a local solicitor whose firm had done business with the Richmond family. A WSRO archivist told them that the solicitor once had his pick of the family papers that had been entrusted to the firm since the eighteenth century, but were discarded in bulk sometime before 1956. Indeed, the finding list of the deposit mentions two or three items relating to the family but they are so scattered and insignificant that it is hard to believe that they came from a trove dating back to the eighteenth century. The deposit is clearly the gleanings of a local history collector who found a few curiosities in his office and kept anything else that caught his eye. The finding list relegates the Sussex Declaration to a miscellaneous section at the end where it is accompanied by an 1828 legal opinion about a conveyance to the duke of Richmond's trustees, checks drawn on a London bank in the 1840s and 1850s, an advertisement of a London dyer active ca. 1844, a list of the kings and queens of England, and a

1750 letter from the bell ringers of Chichester. With the exception of the letter, nothing in this section has a secure date earlier than 1825. Nonetheless a WSRO archivist dated the Declaration in the late eighteenth century, an educated guess for cataloguing purposes, but Allen and Sneff make it a starting point of their exposition in *PBSA*.

They find additional evidence in the physical features of the Sussex Declaration. They note that it was written on a large size of parchment suitable for exhibition and that it has nail holes in the corners as if it had been displayed at one point. On the advice of conservators they concede that the nails might have been meant to restrain the parchment for other purposes. They view the square shape of the nail holes as evidence for a date in the eighteenth century, but the source they cite contradicts their conclusions. Yes, early hand-wrought iron nails were square but so were the cut nails produced in British and American factories during the first half of the nineteenth century. Wire nails, which would have made round holes in the parchment, were not introduced until the 1850s in America or a bit earlier in England. The parchment was made of a middling-quality sheepskin. They contend that it was "well prepared," which may be so, but a Library of Congress conservation report graded it below a more prepossessing calfskin document they had brought in for comparison.⁴

The Sussex Declaration may have been put on view, but then it was filed away and forgotten. It was folded twice for storage, in which state it became severely soiled on one side, badly abraded along the folds with loss of text, and seriously damaged on the outer edge of the four leaves with loss of parchment. As to the edge damage, Allen and Sneff admit that a rodent could be to blame but believe it is more likely that a seal had been removed (*PBSA*, p. 362). In that case, however, the two outer leaves would have suffered more than the two inner leaves. When I saw it at the WSRO, the depredations seemed to me to be uniform on each of the four leaves. They do not explain what function a seal would have served and why it would have been removed. But those conjectures are beside the point because the parchment was then folded a third time as if it had been demoted to an even smaller storage space. These signs of abuse and neglect are hard to square with their contention that it was a "ceremonial" manuscript, a word used repeatedly in the *PBSA* article to signify the ambitious intentions of those who produced it. In the *GJLPP* article they use the word even more frequently to express its iconic function and the innovative ideas of James Wilson, who used it to elaborate his views on the Constitution. If it was owned by Richmond, then it must have fallen out of favor in a bad way to end up in that ignominious condition.

The title has some words in black letter, but the text is mostly in a utilitarian round hand, which Allen and Sneff attribute to a clerk employed by Wilson. It cannot be assigned to a prominent politician although they have examined the writings of likely candidates and their amanuenses as well. They notice the

4. Preservation Directorate, Library of Congress, "Advanced Image Processing of Multispectral Images of the Sussex Declaration," Declaration Resources Project website; Lee H. Nelson, "Nail Chronology as an Aid to Dating Old Buildings," *History News* 23 (1968), 203–14. See also "Among the Nail-Makers," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 21 (1860), 161–63.

absence of the long *s* prevalent in manuscripts of this period, but they believe that the clerk was one of the “stylistic radicals” who had dropped that usage. They do not mention that Wilson sometimes used a long *s* in his drafts of the Constitution, apparently more conservative in his writing practices than his hired hand. Arguing for the American origins of the manuscript, they compare it with contemporary deeds and indentures, some reproduced in the *PBSA* article, some in the Declaration Resources Project website. They detect stylistic features more likely to be local than to come from England, but to my mind the sample is too small to be convincing. Their morphological analysis of the document has been more useful for their purposes than the script itself, which is difficult to date.

Allen and Sneff assert that the clerk made several drafts before completing the “final fair copy” of this manuscript (*PBSA*, p. 367). They perceive a certain amount of effort expended to produce a symmetrical composition, uniform line endings, no word breaks, and other artistic touches worthy of a document intended for display. Nonetheless the clerk botched the job at the beginning and made it worse while trying to correct it. He began to write a date in the same size and style of the black letter “In Congress” on the first line of the title but then thought better of it and began to rub out his mistake. His erasure merely smudged his work leaving remnants of that date easily apparent at first sight. For Allen and Sneff this was an opportunity for further scientific investigation, the results of which are posted on the Declaration Resources Project website and summarized in the *PBSA* article. They commissioned various tests using imaging techniques and other digital technologies to scrutinize the erasure. In the documentation they received they see evidence that the erased date referred to when the clerk was working on the manuscript: either “July 4, 178” or “July 4, 179,” the last digit indecipherable. Starting on the fair copy, forgetting the momentous date of Independence, the clerk made an absent-minded slip of the pen as if he was thinking about his present circumstances instead of his assignment to reinterpret the Declaration.

The technical reports on the website are inconclusive and are mostly about methodology. A Library of Congress conservator considered the possibility that the third digit in the erased date might be an 8 or 9 but was not willing to commit to that reading. I believe there is an easier explanation. Yes, the clerk made a mistake but when and why did he try to fix it? It is more likely that the clerk forgot the July 4, 1776, date while copying out the text, and then went back to write it on the first line next to “In Congress.” Then he realized that this stopgap measure would spoil the symmetrical composition and erased his work, deciding instead to insert the missing date between the first and second lines, obviously an afterthought. He had to break it up at either end of the title and cut it down to a size that would fit between the lines. He used a similarly compressed cursive to mend a mistake in the fifth line of text, correcting the word “when” to “whenever.” This sequence of events explains the smudged title, the inserted date, and the amateurish script. Other mistakes provide opportunities for Allen and Sneff to devise an elaborate argument for the early origins and historical significance of the Sussex Declaration. These too can be explained by viewing them in a bibliographical context, a means of understanding the copying process in manuscript and print.

II

The bibliographical record begins in 1776 with the broadside printed in the shop of John Dunlap and continues through the eighteenth century with its letterpress progeny in newspapers and broadsides. In the nineteenth century, however, Americans turned to the engrossed Declaration for a validation of their republican beliefs and an affirmation of their national identity. They could buy copies of the manuscript reproduced the way they wanted to see it, more as an object of veneration than an artifact of history. They expected the text to be accurate, of course, but they also sought to enhance its meaning with patriotic imagery, artistic interventions maybe strange to our eyes yet perfectly compatible with their concept of a facsimile. New and improved intaglio, letterpress, and lithographic printing technologies helped them to realize its iconic potential in copiously ornamented allegorical compositions, some intended to be works of art, others directed toward the bottom of the market. Good and bad, each of these prints has a publication history, which can tell us why some were not reliable, what went wrong with them, and how they caused the mistakes in the Sussex Declaration.

Benjamin Owen Tyler and John Binns were the first to issue facsimiles of the Declaration. Tyler was a writing master, Binns a newspaper publisher, each in his own way well qualified to produce and market patriotic prints. Tyler stole a march on Binns, who had issued proposals in March 1816 but allowed his artists to take their time and did not finish his version until October 1819. Tyler issued his in May 1818 at half the price his rival had announced. And as a further provocation, he launched an advertising campaign capitalizing on an endorsement he had received from Thomas Jefferson. Binns took the bait and complained about the interloper's exploitative tactics. Quick to take offense, eager for publicity, the facsimilists fought a newspaper war extolling the beauty and accuracy of their products while attacking the character, honesty, and patriotism of their adversaries. Both obtained impressive certificates of authenticity, Tyler from the Acting Secretary of State Richard Rush, Binns from Secretary of State John Quincy Adams. Both embellished the text in styles fashionable at that time. Tyler showed off his skills in penmanship by transcribing the text in ornamental scripts, some more elaborate than others but reaching a rhetorical crescendo in the "emphatic words" at the end. Binns opted for an allegorical design, an oval "cordon of honor" composed of state seals surrounding the text and surmounted by symbols of prosperity next to medallion portraits of Washington, Hancock and Jefferson. The fifty-six signatures beneath the text were the only portions of these prints rendered in what we would consider a facsimile, Tyler's truer to the original than Binns's, both with distinctive traits that make them easily identifiable. The writing master improved some of the signatures, unconsciously correcting marks of infirmity and haste. The signatures in the allegorical print had to be truncated in places to fit in that crowded composition.⁵

5. Benjamin Owen Tyler, *Declaration of Independence: A Candid Statement of Facts* (1818), pp. 6 and 15; John Binns, *Recollections of the Life of John Binns* (1854), pp. 234–37; "Declaration of Independence," *Niles' Weekly Register* (6 July 1816), 310–11; "Declaration of Independence," *Daily National Intelligencer* (23 October 1819), 2.

In 1823 John Quincy Adams commissioned an official government facsimile of the entire manuscript, a state-of-the-art replica expertly engraved by William J. Stone. It is the definitive record of the original, which suffered so much mis-treatment and neglect that it is now barely legible. Printed on parchment in a limited edition, the Stone facsimile did not circulate as widely as the Binns and Tyler facsimiles, which were copied, imitated, and adapted well into the 1890s. Even a restrike on imitation parchment could not compete with prints decorated with allegorical vignettes, patriotic emblems, and portraits of Founding Fathers. As much as one would expect these decorations to defeat the function of a facsimile, this style did not go out of fashion until the end of the century. Then, finally, the unadorned Stone facsimile came into its own and became the standard visualization of the document, the source of reproductions published by the government, expounded in textbooks, sold as souvenirs, and printed on Independence Day in the *New York Times*.⁶

Facsimile signatures derived either from Binns or Tyler appear in more than ninety prints during the nineteenth century. The chain of transmission can be complicated, a multistage process with some prints acting as intermediaries, others deriving the signatures from reproductions in illustrated books. Nonetheless, they all belong to those two families. With one exception, publishers paid no attention to the Stone signatures until just before the Centennial. At least eighty prints have an ornamental border of state seals directly or indirectly based on Binns's "cordon of honor," a versatile design motif easily adapted to include additional pictorial matter. No less popular, Tyler's "emphatical" rendition of the text inspired at least twenty-seven imitations in letterpress, intaglio, and lithography. The New York map and print publisher Horace Thayer incorporated Tyler's lettering in lithographs ca. 1859–1863, large allegorical compositions including state seals, the American eagle, and a miniature reproduction of John Trumbull's painting *The Declaration of Independence*. W. Duke Sons & Co.

6. Printed in or after 1833, the restrike was issued as a folding plate in Peter Force's *American Archives*, 5th ser., vol. 1 (1848). Force approved a payment to Stone for this printing job in 1839. Most surviving copies are on folded imitation parchment, although some are unfolded, possibly because Stone or Force sold them separately. The American Antiquarian Society has a copy on paper watermarked J WHATMAN TURKEY MILL 1850. The Department of State had a stock of restrikes on hand in 1893, one of which is at the Massachusetts Historical Society. Electrotype reprints could have been made during the nineteenth century—but probably not until 1894 or 1895, when the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey produced electrotype plates for that purpose. For more on the Stone facsimile and its restrikes, see Leonard Rapport, "Fakes and Facsimiles: Problems of Identification," *American Archivist* 42 (1979), 23–26; Catherine Nicholson, "Finding the Stones: National Archives Discovers Several Engravings of the Declaration," *Prologue Magazine* 44 (Summer 2012), <https://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2012/summer/stone.html> (accessed 20 March 2023). Full-size reproductions were priced at thirty cents and forty-five cents in the *Catalog of U.S. Government Publications* during the 1950s. At the other end of the scale, a copy of the original limited edition Stone facsimile recently sold for \$4,420,000 (Freeman's, Philadelphia, 1 July 2021, lot 1), a record-breaking price due to the provenance of that copy, formerly owned by the Signer Charles Carroll.

reproduced the Tyler print in its entirety above an advertisement for cigarettes ca. 1887–1890.⁷

Beginning in the 1830s Boston publishers experimented with combinations of the Binns border and the Tyler text. The earliest attempt to my knowledge is a letterpress broadside produced by the Boston Bewick Company around 1834–1836. A compositor copied Tyler's title inasmuch as the first words *In Congress, July 4, 1776* are set in a curve at the top of the print. The facsimile signatures are part of that family as well as the text, which is printed in a script type interspersed with ornamental types imitating the “emphatical words.” The display faces include black letter, a bold Antique, and two sizes of open shaded caps. The state seals are in the style of the Binns print and its derivatives, although they are shaped like a rectangular frame rather than an oval border. But here too the seals provide a symbolic entourage for the text, each occupying a compartment inside intertwining oak-leaf and olive garlands with the national seal at the center. It easily outdoes other letterpress broadsides in design and execution but it was intended to be cheap. One version was priced 12 ½ cents in the imprint. Another version was published by Prentiss Whitney, a Boston auctioneer who had a small printmaking business on the side. The Bewick firm had it stereotyped, no doubt as a steady selling product but also as a giveaway specimen of its fancy job printing and stereotyping services. The New York print dealers Phelps & Squire obtained a stereotype copy of the state seals frame, replaced the national seal with a portrait of Washington, and reset the text in the same style for an adaptation issued around 1835–1837. Phelps in another partnership, Phelps & Ensign, used a stereotype plate of the entire print to replenish his stock of Declarations around 1838–1842. Stationers' Hall, an office supplies store in Boston, published a letterpress imitation with the same script type, a similar title design, and a rudimentary border of state seals jumbled together with portraits, ornaments, and recycled illustrations on patriotic themes. No doubt other reprints and imitations have yet to be identified. Boston Bewick's intermarriage of two Declaration families must have had numerous offspring through the stereotyping endeavors of the firm.⁸

7. These figures are based on a checklist in *The Declaration in Script and Print: A Visual History of America's Founding Document* (2024), published while this essay was in its final stages of editing and revision. The checklist describes nearly two hundred prints and broadsides published between 1816 and 1900. I made an initial attempt to account for the nineteenth-century facsimiles in “American History in Image and Text,” *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 98 (1988), 247–302. At that time I was able to describe forty-eight typical examples, not just the facsimiles but also broadside editions of the Declaration. So far the only instance of the Stone signatures I have found before the Centennial period, besides the restrikes mentioned above, is an anastatic transfer print published in 1846. Copies are in the Library of Congress, the Boston Athenaeum, and the Independence National Historical Park.

8. A consortium of artists founded the Boston Bewick firm in March 1834 by an act of incorporation allowing them to hold assets amounting to \$120,000. Underinsured, they failed to recover from a fire in September 1835 and withdrew in favor of the senior partner Abel Bowen, who continued to practice “Fancy Job Printing” at the same address (William Henry Whitmore, “Abel Bowen,” *Bostonian Society Publications* 1 [1886–1888]: 44; *Boston Daily Advertiser and Patriot*, 25 September 1835, 2; [Boston] *Columbian Centinel*, 20 April 1836, 3). The Boston Bewick Company and Phelps & Squire prints are described in the PAAS article, items 13 and 14, and in *The Declaration in Script and Print*, items 33 and 36. A copy of the Stationers' Hall print is at the American Antiquarian Society. A copy of the Phelps & Ensign print is in the Daniel Hamelberg collection.

Lewis H. Bridgham (1808–1883) oversaw the moulding and casting operations in Boston Bewick's stereotype foundry. He had a long career in job printing, beginning around 1828 in Providence, RI. He first appears in Boston city directories in 1835 identified as a stereotype founder and then drops out of sight after the company closed down in 1836. He reappears in the 1840s as a printer, for a while successful enough to obtain a steam power press and exercise the right to display his name in Boston imprints. In the 1850s he moved to Brooklyn and made his living as a reporter in the office of the Associated Press. After just over ten years in journalism, he resumed the printing business, taking on small jobs at various New York addresses until he died in 1883. An obituary indicates that he had been more than a mere journeyman and was "well-known" for his printing work in Boston. He was prominent enough to have taken out the copyright for one of Boston Bewick's stereotype ventures. Among other achievements he published an engraved miniature facsimile of the Declaration very popular in its day. It reached a wide public in Boston and New York—and may have even gone as far as England. I believe it to be the source of the Sussex Declaration.⁹

III

Dated 1836, the copyright statement in Bridgham's facsimile contains his name, but otherwise it is difficult to determine what role he took in its design and production. Perhaps he had the idea to make a miniature facsimile, a tour de force of lettering and engraving printed on coated paper, all the better to display the precision craftsmanship of the artists he employed. He probably knew about previous attempts to sell Declaration novelties in unusual formats such as prints on silk or satin and, most notably, a commemorative handkerchief priced at a dollar in 1826. Other types of pocket curiosities had already found a ready market in America—portrait miniatures, miniature silver toys, and thumb Bibles, just to mention a few examples. By catering to this fashion, he started a trend soon to be taken to an extreme by the Philadelphia bank note engraver Charles Toppan, who downsized the Declaration to fit inside a 2 by 3 inch card on coated stock, a promotional keepsake first issued in 1840.¹⁰

9. [Providence] *Rhode-Island American* (20 June 1828), 4; *American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge* 1, no. 4 (December 1834), advertisements; [Boston] *Daily Evening Transcript* (29 July 1847), 2; Richard A. Schwarzkopf, *The Nation's Newsbrokers, Volume 1: The Formative Years, from Pretelegraph to 1865* (1989), p. 178; *New-York Tribune* (30 October 1883), 2. Perhaps acting on his own account, Bridgham obtained the copyright for *Worship God and Keep His Commandments* (1835), an illustrated broadside "stereotyped and printed by the Boston Bewick Company."

10. *In Congress, July 4th. 1776. The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America*, Boston: L. H. Bridgham, 1836. Copies in this state are common and can be found in the American Antiquarian Society, the New York Public Library, the Library Company of Philadelphia, and other libraries. They frequently come up for sale at modest prices, viz. Swann Auction Galleries sales 21 June 2016, lot 132 (\$344), and 26 September 2019, lot 94 (\$219). The commemorative handkerchief was advertised in the *Georgetown Gazette* (14 July 1826), 1; copies are described in Herbert Ridgeway Collins, *Threads of History: Americana Recorded on Cloth 1775 to the Present* (1979), nos. 23 and 58. For the fame of the Toppan facsimile, "the Smallest Engraving in the world," see *Cincinnati Daily Gazette* (21 September 1871), 4; (23 September 1871), 1.

Bridgham's design is almost entirely based on the Boston Bewick Company facsimile. The most obvious borrowings can be seen in the facsimile signatures, the state seals in an oak-leaf and olive-wreath border, the curvature of the title, and the "emphatical words" in the text. Some adjustments had to be made to extrapolate these design elements from a large letterpress broadside, and there was one change in iconography—a portrait of Washington was substituted for the national seal—but Bridgham was clearly indebted to his former employer for the concept and layout of his facsimile. Surely it is no coincidence that he published it just after he left that firm. Intaglio was not his medium, but he would have learned about it while on the job and would have understood its potential for delineating fine detail in miniatures. His model, the letterpress broadside, he would have known from hands-on experience in the stereotype foundry or the pressroom. The Boston Bewick Company gave him the means and the motivation to take on this project at a turning point in his career.

The timing of his publication could not have been better. In 1837 a Boston gallery presented a life-size tableau of mannequins reenacting the ratification of the Declaration, each of the fifty-six Signers dressed in period costume. A broadside advertisement assured the public that it was not a painting, although the scene seems to have been based on Trumbull's *Declaration of Independence*. The Committee of Five takes center stage, Franklin to the left of Jefferson, Adams to his right, Livingston and Sherman behind them, while Jefferson submits the committee's text to the president of Congress. This inspiring spectacle could be seen for twenty-five cents, children half price, from eight in the morning until ten at night. If anyone wanted to take away a souvenir, the Bridgham facsimile would have been easily available at that time and just the right size for that purpose. Indeed it was reprinted in 1839 with the border reworked yet again to change the title and replace the Washington portrait with Trumbull's *Declaration*.¹¹

The text portion of Bridgham's print determined the lettering in another Boston edition, which also incorporated Trumbull's *Declaration*. Published by the Franklin Print Company in 1838, this one was more than twice the size of the miniature, with a more elaborate oak-leaf border containing twenty-six state seals, the national seal, and portraits of the presidents. It contains a competent reproduction of the Asher B. Durand print after Trumbull's first version of the painting (to be precise, the painting now in the Yale University Art Gallery, not the second version in the Capitol Rotunda or the third version in the Wadsworth Atheneum) as well as a key to the print consisting of forty-eight numbered outline figures. Numbered facsimile signatures identify each of the figures. The Franklin Print Company credited the pictorial part to the engraver Denison Kimberly, the lettering to John B. Bolton. Although reformatted for different proportions,

11. *The Great National Exhibition of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence*, Boston: W. W. Clapp, 1837; *In the Continental Congress, of 1776, on the 4th. of July, The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America*, Boston: Published by N. Dearborn & Son—53 Washington St. Boston, & 164 Broad Way, New York, 1839. As yet the only copy I have found in this state is at the New-York Historical Society, although the Library Company of Philadelphia has an undated variant with the imprint: Published by N. Dearborn. No. 53 Washington St. Boston.

the lettering is close in style to that of the Bridgham miniature and imitates almost all of the “emphatical words” in size and shape. Conceivably Bolton wrote the text for Bridgham, but he does not appear in Boston city directories until 1838, and I have not found other examples of his calligraphic writing that might confirm this supposition. By trade, however, he was an engraver, perhaps a specialist in script. He arrived in Boston in 1831 age twenty after emigrating from Halifax, Nova Scotia, and started to make his living from engraving in 1836, when Bridgham’s print was published. Whatever his connection with Bridgham and the Franklin firm, both prints were successful, and both were reworked for reprint editions. The latter reappeared with additional illustrations and furnished Declaration lettering reduced to Bridgham dimensions in maps with patriotic motifs published by the New York print dealers who had reprinted the Boston Bewick facsimile.¹²

Broadening his horizons, Bridgham may have brought copies of the miniature to England. My sole evidence for this conjecture is a passenger list of the *Great Western* steamship arriving in New York from Bristol in August 1838. His name is on the list along with merchants, men of the cloth, New York notables, wives, children, and servants. What business he might have had in England is impossible to ascertain, but he managed to travel in style on a recently launched Atlantic liner renowned for its size and speed. Perhaps his trip had something to do with a change in career during the late 1830s when he dropped out of the Boston directories. While exploring opportunities abroad, he could use his miniature as a means of self-promotion, a calling card that could be carried about in quantity and presented as an example of American achievements in the graphic arts. With that in mind, Binns had already sent copies of his print to friends and customers in England, where it made “a highly favorable impression.”¹³

IV

Someone was sufficiently impressed by the Bridgham print to try to copy it on parchment. I will call that person a copyist rather than a clerk, for I doubt that a professional could have been responsible for the layout and script of the Sussex Declaration. I have already mentioned the amateurish mistakes the copyist made in the transcription of the title. The text has none of the elegant modulation and

12. *The Declaration of Independence, with Fac-similies of the Signatures and Likenesses of the Signers; the Arms of the States and of the United States, and Portraits of the Presidents*, Boston: Published by the Franklin Print Compy., 46 Court Street, 1838. A copy in this state is reproduced as fig. 5 in the *PAAS* article. Six later editions and adaptations are described in *The Declaration in Script and Print*, item 38, including the maps with the repurposed lettering: *Phelps & Ensign's Travellers' Guide, and Map of the United States* (1840) and *Ensign's Travellers' Guide, and Map of the United States* (1845). Bolton noted his immigration status when he applied for citizenship, 4 September 1847, Circuit Court, Massachusetts, Naturalization Records, 1845–1850 (Ancestry.com). *Leading Manufacturers and Merchants of the City of Boston* (1885), p. 316, contains a short account of his career commending his “artistic elegance and originality of design.”

13. Binns, *Recollections*, p. 236. The passenger list is printed in the [New York] *Evening Post* (6 August 1838), 2.

sober grace one would expect to see in a specimen of eighteenth-century running round hand. In the following, I will consider other aspects of his or her work, all of which must have come from Boston rather than the other way around. These remarks are not intended to be a point-by-point refutation of the *PBSA* article, but they counter the main arguments and provide a more convincing sequence of cause and effect.

Emphatical Words. The copyist wrote out in a larger script sixty-eight words of special significance, beginning, for example, with "Nature" and "Nature's God" and ending with "Lives," "Fortunes," and "Honor." Allen and Sneff notice that forty-four of those words correspond to Tyler's "emphatical words," a 65% correlation, a reason why they consider the Sussex manuscript to be a source for the facsimile. In a footnote they observe an almost one-to-one correspondence of "emphatical words" between the manuscript and the Bridgham print, a correlation I calculate at nearly 90%. Surely that is a more revealing statistic and demands an explanation, but they draw no conclusions in the footnote and concentrate on Tyler instead. They trace the fashion for the "emphatical words" back to the original 1776 engrossed Declaration, which capitalizes most of the substantives as a matter of course and sometimes switches from round hand to black letter for extra effect in the last paragraph. One could go back one step further and say that the black letter was a stylistic decision on the part of the scribe, Timothy Matlack, who sought to transpose in script some of the letterspaced caps and small caps he encountered in his source document, the Dunlap broadside.

In any case Allen and Sneff assume that the ornamental scripts in Tyler's print were beyond his powers. They surmise that he must have consulted their manuscript or a now lost descendant of their manuscript while deciding which words to emphasize. They call him an engraver although he styles himself Professor of Penmanship in the imprint, which states explicitly that the engraving had been done by Peter Maverick. This division of labor helps to explain the advertising function of Tyler's *Declaration*. He intended it to be a specimen of calligraphic skill, not just the utilitarian running hand he taught his students but also the decorative lettering he proffered as his professional credentials. American writing masters drummed up business by publishing engraved copybooks with title pages couched in a multitude of plain and fancy scripts. In 1815, while teaching in New York, Tyler promoted his system of instruction in a patriotic print also engraved by Maverick, *Eulogium Sacred to the Memory of the Illustrious George Washington*. The *Eulogium* changes tone and tempo with calligraphic enhancements in selected passages of the text as well as embellished black letter in the title. He perfected that approach three years later when he produced his *Declaration*, fully capable of choosing the "emphatical words" on his own.¹⁴

This style of decorating the Declaration caught on immediately and remained in fashion throughout the nineteenth century. We have seen the succession of Boston editions, a step-by-step transmission of "emphatical words" from Tyler to Bridgham. If we are to accept that Tyler referred to the Sussex Declaration or

14. Ray Nash, *American Penmanship, 1800–1850: A History of Writing and a Bibliography of Copybooks from Jenkins to Spencer* (1969), nos. 83–88.

a lost descendant when writing out his “emphatical words,” a 65% correlation, how are we to explain the 90% correlation in the Bridgham print? Bridgham’s artist would have had to be even more dependent on the Sussex Declaration, which would have somehow re-emerged in Boston eighteen years after coming into the hands of Tyler. Here again we should seek an easier explanation: the Bridgham print is the source of the Sussex Declaration. The copyist acknowledged its rhetorical effects by writing out in a larger script almost every one of its distinctive words.

Textual variants. Allen and Sneff relegate to a footnote a discussion of textual variants that appear only in the Bridgham print and the Sussex Declaration (*PBSA*, p. 398). In fact, the same readings also occur in the Franklin Print Company facsimile, the last in the succession of Boston editions. They are all ordinary errors although the spelling “paralelled” in the phrase “scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages” might be justified by precedents in that period. Binns and Tyler adopt a primarily British usage in the spelling “connexion,” which they employ in the phrases “interrupt our connections” and “all political connection.” This variant, not mentioned by Allen and Sneff, occurs in all of the Boston editions but not in the Sussex Declaration. That could be an argument in favor of a direct relationship with the engrossed Declaration, although one could just as easily surmise that the copyist opted for the “connection” spelling, which was also prevalent in England in the 1830s. Perhaps more to the point, the variant spelling “paralelled” in the Sussex Declaration becomes significant because it did not originate in the Tyler facsimile but in the Bridgham facsimile. Bridgham’s artist had to cope with the spelling “parallelled” in the Boston Bewick edition, an obvious mistake, but guessed wrong when he tried to fix it. The Sussex copyist did not have any better ideas.

The sequence of signatures. For Allen and Sneff, the signatures are the most important part of the Sussex Declaration. They perceive a pattern in the signatures, a “hidden ordering principle” devised by the copyist in accordance with James Wilson’s aspirations for a strong federal government (*PBSA*, p. 386). That pattern breaks a precedent they detect in other government documents and other Declarations, beginning with the engrossed parchment. There the signatures are grouped by states (excepting that of Matthew Thornton, who signed it at a later date when there was no more room to put it in the proper place). The state groupings are even more explicit in the “authenticated Copy” printed by order of Congress in 1777 and some of the letterpress broadsides issued in the era of Binns and Tyler. By changing the order of the signatures, they say, the Sussex Declaration downgrades the prominence of the states and asserts the supreme power of the central government prescribed by the Constitution. Wilson’s role in framing the Constitution provides additional evidence for dating the manuscript. If that date is valid, and if Wilson was involved, the Sussex Declaration would be a bridge between the two great founding documents of the United States and a means of explicating the political precepts behind them.

The “hidden ordering principle” is based on a cipher system used in encrypted correspondence during the Revolutionary War. Allen and Sneff consulted with a codebreaking expert who confirmed that a system can be discerned in the sequence of signatures. I will not try to describe it in detail except to say

that the copyist chose names from different columns in the engrossed Declaration, first concentrating on one column, then another, while interspersing the names of the Georgia, Pennsylvania, and Delaware delegates to make it harder to crack the code. Nowhere do they explain why the code was predicated on columns rather than some other ordering principle, an alphabetical system for example, or a geographical progression from state to state, which might at least have some regional significance. Nowhere do they define the purpose of the code unless it was a means of randomizing the names while ensuring that none of them would be omitted. One would expect a code to contain a confidential message in danger of falling into the wrong hands, but it is unclear what needed to be kept secret on this occasion. The names were not protecting classified information. Instead of making complications, it is better to look for precedents and similar examples, a simple comparison of layout techniques and production methods. An easier explanation can be found in the field of graphic design, a basic skill of the artists who copied the Declaration.

Design considerations often dictated the sequence of signatures. Allen and Sneff are not correct in saying that the Sussex Declaration was the only one to interfere with the state groupings before the publication of the Bridgham print in 1836. The printers of the Boston Bewick facsimile rearranged the states to save on space and make room for the oak and olive frame. A Philadelphia printer moved the signatures out of order in an 1832 broadside reconfigured in a three-column format. After 1836 the signatures frequently appear in random order for no other reason than to fill an area predetermined by the decorative apparatus and the proportions of the page. Just to take one example, an 1845 letterpress broadside starts out with the state groupings but then switches out the signatures to rank them in a five-column format within a border of state seals. The printers disbanded the Maryland delegation and put each of the signatures in a different column.¹⁵

Like others who made those design decisions, Bridgham's artist sought to achieve a harmonious balance between image and text, a pleasing composition comprising the border of state seals, the calligraphic lettering, and the facsimile signatures. The lettering above and the signatures below were aligned to form two rectangular blocks, each even in weight, each fitting neatly inside the border. The artist allowed a tendril to extend beyond the border to complete the last line of text, a grace note following the phrase "*our LIVES, our FORTUNES, and our sacred HONOR.*" Likewise, the signatures were spaced out to make the line endings flush with the text, even though the emblematic John Hancock had to be compressed, and some signatures lost their final flourishes. Signatures at the beginning and the end of the last line retained their flourishes for a decora-

¹⁵. *Declaration of Independence, and Geographical Chart of the U. States of America*, Philadelphia: Published by Thomas Morrison, C.A. Elliott, printer, 1832; *In Congress July 4th. 1776. The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America*, New York: Published and for sale by Humphrey Phelps, No. 4 Spruce-St., opposite City Hall, N. York, 1845. Copies of the Morrison broadside are in the Library of Congress, the American Philosophical Society, the Daniel Hamelberg collection, and the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia. Nine different versions of the Phelps broadside dating from 1845 to ca. 1854–1863 are described in *The Declaration in Script and Print*, item 47.

tive purpose, both looping down to fill hollow portions of the border. The state groupings would have had no meaning in this graphic concept and would have prevented the artist from placing the signatures in an even array, although vestiges can be detected in sequences of Maryland, North Carolina, and New Jersey delegates. Symmetry was the top priority of the artist. By a simple computation, he found a way to accommodate the fifty-six signatures in a graphic construct composed of six columns and nine rows with the exception of the first and last columns, which have ten signatures instead of nine.

Allen and Sneff argue against the priority of the Bridgham print on the grounds that the Sussex copyist could not have replicated its sequence of signatures. They believe that he would have had to backtrack between columns if he started the transcription process by reading across the rows. Diagrams in the *PBSA* article (pp. 401 and 402) intimate that he would have been confused by the extra names in the first and last columns and could not have dealt with them to arrive at the sequence in the Sussex Declaration. The transcription process does not seem all that difficult to me. The copyist proceeded through the six rows of names, one name after another left to right, allowing the first and last columns to be slightly staggered. He then inserted the two extra names, Roger Sherman and Elbridge Gerry, to restore the alignment between the inner and outer columns. Then he resumed the regular progression from left to right in the last three lines.

Turning that argument around, I question why Bridgham's artist would have replicated the sequence in the Sussex Declaration. Why would he use it as a starting point and then go off and consult some other source to turn those round hand names into facsimile signatures? In the manuscript, the names occupy six rows and then spill over to a seventh row containing a name and a half. What value would he have seen in that haphazard arrangement? He would have been much more interested in creating his own sequence to make a block of signatures in pleasing proportions. Let's say he knew about the hidden ordering principle and wished to preserve it. But why would he be privy to the secret rather than anyone else in the Declaration business? There are too many loose ends and coincidences in this scenario. It is much more likely that he began with the Boston Bewick letterpress broadside, an easily adaptable model for the layout and decoration. He then reconceived it as an engraved miniature and decided on a symmetrical composition in accordance with the aesthetic of that genre. To achieve the "neatness" highly prized in that period, he changed the order of the signatures to fit them in a rectangular block, nine rows deep, six columns across. Neatness, uniformity and symmetry were his goals and the real reasons for rearranging the signatures.

Misspelled signatures. Allen and Sneff note that the copyist misspelled some of the signatures. They cite eight problematic names, three of which might be excused as alternatives: Pinn for Penn, Rutlidge for Rutledge, Hayward for Heyward. A ninth could be added to their list, a garbled superscript in the signature of Samuel Huntington: Sam^u. for Sam^e. More egregious errors occur in four names: Floys for Floyd, Harnson for Harrison, Witherspoare for Witherspoon, and M. Keap for M: Kean. The *PBSA* article includes a series of thumbnail illustrations juxtaposing the Sussex Declaration versions with the signatures in the Stone facsimile, the best record of the originals in the engrossed Declaration. It is true that some of the originals are barely legible and that ignorant

compositors got them wrong in books and broadsides even in the eighteenth century. Otherwise Allen and Sneff do not dwell on the Sussex misspellings and do not try to explain them except to observe that they are more likely to stem from manuscripts than printed matter.

The facsimile signatures in Bridgham's miniature Declaration were responsible for the spelling mistakes in the Sussex Declaration. The signatures were already corrupted in transmission when Bridgham's artist copied them from the Boston Bewick broadside but were distorted even more when he cut them down to fit in his rectangular composition (figure 3). Tyler can be blamed for a calligraphic tilt he gave to the *d* in Floyd, which was nudged downward in his print and tilted even more in the miniature. The copyist read it as an *s* followed by a flourish. Samuel Huntington customarily abbreviated his first name as Sam^{el}, with a flourished superscript, sometimes writing two identifiable letters but more often just a double loop. The Boston Bewick Company's facsimilist closed the double loop or allowed it to be closed while making the transition from intaglio to letterpress. Bridgham's artist read the altered superscript as a *u* instead of *el*, a good guess but wrong nonetheless as can be seen in other examples of that signature before and after 1776. As far as the copyist was concerned, the superscript *u* was a legitimate abbreviation, an easy choice to make in comparison to the less legible names. The *n* in McKean, for example, was gradually twisted out of shape in the prints of Tyler, the Boston Bewick Company, and Bridgham, whose artist compressed and elongated it in such a way that the copyist opted for a *p* in the Sussex Declaration. Copying the *c* in Stockton, Bridgham's artist made a slip of the pen interpreted by the copyist as a cursive *r*, that too a plausible assumption although Storkton is not a common name. The name Witherspoare is unknown to genealogists and that mistranscription can only be explained by Tyler's decision to make an *a* out of the second *o* in the original and tidy up the final flourish, which was coarsened and then retrenched in the Boston facsimiles. I could cite other errors, mostly faults of the writing master and the miniaturists.

They were not the only ones to go astray in their attempts to transcribe the names. Printers of letterpress broadsides sometimes used facsimiles as their source documents with the best of intentions but with regrettable results. As one might expect, those farther removed from the original were more likely to make mistakes. A Philadelphia broadside published in 1855 repeats one of the names, misspells five of them, and gratuitously includes the Philadelphian Thomas Willing, who voted against the Declaration and did not sign the document. Lithographic artists encountered the same problems when they tried to make sense of the facsimile signatures. None of the Declarations I have seen to date is more delinquent in the spelling of the signatures than a lithographic map of New York City published ca. 1855 by Charles Magnus. A German immigrant, Magnus may not have been familiar with American proper names or with the English language, for he even had problems with the title, which commemorates the seventy-ninth year of "Indepedence." The map is decorated with a view of City Hall, steamships in the harbor, and the Declaration in the usual border of state seals, the text in a uniform cursive, and the signatures in a "gothic" all caps sans serif script. Magnus or his artist used the Binns print or one of its derivatives as a model for the border and a source for the text, which contains the same



FIGURE 3. Progressive degradation of signatures in Declaration facsimiles. The signatures are reproduced the same size as each other to show changes in letterforms.

words emphasized in special scripts. The Binns signatures, however, mystified the lithographer who misspelled fourteen of the fifty-six names, mainly those that were hard to read. The New York lithographer committed mistakes not unlike those of the Sussex copyist: WITHERSPOART for Witherspoon, HOYG for Floyd, PINN for Penn, and M KEAN for M: Kean. Both had to contend with facsimile signatures, but even an immigrant poorly schooled in English was able to construe common names such as Harrison and Stockton.¹⁶

The copyist's mistakes are easier to explain if they can be imputed to the illegibility of his source and his failure to find a remedy. Some delegates scrawled their signatures in such a way as to make them difficult to read even in a full-size facsimile. Bridgham's miniature exacerbated the problem. Published sixty years after the fact, it was conceived as a novelty and was never intended to be an authoritative text, but it circulated widely and could easily come into the hands of someone whose notions of the American Revolution were more sentimental than scholarly. The copyist transcribed it by rote and relied on his imagination to interpret the parts he did not understand. He was unwilling or unable to find a better source for this display of penmanship and did not worry overmuch about the accuracy of his work.

Complications. A line of reasoning should follow the shortest distance between two points. That common-sense rule is a deciding factor for testing hypotheses in bibliographical investigations—or any field of intellectual inquiry. The complications in Allen and Sneff's arguments undercut their claims for the priority of the Sussex Declaration. If it came first and served as a source for the Bridgham facsimile, we would have to believe that the Bostonians copied the same order of names while consulting another source to render them in facsimile. We would have to believe that they took the oversize words in that manuscript as cues to execute the same words in ornamental penmanship even though they had the Boston Bewick edition easily at hand and could use that as a model for the “emphatical words.” We would have to accept the hypothesis that the Sussex Declaration or a derivative manuscript influenced Tyler’s choice of “emphatical words” sometime around 1818 and then resurfaced eighteen years later to guide the work of the Bostonians. If we follow that line of reasoning, we would have to imagine that James Wilson was willing to overlook the atrocious spelling of the names even though he depended on them to affirm his position during the debates on the Constitution and could have corrected them on the basis of personal

¹⁶6. *Declaration of Independence. In Congress, at Philadelphia, July 4th, 1776*, Philadelphia: Published by I. Kohler, No. 104 North Fourth Street, 1855; *New-York City & County Map with Vicinity Entire Brooklyn Williamsburgh Jersey City &c. in the 79th Year of the Independence of the United States*, New-York: Published by Chs. Magnus, 12. Frankfurt Street, ca. 1855. A copy of the Kohler broadside is at the American Antiquarian Society; copies of a German version with the same mistakes are at the Library Company of Philadelphia and in the Daniel Hamelberg collection. Magnus also issued the Declaration in a two-leaf brochure. A copy of the map is in the Princeton University Library; copies of the brochure are at the American Antiquarian Society, the Library Company of Philadelphia, and the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.

acquaintance. A few loose ends may be permissible when plying disparate strands of evidence, but these are too many to be believed.

We do not have to work so hard if we allow the Bridgham miniature to be the source of the Sussex Declaration. If we accept that hypothesis, we do not have to explain away the damage in the title, the errors in the text, the absence of the long *s*, and the profusion of misspelled names. We do not need a secret code to understand the reordering of the signatures. We are not obliged to excuse the poor quality of parchment, the marks of neglect, and the amateurish work of the copyist if he was engaged in a penmanship exercise rather than a “ceremonial” commission. We can even dispense with the provenance research if the manuscript came to the West Sussex Record Office by way of a local history collector who had only a tangential relationship with the Richmond family. At this point we can only guess where the collector obtained it, but we could consider the possibility that Bridgham brought copies of the miniature to England and that one of them piqued the curiosity of the copyist. After the novelty wore off, the parchment was folded up and filed away until it was retrieved by the collector. Speculation along those lines may be tempting but is not necessary to vouch for the priority of the miniature.

Allen and Sneff published their findings in a bibliographical journal and then used that publication as the premise for their account of the Constitutional Convention. They are political historians who want to get the dating questions out of the way so they can do what they do best, a study of James Wilson’s political philosophy. Allen is James Bryant Conant University Professor at Harvard University, director of the Allen Lab for Democracy Renovation, and author of *Our Declaration: A Reading of the Declaration of Independence in Defense of Equality* (2014). Sneff worked at the Declaration Resources Project before completing a doctorate in American history with an emphasis on material culture and history of the book. By no means are they the first to use bibliographical analysis as an avenue for research in other fields, but this approach has obstacles and limitations that can be overcome only by observing its rules and regulations. Every field has its own methodology and this one is no exception: a rigorous routine is needed to ensure the orderly analysis of texts produced in quantity.

Bibliographers have learned the hard way about the dangers of examining documents in isolation. High spots deserve extra effort, but it is not enough to focus on milestones of history, landmarks in philosophy, breakthroughs in science, and canonical works of literature. The context is important too if only as a gauge of value and a basis for comparison. In fact, Allen and Sneff do have a bibliographical context for their work. Along with the documentation about the Sussex manuscript, the Declaration Resources Project website offers a pdf catalogue of Declaration editions and manuscripts listing 747 items from 1776 through 1826, plus an additional manuscript appended in June 2023. The catalogue tracks the dissemination of this text in different formats—books, periodicals, prints, and broadsides—a commendable attempt to be comprehensive. It helps, for example, to explain the patriotic mindset of the printmaker John Binns, who featured the text in his newspaper long before he produced the print.

It is, however, an enumerative bibliography with minimal descriptions mainly based on secondary sources. It covers only the first fifty years of the Declaration, not long enough to account for the surge of patriotic publications in the nineteenth century.¹⁷

If it had gone on for ten more years it would have brought Allen and Sneff up to the Bridgham miniature. But even then a brief listing of this kind would not show the facsimile's relevance to their concerns or its relationship to the other Boston editions. Worthy in other ways, an enumerative bibliography is not intended to answer questions about form and content. It does not describe physical objects with the details that might disclose the influence of one artifact on another, the information that might reveal resemblances in production methods, textual elements, and stylistic motifs. To make their claims for the Sussex Declaration, Allen and Sneff looked hard for this kind of information but only looked in one place and did not consider the commercial context. The manuscript they found deserves bibliographical scrutiny, but if I am correct about its sources, it has nothing to do with James Wilson and the Constitution. Rather, it should be dated at least fifty years later, when someone copied Bridgham's engraving in an attempt to emulate the engrossed Declaration. If not an entirely successful effort, it is an interesting byproduct of the trade in patriotic prints and a good example of a text entangled in transcriptions large and small.

17. Many of the catalogue entries are derived from Stephen M. Matyas, Jr.'s *Declaration of Independence: A Checklist of Books, Pamphlets, and Periodicals Printing the U.S. Declaration of Independence, 1776–1825* (2009). The Matyas checklist has transcriptions of titles, collation statements, contents notes, and locations of copies examined but does not include prints and broadsides. A pdf version can be downloaded at <http://usdeclarationofindependence.com> (accessed 20 March 2023).

A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA'S FIRST LIBRARY
AND ITS JEFFERSONIAN CATALOGS

by

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IN 1984, a manuscript catalog of Thomas Jefferson's library resurfaced at the Library of Congress. The rediscovery was announced by Douglas L. Wilson, who proposed that the catalog—dated 1823—reestablished Jefferson's system of library organization, lost after a fair copy of Jefferson's catalog disappeared with the transfer of his library to Congress in 1815. This 1823 manuscript filled an archival void in Jefferson studies and advanced a new and enduring view of Jefferson's book collecting habits in the final decade of his life (1815–26). In a subsequent analysis and edition of the rediscovered catalog, written with James Gilreath, Wilson affirmed that the document in question was a copy of Jefferson's catalog drawn up to reestablish the arrangement of his books, "in his own order."¹

Gilreath and Wilson's account captures the first part of a complex story. In this article, we offer an alternative analysis of the 1823 catalog. Drawing on new materials, including another recently resurfaced Jeffersonian booklist, we argue that the surviving textual, bibliographical, and provenance evidence repositions the 1823 catalog as the originating document of the University of Virginia's library. Not only does the catalog reconstruct the arrangement of Jefferson's

* The evidence examined here was first presented in a talk delivered at the annual meeting of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia (BSUVA) in March, 2018. We would like to thank the BSUVA for their support. We are grateful in particular for the encouragement, editorial wizardry, and care of David Vander Meulen. We would also like to thank the indefatigable staff of the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library at the University of Virginia: David Whitesell, Molly Schwartzburg, Regina Rush, Penny White, Heather Riser, George Riser, Joseph Azizi, Gayle Cooper, and Krystal Appiah. This project would not have been possible without their patient assistance. Our research was supported at various points by the Kenan Endowment Fund of the Academical Village, the Jefferson Trust, and the Robert H. Smith International Center for Thomas Jefferson Studies.

1. The first announcement of Douglas Wilson's discovery appeared in James Gilreath's review of E. Millicent Sowerby's *Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Jefferson* (Washington, DC: The Library of Congress, 1952). See Gilreath, "Sowerby Revirescent and Revised," *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 78, no. 2 (1984): 219–32. There, Gilreath observes that "Wilson's [forthcoming] article offers another document which contains a strikingly different order for many chapters [of Jefferson's catalog]" (230). An analysis followed in 1989: *Thomas Jefferson's Library: A Catalogue of Books in His Own Order* (Washington, DC: Library of Congress).

personal library at Monticello; it also lays out the epistemological and disciplinary categories that would shape the development and future growth of a major early American university. Indeed, scholars including Wilson and Endrina Tay have previously proposed a relationship between the university's library and 1823 catalog, with Wilson noting that the catalog was intended "apparently for the University of Virginia."² By collating and examining all of the book lists and catalogs Jefferson took part in compiling from 1815 to 1826, we consider the textual imbrications and intricacies of this link, charting the 1823 catalog's role in the compilation of later catalogs for the University of Virginia's first library.

In addition to offering a fuller account of the 1823 manuscript's origins and re-inscriptions, we also put forward an analysis of how Jefferson's extant book lists from this period are textually related. Jefferson made (or had made) a large number of catalogs, bibliographic inventories, and lists of books over the course of his life, and the resulting variety of organizational schemata, artistic and intellectual disciplines, and content can stymie generalizing treatment.³ To chart the textual filiation of the catalogs we examine here, we construct an annotated stemma over the course of this article. What emerges is both a more comprehensive view of how the University of Virginia's library came to be, and evidence of Jefferson's attempts to construct and perpetuate a totalizing vision of knowledge-in-books across all of his library-building projects.

ORIGINS: THE 1783 CATALOG & THE 1812 FAIR COPY

An inveterate, compulsive arranger of books, Jefferson began compiling what would become the catalog of his Monticello library sometime after a fire destroyed his first library at Shadwell in February, 1770.⁴ This catalog is traditionally labelled the **1783 catalog** and lists books Jefferson acquired during his political career and in the first years of his retirement (1809-12).⁵ The date traditionally assigned to the catalog, 1783, refers to a manuscript tally of books in Jefferson's hand, dated March 6, 1783, that appears on the catalog's fifth

2. Douglas L. Wilson, "Sowerby Revisited: The Unfinished Catalogue of Thomas Jefferson's Library," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 41, no. 4 (October 1984): 624. On the link between the 1823 manuscript and Jefferson's list-making for the University of Virginia's first library, see Endrina Tay, "Forming the Body of a Library Based on the 'Illimitable Freedom of the Human Mind,'" in *The Founding of Thomas Jefferson's University*, ed. John A. Ragosta, Peter S. Onuf, and Andrew J. O'Shaughnessy (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2019): 208-23.

3. Sowerby's "Compiler's Preface" is still the authoritative source for Jefferson's habits as cataloguer and collector. Sowerby's "Sources and Reference Books Used in This Catalogue," in *Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Jefferson*, 5:215-22, is similarly informative.

4. See Wilson, *Jefferson's Books* (Charlottesville, VA: Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, 1996), 18-19.

5. "1783 Catalog of Books," *Thomas Jefferson Papers: An Electronic Archive* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 2003), <https://www.masshist.org/thomasjeffersonpapers/catalog1783/>. The catalog was presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society in June 1898 by Thomas Jefferson's great-grandson, Thomas Jefferson Coolidge. See Sowerby, "Sources and Reference Books," 215.

page.⁶ Riddled with what E. Millicent Sowerby describes as “erasures and semi-erasures,” the 1783 catalog was a working document that functioned as the primary reference tool and inventory of Jefferson’s library at least until 1812, when Jefferson made a fair copy of the catalog that would eventually accompany his books to Congress in 1815.⁷

Jefferson intended to have the 1812 catalog printed for reasons of both personal convenience and future preservation. Writing to Thomas Cooper on July 10, 1812, Jefferson refers to the fair copy: “I am making a fair copy of the Catalogue of my library, which I mean to have printed merely for the use of the library.”⁸ Jefferson’s portrayal of the 1812 catalog as “useful” may reflect his need for an easier-to-navigate alternative to the 1783 catalog, which by 1812 was a confusing and palimpsestic document that listed books he no longer owned and omitted books he had since acquired. Jefferson’s desire to print the 1812 catalog—a remediation that would have enabled him to distribute copies to interested readers—also reveals his interest in the library’s posthumous existence and utility; at last, the collection that the 1812 catalog would describe was nearing a long-elusive stasis. Tacit in Jefferson’s letter to Cooper is the fact that he had begun to view his collection of books as a coherent and relatively fixed whole, ready to enter the permanent record.

By the time Jefferson began work on the 1812 catalog, he had already envisioned an institutional future for his library. In a letter to Cooper, dated January 16, 1814, Jefferson writes: “I have long had under contemplation, & been collecting materials for the plan of an university in Virginia.” Jefferson adds that this university (not yet *the* University of Virginia, but only *an* university in Virginia) might acquire his library “on their own terms,” thus securing a collection of “about 7. or 8 thousand volumes” and “the best … of it’s [sic] size probably in America.”⁹ Jefferson’s letter expresses a typical immodesty about his books, but it also indicates that he had come to anticipate the dispersal of his library—an act that would require a legible and comprehensive inventory of its contents. However, war intervened, and the destruction of Washington in 1814 by British troops precipitated the library’s sale to Congress in 1815.

In addition to the presumably improved functionality it offered, the 1812 fair copy introduced a new organizational schema, superseding an earlier version that organized the 1783 catalog. In retirement, Jefferson continued to refine and modify the order of his shelves and the headings under which he classed his

6. “1783 Catalog of Books,” accessed April 7, 2021. See also Sowerby, “Sources and Reference Books,” 215.

7. Sowerby, “Sources and Reference Books,” 215.

8. “Thomas Jefferson to Thomas Cooper, 10 July 1812,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-05-02-0179>.

9. “Thomas Jefferson to Thomas Cooper, 16 January 1814,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-07-02-0071>. Tay cites an earlier letter sent to Littleton Tazewell, indicating that Jefferson had begun envisioning a library for a planned university in Virginia at least as early as 1805. Tay, “Forming the Body of a Library,” 209, n. 14. See also “From Thomas Jefferson to Littleton W. Tazewell, 5 January 1805,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/99-01-02-0958>. [This is an *Early Access* document from *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*. It is not an authoritative final version.]

books. While the 1783 catalog employed a forty-six-subject schema, the 1812 fair copy employed a forty-four-subject alternative. Both schemata, however, classed their subjects under Jefferson's tripartite division of knowledge based on Francis Bacon's three parts of learning: "History/Memory," "Philosophy/Reason," and "Fine Arts/Imagination."

Although the 1812 fair copy is presumed lost, evidence for this schematic change survives in the printed catalog that then-Librarian of Congress George Watterston produced in 1815 following the sale of Jefferson's books to Congress.¹⁰ According to his correspondence with Jefferson, Watterston based the new catalog's arrangement of subject chapters on the 1812 fair copy, informing Jefferson in a letter dated October 13, 1815, that "I have preserved your arrangement, as one that I think excellent."¹¹ Watterston's printed **1815 catalog** thus shares its subject categories with its lost manuscript predecessor. This later catalog makes clear that the reduction of subject headings from 46 to 44 chapters was the result of shifting, compressing, and subdividing the original 1783 classifications. In all, the 1812 and 1815 catalogs removed five chapters that appear in the 1783 catalog and added three more. Figure 1 maps the additions, deletions, expansions, and combinations of subject chapters that occur between the 1783 and 1812/15 schemata. As shown, most of the alterations occur in the final section of Jefferson's tripartite scheme, "Fine Arts/Imagination." While the motives behind these changes are undocumented and obscure, the alterations appear to subsume the most idiosyncratic chapters into more general categories, rendering the new schema more applicable and useful to an institutional collection of books; they might also have merely combined sparsely populated chapters to form more general categories containing more volumes, or divided overpopulated or thematically cluttered chapters into more manageable subchapters. Regardless, in adopting these alterations, Watterston deferred to Jefferson and emulated the 1812 fair copy in making the 1815 printed catalog.

There was one glaring difference between the 1812 and 1815 catalogs, however. As Watterston informed Jefferson, "I have introduced but one alteration & that is in arraneing [sic] each chap: alphabetically ... it gives them a uniformity of appearance quite agreeable [sic] to the eye."¹² At Monticello, where three newly printed copies of the catalog had arrived early in 1816, Watterston's choice to retain Jefferson's subject headings no doubt met with approval. Jefferson demurred, however, on the alphabetical sequence of books in each of the catalog's forty-four chapters—a change that expunged a system of arrangement that,

10. The 1815 printed catalog was prepared sometime between the manuscript's arrival at the Library of Congress in July and a letter of 13 October from Watterston informing Jefferson that "the catalogue is now in press ... in a few weeks it will be published" ("George Watterston to Thomas Jefferson, 13 October 1815," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-09-02-0064-0001>). Jefferson's letter alerting Watterston that the library and the 1812 fair copy of the catalog had been sent is dated 7 May 1815: "You will recieve my library arranged very perfectly in the order observed in the Catalogue, which I have sent with it" ("Thomas Jefferson to George Watterston, 7 May 1815," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-08-02-0376>).

11. George Watterston to Thomas Jefferson, 13 October 1815.

12. George Watterston to Thomas Jefferson, 13 October 1815.

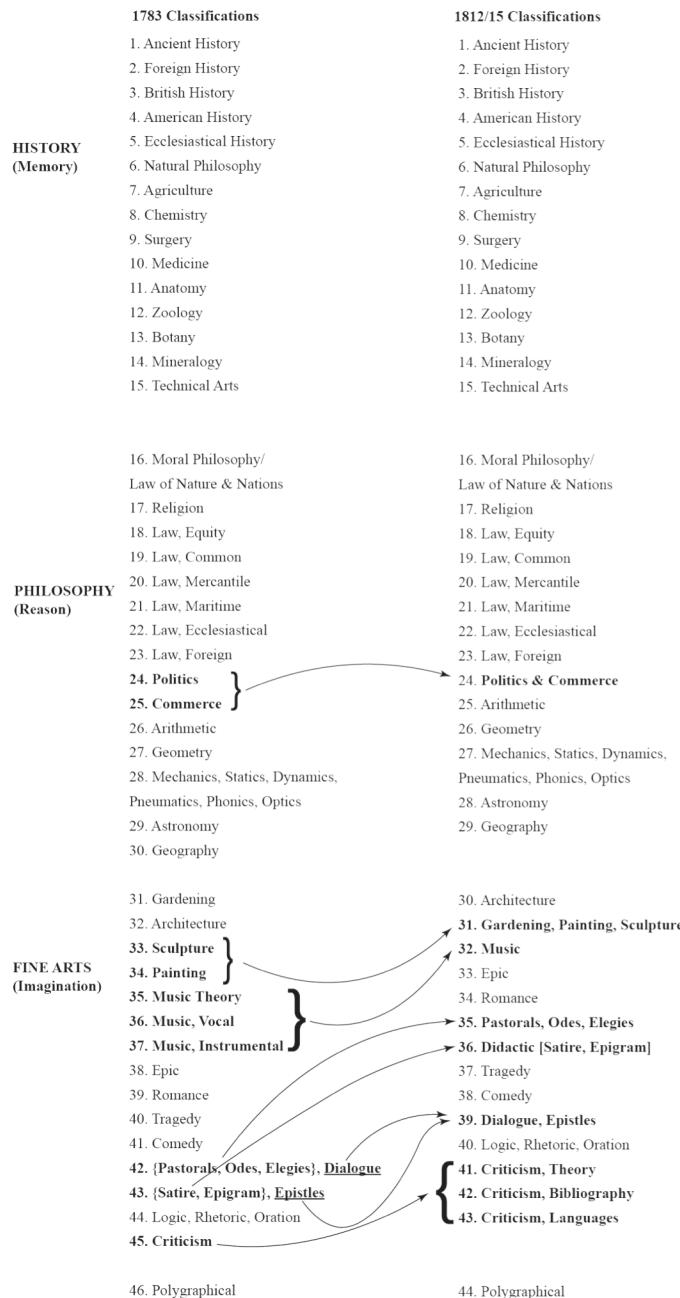


FIGURE I. Jefferson's revisions to his system of classification, introduced in the 1812 fair copy. George Watterston followed this revised schema in the 1815 printed catalog.

as he explained in a subsequent letter to Watterston, was “sometimes analytical, sometimes chronological, & sometimes a combination of both.”¹³ In spite of Jefferson’s reservations, he admitted in the same letter that an “alphabetical arrangement may be more convenient to readers generally.” There is no record of Jefferson asking Watterston to return the 1812 fair copy, and when President Andrew Jackson had Watterston replaced in 1829, the outgoing librarian took Jefferson’s fair copy with him, reporting to Asher Robbins, Chairman of the Joint Committee on the Library, that it had been given “to me by Mr Jefferson, if I could save it from the printer. It was of no use to him or to the Lib[rar]y & I therefore claim it as my property.”¹⁴ Its fate remains unknown.

AFTER 1815: GILREATH & WILSON REVISITED

The rest, according to Gilreath and Wilson, is history: Watterston’s retaining the 1812 fair copy “has meant that the arrangement of individual books that was so important to Jefferson has been lost.”¹⁵ In other words, after the 1815 printed catalog imposed an alphabetical arrangement in place of Jefferson’s “chronological-analytical” system, the 1812 fair copy became the last surviving record of Jefferson’s intended ordering of his books. Taking this as its premise, Gilreath and Wilson’s *Thomas Jefferson’s Library* announced that

the restoration of Jefferson’s order has been made possible by the rediscovery of a manuscript [in the Rare Books Division of the Library of Congress] that was commissioned and corrected by Jefferson for the purpose of reconstructing the original catalog order that had been obliterated in Watterston’s printed congressional catalog of 1815. For many years, [the rediscovered manuscript] was mistakenly labeled as a catalog of the library at the University of Virginia and may have been intended for its collections. Bound with the manuscript catalog, which was clearly not in Jefferson’s hand, was a copy of the 1815 printed catalog.... A close comparison of the manuscript and the 1815 printed catalog makes clear ... that the two contain the same entries, though each is arranged in a different order.¹⁶

Gilreath and Wilson go on to observe that the rediscovered manuscript was copied at Jefferson’s behest by Nicholas P. Trist in 1823, citing an exchange of letters between Trist and Jefferson in evidence of the circumstances of the manuscript’s origin.¹⁷

Since the publication of *Thomas Jefferson’s Library* in 1989, no one has significantly modified or revisited Gilreath and Wilson’s account, and their assessment of the provenance and production history of the **1823 catalog** has remained

^{13.} “Thomas Jefferson to George Watterston, 2 March 1816,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-09-02-0366>. In an earlier letter to Watterston, Jefferson observed that the alphabetical arrangement of libraries was “very unsatisfactory” (“Thomas Jefferson to George Watterston, 7 May 1815,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-08-02-0376>).

^{14.} Quoted in Sowerby, “Sources and Reference Books,” 216. It is possible that the 1812 fair copy was kept by Watterston’s family and eventually lost, as it does not appear in any extant records or collections. Watterston’s letter to Robbins is dated 30 February 1830.

^{15.} Gilreath and Wilson, *Thomas Jefferson’s Library*, 4.

^{16.} Gilreath and Wilson, *Thomas Jefferson’s Library*, 5.

^{17.} Gilreath and Wilson, *Thomas Jefferson’s Library*, 6.

authoritative in the intervening decades.¹⁸ Their case regarding the rediscovered catalog rests on three arguments. First, Gilreath and Wilson contend that the 1823 catalog derived from a now-lost annotated copy of the 1815 catalog, writing that Trist compiled the 1823 catalog after Jefferson sent Trist

a copy of the 1815 printed catalog that he [Jefferson] had annotated to indicate his intended order for the books. Trist then compiled the manuscript catalog ... and sent it, along with Jefferson's annotated copy of the printed catalog, back to Jefferson when the job was completed. Though Jefferson's marked 1815 printed catalog has not been found and is presumed lost, we now have the Trist manuscript copy that was precious to Jefferson because it reclaimed the results of an important undertaking that had nearly been lost—his painstaking and distinctive ordering of the books in his magnificent library.¹⁹

Second, Gilreath and Wilson suggest that the primary motivation behind Trist's manuscript was to "reconstruct" Jefferson's "original" order erased by Watterston. Although they do not elaborate on its potential applications after Jefferson received it in late 1823, they do note that "[i]t is not surprising that Jefferson's thoughts should have turned to book catalogs in 1823 since he was actively engaged in organizing the University of Virginia library."²⁰ Third, they conclude that the Trist manuscript's longstanding association with the University of Virginia was a "mistake," allowing only that it "may have been intended for its collections." In what follows we reevaluate these points in turn, beginning with the question of the copy text Trist used to create the manuscript catalog in 1823. New evidence suggests that Gilreath and Wilson's pathbreaking scholarship tells only the first part of a fascinating narrative, one that ends with the formation of the University of Virginia's first library and its installation on the shelves of the University's Rotunda.

THE COPY TEXT OF THE 1823 TRIST CATALOG

In reading the Jefferson-Trist correspondence from 1823 and 1824, Gilreath and Wilson reasonably assume that Jefferson provided Trist with a copy of the 1815 printed catalog to transcribe. As they record in *Thomas Jefferson's Library*:

18. The Library of Congress catalog entry for the Trist manuscript in question paraphrases Gilreath and Wilson, stating that "Trist apparently worked from a copy of the printed 1815 Library of Congress catalogue specially marked by Jefferson in order to restore, in place of its alphabetical arrangement of each subject category, the original order of entries that Jefferson preferred" (Thomas Jefferson and Nicholas Philip Trist "Catalogue" [1823], Manuscript/Mixed Material, Thomas Jefferson Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., Z997.J48 J44 1823, <https://www.loc.gov/item/87204942/>). In similar terms, the Thomas Jefferson's Libraries project at the International Center for Jefferson Studies at Monticello writes that "Jefferson commissioned Nicholas Philip Trist to recreate a list of the books sold to Congress in the order he had originally defined," citing Gilreath and Wilson ("Trist Catalogue," <http://tjlibraries.monticello.org/tjandreading/trist.html>, accessed April 7, 2021). Tay has recently noted that Trist's 1823 manuscript served Jefferson as a reference list "as he began to plan the library collection for the University of Virginia," though does not explore how these catalogs were textually linked or related. ("Forming the Body of a Library," 221n32). We return to this point below.

19. Gilreath and Wilson, *Thomas Jefferson's Library*, 6.

20. Ibid.

Writing to Jefferson from Louisiana on October 18, 1823, Trist says: "I avail myself of the first opportunity that offers to return your catalogue, the absence of which will have proved, I fear, a greater inconvenience than can be compensated by the copy I have made." Jefferson replied on his eighty-first birthday, April 13, 1824: "The catalogues, printed and ms. were safely received. The last has given you more trouble than I ought to have subjected you to. It is very precious to me, and I am thankful to you for it."²¹

Comparing the 1823 and 1815 catalogs reveals that their entries match exactly (though in a different order), with no additions and only very few apparently accidental deletions. Accordingly, the Trist catalog could not have been produced without a copy of the 1815 printed catalog on hand. But while Gilreath and Wilson interpret the "manuscript" catalog Jefferson cites here to be the manuscript *copy* that Trist made (i.e., the 1823 Trist catalog), we believe that Jefferson instead refers to his original 1783 manuscript catalog.

The manuscript catalog returned by Trist was, Jefferson writes, "precious to me." It is unlikely that a manuscript copy of a printed catalog Jefferson owned in triplicate would qualify as precious, however significant its arrangement.²² The 1783 catalog, on the other hand, was indeed precious, given its long tenure as Jefferson's primary reference tool and bibliophilic companion at Monticello; this catalog was the only remaining record of a cherished collection of books that Jefferson no longer owned. Equally suggestive, Trist observes to Jefferson in his letter of October 18 that he is returning "your catalogue" and worries apologetically that its "absence" had inconvenienced his soon-to-be grandfather-in-law.²³ The 1783 catalog, a working document for Jefferson's library at Monticello, would have been closely associated in Trist's mind with Jefferson himself (hence "your catalogue"), while the absence of a single copy of the 1815 printed catalog (which reproduced Watterston's alphabetical method of organization rather than Jefferson's own) would not have inconvenienced Jefferson.

We might follow Gilreath's and Wilson's line of reasoning and assume that Trist's "your catalogue" refers to a copy of the 1815 printed catalog that Jefferson annotated or "marked" for the purpose (and which, Gilreath and Wilson write, "is presumed lost"). However, records at the Library of Congress show that the 1823 Trist catalog has always been bound with the same copy of the 1815 printed catalog it is bound with today, one completely devoid of annotation. The surviving physical evidence in the binding of the unannotated 1815 catalog with the 1823 catalog strongly suggests that Trist did not use a "marked" copy of the 1815 printed catalog, but rather two catalogs: (1) Jefferson's separately

21. Gilreath and Wilson, *Thomas Jefferson's Library*, 6.

22. Jefferson's correspondence reveals that he owned at least three copies of the 1815 printed catalog. See his letter to George Watterston on March 2, 1816: "I received three copies of the Catalogue from mr Millegan for which I thank you" (*Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-09-02-0366>). One of these copies was bound with the blank leaves that would become the 1823 Trist catalog, a second was likely retained, and a third was sent to Joseph C. Cabell with a letter from Jefferson in which he complains about the 1815 catalog's alphabetical reorganization ("Thomas Jefferson to Joseph C. Cabell, 2 February 1816," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-09-02-0286>).

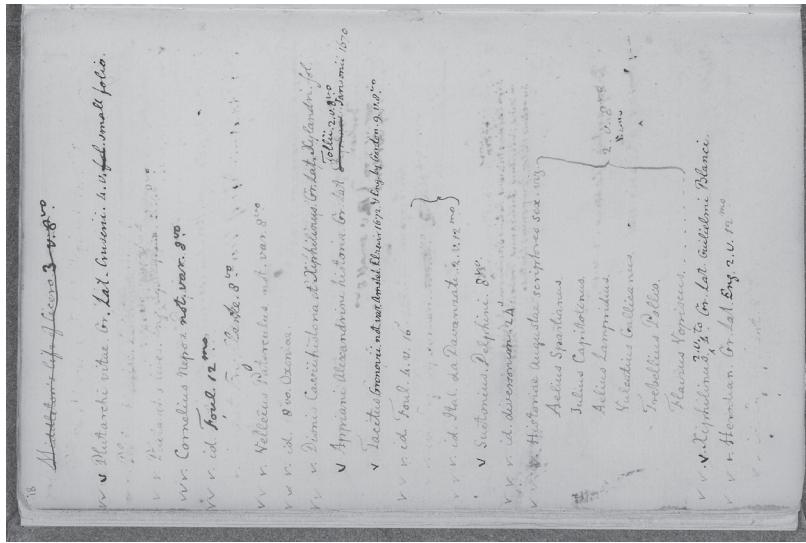
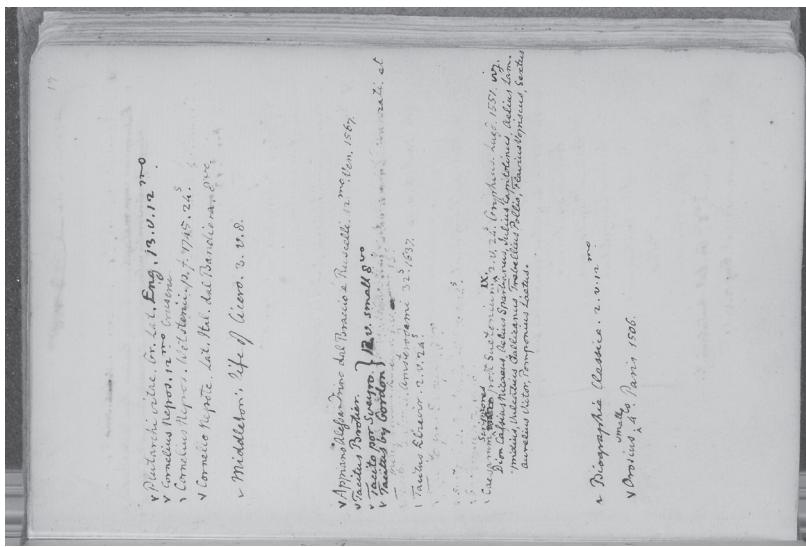
23. "Nicholas Philip Trist to Thomas Jefferson, 18 October 1823," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/98-01-02-3820>.

bound 1783 catalog, lent to Trist as a copy text; and (2) an unannotated copy of the 1815 printed catalog that was eventually bound with Trist's 1823 manuscript copy. Patterns of "foxing," or oxidized impurities on the final leaf of the 1823 Trist catalog have transferred to the facing title page of the 1815 printed catalog, and vice versa, suggesting that they were bound together early in their shared history. Tellingly, the text in the 1823 Trist catalog is occasionally trimmed away in the outer margin, demonstrating that it was bound after copying.²⁴ While we have not been able to locate a record of payment for the binding of these two documents in Jefferson's correspondence, memorandum books, or the Proctor's Papers at the University of Virginia, they have long been paired. While this is not proof that the copy of the 1815 printed catalog bound with 1823 catalog was the same copy Trist used in copying out his manuscript, the suggestive implications of the binding evidence and the resulting pairing of documents demand consideration.

More significant is the textual evidence that inheres in the catalogs themselves. Collating Jefferson's 1783 catalog and the 1823 Trist catalog suggests that the Trist manuscript could have derived from the 1783 catalog and an unmarked copy of the 1815 printed catalog alone. Textual and formal idiosyncrasies shared by the 1783 catalog, the 1815 printed catalog, and the 1823 Trist catalog suggests that the 1823 catalog derives from two sources, employing the "sometimes chronological, sometimes analytical" arrangement of the 1783 catalog but transcribing the content and descriptive form of the entries as they appear in the 1815 printed catalog. For instance, the 1823 catalog frequently replicates Jefferson's method of ordering entries in the 1783 catalog: the 1783 catalog's earliest entries were recorded on the verso of each leaf, so that later entries, rather than being interlined between existing entries, could be added to the facing recto at the appropriate point in Jefferson's sequence. The 1823 Trist manuscript seems to follow this order at various points, transcribing books listed across two pages in the 1783 catalog in a single sequence. When entries faced each other across the verso-recto opening of the 1783 catalog with no apparent priority, the verso entry on the left usually took precedence and was listed first (see figs. 2a and 2b; fig. 3 shows the corresponding section of the 1823 Trist manuscript). Meanwhile, Trist seems to have occasionally corrected ambiguities or discrepancies in the verso-recto ordering of the 1783 catalog by following the shelf mark numbers that accompany the corresponding entries in the 1815 printed catalog. For instance, Trist's decision to list *33. Herodianus. Gr. Lat. Eng.* 2 v. 12° before *34. Biographia Classica* 2 v. 12° in figure 3 was likely guided by the sequence of these shelf marks.

The 1783 catalog also contains annotations written in Jefferson's hand that seem to have guided Trist's enumerative work, particularly at points where the sequence of Jefferson's entries is unclear. These annotations did not reflect changes introduced by new acquisitions: Jefferson's verso-recto method of ordering entries limited the need for recopying, interlineation, and erasure when adding new titles

24. See 13 verso in Thomas Jefferson and Nicholas Philip Trist, "Catalogue" [1823], Manuscript/Mixed Material, <https://www.loc.gov/item/87204942/>.



FIGURES 2A AND 2B. 1783 catalog, entries on facing pages 18 and 19 in Jefferson's first chapter, "Antient History." Jefferson's original listing is on the left and his supplemental record on the right. Images courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

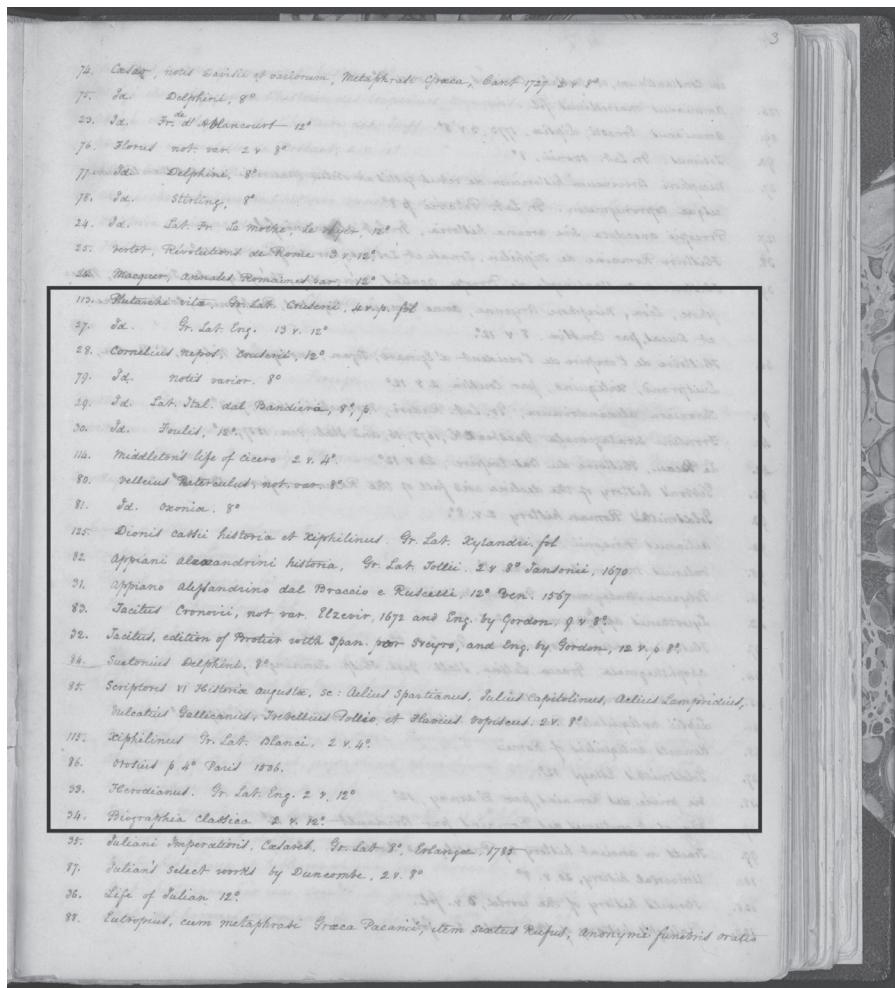


FIGURE 3. 1823 catalog, page 3, showing entries corresponding to those in figures 2a and 2b. The superimposed black frame encloses the entries that appear on the opening formed by pages 18 and 19 in the 1783 catalog. Image courtesy of the Thomas Jefferson Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, The Library of Congress.

to the 1783 catalog.²⁵ Instead, this additional marginal numbering appears to have served an editorial purpose for an external reader—we believe for Trist. On the opening formed by pages 234 and 235 of the 1783 catalog, for instance, a series of

25. Jefferson occasionally marked the point at which a book was to be inserted by indexing titles on the facing recto with a siglum, usually letter, and adding a labelled arrow at the appropriate point on the verso (see, for example, pages 104 and 105 of the 1783 catalog).

numerals from 1 to 41 is faintly penciled in the left margins. These numerals, all in Jefferson's handwriting, assign a revised sequence to the books listed on these pages. Comparing the marginal numerals with the order of the corresponding entries in the Trist manuscript (found on 109 verso and 110 recto, Chapter 43, "Criticism, Languages") reveals that Trist followed this later sequence in copying entries from the 1815 printed catalog. Another example of Jefferson's marginal ordering guiding Trist's own comes in Chapter 20, "Law Merchant." In this brief chapter (comprising only ten titles), each entry in the 1783 catalog is accompanied by a numeral in the left margin, as above.²⁶ While the 1815 printed catalog arranges the ten entries in this chapter alphabetically by author, Trist's copy follows the order set out by Jefferson's annotations in the 1783 catalog (see figs. 4a-b and 5a-b).²⁷ In other words, while the entries in the 1823 Trist catalog follow the format, spelling, and syntax of those in the 1815 printed catalog (i.e., shelf number, author, title, volume count, format, date), they are arranged according to the sequence stipulated by these marginal ordinals found in the 1783 catalog.²⁸

In addition to these marginal numerals, the 1783 catalog contains discursive notes in Jefferson's handwriting, which may have served to augment or reiterate points made verbally to Trist during one of Trist's stays at Monticello.²⁹ These cryptic marginal and interlinear instructions are almost always expressed in brief imperatives, prescribing Jefferson's desired arrangement of entries in the 1783 catalog. One such note, on page 197 in Jefferson's Chapter 24 on "Politics," super-scribes a list of eighteen books. The note reads, "this should follow Brady of boroughs." Of these eighteen books, sixteen appear in the 1815 printed catalog. While Trist apparently failed to transcribe one of these sixteen—a copy of "Junius's letters, 2.v. 12mo"—the remaining fifteen titles appear in Trist's 1823 catalog after (as we might expect, and as Jefferson's note stipulated) "Brady on Boroughs."³⁰ We might assume, for the sake of argument, that Jefferson's instructions were meant to guide the arrangement of his lost 1812 catalog, a fair copy of the 1783 catalog.

26. An unnumbered eleventh title, "Cunningham's Law of bills, 8vo" was not listed in the 1815 printed catalog and so was not included by Trist in his 1823 manuscript copy.

27. Another series of marginal numbers in Jefferson's hand appears on page 155 of the 1783 catalog. These numbers order books listed in "Chapter 27, Geometry" according to a new sequence: Tacquet's Euclid precedes Stone's Euclid and Stone's Euclid precedes Simpson's. Eventually, at the bottom of the list, De Brahm's tract on leveling tools is labeled "21." Excepting the titles that do not appear in the 1815 catalog (and thus were not copied by Trist), Trist follows the order provided by these marginal numbers without deviation in preparing this section of the 1823 manuscript, again suggesting that Trist might have consulted these marginal annotations when arranging entries in his copy.

28. While Sowerby observed that changes in ordering made between the 1783 catalog and the 1812 fair copy "were not confined to the chapter arrangement, but apply also to the position of individual book entries," she did not speculate on the purpose behind Jefferson's revised ordering of the entries in some subject chapters. Instead, Sowerby silently amended the order of the entries to reflect Jefferson's annotations. See Sowerby, "Foreword," *Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Jefferson*, 4:8.

29. Trist and Jefferson's correspondence confirms that Trist was at Monticello in 1817, 1821, and 1823. It was likely during this final stay that Jefferson enlisted Trist's help on the University's library catalogs. See Heidi Hackford, "Nicholas Philip Trist," Thomas Jefferson Encyclopedia, <https://www.monticello.org/site/research-and-collections/nicholas-philip-trist>.

30. Jefferson and Trist, "Catalogue" [1823], 65 verso.

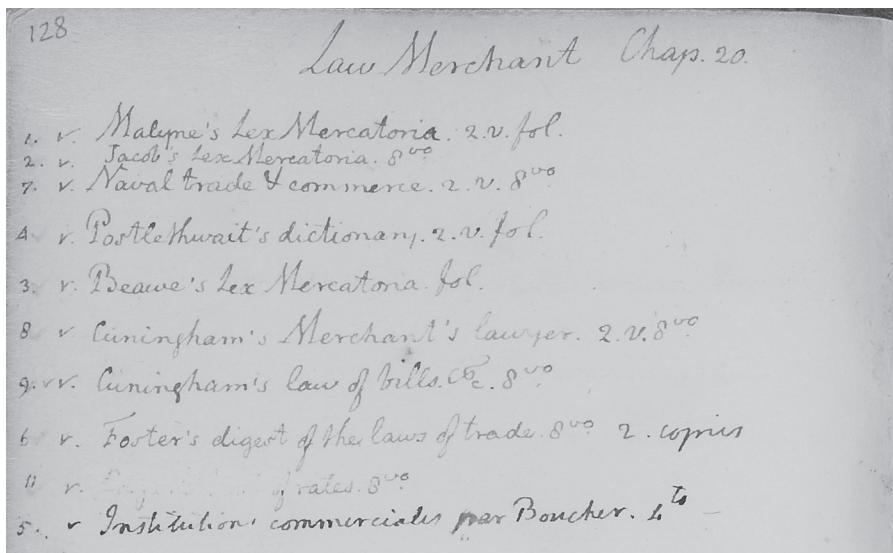


FIGURE 4A. 1783 catalog, page 128, showing the first entries in Chapter 20, "Law Merchant." Jefferson's added ordinal numbers, intended to guide Trist, appear in the left margin (here 1-9 and 11). Image courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

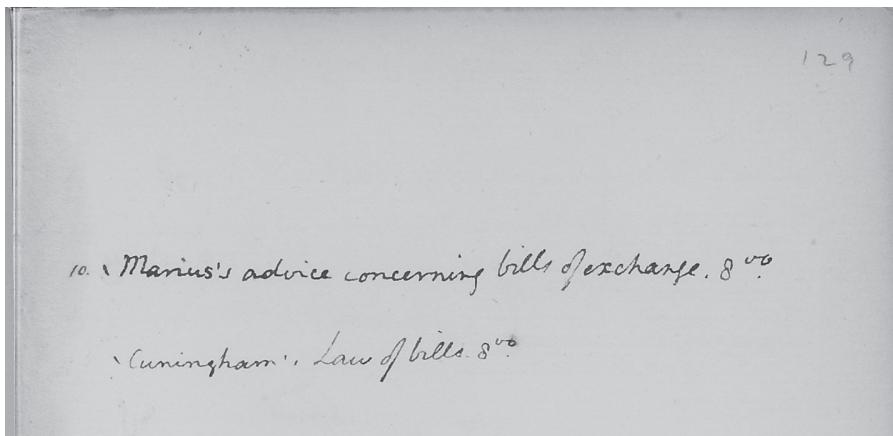


FIGURE 4B. 1783 catalog, page 129, showing more entries in Chapter 20, "Law Merchant." Jefferson's added ordinal numbers, possibly intended to guide Trist, appear in the left margin (here 10, with "Cunningham's Law of bills" unnumbered). Image courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

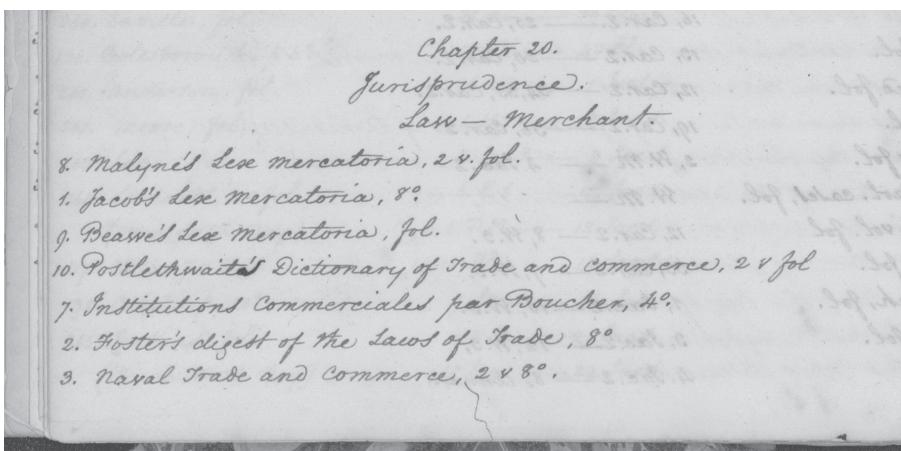


FIGURE 5A. 1823 Trist catalog, page 56, showing Trist's reordering of entries according to Jefferson's marginal numerals in the 1783 catalog (see figs. 4a, 4b). The marginal numbers next to Trist's entries are Jefferson's shelf mark numbers, copied from the 1815 printed catalog. Image courtesy of the Thomas Jefferson Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, The Library of Congress.

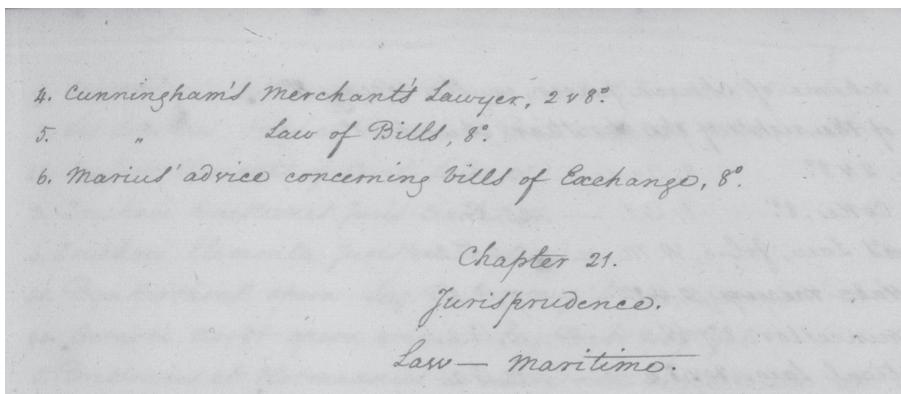


FIGURE 5B. 1823 Trist catalog, page 57, showing Trist's reordering of entries according to Jefferson's marginal numerals in the 1783 catalog (see figs. 4a, 4b). The marginal numbers next to Trist's entries are Jefferson's shelf mark numbers, copied from the 1815 printed catalog. Image courtesy of the Thomas Jefferson Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, The Library of Congress.

This is certainly possible. Our argument, in contrast, assumes that these notes had another or subsequent audience, albeit an audience of one: Nicholas P. Trist.

Elsewhere in the 1783 catalog, Jefferson appended several notes regarding the patterns of arrangement that guided his “sometimes analytical, sometimes chronological” system and which Trist could have used as an interpretive model in copying entries from the 1815 printed catalog into his 1823 manuscript catalog.

In a note that appears on page 24, for instance, Jefferson bracketed off a section of books, writing “to be inserted between the history of Italy, Spain, Portugal, and France, and that of the northern nations of Europe.” While a number of the titles in the bracketed section were excised (evidently rubbed out prior to Jefferson’s annotation), Trist executed this marginal instruction in making up his copy: the bracketed books appear between the histories of southern and northern Europe, as specified. In a similar note on page 29A of the 1783 catalog, Jefferson wrote that books on southern European subjects were to be arranged in the following order, “General works, Italy, Rome, Florence, Naples, Venice, Spain, Portugal, France.”³¹ Tellingly, Trist used this idiosyncratic geographical and national order throughout the 1823 catalog when applicable, with books on Italian subjects preceding titles on Spanish, Portuguese, and French subjects. A related note on page 31 of the 1783 catalog specifies the arrangement of books on Northern European and non-European cultures. This arrangement proceeds from “general works,” to works on Lapland, Russia, Poland, Hungary, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, Germany, Flanders, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Geneva, Turkey, Asia, and finally Africa. This typical, if sometimes variable, progression from south to north, from west to east, from general to particular, and from ancient to modern in Jefferson’s historical chapters recurs in his literary and linguistic chapters and was often adopted by Trist seemingly by default. With basic verbal or written instructions from Jefferson, Trist would have been able to construct this geographical arrangement unaided. No marked copy text would have been required to produce Trist’s 1823 entries that relate to these cultures, languages, or regions.

Unsurprisingly, there are many exceptions to the patterns and textual parallels we describe here. Most entries in the 1783 catalog lack Jefferson’s clarifying ordinal numbers or marginal comments, for instance. In these cases, Trist could have departed from the verso-recto ordering of the 1783 catalog and instead employed the order provided by Jefferson’s shelving numbers as they appear in the 1815 printed catalog.³² As Gilreath and Wilson note, “the initial number assigned to each entry [in the 1815 catalog] refers not to its catalog order but to its shelf position” on Jefferson’s shelves.³³ Jefferson arranged books at Monticello by size, and each chapter of the 1815 printed catalog numbers entries accordingly by bibliographic format.³⁴ In a way, then, an unannotated copy of the 1815 printed catalog was already “annotated” with helpful ordinal guides. Trist could rely on

31. 1783 Catalog of Books, page 29A.

32. Watterston’s catalog records the shelf marks that Jefferson’s books bore upon arrival at the Library of Congress. Judging by Jefferson’s 7 May 1815 letter to Watterston, the 1812 catalog also included shelving numbers: “on every book is a label, indicating the chapter of the catalogue to which it belongs, and the order it holds among those of the same format. so that, altho’ the N^o seem confused on the catalogue, they are consecutive on the volumes as they stand on their shelves,” “Thomas Jefferson to George Watterston, 7 May 1815,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-08-02-0376>.

33. Gilreath and Wilson, *Thomas Jefferson’s Library*, 7.

34. These shelving numbers, which precede each entry in the 1815 printed catalog and are copied out by Trist in Trist’s 1823 manuscript, were devised and affixed to Jefferson’s books during the production of the 1812 fair copy. The 1783 catalog only loosely reflects the order of Jefferson’s shelves and none of the 1783 entries include shelf marks or numbers.

these printed shelving numbers to reconstruct Jefferson's preferred order of books when other forms of guidance (e.g., Jefferson's marginal numbering) were lacking.

Jefferson's subject chapter on "Chemistry" shows how Trist might have occasionally relied on shelving numbers printed in the 1815 catalog when ordering the entries in his 1823 manuscript copy. In this chapter, the numbered series runs as follows: numbers 1-6 are duodecimos, numbers 7-29 are octavos, and number 30 is a quarto. In copying the thirty titles that appear in this chapter from the 1815 printed catalog, Trist first transcribed the entries for the chapter's first (and only) quarto ("30. Neumann's chemistry, by Lewis"), its first octavo ("7. McQueer's chemistry"), and the chapter's first duodecimo ("1. Dictionnaire de Chimie de Macquers"). In this case, Trist roughly followed the order of the 1783 catalog, which lists these three titles at the head of the chapter, likely due to their generalizing treatment of the subject. Following these three titles, however—perhaps due to the ambiguous arrangement of the remaining books in this chapter in the 1783 catalog and the absence of Jefferson's ordinal annotations—Trist deferred to the shelf marks in the 1815 printed catalog to order the entries in his 1823 copy (fig. 6). The sole exception—the appearance of a duodecimo, "6. Jacob's Chemical pocket companion," among an uninterrupted sequence of octavos—is likely the result of Trist returning to the order of the 1783 catalog, which collocates "Jacob's chemical pocket companion" and "Jacob's experiments on Urinary and Intestinal Calculi" (an octavo).³⁵ This method of reordering books according to the sequence of Jeffer-

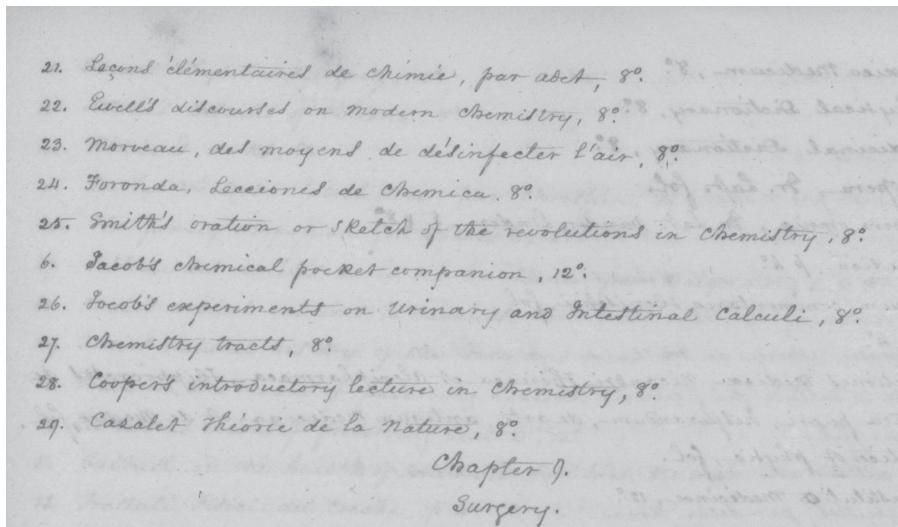


FIGURE 6. 1823 Trist catalog, page 23, showing entries in Chapter 8, "Chemistry," arranged according to Jefferson's shelf mark numbers (here, 21-25, 6, and 26-29). Image courtesy of the Thomas Jefferson Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, The Library of Congress.

35. See 1783 Catalog, page 61.

son's shelving numbers recurs across the 1823 Trist catalog, and for good reason: if a sequence of titles of the same format was ambiguous in the 1783 catalog, Trist no doubt knew that transcribing them in the order in which they were shelved would (in most cases) preserve Jefferson's chronological-analytical arrangement.

While the examples detailed here do not fully account for the similarities and points of divergence between the 1783 catalog and Trist's copy, they reveal much about how and why Jefferson enlisted Trist to compile the 1823 catalog. Not only do these notes and markings demonstrate that Jefferson undertook a final, belated revision of the 1783 catalog (most excisions, annotations, and additions dating from this period appear in slightly darker ink or pencil), they also show an apparent and complex dialogue between the 1823 Trist manuscript and the 1783 catalog. This is a crucial point: it was a dialogue, and the 1823 Trist manuscript could have been produced by means of collation. This, we admit, is a radical argument, given that it removes some agency from Jefferson and grants agency to Trist. But to suggest that Trist played a sizable role in interpreting and converting the arrangement of Jefferson's scheme as represented in the 1783 catalog in compiling his 1823 manuscript is far from baseless: during this period Jefferson was occupied with a variety of projects concerning the foundation of the university and himself acknowledged that his skill for library classification and recondite questions of epistemology had atrophied with time: in a letter sent to Augustus Elias Brevoort on 24 March 1824 Jefferson described changes he'd prefer to make to his original system of arranging books but concludes by remarking, "these are speculations in which I do not now permit myself to labour. [M]y mind unwillingly engages in severe investigations. [I]t's energies indeed are no longer equal to them."³⁶

If Jefferson's notes in the 1783 catalog were not intended for Trist, for whom were they penned? While Jefferson may have intended them as notes to himself, perhaps to guide the completion of his lost 1812 fair copy, the consistency with which these instructions are executed in the 1823 Trist catalog suggests that they were written to aid Trist, with some of the arrangement left to Trist's informed discretion. Another possibility, potentially coexistent, is that Trist had written instructions from Jefferson in some form other than an annotated copy of the 1815 printed catalog. These might have taken the form of a list of rules elaborating Jefferson's "chronological-analytical" system, or notes that would have prescribed, at least in outline, how the entries in the 1815 printed catalog were to be reordered.

Our interpretation of the evidence, rather than disproving or refuting Wilson and Gilreath's argument, simply offers an alternative account that relies less on Jefferson's direct involvement, more on Trist's informed resourcefulness, and notably does not require the existence of a methodically annotated copy of the 1815 printed catalog. This last point raises the crucial question: if such a copy text did exist, with ordinal numbers next to each entry in the 1815 printed catalog, why would Jefferson require Trist's assistance? The task would have been reduced to mere copying, something that could be done relatively quickly and by anyone in Jefferson's household possessing an abundance of patience and an even hand.

36. "From Thomas Jefferson to Augustus Elias Brevoort Woodward, 24 March 1824," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/98-01-02-4139>. [This is an *Early Access* document from *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson: Retirement Series*. It is not an authoritative final version.]

The epistolary record shows that Jefferson's granddaughters worked regularly as his amanuenses in 1823 and 1824. But Trist was enlisted instead; and the project, far from requiring days or weeks, was completed apparently over several months, after Trist had left Monticello and taken his copy texts with him. The timeline, as well as Jefferson's apologetic response to Trist seeking pardon for "the difficulty" of the task, conspire to suggest that the textual history of the 1823 Trist catalog is more complex than Gilreath and Wilson's account allows. It might be suggested that Jefferson was here referring to the "difficulty" of Trist's writing out the 114 pages of the 1823 catalog, but that ignores an alternate reading of Jefferson's letter: the "difficulty" to which Jefferson "subjected" Trist was that of disentangling his system of organization with recourse only to the 1783 catalog, its sporadic notes and marginal instructions, and an unannotated 1815 printed catalog.

After recounting the evidence, our theory can now be laid out in full: our account of the copy text(s) of the 1823 Trist catalog renders an annotated 1815 catalog unnecessary. We might go even further: with only the 1783 catalog (and its notes) and a copy of the 1815 catalog to hand, anyone well versed in Jefferson's shelving schema and his epistemological habits of thought could produce a document nearly equivalent in form and makeup to the Trist manuscript, though with occasional variants resulting from ambiguities in the arrangement of entries in the 1783 catalog. In Trist's case, with the written instructions from Jefferson in the 1783 catalog and some verbal preparation—likely imparted while Trist was at Monticello after June 1821, or when he began studying law with Jefferson at Monticello in spring of 1823—Jefferson's desired order could have been reconstructed.³⁷ Where ambiguities arose or when a revised order was required, Jefferson's marginal instructions in the 1783 catalog guided Trist's work; or alternatively, Trist could fall back on his own knowledge of Jefferson's "sometimes chronological, sometimes analytical" arrangement or the order of Jefferson's shelving, as recorded in the shelf mark numbers printed in the 1815 printed catalog.

Having introduced the first four catalogs relevant to our argument—the 1783 catalog, the 1812 fair copy, the 1815 printed catalog, and the 1823 Trist catalog—we advance the pattern of filiation illustrated in the stemma in figure 7. This stemma, and the bibliographical evidence enumerated above offer a new textual account of the 1823 catalog, but leaves the reason for its production obscure: what was its purpose and the uses to which it was put? Why would Jefferson want Trist to laboriously compile an eclectic catalog, reproducing the contents of the 1815 printed catalog and the arrangement of the annotated 1783 catalog, as late as 1823? Was it because Jefferson simply hoped to recover the extent and arrangement of his library before its sale to Congress in 1812? Or was it because Jefferson was engaged in the most significant and demanding project he undertook in retirement: the formation and planning of the University of Virginia and its library? Douglas Wilson allowed this point in his article announcing the rediscovery of the 1823 catalog.³⁸ Similarly, Endrina Tay has linked the 1823 Trist catalog to Jefferson's plan for the university's library, noting that Trist's copy was made "so that [Jefferson] would have on hand a reference list of the books in his previous library ordered by subject as he began to plan the library collection for

37. See Hackford, "Nicholas Philip Trist."

38. Wilson, "Sowerby Revisited," 624. Quoted above.

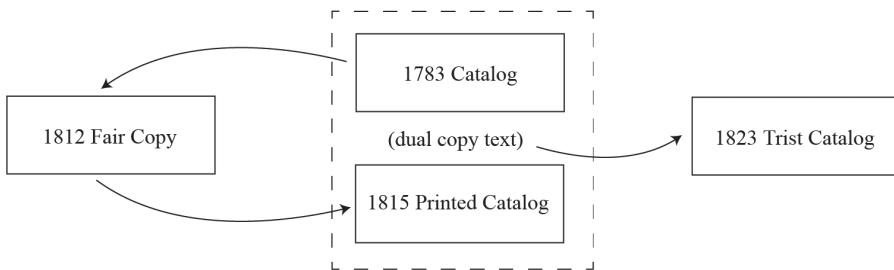


FIGURE 7. We have so far suggested that the 1823 Trist catalog is an eclectic text, copied from Jefferson's annotated 1783 catalog and an unannotated copy of the 1815 printed catalog.

the University of Virginia.”³⁹ In the second half of this study, we present textual evidence that speaks to the question. More precisely, by examining three manuscript booklists associated with the University of Virginia’s first library, we show that all three are textually related to Trist’s 1823 catalog.

THE “LOST” 1824 CATALOG

In September 1824, Francis Walker Gilmer, a young Virginian lawyer, ordered 509 books for the University of Virginia from London bookseller John Henry Martin Bohn (1757–1843).⁴⁰ The Board of Visitors had sent Gilmer to England to recruit the University’s first professors and to buy books “deemed indispensable for a beginning.”⁴¹ But how did Gilmer know which books to buy? Although Jefferson had Trist’s 1823 catalog on hand several months before Gilmer’s departure, there is no evidence to suggest that Jefferson or the Board supplied

39. Tay, “Forming the Body of a Library,” 221 n32.

40. On Bohn, see David Pearson, *Provenance Research in Book History: A Handbook* (Oxford: The Bodleian Library, 2019), 198–199. Nearing the end of his time in London, Gilmer wrote to Jefferson to report that he had contracted with Bohn to supply the university’s first books, noting that he had “made out a catalogue of such as we must have, and have ordered the books & instruments, to be shipped as soon as possible” (“Francis Walker Gilmer to Thomas Jefferson, 15 September 1824,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/98-01-02-4545>). For an account of Gilmer’s time abroad, see Thomas Jefferson, Francis Walker Gilmer, and Richard Beale Davis, *Correspondence of Thomas Jefferson and Francis Walker Gilmer, 1814–1826* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1946). The figure of 509 books is based on an examination of Bohn’s invoices, some of which survive in the Albert & Shirley Small Special Collections Library at the University of Virginia (UVA MSS 11848, 11902). This figure is also based on an examination of the earliest holdings catalog in use at the University of Virginia—the so-called John Vaughn Kean catalog, discussed below—which lists the first books to arrive.

41. The Board had granted Gilmer a budget of 6,000 dollars to purchase “such chemical, astronomical, physical, and mathematical apparatus, and ... such text-books, as on consultation with the respective professors, each for his department, shall be deemed indispensable for a beginning” (University of Virginia Board of Visitors, Minute Book [1817–1828], 58; RG-1/1.381, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, Va). A list of books supplied to Gilmer by the University’s first professor of mathematics, Thomas Hewitt Key, and a list of Hebrew books, evidently supplied by the University’s first professor of Ancient Languages, George Long, survive in the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library at the University of Virginia (UVA MSS 106).

Gilmer with Trist's manuscript or a similarly comprehensive list of books to be procured in London. Instead, it seems they stipulated little and left much to Gilmer's discretion.⁴² Gilmer's acquisition of the university's first books should not suggest that the university's library was formed without Jefferson's direction. Far from it; surviving correspondence reveals that while Gilmer was shopping in London's book-selling districts, Jefferson was at work on yet another list of books, this one meant to be a full and final enumeration of the university's inchoate and still largely theoretical library. This **1824 catalog** was aspirational rather than descriptive, insofar as it listed books Jefferson hoped the university would acquire to fill the Rotunda's yet-unbuilt shelves. It was, in other words, a list of desiderata—a list of books to buy, rather than books already obtained.

It had been long assumed that this Jeffersonian 1824 catalog was lost in a fire that gutted the University of Virginia's Rotunda and destroyed many of its books in October 1895.⁴³ However, a leaf apparently removed from the 1824 catalog's front matter was recently rediscovered in the Rare Book Division of the Library of Congress.⁴⁴ This rediscovered leaf shows that Jefferson's 1824 catalog and the books it enumerates were divided into 42 subject classifications, a modified version of Jefferson's schema used to arrange his books at Monticello (see fig. 8). Jefferson's correspondence indicates that he enlisted the help of friends and acquaintances in supplementing subject classifications that treated disciplines unfamiliar to him. Yet as the catalog's unique subject categories show, the bulk of the 1824 catalog was likely Jefferson's work alone. In a letter to James Madison written on August 8, 1824, Jefferson reports beginning his new list: "I have undertaken to make out a catalogue of books for our library, being encouraged to it by the possession of a collection of excellent catalogues, and knowing no one, capable, to whom we could refer the task."⁴⁵ This "collection of excellent catalogues" presumably

42. The possibility that Gilmer took the 1823 Trist catalog (completed in October, 1823, and received by Jefferson in time to be advanced to Gilmer before his departure for London) or a copy of the 1815 printed catalog is easily disproved: of the 509 known titles shipped to the University by Bohn, only a few are listed in the 1815 printed catalog (and thus in the Trist 1823 catalog). In many cases, Gilmer's stamp on the collection is clear; for instance, Gilmer ordered a near complete set of Leonard Euler's works on optics and mechanics—ten titles in all—none of which Jefferson had owned, and none of which are listed in Trist's 1823 manuscript. If the 1823 Trist catalog had served as an enumerative desiderata in ordering books from Bohn, there is little evidence for it.

43. This "lost" catalog was first described by University librarian Frederick Winslow Page in an article published in September, 1895—a month before the fire. In this article, Page characterized the catalog as "a manuscript volume, without date, but evidently prepared by [Jefferson] between the years 1820 and 1825, which [Jefferson] styles 'A Catalogue of Books Forming the Body of a Library for the University of Virginia,' prefaced by an explanation of the views on which it is based, and by his classification into forty-two chapters, embracing 6,860 volumes." See F. W. Page, "Our Library," *The Alumni Bulletin of the University of Virginia* 2, no. 2 (1895): 78-85.

44. Mark Dimunation, Chief of the Rare Book and Special Collections Division at the Library of Congress, brought the leaf to our attention. The leaf is wove paper (verso blank) and measures 132 x 168 mm. For a full description and analysis, see Samuel V. Lemley and Neal D. Curtis, "A Catalogue of Books in Thomas Jefferson's Hand: A Leaf from a Manuscript Presumed Lost," *Notes & Queries* 264, no. 1 (2019): 130-35.

45. "Thomas Jefferson to James Madison, 8 August 1824," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/98-01-02-4445>.

Books are addressed to the three faculties of
Memory Reason Imagination
to these belong respectively

Civil	History	Physical	Philosophy	Moral	Fine arts
1. Ancient	6. Physics	17. Arithmetic	19. Ethics	29. Architecture	
2. Modern foreign	pure & applied	7. Agriculture	18. Geometry	20. Religion	Gardening
3. British	8. Chemistry			21. L. nat. Hist.	Painting
4. American	9. Anatomy and			22. L. of Equity	Sculpture
5. Ecclesiast.	Surgeons			23. L. Common	Music
	10. Medicine			24. L. March	31. Poetry. Epos.
	11. Zoology			25. L. Maritime	32. Romance
	12. Botany			26. L. Ecclesiast.	33. Pastoral.
	13. Mineralogy			27. L. Foreign	34. Didactic
	14. Technics			28. Politics	35. Tragedy
	15. Astronomy				36. Comedy
	16. Geography				37. Dial. Epist.
					38. Rhetoric.
					39. Criticism. theory
					40. Bibliography
					41. Philology
42. Polygraphical.					

FIGURE 8. The rediscovered leaf, presumably excised from Jefferson's 1824 catalog. The manuscript has not yet been cataloged. Image courtesy of the Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Library of Congress.

included booksellers' catalogs Jefferson had acquired in the past or recently solicited, but his preferences and experience in forming libraries over the course of his life would also have exerted a governing influence; Jefferson's existing library catalogs were his likeliest and most reliable source in creating the 1824 catalog. Indeed, a catalog of the University of Virginia's library printed in 1828 (that is, after Jefferson's death and after most of the books listed in the lost 1824 catalog had been ordered, delivered, and installed in the Rotunda) lists a collection of just over 3,400 titles in 8,000 volumes.⁴⁶ Of these titles, a majority are listed in the 1823 Trist catalog—the catalog most recently commissioned by Jefferson when he began his *desiderata* list in 1824.

The simplest explanation for this coincidence of entries is that Jefferson employed the 1823 Trist catalog as a base-text in compiling the 1824 catalog. And as such, the 1823 Trist catalog was not an attempt at reconstituting Jefferson's "lost" ordering of his books; or at least not only. While it *did* reorder the entries in the 1815 printed catalog according to Jefferson's "chronological-analytical" arrangement, it also provided a baseline enumeration of the titles and editions intended to fill the Rotunda's shelves. In the next section, we examine two catalogs subsequent to Jefferson's 1824 *desiderata* to show that the evidence for a filiation linking the 1823 Trist catalog and the lost 1824 catalog is textual, rather than merely circumstantial. We contend that the 1823 Trist catalog was the textual foundation of the University of Virginia's first library and was compiled and commissioned with the impending creation of the 1824 catalog in mind.⁴⁷ More precisely, we suggest that the primary purpose of Trist's 1823 catalog was one of expedience. In planning the university's library, Jefferson required a full and clear record of his own library at its greatest extent—that is, immediately before it was sold to Congress in 1814—but arranged in a manner that was familiar to him.

46. The University of Virginia Library published a facsimile reproduction of this catalog in 1945. See University of Virginia Library and William Peden, *1828 Catalogue of the Library of the University of Virginia: Reproduced in Facsimile with an Introduction by William Harwood Peden*, University of Virginia Bibliographical Series (Charlottesville: Printed for the Alderman Library of the University of Virginia, 1945).

47. While Jefferson's so-called "retirement library" catalog may have served as another copy text, the extent and topical range of Jefferson's 1783 catalog was a better model for the University of Virginia's first library. In contrast, Jefferson viewed the retirement library as "a collection for my self of such as may amuse my hours of reading" (Thomas Jefferson to David Bailie Warden, 27 February 1815, polygraph copy in Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/mtjbib021010/>). The retirement library also comprised only 1600 volumes, many of which also appear in the 1783 catalog. We exclude the retirement catalog from our *stemma*, as it is textually unrelated to the seven catalogs and lists we examine here. The books that formed this "retirement" library were, however, willed to the University after Jefferson's death. In advance of the transfer of these books to the University, titles that were already held in the Rotunda were marked with an "L" in Jefferson's retirement catalog. These were presumably withheld from the bequest to avoid duplication on the Rotunda's shelves. The Thomas Jefferson's Libraries project has published a detailed account of the retirement catalog's origins and compilation. See "Retirement Library Catalogue," *Thomas Jefferson's Libraries*, <http://tjlibraries.monticello.org/tjandreading/retirement.html>.

THE 1825 JOHN VAUGHN KEAN CATALOG & JEFFERSON'S
LAST BOOKLIST: THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA'S
FIRST BOOKS ARRIVE IN CHARLOTTESVILLE

As Gilmer's order of books began to arrive in crates from London and Europe, a catalog was required to make the new library useful to students and faculty in the fledgling university.⁴⁸ This first catalog, extant in the Albert & Shirley Small Special Collections Library at UVA, is what is known as a holdings catalog, in that it describes a collection of books on shelves, in contrast to the aspirational list Jefferson was then at work compiling. It is a small manuscript booklet prepared by the university's first librarian, a recently enrolled undergraduate named John Vaughn Kean.⁴⁹ Inscribed on the catalog's improvised title page is "May 16th 1825," presumably the day on which Kean finished the catalog.⁵⁰

Kean's catalog is the product of a meticulous amateur. It is crudely bound with multiple gatherings chain-stitched together and covered in gray pulp paper. On the recto of its first leaf, Kean inscribed a provisional title—"A catalog of the Library of the University of Va."—and below this, added his name three times in a flourishing script. Despite the homespun quality of Kean's catalog, its front-matter demonstrates a working familiarity with Jefferson's bibliographical habits and system of library organization. For example, after providing an itemized account of the library's holdings by format ("168 folios, 388 4tos, 1609 8vos ...") Kean drew a table of classifications comprising 42 subject chapters (fig. 9). The graphical layout of this table is identical to the one that appears on the rediscovered leaf of Jefferson's 1824 catalog (noted above; also see fig. 8), indicating that Kean had Jefferson's catalog on hand while preparing his own. This is supported by Jefferson's brief correspondence with Kean. In a letter sent to Jefferson on 22 April 1825, Kean remarked that he was returning a catalog to Jefferson: "I have sent the catalogue, which you have been so kind as to make for me." There is little doubt that Kean is here referring to the lost 1824 catalog, or a copy of it.

48. These first books are described in Rotunda Library Online (RLO), <http://www.rotundalibrary.online>, a bibliographical database and short title catalog that lists every book shelved in the University of Virginia's first library. Filter results by "Provenance: John Bohn (London)." The absence of a catalog for these first books was a serious concern. Writing to the University's first librarian, John Vaughn Kean, Jefferson explained that a library "in confusion loses much of its utility" ("Thomas Jefferson to John V. Kean, 16 May 1825," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/98-01-02-5229>). In an earlier letter charging Kean with his duties as the university's librarian, Jefferson noted that Kean would be expected to "keep the books ... in their stated arrangement on the shelves according to the method and order of their Catalogue" ("Thomas Jefferson to John V. Kean, 30 March 1825," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/98-01-02-5092>).

49. John Vaughn Kean was the son of Dr. Andrew Kean, who served at various points as Jefferson's personal physician. The younger Kean was appointed to the post of Librarian by Jefferson on 30 March, 1825 ("Thomas Jefferson to John V. Kean, 30 March 1825," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/98-01-02-5092>).

50. The Rotunda would not open for another 19 months, in October 1826. The first books to arrive at the University of Virginia were shelved in Pavilion Seven, a structure embedded in the western arm or "dependency" of the University's Jeffersonian lawn.

1. Books are addressed to the three faculties of
Memory Reason Imagination
To these belong respectively

Civil History	Physical Philosophy	Fine Arts
1. ancient 6. Phisics	Mathematical Moral	2. Architecture (Gardening)
2. Modern 7. Agriculture	17. Arithmetic 19. Ethics	3. Painting
3. British 8. Chemistry	18. Geometry 30. Religion	4. Sculpture
4. American 9. Anatomy	31. Nature & Health	5. Music
5. Ecclesiastic 10. Medicine		
11. Zoology	22. S. Equity	31. Poetry Epic
12. Botany	23. S. Common	32. Romance
13. Mineralogy	24. S. Merchant.	33. Pastoral
14. Techniques	25. S. Maritime	34. Didactic
15. astronomy	26. S. Ecclesiastic	35. Tragedy
16. Geography	27. S. Foreign	36. Comedy
	28. Civil Polity	37. Dial. Exist.
		38. Rhetoric
		39. Criticism Theory
		40. Bibliography
		41. Philology

42. Pol. - y - gra - phi - cal

FIGURE 9. John Vaughn Kean's methodical copy of the subject schema drawn out by Jefferson on the rediscovered leaf at the Library of Congress (fig. 8). Image courtesy of the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia. RG.12/12/1.161.

Jefferson's earlier catalogs—including the 1783 catalog and his “retirement library” catalog (see footnote 48)—arrange their respective schemata in a dendritic, horizontal pattern that forms a series of interlinked and branching lines that terminate in the names of individual subject chapters (fig. 10). Kean's catalog, by contrast, follows the unique columnar format found on the rediscovered leaf of the 1824 catalog with no apparent deviation. However, the most striking visual resemblance between Kean's diagram and Jefferson's 1824 original is the position and appearance of the final subject chapter's title, “42. Polygraphical.” This chapter, which Jefferson devised to contain books that address all or several intellectual “faculties promiscuously,” held books on hybrid or various subjects.⁵¹ Because of its varied makeup, this final chapter is classed across all three of Jefferson's Baconian faculties, involving “Reason,” “Memory,” and “Imagination.” In both Kean's copy and on the rediscovered leaf of Jefferson's 1824 catalog, this chapter stretches across the tables' five columns, indicating its variety of subjects, languages, and disciplines. Similarly, both Kean's diagram and Jefferson's 1824 table assign the name “Technics” to chapter 14, a subject classification which Jefferson elsewhere termed “Technical Arts.”⁵² While Jefferson's so-called retirement library also assigned the name “Technics” to its eighth subject chapter, the retirement library comprised fewer chapters (33), and never employed the 42-chapter, columnar schema in use at the University of Virginia and represented in Kean's 1825 catalog and on the rediscovered 1824 leaf.⁵³

Jefferson's 1824 catalog and its 42-chapter table of subject classifications thus offered Kean a model in preparing his own catalog. Whether Kean was solely responsible for arranging the university's first books in these 42 chapters is doubtful, however; it is more likely that Jefferson somehow indicated their place in Kean's list by marking their respective classifications in the 1824 catalog before sending it to Kean, or by annotating another list that no longer survives.⁵⁴ Without such a guide, the chronological-analytical way in which Jefferson ordered books within the chapters of the 1824 catalog would have been inscrutable to Kean, who (unlike Trist) was unversed in Jefferson's system. It is safe to assume, then, that the catalog “made for” Kean and referenced in Kean's 22 April letter provided some welcome guidance—much like, for instance, Jefferson's annota-

51. *Volume 7: Jefferson's Second Library*, 1829, Manuscript / Mixed Material, Library of Congress; leaf 2 recto. <https://www.loc.gov/item/mtjbib026579/>.

52. In the 1783 catalog and the 1815 printed catalog, this subject appears as “Technical Arts” and is assigned to Chapter 15.

53. A manuscript diagram of the schema used by Jefferson to organize his retirement library survives at the Library of Congress: *Volume 7: Jefferson's Second Library* (see note 52). The revised terminology (from “Technical Arts” to “Technics”) is also evidence of the LoC leaf's late composition, as Jefferson apparently only began to use the term “Technics” in retirement and after the sale of his Monticello library to Congress in 1815.

54. It is probable that Jefferson added entries for books ordered by Gilmer to the 1824 catalog after receiving Gilmer's invoices or report. While the 1824 catalog mainly listed books that were on order and not yet received, it would in time become a complete record of the University's library. Presumably, Gilmer had ordered books that Jefferson never owned, and therefore were not listed in the 1823 Trist catalog that formed the basis of the lost 1824 catalog. Kean could have consulted these added entries, arranged in their appointed subject chapters, in determining how to shelfe and classify books shipped from Bohn. While some itemized invoices from Bohn, apparently incomplete, survive in the Albert & Shirley Small Special Collections Library (MSS 11902), no full enumeration of Gilmer's order placed with Bohn survives.

Books may be classed from the Faculties of the mind, which being
 I. Memory. II. Reason. III. Imagination
 are applied respectively to
 I. History. II. Philosophy. III. Fine Arts.

			Chap
Civil.	Civil proper	Antient.	1.
		Foreign.	2.
	Modern.	British..	3.
		American.	4.
History.	Ecclesiastical.....	Ecclesiastical.	5.
		Nat ^l . Philos.	6.
		Agriculture	7.
	Physics.....	Chemistry	8.
		Surgery	9.
		Medecine	10.
Natural.	Animals	Anatomy.	11.
		Zoology	12.
	Nat ^l . hist. prop	Vegetables.	13.
		Botany.	
		Minerals.	14.
		Mineraiology	
	Occupations of Man.....	Technical ar's.	15.

FIGURE 10. An example of Jefferson's dendriform classification table from the 1783 catalog (page 10), with each "branch" terminating in an individual subject chapter (see figs. 8 and 9). Image courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

tions to the 1783 catalog had done for Trist. (In a June 19, 1825 letter, Kean goes so far as to invite Jefferson's help arranging the university's first books in their subject classes. Kean adds that "Dr. Blaetterman has commenced & will complete it," if Jefferson is unable to do the arranging himself.⁵⁵) Ultimately, though, the question of who was responsible for categorizing the university's books into the 42 chapters of Kean's catalog is immaterial. Comparing the rediscovered leaf of the 1824 catalog and Kean's carefully copied table of classifications makes clear that Kean's catalog derived from Jefferson's lost 1824 catalog.

The occasion for creating the 1825 Kean catalog has already been stated: with Jefferson's lost 1824 catalog to guide him, Kean listed the books that made up Gilmer's order from Bohn and arranged them in their appointed places according to the 42-chapter system devised by Jefferson—a task completed presumably when Kean dated the catalog's cover on 16 May 1825.⁵⁶ But Kean's catalog had another purpose besides. As Jefferson finished work on his 1824 *desiderata*—copying from the 1823 Trist catalog and consulting his correspondence with friends, his retirement library catalog, and his collection of booksellers' lists—he encountered a problem that only Kean and his catalog could solve. Because Gilmer had acquired most of the university's first books without consulting any of Jefferson's evolving booklists, Jefferson needed to ensure that duplicate titles weren't ordered from the university's newly appointed bookseller, Cummings & Hilliard of Boston.⁵⁷ In other words, Jefferson needed Kean's catalog to determine which books in the 1824 catalog had been ordered and would need to be omitted from a final list.

Jefferson had reason to hurry. By July 14, 1824, William Hilliard had written offering to "supply your University with such Books as may be wanted for Your course of studies."⁵⁸ Jefferson replied on September 6, 1824, expressing his interest

55. Thomas Jefferson from John V. Kean, 19 June 1825, *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/98-01-02-5310>. This later shipment of books was part of a subsequent order of books placed with Boston booksellers, Cummings & Hilliard, described below.

56. In a January 20, 1825, letter to Gilmer, Jefferson remarks, "Our books &c (8. boxes) are arrived. I have had the covers of the boxes taken off to admit dry air, but we cannot take them out for want of the catalogue; because if we do not assort them under their proper heads of arrangement when first taken out, it would be infinitely difficult afterwards. will you be so good as to send me the catalogue by return of mail, for I think they are suffering from damp" ("Thomas Jefferson to Francis Walker Gilmer, 20 January 1825," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/98-01-02-4890>). Evidently, no such catalog existed, nor was one forthcoming. This necessitated John Vaughn Kean's catalog listing this first shipment of books. Kean's catalog also contains entries for books sent by Bohn's successor as the University's bookseller, Cummings & Hilliard of Boston. Most of these later arrivals are classed in a subsection of Kean's catalog labeled, "supplementary catalog"; these later arrivals, and Cumming & Hilliard's role in supplying books is discussed below.

57. A letter dated April 8, 1825, survives that appoints "William Hilliard, Agent for the said University, to procure the said books, and attend to their care, transportation and delivery, at the said University" ("Thomas Jefferson to William Hilliard, 8 April 1825," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/98-01-02-5121>).

58. "William Hilliard to Thomas Jefferson, 16 July 1825," *Founders Early Access*, <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/default.xqy?keys=FOEA-print-04-02-02-4400>. Jefferson evidently jotted down several titles from this enclosed catalog, some of which were eventually acquired for the University's library. See "Thomas Jefferson's List of Books for Hilliard, 14 July 1824," *Founders Early Access*, <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/default.xqy?keys=FOEA-print-04-02-02-4406>.

and assent but enclosing no catalog. This means that from September 1824 Hilliard was awaiting Jefferson's itemized order in Boston. While Hilliard had enclosed "a Catalogue of a small part of my recent importations" with his 14 July letter, he left the decision to Jefferson, whose reputation for discernment in books and libraries no doubt preceded his reply. "[W]hether you should select from this [catalog]," Hilliard wrote, "or give orders for the importation of others, you may depend upon the prompt & faithful execution of such orders, & upon the lowest terms."⁵⁹

What list did Jefferson send to Hilliard? Given that the lost pages of the 1824 catalog listed *all* the books Jefferson hoped to acquire for the university's library, it was useless as a list of desiderata by January 1825 when Bohn's 509 books began to arrive in Charlottesville. As we note above, if Jefferson had sent the 1824 catalog (or a copy) to Cummings & Hilliard without first omitting these titles ordered in London, the Rotunda's shelves would have held duplicates, redundancies, or conflicting editions—an embarrassing outcome and a waste of the funds that had been set aside for the purchase of the university's books. To complete the order with Cummings & Hilliard, then, Jefferson had to create yet another list of desiderata, enumerating all of the titles in his 1824 catalog, but omitting books ordered from Bohn and listed in Kean's catalog. This second list of desiderata survives in the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library at the University of Virginia.

This list of desiderata, the **1825 Trist catalog**, would be the last booklist that Jefferson took part in compiling before his death in July 1826.⁶⁰ Like the 1823 Trist catalog before it, the 1825 Trist catalog was penned under Jefferson's direction by Nicholas P. Trist, who by then was well versed in the organizational and bibliographic minutiae of the university's first library. Demonstrating the commercial function of this catalog, at the foot of its last page is a brief note in Jefferson's handwriting explaining that, "the preceding catalogue is that of the books with the purchase of which Mr. Wm. Hilliard is charged on behalf of the University of Virginia." The note is signed, "Th[omas] Jefferson Rector" and dated June 3, 1825. The 1825 Trist catalog was sent to Cummings & Hilliard; William Hilliard acknowledged its receipt in a letter dated 22 June, and books began to arrive from Boston and Europe shortly thereafter.⁶¹

An examination of the 3,113 entries (numbered sequentially in red ink by Hilliard) of the 1825 Trist catalog reveals that it systematically excludes books that appear in Kean's catalog while replicating many of the entries that appear in Trist's 1823 catalog. It can be inferred that these replicated entries also appeared in the lost 1824 catalog, which was almost certainly Jefferson's and Trist's copy text in compiling the 1825 desiderata for Cummings & Hilliard. This textual

59. William Hilliard to Thomas Jefferson, 16 July 1825, *Founders Early Access*, <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/default.xqy?keys=FOEA-print-04-02-02-4400>.

60. The 1825 Trist Catalog is held in the Albert & Shirley Small Special Collections Library at the University of Virginia, shelf mark MSS 38-747.

61. The first box of books arrived on July 13, 1825. See "John V. Kean to Thomas Jefferson, 13 July 1825," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/98-01-02-5374>: "I am requested by the Proctor, to inform you that there is a box here sent from Col Peyton; it is directed to you, at the University & we suppose it to contain books likely, for this Library; But wait your better directions."

Chapter 2	
Modern History.	
Foreign	
Southern. General works—Italy, Rome, Florence, Naples, Venice, Spain, Portugal, France,	
northern. General works—Lapland, Russia, Poland, Hungary, Sweden, Denmark,	
Prussia, Germany, Flanders, United Netherlands, Switzerland, Geneva,	
Turkey, Asia, Africa.	
86.	Lessons d'histoire de Volney, 8°
140.	Newton's chronology, 4°
A.	Blair's chronology, fol. grand.
157.	Helvicus' chronology, fol.
1.	Weeks' Introduction to Chronology, 12°
87.	Priestley's lectures on history 2 v. 8°

FIGURE 11. 1823 Trist catalog, page 5, showing the first six entries of Chapter 2, "Modern History, Foreign". Image courtesy of the Thomas Jefferson Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, The Library of Congress.

Chap. 2	History - Modern - Foreign.			
	L Lessons d'histoire de Volney — — — — — — — —	109	1	3
	L Newton's Chronology — — — — — — — —	140	1	4
	L Blair's John Chronology to 1768 — — — — — — — —	111	1	f
	L Helvicus' chronology — — — — — — — —	112	1	f
	L Priestley's lectures on history — — — — — — — —	143	2	8
		111		

FIGURE 12. 1825 Trist catalog, page 4, showing the first five entries in Chapter 2, "History – Modern – Foreign", identical to those shown in fig. 11, apart from the omission of "1. Weeks' Introduction to Chronology, 12°." Image courtesy of the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia. MSS 38-747.

evidence spans four booklists (only three of which survive) and confirms that all of the catalogs we examine in this study share a filiation. Namely, the 1825 Trist catalog is an eclectic text, comprising the entries in Jefferson's lost 1824 list (itself an expanded and revised copy of the Trist 1823 catalog), but omitting books that had been ordered from Bohn by Gilmer and listed in Kean's 1825 catalog.⁶² Evidence for this filiation via selective recopying and methodical omission abounds. Figures 11 and 12 collate corresponding entries in the second subject chapter

62. The theorized pattern of hybrid and selective copying that produced the 1825 Trist catalog can be expressed formulaically. That is, if n = the contents of the 1825 Trist catalog, i = the contents of the lost 1824 catalog, and z = the contents of the 1825 John Vaughn Kean catalog, then $n = i - z$.

(“Modern History, Foreign”) of the 1823 and 1825 Trist catalogs. These respective sections list many of the same books in approximately the same order; and the arrangement of the entries’ content—title, format, and occasionally volume count—is roughly equivalent. The sole difference is the removal of Weeks’ Introduction to Chronology, a 12mo, from the 1825 list. The simplest explanation for these points of similarity is that the 1823 and 1825 Trist documents share a textual filiation, with Jefferson’s lost 1824 desiderata occupying the intermediary place.

The first entries in Jefferson’s chapter on British History offer more evidence (figs. 13 and 14). Here again, the order of the entries in the 1823 Trist catalog is replicated in the 1825 Trist catalog—a copy of the Domesday book opens the chapter, followed by Camden’s *Britannia* (the later list omits the Latin edition that appears in the 1823 Trist catalog, preferring Gibson’s English translation), and ending with Sheringham’s *De Anglorum Gentis Origine [On the Origin of the English People]*. There are discrepancies, however. To the later list, Jefferson added Thomas Hearne’s edition of Leland’s *Itinerary* and *Collectanea* and omitted Verstegan’s *[Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in] Antiquities*. In the second case, the reasoning behind Jefferson’s omission is clear: a copy of Verstegan’s book is listed in the 1825 John Vaughn Kean catalog, ordered from Bohn by Gilmer and delivered the year before. Listing it again in the later catalog would have authorized Cummings & Hilliard to purchase a duplicate copy. The addition of the two titles by Leland demonstrates another category of revision undertaken by Jefferson as he prepared the university’s first library—that is, the addition of titles never owned by Jefferson and therefore not listed in the 1823 Trist catalog. This evidence of addition and omission encapsulates Jefferson’s scribal method in compiling the lost 1824 catalog, which sits between the 1823 and 1825 Trist catalogs, both chronologically and textually. Working with Trist’s 1823 catalog as a basis-text, Jefferson copied out a more complete collection in the 1824 catalog, adding titles or modifying editions to update his library for a modern university and its students. Trist then copied this fuller list, omitting titles in Kean’s 1825 catalog, to form the final 1825 catalog sent to Cummings & Hilliard.

Perhaps the strongest evidence for the 1825 Trist catalog’s systematic omission of books ordered from Bohn and listed in Kean’s catalog appears in its final chapter. The last chapter of the 1823 Trist catalog, “Polygraphical,” lists copies of Bacon’s *Works* and *Advancement of Learning* followed by copies of Locke’s *Works* and *Familiar Letters* (Locke’s *Posthumous Works* and “a collection of his pieces” are nested below these titles, with a parenthetical note indicating that they appear “in op.”: *in operibus*, or in the multivolume *Works*) (fig. 15). After Locke appears Milton’s *Prose Works* in two volumes and a copy of King James’s *Works*. Collating this section of the 1823 Trist catalog with the corresponding section of the 1825 Trist catalog, however, reveals that Jefferson ordered no works by Locke or Bacon from Cummings & Hilliard. Instead, in the 1825 Trist catalog Milton’s *Prose Works* and King James’s *Works* follow Cassiodori *Op[era] Omnia*, with no intervening entries (the omission of Andrew Dalzel’s two *Collectanea*, listed above Bacon’s *Works* in the 1823 Trist catalog, is due apparently to Jefferson’s decision not to acquire it for the university’s library) (fig. 16). This would have amounted to a significant oversight: Jefferson revered both Bacon and Locke—indeed,

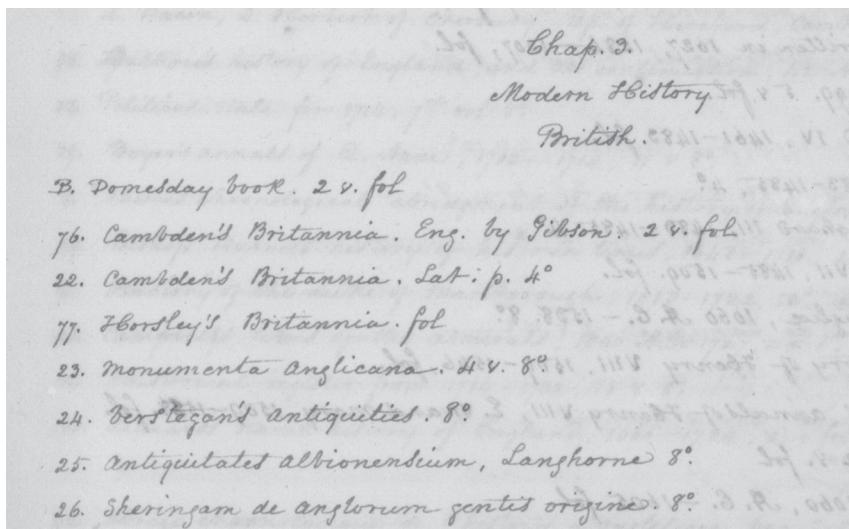


FIGURE 13. 1823 Trist catalog, page 11, showing the first eight entries of chapter 3, "Modern History, British." Image courtesy of the Thomas Jefferson Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, The Library of Congress.

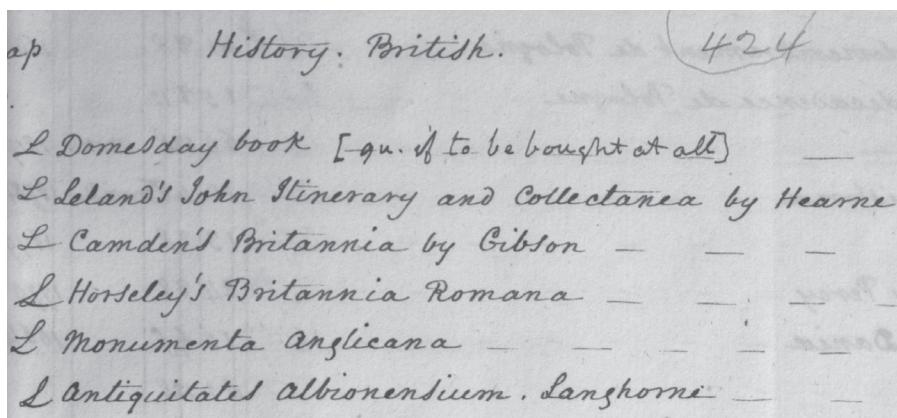


FIGURE 14. 1825 Trist catalog, page 7, showing the first seven entries of chapter 3, "Modern History, British," identical to those listed in fig. 13, apart from the omission of "24. Verstegan's antiquities, 8°." Image courtesy of the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia. MSS 38-747.

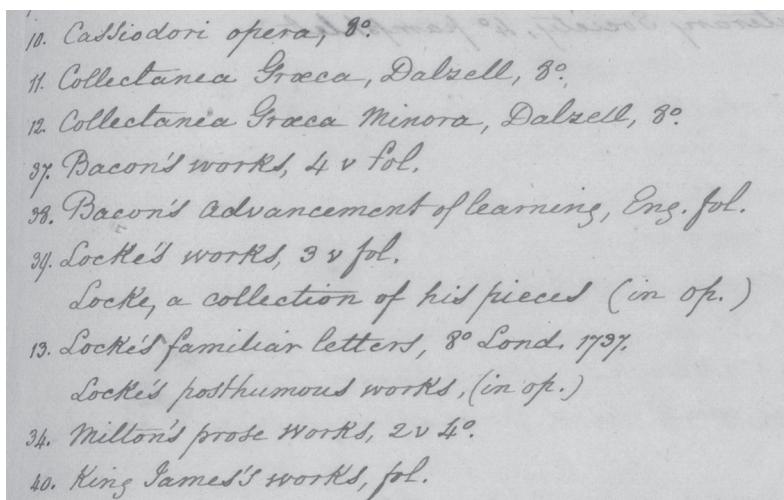


FIGURE 15. 1823 Trist Catalog, page 113, showing works by Francis Bacon and John Locke in "Chapter 44, Polygraphical." Image courtesy of the Thomas Jefferson Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, The Library of Congress.

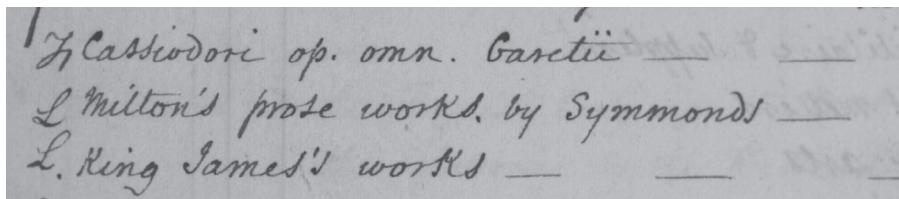


FIGURE 16. 1825 Trist Catalog, page [94], showing the omission of works by Francis Bacon and John Locke from "Chapter 42, Polygraphical." Image courtesy of the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia. MSS 38-747.

none of his libraries or booklists were without their works.⁶³ But this was not a lapse in Jefferson's usual preferences; rather, Gilmer had ordered multi-volume editions of both Bacon's and Locke's *Works* from Bohn, both of which were duly listed in the 1825 Kean catalog after their arrival in Charlottesville (fig. 17). Including entries for either Bacon or Locke in the 1825 Trist catalog would have resulted in the purchase of duplicates of both authors.

There are exceptions to the patterns of copying and omission that govern our proposed filiation between both Trist catalogs, Jefferson's lost 1824 catalog, and the 1825 Kean catalog. For example, the 1825 Trist catalog includes an entry

63. Douglas Wilson writes, "Locke was one of Jefferson's greatest idols and ... [Locke's *Two Treatises on Government*] was repeatedly recommended by him and pronounced 'perfect as far as it goes.' Wilson, Douglas L. "Sowerby Revisited: The Unfinished Catalogue of Thomas Jefferson's Library," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 41, no. 4 (October 1984): 615.

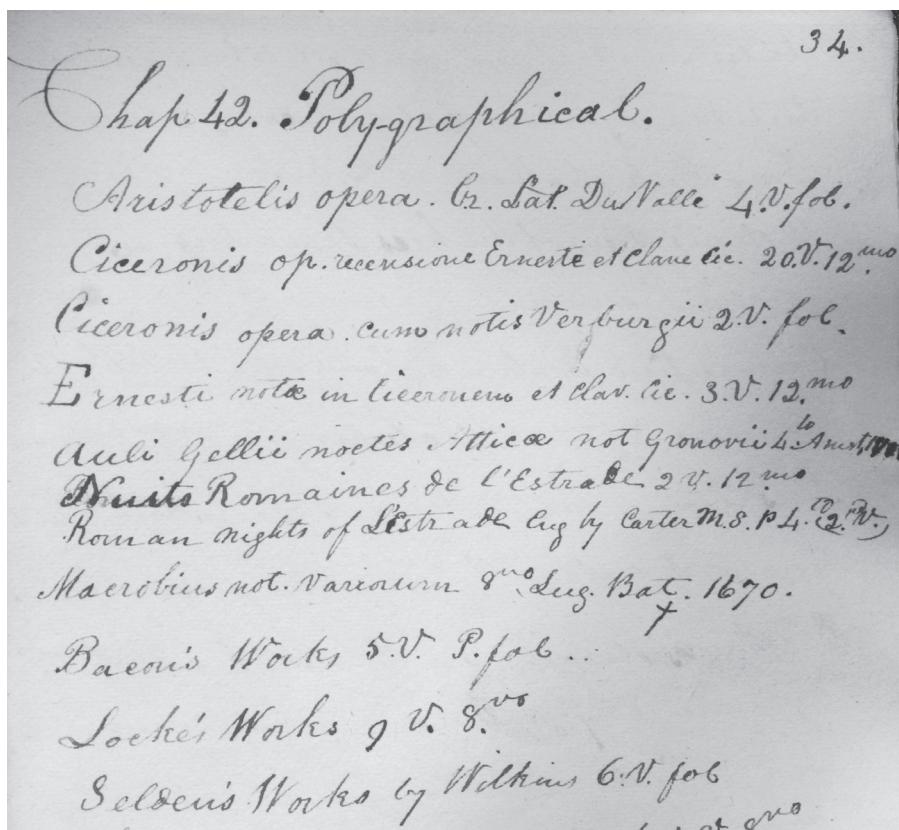


FIGURE 17. 1825 John Vaughn Kean catalog, page 34, showing multi-volume works by Francis Bacon and John Locke in "Chapter 42, Polygraphical." Image courtesy of the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia. RG-12/12/1.161.

for Smeaton's *Narrative of the Building and a Description of the Construction of Edystone Lighthouse*, despite the fact that Gilmer had ordered a copy from Bohn. Other discrepancies in corresponding sections of the 1823 and 1825 Trist catalogs are likely to remain unexplained due to the loss of the 1824 catalog, which recorded Jefferson's revisions to the earlier list, made to ensure the university was supplied with current editions, smaller formats, or books otherwise more suitable to the university's needs.⁶⁴ In most cases, the editions that Jefferson had purchased decades earlier and that were listed in his earlier catalogs (including the 1823 Trist catalog and the 1815 printed catalog it copied) had been superseded. And while the 1825 Trist catalog indicates that Jefferson attempted to rectify this by

64. Jefferson's preference for books in octavo format is well documented. See, for example, "Thomas Jefferson to William Hilliard, 16 September 1825," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/98-01-02-5537>.

researching and ordering later editions or new titles on familiar subjects, we cannot know the full extent of the revisions Jefferson made without the 1824 catalog on hand.⁶⁵

As with any comparatively complex textual genealogy involving multiple copy texts—some of which, in this case, remain unknown (Jefferson's "excellent catalogues"), or are lost—the evidence supports interpretation, not demonstrable proof. Nevertheless, the common textual evidence across these catalogs supports a line of textual descent moving from the 1823 Trist catalog, through the 1825 Kean catalog, and into the 1825 Trist catalog—indicating, in other words, that the 1823 Trist catalog was compiled for the purpose of planning and ordering the University of Virginia's first library. By collating the contents of these documents, we see Jefferson, Trist, Kean, and the university's booksellers collaborating to selectively retranscribe the original 1823 Trist catalog to form a final list of the university's first books. This final list—sent to Cummings & Hilliard in June, 1825 and returned on 11 July, 1826 with a letter from William Hilliard terminating their contract—is not only linked to Jefferson's original 1812 fair copy (and, ultimately, the 1783 catalog before it), but was its textual descendant.⁶⁶ In light of this new evidence concerning the seven catalogs that we have examined here, our stemma tracing their filiation takes final shape (fig. 18).

The stemma in figure 18 can be reduced to a narrative that situates the seven catalogs we examine above in four distinct phases of work: first, the 1815 printed catalog and the 1783 manuscript catalog formed a dual copy text for Trist's 1823 manuscript catalog; second, the 1823 Trist catalog served as the primary copy text for Jefferson's lost 1824 catalog, supplemented by Jefferson's retirement library catalog, Jefferson's correspondence with James Madison, George Ticknor, and others, as well as Jefferson's collection of "excellent" bookseller's catalogs and several lists of books supplied by the university's first professors (see *supra* note 41); third, the John Vaughn Kean catalog, finished in May 1825, derived its format and organizational schema from the 1824 catalog, as demonstrated by the rediscovered leaf at the Library of Congress; and fourth, and finally, Trist and Jefferson worked to compile the 1825 Trist catalog, replicating the contents of the

65. Some evidence for Jefferson's revising and updating survives in the 1825 catalog sent to Cummings & Hilliard (*Inventory of Books for the University of Virginia, Cummings, Hilliard and Co., 1825-1827*, RG-2/1/6.026, Special Collections, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.). For example, next to Phillips Mineralogy, Trist copied a note from Jefferson requesting the "last edition," while next to the entry for La Cepede's edition of Buffon's Natural History—70 volumes in 12mo—another note requests that "if the 8° ed[ition] by LaCepede be as comprehensive, prefer it" (Chapter 11, *Natural History – Zoology*; p. 27).

66. The letter from Cummings & Hilliard closing their contract is UVA MS 11910. Having obtained as many of the books listed in the 1825 Trist catalog as possible, Hilliard observed that "the amount furnished for the purchase of Books, was altogether inadequate to the accomplishment of the Catalogue made out; therefore many Books are omitted, & especially those, the most expensive, and many more, which could not be procured. I had positive instructions from Mr. J not to exceed the sum of 10,000 dollars, & have been studious not to exceed my instructions. The Books already viewed, & those on the way, together with the commission, will amount nearly to the sum appropriated. In some cases, there will probably be found duplicates, which may be handed over to my agent Mr. Jones—Otherwise, I shall expect that none will be returned, as a discretionary power was given, in regard to editions."

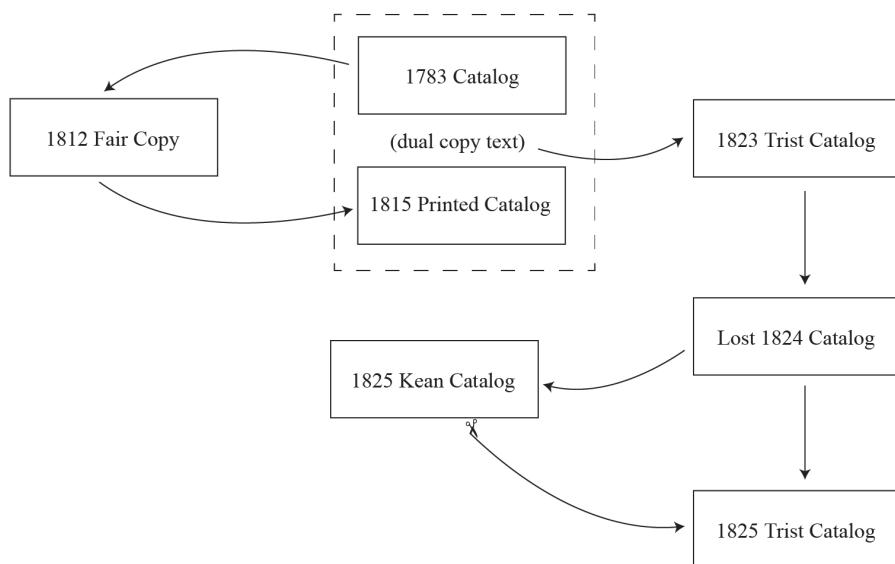


FIGURE 18. The final stemma illustrating the textual filiation that links all seven catalogs we examine in this study.

1824 catalog, but omitting entries for books that had been ordered from Bohn in London or donated to the university by early supporters and subsequently listed in Kean's 1825 catalog.

EPILOGUE: THE UNRECOGNIZED PROVENANCE OF THE 1823 TRIST CATALOG

The textual evidence inhering in these seven catalogs demonstrates that each represents a phase of work in Jefferson's planning the University of Virginia's first library. The idea that Trist's and Jefferson's work on the 1823 catalog was intended only to reconstruct a lost order for Jefferson's books is not supported by the catalogs that Jefferson penned or planned subsequently. Each of these later lists is textually and formally related to Trist's 1823 manuscript, tracing a line of filiation from Jefferson's original 1783 manuscript catalog through to the final list sent to Cummings & Hilliard in June 1825. The newly uncovered evidence supporting this filiation is not only textual, however. In a letter sent to Trist on October 4, 1826, James Madison—then Rector of the University—offered Trist the job of Secretary to the Board of Visitors and an additional \$50 “in consideration of yr. service in relation to the Catalogue for the Library.”⁶⁷ This offered payment implies that Trist's work on Jefferson's catalogs—both the 1823

67. “James Madison to Nicholas P. Trist, 4 October 1826,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/99-02-02-0757>.

manuscript and the 1825 manuscript that followed—was not only in service to Jefferson, but was done rather in a semi-official capacity for the university. In other words, the timing of Trist's commission to compile the 1823 catalog was driven primarily by Jefferson's interest in developing a final list of books that would form the University of Virginia's first library. In the event, Trist declined the payment, explaining that his “motive in undertaking it was to gratify Mr Jefferson ... and as part of that gratuitously done by him for the Un[iversit]y.”⁶⁸

A further clue regarding the origin and purpose of the 1823 Trist catalog hides in plain sight in Gilreath and Wilson's 1989 account: their observation that the catalog was for many years “mistakenly labeled as a catalog of the library at the University of Virginia.” Closer examination of the catalog's provenance and the manuscript itself reveals that this association was not a “mistake,” but rather was based on a clearly traceable history that connects the catalog to the university rather than to Jefferson's personal estate. If Trist's manuscript had been privately prepared for Thomas Jefferson, it would most likely have been retained by Jefferson's family among Jefferson's other personal papers and ultimately consigned to the Massachusetts Historical Society along with the rest of the Coolidge Collection—including the 1783 catalog. This was not the case. As Gilreath himself writes in the introduction to his edited collection *The Judgment of Experts*, “provenance is the one unfailing guide when used in conjunction with a critically intelligent examination of the physical properties and text of any document ... when considered along with other methods of checking a document, it will certainly improve the reliability of any conclusion.”⁶⁹

Our early examination of the 1823 Trist catalog was conducted using a scan of the document, but when we later examined the manuscript in person we found what is perhaps the catalog's most tantalizing piece of provenance evidence. On the front pastedown in the original binding, the number “41” appears penciled in the upper left corner (fig. 19a). This number matches the method and placement of shelf-marking used in the University of Virginia's first library (see fig. 19b), suggesting that the number indicates the book's subject chapter and shelving location in the Rotunda or in Pavilion VII—a structure on the University of Virginia's quadrilateral “lawn” that housed the university's books before the Rotunda was completed and the books installed under its dome.⁷⁰ While the 1823 Trist catalog would likely have been classified in Chapter 40, “Bibliography,” the penciled “41” could be the result of human error: Chapter 40 contained only five titles prior to 1826. In contrast, the adjacent Chapter 41, “Philology,” contained over 100 titles. In installing the constituent volumes of these two chapters onto their shelves and labelling them, books from Chapter 40 could have been easily

68. “Nicholas P. Trist to James Madison, 5 October 1826,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/99-02-02-0762>.

69. Gilreath, “Introduction,” *The judgment of experts: essays and documents about the investigation of the forging of the Oath of a freeman*, ed. Gilreath (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1991), 5.

70. On early shelf marks that survive at the University of Virginia, see Samuel V. Lemley, Neal D. Curtis, and Madeline Zehnder, “Historical Shelf Marks as Sources for Institutional Provenance Research: Reconstructing the University of Virginia's Rotunda Library,” *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 118, no. 1 (March 2024): 79–101.

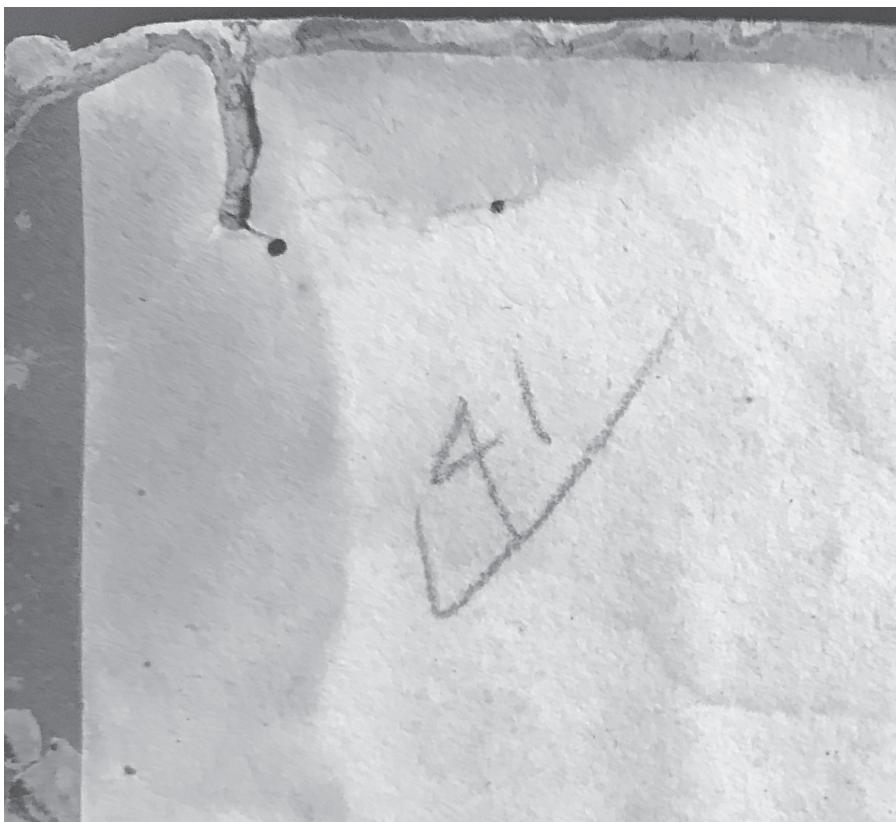


FIGURE 19A. 1823 Trist catalog, front pastedown, showing a shelf mark "41," indicating its subject and shelving location in the University of Virginia's Library. Image courtesy of the Thomas Jefferson Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, The Library of Congress.

mixed in with those from Chapter 41, and shelved together. Whatever its cause, the notation suggests that the 1823 Trist catalog should be directly associated with the library of the University of Virginia.

In fact, the 1823 Trist catalog did not remain with Jefferson but was kept at the university as late as 1834. On this point the provenance evidence in the catalog itself is unequivocal. The original cover bears a later label that states "University of Virginia"; we believe this was added when the book was donated to the Library of Congress in 1917. More revealing is the presence on the front flyleaf of a date, name, and place, all clearly inscribed: "Pearce L. Lewis of Georgia, 1834, University of Virginia." Lewis also tried his pencil on the flyleaf, inscribing his name faintly three times down the page and tracing his initials (PLL) in the bottom right quarter of the page (fig. 20). Pearce Lewis was an undergraduate student at the University of Virginia studying Moral Philosophy and



FIGURE 19B. A similar shelf mark "41," appears on the front free endpaper of a copy of *Anthologia Graeca, Sive Poetarum Graecorum Lysus* held in the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library at the University of Virginia. This copy was originally shelved in the Rotunda. Image courtesy of the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia. PA3458.A2 1794, vol. 1.

Law in the university's 11th session, 1834-35.⁷¹ The signs of his interaction with the catalog indicate that the volume remained at the university until at least that date. Thereafter, Lewis appears to have taken the catalog to his native Georgia, where it remained until 1916 when it was found by Frederick (Frank) Goodell in 1916 while he was serving as camp librarian at Camp Wheeler near Macon.

The provenance and textual evidence in the manuscript suggest that Douglas Wilson's conclusion that the 1823 catalog "proves to be a copy of the catalog of the library sold to Congress with the entries in Jefferson's order and corrected in his own hand" is then only one part of a fascinating story.⁷² On the basis of the materials we present here, we propose that the 1823 Trist manuscript was actu-

71. *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the University of Virginia, Session of 1834-35* (Charlottesville: Moseley & Tompkins, 1835), 7.

72. Wilson, *Jefferson's Books*, 44.

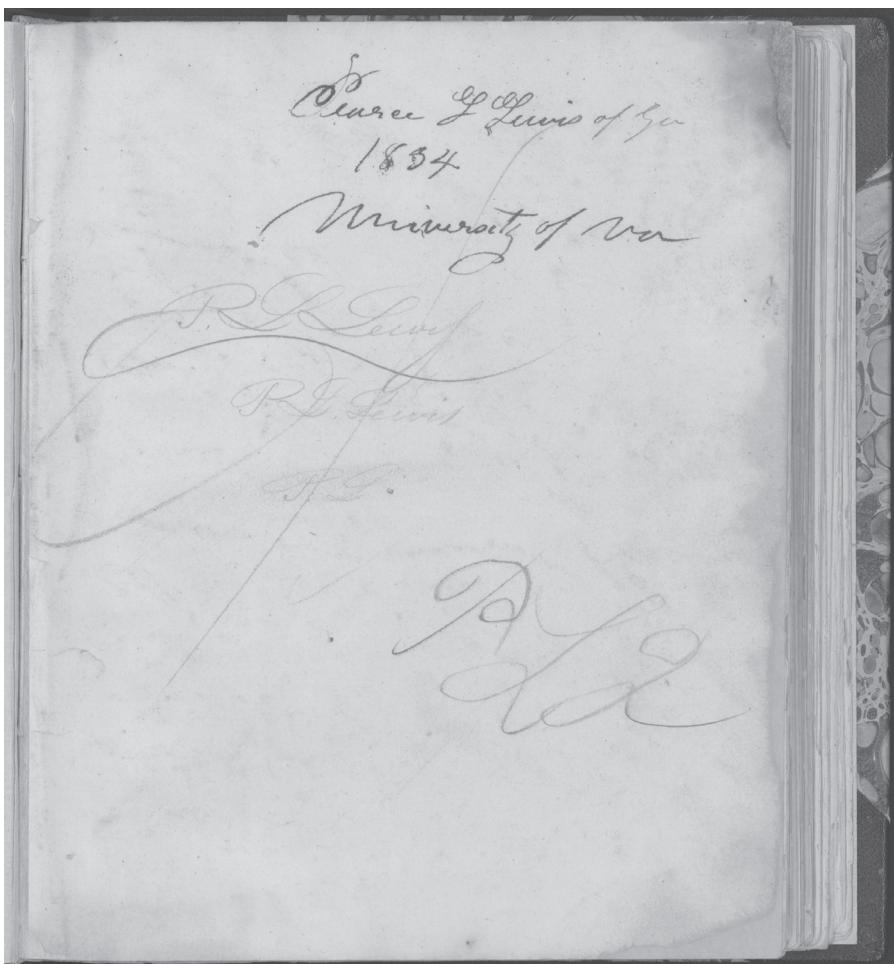


FIGURE 20. 1823 Trist catalog, front free endpaper, showing pen trials and inscriptions written by Pierce L. Lewis, a student at the University of Virginia. Image courtesy of the Thomas Jefferson Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, The Library of Congress.

ally prepared for the university in the earliest phase of the library's planning and was retained by the university until its removal by Pearce Lewis. Yet we remain alive to other possibilities. Millicent Sowerby observed in her introduction to the *Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Jefferson* (1952) that "the number of manuscripts to be read and examined was so overwhelming that it is impossible not to suggest that the student of Jefferson will be repaid by further reading of these, or that the publication by Princeton of the volumes of The Papers of Thomas Jefferson will

not provide undiscovered material.”⁷³ Her remarks have proved prescient. If we have succeeded in expanding Gilreath and Wilson’s reading of the catalogs, it is in part because we have adduced additional information from manuscripts in the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library at the University of Virginia and the Rare Books Division at the Library of Congress as well as in newly published Jefferson correspondence made available through Early Access documents and the Jefferson Papers project. As future bibliographers make additional discoveries about the University of Virginia’s library and develop new methodologies—particularly around the interpretation of provenance evidence—we look forward to reading the yet unknown stories they have to tell.

73. Sowerby, *Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Jefferson*, xiv.

**“CAPÍTULO DE UNA NOVELA EN PRENSA”:
TEASER CHAPTERS AND MARKETING
STRATEGIES IN VICTORIA OCAMPO’S *SUR***

by

NORA C. BENEDICT

ONE of the greatest contributions to Latin American literary culture in the twentieth century came in the form of Victoria Ocampo's literary journal *Sur* (1931–92).¹ With an unparalleled life span—when compared with similar literary magazines of the time—and an astounding list of international authors who lined its pages, *Sur* is an exemplar of literary excellence. Countless scholars and critics have discussed the pivotal role of *Sur* in introducing international writers to Latin American readers and simultaneously putting Latin American writers on the map for international readers.² Above all, there has been a marked interest in examining *Sur*'s impressive networks (Willson; Larkosh; Majstorovic [2013]), its lasting impact on Latin American letters (King [1981; 1986]), and its political stance (Majstorovic [2005]). However, to date there has been no consideration of the marketing tactics employed by Ocampo to help sell the books that she produced with her publishing firm of the same name, Editorial Sur (1933–85).³ While a close examination of all of these marketing strategies is out of the scope of this paper, I focus on one particular method that points to Ocampo's deep-seated understanding of the book industry as well as to her life's work to popularize both national and international works of great renown.⁴ More specifically, I examine the function of pre-publication—or teaser—book chapters in the literary journal *Sur*. In particular, I analyze which Editorial Sur books were excerpted in the literary

1. The most fruitful publication period of *Sur* was from 1931 through 1966. During this thirty-six-year period Ocampo produced 302 issues, whereas only sixty-seven issues of the journal she had founded appeared from 1967 through 1992. Ocampo herself passed away in 1979.

2. See Meyer; King (1981; 1986); and Willson. Less critical attention is given to Ocampo's publishing house, Editorial Sur (1933–79).

3. Editorial Sur published its first works in 1933 and continued to produce ten (or more) books a year until the early 1970s. By 1985, there were no new works published under its name. The firm was reestablished in 2005 and has since published a number of titles under this imprint.

4. I am currently working on a larger project about the history of Editorial Sur that details the following marketing strategies: commonplace advertisements for Editorial Sur within the literary journal *Sur*; advertisements on the cover flaps of *Sur* for Editorial Sur works; book reviews of Editorial Sur works in *Sur*; inserted flyers for Editorial Sur books; and the promotional sashes (or bands) that adorned many Editorial Sur books.

journal and consider why certain titles might have been promoted more than others. In this way, I show how Ocampo's decision to establish this publishing house was not merely to finance her literary journal, but rather a part of her business plan and overarching mission to introduce international writers to Latin American readers.

FROM SERIAL PUBLICATION TO TEASER CHAPTER

Serial publications—or serialized publications—appear frequently throughout the nineteenth century.⁵ “Serialization,” in the words of Catherine Delafield, “was the process by which many nineteenth-century novels were published prior to their appearance in discrete volume form.”⁶ Certain nineteenth-century authors even began to construct chapters of a particular style and length to fit within the parameters of a serial publication. In England, Charles Dickens expertly used this method for the publication of many of his novels and is perhaps its best-known practitioner. In America, according to Michael Lund, “the sheer number of significant authors and works first appearing in part from 1850 to 1900 suggest that a central mode of the American literary tradition was the serial form, the continuing story.”⁷ The serial publication format also was popular in France (*feuilleton*) and Spain (*folletín*) during the nineteenth century,⁸ and examples cropped up in Russia as well with the works of Dostoyevsky and Tolstoy. Instances of serial publications, such as Edith Wharton’s *The House of Mirth* (*Scribner’s Magazine*, 1905), James Joyce’s *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (*Egoist*, 1914–15), and Ernest Hemingway’s *A Farewell to Arms* (*Scribner’s Magazine*, 1929) continued to appear in later decades, but in the early part of the twentieth

5. While serial publications were most prominent in the nineteenth century, they have much earlier origins: “Serial fiction was not a Victorian invention. As R. M. Wiles has shown, already by the second quarter of the eighteenth century ‘number books, independently issued in weekly or month parts, wrapped in blue paper covers, had become a common commodity in the publishing business’ (*Serial*, 75). . . . By 1750 works thus published in fascicles already totaled several hundred and were occasionally issued in editions of as many as two or three thousand copies. Among them were both original and reprinted works, translated texts as well as those in the vernacular, and, among a wide variety of other genres, a number of examples of prose fiction, including Cervantes, Defoe, and imitations of Richardson such as *Pamela in High Life*.” Graham Law, *Serializing Fiction in the Victorian Press* (London: Palgrave, 2000), 3.

6. Catherine Delafield, *Serialization and the Novel in Mid-Victorian Magazines* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 1.

7. Michael Lund, *America’s Continuing Story: An Introduction to Serial Fiction, 1850–1900* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1993), 21–22.

8. Alexandre Dumas’s *The Count of Monte Cristo* (1844–45) and Gustave Flaubert’s *Madame Bovary* (1856) originally appeared as serial publications in magazines in France. Many of the works of Benito Pérez Galdós also appeared in serial format in Spain. See Wright for more details on the development of the serial novel throughout Spain and Mexico.

century the use of this print format declined alongside the advent of new forms of media, namely radio and television.⁹

With this background of serialized publications in mind, I argue that Ocampo's literary journal *Sur* in the late 1930s presented a new form that borrowed certain aspects of serialized publications with an eye toward marketing. While the teaser chapters that Ocampo presented to readers have their roots in earlier serial publications, her excerpts were slightly different. Unlike serialized publications that printed an entire work in installments, or fascicles, the teaser chapter is exactly what its name describes: a single chapter (or, at times, two) that aimed to excite readers about a forthcoming book and, by proxy, encouraged them to buy the book once it was released. In a sense, these teaser chapters throughout the pages of *Sur* are a type of predecessor for the sample chapters—or “sneak peaks” of forthcoming works—that appear at the end of many of today's popular novels.¹⁰ That is to say, these teaser chapters are a hybrid of a serialized installment publication and a sample of forthcoming works. Readers can get a taste for certain books through a periodical publication (like serial publications), but they must purchase the book to read it in its entirety (like sample chapters at the end of contemporary novels). As I will show in the following sections, the teaser chapters that Ocampo appears to have included strategically in her literary journal from a variety of forthcoming Editorial Sur works align with her mission to encourage a broader readership while also boosting sales.

SAMPLING EDITORIAL SUR

Before diving into the teaser chapters in *Sur* I want to reflect briefly on the differences between marketing and propaganda. Both seek to persuade people, but whereas marketing attempts to sell goods or services, propaganda tries to promote a political cause or point of view. Ocampo certainly was concerned with the marketing strategies of *Sur* and Editorial Sur. The impetus behind those projects was her drive to promote important works of literature. In a footnote to the introduction of a special quadruple issue of *Sur* dedicated to English literature she made clear how she had helped to bring this about: “En 1933, antes de la fiebre editorial argentina, SUR publicó las primeras traducciones de Aldous Huxley (*Contrapunto*), D. H. Lawrence (*Canguro*), Virginia Woolf (*Un Cuarto Propio*

9. Fitzgerald's *This Side of Paradise* (1920) and *The Beautiful and Damned* (1922) present another kind of serialization, yet this example is that in which the periodical publication in installments comes *after* the publication of the work as a single volume (*Chicago Herald and Examiner & Atlanta Georgian*, 1921; *The Washington Herald*, 1922), which suggests an even greater marketing strategy since these second serializations tend to appear after large sales of the single-volume work (West III).

10. A number of recent publishing manuals encourage authors to include sample chapters for their forthcoming or already published books in their back matter, especially if the book is part of a larger series (Coker; Crayton; Lynch). I should note, however, that I have yet to see an example of this publishing phenomenon in Spanish-language books.

y *Orlando*) y James Joyce (*Desterrados*).¹¹ Ocampo's decision to include in *Sur* various promotional materials like teaser chapters from forthcoming Editorial Sur titles signals a logical approach to introducing Latin American readers to international authors and to selling her editions of their works.

The range of writers Ocampo published was itself evidence that she was not attempting to promote a narrow party line. Broadly speaking, throughout her literary journal she strived to maintain a neutral stance that was "outside politics," especially in light of the censorship measures that Perón instituted during his dictatorship.¹² This neutral position could itself be viewed as political, but throughout a variety of journal issues Ocampo explicitly reiterated her hostility to partisan bias. For instance, in the same introduction to the quadruple issue of *Sur*, Ocampo discusses the monstrous qualities of propaganda: "En este siglo la Propaganda devora al hombre como un nuevo dios que ni siquiera trata de disimular que es un monstruo. Vivimos, dice C. Day Lewis, en un 'pandemonio de slogans, de himnos nacionales, de titulares, de altoparlantes, de manifestos, de coimas, de chismes desatinados e ideales altamente explosivos.'"¹³ She continues her diatribe by stating that *Sur* is against any type of political propaganda and, instead, simply wishes to provide its readers with examples of outstanding literature: "En atmósferas de pandemonio ni poetas, ni artistas verdaderos pueden respirar. No ha sido, ni será la atmósfera de nuestra revista. Y por eso este número especial de SUR no es un número de propaganda. . . . Sólo se propone dar a conocer algunos nuevos valores."¹⁴

Editorial Sur published forty-three books between the years 1936 and 1971 that have teaser chapters in *Sur* (table 1).¹⁵ These pre-publication texts found throughout the pages of Ocampo's literary journal *Sur* were not reserved for one specific genre or type of literature, but rather reflected virtually every genre published by Editorial Sur during its decades-long run. More specifically, there were excerpts of poetry, theater, novels, essays, short stories, and even memoirs in *Sur* that were later included in full-length books published by Editorial Sur.¹⁶

11. "In 1933, before the frenzy of Argentine publishing, SUR published the first translations of Aldous Huxley (*Point Counter Point*), D. H. Lawrence (*Kangaroo*), Virginia Woolf (*A Room of One's Own* and *Orlando*), and James Joyce (*Exiles*)."

12. John King, "Towards a Reading of the Argentine Literary Magazine *Sur*," *Latin American Research Review* 16, no. 2 (1981): 64.

13. "In this century, Propaganda devours man like a new God who does not even try to hide the fact that he is a monster. We live, as C. Day Lewis says, in a 'pandemonium of slogans, national anthems, headlines, loudspeakers, manifestos, bribes, misguided rumors, and highly explosive ideals.' Victoria Ocampo, "Introducción," *Sur* 153 (1947): 11.

14. "In atmospheres of pandemonium, neither poets nor true artists can breathe. This has not been nor will it be the atmosphere of our journal. And for that reason, this special issue of *SUR* is not an issue of propaganda. . . . It only aims to make a few new (literary) values known." Ocampo, "Introducción," 11.

15. Editorial Sur published a total of 345 books during this time span, which means that 12.5% of their titles were excerpted as teaser chapters in *Sur*. That said, this percentage might actually be slightly higher given that at least one of the titles with teaser chapters in *Sur* was republished under a new title: Albert Camus, *Bodas* [1957]; Albert Camus, *El verano / Bodas* [1970].

16. The following is the specific breakdown of each of the genres represented in these teaser chapters: Novel (37%), Essay (26%), Memoir (14%), Short Stories (9%), Poetry (9%), and Theater (5%).

In essence, these teaser chapters showcased the breadth and depth of material that this publishing firm produced. What is more, the authors who penned these diverse works hailed from around the globe (England, France, Argentina, Italy, Chile, Russia, Spain, the United States,¹⁷ Ireland, and Germany). However, the names of virtually all the authors of these sample chapters would have been known to readers, especially for the educated and elite consumers of *Sur*. For instance, a few of the authors whose sampled works appeared in these issues included James Joyce, Virginia Woolf, Aldous Huxley, George Orwell, Gabriela Mistral, Albert Camus, and T. E. Lawrence, as well as Victoria Ocampo herself. When viewed in tandem with the numerous ads that filled the opening and closing pages of each issue of the literary journal *Sur*, these teaser chapters reveal one potential way in which Ocampo might have marketed select works as a part of her more general mission to promote certain authors for her Latin American readers.¹⁸

While Ocampo's literary journal tended to include only one pre-publication chapter from each of these books, there were instances in which several chapters—or even entire works—appeared in *Sur* prior to the book publication with Editorial Sur. Consider, for instance, the following titles that had at least two chapters published in *Sur* prior to their releases as single-volume works with Editorial Sur: André Gide's *Perséphone* (1936), Eduardo Mallea's *La ciudad junto al río inmóvil* (1936), Virginia Woolf's *Un cuarto propio* (1936), Aldous Huxley's *Con los esclavos en la noria* (1937), Victoria Ocampo's *Virginia Woolf, Orlando y Cía* (1938), and Silvina Ocampo's *Autobiografía de Irene* (1948).¹⁹ Multiple poems from Gabriela Mistral's *Tala* (1938) as well as Eduardo González Lanuza's *La degollación de los inocentes* (1938) and *Transitable cristal* (1943) also appeared in the pages of *Sur* prior to their official release with Editorial Sur. It is telling that early on multiple teaser chapters from Editorial Sur books—if not the entire works—appeared in *Sur*. In essence, these early pre-publication chapters highlight the residual influence of serial publications. The only two books that were published in an entirely serialized format in *Sur* prior to their release with Editorial Sur were Woolf's *Un cuarto propio* and Gide's *Perséphone*.²⁰ These two works are the second and third Editorial Sur works that were pre-published in *Sur*, respectively, which further stresses the

17. The only American writer, Christopher Isherwood, was born in the United Kingdom in 1904, but he became a United States citizen in 1946 and lived in California until his death in 1986.

18. Alongside the promotional materials for Editorial Sur editions and articles in forthcoming issues of *Sur*, the majority of advertisements found in the opening and closing pages of Ocampo's literary journal throughout the 1930s and 1940s were for printers, bookstores, or other publishing houses in Buenos Aires.

19. Ocampo included three chapters from T. E. Lawrence's *Siete pilares de la sabiduría* in *Sur* (120 [October 1944]), but these appeared the month after the entire book was released with Editorial Sur (September 1944).

20. I note in another work that this Spanish-language translation of Gide's work with Editorial Sur was most likely “a type of reverse marketing to attract potential [buyers] by giving them access to a (successful) sample of the type of material that they publish” since, in addition to appearing in *Sur* in its entirety, it was distributed free of charge in book form (Nora Benedict, *Borges and the Literary Marketplace: How Editorial Practices Shaped Cosmopolitan Reading*, [New Haven: Yale University Press, 2021], 276).

TABLE I. Editorial Sur teaser chapters in *Sur*, arranged by book publication date (1936–71)

Author	Work	Publication date	Pre-publication in <i>Sur</i>
Eduardo Mallea	<i>La ciudad junto al río Inmáni</i>	1936	#2 (1931; pp. 86–131); #9 (1934; pp. 69–113)
Virginia Woolf	<i>Un cuarto propio</i>	1936	#15 (1935; pp. 7–29); #16 (1936; pp. 25–58); #17 (1936; pp. 41–61); #18 (1936; pp. 46–81)
André Gide	<i>Peréphone</i>	1936	#19 (1936; pp. 8–53)
Aldous Huxley	<i>¿Cómo lo resuelve usted? El problema de la paz constructiva</i>	1936	#22 (1936; pp. 7–44)
Aldous Huxley	<i>Con los esclavos en la noria</i>	1937	#29 (1937; pp. 47–54); #30 (1937; pp. 28–48)
James Joyce	<i>Desterrados</i>	1937	#35 (1937; pp. 68–86)
Conrado Nalé Roxlo	<i>Claro desvelo</i>	1937	#39 (1937; pp. 63–64)
Victoria Ocampo	<i>Virginia Woolf, Orlando y Cía</i>	1938	#35 (1937; pp. 10–67)
Ramón Fernández	<i>¿Es humano el hombre?</i>	1938	#41 (1938; pp. 42–50)
Gabriela Mistral	<i>Tala</i>	1938	#38 (1937; pp. 38–40); #42 (1938; pp. 20–26)
Victoria Ocampo	<i>Emily Brontë. Terra Incognita</i>	1938	#45 (1938; pp. 7–51)
Emily Brontë	<i>Cumbres borrascosas</i>	1938	#45 (1938; pp. 7–51)
Virginia Woolf	<i>Al faro</i>	1938	#43 (1938; pp. 7–30)
Eduardo González Lanuza	<i>La degollación de los inocentes</i>	1938	#29 (1937; pp. 55–57); #33 (1937; pp. 78–80)
León Chestov	<i>Las revelaciones de la muerte</i>	1938	#51 (1938; pp. 38–49)
H. Bustos Domecq	<i>Ses problemas de don Isidro Parodi</i>	1942	#88 (1942; pp. 36–52)

Eduardo González Lanuza	<i>Transitable cristal</i>	1943	#51 (1938; pp. 50–51); #71 (1940; p. 27); #75 (1940; p. 107); #84 (1941; pp. 7–11); #100 (1943; p. 44); #101 (1943; pp. 7–12)
José Bianco	<i>Las rutas</i>	1943	#109 (1943; pp. 37–59)
T. E. Lawrence	<i>Los siete pilares de la sabiduría</i>	1944	#120 (1944; pp. 35–54)
Victoria Kent	<i>Cuatro años en París (1940–1944)</i>	1947	#150 (1947; pp. 32–55)
Albert Camus	<i>La peste</i>	1948	#147–149 (1947; pp. 211–221)
George Orwell	<i>Ensayos críticos</i>	1948	#153–156 (1947; pp. 129–150)
Adolfo Bioy Casares	<i>La trama celeste</i>	1948	#116 (1944; pp. 35–69)
Silvina Ocampo	<i>Autobiografía de Irene</i>	1948	#117 (1944; pp. 12–29); #164–165 (1948; pp. 9–34); #166 (1948; pp. 61–85); #167 (1948; pp. 32–49)
Christopher Isherwood	<i>Adiós a Berlín</i>	1948	#153–156 (1947; pp. 256–281)
Cyril Connolly	<i>La tumba sin sosiego</i>	1949	#153–156 (1947; pp. 95–128)
Juan Goyanarte	<i>Lunes de carnavales</i>	1952	#217–218 (1952; pp. 80–100)
Albert Camus	<i>Bodas</i>	1953	#211–212 (1952; pp. 24–41)
Juan Goyanarte	<i>La quemazón</i>	1953	#224 (1953; pp. 81–118)
Joseph Jean Lanza del Vasto	<i>Peregrinación a las fuentes</i>	1954	#161 (1948; pp. 22–97)
T. E. Lawrence	<i>El troquel</i>	1955	#153–156 (1947; pp. 247–251); #197 (1951; pp. 4–18)
Joseph Jean Lanza del Vasto	<i>Vimoba o la nueva peregrinación</i>	1955	#233 (1955; pp. 4–25)
H. A. Murena	<i>La fatalidad de los cuerpos</i>	1955	#236 (1955; pp. 9–30)
Alexandre Arnoux	<i>La cifra</i>	1955	#238 (1956; pp. 87–90)

(Continued)

TABLE I. (Continued)

Author	Work	Publication date	Pre-publication in Sur
Samuel Beckett	<i>Malone muere</i>	1958	#255 (1958; pp. 4-13)
Silvina Ocampo	<i>La furia</i>	1959	#217-218 (1952; pp. 27-34); #255 (1958; pp. 25-28)
T. S. Eliot	<i>Sobre la poesía y los poetas</i>	1959	#153-156 (1947; pp. 129-150)
Graham Greene	<i>Un caso acabado</i>	1961	#268 (1961; pp. 29-36)
Victoria Ocampo	<i>Tagore en las barrancas de San Isidro</i>	1961	#270 (1961; pp. 62-83)
C. P. Snow	<i>Las dos culturas y la revolución científica</i>	1963	#274 (1962; pp. 9-23)
Vita Sackville-West	<i>Toda pasión concluida</i>	1963	#284 (1963; pp. 1-12)
H. A. Murena	<i>Los herederos de la promesa</i>	1965	#296 (1965; pp. 23-34)
Max Horkheimer & Theodor W. Adorno	<i>Dialectica del iluminismo</i>	1971	#35 (1968; pp. 22-38)

impact of serial publications on marketing strategies in literary journals like *Sur*. In fact, Woolf's work overtly harked back to earlier serialized installments with the use of phrases like “continuará” [will continue] and “concluirá” [will conclude] at the end of each separate chapter publication in *Sur*, which were spread out over four different issues from December 1935 to March 1936. Editorial Sur's single-volume book publication of *Un cuarto propio* appeared in July 1936.

In contrast to the multiple-teaser-chapter model, single teaser chapters became more common in the literary journal. The single-teaser chapter model coincided with Editorial Sur's publication of the works of more high-profile, international authors. Generally speaking, this shift to a single-teaser chapter model not only would allow for the inclusion of more authors' works, which certainly would have appealed to Ocampo's more general goals, but also might be a logical change in light of the differences in sales that result from serialized publications and teaser chapters. While the presence of serialized publications within a journal might generate an uptick in buyers—or subscribers, these individuals will only be purchasing issues of one particular journal, not separate books, and they might even stop their subscriptions after the last installment of a given work. On the other hand, the use of pre-publication chapters entices readers not only to continue to buy a given journal for the carefully curated snippets of forthcoming works, but also to purchase the books that are marketed with these teaser chapters. If the journal and publishing house are owned by the same individual, which is the case for *Sur* and Editorial Sur, this model would be the most logical and economically sound option as it encourages the largest amount of profit as well as the greatest number of readers and buyers.

Another more subtle clue that these teaser chapters functioned as a type of marketing to help sell Editorial Sur editions are the footnotes that accompanied over half of the periodical publications.²¹ More specifically, the majority of these teaser chapters brought readers' attention to the fact that the excerpt that they were about to read in *Sur* was part of a forthcoming Editorial Sur book. For instance, James Joyce's *Desterrados* alerted readers that the “versión castellana publicará próximamente la Editorial SUR” [the Spanish version will be published shortly], while Conrado Nalé Roxlo's *Claro desvelo* was already “en prensa” [in production] with Editorial Sur, and Gabriela Mistral's *Tala* “publicará este mes” [will be published this month].²²

In comparison with these slight hints, Ocampo took a more direct route with other works. In particular, she endorsed Huxley's *Con los esclavos en la noria* and Cyril Connolly's *La tumba sin sosiego* more explicitly. Immediately before the first teaser chapter of Huxley's work was a long introductory text about the publication and the “esfuerza editorial” [editorial effort] to produce this work in Spanish.²³ What is more, this gloss did not simply announce the publica-

21. Over half of these Editorial Sur books that are promoted through teaser chapters are also reviewed in *Sur*.

22. Virtually all of the other footnoted teaser chapters presented a similar linguistic formula to announce that these textual fragments were part of a larger work.

23. I should note that both of the introductory texts that I discuss here only appeared before the excerpted teaser chapters in the literary journal *Sur* and were not included in the full book-length publications with Editorial Sur.

tion of Huxley's novel with Editorial Sur, it conveyed the unique opportunity that readers had to acquire "una obra de gran importancia" [a work of great importance].²⁴ The editors of *Sur* also stressed that this was the "primera traducción [española] que aparece, pues el público no conoce aún más que la edición inglesa" [first Spanish translation to appear since the public does not know anything other than the English edition].²⁵ This particular tactic of emphasizing the fact that no other Spanish-language version of a given work exists is one that Editorial Sur employed frequently throughout the 1930s with great success.²⁶ Similar to Huxley's teaser chapters, the pre-publication chapter from Connolly's *La tumba sin sosiego* was prefaced by a lengthy two-page parenthetical note by Ricardo Baeza, the novel's translator. Aside from providing a brief biography of Connolly and details on his other works, Baeza mentions that the complete translation of his most recent novel (*La tumba sin sosiego*) "publicará en breve la Editorial Sur" [will be published soon by Editorial Sur] (95). These two examples point to Ocampo's meticulous attention to the promotion and marketing of her books.

For most of these titles, the pre-publication chapters appeared in *Sur* at least one to two months before their release as books by Editorial Sur. In this way, readers were made aware of forthcoming titles and given a preview of coming attractions with the hopes of building anticipation for the entire book. This marketing strategy makes sense given that over half of these works were the first authorized translations of foreign works available to readers in Latin America, which also aligned with Ocampo's overarching mission and, given their unique status in the Spanish-language book industry, made their availability more desirable. That said, there are a few outliers (nine in total) whose teaser chapters appeared in *Sur* in the same month as their full-length book publication. The vast majority of titles that fall into this camp of simultaneous publication are those by authors whose works appeared in Spanish and, as a result, did not require translation, namely Conrado Nalé Roxlo, Gabriela Mistral, José Bianco, Juan Goyanarte, H. A. Murena, and Victoria Ocampo.²⁷ The only exceptions are Alexandre Arnoux's *La cifra*, which was published as a book with Editorial Sur in November 1955 and then excerpted in the January/February 1956 issue of *Sur* (238: 87–90), and T. E. Lawrence's *Siete pilares de la sabiduría*, which was published as a book with Editorial Sur in September 1944 and then excerpted in the October 1944 issue of *Sur* (120: 35–54). Given Ocampo's interest in promot-

24. "Un capítulo de *Eyeless in Gaza*," *Sur* 29 (1937): 47.

25. "Un capítulo de *Eyeless in Gaza*," 48.

26. The colophons for many international works produced by Editorial Sur during these years highlight the status of these books as the first Spanish-language translation *authorized by the author* (e.g., Aldous Huxley, *Contrapunto* [1933], *Con los esclavos en la noria* [1937]; D. H. Lawrence, *Canguro* [1933], *La virgin y el gitano* [1934]; André Malraux, *La condición humana* [1936]; Virginia Woolf, *Un cuarto propio* [1936], *Orlando* [1937], *Alfaro* [1938]; James Joyce, *Desterrados* [1937]; etc.). The advertising flyers inserted in *Sur* to announce forthcoming works from Editorial Sur praised the novelty of their Spanish-language translations. Take, for instance, the flyer for Joyce's *Desterrados* that boldly states that "DESTERRADOS no ha sido traducido aún a ningún otro idioma; es por lo tanto una primicia más de SUR" [EXILES has not been translated into any other language; it is therefore another first for SUR].

27. Aside from these authors, the works of León Chestov, Ramón Fernández, and Joseph Jean Lanza del Vasto also appeared with simultaneous publications in *Sur* and Editorial Sur.

ing exemplary literary works from writers of her time, it makes sense that she would have fueled anticipation for coming titles. The longer timeline involved in producing translations of these foreign works also might have factored into the months-long gap between teaser chapter publication in *Sur* and full-length book publication with Editorial Sur.²⁸

PROMOTIONAL TRENDS

Certain trends emerge with these pre-publication texts. In the pages that follow I explain why certain Editorial Sur works might have been promoted more heavily than others and, with the help of extant archival material, reveal additional financial pressures that might account for some of Ocampo's marketing decisions. In general terms, the rationale for the use of teaser chapters in *Sur* falls into one of two categories: promotion of best sellers, or questions of copyright and authors' permissions. Even though these two categories overlap in a number of ways, it will be useful to conceptualize the use of pre-publication chapters through these two lenses.

If a publisher is looking to capitalize on international literary trends, then producing translations, especially the *first authorized* translations, of works that have already become commercial successes in other countries is a sound decision. Ocampo's editorial selections and keen eye for the best literary trends, therefore, made her a savvy businesswoman. In fact, Editorial Sur made many international best sellers available to Spanish-language readers for the first time. Perhaps more surprising is the fact that some of her firm's translations are still the only Spanish-language translations available for certain foreign works. Here I examine two examples of best-selling authors whose work Editorial Sur translated, published, and excerpted with teaser chapters in the literary journal *Sur*: Aldous Huxley and Albert Camus.

Editorial Sur published two of Aldous Huxley's novels—*Contrapunto* and *Con los esclavos en la noria*—as well as his short pamphlet *¿Cómo lo resuelve usted? El problema de la paz constructiva*. In fact, Huxley's *Contrapunto* is the first work that Ocampo's firm published, and one of the author's most successful. A short three years later, in 1936, Ocampo acquired the translation and publication rights for Huxley's *Eyeless in Gaza*, which was already creating a stir: "That *Eyeless in Gaza* was awaited with growing interest is attested by its first-year sales in England, which at 26,700 copies [...], were more than double those of *Brave New World*. The reviews of *Eyeless in Gaza* were the fullest and quite often the most analytical of any novel Huxley wrote."²⁹ According to the book's colophon, *Con los esclavos en la noria* was the first and only authorized Spanish translation of *Eyeless in Gaza*, which accentuates its unique importance.

Unlike *Contrapunto*, the publication of Huxley's *Con los esclavos en la noria* with Editorial Sur was preceded—and highly anticipated—by two teaser chapters in Ocampo's literary journal. What is more, as previously mentioned, the first of these

28. The publication of foreign language works in translation is also more costly than producing a Spanish-language work. As a result, the earlier (and heavier) advertising and promotion of these works might have been an intentional effort to recuperate funds.

29. Donald Watt, *Aldous Huxley* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 19.

two teaser chapters was introduced with a lengthy page-and-a-half note to readers that emphasized the importance of this literary work. From its opening line, this introductory note presented an air of marketing: “La Editorial SUR dará pronto al público de habla española una obra de gran importancia: la reciente y ya famosa novela con que el autor de CONTRAPUNTO ha igualado y aún sobrepasado los valores extraordinarios en cuanto a inteligencia y estilo que señalaron a ese título como el de una de las novelas más importantes de nuestro tiempo.”³⁰ Apart from singing the praises of this new novel, this note mentioned Huxley’s previous novel published by Editorial Sur (*Contrapunto*), which linked the two works and appeared to encourage readers to purchase this earlier title if they had not done so already. Finally, the author of this note suggested that this edition would be to the liking of *Sur*’s many readers: “SUR espera que sus ya muchos millares de lectores aprecien el esfuerzo editorial que comporta el ofrecerles en forma tan rápida y prolífica la gran obra, de la que podrán leer hoy un capítulo escogido al azar y cuyo texto se halla en prensa.”³¹ Along with this laudatory introductory note, the novel was reviewed in *Sur* by Julio Irazusta, the work’s translator.³² More than a traditional book review, this note focused on the difficulties of translating Huxley’s style and highlighted the literary achievements of the work, like the development of a “verdadera caracterización, personajes de inconfundible vida propia” [true depiction (of) characters with an unmistakable life of their own] and “un hondo drama según las mejores reglas, con *catharsis* y todo” [an intense tragedy that follows the best rules, with *catharsis* and all].³³ In the process, Irazusta referred extensively to Huxley’s previously translated work that Editorial Sur published (*Contrapunto*), which might have further served to promote the firm’s books.

As it had done with Aldous Huxley’s *Con los esclavos en la noria*, Editorial Sur publicized its edition of Albert Camus’s *La peste* extensively. In particular, a pre-publication teaser chapter appeared within the pages of *Sur* alongside numerous advertisements for the edition. While Editorial Sur employed comparable marketing techniques for other books that they published, Huxley’s and Camus’s works needed almost no introduction given their level of international recognition (and subsequent anticipation). Originally appearing in French in 1947, “*La Peste* was published in a printing of 22,000 copies” according to Herbert Lottman, which was “high for that time, high for a serious novel, but an underestimate

30. “Editorial SUR will soon provide the Spanish-speaking public with a work of great importance: the recent and already famous novel with which the author of *Point Counter Point* has equaled and even surpassed the extraordinary values of intelligence and style that made this book one of the most important novels of our time.” “Un capítulo de *Eyeless in Gaza*,” 47.

31. “SUR hopes that their many thousand readers appreciate the editorial effort put forth to offer them this great work in such a fast and meticulous form, from which they will be able to read today a randomly chosen chapter from the work that is in production.” “Un capítulo de *Eyeless in Gaza*,” 48. While the description of certain teaser chapters being chosen at random here pertains to Huxley’s novel, it can be applied more broadly to virtually all teaser chapter selections in *Sur*, which do not adhere to any pattern in terms of the book chapters that were chosen to pre-publish.

32. Julio Irazusta, “Reflexiones de traductor. La última novela de Huxley,” *Sur* 34 (1937): 74–78.

33. Irazusta, “Reflexiones de traductor,” 76.

on the part of the Librarie Gallimard of the suitability of the book for its era.”³⁴ Lottman goes on to describe the incredible financial success of Camus’s novel: “By the fall [of 1947] it had sold nearly 100,000 copies and Camus was joking to Michel and Janine Gallimard that henceforth he’d have to pick up everybody’s restaurant checks.”³⁵ These publishing successes of *La Peste* were not just reserved for its first edition in the original French, but also spilled over to the first edition of its Spanish translation with Editorial Sur.

Editorial Sur’s first edition of *La peste* appeared in July of 1948 and was promoted quite extensively by the literary journal *Sur*. Immediately following its initial publication, *Sur* advertised the novel in virtually every issue, describing the work as “la novela más famosa aparecida en Francia en los últimos veinte años. El gran éxito de la post-guerra” [the most famous novel published in France in the last twenty years. The great success of the postwar].³⁶ What is more, these same advertisements informed readers that this first edition of *La peste* was “agotada” [sold out] within a year of its publication date, but that it would be reissued in a second edition. This new edition came out in December 1949 and not only was heavily advertised in *Sur*, just like the first edition, but also had a noticeable price increase from nine Argentine pesos to twelve. The popularity and extensive sales of *La peste* were further attested in its publication eight more times from 1951 to 1961.³⁷ Coupled with these publications and sales tactics was the review of *La peste* by Rosa Chacel, who also happened to be the translator of the work for Editorial Sur. Throughout her lengthy article on this novel and her work in translating it into Spanish, she praised Camus for his literary accomplishments: “Ante todo, este libro es un ejemplar gloriosamente logrado de arte dirigido” [Above all, this book is a gloriously accomplished model of guided art].³⁸ When viewed together, all of these marketing materials for *La peste*—from a pre-publication teaser chapter to its numerous advertisements and reviews—highlight Ocampo’s aim to promote the works of foreign authors through both the journal articles and books that she published.

Related to capitalizing on international bestsellers is Ocampo’s knack for identifying widely anticipated books. Take, for instance, T. E. Lawrence’s *The Mint* (1955). *Publishers’ Weekly* advertised the first edition of this work in their July 31, 1954 issue: “DOUBLEDAY will bring out in February a limited edition of 1,000 copies of ‘The Mint,’ a little-known work by T. E. Lawrence. . . . In his will, Lawrence stipulated that the book should not be published, however,

34. Herbert R. Lottman, *Albert Camus: A Biography* (New York: Doubleday, 1979), 426.

35. Lottman, *Albert Camus*, 427.

36. *Sur* 166 (1948): n.p.

37. There were several subsequent Spanish-language editions that appeared shortly after Editorial Sur’s first authorized Spanish translation of *La peste* in 1948. Virtually all of these new editions name Rosa Chacel as the translator (with the exception of those produced by Aguilar), which indicates that these “new” editions appear to be reprintings of Chacel’s original translation of *La Peste* for Editorial Sur. Some of the firms that published their own editions of *La Peste* include Ediciones Azteca (1956), Taurus (1957), Ediciones Cid (1958; 1960), Aguilar (1960; 1961; 1971; 1973; 1979), Editorial Sudamericana (1973; 1974), and Edhasa (1977; 1981; 1983). For a full list of these later editions and their respective publishers, as well as a brief discussion of censorship surrounding this novel and its dissemination in Spain, see Fondebrider.

38. Rosa Chacel, “Breve exégesis de ‘La peste,’” *Sur* 169 (1948): 67.

until certain people died. In 1936, Doubleday wished to publish the book, but because of the provisions of the will, was unable to do so at that time.”³⁹ In their February highlights section from 1955, this same periodical noted that the publication of *The Mint* “is certain to be hailed as a major literary event.”⁴⁰ In its issue of March 19, 1955, *Publishers’ Weekly* stated that “[the first limited release was] oversubscribed, and no more copies were available by March 9,” which showcased readers’ interest in and demand for the work.⁴¹ A short few months after its initial publication with Doubleday, *The Mint* appeared in translation with Editorial Sur (on May 28, 1955).⁴² However, it is important to note that this edition was originally scheduled to appear simultaneously with the first English and French editions in February 1955: “SUR publicará este libro extraordinario en el mes de febrero del año próximo, simultáneamente con las ediciones inglesa y francesa” [SUR will publish this extraordinary book in the month of February next year, simultaneously with the English and French editions].⁴³ Perhaps sensing the splash that this book would have, along with her own personal interest in Lawrence’s writings, Ocampo excerpted various chapters and pre-published them in *Sur* as teasers in 1947 and 1951, well before the work’s slated release date. While the former publication in *Sur* consisted of a few pages of fragments, the latter presented readers with an introductory note on the work, the difficulties of its translation, and a whopping eight chapters.⁴⁴ From its paratextual material, readers learned that Ocampo, unlike any other publisher around the globe, “[ha recibido] autorización de publicar ocho capítulos” [received the authorization to publish eight chapters], which spoke to her literary connections and editorial prowess as a publisher.⁴⁵ She even goes so far as to note how this material “[n]o es mucho, pero nos da un pregusto del libro extraordinario de que forman parte” [is not much, but it gives us a taste of the extraordinary book of which it forms a part].⁴⁶ Her subtle use of the word *pregusto* here hints at how these chapters served as a preview of coming attractions and signaled her desire to develop readers’ interest in the entire book that she would publish a few years later.

While a large number of the authors whose works appeared with Editorial Sur might have been household names to an educated international audience, not all of their titles that appeared with Ocampo’s publishing house were critically acclaimed bestsellers, commercial successes, or the most adequate representations of their respective oeuvres. For these reasons, heightened marketing tactics might have been

39. *Publishers’ Weekly*, July 31, 1954: 466–67.

40. *Publishers’ Weekly*, February 1955: 1772.

41. *Publishers’ Weekly*, March 19, 1955: 1557.

42. Given the controversial nature of this work, Editorial Sur’s popular edition was expurgated. That said, in Ocampo’s personal copy of *El troquel*, currently housed at Villa Ocampo in Argentina, she has filled in all of the censored passages herself in red pencil, and, according to advertisements in *Sur* (230 [September 1954]) there also was an “edición limitada y sin purgar” [limited edition and without censorship] available by subscription only.

43. *Sur* 230 (1954), n.p.

44. The earlier fragments from 1947 are translated by Jorge Luis Borges and Adolfo Bioy Casares while the latter material from 1951, as well as the entire published book, are translated by Victoria Ocampo (with the assistance of Enrique Pezzoni and Ricardo Baeza).

45. Victoria Ocampo, “The Mint,” *Sur* 197 (1951): 1.

46. Ocampo, “The Mint,” 1.

necessary. Take, for instance, James Joyce's only surviving play, *Exiles*, which was translated and published by Editorial Sur in 1937 as *Desterrados*. Unlike *Ulysses* or even *The Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, Joyce's *Exiles* is considered by many to be his least successful play and was hardly ever performed.⁴⁷ When analyzing these examples, one might be tempted to argue that Ocampo had an eye toward the most accessible works—in terms of both the level of difficulty of the works themselves and the ease of access to the rights for translation and publication—for her publishing firm. However, this is not the case since Editorial Sur published some of the first and only authorized Spanish translations of works of key twentieth-century writers, such as Virginia Woolf, William Faulkner, Graham Greene, Norman Mailer, Samuel Beckett, Albert Camus, and Aldous Huxley.⁴⁸ And many of these authors' translated and published works with Editorial Sur were their most notable, which is certainly what we saw with Aldous Huxley and Albert Camus.

Another instance in which Editorial Sur heavily marketed a lesser-known work from a well-known author is with Graham Greene's *Un caso acabado* (1961). Ocampo developed a close relationship with Greene after they first met in 1938 and remained in his inner circle throughout her life.⁴⁹ Apart from his stays at her homes in Argentina, he dedicated his novel *The Honorary Consul* to her and she, in turn, published a total of sixteen of his books with Editorial Sur.⁵⁰ While a number of Greene's novels reached the status of best-sellers, most notably *The Heart of the Matter* (1948), which Editorial Sur translated and published in 1949, *Un caso acabado* did not receive anywhere near the same amount of interest as his other works.⁵¹ However, Ocampo promoted Greene's *Un caso acabado* with a teaser chapter in the January 1961 issue of *Sur*, a full five months prior to its book-length publication with Editorial Sur.⁵² Even though this work was not as successful as his previous novels, it is possible that Ocampo relied on the cultural capital

47. Cor Hermans, *Interbellum Literature. Writing in a Season of Nihilism* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 289.

48. Alongside these translated works, Editorial Sur published two of Jorge Luis Borges's most important collections of short stories: *El jardín de senderos que se bifurcan* (1941) and *Ficciones* (1944).

49. Wise and Hill note that Greene considered her "as one of his four best friends" (*The Works of Graham Greene. Volume 2. A Guide to the Graham Greene Archives* [London: Bloomsbury, 2015], 189).

50. The dedication to *The Honorary Consul* reads: "For Victoria Ocampo, with love and in memory of the many happy weeks I have passed at San Isidro and Mar del Plata."

51. "*The Heart of the Matter* was enormously popular, selling more than 300,000 copies in Britain. It was also a main selection of the Book-of-the-Month Club in America. Though Greene considered the book his most serious work to date, it brought him more money than all his previous entertainments combined" (Michael Sheldon, "Greene, (Henry) Graham," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, January 8, 2015, n.p.).

52. Héctor J. Puglia's review of *Un caso acabado* (*Sur* 275 [1963]: 104–106) also marketed the novel from its very opening line: "Una nueva obra de Graham Greene es siempre una oportunidad para renovar el placer que produce la maestría de uno de los mejores narradores de la novelística actual" [A new work by Graham Greene is always an opportunity to rekindle the pleasure that the mastery of one of the best narrators of current collections of novels produces] (104). That said, Puglia concedes that the novel is "menos rica en matices y de contrucción menos rigurosa que las mejores obras de Greene" [less rich in nuances and constructed less rigorously than Greene's best works] (Puglia, "*Un caso acabado*," 106).

of his name, which she had already popularized through previous Editorial Sur translations of his best-selling works, to help promote and sell *Un caso acabado*.

Finally, there is the question of author's rights. Other writers and intellectuals involved in the Argentine publishing industry have noted the difficulty and extremely high cost of acquiring authors' rights, which might account for why Ocampo focused on promoting the works of authors for whom she had already secured the translation rights.⁵³ Not only that, most of the Spanish-language editions that she produced were the first and only authorized translations of these works, which made them all the more valuable. That is to say, Ocampo identified a number of the best international literary works earlier on in her career as a publisher and then proceeded to corner the market by acquiring the translation and publication rights for these titles. One of the ways in which Ocampo might have been able to skirt the issue of paying large sums of money to acquire authors' rights was through her impressive networks of contacts. Her close friendships with Virginia Woolf, Igor Stravinsky, and Rabindranath Tagore are well known and these connections undoubtedly provided her with a great deal more publishing freedom and access than most Latin American editors of the time. In fact, her teaser publications of T. S. Eliot's *Sobre la poesía y los poetas* and Cyril Connolly's *La tumba sin sosiego*, both of which appeared in 1947 in the special quadruple issue of *Sur* dedicated to English literature, illustrated her impressive literary connections. In her introductory note to the entire issue, Ocampo alludes to her networks by stating that "la lista de agradecimientos, en lo que respecta a mis relaciones personales con Inglaterra, sería tan larga que no intentaré agotarla en este prólogo" [the list of acknowledgements, with regard to my personal relations with England, would be so long that I won't attempt to exhaust it in this prologue].⁵⁴ However, she still mentions several individuals by name who helped her fill the pages of the issues at hand. In particular, she notes her conversations with Connolly "sobre este número y sus hints me han sido preciosos" [about this issue and that his hints have been very valuable].⁵⁵ She also discusses Eliot's foundational role in deciding on writers to include and the overall shape of the four-issue publication: "Yo quería saber lo que los ingleses pensaban de su propia literatura contemporánea y no cansaba de interrogarlos. . . . Así fué el propio T. S. Eliot quien eligió entre sus obras ¿Qué es un clásico? para este número de SUR" [I wanted to know what the English thought of their own contemporary literature and I didn't tire of asking them. . . . Thus, it was T. S. Eliot himself who chose *What is a Classic?* from among his works for this issue of SUR].⁵⁶

53. Adolfo Bioy Casares recalled similar snags when working with Jorge Luis Borges on their "Séptimo Círculo" [Seventh Circle] collection with Emecé Editores in the 1940s: "el trabajo en la editorial nos asomó a los problemas de los derechos de autor, que hasta entonces habíamos ignorado. . . . Nos enteramos así de que algunas novelas que deseábamos incluir en El Séptimo Círculo no estaban libres" [our work in the publishing house showed us the problems of copyright that we had ignored up to that point. . . . We realized that some novels that we wanted to include in the Seventh Circle series were not free] (Adolfo Bioy Casares, *Memorias: Infancia, adolescencia, y cómo se hace un escritor* [Barcelona: Tusquets, 1994], 101).

54. Ocampo, "Introducción," 9.

55. Ocampo, "Introducción," 8.

56. Ocampo, "Introducción," 8. The version of Eliot's "¿Qué es un clásico?" that appeared in *Sur* is notably different from the final published version in his *Sobre la poesía y los poetas*.

In a similar vein is the question of literary agents. Unlike other countries, literary agents did not become a staple of the publishing industry in Latin America until the mid-twentieth century. One of the most well-known and successful literary agents in Argentina during this time, who worked extensively with Ocampo and Editorial Sur, was Lawrence Smith.⁵⁷ These individuals would benefit financially from selling translation rights to publishing firms like Editorial Sur. In particular, according to Smith himself, "It is inadvisable to sell translation rights outright except in special cases. They should be paid for by a sum in advance on royalties, or per edition published."⁵⁸ Extant archival documents reveal that Smith followed his own advice quite closely. More specifically, he helped facilitate Ocampo's acquisition, and ultimate publication, of works by William Faulkner, Christopher Isherwood, George Orwell, H. G. Wells, and T. E. Lawrence for Editorial Sur.⁵⁹ What is more, these same documents clearly stated the required royalty payment of 5% of the sale price of any and all books. While these same upfront costs and royalty payments might not have factored into every work that Ocampo published with Editorial Sur, they help account for why the works of certain authors—namely those with heftier price tags for the publisher—were marketed more heavily than others. That is to say, Ocampo most likely would not have wanted to lose exorbitant sums of money just to publish the work of internationally acclaimed authors or of her close friends for that matter.

Regardless of the specific rationale for every teaser chapter that appeared in *Sur* prior to the release of its full-length book with Editorial Sur, what all of these examples show is that Ocampo had a well-developed plan to popularize the works of international writers not just in her literary journal, but also through her publishing house. That is to say, taking a closer look at the teaser chapters that appeared throughout Ocampo's literary journal reveals her shrewd instincts for identifying national and international authors whose literary works would interest her readers and, as a result, sell well in their full-length book form. Moreover, many of the titles that she selected to publish with Editorial Sur were the first authorized Spanish translations of best sellers by well-known authors, such as Albert Camus or Virginia Woolf, which resulted in large sales as is evident by the fact that the first editions of these works were very often sold out within the first few months of their publication. Even though Ocampo funneled a great deal of her own money and resources into *Sur* and Editorial Sur, she continued to publish both the journal and books for nearly half a century, an impressive feat made possible by her constant attention to the financial details of her literary enterprise as well as her own personal mission to present readers with exemplary works of international fiction and nonfiction.

57. Aside from Lawrence Smith, the only other two major literary agents in the Spanish-speaking world during the twentieth century were Carmen Balcells and International Editors.

58. Lawrence Smith, "Translation Sales Down South," *Publishers' Weekly*, September 13, 1941, 909.

59. The extant correspondence between Ocampo and Smith, currently housed at Villa Ocampo in Argentina, mentions the following titles: William Faulkner's *Light in August*; Christopher Isherwood's *Goodbye to Berlin*; George Orwell's *Critical Essays*; H. G. Wells' *The Fate of Homo Sapiens*; and *The Letters of T. E. Lawrence*.

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THE ENGRAVINGS OF POPE'S
WORKS II (1735): 'ENVY MUST OWN,
I LIVE AMONG THE GREAT'

by

JAMES McLAVERTY

ON 24 April 1735, or perhaps a little earlier, Pope published the second volume of his *Works*.¹ It contained: 'Ethic Epistles to Henry St. John L. Bolingbroke' (*An Essay on Man*), 'Ethic Epistles, the Second Book. To Several Persons', imitations of Horace and Donne, and the *Dunciad Variorum*.² Like the first volume of *Works*, which had been published just after his twenty-ninth birthday, on 3 June 1717 (Griffith 79–86), the second volume was issued in the formats of his Homer translations – small folio, large folio, and quarto – and both the large folios and the quartos had illustrative headpieces, tailpieces, and initials. The engravings of 1717 have been subject to lively critical engagement, and the thematic importance of the illustrations, symbolizing and reflecting on the poems, has been recognized.³ But the engravings in the second volume of *Works* have until recently been largely neglected. Close attention to them reveals that they were part of a considered, though hesitantly executed, plan to emphasize Pope's

1. I am deeply grateful to David Vander Meulen for his corrections and advice, and for providing the illustrations for this essay from his own copies. A preliminary version of the essay was read for me by Dr Corrina Readioff at a session at the ISECS conference in Edinburgh in 2019. I am indebted to her for her generous assistance and for her report of the session's discussion.

2. Reginald Harvey Griffith quotes the advertisement from the *Grub-street Journal* of 24 April 1735 in *Alexander Pope: A Bibliography*, 2 vols (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1922–7), 2:287–8. His accounts of the folio (370), large-paper folio (371), and quarto (372) are still valuable. Subsequent references are to Griffith and item number.

3. For comments on the illustrations, see David Foxon in his 1976 Lyell lectures, *Pope and the Early Eighteenth-Century Book Trade* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 44, 81–5; Vincent Carretta, "Images Reflect from Art to Art": Alexander Pope's Collected Works of 1717', in Neil Fraistat (ed.), *Poems in Their Place: The Intertextuality and Order of Poetic Collections*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 195–233; and James McLaverty, *Pope, Print, and Meaning* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 61–6, 70–4. A recent valuable probing of the illustrations of *The Rape of the Lock* is by Allison Muri, 'Of Words and Things: Image, Page, Text, and *The Rape of the Lock*', in Donald W. Nichol (ed.), *Anniversary Essays on Alexander Pope's The Rape of the Lock* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 167–217.

place in a group that, though it was out of power, was politically and socially distinguished – an opposition aristocracy.⁴

The incomplete success of the plan for the *Works* II illustrations arose paradoxically from Pope's gaining more direct control over the printing and publishing of his work. The 1717 volume, though closely supervised by Pope, was published by one of the trade's most successful booksellers, Bernard Lintot, and printed by one of its most distinguished printers, William Bowyer. It everywhere shows signs of generous investment. In comparison the 1735 volume was something of a scramble. By the time *Works* II was published Pope was financing his own publications and working with the young bookseller Lawton Gilliver and the experienced but unspectacular printer John Wright.⁵ As money-sparing as he was paper-sparing, Pope's aim seems to have been to publish his poems first individually but with extra sheets printed so that they could be used for the *Works*. That project was, however, at odds with his constant itch to revise, and the resulting volumes of *Works* are combinations of new printings and sheets published at various earlier times. Their incoherent collations reflect their piecemeal assemblage, and the texts in the three formats can be significantly different. The engravings show the consequences of this cheese-paring approach. There were to be new engravings for the *Dunciad*, where Gilliver owned the copyright and would have had to pay, but the general money-saving plan was to decorate the book with the plates that had been prepared by William Kent and Paul Fourdrinier for Pope's translation of the *Odyssey* (1725–6). Pope eventually proved willing to pay for modification of the *Odyssey* engravings and for some new ones to emphasize the thematic unity of the two books of 'Epistles', but the reuse of the *Odyssey* plates draws attention away from what was potentially a coherent plan for illustration of the *Works*.

THE PLAN FOR WORKS II (1735)

The *Works* falls into four sections, marked by heraldic headpieces and tailpieces. Pat Rogers has demonstrated that some of the early work in Pope's career had a heraldic underpinning, especially the imagery in *Windsor-Forest* (1713), which Rogers connects with the Stuart claim to the throne.⁶ In 1735 heraldry was used to mark Pope's social status and commitments.

The first section consists of the four epistles of *An Essay on Man*, addressed to Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, the leader of the opposition to Sir Robert Walpole's ministry. It begins with an engraving including his coat of arms.⁷

4. The *Dunciad* illustrations in the *Works* are examined by Elias F. Mengel, Jr, 'The *Dunciad* Illustrations', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 7:2 (1973–4), 161–78, repr. in Maynard Mack and James A. Winn (eds.), *Pope: Recent Essays by Several Hands* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1980), 749–73, and by Nicholas Savage, 'Kent as Book Illustrator', in Susan Weber (ed.), *William Kent: Designing Georgian Britain*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 413–47.

5. Foxon explains and reflects on these relationships in *Pope and the Early Eighteenth-Century Book Trade*, 102–44.

6. *Pope and the Destiny of the Stuarts: History, Politics, and Mythology in the Age of Queen Anne* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 5–6, 200–6.

7. Heraldic designs accompanying these epistles and those noted in the next paragraph are illustrated below: *Essay on Man* (figs 6–7); *To Cobham* (figs 8–9); *To Burlington* (fig. 10); *To Oxford* (fig. 11); *To Arbuthnot* (fig. 12).

The second section has four main epistles (those that became known through the Twickenham edition as the Epistles to Several Persons), plus a further three. Four of the seven are addressed to dissident aristocrats (Richard Temple, Viscount Cobham; Allen, Baron Bathurst; Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington; and Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford), one is addressed to a woman from an ancient Roman Catholic family, Martha Blount, one to Joseph Addison, and one to the Queen's physician, Dr Arbuthnot. Addison stands outside this group through his role in the Whig government, but the poem celebrates him for his attempt to recover the values of ancient Rome and for his friend, James Craggs, Jr. The engravings reinforce the social and historical standing of this group, illustrating the arms of Cobham, Burlington, Oxford, and, most strikingly, at the end of *To Arbuthnot*, those Pope imagined to be his father's.

In the third section that follows these epistles, Pope finds space to explore and justify his oppositional stance in relation to court and ministry, laying out precedents through his imitations of Horace and Donne. Both Horace and Donne, we are to understand, satirized the powerful, treating vice and folly with contempt:

Both these Authors were acceptable to the Princes and Ministers under whom they lived: The Satires of Dr. *Donne* I versify'd at the Desire of the Earl of *Oxford* while he was Lord Treasurer, and of the Duke of *Shrewsbury* who had been Secretary of State; neither of whom look'd upon a Satire on Vicious Courts as any Reflection on those they serv'd in.
('Advertisement', 'Satires of Horace', *Works II*, italics reversed)

The most important of these imitations was *The First Satire of the Second Book of Horace Imitated*, a poem that in the title page to its first edition (Griffith 288) first named Pope esquire ('Alexander Pope in Com. Midd. Esq.') and that closed with a careful evocation of Pope's social circle. The circle is aristocratic – 'Envy must own, I live among the Great' (line 133) – but these men enjoy a special oppositional distinction; they are 'Chiefs out of war, and Statesmen out of place' (line 126).⁸ This praise of Pope's association with men out of power had been anticipated in the 'Letter to the Publisher' signed by William Cleland in the *Dunciad Variorum*, where Pope was commended because 'his Panegyricks' were 'bestow'd only on such persons as he had familiarly known, only for such virtues as he had long observ'd in them, and only at such times as others cease to praise if not begin to calumniate them, I mean when out of Power or out of Fashion'.⁹ In a footnote Pope gave the names of Wycherley, Walsh, Trumbull, Bolingbroke, Oxford, and Craggs, but in the *Works* he expanded the focus to include significant aristocratic and political figures such as Cobham, Bathurst, and Burlington.

In this third section the dignity of Pope's friendships is represented not by engravings but by a motto, a line of the poem, distinguished by capitals, in both Horace's Latin and Pope's English:

8. *Imitations of Horace*, ed. John Butt, Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope, vol. 4, 2nd edn (London: Methuen, 1953), 16–17. In subsequent references these editions will be referred to as *Twickenham*.

9. *The Dunciad (1728) & The Dunciad Variorum (1729)*, ed. Valerie Rumbold, Longman Pope, III (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2007), 133–4. Subsequent references will be to this edition.

UNI EQUUS VIRTUTI ATQUE EJUS AMICIS

To VIRTUE ONLY and HER FRIENDS, A FRIEND¹⁰

But the motto had already been given its engraving, which is to be found on the title page of the *Works*. The medallion of Pope's head, embraced by putti representing poetry and painting, that had closed the *Odyssey*, is now made the title page vignette, with the motto of virtue and friendship engraved round it.

In the fourth and final part of the *Works*, the *Dunciad*, the heraldry of friendship gives way to the heraldry of folly. The serious use of coats of arms in the Epistles in new engravings or modified *Odyssey* headpieces is replaced by a mock-heroic one. The mock-heraldic quality of these engravings has been well established in the accounts by Elias F. Engel, Jr., and Nicholas Savage. New headpieces complement the one with an owl and asses that was originally designed for the *Dunciad Variorum* and is now reused as a tailpiece. They are modelled on the lines of the *Odyssey*'s headpieces, but show those motifs being abused: the heraldic supporters become asses; asses play lyres and harps; the characteristic central medallion is occupied by Orator Henley or Harlequin; and the royal motto 'Nemo me impune lacescit' is given to these emblems of folly. The *Dunciad* heraldry indirectly reflects on the monarch and edges him into the satire.¹¹ Lurking in the background – it came to realization in the author's 'Declaration' in the *Dunciad in Four Books* in 1743 – was the possible mockery of the royal arms themselves as they represented the Hanoverian dynasty. George II's heraldic home was in the *Dunciad* rather than in the 'Epistles'.

Although I believe Pope had a plan of this sort in mind for *Works* II, it was not straightforwardly realized. In the remainder of this essay I try to trace the development of the engravings from the *Odyssey*, through the *Dunciad Variorum* and some individually published epistles, into *Works* II, noting changes as the project developed. I examine some of the detail of Pope's conception, but also the difficulty he experienced in realizing it in the books themselves.

THE *ODYSSEY* ENGRAVINGS (1725–6)

The contract between Pope and Lintot for the *Odyssey* had specific provisions for the engravings, making them Pope's responsibility:

And it farther Covenanted Concluded and Agreed by and between the Said Alexander Pope and Bernard Lintott that the Said Alexander Pope Shall be at the whole Expense and Charge of the Copper Plates for the Head peices, Tail peices and Initial Letters, **E**xcept only the Charge of working the Same at the rolling Press which Charge He the Said Bernard Lintott Shall be at **A**nd **F**arther that the Said Copper Plates Shall always after remain to Him the Said Bernard Lintott and his Assigines **B**ut that notwithstanding

10. *Twickenham*, 4:17–19, line 121 [Latin 70]; in this case presentation has been adjusted to conform to the text of the quarto *Works*.

11. J. Paul Hunter has suggested, rightly in my view, that George II is represented by the Ass frontispiece to the *Dunciad Variorum*, which picks up a central motif of the headpieces: 'From Typology to Type: Agents of Change in Eighteenth-Century English Texts,' in Margaret J. M. Ezell and Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe (eds.), *Cultural Artifacts and the Production of Meaning: The Page, the Image, and the Body* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1994), 41–69.

the Said Bernard Lintott and his Assignes Shall at any time or times permit the Said Alexander Pope or his Assignes to have the Use of the Said Copper Plates for the Printing of any other Book or Books which He the Said Alexander Pope Shall think fit **H**e the said Alexander Pope or his Assignes being at the charge of touching up the Said Plates if Occasion Shall So require¹²

Lintot, therefore, kept the engravings after they had been used in the *Odyssey*, but Pope had the right to use them. In the summer of 1732 he had discussions with Samuel Buckley about whether they could be used in the edition of Jacques Auguste de Thou's *Historiarum Sui Temporis* (1733), a large showy book on exceptionally thick paper that Buckley, the printer of the *London Gazette* and government informant, had been planning since before January 1728.¹³ In a letter of 16 June [1732], Pope said he had had the articles of his contract checked and could now confirm his offer to lend the engravings to Buckley. These discussions with Buckley probably alerted Pope to the possibility of using the same engravings when later that year he made plans for collecting his works. In an agreement with Lawton Gilliver on 1 December 1732, he said he was planning to publish a series of epistles (*To Burlington* had been published a year before, on 14 December 1731) and was willing to sell the publishing rights of each one to Gilliver for one year for £50, the rights then to revert to Pope. In a memorandum that was most probably written at the same time, Pope recorded his intention of allowing Gilliver to collect all these epistles and the *Dunciad* (of which Gilliver owned the copyright and had an edition in quarto and folio 'lying by') in 'The Works of M^r Alexander Pope. Volume the Second'.¹⁴ The full range of the plan for the epistles was originally printed at the end of the first collected edition of *An Essay on Man*, published 20 April 1734, and is recorded by Spence.¹⁵

The engravings from the *Odyssey* (headpieces, initials, and tailpieces) that Pope lent to Buckley and decided to reuse himself were designed by William Kent and engraved by Paul Fourdrinier.¹⁶ They have recently been subjected to a detailed and appreciative analysis by Nicholas Savage.¹⁷ I share his admiration for them. The headpieces are not deep, with the height a little more than a third of the width (the image approx. 6 cm high by 16 wide), but these proportions worked well on the quarto page of the subscription editions. Figure 1 is an

12. George Sherburn, *The Early Career of Alexander Pope* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), 315–16. I have represented the enlarged writing by bold rather than by black letter.

13. *The Correspondence of Alexander Pope*, ed. George Sherburn, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), 3:294. Sherburn says Buckley's *A Letter to Dr. Mead, Concerning a New Edition of Thuanus's History* had circulated very early in 1728 (*Correspondence*, 2:471n3).

14. BL Egerton MS 1951, f. 12; printed in Robert W. Rogers, *The Major Satires of Alexander Pope* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1955), 119.

15. See Foxon, *Pope and the Early Eighteenth-Century Book Trade*, 120–8; Joseph Spence, *Observations, Anecdotes, and Characters of Books and Men*, ed. James M. Osborn, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 1:132. A monograph on the topic is Miriam Leranbaum's *Alexander Pope's 'Opus Magnum', 1729–1744* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977).

16. Whereas in the *Odyssey* (like the *Iliad*) only the quartos (Griffith 151, 155, 159, 166, 170) had engravings, in the *Works* both the quarto and the large-paper folio had them.

17. 'Kent as Book Illustrator', 419–25. In addition to the work he did for Pope, who was a personal friend, Kent illustrated Gay's *Fables* (1727) and *Poems on Several Occasions* (1720), Thomson's *The Seasons* (1730), and Thomas Birch's edition of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (1751).

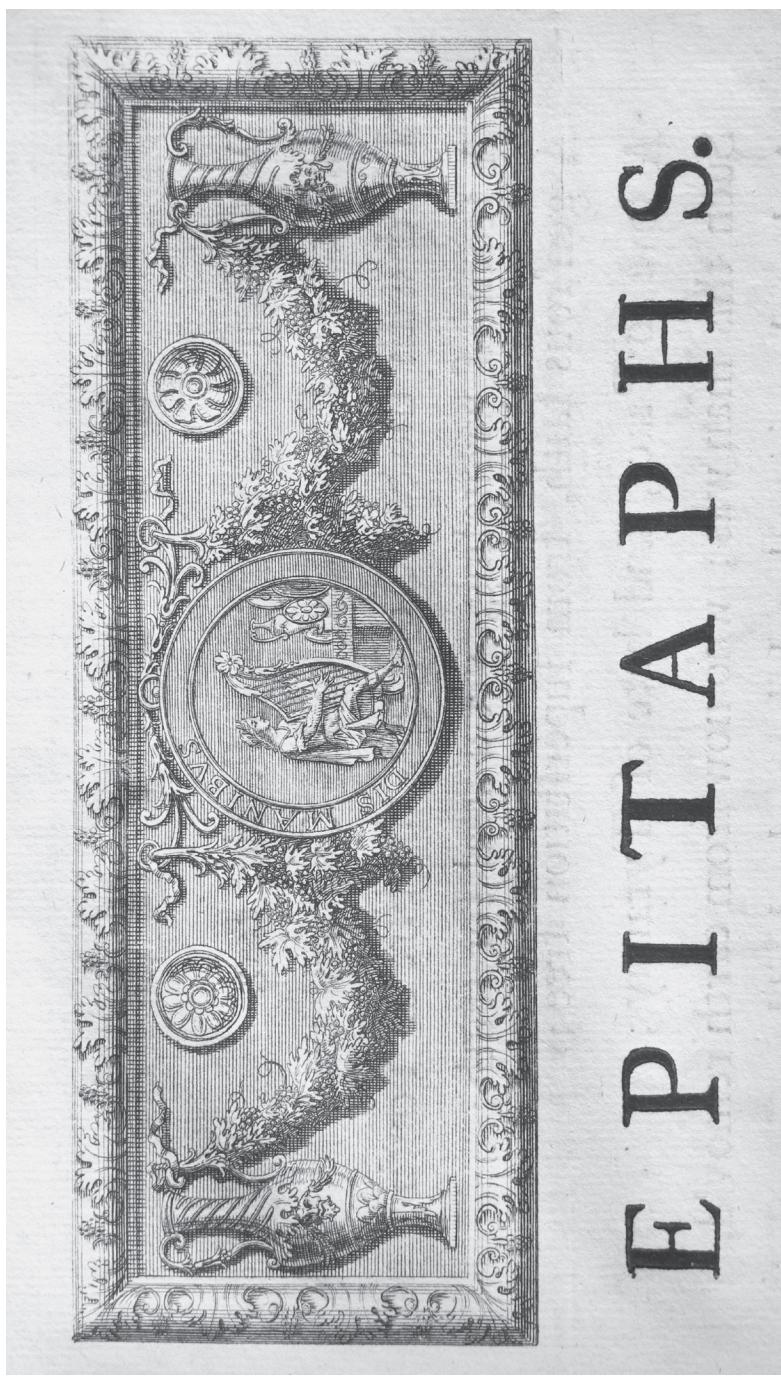


FIGURE I. Headpiece to *Epiaphs*, Works II quarto; adopted from *Odyssey* I.

That gen'rous God, who Wit and Gold refines,
 And ripens Spirits as he ripens Mines,
 Kept Drofs for Dutcheffes, the world shall know it,
 To you gave Sense, Good-humour, and a Poet. 200.

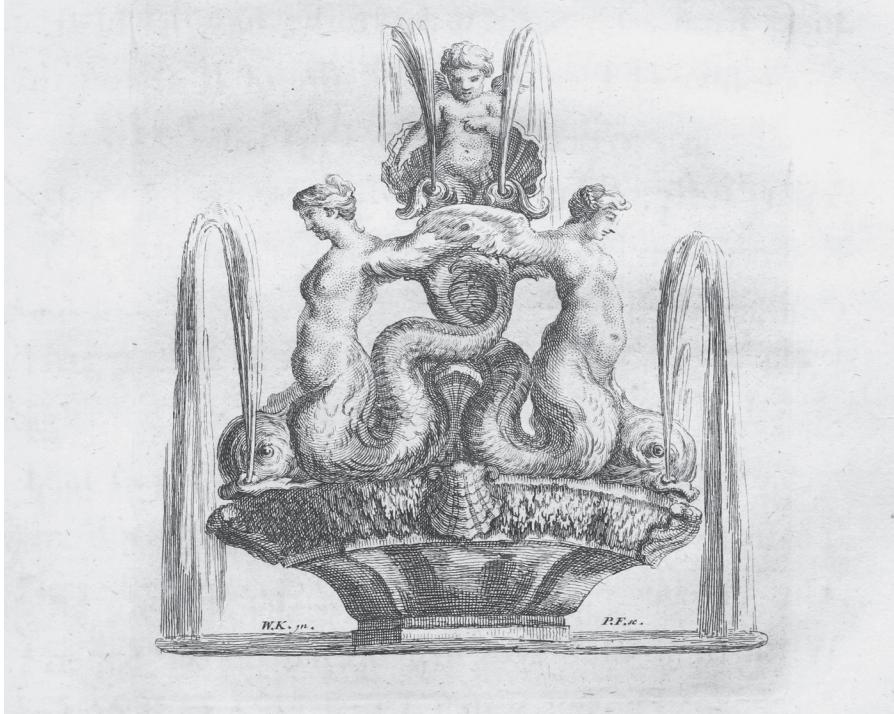


FIGURE 2. Tailpiece to *To a Lady*, Works II quarto; from *Odyssey* VII.

example from *Odyssey*, Book I, reused for the *Works II Epitaphs*. These headpieces have a central circle (3.5 cm in diameter), which usually depicts a figure from the action of the poem. To either side of the circle are placed objects that evoke the world of the epic, either symbols of war (spears, shields, helmets) or of peace (lyres, goblets, bowls), often enwrapped by fertile vegetation. The whole is contained in a decorative frame. Usually the initials 'W.K. inv.' and 'P.F. sc.' appear on opposite sides of the foot of the plate. Savage argues persuasively for the close relation between the headpieces

and the action that is to follow in the *Odyssey*, both in the scene depicted and in the surrounding objects. The engraved initials that accompany the headpieces are simple but with a frame that echoes that of the headpiece. The tailpieces are more freely imaginative, representing fantastic, sometimes grotesque, creatures or decorated objects. Figure 2 is an example from the *Odyssey*, Book VII, reused in *Works II, Essay on Man*, p. 24, and *To a Lady*, p. 71. They are excessively splendid in the way that Kent's decorations of aristocratic homes are splendid, and they are sometimes too big for the quarto page.¹⁸

THE DUNCIAD (1728) AND THE DUNCIAD VARIORUM (1729)

The *Dunciad* in *Works* (1735) seems to have been printed by 3 January 1733, a date given at the end of its mock declaration signed by John Barber. Although its notes were moved to the end of the volume, it was in other respects very dependent on the presentation of the *Variorum* in 1729.¹⁹ That in turn drew on the model of the *Odyssey* engravings. Both Engel and Savage have pointed to a drawing of an owl at Chatsworth, most probably by Kent, as the basis for the owl that formed the frontispiece to the first *Dunciad* (1728).²⁰ In that frontispiece, the owl, which Engel suggests is 'from the medieval art of heraldry', stands on a column of books (a mockery of a Greek altar).²¹ The central pillar is an extraordinarily thick volume, stamped with 'OGILBY' on the spine and on the front with something resembling a coat of arms. The allusion is to a passage in the poem on Theobald's library that has a surprising relevance to Pope's own books.

He roll'd his eyes that witness'd huge dismay,
Where yet unpawn'd, much learned lumber lay,
Volumes, whose size the space exactly fill'd;
Or which fond authors were so good to gild;
Or where, by Sculpture made for ever known,
The page admires new beauties, not its own.
Here swells the shelf with *Ogleby the great*,
There, stamp'd with arms, *Newcastle* shines compleat . . .

(I.105–12, *Dunciad* 1728 & 1729, 29–30)

18. William Kent: *Designing Georgian Britain* illustrates many objects that have something in common with the engravings: the Prince of Wales's barge with its mermaids and dolphins (fig. 12.1); the mermaids at the base of a settee in Wanstead House (fig. 17.10); a figure very like Leucothea in a chandelier for the King (fig. 19.8); mermaids at the foot of girandoles for the Leineschloss, Hanover (fig. 19.10); putti are pervasive.

19. David Foxon, *English Verse, 1701–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), gives the date of publication as 13 March 1729 (P771–2).

20. Published 18 May 1728 (Foxon, *English Verse*, P764–5). There is a distinguished facsimile edition: *Pope's Dunciad of 1728: A History and Facsimile*, ed. David L. Vander Meulen (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1991).

21. For discussion of this frontispiece, see Engel, 'The *Dunciad* Illustrations', 164; Savage, 'Kent as Book Illustrator', 427.

In this context 'Sculpture' means engraving, and, contrary to the ridicule implicit in these lines, Pope had a childhood love for John Ogilby's translation of Homer – 'It was that great edition with pictures' – even though he did not admire the translation.²² David Foxon has argued that Ogilby's illustrations even helped shape those of Pope's *Iliad*.²³ I suspect Pope had a similar ambivalent relationship to the stamping of arms by Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, referred to in the next line. Pope added a note to the *Variorum* edition explaining, 'Langbaine reckons up eight Folio's of her Grace's; which were usually adorn'd with gilded Covers, and had her Coat of Arms upon them' (*Dunciad 1728 & 1729*, 193). The covers of her books are regularly stamped with gold fleurons in the corners just like the book in Pope's owl frontispiece, but I have not found a cover stamped with her arms.²⁴

What the Duchess of Newcastle does do, and in this she was followed in 1735 by Pope, is use coats of arms in headpieces. Ogilby in his Homer (1660) and Tonson in the subscription edition of Dryden's Virgil (1697) included plates that at their foot contained the coat of arms of a subscriber. The coat of arms proclaimed the aristocratic patronage of the volume. But in the Duchess's books the arms in the headpieces advertised not the patron's but the author's status. In *Philosophical Letters: or, Modest Reflections upon Some Opinions in Natural Philosophy* (London, 1664), a woodblock headpiece of the royal arms of England appears above the first poem, 'To Her Excellency The Lady Marchioness of Newcastle, on her Book of Philosophical Letters' and is then used several more times. The deployment of heraldry is more sophisticated in the Latin translation of her life of her husband, *De Vita et Rebus Gestis Nobilissimi Illustrissimique Principis, Guilielmi, Ducis Novo-Castrensis* (London, 1668), where elements of the Ogle (a star and crescent) and Cavendish (simplified bucks' heads caboshed [without neck]) arms are combined with differing supporters to represent different aspects of his career. How far this practice may have influenced Kent in preparing Pope's headpieces (they similarly deploy central arms with putti supporters) it is difficult to determine, but the illustrations in the *Dunciad Variorum* and *Works* (1735) show a similar complexity, exploring the ways heraldry might be used not only to decorate a book but to reinforce its themes.

When it came to designing the *Dunciad Variorum*, the splendid engraving on the title page – an ass carrying a burden of books – was supplemented by a headpiece for Book I modelled on the *Odyssey* headpieces and later used in the *Works* (figure 3). I agree with Savage that this headpiece, like the owl, it is likely to be Kent's work ('Kent as Book Illustrator', 427). Such engagement is very much in keeping with his patron Burlington's support for the publication of the *Variorum*. In a letter George Sherburn dates 23 December 1728, Pope reveals that Burlington has acted for him by showing some papers to the

22. Spence, 1:14. Pope's reading was 'at eight or nine years old'.

23. Foxon, *Pope and the Early Eighteenth-Century Book Trade*, 76–81.

24. Her arms are not found in Liza Blake, 'Margaret Cavendish's University Years: Batch Bindings and Trade Bindings in Cambridge and Oxford', *PBSA*, 111:1 (2022), 21–91. They are discussed in relation to her monument in Westminster Abbey:

<http://westminster-abby.org/our-history/people/william-and-margaret-cavendish> (22 March 2024). Those on Pope's frontispiece (a chevron with three martlets) are not hers.

While others timely to the neighbouring Fleet 395
(Haunt of the Muses) made their safe retreat.



FIGURE 3. Tailpiece to *Dunciad II, Works II* quarto; from headpiece to *Dunciad Variorum I*.

lawyer Nicholas Fazakerley and is to pass on something else, 'these', probably engravings, to Kent. It is highly likely that while Burlington was helping Pope protect himself from prosecution, Kent was illustrating his book. A letter from the same period suggests that the Burlingtons had pre-publication knowledge of the frontispiece, Pope interpreting it as a representation not of the King but of himself: 'I beg my Lady Burlington's Patronage of the Ass & the Dunciad, me and my burden.'²⁵ When the three lords (Burlington, Oxford, and Bathurst) protected Pope by temporarily buying the copyright to the *Variorum*, a later assignment makes it clear that Burlington was the leading figure, while Kent was one of the witnesses.²⁶

In the centre of the *Dunciad Variorum* headpiece, later used in the *Works*, where an action of the *Odyssey* might be depicted, is the head of an owl, crowned with a jester's cap; his supporters are two asses; the foliage that customarily links the design consists of thistles. J. Paul Hunter points to the proximity of the asses' ears to the 'Ear of Kings' in the *Dunciad Variorum* just below the headpiece, in the second line of the poem. A multivalent indication of Pope's attitude lies in the motto 'Nemo me impune lacessit': no one attacks me with impunity. The motto is that of the Order of the Thistle. Pope had shown an interest in the thistle as a symbol in his first *Pastoral*, in a riddle that marked the union of Scotland and England, the thistle having replaced the French lily in the first and fourth quarters of the national shield.²⁷ Pope's riddle was possibly designed to honour Queen Anne, who had revived the Order of the Thistle in 1703, but she was only repeating the more significant revival of her father, James II of England and VII of Scotland, in 1687. This was inescapably a Scottish and, in origin, a Stuart order. Mengel notes the suitability of the thistle as an emblem for satire and suggests possible connection with ideas of Scottish stupidity, but the motto fits as uncomfortably with George II as it does with the owl dunce, both of whom were being attacked with impunity. Pope claimed in the *Works* that the *Dunciad Variorum* had been presented to the King: 'We are willing to acquaint posterity that this Poem (as it here stands) was presented to King George the Second and his Queen, by the hands of Sir R. Walpole, on the 12th of March 1728/9' (*Works* II, *Dunciad*, 87). William Kupersmith points to Erasmus 'Similes habent labra lactusas', which is equivalent to the English 'A thistle is a fat salad for an ass's mouth'.²⁸ A bad patron (including the King) and bad writers go together.

25. *Correspondence*, 1:532–3 and 2:4.

26. BL MS Egerton 1951, f. 7; Rogers, *Major Satires*, 116. Pope had himself assigned the copy to Lords Burlington, Oxford, and Bathurst. It strikes me that Burlington's later resignation of his court offices, in May 1733, may have been connected with Pope's breach with the court over the response to *To Burlington* and the *First Satire of the Second Book of Horace Imitated* in February of that year.

27. 'Spring', lines 89–90, *Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism*, ed. E. Audra and Aubrey Williams (London: Methuen, 1961), *Twickenham*, 1:69.

28. William Kupersmith, 'Asses, Adages, and the Illustrations to Pope's *Dunciad*', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 8:2 (1974–5), 206–11.

COLLECTED HORATIAN SATIRES AND ESSAY ON MAN

The first opportunity to try out William Kent's *Odyssey* engravings as accompaniments to Pope's poems came with the collected editions of *An Essay on Man* (Foxon P850–3, published 20 April 1734) and of the Horatian *Satires* II.i and II.ii (Foxon P893–5, 4 July 1734). The collections seem to have been planned together, with some *Odyssey* engravings being retouched to suit their new role and some left unchanged. Both collections were printed with reissue in the *Works* in mind, and, though in some cases that plan did not come to fruition, the engravings did reappear when *Works* II was published a year later. Although the two *Satires* were published over two months later than *An Essay on Man*, it was one of their engravings that proved most significant for the *Works* the following year.²⁹ There are no headpieces to the *Satires*, only tailpieces to mark the ends of the parallel Latin and English texts, and there is no room for a tailpiece at the end of the Latin of *Satire* II.ii. Of the three illustrations, two were simply taken from the *Odyssey*: the Latin of *Satire* II.i closes on p. 18 with an altar adorned with the image of the helmeted Minerva,³⁰ an ornament that originally appeared at the end of *Odyssey* Book XVII; the English of *Satire* II.ii closes on p. 40, with the goblet Mulius 'crown'd / With purple juice' at the end of *Odyssey* Book XVIII. Neither engraving seems particularly appropriate to its poem, though they are concerned with wisdom and feasting. But the vignette at the end of the English of *Satire* II.i (p. 19) — the one that was to find its way to the *Works* title page — is appropriate and changes had been made to enforce its significance (figure 4). It had originally appeared at the end of the last book of the *Odyssey*, where Kent abandoned the usual task of illustrating the poem in order to symbolize his friendship and collaboration with Pope. Two putti, representing poetry and painting, embrace above a medallion of Pope's head. One putto holds a lyre, and a sheet of text and a palette lie below the medallion. The paper is marked 'W. Kent inv.' while below it is 'P. Fournier sc.'³¹ For the collected edition of the *Satires* the symbolism of the vignette was broadened to include all Pope's friends. Added to the medallion is a quotation from the poem, 'UNI ÆQVVS VIRTVTI ATQ. EIVS AMICI', the words Pope had capitalized in the text since its first publication on 15 February 1733, and imitated as 'to Virtue only and her friends a friend'. Pope had found in Kent's affectionate commemoration a visual representation of friendship founded on virtue. This symbolism proved of growing importance in shaping the illustration of Pope's books in the next few years. We

29. Foxon, *English Verse*, P893–5, gives the date of publication as 4 July 1734. Although the collected *Essay on Man* was issued in the usual three formats, I suspect there were no large-paper folios of the *Satires* issued. The ESTC does not record one and Foxon's possible example, P895, has no engravings.

30. I have followed Pope's practice, using the Latin names in his Index.

31. The engraving is No. 17 in William Kurtz Wimsatt, *The Portraits of Alexander Pope* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), 125–6. Wimsatt traces Pope's subsequent use of the image.



FIGURE 4. Vignette on title page of *Works* II quarto; adapted from tailpiece to *Odyssey* XXIV.

find the medallion again on the pages of the collected *Essay on Man* and then on the title page of the *Works*.³²

Pope had published the four epistles of *An Essay on Man* in folio independently at intervals between February 1733 and January 1734, but he published all four together in quarto and large and small folio in April 1734.³³ The single epistles were decorated with simple woodblock printer's ornaments, but the collected edition, perhaps because the aim was to reuse it in the *Works*, called for something more elaborate. The quarto and the large-paper folio have the same illustrations in the preliminaries, but differ in the body of the text. After each epistle the quarto has one of the tailpieces from the *Odyssey*: Epistle I the mermaid fountain from the end of *Odyssey* VII (from the gardens of Alcinous); Epistle II

32. Both the image and the plate were reduced in size for the *Works* title page. The end of Fourdrinier's name has been lost, and there remains some smudging bottom left where the material has not quite been cleared away. The change would be similar to the more radical adjustments to some of the headpieces. An exceptionally full account of changing a plate, though for a later period, is given in Roy J. L. Cooney, 'Chart Engraving at the Admiralty's Hydrographic Department, 1951–1981', *Journal of the Printing Historical Society*, 25 (1996), 31–46. I suspect in Pope's case the alteration could be made without heating or beating the plate flat, and that the new designs were created with the minimum intervention necessary.

33. David Foxon, *English Verse*, gives the dates as 20 February 1733 (P822), 29 March 1733 (P833), 8 May 1733 (P840), 24 January 1734 (P845), and, for the collected edition 20 April 1734 (P850–3).

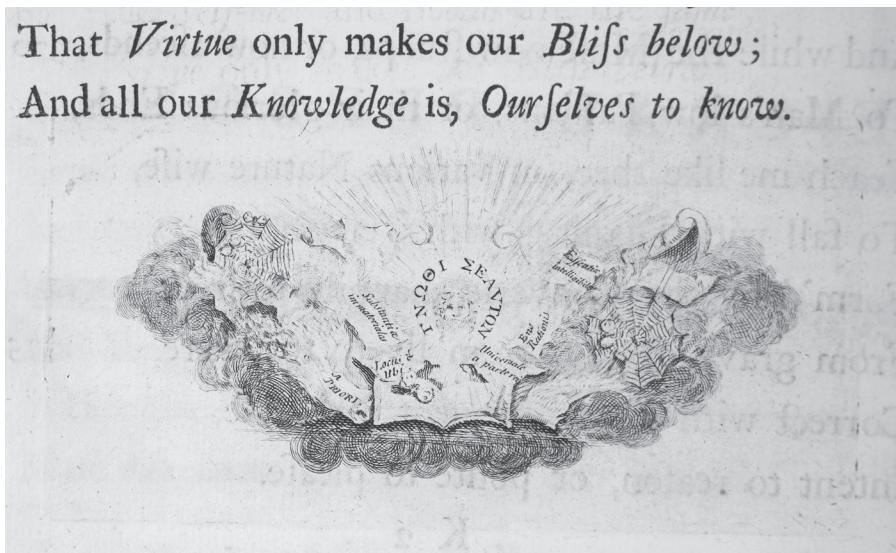


FIGURE 5. Tailpiece to *Essay on Man* IV, Works II quarto; from title page of first edition of collected *Essay on Man*.

Leucothea from the end of *Odyssey* V (a feathered creature, though I am not very confident of the identification); Epistle III a winged siren from the end of *Odyssey* VI; and Epistle IV a repetition of the specially designed vignette from the title page. Savage perceptively connects these images of water creatures with the close of Pope's introductory 'Design' to the *Essay*, discussing the epistles that are to come: 'Consequently, these Epistles in their progress will become less dry, and more susceptible of Poetical Ornament. I am here only opening the *Fountains*, and clearing the passage; To deduce the *Rivers*, to follow them in their Course, and to observe their Effects, will be a task more agreeable. [italics reversed]' Perhaps, the fountains engraving was chosen to support this metaphor, and the others because they were adjacent in the *Odyssey*. The text left no room for these engravings in the large-paper folio, but that would have made production easier. The quarto sheets would have had to go separately through the rolling press in order for the engravings to be impressed.

The engravings the quarto and large folio shared in the preliminaries were inventive in a way the quarto's tailpieces were not. The title page was provided with a new engraving especially designed for *An Essay on Man*: the head of Apollo emerges in glory from clouds, cobwebs, and old manuscripts. Around the head is the motto 'ΤΝΩΘΙ ΣΕΑΥΤΟΝ' (know thyself), one of the maxims of the temple of Apollo at Delphi (figure 5). The injunction is of central thematic importance to *An Essay on Man*. Pope begins his second epistle with a couplet that summarizes the first and defines his approach:

Know then thy-self, presume not God to scan;
The proper Study of mankind is *Man*.³⁴

Buried in the surrounding debris in the title-page engraving are contrary maxims, largely taken from scholasticism, though not without reference to contemporary debates. The reasons for rejection of the tag furthest left, and most important, 'a priori', are made clear by Warburton's note on those who take the 'high Priori road' in the *Dunciad*: 'those who, instead of reasoning from a *visible World* to an *invisible God*, took the other road; and from an *invisible God* (to whom they had given attributes agreeable to certain metaphysical principles formed out of their own imaginations) reasoned *downwards* to a *visible world* in theory, of Man's Creation'.³⁵ The next phrase is 'substantiae immateriales' (immaterial substances), an important idea in the first part of Aquinas's *Summa Theologiae*, the centre of a series of questions about men and angels.³⁶ Next comes 'locus [est] ubi', which I suspect, on the basis of the sketchy skulls that lie beneath, is short for 'Hic locus est ubi mors gaudet succerre vitae' (this is the place where death delights in aiding the living), the inscription over the University of Padua's anatomical theatre. Then comes 'universale a parte rei' (the universal part of the thing), a much despised position in the debate about universals, and said by Bayle to be 'a mere subtlety of Metaphysics, and . . . generally exploded now by the best Philosophers as a dispute about words only'; it is also mocked in the *Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus*.³⁷ Finally come 'ens rationis' (an abstract logical entity) and 'Essentia intelligibil[es]' (intelligible essences), both instances of the abstract knowledge rejected here by Pope and by Bolingbroke in his philosophy.³⁸ The engraving is well proportioned in relation to its pages, but neither inventor nor engraver is identified, and, in comparison with its companions by Kent, it lacks boldness and clarity; the mottoes seem to testify to a lack of confidence in the visual symbols' ability to speak to the reader. I suspect Pope was the inventor and that he may have had help from Bolingbroke.

At the end of the 'Design', explaining his conception of the poem, Pope placed the vignette that had been adapted from the end of the *Odyssey* to illustrate *Satire* II.i with the motto 'UNI ÆQVVS VIRTVTI ATQ, EIVS AMICI'. That symbol of friendship complemented and highlighted the meaning of the head-piece that then appeared on the first page of the poem. The early editions of the epistle, with the title *An Essay on Man. Address'd to a Friend*, had begun 'Awake! my Lælius', the name Laelius being used to declare the importance of friendship.

34. *An Essay on Man*, ed. Maynard Mack (London: Methuen; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951), Twickenham, 3.1:53, lines II.1–2. I have used the typography of *Works* II quarto.

35. *The Dunciad in Four Books*, ed. Valerie Rumbold (Harlow: Longman, 1999), 331–2, line IV.471n. Subsequent references will be to this edition.

36. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* (Alba: Editiones Paulinae), 426–8 (Part 1; quest. 88; arts. 1–2).

37. Pierre Bayle, *A General Dictionary, Historical and Critical* (London: J. Roberts, 1734), 1:396; *Memoirs of the Extraordinary Life, Works, and Discourses of Martinus Scriblerus*, ed. Charles Kerby-Miller (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), 120–2, 124.

38. G. Anderson mentions the attitude to 'a priori' (passim) and both 'universale a parte rei' and 'ens rationis' in his *A Remonstrance against Lord Viscount Bolingbroke's Philosophical Religion* (London, 1756), 20.

Gaius Laelius, the friend of Scipio Aemilianus, was famed for wisdom and friendship. His name prefixes the title of Cicero's *De Amicitia*, a work in whose dialogue he plays a leading part. The name also provided a further link between *An Essay on Man* and Horace's *Satire II.i*, where Laelius appears with Scipio, listening happily to Lucilius' satires (lines 62–74). In Pope's imitation Scipio becomes the Earl of Peterborough and Laelius Lord Bolingbroke (Pope himself immodestly supplying the place of both Lucilius and Horace, lines 127–32). The appearance of Bolingbroke's name, instead of Laelius's, in the first line of the new collected poem, therefore, made specific the connections that already existed between the two poems. It must nonetheless have been a shock to those who had not seen Pope as willing to ally himself with opposition to Walpole and the Hanoverian court to read the first lines:

Awake! my ST. JOHN! leave all meaner things
To low Ambition and the Pride of Kings.

In the new context, it is difficult to see how 'the Pride of Kings' can avoid reflecting on George II.

The declaration of Bolingbroke's importance to the poem is reinforced by the headpiece, which takes one of the *Odyssey* engravings and places Bolingbroke's coat of arms at its centre (figure 6). This headpiece had been the first to appear in the *Odyssey*, with a profile of Homer in the centre, heading 'A General View of the Epic Poem' on p. i. The alteration stands out through its white background (no hatching), and faintness. The accompanying initial 'A' is from *Odyssey*, IV. Bolingbroke is not, of course, being accorded quite the same status as Homer held in Pope's *Odyssey*, but he is the aristocratic friend who is to share the new investigation: 'Let Us . . . expatriate free, o'er all this *Scene of Man*' (lines 3–5). In 1715 Bolingbroke had lost his titles and property as punishment for his flight to the court of the Pretender at St Germains, but they had been restored after his pardon in 1723, though he was not allowed to take his place in the House of Lords.³⁹ He was at this time leading the opposition to Walpole and symbolized in himself the friend who in his independence presented a challenge to the new order. The arms in the engraving projected the public as well as the private man.

WORKS II (1735)

When Pope came to plan the details of *Works II*, probably sometime in the autumn of 1734, he recognized that the theme of aristocratic friendship symbolized by the headpiece to *An Essay on Man* could be used to shape the first half of his volume and offer an illuminating contrast to the second half. A major decision was to place the 'UNI AEQVVS VIRTVTI ATQ, EIVS AMICI' vignette on the title page. In 1717 a large poster-sized portrait of Pope had served as a frontispiece; now the author was presented as a classic by a simple medallion in which

39. Illustrations of his arms are to be found in John Guillim, *A Display of Heraldry*, 6th edn (London, 1724), after p. 2104, no. 2, and, with a discussion, in Anthony R. Wagner, *Historic Heraldry in Britain* (London: Oxford University Press, 1939), p. 86, no. 104.

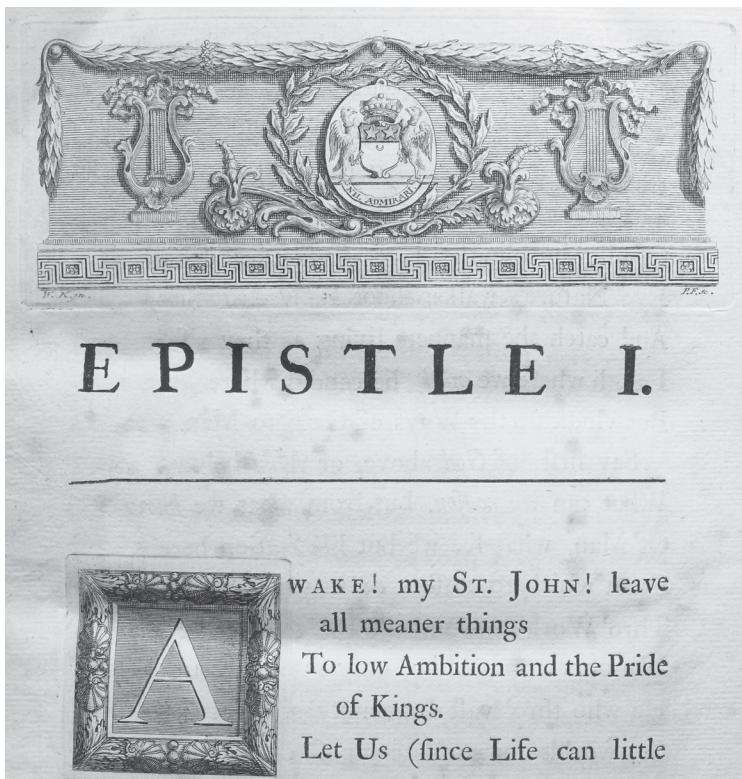


FIGURE 6. Headpiece to *Essay on Man I*, *Works II* folio; adapted from the 'General View' of the *Odyssey*.



FIGURE 7. New headpiece to *Essay on Man I*, *Works II* quarto.

his image was surrounded by the profession of virtuous friendship. Initially Pope may have intended to follow up this design with heraldic headpieces for his friends adapted from the *Odyssey* headpieces, but at a later stage, while various poems were in press, he obtained fresh engravings of these arms from Kent and included them instead. When the 'large Quarto' was advertised in the *Grub-street Journal* on 24 April 1735, it was with 'Copper Plates, design'd by Mr. Kent' (Griffith, 2:287).

Different engravings show up in the different formats of the *Works*. In the case of the first poem in the collection, *An Essay on Man*, the large-paper folios used the sheets of the collected edition of 1734 (Foxon P851). I suspect that by this point in his career Pope had recognized that large-paper folios were difficult to sell. The subscription editions of the Homer translations had been in quarto and readers who needed to make up large folio sets would have been difficult to identify. For the *Iliad*, 250 large-paper folios were printed, but I should be surprised if Pope and Gilliver persisted with so many. From the number of surviving copies, it seems that the large-folio edition of the *Works* was quite small.⁴⁰ For the quarto, however, *An Essay on Man* was newly printed, and Pope took the opportunity to replace the modified *Odyssey* headpiece with a new one (figure 7). The result is bolder and clearer. The supporting falcons have been removed and the motto has been taken out of the central oval and placed on an outside ribbon. The lyres are still there but the foliage is wrapped gracefully in circles round them. Pope clearly liked the heraldic effect of the original *Odyssey* adaptation and was prepared to pay for an engraving that presented it more clearly. I suspect the design was Kent's, though only Fourdrinier has signed it.⁴¹

The poem that follows the *Essay on Man* and introduces the second sequence of epistles also starts with variant forms of the heraldic headpiece. *To Sir Richard Temple Lord Viscount Cobham* begins in the quarto (figure 8) with another adapted *Odyssey* engraving (from Book V), and in the folio with a new specially designed one (figure 9). In the thick-paper copy of the enhanced *Works* II (Griffith 514) that Pope seems to have published in 1739, the *Odyssey* headpiece appears unaltered. Presumably the sheet containing the first page must have been printed first back in 1735 (the most expensive copies impressed while the type was clean), and sent off to the rolling press, where the unaltered engraving was used. Before the appropriate sheet of the ordinary paper quarto arrived, the engraving must have been altered (perhaps all this activity was in Fourdrinier's shop), and before the large folio was impressed the new engraving must have been prepared.

Pope changed his mind about the order of the four epistles that begin this second section. They ended up *To Cobham*, *To a Lady*, *To Bathurst*, and *To Burlington*, but in the quarto *Cobham*'s second page is numbered '48' and *Bathurst*'s '8'. The folio was tidied up and impressed later, but it was from the same setting of type and its first page number in this section, '8', suggests a merely partial

⁴⁰. Few copies survive. The British Library has one (Ashley 5235), as apparently from ESTC T5391 do six North American libraries. The two copies listed in Oxford libraries (26 September 2016) are actually quartos. The ESTC T222362 and Foxon, *English Verse*, P851 between them list four copies of the related *Essay on Man*.

⁴¹. The *Works* quarto does not use the Leucothea tailpiece at the end of Epistle II of the collected *Essay* but substitutes the siren of Epistle III instead. The other engravings are the same.

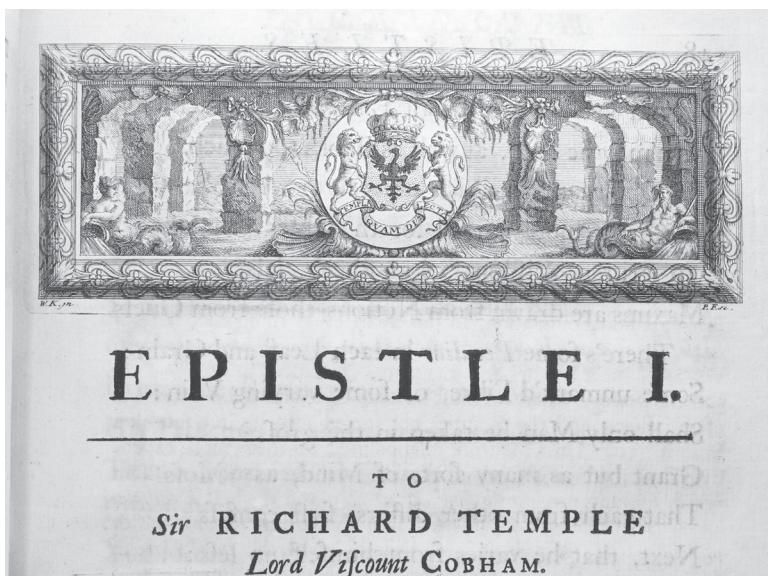


FIGURE 8. Headpiece to *To Cobham, Works II* quarto; adapted from *Odyssey V.*

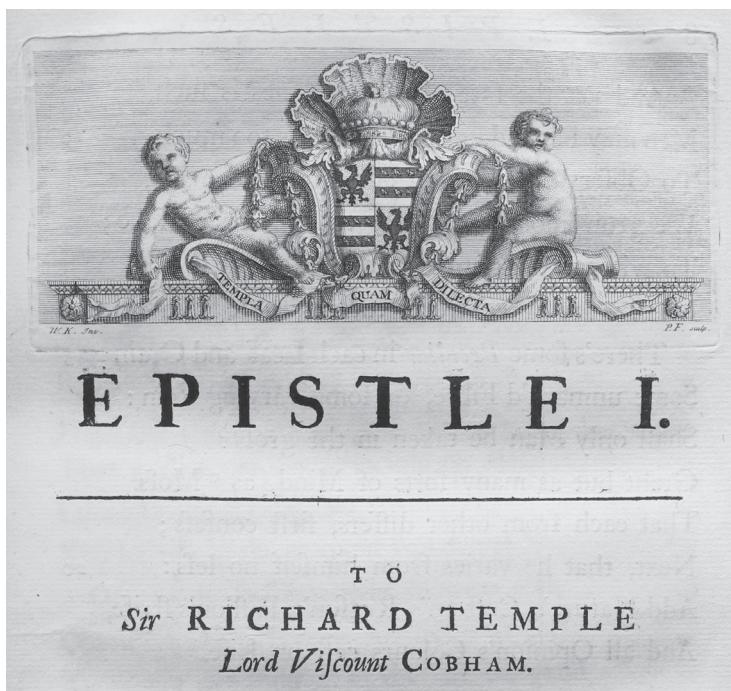


FIGURE 9. New headpiece to *To Cobham, Works II* folio.

correction of the quarto's page numbering. There are many oddities of signatures and paper in this sequence in the quarto but it is noteworthy that all the poems except *To a Lady* begin with a single leaf. The reason must be that the numbers of the epistles on the dropped heads ('EPISTLE I' etc. as in figure 8) had to be changed, and that was done by supplying a new leaf.⁴² The present first page of quarto *To Cobham*, therefore, was printed at a late stage, but before the type was rearranged for the folio. The page lacks line numbers on both recto and verso and it has two readings corrected in the Errata: line 9 'the fate of all Extremes are such' and line 14 'those from Guess'. The large paper folio catches and corrects the first but not the second of these. The quarto page must then have been printed just too early to catch the revised headpiece. If it had not been printed quite so hastily, we might never have seen the adapted *Odyssey* ornament.

The adapted headpiece in the quarto *To Cobham* (figure 8) comes from *Odyssey* Book V. Savage is surely right in suggesting that Kent's original decision to represent Calypso's cave as a grotto was intended as a tribute to Pope; his own sketches of Pope and his grotto are celebrated.⁴³ The central circle in which Ulysses was building his ship has been replaced by a simplified version of Cobham's arms, though Mercury, flying to bring Jupiter's message, is still visible to the left. The replacement engraving (figure 9), which does bear Kent's initials, is more straightforwardly heraldic. Whereas in the adapted engraving the shield has only one eagle displayed, the new one has quartered arms with the eagles displayed in the first and fourth quarter. Although it is not altogether clear, the second and third quarters have two bars each, charged with three martlets. Sir Bernard Burke says these are the arms of the kingdom of Mercia, borne by the family since the Temples were earls of Mercia.⁴⁴ But although the shield is heraldically correct, the supporters are not. The lions rampant on the adapted *Odyssey* headpiece have been replaced by the putti of the 'UNI ÆQVVS VIRTVTI ATQ^E, EIVS AMICI' ornament. Temple's aristocratic dignity is playfully surrounded by symbols of friendship.

The putti will reappear as supporters on the ornament that concludes *To Oxford*, but the next two poems, *To a Lady* and *To Bathurst* lack heraldic ornaments, though *To a Lady* concludes with the *Odyssey* fountain engraving. I have no explanation for the non-appearance of Bathurst's arms. His poem has no engravings, and neither does *To Burlington* in the quarto, but in the large-paper folio *To Burlington* concludes with an ornament that was obviously designed by Kent (who initials it) as a headpiece (figure 10). The Greek key molding that provides a platform for the design is characteristic of many of the *Odyssey* headpieces, including figure 6, as is the firm oblong shape of the plate, occupying the width of the page. I think Pope uses this headpiece (and the one for *To Oxford*) as a tailpiece in order

42. Possibly the 'Taste' poems were originally to precede the 'Characters' ones (though the 'Opus Magnum' list, published by mistake in some copies of *An Essay on Man* on 2 May 1734, has the present order). *To a Lady* was not published until 8 February 1735 and so its printing in the *Works* could be run on from *To Cobham* with the appropriate number.

43. Nos. 14–16 in W. K. Wimsatt, *The Portraits of Alexander Pope*, 119–25.

44. *The General Armory of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales* (London: Harrison, 1884), s.n. The arms were illustrated in Guillim, *A Display of Heraldry*, after p. 210, no. 11.

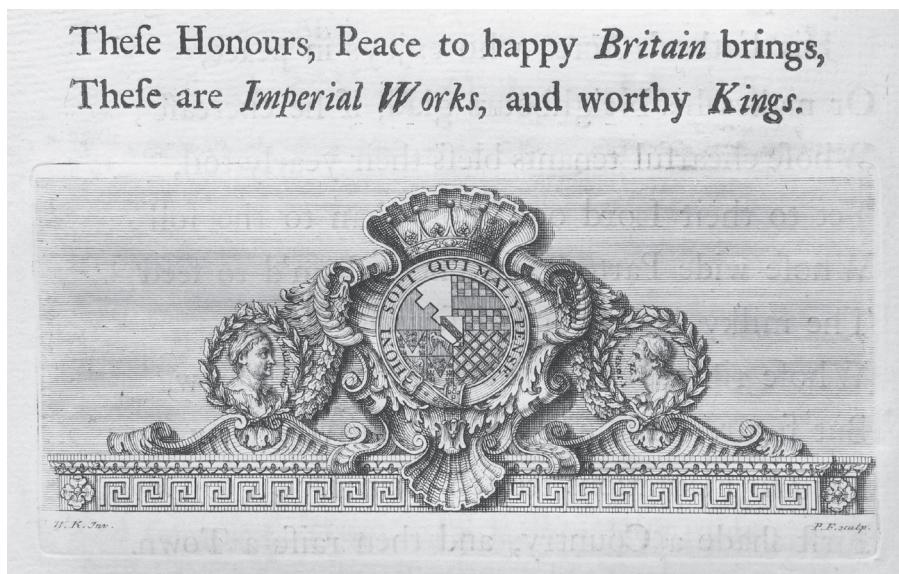


FIGURE 10. New tailpiece to *To Burlington, Works II* folio.

to prepare for the presentation of his father's arms at the end of *To Arbuthnot*, where it constitutes a conclusion to his argument and self-presentation. Although the Burlington ornament lacks the putti as supporters, Kent has again substituted his own ideas. Burlington's funerary monument at Londesborough church shows the same shield but the supporters are a rampant lion and a dog.⁴⁵ Here in the *Works*, where the supporters should be, are wreathed roundels containing heads in profile. Pope's poem celebrates Burlington's publication of *Palladio's Designs of the Baths, Arches, Theatres, &c. of Ancient Rome*, that is, *Fabbriche antiche disegnate da Andrea Palladio Vicentino* (1730), and Kent balances Andrea Palladio on the left with Inigo Jones on the right, just as the outer staircase at Chiswick House does, with statues.⁴⁶ Burlington, very much the aristocrat, takes his place at the centre of a trio of architects, their status as artists balanced by his authority as a scholar. Although the image of Jones bears some resemblance to the much-copied portrait by Van Dyck in the Hermitage, that of Palladio bears closer resemblance to Kent himself.⁴⁷

45. There is a good image (accessed 22 March 2024) at <http://www.britainexpress.com/atTRACTIONS.htm?attraction=4631>

The Burlington arms are illustrated in simplified form in Guillim, *Art of Heraldry*, after p. 104, no. 32. Kent includes the motto of the Order of the Garter ('Honi soit qui mal y pense') to reflect Burlington's knighthood in the order (June 1730).

46. Toby Barnard and Jane Clark (eds.), *Lord Burlington: Architecture, Art and Life* (London: Hambledon Press, 1995), figs. 1a and 1b.

47. The National Portrait Gallery has many engravings based on Van Dyck, of which NPG D28334 is typical, while Kent is in his familiar turban in NPG 1557.

Thro' Fortune's cloud one truly great can see, 45
 Nor fears to tell that MORTIMER is he.

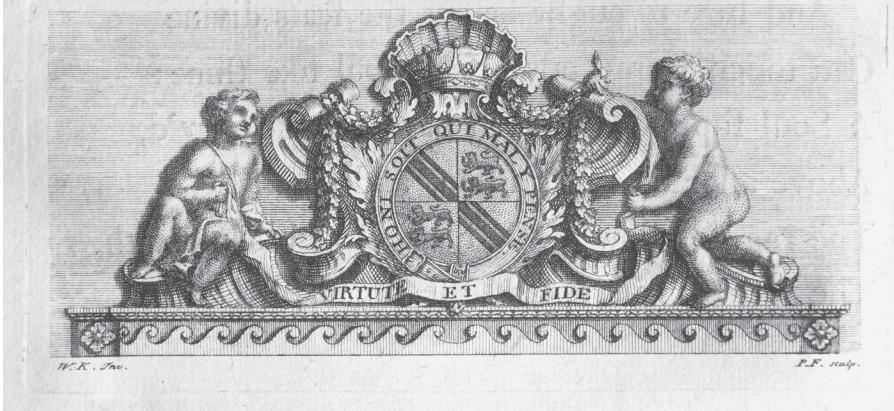


FIGURE 11. New tailpiece to *To Oxford, Works II* quarto.

'To Mr. Addison', which in the quarto immediately follows the poem to Burlington, has a preceding row of flowers and a concluding tailpiece from *Odyssey* Book I. The engraving represents an eagle with Minerva's spear and helmet, evoking lines quoted by Nicholas Savage:

Abrupt, with eagle-speed she cut the sky;
 Instant invisible to mortal eye . . .⁴⁸

Although *To Addison* has a line on eagles, 'And little Eagles wave their wings in gold' (30), the tailpiece eagle is not little and if an engraving was to be chosen to reflect the poem it would surely have been 'UNI AEQVVS VIRTVTI ATQ, EIVS AMICI', where Pope is himself depicted on a medal and the embracing cherubs reflect the relationship in the poem's most famous lines:

The verse and sculpture bore an equal part,
 And Art reflected images to Art.⁴⁹

I suspect the choice of *Odyssey* tailpiece on this occasion was casual.

The tailpiece to the following poem, *To Oxford*, however, is one of the new Kent headpieces functioning as a tailpiece (figure 11). As usual Kent does not

48. *The Odyssey*, ed. Maynard Mack, et al., 2 vols (London: Methuen, 1967), *Twickenham*, 9:52, lines 413–14.

49. 'To Mr. Addison, Occasioned by his Dialogue on Medals', lines 51–2, in *Minor Poems*, ed. Norman Ault and John Butt (London: Methuen, rev. repr. 1964), *Twickenham*, 6:204. 'Sculpture' here refers to engraving and shaping of medals.

Preserve him social, cheerful, and serene,
 And just as rich as when he serv'd a QUEEN.
 Whether that Blessing be deny'd, or giv'n, 410
 Thus far was right, the rest belongs to Heav'n.



FIGURE 12. New tailpiece to *To Arbuthnot, Works II* quarto.

include a crest (in Oxford's case it would have been, rather excessively, a castle, triple-towered, with a lion emerging from the middle tower) but he does keep both the Garter motto, encircling the shield, as in Burlington's arms, and Oxford's own motto. In the most striking adjustment, however, he has replaced the tall, adult angels who are formally supporters with the two putti that have become customary for the volume. Oxford too is embraced as a friend.⁵⁰

The final poem in the second book of epistles, *To Arbuthnot*, brings the serious heraldry of the volume to a close with a large engraving of Pope's father's arms, or Pope's idea of them (figure 12). This heraldic engraving reveals the purpose of the others by including Pope himself in the distinguished group of friends. The

50. Oxford's arms are illustrated by Guillim, *A Display of Heraldry*, after p. 2104, no. 62. In this image he has only the bend cotised and not the lions passants, but they appear in a gold seal ring, the image of which (accessed 22 March 2024) is to be found here:

https://www.pinterest.com/pin/458874649513741270/?from_navigate=true. The Mortimer arms, which consisted of fesses, or horizontal stripes, seem not to be present.

general nature of this engraving was first identified by Howard Erskine-Hill, who suggested it was 'heraldically competent, but does not purport to be Pope's own coat of arms'.⁵¹ I am sympathetic to the desire to absolve Pope from the sin of misrepresentation – he was not using it formally or claiming he had approval from the College of Heralds – but I think this must nevertheless be a serious and important claim about his family and its status. Sir Anthony Wagner in his study of the arms of outstanding figures from the history of the United Kingdom names Pope as one of those who were not armigerous, but he also points to Joshua Reynolds and John Locke as among those who used arms 'but without apparent right'.⁵² Pope used them, I suspect, only in the specific context of this poem, and it may not have mattered to him at all that they were not ratified by a College that served a regime he did not respect. In so advertising his family, Pope may have recollected the introduction by Caleb D'Anvers to his family history in *Craftsman* 28 (13 March 1727): 'Though it is generally esteem'd an indecent, as well as an invidious Task, for a Man to mention himself, or extol his own Family; yet in some Cases it becomes not only excusable, but even praise-worthy; especially when it is made necessary for our *Self-defence*'. D'Anvers goes on to associate his family's place in 'Books of Heraldry' with a patriotism 'exposed to 'Obloquy and Reproach'.⁵³

To Arbuthnot clearly responds to the attacks on Pope by Lord Hervey, or Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, or both, in *Verses Address'd to the Imitator of Horace* (March 1733) and by Hervey in *An Epistle from a Nobleman to a Doctor of Divinity* (November 1733). Pope says as much in the 'Advertisement' prefixed to the first edition; his notes to *To Arbuthnot* refer to the *Verses*; and a new edition of the *Verses* seems to have been printed especially to accompany *To Arbuthnot* in January 1735. The heraldic image at the end of *To Arbuthnot* responds to a particular attack on him in the *Verses*:

none thy crabbed Numbers can endure,
Hard as thy Heart, and as thy Birth obscure.⁵⁴

In an 'Advertisement' prefixed to the first edition of *An Epistle from Mr. Pope to Dr. Arbuthnot* which was substantially repeated in the *Works* Pope says he had no thought of publishing the poem

till it pleas'd some Persons of Rank and Fortune to attack in a very extraordinary manner, not only his *Writings*, but his *Morals, Person, and Family*: of which he therefore thought himself obliged to give some account. (*Works* II, 212)⁵⁵

51. 'Review of James McLaverty, *Pope, Print, and Meaning*', *Review of English Studies*, 220 (2004) 462–5 (465).

52. Wagner, *Historic Heraldry of Britain*, 13. I am most grateful to Mr David White, then Somerset Herald, now Garter King of Arms, who in a short correspondence kindly directed me to this reference and also pointed out that the arms in *To Arbuthnot* were those of a married man. However, Wagner's recording of Jonathan Swift's armigerous uncle Godwin as his brother suggests Wagner's is not an altogether thorough study of literary figures.

53. *The Craftsman*, 14 vols. (London, 1731), 1:166.

54. *The Collected Verse of John, Lord Hervey (1696–1743)*, ed. Bill Overton et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 182, lines 16–17.

55. John Butt prints the 'Advertisement' to the first edition in *Twickenham*, 4:95.

And to the lines

Let the two Curls of Town and Court, abuse
His Father, Mother, Body, Soul, and Muse (*Works II*, 76, lines 372–3)

he added a long note:

In some of Curl's and other Pamphlets, Mr. Pope's Father was said to be a Mechanic, a Hatter, a Farmer, nay a Bankrupt. But what is stranger, a *Nobleman* (if such a Reflection can be thought to come from a Nobleman) has dropt an Allusion to this pitiful Untruth, in his *Epistle to a Doctor of Divinity*: And the following Line,

Hard as thy Heart, and as thy Birth Obscure,

has fallen from a like Courtly pen, in the *Verses to the Imitator of Horace*. Mr. Pope's Father was of a Gentleman's Family in Oxfordshire, the Head of which was the Earl of Downe, whose sole Heiress married the Earl of Lindsey—His Mother was the Daughter of William Turnor, Esq; of York: she had three Brothers, one of whom was kill'd, another died in the Service of King Charles; the eldest following his Fortunes, and becoming a General Officer in Spain, left her what Estate remain'd after the Sequestrations and Forfeitures of her Family.—Mr. Pope died in 1717, aged 75; She in 1733, aged 93, a very few Weeks after this Poem was finished. The following Inscription was placed by their Son on their Monument, in the Parish of Twickenham, in Middlesex.

D. O. M.

ALEXANDRO POPE VIRO INNOCUO,

PROBO, Pio, QUI VIXIT ANNOS LXXV, OB. MDCCVII.

ET EDITHÆ CONJUNGI INCULPABILI, PIENTISSIMÆ,

QUE VIXIT ANNOS XCIII, OB. MDCCXXXIII.

PARENTIBUS BENEMERENTIBUS FILIUS FECIT, ET SIBI.

(*Works II*, 214)

The impression given by Pope's note is reinforced by the engraving. The central shield is quite a small part of the design. On it the arms of his father's family are impaled with those of his mother's, as those families are identified in the note to the poem. The dextra has the arms of the Oxfordshire Pope family to which the Earl of Downe belonged. In Guillim's *A Display of Heraldry* (1724), 183, they appear under Baronets: 'Sir William Pope of Wilcot in Oxfordshire, Kt. since an Irish Earl, *viz.* Earl of Downe. Parted per Pale [halved vertically], Or and Azure [gold and blue], on a Chevron between three Griffins Heads erased [torn off], four Fleurs de Lys, all Counterchanged [reversing colours]'. The engraving has only three fleurs-de-lis, but Kent probably felt pressed for space.⁵⁶ The sinister has the arms of the Turnor or Turner family. They are illustrated and described

^{56.} Sir Bernard Burke, *The General Armory of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales* (London, 1884), s.n. agrees about the four fleurs-de-lis and adds a crest of griffins' heads.

in Guillim, 323: 'He beareth *Ermines*, on a Cross quarter pierced Argent [silver], four Fer-de-molines sable [black millrind crosses], by the Name of *Turner*; and is the Coat-Armour of Sir *Edward Turner* of *Parendon* in *Essex*, Kt. Chief Baron of his Majesty's Court of Exchequer'. Sir Bernard Burke in the *General Armory* has similar arms for the Turnor family of Stoke Rochford in Lincolnshire but has five fers-de-molines for the Turner family of York. Again, Pope and Kent may not have been concerned for details; no crest has been supplied for the coat of arms.⁵⁷

Kent has supplied his design with the usual foliage, but the putti are absent. This is a memorial to Pope's parents and to right and left are what I take to be torches, signifying Pope's devotion to his family home and values, flames that he keeps alive. The motto, 'HEU PIETAS HEU PRISCA FIDES', is a quotation from Book VI of the *Aeneid* (line 878) where Anchises laments the early death of Marcellus, 'a youth of passing beauty in resplendent arms'. The Loeb translation is 'Alas for his goodness! alas for his chivalrous honour', but in this context it might be 'Alas for faithfulness to natural ties and duty! Alas for old faith!'⁵⁸ The engraving unquestionably represents Pope's commitment to his family, its values, and its religion, even though he and his friends find themselves in a form of internal exile. The original context of the quotation gives it a curious doubleness: the lament is for Pope's parents but also, through the allusion to Marcellus, for their love of him. The motto and the grandeur of the engraving counterbalance the simple 'ET SIBI' designed for Pope's own place on his parents' monument in Twickenham church. Ironically, in a poem famous for its condemnation of Addison, the words had been used as the epigraph for the *Spectator* paper recording the death of Sir Roger de Coverly.⁵⁹

The two Horatian satires that follow *To Arbuthnot* have the same illustrations as in the separate quarto, Satire II.i bringing its picture of Pope's life to a close with the 'UNI AEQVVS VIRTVTI ATQ. EIVS AMICI' vignette. The Donne satires that follow have simply two closing tailpieces from the *Odyssey*, Proteus from Book IV, here half a boar (lines 617–18), and the familiar siren. The section *Epitaphs* that comes between the epistles and satires and the *Dunciad*, however, has an appropriate headpiece from the *Odyssey*, that from Book I (the initial from Book IV) where Phemius is depicted singing 'the direful woes Which voyaging from *Troy* the Victors bore' and is rebuked by Penelope, 'ev'ry piercing note inflicts a wound' (*Twickenham*, 9:53, lines I.422–3, 440). It now has on it 'DIS MANIBUS', short for 'dis manibus sacrum', meaning 'sacred to the ghost gods' or 'in memory of'. This is a case of skilful appropriation. Two pages later a tail-piece of an altar with a bucranium and trident evokes 'King Nestor's sacrifice of a heifer to Pallas Athene'⁶⁰ and reinforces the sombre mood.

The *Dunciad* that begins the fourth and final main section of *Works* II quarto provides new illustrations developing the motifs found in the *Variorum* edition of

57. Sir Bernard Burke has a crest with a lion holding a fer-de-moline, s.n.

58. *Virgil*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, rev. G. P. Goold, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 1:594, lines VI.861 and 878. Unfortunately the engraver for the *Works* has misunderstood his instructions: all the copies seen read 'PLETAS'.

59. *The Spectator*, ed. D. F. Bond, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 4:339 (No. 517, 23 October 1712).

60. Savage, 'Kent as Book Illustrator', 423. The tailpiece comes from *Odyssey*, Book III.

1729. These engravings provide the heraldry of the dunces, as Mengel and Savage have demonstrated in their important essays. The headpiece to the first book of the *Dunciad Variorum* is now used again as a tailpiece at the end of the Arguments, at the end of Book I, at the end of Book II, and at the end of the notes to Book II. Each book of the quarto, however, has a new headpiece. The first picks up the asses and owl motif from the *Variorum* headpiece, and, in a mockery of the *Odyssey*'s harps and lyres, has asses playing their instruments with their hoofs, while an owl in a bow tie admires himself in a mirror. The engraving, in an *Odyssey*-like elaborate frame – the *Variorum* headpiece did not have a frame – conjures up a world of elaborate narcissistic self-congratulation. In the nearby initial, repeated in Book III, a creature Engel and Savage take to be a mole attempts to read with the help of spectacles.⁶¹ At the beginning of Book II comes a headpiece with its central circle devoted to one of Orator Henley's medals, with Henley or Curl pictured in the stocks. The initial on this page has Mercury's caduceus crowned with a fools' cap. The final headpiece refers to the pantomimes criticized in the poem, with harlequin submitted by a monster to a perverse pattern of death and birth. Dr. Joseph Hone, of the University of Newcastle, points out to me with characteristic generosity that the monster is modelled on that of Hogarth's 'Masquerades and Operas' (1724). Kent, himself Hogarth's butt in that engraving, joins himself to the critique of popular culture.

The story of the engravings to *Works* II is, then, a sad one of missed opportunity. Pope had a theme for his collection that could be represented first by heraldic headpieces and then by mock-heraldry. He had a brilliant if eccentric designer in William Kent, who was willing to share his interests and to celebrate their collaboration, but because of the hand-to-mouth way of proceeding with the compilation of the volume – Lawton Gilliver and John Wright were very closely supervised and afflicted with changes of plan and improvised solutions – Pope's conception was not fully realized. And the *Odyssey* tailpieces, bold and ingenious as they were, distracted attention from the thematically conceived illustrations. If Pope and Lintot had not quarrelled so seriously over the *Odyssey*, we might have had a better book.

POSTSCRIPT: THE AFTERLIFE OF A MERCURY PLATE

Pope's use of these engraved ornaments did not end with the 1735 edition of *Works* II. They appeared in individual publications and in the prose works, and the treatment of a Mercury tailpiece (figure 13), shown here from its appearance in Pope's quarto *Prose Works* II, 1741 (Griffith 531), p. 1, is particularly intriguing. This engraving was not actually used in the *Odyssey*. It might have been intended originally as the tailpiece to conclude the final book (which begins with Mercury leading the souls of the suitors 'to the eternal shades'), only to be replaced by the Pope medallion. It appears without a ribbon or lettering at the end of *The First Epistle of the First Book of Horace in Poems and Imitations of Horace* (Griffith 504),

61. I am inclined to think it is a monkey, modelled on Dürer's watercolour in the monastery of El Escorial.



FIGURE 13. Mercury engraving (no ribbon); headpiece (p. 1) to *The Works of Mr. Alexander Pope in Prose, Volume II*, quarto (1741).



FIGURE 14. Mercury engraving (ribbon with inscription); headpiece (Preface) to *Letters of Mr. Alexander Pope and Several of His Friends*, quarto (1737).

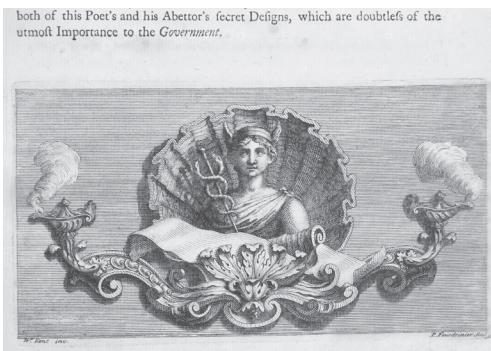


FIGURE 15. Mercury engraving (blank ribbon); tailpiece to *Key to the Lock* in *The Works of Mr. Alexander Pope in Prose, Volume II*, quarto (1741).

published, Griffith says, on 11 January 1739, but dated 1738. There it faces the second Bolingbroke headpiece from the *Works*, which was appropriate because Bolingbroke was the *Epistle's* addressee. That volume (Griffith 504) was designed to enable purchasers of the 1735 *Works* quarto to update their collection, and used sheets from Griffith 490 (*Epistles of Horace Imitated*), which Griffith thinks was published in May 1738.⁶² There are only two surviving copies of Griffith 490, so it may be unwise to allow it too much weight, but other evidence points to these sheets having been printed by May 1737. The Mercury engraving appears again above the Preface to the quarto and large-paper folio *Letters of Mr. Alexander Pope, and Several of his Friends* (Griffith 454 and 456), the official edition of Pope's correspondence, published on 19 May 1737, but here the engraving has been given a ribbon running across the bottom of the image, with the inscription 'Vellem Nescire Litteras!', Nero's response when required to sign a death warrant, 'Would that I had never learned to write' (figure 14).⁶³ The Preface ends with more evidence of the willingness to change engravings at this point, with an adaptation of the Oxford tailpiece from the *Works*, the putti now supporting a central circle that once held Oxford's arms but now has an inscription in capitals, the oddity of the breaks showing the space was not designed for the inscription:

CVM.DESIDE.
RIO.VETERES.
REVOCAMVS.AMO
RES.
ATQUE.OLIM.MIS
SAS. FLEMVS.
AMICITIAS.⁶⁴

The same engraving is repeated above the first letter.

By May 1737, therefore, the Mercury ornament had been changed, which means that the quarto sheets of the *First Epistle of the First Book* in *Epistles of Horace Imitated* must have been printed before that date. So too had been the version of the *Key to the Lock* that appeared in *The Works of Mr. Alexander Pope in Prose, Volume II* in 1741 (Griffith 530–1), where the Mercury engraving appears at the end of the piece in an intermediate state, with its ribbon but without the lettering (figure 15). The *Key* was printed, therefore, after the sheets of *Epistles of*

62. The first edition, Griffith 480, which does not have the engravings (perhaps because there is no room for them) and does not begin with St. John's name, has 1737 on the title page and was published on 7 March.

63. The story is told by Suetonius, 'Nero', *Suetonius*, trans. J. C. Rolfe, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914), 2:101 (§X).

64. 'The regret with which we recall our old loves, and weep for long-lost friendships', Catullus, XCVI ['Ad Calvum de Quintilia'], lines 3–4 (*Catullus, Tibullus, Pervigilium Veneris*, trans. F. W. Cornish, J. P. Postgate, and J. W. Mackail, 2nd edn, rev. G. P. Goold (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962), 168–9). The Loeb text and others I have consulted read 'renovamus' (renew, give new life to).

Horace Imitated but before the Preface to the 1737 *Letters*.⁶⁵ But by far the most surprising appearance of this Mercury engraving is in its original unribboned and unlettered state at the beginning of the letters in the 1741 volume, *The Works of Mr. Alexander Pope in Prose, Volume II* (Griffith 530–1) (figure 13). It would be expected to appear in the same revised state as it had at the beginning of the 1737 *Letters*. It forms the headpiece to a letter from Pope to Swift of 18 June 1714. Lord Orrery had left Dublin on 5 July 1737, according to Sherburn, bringing with him Pope's letters to Swift. He wrote to Swift saying Pope had the letters on 23 July 1737.⁶⁶ But this evidence of the plain engraving suggests that Pope had already started printing his letters to Swift before the engraving appeared in its enhanced form in the *Letters* on 19 May 1737. In a case like this, the engraving affords valuable bibliographical evidence. Examination on the Traherne collator does not suggest there were two engravings, and such duplication would in any case be most unlikely. The whole affair of the publication of the Pope and Swift letters clearly invites further investigation, as does the rest of Pope's printing in quarto and folio in the summer of 1737, but it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Pope had printed some of his letters to Swift before July 1737; perhaps he had saved copies of them; perhaps he made them up.

65. David Foxon thinks it was intended with other prose pieces for the 1735 *Works* (*Pope and the Early Eighteenth-Century Book Trade*, 133), but that now seems unlikely. *The First Epistle of the First Book of Horace* would not have been ready in 1735.

66. *Correspondence*, 4:81.

HEADPIECE AND TAILPIECE ENGRAVINGS IN
THE QUARTO AND LARGE FOLIO WORKS II (1735)

Location	Format	Design and Source
<i>Page in 4° and (large 2°)</i>	<i>4° or large 2°</i>	
Works		
Title Page	4°, 2°	Oval vignette, 69mm Tailpiece from <i>Odyssey</i> XXIV, without motto; end of col- lected <i>Essay on Man</i> Design [Fig. 4]
Essay on Man		
Title	4°	<i>Not present</i>
	2°	Apollo Title page of collected <i>Essay on Man</i> (Foxon P851), reissued here
End of Design	4°	<i>No engraving</i>
	2°	Oval vignette, 79mm Tailpiece from collected <i>Essay on Man</i>
Epistle 1, p. 9 (7)	4°	New headpiece with simple Bolingbroke arms in central oval; initial 'A' (29 x 29mm) [Fig. 7]
	2°	Headpiece from <i>Odyssey</i> 'A General View of the Epic Poem', with elaborate Bolingbroke arms substituted in central oval; initial 'A' (48 x 48mm) from <i>Odyssey</i> IV [Fig. 6]
Epistle 1, p. 24 (20)	4°	Mermaid fountain Tailpiece from <i>Odyssey</i> VII
	2°	<i>No engraving</i>
Epistle 2, p. 39 (33)	4°	Siren Tailpiece from <i>Odyssey</i> VI
	2°	<i>No engraving</i>
Epistle 3, p. 56 (48)	4°	Siren Tailpiece from <i>Odyssey</i> VI
	2°	<i>No engraving</i>
Epistle 4, p. 76 (66)	4°	Apollo Title page of collected <i>Essay on Man</i> (Foxon P851), used as tailpiece [Fig. 5]
	2°	<i>No engraving</i>
Ethic Epistles, Second Book		
Cobham, p. 47 (7)	4°	Headpiece from <i>Odyssey</i> V, with Temple arms substituted in central circle [Fig. 8]
	2°	New headpiece with Temple arms supported by putti [Fig. 9]
Lady, p. 71 (33)	4°, 2°	Mermaid fountain Tailpiece from <i>Odyssey</i> VII [Fig. 2]

(Continued)

Location	Format	Design and Source	
Burlington, p. 49 (44)	4°	<i>No engraving</i>	
	2°	New tailpiece with Burlington arms in central circle [Fig. 10]	
Addison, p. 53 (48)	4°, 2°	Helmeted eagle	Tailpiece from <i>Odyssey</i> I
Oxford, p. 56 (51)	4°, 2°	New tailpiece with Oxford arms in central circle [Fig. 11]	
Arbuthnot, p. 78 (72)	4°, 2°	New tailpiece with arms of Pope's father	[Fig. 12]
Satires			
Horace, <i>Satire 2:1</i>			
p. 18 (16)	4°	Altar with Minerva	Tailpiece from <i>Odyssey</i> XVII
	2°	<i>No engraving</i>	
p. 19 (17)	4°	Oval vignette, 69mm <i>Works</i> title page	
	2°	<i>No engraving</i>	
Horace, <i>Satire 2:2</i>			
p. 40 (36)	4°, 2°	Mulius's goblet	Tailpiece from <i>Odyssey</i> XVIII
Donne, <i>Satire 4</i>			
p. 86 (90)	4°, 2°	Proteus	Tailpiece from <i>Odyssey</i> IV
p. 87 (91)	4°, 2°	Siren	Tailpiece from <i>Odyssey</i> VI
Epitaphs			
Trumbal, p. 3 (3)	4°, 2°	Harpist	Headpiece from <i>Odyssey</i> I; initial 'A' (48 x 48mm) from <i>Odyssey</i> IV [Fig. 1]
Dorset, p. 5 (5)	4°	Altar	Tailpiece from <i>Odyssey</i> III
	2°	<i>No engraving</i>	
Dunciad			
Argument, p. 19 ('81')	4°	Owl and asses	'Nemo' headpiece from <i>Dunciad Variorum</i> (Foxon P771 etc.), used as tailpiece
	2°	Burdened ass	Title page of <i>Dunciad Variorum</i> (Foxon P771 etc.)
Book I, p. 1 (1)	4°, 2°	Owl & harping asses	New headpiece; new initial 'B' with mole reading
Book I, p. 14 (13)	4°	Owl and asses	'Nemo' headpiece from <i>Dunciad Variorum</i> (Foxon P771 etc.), used as tailpiece
	2°	Burdened ass	Title page of <i>Dunciad Variorum</i> (Foxon P771 etc.)

Book II, p. 15 (14)	4°	Head in stocks	New headpiece; new initial 'H' with fool's cap on caduceus
	2°	<i>No engraving</i>	
Book II, p. 35 (32)	4°	Owl and asses	'Nemo' headpiece from <i>Dunciad Variorum</i> (Foxon P771 etc.), used as tailpiece [Fig. 3]
	2°	<i>No engraving</i>	
Book III, p. 36 (33)	4°	Harlequin	New headpiece; initial 'B' with mole reading, from Book I
	2°	<i>No engraving</i>	
Book III, p. 54 (49)	4°, 2°	Boar	Tailpiece from <i>Odyssey XIV</i>
Declaration, p. 56 (52)	4°, 2°	Eagle carrying bird	Tailpiece from <i>Odyssey XV</i>
Scriblerus, p. 61 (57)	4°	<i>No engraving</i>	
	2°	Owl & harping asses	Headpiece from Book I
Notes, p. 115 (107)	4°	Boar	Tailpiece from <i>Odyssey XIV</i>
	2°	Burdened ass	Title page of <i>Dunciad Variorum</i> (Foxon P771 etc.)
Notes, p. 149 (138)	4°	Owl and asses	'Nemo' headpiece from <i>Dunciad Variorum</i> (Foxon P771 etc.), used as tailpiece
	2°	<i>No engraving</i>	

JONATHAN RICHARDSON, CHARLES CHAUNCY, AND THE MANUSCRIPTS OF POPE

by

JOHN CONSIDINE*

'As for his *Essay on Man*', recalled the man of letters Jonathan Richardson the younger, in a volume of reflections published in 1776, five years after his death,

I was witness to the whole conduct of it in writing, and actually have his original MSS. for it, from the first scratches of the four books, to the several finished copies, (of his own neat and elegant writing these last) all which, with the MS. of his *Essay on Criticism*, and several of his other works, he gave me himself, for the pains I took in collating the whole with its printed editions, at his request, on my having proposed to him the 'making of an edition of his works in the manner of Boileau's'.¹

The literary manuscripts which Pope gave to Richardson 'include', as Margaret Smith remarks in the *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*, 'some of the most important surviving MSS of Pope'.² They were, as we shall see, accompanied in Richardson's library by collated printed editions of Pope and some non-literary manuscripts. Their movements for a century and more after Richardson's death have been summed up — not quite accurately — by Maynard Mack: they 'made their way, without ever going on public sale, into the collection of Charles Chauncy, and finally, in 1887, to the marketplace', the last point being minimally elaborated on in an endnote which reads 'See the Sotheby sale catalogue, July 1887'.³ Charles Chauncy was a near-contemporary of Richardson the younger's, a rich English physician and antiquary; the name is also spelt *Chauncey*, as in the *Oxford DNB* and several of the sources quoted below.

* I am grateful to Karen Thomson, who helped me to start thinking about this topic, and to James McLaverty, for his valuable comments on a draft.

1. Jonathan Richardson, *Richardsoniana, or, Occasional Reflections on the Moral Nature of Man* (London: Printed for J. Dodsley, 1776), 264; for Pope and the Richardsons, see William Kurtz Wimsatt, *The Portraits of Alexander Pope* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1965), 73–89 and 137–222, esp. 142–143, Helene Koon, 'Pope's First Editors', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 35.1 (1971), 19–27, and James McLaverty, *Pope, Print, and Meaning* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 212–213; for Pope and Boileau, see McLaverty, op. cit., 87–90, 210–214.

2. Margaret M. Smith, 'Alexander Pope', in eadem and Alexander Lindsay, *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*, vol. 3, 1700–1800, part 3, *Alexander Pope–Sir Richard Steele* (London: Mansell, 1992), 1–78 at 2.

3. Maynard Mack, *Collected in Himself: Essays Critical, Biographical, and Bibliographical on Pope and Some of his Contemporaries* (East Brunswick, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1982), 325, 346 n 24.

The impressive terseness of Mack's account has led to its being overlooked. For instance, Smith's *IELM* entry records that 'The first major dispersal of Pope's MSS in the salerooms did not occur until the W. Nassau Lees Sale, at Christie's, 20 [sc. 30] July 1889' (2), and gives an account only of the sub-set of the Chauncy manuscripts which reached that sale, two years after the one which Mack mentions. Likewise, the current online catalogue record for the Morgan Library manuscript MA 348, the first extant draft of the 'Essay on Man', reads 'Presented by Pope to Jonathan Richardson (1694–1771); Dr. Charles Chauncey, and by descent in his family until at least 1860; General William Nassau Lees; his sale (Christie's, 30 July 1889, lot 79)'. Moreover, the Sotheby catalogue of 1887 to which Mack refers the reader is not widely available, and although it tells us much about the Richardson–Chauncy manuscripts of Pope, it does not tell the full story. The following is therefore the first full account of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century career of the most important group of manuscripts of Pope.

I

Richardson evidently retained the manuscripts which Pope had given him until his death. They were sold in April 1776, by Baker and Leigh, with three associated lots.⁴ The catalogue describes the four lots as follows:

- 3170 Two Copper Plates of Mr. Pope's Head, one in a Circle, the other in a Whig [sic], by Richardson,⁵
- 3171 Most of Mr. Pope's Poems in their first Sketches in his own hand Writing, and some first Editions corrected,
- 3172 Mr. Pope's Pastorals, Manuscript, *neatly wrote*,

N. B. *This Copy is that which passed through the Hands of Walsh, Congreve, Mainwaring, Garth, Granville, Southerne, Sir W. Trumbull, Lord Halifax, Lord Wharton, Marq. of Dorchester, Duke of Bucks, &c. The Alterations from this Copy were upon the Objections of some of these, or my own. A. Pope.*⁶

4. *A Catalogue of the Very Large and Valuable Library of Doctor John Campbell ... To Which is Added, Some Original Letters of Mr. Pope to Mr. Richardson of Queen's Square, and also Many of his Works with his own Manuscript Corrections* (London: for S. Baker and G. Leigh, 1776), 99 [reproduced in the microfilm series *Sotheby Catalogues*, part I, reel 6 of 71].

5. Unidentified: Richardson the elder made a number of etched portraits of Pope, for which see Wimsatt, *Portraits of Alexander Pope*, 178–200. Cf. William Gregson, writing in or shortly after December 1775, in George Sherburn, 'New Anecdotes about Alexander Pope', *Notes & Queries* 203 (1958), 343–349 at 346: 'I have the plates of several of Mr Popes Heads, Sketch'd by my Grandfather [Richardson the elder], the best Proof I think is bound up, as Frontispiece to his Works.'

6. See Maynard Mack, ed., *The Last and Greatest Art: Some Unpublished Poetical Manuscripts of Alexander Pope* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1984), 19–21; Smith, 'Alexander Pope', entry PoA 273.

3173 Mr. Pope's original Letters to Mr. Richardson, sen. in his own Hand, together with his Dedication to all his Works, and transcript of what he dedicated [*sc. dictated*] to Mr. Richardson of his Birth and Publications, &c.⁷

Baker and Leigh's marked-up copy of the sale catalogue in the British Library records three of the buyers, and a copy in the Bodleian supplies the prices: Lot 3170 went for £1 7s. to an unidentified buyer; Lot 3171 for £5 5s. to Dr. Chauncey; Lot 3172 for £1 1s. to Grigson (William Gregson, grandson of Jonathan Richardson the elder, who gave it to the radical Thomas Brand Hollis); and Lot 3173 for £1 11s. 6d. to G. Davies.⁸

Charles Chauncy did not enjoy his purchase for long, for he died on Christmas Day, 1777. His will (PROB 11/1038/53) bequeaths 'all my Books MSS Book Cases Pictures' and the like to his brother Nathaniel. When he first drafted the will, which is dated 10 March 1776, he added that he desired that his collections 'may not be separated or disposed of but kept entire and together' to be inherited in due course by whichever of the three sons of his deceased sister Martha Snell should be thought most deserving of them (Charles himself was childless, and neither Nathaniel nor his other brother Philip had sons, so the three Snell brothers were his only male nephews).⁹ However, he subsequently struck this passage out, and the will as proved on 8 January 1778 makes no restriction as to the future of the books or collections. Nathaniel Chauncy kept them together for his lifetime, but his collections of books and other objects were dispersed, 'by his express order', in a series of sales by auction after his death in 1790.¹⁰

However, the Pope manuscripts were not among the books sold at this time. A note in one of them records that it passed from Charles Chauncy to Nathaniel, and thence to one of the Snell nephews, another Charles, who married Nathaniel's daughter Amelia, and changed his name in 1783 to Charles Snell Chauncy.¹¹ Since the whole collection was still together in 1887, it must in fact all have passed to Charles Snell Chauncy. By his will (PROB 11/1500/155, fol. 254r),

7. Pope's letters to Richardson are now widely dispersed (see references at Smith, 'Alexander Pope', 13–14). The manuscript of a draft of the 'Preface' to the 1717 *Works* was, in the nineteenth century, preserved in an album of materials relating to Pope which also included one of his letters to Jonathan Richardson the elder (Smith, 'Alexander Pope', 16–17 and PoA 400), but only very loosely could this have been called Pope's 'Dedication to all his Works'. For the 'transcript', see 'Transcript of what Mr. Pope dictated to Mr. Jonathan Richardson Senr. at Twickenham 5th August 1739', Bodleian MS Eng. lett. d. 59, fos. 80–81, copied by William Gregson in December 1775 (perhaps from the manuscript sold in April 1776): Sherburn, 'New Anecdotes about Alexander Pope', 346–347, correct title supplied by Maynard Mack, *Alexander Pope: A Life* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1985), 823 n 13.

8. The British Library copy (from the set pressmarked S. C. Sotheby) is the one reproduced in the microfilm series *Sotheby Catalogues*; the Bodleian copy is Mus. Bibl. III. 351. The purchase of lot 3171 by Chauncy was noted in *Gentleman's Magazine* 47.1 (January 1777), 9.

9. S. I. Tucker, *Pedigree of the Family of Chauncy*, private ed. (London: Mitchell and Hughes, 1884), 9–10.

10. For the order, see *Gentleman's Magazine* 60.1 (January 1790), 87; the sale devoted to books was catalogued in *A Catalogue of the Elegant and Valuable Libraries of Charles Chauncy ... and of his Brother Nathaniel Chauncy, Esq., Both Deceased* (London: for Leigh and Sotheby, 1790).

11. The note is reported in David L. Vander Meulen, *Pope's DUNCIAD of 1728: A History and Facsimile* (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia for the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia and the New York Public Library, 1991), 42.

he left 'all my Household Furniture Plate Linen China Printed Books Wines and other Liquors Carriages and Horses' to his widow at his death in 1809, and there appears to have been no quarrel over the fact that the form of words 'printed books' does not cover manuscripts. She in turn left her books to her daughter Charlotte Chauncy by her will, proved in 1841 (PROB 11/1940/325), but Charlotte appears to have predeceased her, and the movement of the books within the Chauncy family for the next 46 years is unclear. In 1887, however, the barrister and antiquary William Thorpe wrote a letter to the *Times* about a completely different manuscript with a Chauncy provenance, in which he stated that 'I am informed by the family solicitor, Mr. Teesdale ... that when the Chauncy collections were disposed of by ... Sotheby in 1790, the autographs were retained by the family, who have now sent them to the hammer' (*Times*, 17 September 1887, 7; repeated in essentials *Times*, 4 October 1887, 3). The solicitor in question, John Marmaduke Teesdale, had married a Chauncy (see his obituary in *Law Times*, 16 June 1888, 128), so he was in a good position to know the family history.

II

The catalogue of Sotheby's sale of July 1887, to which Mack alludes so briefly, included a series of lots headed 'Pope (Alexander) Autograph Manuscripts, From the Library of the late Dr. Charles Chauncy', and this series provides the fullest account of the set of manuscripts which had passed by inheritance through the generations of the Chauncy family in the 111 years since Charles's purchase in April 1776.¹² The catalogue entries are transcribed here (text to the right of the vertical line is right-aligned in the original) with notes on how each adds to our knowledge of the Richardson–Chauncy manuscripts of Pope; prices realized and buyers are from the microfilm reproduction of the auctioneer's copy in the British Library.¹³

477 The Essay on Man, with numerous MS. Notes and Corrections in Pope's handwriting, *uncut, and errata in first edition*, 8vo 1736 | (2)

£10 to Benjamin Franklin Stevens. Two volumes are catalogued here, one an edition of 1736, and one a first edition. The first volume, 'The Essay on Man, with numerous MS. Notes and Corrections in Pope's handwriting, uncut ... 8vo 1736', is surely to be identified with Pope's revised copy of *Works II* (1736), now in the British Library, C. 122. e. 31 (Smith, 'Alexander Pope' 6–7), since this

12. *Catalogue of the Choice Library of the Late William Brice, Esq., of Bristol ... To which are added ... Pope's Autograph Manuscripts* (London: for Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge, 1887), 40–41 [reproduced in the microfilm series *Sotheby Catalogues*, part 2, reel 105 of 148].

13. The report of prices realized in *The Athenaeum*, no. 3120 (13 August 1887), 215, 'omitted the odd shillings' but otherwise agrees with the auctioneer's copy. *The Times*, no. 32139 (1 August 1887), 4, stated that the manuscripts 'were catalogued separately, but it was agreed to sell them as one lot, and they were accordingly so put up and sold for £220 5s.'; this was indeed the total sum realized, and seven of the eleven lots did go to a single purchaser, but the account is obviously garbled.

volume begins with *An Essay on Man*.¹⁴ It has not previously been identified as a Richardson–Chauncy book. The second volume, ‘The Essay on Man, with ... *errata in first edition*’, must be ‘the volume now in the Berg collection [79-432] that contained among other Pope material a copy of the *Essay on Man* and the manuscript of the *First Satire of the Second Book of Horace*’, for this copy, annotated in a hand or hands other than Pope’s, has Chauncy ownership inscriptions, and was, as we shall see, with the other Richardson–Chauncy books when Elwin collated it.¹⁵

478 The Dunciad, FIRST EDITION, LARGE PAPER, frontispiece, filled with MS. Notes and corrections from the first Broglio MS. by Mr. Pope himself, uncut | 8vo. Dublin, 1728

£13 to Thompson. This is the 1728 *Dunciad*, actually annotated by Jonathan Richardson rather than by ‘Mr. Pope himself’, which is now in the Berg collection of the New York Public Library (Smith, ‘Alexander Pope’, entry PoA 32), and was reproduced in facsimile with commentary by David Vander Meulen in 1991. Vander Meulen notes that this copy and the other two *Dunciads* listed here all have the manuscript date 1777 on their title pages, which ‘seems to indicate that in that year they were part of a single collection, probably that of Dr. Charles Chauncy ... or his brother and heir Nathaniel. . . . But then parts of the trail become obscure’.¹⁶ We can now be confident that all three *Dunciads* were Richardson–Chauncy books; that the collection was still Charles’s until the end of 1777 (he died on 25 December but his will was not proved until 1778); and that they remained in the family until 1887, when they were sold as Lots 478, 479, and 480. Thompson bought six other lots in the 1887 sale; the six others all went to the library of William Nassau Lees, sold in 1889; this is therefore doubtless the annotated *Dunciad* which was Lot 75 in Nassau Lees’ sale, described by Smith (‘Alexander Pope’, 2) as unlocated. It is, by the way, an odd coincidence that just as Charles Chauncy bought the Richardson manuscripts of Pope in April 1776 and died twenty months later, in December 1777, so Nassau Lees bought them in July 1887 and died twenty months later, in March 1889.

479 The Dunciad. Another copy, LARGE PAPER, frontispiece, with MS. corrections, copied from Pope’s copy by Jonathan Richardson junr. uncut | 8vo. ib. 1728

£7 7s. to Colonel (Francis) Grant. This is the 1728 *Dunciad* now at the Huntington Library, 106517 (Smith, ‘Alexander Pope’, PoA 34), which was bought by B. F. Stevens at Grant’s sale, was in the library of Robert Hoe by 1905, and was bought by Huntington at the Hoe sale in 1912; Vander Meulen remarks of this and the

14. The volume was sold at Sotheby’s on 10 February 1971, to Charles Traylen, an English bookdealer acting ultimately for Yale University Library, but its export was, controversially, prevented: see Peter Hopkirk, ‘Dispute over plans to export Pope manuscript [sic]’, *The Times*, 15 January 1971, 3, and subsequent letters to *The Times* by Peter Eaton (2 February 1971, 15), Charles Traylen (10 February 1971, 13), and P. J. Korshin (24 March 1971, 15). Its British Museum accession stamp is dated 30 September 1971.

15. Vander Meulen, *Pope’s DUNCIAD of 1728*, 42; the manuscript is Smith, ‘Alexander Pope’, PoA 181.

16. Vander Meulen, *Pope’s DUNCIAD of 1728*, 42.

1736 copy that their ‘early histories ... are more mysterious. . . . How these left the Chauncy family is unclear, though they may have been dispersed in the Leigh and Sotheby sale’ of Nathaniel Chauncy’s library in 1790.¹⁷ We now see that both remained in the hands of the descendants of Nathaniel Chauncy until 1887.

480 *The Dunciad, with Notes Variorum, LARGE PAPER, frontispiece, with numerous MS. Notes and corrections from his second MS. by Mr. Pope himself, uncut | 8vo. 1736*

£8 8s. to (J.) Pearson. This is the 1736 *Dunciad* now in the Berg collection (Smith, ‘Alexander Pope’, PoA 33). Vander Meulen notes that in 1888 it was owned by Richard Tangye; for his remarks on its earlier history, see Lot 479.

481 *Sapho to Phaon, wholly translated, AUTOGRAPH MS. OF POPE | folio. 1707*

482 *Essay on Criticism, AUTOGRAPH MS. OF POPE | folio. 1709*

483 *Windsor-Forest, AUTOGRAPH MS. OF POPE, wanting a few lines at end | folio. 1709*

Respectively £17, £28, and £20 to Thompson, and thus to Nassau Lees; identified as Richardson–Chauncy books at his sale, where they were Lots 76, 77, and 78 respectively, but their history in the years before he acquired them has previously been incomplete (Smith, ‘Alexander Pope’, 2 and PoA 297, PoA 160, PoA 376–377 respectively). Now respectively at the Morgan Library, MA 349; the Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet. c. 1; and Washington University in St. Louis. At some point before 1887, the manuscripts of *Essay on Criticism* and *Windsor-Forest* were brought together, and the title-page of the former had the title of the latter added to it, but they were separated again before the sale.¹⁸

484 *ESSAY ON MAN, in IV Epistles, Epistle I to III, AUTOGRAPH MS. OF POPE, Epistle IV printed with numerous MS. corrections by Pope himself | folio. n.d.*

£50 to Thompson, and thus to Nassau Lees, and Lot 79 at his sale (see 481–483 above); the manuscript portion is now in the Morgan Library, and the printed copy of Epistle IV is unlocated (Smith, ‘Alexander Pope’, 2 and PoA 164, 168). This must be what Richardson meant by ‘the first scratches of the four books’ of the *Essay on Man* which he possessed.

485 *Epistle on Taste, AUTOGRAPH MS. OF POPE, with his numerous alterations and corrections | folio. n.d.*

£ 25 10s. to Quaritch. After her account of the Richardson–Chauncey books in the Nassau Lees sale, Smith states (‘Alexander Pope’, 2) that ‘Further MSS from the Chauncey collection appeared on the market later, in the Stuart M. Samuel sale, Sotheby’s, 1 July 1907.’ In fact, only one manuscript with a clear Richardson–Chauncy provenance did so: ‘Lot 111, specified as from Charles Chauncey’s

17. Vander Meulen, *Pope’s DUNCIAD of 1728*, 44–45.

18. For the title-page, see Robert M. Schmitz, *Pope’s Windsor Forest: A Study of the Washington University Holograph* (St Louis: Washington University, 1952), 14, and idem, *Pope’s Essay on Criticism 1709: A Study of the Bodleian Manuscript Text with Facsimiles, Transcripts, and Variants* (St. Louis: Washington University Press, 1962), 29.

library, was described as an autograph MS of a text which had not been represented at all in the 1889 sale', namely this one, the 'Epistle on Taste', or *Epistle to Burlington*. We now see that it had been sold as from Charles Chauncy's library in 1887, but not to Thompson, and had therefore not passed to Nassau Lees. The 1887 and 1911 catalogue entries both appear to refer to the same manuscript, an autograph of the *Epistle to Burlington* with a Chauncy provenance. Smith ('Alexander Pope', 2–3 and PoA 76) discusses the likelihood of its identification with Morgan Library MA 352, in which one leaf of the *Epistle to Burlington* is followed by eight leaves of the *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*. The Morgan fragment was indeed collated by Jonathan Richardson.¹⁹ And, as we shall see below, its readings correspond to those transcribed by Whitwell Elwin from a manuscript which, when he saw it, was in the possession of the Chauncy family.

486 Ethic Epistles I to III, AUTOGRAPH MS. OF POPE, *with numerous alterations and corrections by himself* | 4to.

£20 to Thompson. This fair copy — 'a superb example of [Pope's] calligraphy' as Peter Croft called it — must be what Richardson meant by 'the several finished copies, (of his own neat and elegant writing)' which he possessed, 'several' referring to the different 'books' of the *Essay on Man* identified in the previous clause in Richardson's memoir.²⁰

The two manuscripts of the *Essay on Man* in the 1887 sale both passed from the Chauncy family via Thompson to Nassau Lees. One of the Nassau Lees copies (484 above) is, as we have just seen, at the Morgan Library; the other, Lot 80 at the Nassau Lees sale, was catalogued as 'Ethic Epistles I–III', and can surely be identified both with the present copy and with the manuscript of the *Essay on Man* now at Harvard, which bears the same title (Smith, 'Alexander Pope', 2–4 and PoA 165). The Harvard manuscript was offered for sale by Dodd, Mead and Co. of New York in 1910.²¹

A manuscript sold as Lot 112 in the Stuart M. Samuel sale in 1907 also bore the title 'Ethic Epistles'. There are two ways to explain this. The first is that two manuscripts bore this title: the one now at Harvard, and the one in the Samuel sale. In that case, there were three manuscripts of the *Essay on Man* in all: the one now at the Morgan, the one now at Harvard, and a third, now unlocated, known only from its appearance in the Samuel sale catalogue. Smith proposes, on several grounds, that this was the case, and if she is right, the chronology of sales must have been as follows: 1887, the present Harvard MS is sold to Nassau Lees; 1889, the present Harvard MS is sold at Nassau Lees' sale; 1907, a previously unknown MS with the same title appears at Samuel's sale, is sold to Sabin, and is never seen again; 1910, the present Harvard MS is offered for sale by Dodd, Mead and Co. An alternative explanation is that there were only two

19. See Mack, ed., *Last and Greatest Art*, 159 n. 2.

20. P. J. Croft, *Autograph Poetry in the English Language* (London: Cassell, 1973), 1. 70.

21. *Alexander Pope: Notes Towards a Bibliography of Early Editions of his Writings: A Catalogue of Marshall C. Lefferts's Great Collection of First and Later Editions of the Works of Alexander Pope, with the Autograph Manuscript of an Essay on Man* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, [1910]), 49–50; identified with the Harvard manuscript in Smith, 'Alexander Pope', 3.

manuscripts of the *Essay on Man*, the one now at the Morgan and the one now at Harvard, and that the latter was sold in 1887, 1889, and 1907, before being offered for sale by Dodd, Mead and Co. in 1910.

Of interest to us here is the question of whether the postulated third manuscript could also have had a Chauncy provenance. Smith suggests that it could, arguing that the 'Epistle on Taste' manuscript, 485 above, was catalogued as Lot 111 in the Samuel sale with a note of its Chauncy provenance, and that the 'Ethic Epistles' was catalogued as Lot 112, and 'by virtue of its juxtaposition to Lot 111 may also have come from Chauncey'. She also notes that a manuscript of Epistle IV of the *Essay on Man* was acquired by Pierpont Morgan in 1909, and argues that 'this suggests that there were more Chauncey MSS in circulation than had reached the sale rooms in 1889'. So there were, as we have seen: the Chauncy family sold their manuscripts in 1887, and not all of these were bought by Nassau Lees to return to the market in 1889. But the only Pope manuscript with a definite Chauncy provenance which Smith can identify as having been sold after 1889 without having been part of the Nassau Lees sale is the 'Epistle on Taste' manuscript which, as we have seen, was sold as Lot 485 with the Chauncy manuscripts in 1887. There is no reason to believe that the Chauncy family withheld any of their literary manuscripts from the sale of 1887 for separate sale at around the same time, and the statement made at that time by their family lawyer suggests that they did not do so. In that case, if the Samuel manuscript of the *Essay on Man* is to be distinguished from the manuscripts now at the Morgan Library and Harvard, it was never a Chauncy manuscript. That is of course perfectly possible — Charles Chauncy bought all of Jonathan Richardson's literary manuscripts of Pope apart from the *Pastorals*, but there were manuscripts which Richardson, and therefore Chauncy, never possessed, for instance the manuscript of Epistle IV which has just been mentioned — but a hypothetical Chauncy provenance cannot be part of the argument for the existence of a third *Essay on Man* manuscript.

487 Epistle III to Lord Bathurst. THE ORIGINAL AUTOGRAPH MS. OF POPE, with his numerous alterations and corrections, wanting 8 lines at end. Transcript of the same by Mr. Pope, with his autograph corrections and alterations, and the printed edition of Epistles III to VII, with numerous MS. corrections and alterations by Pope himself. Also Epistle II, AUTOGRAPH MS. OF POPE, with his MS. alterations and corrections | folio.

£21 to Thompson, and thence to Nassau Lees, at whose sale the same body of material was Lot 81: the manuscript of 'Epistle II', the *Epistle to a Lady*, is now unlocated; the two manuscripts of 'Epistle III', the *Epistle to Bathurst*, are now Huntington HM 6007 and 6008; 'the printed edition of Epistles III to VII, with numerous MS. corrections and alterations by Pope himself' is extracted from Pope's *Works*, volume II (1735), with collations in Richardson's hand rather than Pope's, and is now Huntington HM 6009 (Smith, 'Alexander Pope', 2 and PoA 65, 67–70).²²

22. HM 6007 and 6008 are reproduced in Earl R. Wasserman, *Pope's Epistle to Bathurst: A Critical Reading, with an Edition of the Manuscripts* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1960). A somewhat fuller description of HM 6009 is in Koon, 'Pope's First Editors', 22.

III

One final question remains to be asked about the Richardson–Chauncy manuscripts in the period between their acquisition by Jonathan Richardson during the lifetime of Pope and their sale by the Chauncy family in 1887: what light is shed on them by the Elwin–Courthope edition of Pope, in which some of them are cited? Elwin wrote in his preface to the first volume, published in 1871, that Pope presented several of his manuscripts to the son of Jonathan Richardson, the portrait-painter. . . . Richardson's interlined copy of the first quarto volume of Pope's poetry passed into the hands of Malone, and was ultimately bought by Mr. Croker. The manuscripts which Richardson possessed in the handwriting of Pope were purchased by Dr. Chauncey, and are still the property of his descendants.²³

'Richardson's interlined copy of the first quarto volume of Pope's poetry' is the copy of the 1717 *Works* presented by Pope to Jonathan Richardson the elder, bearing notes in Malone's hand, which is now in the Berg Collection (Smith, 'Alexander Pope', 12). This copy was, as Elwin reports elsewhere, annotated by Richardson the younger, but was evidently not included with the 'first Editions corrected' in the sale of 1776.²⁴ Having been in Croker's possession, it was no doubt among the materials of Croker's on which Elwin founded his work, and readings from it occur in Elwin's first two volumes.²⁵ There are points at which Elwin appears to be citing, and strangely misrepresenting, Pope's manuscripts, when I suspect that he is actually working from Richardson's annotations.²⁶

In his introduction to the third volume of the Elwin–Courthope edition, Courthope thanked Elwin 'for his liberality in allowing me to use his transcript of the Chauncy MS., which throws so much light on the meaning of Pope's satires'; he referred again, a few pages later, to 'the transcript which Mr. Elwin has made from the Chauncy MS.'²⁷ This form of words suggests that Courthope did not realize that the transcript which Elwin had communicated to him included readings from multiple manuscripts.²⁸ The first references to the 'Chauncy MS.' in the collations in this volume are in those to the *Epistle to Bathurst*, where its readings correspond to those of Huntington HM 6007 and HM 6008 (Lot 487)

23. *The Works of Alexander Pope*, ed. Whitwell Elwin and W. J. Courthope, 10 vols. (London: John Murray, 1871), 1. xviii.

24. Of course, a book might in theory have been owned by Chauncy and then Malone if the latter had bought it at the Chauncy sale of 1790, of which he owned a catalogue — see *A Catalogue of the Greater Portion of the Library of the Late Edmond Malone, Esq.* (London: Sotheby, 1818), 12 (Lot 371) — but there was no 1717 *Works* of Pope in the Chauncy sale.

25. *Works of Alexander Pope*, ed. Elwin and Courthope, 1. 90, 97 (*Sapho to Phaon*), 1. 323–332, 346–347 (*Windsor-Forest*), 2. 10, 42 n 3, etc. (*Essay on Criticism*), 2. 420 (*Essay on Man*).

26. See the discussions of some of these readings in Schmitz, *Pope's Windsor Forest*, 13, and idem, *Pope's Essay on Criticism* 1709, 22; Schmitz did not realize that Elwin was working from Richardson's annotations rather than from the holograph, and therefore saw some of his readings as 'incorrect to the point of curiosity' (*Pope's Essay*, 22).

27. *Works of Alexander Pope*, ed. Elwin and Courthope, 3. x, 18.

28. Vander Meulen, *Pope's DUNCIAD* of 1728, 43 proposes that Courthope's 'MS.' is 'probably to be construed as plural', but a simple misunderstanding on Courthope's part seems likelier.

above).²⁹ It is then cited in the *Epistle to Burlington*, where its readings correspond to those of the first leaf of Morgan Library MA 352 (Lot 485 above).³⁰ It is cited in the *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*, where its readings correspond to those of subsequent leaves of Morgan Library MA 352 (Elwin had remarked in his introduction to the first volume that a copy of this poem was among ‘the manuscripts which Richardson possessed in the handwriting of Pope’).³¹ And it is cited in *The First Satire of the Second Book of Horace*, where its readings correspond to those in the Berg manuscript formerly attached to a printed copy of the *Essay on Man* (lot 477 part 2 above).³² So, all of these ‘Chauncy MS.’ readings are, as we might have expected, from manuscripts which can be identified with those sold in 1887. Furthermore, Courthope noted in his edition of the *Dunciad* that ‘Jonathan Richardson corrected the first edition of the “Dunciad” from what he calls “the first Broglio MS.” His corrections have been transcribed by Mr. Elwin, and are here preserved; as Vander Meulen has observed, ‘Undoubtedly Elwin transcribed Richardson’s notes from the current Berg copy’ (lot 478 above).³³

In one other reference to ‘the Richardson papers’, I think that Elwin uses a form of words which, although not inaccurate, is misleading: ‘The manuscript of Pope’s *Pastorals* is still preserved among the Richardson papers’.³⁴ His further description makes it certain that this is the manuscript which was Lot 3172 at the sale of 1776, but this manuscript was, as we have seen, not bought by Chauncy, and although it is possible that it might subsequently have been bought as an addition to the collection of Pope manuscripts which had passed by inheritance through the generations of the Chauncy family, it seems unlikely that it would then have been kept from the sale of 1887 in which the collection was dispersed. Elwin presumably meant simply that the manuscript had a Richardson provenance — and, interestingly, that it was not alone. He specifies one of its companions: ‘The Richardson collection contains a manuscript in which the poet has transcribed from his *Pastorals* the various lines he thought defective, and ... referred the task of selection to Walsh, who has jotted down his decisions at the bottom of Pope’s remarks’.³⁵ This is certainly the manuscript (Smith, ‘Alexander Pope’, PoA 274) which, having long been a companion to the autograph fair copy of the *Pastorals*, was sold separately from it at the Houghton sale of 1980, and was Lot 381 in the Roy Davids sale at Bonhams, 8 May 2013.

29. *Works of Alexander Pope*, ed. Elwin and Courthope, 3. 127–157 passim; Wasserman, *Pope’s Epistle to Bathurst*, 60 notes that the ‘Chauncy MS’ readings derive from the Huntington manuscripts.

30. *Works of Alexander Pope*, ed. Elwin and Courthope, 3. 172–178 passim (cf. Mack, ed., *Last and Greatest Art*, 160–162); ‘the ignoble shout of Guise’ (3. 172) is a bad emendation of the manuscript reading ‘the noble shout of Guise’.

31. *Works of Alexander Pope*, ed. Elwin and Courthope, 3. 241–273 passim (cf. Mack, ed., *Last and Greatest Art*, 424–430 and 436–450); Elwin’s reference to plural manuscripts is *Works*, 1. xviii.

32. *Works of Alexander Pope*, ed. Elwin and Courthope, 3. 289–300 passim, and 3. 279, 400 n 2 (cf. Mack, ed., *Last and Greatest Art*, 172–186).

33. *Works of Alexander Pope*, ed. Elwin and Courthope, 4. 271 n 2; Vander Meulen, *Pope’s DUNCIAD of 1728*, 43.

34. *Works of Alexander Pope*, ed. Elwin and Courthope, 1. 239.

35. *Works of Alexander Pope*, ed. Elwin and Courthope, 1. 240.

IV

In conclusion, then, we can list Jonathan Richardson the younger's Pope books as follows, dividing the Richardson–Chauncy group from the others, with PoA numbers from Smith, 'Alexander Pope'.

BOUGHT BY CHAUNCY AS LOT 3171 IN THE SALE OF 1776

1. *Essay on Man*, 1736, 'with numerous MS. Notes and Corrections in Pope's handwriting': part of Lot 477 in 1887; now British Library, C. 122. e. 31 (PoA 174 etc.: each work in the volume has a PoA number).
2. *Essay on Man*, 'first edition': part of Lot 477 in 1887; probably the marked-up copy now in the Berg Collection of New York Public Library, 79-432, which included a holograph of the *First Satire of the Second Book of Horace*, also in the Berg Collection (PoA 181).
3. *Dunciad*, 1728, 'with MS. Notes and corrections from the first Broglio MS': Lot 478 in 1887; now in the Berg Collection (PoA 32).
4. *Dunciad*, 1728, also with collations: Lot 479 in 1887; now at the Huntington Library, 106517 (PoA 34).
5. *Dunciad*, 1736, 'with numerous MS. Notes and corrections from his second MS. by Mr. Pope himself': Lot 480 in 1887; now in the Berg Collection (PoA 33).
6. *Sapho to Phaon*, holograph: Lot 481 in 1887; now at the Morgan Library, MA 349 (PoA 297).
7. *Essay on Criticism*, holograph: Lot 482 in 1887; now in the Bodleian, MS Eng. poet. c. 1 (PoA 160).
8. *Windsor-Forest*, holograph: Lot 483 in 1887; now at Washington University (PoA 376).
9. *Essay on Man*, Epistles I–III holograph, and Epistle IV an annotated printed edition: Lot 484 in 1887; the holograph portion now Morgan Library MA 348 (PoA 164) and the printed portion now unlocated (PoA 168).
10. *Epistle to Burlington*, holograph: Lot 485 in 1887; almost certainly really one leaf of the *Epistle to Burlington* followed by a holograph of the *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*, and in that case, now Morgan Library MA 352, fols. 1 (PoA 76) and 2–9 (PoA 81).
11. *Essay on Man*, Epistles I–III, holograph: Lot 486 in 1887; now Harvard, fMS Eng. 233. 1 (PoA 165).
12. *Epistle to Bathurst*, holograph: part of Lot 487 in 1887; now Huntington, HM 6007 and 6008 (PoA 67–69).
13. Pages from the *Works*, vol. II (1735), with Richardson's collations of the *Epistle to Bathurst*: part of Lot 487 in 1887; now Huntington, HM 6009 (PoA 70).
14. *Epistle to a Lady*, holograph: part of Lot 487 in 1887; unlocated (PoA 65).

NOT BOUGHT BY CHAUNCY

15. *Pastorals*, holograph: part of Lot 3172 in 1776; Houghton sale, 1980 (PoA 273).

16. 'Alterations to the Pastorals', partly holograph: part of Lot 3172 in 1776; Roy Davids sale, 2013 (PoA 274).
17. 'Mr. Pope's original Letters to Mr. Richardson, sen.', holograph: part of Lot 3173 in 1776; now probably dispersed.
18. 'Dedication to all his Works', perhaps holograph: part of Lot 3173 in 1776; now unlocated, unless it is to be identified with the draft of the 'Preface' to the 1717 *Works* now in the John Murray album at Yale (PoA 400).
19. 'Transcript of what he dedicated [sc. dictated] to Mr. Richardson of his Birth and Publications': part of Lot 3173 in 1776; now unlocated, but transcribed in 1775 as Bodleian, MS Eng. lett. d. 59, fols. 80–81.
20. *Works* (1717), presented by Pope to Jonathan Richardson the elder, and marked up with collations by Jonathan Richardson the younger: not in the 1776 sale; now in the Berg Collection.

EXTRA-ILLUSTRATING HORACE
WALPOLE'S *DESCRIPTION*
OF STRAWBERRY HILL: THREE CASE STUDIES

by

STEPHEN CLARKE*

STUDIES of the phenomenon of binding independent drawings, engravings, autograph letters, and other documents into printed books in the late eighteenth century have concentrated quite naturally on the elite social groups within which many of these extra-illustrated books were created.¹ Less examined are the artists and booksellers who supplied the market for those books and provided the prints and drawings that adorned them. This paper explores that world by investigating the role of Horace Walpole's printer and amanuensis Thomas Kirgate and the Harding family of booksellers and artists in creating three extra-illustrated copies of Walpole's *A Description of the Villa of Mr. Horace Walpole, youngest son of Sir Robert Walpole Earl of Orford, at Strawberry-Hill near Twickenham, Middlesex. With an Inventory of the Furniture, Pictures, Curiosities, &c.*

The *Description* is the primary document we have on the content and display of Walpole's famous collection of art and antiquities, portraits and miniatures, curiosities, books and prints, coins and medals, sculpture, and furniture. One hundred copies of the book had originally been printed at his Strawberry Hill Press in 1774, but it was superseded in 1784 by an expanded edition of two hundred copies. Each edition was supplemented with a series of appendices printed successively as the collection grew. The 1784 edition, with additions printed as late as 1791, was not issued until Walpole's death in 1797, when his executors

*I would like to thank Jill Gage of the Newberry Library and Charles Sebag-Montefiore for alerting me to and making available respectively the second and third of the three copies of the *Description* of Strawberry Hill here discussed; also Silvia Davoli, Kevin Rogers, Michael Snodin, and Howard Weinbrot for information and advice, and Peter Sabor for commenting on an early draft of this paper.

1. Lucy Peltz, "A Friendly Gathering: The Social Politics of Presentation Books and Their Extra-Illustration in Horace Walpole's Circle," *Journal of the History of Collections* 19.1 (2007), 33–50; "Engraved Portrait Heads and the Rise of Extra-Illustration: The Eton Correspondence of the Revd James Granger and Richard Bull, 1769–1774," *The Walpole Society* (2004), 66, 1–161; and *Facing the Text: Extra-Illustration, Print Culture, and Society in Britain 1769–1840* (San Marino: The Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens, 2017), 45.

distributed copies to friends as directed. This edition had a complex printing history, but the essential points are that it was not published or circulated during Walpole's lifetime, nor was it shown to the many visitors who obtained tickets to be shown Walpole's celebrated and curious house and collection.²

I

For the 1784 edition Walpole provided a preface, a brief but elegant testament of faith, accounting for his use of Gothic ornament at Strawberry Hill, celebrating the great cabinets from which his collection was acquired, noting the miniatures and historic royal portraits and other highlights of the collection, and concluding with a flourish of justification, part whimsical and part defiant, of the "small capricious house ... built to please my own taste, and in some degree to realize my own visions."³ The body of the text then introduces the house and its setting, and proceeds to describe its interior, room by room. The decorative chimney pieces and plasterwork and other features are recorded, and there is a minute catalogue of the furniture, pictures, sculpture, bronzes, china, and curiosities that each room displayed, while the accompanying engravings show the exterior, the grounds, a number of the chimney pieces, and some of the major rooms.

The detailed account of the house and its contents of the 1784 edition invited extra-illustration, and in Walpole's immediate circle there were a number of sumptuous copies—such as Walpole's own, with the ninety-six quarto pages of the 1784 edition inlaid into an elephant folio expanded to over two hundred pages.⁴ He employed a succession of artists to provide illustrations and record his creation at Strawberry Hill, of whom the most prolific were Edward Edwards (1738–1806) and John Carter (1748–1817). Edwards provided watercolors that were engraved for the prints that appear in the 1784 edition of the *Description*, and Carter, an artist, antiquary, and polemist for the conservation of Gothic architecture, worked at Strawberry Hill through the 1780s.

Walpole's copy is matched for richness by that compiled by his correspondent Richard Bull (1721–1805)—but then Bull's commitment to extra-illustration was heroic in its scale, and he illustrated at least sixteen titles from Walpole's Strawberry Hill Press. His copy of the *Description* is enriched by more watercolors by Carter than is Walpole's copy. Various other generously illustrated copies of the *Description* from Walpole's circle are known, including the copy compiled by Carter for himself, which contains his sketches for some of the finished

2. For the complex printing history of the *Description*, see Stephen Clarke, "'Lord God! Jesus! What a House!': Describing and Visiting Strawberry Hill," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 33.3 (September 2010), 357–380.

3. Horace Walpole, *A Description of the Villa of Mr. Horace Walpole, youngest son of Sir Robert Walpole Earl of Orford, at Strawberry-Hill near Twickenham, Middlesex. With an Inventory of the Furniture, Pictures, Curiosities, &c.* (Strawberry Hill: Not published, 1784), iv.

4. Walpole's extra-illustrated copy of the *Description* is at the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, 49 3582.

watercolors in Bull's copy; the copy of Charles Bedford (1742–1814), Walpole's Deputy in the office of Usher of the Exchequer; and two copies of his printer Thomas Kirgate (1734/5–1810).⁵

These issues have been discussed and analyzed in detail by Nicolas Barker in his edition of Charles Bedford's copy of the *Description* printed for the Roxburghe Club.⁶ Barker summarizes the history of extra-illustration and Walpole's involvement with James Granger and the Strawberry Hill Press and the print collectors Bull and Anthony Storer (1746–99). He points out what an appealing subject the *Description* offered, with an increasing number of engraved images of Strawberry Hill becoming available on the market from the 1790s.⁷ These engravings were accessible to collectors outside Walpole's circle—and for them the essential providers were the Harding family of booksellers and artists, at their shop in Pall Mall.

II

Silvester Harding (1745–1809) trained as a miniature painter and exhibited at the Royal Academy from 1776. In 1786 with his younger brother Edward (1755–1840) he opened a book and printseller's shop in Fleet Street, moving in 1792 to 102 Pall Mall. They specialized in theatrical and historical portraits, and in 1789–93 published in numbers *Shakespeare Illustrated by an assemblage of Portraits and Views*, and in 1793 an edition of Anthony Hamilton's *Memoirs of Count Grammont*, also illustrated with portraits. In the meanwhile Silvester Harding had been introduced to Strawberry Hill in the early 1780s by the merchant and art collector Nathaniel Hillier (c. 1707–83) and became a great friend of Walpole's printer Kirgate.⁸ From 1795 the Hardings published *The Biographical Mirror*, a series of historical portraits with supporting text, and also in 1796 Bürger's *Leonora* and in 1797 Dryden's *Fables*, both with engravings after drawings by

5. Bull's copy is at the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, 33.30 copy 11; Carter's copy is at the Huntington Library, San Marino, 130368; Bedford's copy is in the possession of Lord Waldegrave of North Hill; and two copies that had belonged to Kirgate are at the Lewis Walpole Library, 33.30 copy 6 and 33.30 copy 29.

6. Horace Walpole's *Description of the Villa at Strawberry-Hill: A facsimile of the copy extra-illustrated for Charles Bedford in the collection of Lord Waldegrave of North Hill*, ed. Nicolas Barker (London: The Roxburghe Club, 2010). This discussion has recently been extended by Peltz in Parts I and II of *Facing the Text*.

7. It is significant that lot 300 of the second part of the sale catalogue of the print collection of Sir Mark Masterman Sykes in 1824 was "a valuable collection of prints and drawings, in colours &c. ... to illustrate Lord Orford's Seat at Strawberry Hill, uniformly mounted, and arranged for the purpose of binding, in a Russia Portfolio, lettered Strawberry Hill, and Museum." This was bought by the print dealer Woodburn for £47-5-0, a ready-made collection of images which Woodburn's eventual customer could no doubt take out of its portfolio and bind up in a copy of the *Description*. Similarly, lot 314 on the third day of the sale in 1825 of prints and drawings of George Baker, collector and bibliographer of the Strawberry Hill Press, consisted of views of the house and contents, including many proof impressions of the portraits, ripe for use in extra-illustration.

8. Nathaniel Hillier to Walpole, 19 October 1780, *Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, 16: 95–97.

Walpole's *protégée* Lady Diana Beauclerk. In 1793 they published six plates to illustrate Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto*, and these are often seen in those copies that had not already been sold and bound up of the sixth edition printed for Dodsley and Bodoni's edition printed in Parma (both 1791). Sometime before 1798 the partnership dissolved, Silvester moving along the street to 127, while Edward moved to 98 Pall Mall until in 1803 he was appointed librarian to Queen Charlotte, for whose amusement he grangerized a number of historical works.

Silvester Harding had two artist sons; Edward, who died young, and George Perfect Harding (1779/80–1853). George exhibited as a miniaturist at the Royal Academy from 1802 until 1840—in 1839 submitting “The Library at Strawberry Hill, Seat of the Earl of Waldegrave,” current whereabouts unknown. For about forty years, from 1804, he travelled the country copying portraits, carefully recording dates and signatures. His watercolors are precise, finished, and compact, with sparing use of gold for rules and signatures. His notebooks of these travels survive at the National Portrait Gallery, four bound volumes of his “List of Portraits, Pictures, in Various Mansions of the United Kingdom,” the fourth volume containing a list of manuscripts and printed books illustrated by him, with a list of pictures in the possession of the Crown. The second volume, a 358-page manuscript to which a table of contents and index are added, records the pictures he inspected at 141 properties, mostly country houses, but also universities, livery companies, and Inns of Court. At the foot of the title page is the note “Those that are mark'd thus X, have been copied by G. P. Harding.” In that volume as in the others, most entries are of one page per property, a few extending to four or even five pages: for Tottenham Park in Wiltshire, for example, the seat of the Marquis of Ailesbury, Harding listed 101 portraits over five pages, of which six were marked with a cross as having been copied by him. But this, and all the other properties in the volume, is eclipsed by Strawberry Hill. In a list extending over twenty pages, with headings for the different rooms, Harding lists 433 portraits, of which he notes with his cross that he had copied sixty-four. Where he adds commentary to the name of the sitter, he takes or adapts the text from the *Description*. And this wealth of images is in addition to the numerous portraits that his father had copied there.⁹

The watercolors and prints by the Hardings of portraits and other items from the collection at Strawberry Hill run from Silvester Harding's introduction to the house in the early 1780s to George's watercolor of the library, noted above, of 1839. Of their published works, twenty-three of the 151 plates in the *Biographical Mirrour* are from portraits at Strawberry Hill, while in 1803 Silvester Harding published *A Series of Portraits, to Illustrate the Earl of Orford's Catalogue, of Royal and*

9. NPG MS47. George Perfect Harding was the subject of a display at the National Portrait Gallery, “The Tudors Reimagined: George Perfect Harding c. 1779–1853” (2015). See also W. S. Lewis, *The Forlorn Printer: Being Notes on Horace Walpole's Alleged Neglect of Thomas Kirgate* (Farmington: Privately printed, 1931), and Stephen Clarke, *The Strawberry Hill Press & its Printing House: An Account and an Iconography* (New Haven: Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, 2011), 51 and 86–91.

Noble Authors, an eight-page pamphlet listing the authors' portraits and the pages on which they appeared, providing the print collector with a checklist to work against. (A similar checklist for another title much favored by illustrators, *A Copious Index to Pennant's Account of London*, was produced for the burgeoning army of illustrators by Thomas Downe in 1814.) The Hardings appear to have shared access to Strawberry Hill with Silvester and Edward senior's brother-in-law, the engraver William Bawtree, and such access seems to have been continued to be afforded to them when after Walpole's death the house was occupied by Anne Damer, who was there until 1811. It has long been known that Kirgate operated with increasing autonomy at the end of Walpole's life (hence his reprinting Strawberry Hill Press items in the year of Walpole's death, presumably for his own benefit), and he is the essential link in enabling the Hardings to accumulate the images they needed to satisfy the demands of their print collector customers.

III

Kirgate had originally been employed by Walpole for five months in 1765 to finish off printing the second edition of the *Anecdotes of Painting*, and was then discharged when Walpole left for Paris. He was re-engaged in April 1768 and stayed with Walpole until Walpole's death nearly thirty years later, working as printer, secretary, and general factotum. Much has been written on his role in re-printing earlier Strawberry Hill pamphlets at the same press in the year of Walpole's death, and the extremely modest sum of £100 left him in Walpole's will.¹⁰ What is quite clear is that before leaving Strawberry Hill in 1797, Kirgate printed an address card for himself, "Thomas Kirgate, Late Printer at Strawberry-Hill, Print and Bookseller, N° 127, Pall-Mall"—that being the address of Silvester Harding's shop. He subsequently moved to a house in Vine Street, Piccadilly, where he sold books and curiosities. Kirgate's role in satisfying the needs of collectors and extra-illustrators cannot be better summarized than in an undated letter he wrote to Charles Bedford which has been quoted elsewhere, but merits repeating here:

George Harding had not finished the Drawing of the Duc de Nivernois till this morning, nor could I get Sir Kenelm Digby before yesterday, or I should have sent sooner. The late and present Sales afford nothing but what is extravagantly dear. A Guinea is a low price now for a scarce Print—upwards of Forty was given for one of a Duke of Norfolk, t'other day at Richardson's. Five, Ten, nay Twenty Guineas, is readily given for a Print, that has no other value but scarcity. Illustrators of Granger, and other books, care less for Money than Portraits; the Rage for which increases—'tis a Madness which I hope will not reach Brixton [Bedford's address]. The few Ladies you want for p. 16 & 17, I do not think you will ever get; I bid upwards of a Guinea for one, the Duchess of Somerset, but she scorned such a paltry offer. Tis lucky, Sir, you want but such a few Prints to complete your Book; had you just begun to collect for it, you would soon quit the pursuit. I despair of finishing my Strawberry which I have now in hand.

10. See Lewis, *The Forlorn Printer*; A. T. Hazen, *A Bibliography of the Strawberry Hill Press* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942), 12–14; Barker, *Horace Walpole's Description of the Villa*, 99; and Clarke, *The Strawberry Hill Press & its Printing House*, 47–53.

I know not when I shall have the Pleasure of seeing you, Sir, for I can get nothing to bring; and am so infirm, I cannot walk far. But I shall not forget to search for the few you still want. As soon as I can see Bawtree, I will get him to make a Drawing of the Bed in the Holbein Room, for I despair of getting Carter to do it Nor is Geo. Harding very willing to make any more Drawings—he has had the one now sent upwards of a Fortnight in hand.¹¹

This letter is revealing on a number of levels. It shows Kirgate as facilitator, orchestrating the acquisition of missing prints for the collector while complaining about the exploding market in portrait prints, and displays George Harding's role as provider of drawings. It also illustrates the somewhat obsessional needs of the collector, has Kirgate acknowledging that he is himself compiling an extra-illustrated copy of the *Description*, and offers the possibly illusory prospect of "finishing" one's extra-illustrated book.

Kirgate offered his own extra-illustrated copy by raffle in 1801. The broadsheet advertising the sale, "For the Benefit of T. Kirgate, Late Printer at Strawberry-Hill," announced that:

Each Leaf of the above Book is inlaid on a large Sheet of fine Dutch paper; the Pages bordered with a double Line of red Ink; the Title printed in three Colours, and ornamented with a Drawing of a Foliage of Strawberries. The whole Book adorned with upwards of Two [crossed through in manuscript and amended to three] Hundred Drawings and Prints, illustrative of the external and internal Parts of that delightful Seat, its Furniture, Pictures, Sculptures, Antiquities, &c. &c. Several of the Prints are scarce and valuable, and most of the Drawings were made on Purpose for the Book, by the Friends of T. KIRGATE, who has been Fourteen Years in forming the Collection.¹²

Potential subscribers could inspect the book at Harding's shop in Pall Mall. The current whereabouts of the book are unknown, but it appears to have been a particularly fine example of Kirgate's industry in the years after he had left Strawberry Hill. Another example of his endeavors is an elephant folio scrapbook of images of Strawberry Hill and its contents, perhaps used to display to customers what images could be acquired or copied for the extra-illustrated copy they ordered: this is now in the collection of Lord Waldegrave of North Hill. There is also at the Lewis Walpole Library a volume compiled by Kirgate consisting of lists of images from the house. Firstly, there is a two-page list of forty-six pictures and sculptures there, with page references to the *Description*, twenty-four of them crossed through (perhaps as having already been obtained) and with Kirgate's comments in red ink against almost all of the others—two prints of Rubens's house "both scarce," Anne Hyde Duchess of York "A foreign print, 8vo. scarce," others "Engraving by Harding" or "In my List," while of four portraits in the Gallery described on page 52 he notes "I cannot say positively if there are Prints of these, the Pictures hanging too high to examine." This is followed by a list dated 26 July 1800 of twelve drawings, with their *Description* page numbers and prices, and then two longer lists, one "A List of the Prints and Drawings as placed in Lord Orford's Illustrated Copy of the Description of Strawberry-Hill printed there in 1784 by Thos. Kirgate," the other a list of the 335 prints and drawings in his own copy. The historical portraits

11. Kirgate MSS. Folder, Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University; quoted in Barker, *Horace Walpole's Description of the Villa*, 116; and Clarke, *The Strawberry Hill Press & its Printing House*, 87–89 (where it is explained that the letter, though undated, is probably of 1801).

12. Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, 53 K634 801.

that formed such a prominent part of the Strawberry Hill collection were pregnant with possibilities for any print collector who knew his Granger, and Kirgate and the Hardings were only too happy to meet that demand.

Kirgate died in 1810, and the sale of his collection was conducted by King & Lochée over ten days that December, immediately followed by a further day's supplemental sale. The auction catalogue contained multiple copies of Strawberry Hill Press items, over eighty lots on the second day, and in the supplemental sale ninety-eight lots of "Books Printed chiefly at Strawberry-Hill." On the ninth day there were more than two hundred drawings and prints of the house in twenty-nine lots, with the artists listed including Carter, J. C. Barrow, Edwards, the Hardings, and Kirgate himself. This was followed by sixty-nine lots of prints in the supplemental sale, many of them related to Strawberry Hill. Both Edward and George Harding appear among the successful bidders (Silvester had died the previous year) and it seems clear that what was on offer was the remains of Kirgate's stock.

IV

The first of the three extra-illustrated copies of the *Description* here discussed is chosen because it represents precisely what a collector with no connection to Walpole or his circle could have acquired from the Hardings' shop in Pall Mall. Unlike the two other copies that will be considered, it is known and recorded: it has been at the Huntington Library, San Marino, for over one hundred years, having been acquired by Huntington at the sale of Robert Hoe's library. It is bound in green morocco with a title page printed in black, red, and blue, and it has a total of seventy-three additional items bound into it, the large majority of which have been listed by Nicolas Barker.¹³

The backbone of the illustrations is formed by thirty-two portrait prints by the Hardings, largely stipple engravings from portraits at Strawberry Hill, of which the earliest is dated 1792, the latest 1806. These stipple engravings are almost all after Silvester Harding, who with his brother Edward was the leading figure in providing drawings for engraving in stipple, whereas it appears that his son George was primarily a painter and copyist.

In addition to the Harding stipple engravings, there are twenty-nine miscellaneous prints or printed items. These vary from the readily obtainable, such as the views of Strawberry Hill from Birch's *Delices de la Grande Bretagne* (1791) and from Boydell's *History of the River Thames* (1794–96), to items more directly associated with the Press at Strawberry—for example, Edwards's scarce etching of Kirgate, scarce because (as Edwards explained to Bull in a letter of 18 December 1784, when presenting him with a copy) "Mr. Walpole thought fit to be offended at its being done & therefore its publication will be suppressed." Bull of course pasted Edwards's print and his letter into his copy of the *Description*, whereas the

13. Barker's helpful list includes the extra-illustrations from the Huntington copy under discussion, reference 131207, together with those of sixteen other copies. It does not include the second of the three copies of the *Description* described in this paper (Newberry Library, Chicago), nor does it include a copy illustrated by the Hardings at New York Public Library (reference Stuart 1057).

anonymous compiler of the Huntington volume had to be content with the print. But he was also able to obtain a copy of Walpole's printed "Rules for obtaining a Ticket to see Strawberry Hill" of 1784, and six drawings and six watercolors, quite possibly all of them by the Hardings, including Charlotte de Tremouille, Countess of Derby, the defender of Latham Castle in the Civil War, from the painting in the Tribune, a highly finished portrait in court dress, and Sir Christopher Wray, Queen Elizabeth's Lord Chief Justice, and Sir Robert Walpole in the robes of the Order of the Bath, from the Great North Bedchamber. The prints underline the strength of Walpole's holdings of 16th- and 17th-century portraits, though there is a real contrast between the quality of the Hardings' finished watercolors, which have been commended as painstaking in their detail and accuracy, and their stipple engravings, which when seen en masse can appear repetitive and somewhat mechanical.

The six watercolors and six drawings enliven the volume, as does Walpole's "Rules for obtaining a Ticket" from the Strawberry Hill Press. But this is Strawberry Hill at one remove, the images taken in the very last years of Walpole's life, or after his death. There is no involvement whatever by Walpole, and also none by that central figure in the dissemination of Strawberry Hill Press in the years after Walpole's death, Thomas Kirgate.

V

What our second copy of an extra-illustrated *Description* shows is what Kirgate could offer from his stock to a favored customer. The copy does not provide any evidence as to its original purchaser, but it was subsequently acquired by Henry Probasco (1820–1902), a Cincinnati hardware magnate, and was listed in the catalogue of his collection that he had printed in 1873—with the result that it is in turn listed by A. T. Hazen in his *Bibliography of the Strawberry Hill Press*, where he describes it from Probasco's catalogue entry, and suggests that it may have been the copy which was lot 411 on the second day of Kirgate's sale.¹⁴ This seems unlikely, as lot 411 is simply described as being the 1784 edition with plates, with no suggestion that it was extra-illustrated over and above the standard plates with which it was issued (none of the copies of the *Description* in Kirgate's sale are described as extra-illustrated), and it is more likely that Kirgate sold the copy before his death. Curiously, what both Hazen and Lewis appear not to have realized was that in 1889 Probasco, who had suffered financial losses, sold his collection to the Newberry Library, Chicago, which is where the book remains.¹⁵ Had Lewis, that most resourceful and imaginative of collectors, become aware that an untraced extra-illustrated *Description* with unknown original drawings was resting undisturbed in the stacks of the Newberry, the Director would no doubt have received a visit with an irresistible offer to purchase alternative volumes more central to the Newberry's core collection, in return for Probasco's copy joining

14. *Catalogue of the Collection of Books, Manuscripts, and Works of Art, belonging to Mr. Henry Probasco, Cincinnati, Ohio* (Privately printed, 1873), 354; A. T. Hazen, *Bibliography of the Strawberry Hill Press*, 127, item 3.

15. Newberry Library Folio Case W 3945 95.

the wealth of extra-illustrated examples of the *Description* at Farmington. But Probasco's copy has stayed at the Newberry and has never been fully described.

The book is half-bound in mid nineteenth-century red morocco, with the Newberry's label dated 1890 identifying it as part of Probasco's collection. Many of the illustrations are annotated by Kirgate, but none of his notes are on the sheets of the bound volume, which would have been bound up after his death. The annotations consist of two notes in ink by Walpole, one recording the price he paid for Reynolds's painting of the Ladies Waldegrave in the Refectory, the other mentioned below; twenty-two notes in ink on the prints and drawings by Kirgate; two images inscribed by G. P. Harding; pencil numbers by an unidentified hand, giving the page numbers of the text in which the items illustrated are described; and a few pencil notes in an unidentified hand, identifying the illustrations, and in one case mentioning the 1842 sale of the collection, so possibly made by whoever is responsible for the present binding.

As for the illustrations, these break down as thirty-four miscellaneous engravings; twenty-five portrait prints in stipple after drawings by Silvester Harding and published by the Hardings, nine of which also appear in the Huntington copy; three portrait prints by the Hardings but published by others; four watercolors by George Harding of items at Strawberry Hill, including two drawings of chimney pieces at the house; eight drawings unsigned but I believe by the Hardings, mostly of seals, but including a watercolor of the oaken Gothic bench in the Chapel in the Woods mentioned on page 81 of the *Description*; five signed colored drawings by or prints colored by Kirgate; seven unsigned drawings by Kirgate; and twelve other drawings.

The combination of prints, of drawings by Kirgate and the Hardings, and of Kirgate's notes on them, make this a volume of real interest: but the excitement lies in the last group, the twelve other drawings, as this is where the book has most to tell us about the creation of Strawberry Hill, displaying the potential for extra-illustrated copies to illuminate their subjects. Some are alternative versions of known images, such as a watercolor by Edwards of the south front of the house that was subsequently engraved in etching and aquatint by Jukes, and a copy colored by Edwards of the etching by Jukes of the Printing House; there is an unsigned pencil sketch of the Gothic lantern in the hall, similar to the finished watercolor in Bawtree's copy of the *Description*; an unsigned wash drawing, perhaps by Kirgate or one of the Hardings, of the couvre-feu in the library, of which Carter's drawing is in Bull's copy; and a finished wash drawing, perhaps by George Harding, of the urn erected by Walpole to commemorate the actress Kitty Clive, related to the drawing in Walpole's own copy of the *Description*.¹⁶

Of the seven other images, two (facing page 32) are drawings of a previously unrecorded design by Carter of a series of shields each impaled over a trefoil so as to form an inverted triangle that would have provided a series of inverted triangles to fill the areas above the Gothic arched arcading over the bookshelves in the Library. One of these drawings, with the shield blank, is inscribed by Kirgate "Sketch

16. For the two Edwards views see Clarke, *The Strawberry Hill Press & its Printing House*, plates 28 and 25; for the urn to Mrs. Clive, see the frontispiece to *Horace Walpole's Fugitive Verses*, ed. W. S. Lewis (New York and London: Oxford University Press and Humphrey Milford, 1931).

by Carter, for the Library" (figure 1) while the other, in which Walpole's arms have been sketched in to the shield, is inscribed by George Harding "Taken from a Sketch by Carter for the Library at Strawberry Hill." These triangular designs have not been previously recorded, though there is a reference in Walpole's *Strawberry Hill Accounts* under 22 October 1789 "for painting Triangles in the library £6–6–0," the relevance of which has not previously been clearly understood.¹⁷ If the painted triangles were realized, we do not know when they were painted over, but they would have represented Carter's only known design contribution to the building, as opposed to watercolors and drawings recording it. In any event, if one looks at any of the surviving views of the interior of the Library one can see how a succession of shields on trefoils running around the room, immediately beneath the armorial fantasy of the painted ceiling, would have enriched its heraldic impact.¹⁸

Three of the remaining images are wash drawings of chimney pieces. A number of the chimney pieces at Strawberry Hill were designed by Richard Bentley (1708–82), son of the great classicist of the same name, who with Walpole and John Chute (1701–76) made up the Committee that was responsible for the developing design of the house in the 1750s. Bentley's contributions are marked by a creative excess of decorative Gothic and rococo detail. One of the drawings of chimney pieces designed by Bentley, pasted into the endpapers of the book, appears to be by George Harding and is inscribed "Chimney in Red Bedchamber" by Kirgate, who has added measurements. More important, though, is a wash drawing facing page 15, which is inscribed in Walpole's own hand "Chimney piece of the little parlour at Strawberry hill, taken from a tomb in Westminster Abbey" (figure 2). It is a design drawing with the left jamb of the chimney piece only outlined, and with a plan of the base of the right jamb and measurements given for the opening. It also shows mantling around the shield, which is not present in the surviving chimney piece, or in the similar but finished drawing in Bull's copy of the *Description*. The text of the *Description* does not specify the designer, but the image relates in the use of wash and looseness of line to the Bentley chimney piece designs at the Lewis Walpole Library, both stylistically and in the paper used, though the paper on which those designs are drawn has been given a brown wash.¹⁹ And on closer inspection the mantling consists of writhing serpents' heads, a conceit that Bentley was also to use in the charged and disturbing fantasy known as *A Prospect of Vapourland* of 1759.²⁰ Apart from the mantling and the Walpole's family crest of a Turk's head above the shield, the drawing is virtually indistinguishable from the chimney piece as built. Walpole's inscription does not mention Bentley's name any more than does the text of the *Description*, but the drawing provides a strong case for Bentley's being responsible for the design.

17. *Strawberry Hill Accounts: A Record of Expenditure in Building Furnishing, &c. Kept by Horace Walpole From 1747 to 1795*, ed. Paget Toynbee (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927), 18 and 175, note 9.

18. See Snodin, *Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill*, 37, figure 52 for Edwards's watercolor of the Library and 234, figure 260 for Carter's watercolor.

19. Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, Bentley Album, 49 35 85.

20. Yale Centre for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, accession no. B1975.3.188. It is discussed in Loftus Jestin, *The Answer to the Lyre: Richard Bentley's Illustrations for Thomas Gray's Poems* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), 196–198, and illustrated at figure 62, and also illustrated in Snodin, *Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill*, 335, figure 360.

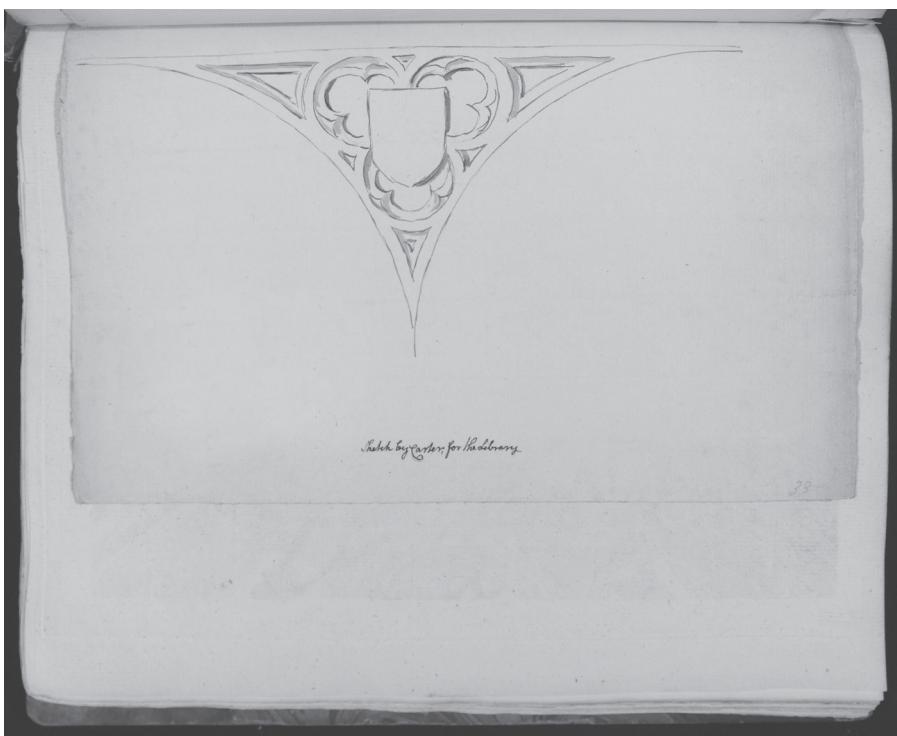


FIGURE 1. *Sketch by Carter, for the Library.* John Carter, the inscription in the hand of Thomas Kirgate. Ink and wash on paper, 17 × 27 cm. Facing p. 33 of Probasco's copy of the *Description of Strawberry Hill*, Newberry Library Folio Case W 3945 95. Photo courtesy of Newberry Library, Chicago.

The third image, though also unsigned, is clearly by Bentley. It is an unrecorded, unexecuted scheme for an original and idiosyncratic chimney piece design, the jambs faced with pyramidal forms topped with flambeaux, with a half quatrefoil over the lintel within an arched hood, topped with another flambeau reflecting those above the jambs (figure 3). A vase is placed within the reveal of the quatrefoil, with small pots to either side, and there are two other vases in outline behind the flambeaux at the head of each jamb. Like the Little Parlour drawing, it relates directly to the Bentley chimney piece designs at the Lewis Walpole Library. Both stylistically and in similarity in format to those designs it seems clearly to be by Bentley and might conceivably be a preliminary design for the China Room or perhaps the Waiting Room. It is a vibrant and idiosyncratic design, consistent with Bentley's surviving chimney pieces in the Beauty Room and the Blue Bedchamber.

The two remaining drawings are more problematical. One is a scaled perspective line drawing for what was known as the trunk-ceiled passage that linked the Holbein Chamber and Star Chamber to the Gallery, and is inscribed in George Harding's hand "Trunk ceiled passage Strawberry Hill." The drawing, also



FIGURE 2. *Chimney piece of the little parlour at Strawberry hill, taken from a tomb in Westminster Abbey.* Richard Bentley attrib., the inscription in the hand of Horace Walpole. Wash drawing on paper, 21 x 17.3 cm. Facing p. 15 of Probasco's copy of the *Description of Strawberry Hill*, Newberry Library Folio Case W 3945 95. Photo courtesy of Newberry Library, Chicago.



FIGURE 3. Richard Bentley, unexecuted chimney piece for Strawberry Hill. Wash drawing on paper, 14.3 x 11.9 cm. Facing p. 23 of Probasco's copy of the *Description of Strawberry Hill*, Newberry Library Folio Case W 3945 95. Photo courtesy of Newberry Library, Chicago.

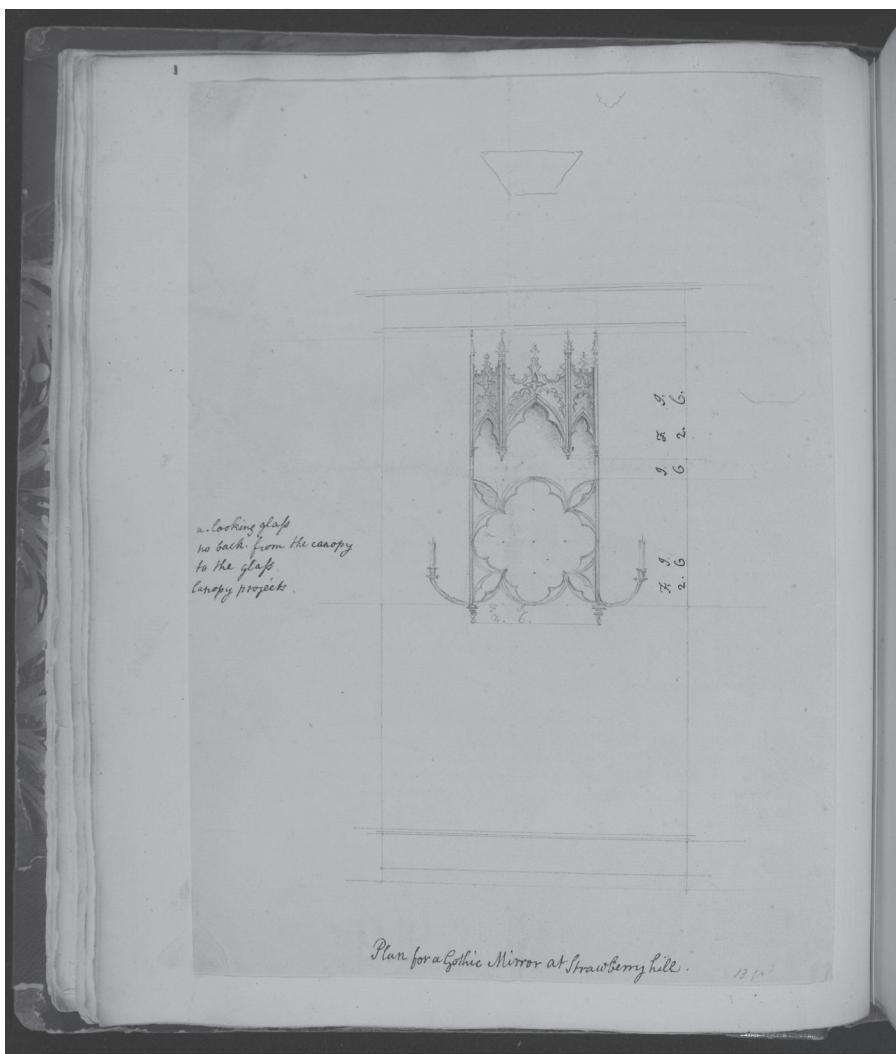


FIGURE 4. *Plan for A Gothic Mirror at Strawberry hill.* Unsigned pencil drawing on paper, 27.4 x 19 cm. Facing p. 13 of Probasco's copy of the *Description of Strawberry Hill*, Newberry Library Folio Case W 3945 95. Photo courtesy of Newberry Library, Chicago.

previously unknown, shows the applied wooden moldings that line the passage, the rounded ceiling, and at the end of the passage the arched window that was subsequently removed when the passage was extended in the nineteenth century to connect through to the Great North Bedchamber. It appears to be a design drawing, perhaps associated with Chute, but it is Harding who has inscribed it.

The final drawing is inscribed by Kirgate "Plan for a Gothic Mirror at Strawberry hill" (figure 4). It has measurements in ink in feet and inches, a sketch plan

of the projecting canopy above, and a note at the side “a. looking glass / no back. from the canopy / to the glass / Canopy projects,” that appears to be in Bentley’s hand, though the drawing (as opposed to the design) is not immediately recognizable as Bentley’s. The design consists of a projecting arched and pierced canopy over a mirror of quatrefoil shape with pointed projections, and the pierced canopy closely relates to the pierced canopy of the chimney piece in the Refectory as designed by Bentley. It seems most likely that the drawing, whoever it is by, is of an unrealized Bentley design, and I am indebted to Michael Snodin for the suggestion that it may have been an early design for the mirrors on either side of the window in the Refectory. The proportions of the sections of wall on either side of the Refectory window are consistent with the area of wall shown in the drawing, and the overall size of the mirror as shown in the drawing is broadly similar to that of the mirrors actually commissioned for these positions, which are arched and with Gothic moldings and a portrait roundel beneath the top of the arch.²¹

The Newberry volume shows how a selection of the Hardings’ prints and drawings could be supplemented and enhanced from Kirgate’s extensive stock, and enriched by drawings of unexecuted designs so as to convert that extra-illustrated copy into a living part of the unfolding story of the development of Walpole’s house and collection. But that sense of immediacy with the creation of the house and its collection is, if anything, only strengthened with the last of our three copies of the *Description*.

VI

The third copy of the *Description* differs most immediately from the other two in that with the exception of two unsigned drawings, and six small pencil sketches probably by Kirgate, it has no illustrations—not even the twenty-eight plates that Walpole commissioned for the 1784 edition. It is a proof copy, interleaved, and bound in early nineteenth-century half calf. Now in the collection of Charles Sebag-Montefiore, it more than makes up for its lack of plates by its wealth of additional material and annotation. It opens with a transcription dated 6 February 1780 by Kirgate on one folded leaf of the sixth and last of Walpole’s fantastical *Hieroglyphic Tales*, “A True Love Story,” tipped into the front endpapers. Walpole had written the *Tales* by 1772, but they were not printed by Kirgate at the Strawberry Hill Press until 1785, and then in only seven copies. This holograph therefore pre-dates the first printing and was presumably copied from Walpole’s manuscript. A comparison with the text as first printed five years later shows that the printed text did not follow Kirgate’s capitalization or repeat one spelling error, and it expanded some abbreviations (presumably it would have been taken from Walpole’s manuscript), but the differences are not significant.²²

Also among the preliminary pages at the front are a drawing pasted down of Walpole’s coat of arms resting on three of the books he had written, with Strawberry Hill in the distance; and a pencil drawing of an ossuarium from the Armoury. There are in addition two separate lists complied by Kirgate both

21. Snodin, *Horace Walpole’s Strawberry Hill*, 36, figure 51.

22. See *Hieroglyphic Tales*, Kenneth W. Gross (London: Pallas Athene, 2011).

headed "Index of Rooms," giving page numbers of the 1784 edition. At the foot of the second Index Kirgate has added a pencil note giving information on the number of visitors to the house:

In 1786, Eighty tickets were given to different People for admission to view Strawberry Hill

In 1787, Seventy Ditto were given

In 1789, One Hundred were given

In 1807, Mrs. Damer says about 80 or 90 are used yearly

Upon an average, about 80 were given yearly

For the period 1784–96 we have Walpole's manuscript "Book of Visitors," which broadly confirms the first three entries, but there is no comparable evidence for the number of visitors after his death in the years of Anne Damer's occupation.²³ The note also confirms that the volume, in which the earliest entries are proofing corrections that are part of the process of printing the 1784 *Description*, was annotated by Kirgate until at least 1807, only three years before his own death.

Between the two versions of the Index of Rooms is a list in pencil by Kirgate headed "The following Drawings were made by Mr. Carter for Mr. Bull & Mr. Walpole" (see appendix below). It lists thirty-six drawings created for Bull's copy of the *Description*, while five of them were also in Walpole's. One drawing, "Gallery 10 G[uineas]," is crossed through and marked "bought by Mr. Baker"—presumably the Strawberry Hill Press collector and bibliographer George Baker (1781–1858). It is correct that Bull's copy, despite its wealth of Carter watercolors and drawings, does not have his view of the Gallery.

But as well as this additional material, there are many annotations to the text by Kirgate, for this is his interleaved proof copy of the 1784 text. It preserves a number of cancels that were corrected in the text as issued, and contains numerous notes by him as the orchestrator of extra-illustration, and even a few notes inserted or initiated by Walpole that throw shafts of light on Walpole's last years at Strawberry Hill. It is very likely that this is the copy that was lot 413 on the eighth day of the sale of Kirgate's library, where it was described as "containing many Notes in MS. by T. Kirgate," and was bought by George Baker for £16. At Baker's sale in 1825, it appears among some seventy-six Strawberry Hill Press and related books and ephemera as "A Description of Strawberry Hill, with several loose pieces interleaved, with M.S. memoranda throughout." It was bought by Longman for a far more modest £1.19s., a reflection of the depression in book prices that was to be lamented in Dibdin's *Bibliophobia* (1832).²⁴

To begin with Walpole's notes, these are only on the text pages (pre-dating the book's being bound up interleaved) and are limited but essentially correc-

23. "Book of Visitors," Percival Merritt Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University, M.S. Eng. 1502, printed in *Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, 12: 216–252.

24. *A Catalogue of the Valuable and Curious Collection, late the Property of Mr. Thomas Kirgate, of Vine-Street, Piccadilly (Deceased)* ... King & Lochée, 3 December 1810 and nine following days: Day 8, lot 413; and *A Catalogue of the Very Choice and Select Library of the late George Baker, Esq. of St. Paul's Churchyard* ... Sotheby, 6 June 1825 and two following days: Day 3, lot 822.

tive, and largely relate to those sections of the proof that were cancelled so that corrected text could be printed. Sections D, E, L, and O are cancels, and in the case of section O there are two variant cancels: in one Kirgate has noted the need to add “A small whole length of Dryden, in oil, by Maubert” as the third line of “More Additions” on page 93, and in the other he has marked a change to the heading of page 94. It is possible that some of the minor typographical corrections on these pages may be by Walpole rather than Kirgate, but certainly Walpole wrote the notes on page 26, crossing through in ink an entry for James 5th and Mary of Lorraine his Queen, a watercolor by Wale, adding the instructions “This is now in the Holbein Room, where you must insert it,” and adding against a Flemish picture of Boors reading “it was in Sir R. Walpole’s collection”—which note duly appears in the printed text of the corrected sheet.

There are notes by Walpole adding anecdotal details and provenance information to the printed text, while his correction on page 24 of Benedict 13th to Benedict 14th has Kirgate’s marginal note “worked so.” That is Kirgate speaking as printer, and another, later example appears on page 92, which concludes the Appendix: “The small 4to. Edit [that is, the original edition of 1774] was printed as far as here, but the Preface was not, I believe, printed for it.” This must have been written by Kirgate as an older man, as he himself had printed the preface in 1786.

There is a sense of conversations overheard, as in Kirgate’s note on page 67, on the famous silver bell in the Tribune attributed to Cellini, “Mr. W called it, as Madame de Montbazon was called, ‘La Belle des Belles.’” Similarly, there is his note at the foot of page 56, devoted to the cabinet of miniatures in the Tribune: “This Collection cost Mr. W upwards of 1300£” immediately followed by “Columb [Walpole’s manservant] says under 1200£,” while of the cameo of Tiberius in onyx in the box of antique rings in the Tribune he adds “Mr. W. says, very fine.” Some notes serve as an aide memoire, as on page 34, against the account of a brass padlock in the shape of a hand, he writes “ask Carter for this” [that is, for a drawing of it]. Again, against the footnote on page 65 describing a table of polished pebbles at Chiswick House, he notes “Go to Chiswick to see it.”

We also get a sense of items in the collection moving around and out of the house, as in Kirgate’s comment on page 73 that the whole-length portrait of Henry Vere, Earl of Oxford, in the Great North Bedchamber was “Now on the back Stairs” and a landscape by Müntz after Gaspar Poussin had been moved to the Little Parlour, while Vanloo’s whole-length portrait of Sir Robert Walpole was “Removed, and given I think to Mrs. Keppel.”

For some items in the collection Kirgate provides supplemental information. Of the Turkish dagger (now lost) believed by Walpole to have belonged to Henry VIII and displayed in the Tribune he notes that “on one side of the Blade are Arabic Characters in Gold. The Handle and Case have on them, 127 Rubies and 6 Diamonds.” He also notes the verses written by Walpole on the back of Lady Craven’s picture and the verses on the stand of the Sevres figure of Cupid, both in the Breakfast Room.

Kirgate’s entry on page 3, “The Staircase and Hall were repainted, in 1793, by Mr. Cornelius Dixon, in a much more accurate and picturesque Stile, tho from the same model, and cost 250-12-6,” supplements the entry in the Strawberry Hill Accounts and (within two shillings) confirms the cost, while the final blank leaf of the book has Kirgate’s note identifying the builder and cost of the offices that

Walpole had built in about 1790—he also added to the Directions to the Binder the titles of the two plates of offices, engraved after the sheet had been printed off.²⁵ Other entries illustrating life at the house include Kirgate's note against the description of the building of the Gallery and Round Tower that "Cowie, the Gardiner, says he placed Medals and a Copper-plate, with an Inscription, on the Foundation Stone of the above Buildings, which is under the Scullery of the Round Kitchen." Equally evocative is his recording that most of the small Etruscan and black Staffordshire vases in the Little Library in the Cottage in the Garden "were broke by an Owl getting down the Chimney into the Room."

Of particular importance are two short lists, the first at the end of the More Additions appendix on page 96, the other on one of the blank leaves at the back. They record late acquisitions for the collection, after the printing of More Additions in 1791. Timothy Wilson has quoted Walpole's letter to Sir Horace Mann of 1785, in which he asks him to find some examples of a particular Florentine ceramics manufacture, and then adds "but am I not an old simpleton to be wanting playthings still?"²⁶ These lists show the elderly Walpole, still adding to the collection to within three years of his death. The first list is:

Brown earthen Miraculous Pitcher—Earthen Bottle, labelled, Claret

A Miniature in enamel of [gap] Lord Bute, by Spencer; bought at Dalton's Sale, 1791.

Six Portraits, with Pen and ink, of Mr. Walpole, Mr. Chute, Mr. Spence, &c. drawn by Rosalba, when those Gentlemen were in Italy, unknown to them, when at some public Place; yet very like

Dead Christ, by Carrache, small oil painting on Copper, from Sir Laurence Dundas's Sale, in 1794.

Miniature Portrait of Charles James Stuart, eldest son of the Pretender; Given by Mrs. Hunter, In 1794.

The second has five more items:

A carved Ivory Cup, with a Bacchanalian Procession, in relievo, set in Silver, with the Orford Crest on the Cover; from Houghton.

Two Cocoa Nuts, carved with the Arms of Orford, and mounted with Silver gilt feet; from Ditto, 1793.

Two silver filigraine Hampers; from Ditto, 1794.

A Portrait of the Rev. William Cole, of Botesham Hall, Cambridge, on painted Glass.

25. *Strawberry Hill Accounts*, 20 and 179, note 1; and Clarke, "Lord God! Jesus! What a House!" 380, note 41.

26. Timothy Wilson, "Playthings Still? Horace Walpole as a Collector of Ceramics," in Snodin, *Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill*, 200–219, at 201. The letter is in *Correspondence*, 25: 590.

A Cast in Plaster of Miss Farren, from a bust in marble, executed by Mrs. Damer

Of these, three are Walpole silver, presumably acquired through family piety, and two come from sales of 1791 and 1794. One is a gift, and one a plaster bust of the actress Elizabeth Farren by his admired cousin. The portraits by Rosalba are curious—it would be surprising that they only came into Walpole's possession in the 1790s, over fifty years after his Grand Tour, and some years after all the other persons mentioned had died; or perhaps they were existing possessions that had not previously been listed. And the portrait on glass of his correspondent, the antiquary William Cole, who had died in 1782, is intriguing. Some of the Rosalbas are at The Vyne (John Chute's house), the carved ivory cup is in the Derby collection at Knowsley Hall, and the mounted coconuts are in a private collection: the rest have disappeared, but the group of items do display the still dedicated collector, adding to his treasures and adorning his house to the last.

There are, however, three topics that constitute by far the largest number of Kirgate's annotations. The first of these is the cost of items—what Walpole had paid for them. These can be treated anecdotally, as in Kirgate's note at the foot of page 72 of the painting over the chimney piece of the Great North Bedchamber: "the Picture of Henry 8th. and Children, which Mr. Walpole bought for 80 Guineas, was formerly sold on London Bridge for 5 Pounds." Of the bust of Vespasian in the Gallery described at page 50 he comments "it was reckoned the 7th Bust in Rome, and cost under 20£," while the Boccapadugli eagle in the Gallery "Cost but 50£. Mr. W. has been offered 1000£ for it. The pedestal cost 25£." Mostly, though, he simply notes the price paid by Walpole in the margin against objects, doing so for about fifty-five of them.

The other two series of annotations bring us back to Kirgate as dealer in prints of the collection. They are notes as to whether there are available prints of items in the collection, and descriptions of the poses of portraits. There are over 130 notes querying whether a print or drawing exists, or if there is a print, by whom it is engraved. At the foot of page 24 of the book, for example, the text lists three portraits in the Green Closet, of Henry Carey, Earl of Monmouth, Pope Benedict XII, and Lady Newburgh: against the first two Kirgate has noted "Engraved by S. Harding," but against the third he has written "Q. if engraved by Harding?" and added "No. But I have a copy by Harding." On the preceding page, against Scott's view of Pope's house in Twickenham, he asks "See if Sayer has not a Print like this"—a reference to the printseller Robert Sayer (1725–94). There are page after page of such entries, many just noting that there is a mezzotint, or an engraving by Harding, or noting a print's scarcity: as a random selection, of the Maid of Honour Mrs. Trevor "No Print in that name in Bromley [Bromley's *Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits* (1793)] Q. was She married? Drawing of her by G. Harding"; various notes as to whether antiquities that Walpole had bought from Conyers Middleton were engraved in his *Antiquities* (1745); and of an antique silver figure of a seated muse in the Tribune Kirgate writes "Beg a Drawing of it," to remind himself to ask (presumably) Mrs. Damer for permission to have it copied. But especially revealing is his comment on the ancient oak chair in the Holbein Chamber that Walpole believed to have come from Glastonbury Abbey: "Engraved by Captn. Grose, Prints of which may be had of T. Kirgate."

Almost as frequent, though, are Kirgate's annotations as to the poses of portraits at Strawberry Hill. There are approximately one hundred of these, carefully written out in pencil. A good example of this is provided by the nineteen heads in oil from the Court of Charles II, copied by Jarvis, and hung by Walpole in the Beauty Room. Kirgate has numbered these from 1 to 19 and written out descriptions of them on the facing interleaved blank sheet. There is, for instance, King William when Prince of Orange, "In armour, truncheon in right hand, left on a helmet, point cravat, dog's head looking up, battle in the background," and Frances Stuart, Duchess of Richmond, "Standing in a wood, leaning on left arm on bank, right cross'd to ditto, mantle tied with pearls over left breast, curl on ditto." For a number of the portraits, Kirgate's notes seek to distinguish between the Strawberry Hill picture and other similar prints: from the same group of nineteen, there is Henry, Earl of Ogle (with in his case an additional note in ink "No Print of him"), described as "Standing, full faced, flowing hair, point cravat, left hand in robe, right hand pointing with fore finger, Curtain behind. A print of Sir Thomas Isham, Bart (D. Loggan exct.) is exactly like this of Ogle, except the face. A ditto of Sir [blank] Fielding is also, the face excepted, more so." He is followed in the list by Lady Elizabeth Percy, later Duchess of Somerset "Sitting on a bank, supported by right hand, left pointing to a parrot in an orange tree in a vase, lock of hair on left breast, column at left": this has two additional notes on the text page "Mezzo[tint] Print of her, sold by Browne," and "A Print of Madam Lucy Loftus is much like the Dss. of Somerset."

What these notes represent is Kirgate's index for identifying prints from Strawberry Hill portraits when he did not have the originals in front of him. If he were to see in the London print trade a mezzotint of a Lady Elizabeth Percy, he could turn to his notes to see if the print showed her pointing to the required parrot in an orange tree, and if so it could be added to stock for his Strawberry Hill customers. There is even a memorandum to himself "remr. to describe this" against the Van Dyck of Soldiers at Cards, in the manner of Teniers, in the Tribune. The notes serve a similar function of identification to the briefer summaries of poses that appear in some of the entries in Granger's *Biographical History*.

It is no surprise that Kirgate kept the book until his death, for the function of this copy had been transformed. What had started as a proof copy with his master's corrections had been interleaved, and become a repository for information and anecdote, opening a window onto Walpole's last thirteen years at Strawberry Hill. It had then become the essential reference source for Kirgate's later career as book and printseller and purveyor of illustrations of the house and its collections. This was a cottage industry by which—as the three copies of the *Description* discussed in this paper illustrate—he and the Harding family not only helped to support themselves, but disseminated to a wider audience Walpole's vision of Strawberry Hill. The second and third of these volumes provide a wealth of supplemental information and some previously unknown design drawings for Strawberry Hill—but all three together also give us an unusual opportunity to see extra-illustration and annotation from the perspective of the booksellers, printsellers and artists who facilitated the leisurely amusement of a generation of collectors.

APPENDIX

In his annotated proof copy of the *Description* of Strawberry Hill, Thomas Kirgate listed the following thirty-six drawings by John Carter for Richard Bull's extra-illustrated copy of the *Description* (B) and those of them that were also in Walpole's copy (W).

The following Drawings were made by Mr. Carter for Mr. Bull & Mr. Walpole

B Great Cloyster W.	B Dia Helenora in Little Cloyster ²⁹
B Red Hall W. ²⁷	B Implements of War in Armory
B Parlour	B Little Cloyster
B Holbein Room	B Inside of Oratory
B Round Room	B Four old Pictures in Chapel
B Passage to Gallery	B Chair in Holbein Room
B Great Bedchamber	B The Armoury W
B Prior's Garden W.	B View of the House from Offices
B Cabinet of Enamels	B Library W
B Printing House, inside view	B Gallery 10G. bought by Mr. Baker
B Sceptre & Dagger & Missal	B Urns in Gallery
B Becket's tomb & Chalice	B Bust of Nic. Poussin's Wife
B Tomb in Chapel	B Ditto of Caligula and another
B Crucifix in Chapel	B Ditto of Jupiter Serapis
B Figures of Window of D°.	B Egyptian Idols
B North Front	B Ground Plan of Strawberry
B Round Tower	B Castle of Otranto
B Obelisk; poor ²⁸	
B Chimney in Mr. W's Bedchamber	

Drawings at 2.2.0 each is 75.12.0³⁰

27. The entrance hall is also referred to as the "Red Hall" in Carter's list of his drawings for Bull in his copy of the *Description* at the Huntington Library, and it does appear from his watercolor that it had red floor tiles.

28. This and the two preceding items are bracketed together as "Views."

29. Described by Walpole in a footnote to page 2 of the *Description* as a bas-relief head in marble of Eleanora d'Este, inscribed Dia Helianora.

30. From the list in the Appendix, Carter's watercolors are reproduced in Snodin, *Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill*, as follows: Red Hall (33, fig. 45), Parlour (35, fig. 48), Holbein Room (43, fig. 61), Round Room (48, fig. 72), Passage to Gallery (301, fig. 326), Great Bedchamber (50, fig. 77), Cabinet of Enamels (99, fig. 128), Printing House, inside view (243, fig. 274), Sceptre & Dagger & Missal (226, fig. 253), Tomb in Chapel (147, fig. 163), Round Tower (253, fig. 282), Implements of War in Armory (224, fig. 251), The Armoury (220, fig. 245), Library (234, fig. 260), Bust of Caligula [though alone, not with another] (176, fig. 187), and Bust of Jupiter Serapis (176, fig. 188).

CHARLES DIBDIN AND THE MAKING OF
THE MUSICAL TOUR OF MR. DIBDIN (1788):
A NEW “COMPACT WITH THE PUBLIC”

by

DAVID CHANDLER

ON 17 March 1787, Charles Dibdin (1745–1814) took the stagecoach from London to Oxford, “with a few shirts and books in a trunk, [and] a well-digested plan in [his] head.”¹ Famous first as an actor-singer, then as a theatre composer who collaborated with such luminaries as David Garrick and Isaac Bickerstaff, then as a writer for the theatre himself, Dibdin was “an extremely well-known public character”² who was now, in the spirit of entrepreneurship increasingly shaping his activities, seeking to integrate his talents. The “well-digested plan” was for a one-man musical show which Dibdin intended touring round the country to fund his family’s planned emigration to India; standing behind a piano (an instrument he had introduced in Britain), he would alternately speak and sing to his audience. By appearing as poet, composer, performer and “band,” Dibdin later wrote, he was doing something “so unprecedented, that one should rationally suppose, if it were only for the novelty, it were likely to attract curiosity, and ensure encouragement.”³ *Readings and Music*, as he called his entertainment, was to prove personally, professionally, even culturally transformative; with it, the second half of Dibdin’s career commenced. In the end, he never did go to India, but he decided that the one-man show, which he began calling a “Table Entertainment,” on the model of “table talk,” was his natural medium, and he went on developing the form. For a time, his shows were sensationaly popular, and between 1791 and 1805 Dibdin even had his own London theatre, the Sans Souci, specifically to present them. The songs he produced for these Table Entertainments had an immense impact on the popular song repertoire, making Dibdin overwhelmingly the leading anglophone singer-songwriter of the age. The form of the shows, too, had a huge influence on popular entertainment, almost every subsequent proponent of the one-man show with music owing something, directly or indirectly, to Dibdin. They very

1. Charles Dibdin, *The Musical Tour of Mr. Dibdin* (Sheffield, 1788), 13–14. Subsequent references are noted parenthetically in the text.

2. Oskar Cox Jensen, David Kennerley and Ian Newman (eds.), *Charles Dibdin and Late Georgian Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 1. This volume is the best introduction to the great variety of Dibdin’s achievements and cultural impacts, though it has little to say about him as a writer or solo performer.

3. Charles Dibdin, *The Professional Life of Mr. Dibdin*, 4 vols. (London, 1803), 1:4.

likely also influenced the culture of London's "song-and-supper rooms" which started opening in 1815—the direct ancestors of the later music hall.⁴

The *Readings and Music* tour proved transformative in another way, too: it persuaded Dibdin that he could and should produce books. Although from the early 1770s onwards his literary ambitions were steadily developing, there is no evidence prior to 1787 of a serious interest in book production. He had published librettos, a polemical pamphlet, *The Royal Circus Epitomized* (1784), and his own periodical, *The Devil*, which ran for 22 issues in 1786 and 1787. But after his 1787–88 tour produced the *Musical Tour of Mr. Dibdin*, a 450-page quarto far bigger in size and scope than anything he had written before, he began thinking on a different scale, publishing three three-volume novels between 1793 and 1807, a five-volume *Complete History of the English Stage* between 1797 and 1800, two large volumes of *Observations on a Tour Through Almost the Whole of England, and a Considerable Part of Scotland* in 1801 and 1802, and four volumes of *The Professional Life of Mr. Dibdin* in 1803. The *Musical Tour* directly anticipates, in different ways, most of the major publications that followed. Dibdin discovered a taste for autobiographical writing mixed with anecdotes, opinions and polemics; although he has, at most, appeared as a footnote in accounts of Romantic autobiography, no British writer published more about themselves in the decades between 1780 and 1810.

Despite the great importance of the *Musical Tour* (hereafter *MT*) in Dibdin's polymathic career, it is as flawed as it is fascinating. It did not develop smoothly and Dibdin had written much of it before deciding on the final shape and content of the volume. Moreover, he was often juggling the historical aspects of his account with a desire to comment on his present circumstances. When Dibdin left London, he had no idea of recording his experiences: "at my first setting out I had not the smallest idea of writing any account of my TOUR at all" (43–44). Not until August did he lay plans for a book, and not until October did he begin systematically writing it. Given that the tour itself continued until March 1788, this meant that for a long time Dibdin was having to catch up with himself, and he recognized almost immediately the parallels with Laurence Sterne's 1760s novel, *Tristram Shandy* (10). As the project developed, it came to unite the different worlds of self-publishing, provincial printing, financing by subscription and—belatedly—royal patronage. Scholars have paid some attention to the tour itself, and to *Readings and Music*,⁵ but there has been no separate analysis of the complex vehicle through which Dibdin preserved a record of these things. The published *MT* is the more interesting in that, uniquely among Dibdin's major prose publications, a complete fair copy manuscript of the book has been preserved, held in the Fellows' Library at Winchester College (MS 61). Although there are few significant departures from this bound manuscript volume in the printed text, the

4. For the "song-and-supper rooms" and their place in London's entertainment culture, see Laurence Senelick, introduction to *Tavern Singing in Early Victorian London: The Diaries of Charles Rice for 1840 and 1850* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1997), xii.

5. See, in particular, Elisabeth M. Lockwood, "Charles Dibdin's Musical Tour," *Music and Letters* 13, no. 2 (1932): 207–14; and Jeremy Barlow, "Dibdin on Tour: Performer or Sight-seer?" *Early Music Performer* 39 (October 2016): 3–8.

manuscript provides fascinating clues to the process by which the book came to be made, and it is regularly cited in the history reconstructed here.⁶

The story of the tour commences on page 15 of the published *MT*; the history of the book about the tour effectively commences on page 91, when Dibdin describes his return to Worcester on 31 July 1787 after an earlier visit in the spring. There follows one of the most ambiguous and conflicted passages in the volume:

I never experienced more *milk and water* treatment in my life. I advertised my entertainment however and was tolerably attended. . . . I sincerely believe, had it not been for the interference of a friend, I must have used the word INTOLERABLY. To this gentleman, who is no other than T. S. Esq.[.] I shall beg leave to say, that if he meant his friendship and attention to my interest should finish where it apparently has—God forbid I should load him with more trouble than he is willing to suffer! So far from it—I here, in the face of the world, acquit him of any intentions in relation to me, but those of serving, obliging, and pleasing me; and should it so happen that neither upon paper, nor any other way, we again exchange a single word, my wishes towards him are, may he enjoy a long life of health, happiness, and prosperity! And I hope he retains so much of his former good wishes for me, as to return an equal portion of esteem, with equal sincerity. (91)

Readers are expected to recall that the first eleven letters of the *MT* had been addressed “To T. S. Esq.” Dibdin later chose to reveal the identity of this individual, for in his *Professional Life* he states: “The name of THEOPHILUS SWIFT, Esq. will be seen at the head of some of the poetry. . . . To this gentleman I addressed a few letters in my original *Tour*.⁷ Swift (1746–1815), whose parents were both cousins of Jonathan Swift, the author of *Gulliver's Travels*, was an eccentric Irish barrister. The fullest contemporary description describes him as “an excellent classic [sic] scholar, and versed likewise in modern literature and belles lettres. . . . [He was] a sincere, kind-hearted man; but . . . at the same time, the most visionary of created beings. He saw every thing whimsically—many things erroneously—and nothing like another person.”⁸ Swift had just commenced a literary career by publishing a lengthy poem, *The Temple of Folly*. It is not clear when or where he and Dibdin first became connected, but it was sometime prior to this consequential meeting in Worcester, as a cryptic clue inserted into the *MT* indicates. In a letter to Swift of 16 October 1787, Dibdin writes: “You may remember, in a letter written to me some time ago, you wondered at my advertising my entertainment at BIRMINGHAM” (25). Dibdin performed at Birmingham in between his two visits to Worcester. The reference to the earlier letter suggests that Swift was probably not at Worcester when Dibdin first visited, or he would hardly have needed to

6. I am much indebted to Richard Foster, the Fellows' Librarian, Winchester College, for allowing me access to the manuscript, for his generous hospitality when I visited Winchester, and for the information that the manuscript was donated to the College in the 1830s or 1840s by the Rev. Peter Hall (1803–49), a prolific collector of books and manuscripts and a former Winchester student. The records show that the manuscript was bound when first acquired by the College, though it was subsequently rebound in the twentieth century. The history of the manuscript before Hall acquired it, presumably no earlier than the 1820s, is unknown, but it seems likely that Dibdin's printer, Joseph Gales, made the original decision to bind together the letters that constitute it.

7. Dibdin, *Professional Life*, 3:7.

8. Sir Jonah Barrington, *Personal Sketches of His Own Times*, 2 vols. (London, 1827), 1:405–6.

write on the subject of the latter's "advertising . . . at BIRMINGHAM." His presence on the second visit may have something to do with it coinciding with "the race week" (56), which in 1787 ended on 7 August.⁹ More importantly, the 16 October letter establishes that Dibdin was on terms of correspondence with Swift before summer 1787.

Worcester, a city with a population of around 11,000 at the time, was a regional shopping centre with substantial gloving and porcelain industries. A theatre had been opened in 1781, but Worcester was not known for its culture. Swift, though mostly resident in Dublin, owned a house there. His father, Deane Swift, died at Worcester in 1783, and the dedication to *The Temple of Folly* is dated "Worcester, April 12th, 1787."¹⁰ It is easy to imagine an eccentric Irishman with strong literary interests being glad to welcome the diversions Dibdin offered. Dibdin stayed in Worcester a full two weeks on his second visit, considerably longer than he usually stayed at one place on his tour; there was thus plenty of time for him and Swift to see each other. It is possible Dibdin had already conceived the idea of publishing an account of his tour in a series of letters; but, even if this were the case, it was the conversations with Swift that prompted him to start work. Given the dates, though, it is more likely that the whimsical, "visionary" Swift came up with the idea of a *Musical Tour*—perhaps in response to Dibdin's lively stories about his experiences—making him, given what I have suggested above, a vital influence on Dibdin's career, though one which has gone entirely unrecognized.

Dibdin directed a first *MT* letter to Swift on 16 August, just two days after leaving Worcester. It can certainly be called "visionary" in the plans it lays out. Dibdin, now in Hereford, promises that, in addition to a basic narrative of his movements and experiences, the planned book will

give the public some useful hints relative to inns, manufactoryes, natural and artificial curiosities, the state of the country as to cultivation, and such other particulars as have cursorily struck me. . . . Having also had many opportunities of conversing with men of genius, I shall communicate my remarks on those conversations; in which, in particular, will be comprised my sentiments on Music in all its points of view. . . . Another object which peculiarly demands my attention is the THEATRE. Nor will a fair exposition of its arcana come by any means improperly through the medium of this publication. An account of the motives which induce me to quit my native country are a part of my compact with the public, and they cannot be enumerated without relating many theatrical transactions. . . . These matters, together with a prodigious number of observations, both of my own and others, on all general subjects—anecdotes, and the essence of what I have delivered, at different places, under the title of READINGS and MUSIC, will make up a series of letters. (2–4)

Importantly, this first letter shows Dibdin envisaging a much more dialogic work than that which eventually emerged. He describes Swift, remarkably, and with a good deal of flattery, as "the best judge I know of all general subjects, whether natural or acquired" (1). And crucially, in the conclusion, he expresses a hope that the letters "with the advantage of your [Swift's] sentiments on each separate letter, [will] be found to excite and satisfy public curiosity" (4). This suggests that

9. *Baily's Racing Register, from the Earliest Records to the Close of the Year 1842*, 3 vols. (London, 1845), 1:617.

10. *The Temple of Folly* (London, 1787), x.

he imagined a book in which his letters would be interspersed with Swift's replies. Whether there had been any talk of Swift benefitting from this financially is unclear, but he was a rich man, unlike Dibdin, and may have suggested some such scheme both to help his friend and raise his own profile in the world of letters. As well as dispatching letters to Swift, Dibdin began making copies of his letters complete with headings and footnotes that would eventually serve as copy for his printer; these fair copies are preserved in the Winchester volume. In the first letter in the manuscript, Dibdin originally had the subtitle "To Theophilus Swift Esq." but the name was subsequently crossed out and replaced with "T. S. Esq." which is then consistently used in the Winchester volume and in the printed *MT*.

Dibdin clearly expected a reply to this first letter but did not get one. He then waited six weeks before writing to Swift again, this time from York, on 28 September. At this juncture, it is clear, he had abandoned any hope of obtaining regular commentary from his friend, and quickly followed this with three more letters, on 30 September and 4 and 5 October. It is significant, I suggest, that the last of these, detailing Dibdin's experiences in Bath the previous March, is mostly taken up with a story about an Irishman (21–22). The Irishman had promised he would ensure a good audience at the Assembly Rooms if Dibdin could set to music a poem written by a lady he was courting and allow him to claim the music as his own. Dibdin set the song, but the "nefarious" Irishman did not keep his promise. In context, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the story was pointed at Swift, implicitly accusing him of betrayal. Swift himself may have read it that way, for he now, at last replied. His letter was not published, but Dibdin's brief reply to it, dated 14 October, is included in the *MT*.¹¹ Dibdin could now, at last, write:

I cannot have a stronger stimulative to proceed than your kindness. The praise you are pleased to afford my introductory letter—which cannot, from its nature, be so entertaining as those of which it is the harbinger—gives me very flattering hopes that this testimony of public gratitude will hold some rank in the world's estimation. (5)

Dibdin gave this letter the title "Encouragement to Proceed" and rather misleadingly placed it second in the *MT*, allowing the casual reader the impression that Swift had responded reasonably promptly to the initial letter, though giving the date at the bottom to make clear to the careful reader that this was not the case.

By this time, it must have been obvious to Dibdin that he was not going to get Swift's "sentiments on each separate letter," but he felt encouraged enough to go on, as the Irishman had clearly made some sort of assurance that he would try to do better. Dibdin despatched further letters on the 16, 17, 21 and 22 October, the last with a dramatic postscript which could have come straight from a sentimental novel of the period: "Why have I not heard from you!" (39). The next letter, the following day, similarly states: "'Tis hard you will not write to me" (41). These might be read as rhetorical flourishes, designed to make the published tour more readable, but it appears that frustration lay behind them, and Dibdin now abruptly stopped directing his letters to Swift. His complex, hurt feelings regard-

11. In the Winchester manuscript, interestingly, Dibdin first dated the letter "Nov 14th" before correcting "Nov" to "Oct" (Letter 2). This suggests that it may have been written some time after its putative date, and for artistic purposes more than anything else. (The Winchester manuscript numbers the letters in their headings, rather than by pages or folios.)

ing the latter's "friendship and attention to my interest" were later expressed in his account of his second Worcester visit, quoted above.

The two or three weeks subsequent to the last letter to Swift were the most critical in the history of the *MT*. Dibdin's next letter signals a general redirection by being addressed "To the Public" and emphatically stating "I shall address no more letters to T. S. Esq." (42). Dibdin reports, a little accusingly, that Swift "very lately told a particular friend of mine that my *seven* first letters—I use his own words—"are wonderfully well written" (42). He wants to insist, then, that Swift had received and approved the letters, even though he only answered one. On a more extenuating note, though, he also refers to "chance having thrown this gentleman [Swift] and I such a distance from each other" (42–43)—a probable reference to Swift having returned to Ireland. The biggest question Dibdin faced at this juncture was whether he should replace Swift with some other correspondent. The second letter subsequent to the Swift letters, dated from Hull on 4 November, was initially addressed "To Mr. Boyton" in the Winchester manuscript, but the "oyton" was then crossed out to leave "The Mr. B." which appears in the published *MT*.¹² This was the exceptionally obscure William Boyton, a music teacher, harpsichordist (one of the best in the country, according to Dibdin), and minor composer.¹³ Dibdin clearly had an excellent relationship with Boyton, who is mentioned eight times in the *MT*. The 4 November letter ends on a rather ambiguous note, and it is not clear whether Dibdin intended to make Boyton a regular correspondent or not: "As to the musical taste of BRISTOL, the treatment at inns, and other indispensable [*sic*] matters, I shall mention them when I return; for I will not give you pain by speaking truth of your neighbours" (49).

Immediately after this, the whole concept of the still largely unwritten book was rethought. The next letter, dated 6 November, is addressed to Dibdin:

WHEN I had the pleasure of witnessing your performance, I said but the truth when I assured you it would be no trifling satisfaction to me to promote whatever you should consider as your interest. As to your request of addressing your public letters to me, I embrace with great satisfaction an opportunity of receiving an earlier entertainment from them than the rest of your friends. Nobody can be more zealous in your cause. There is, I confess, one consideration that will make me read them with reluctance—every succeeding letter will be one approach nearer to your departure, which you know I never cordially liked—though I own you have conquered every scruple but one. Answer me. What will the people of INDIA say of you, when they see in your book that you make a visit to them, your *forlorn hope*? You see I begin the office of a friend by treating you with freedom. My remarks, however, will not be very troublesome to you. Your career is brilliant, and it were pity to stop it. Adieu. I have read thirteen letters, and be assured I shall make a perusal of the rest supercede every other consideration of business or pleasure—being

Your sincere friend,
And obedient servant. (50)

12. Letter 13.

13. Roger Fiske estimates Boyton's dates as c. 1750 to c. 1800 in *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 651. I suspect he was the "Mr. BOYTON sen." who was given a benefit concert in Bristol in 1816, however: see "Assembly-Rooms, Prince's Street," *Bristol Mirror*, 9 November 1816, 2. Boyton's son Richard, also a teacher of music in Bristol, was active by the 1810s and died in 1846.

Dibdin responded to this in a letter of 9 November, addressed “To the Rev. Mr. —,” and from this juncture on, all his letters are similarly addressed. The timing of the letter from the “Rev. Mr. —” was singularly timely, and the letter itself reads as more akin to an extract from an epistolary novel than a genuine correspondence from a real clergyman. In fact, a careful reading of the Winchester manuscript and the published *MT* makes it clear that the “Rev. Mr. —” is an imaginary correspondent introduced as a literary convenience.

The first and most irrefutable clue is in the manuscript. The letter has several crossings out and corrections, such as “nobody can be ^{more} zealous in the ^{your} cause & nobody wishes you better.”¹⁴ This strongly points to its being Dibdin’s composition, not a transcription of someone else’s letter.

A second clue is in the letter itself: the giveaway detail “I have read thirteen letters,” in other words *all* the letters of the *MT* written to that point. To try and explain this, in the Winchester manuscript Dibdin initially dated the letter from Lincoln, where he had been on 6 November. The implication, then, was that the “Rev. Mr. —” met him there and was shown the growing set of letters that Dibdin was assembling. Yet on the subscription list there is only one reverend listed under Lincoln, a “Rev. Dr. Gordon” who obviously cannot be the man in question. It is impossible to believe that such an ardent supporter of Dibdin would not have been a subscriber, as both Swift (listed under London) and Boyton (listed under Bristol) were. And if the “Rev. Mr. —” was only visiting Lincoln in November, it was an odd time and place for a clergyman to be taking a holiday. Apparently realizing that he had evoked an unlikely scenario, Dibdin crossed out the word “Lincoln,” which does not appear in the published *MT*. But if the “Rev. Mr. —” was not in Lincoln, how could he have read all thirteen letters, the latest written just two days earlier?

A third clue is that the *MT* never refers to Dibdin meeting the “Rev. Mr. —.” This is crucial, for in general Dibdin was keen to name and praise his supporters, and to detail where he met them. He refers to his meeting with Swift, as noted above, possibly suppressing the Irishman’s full name because, by the time he described the meeting, he felt Swift had let him down. Dibdin also refers in more detail to his time with Boyton, and, as noted above, mentions him eight times. Yet we are supposed to think that by 6 November Dibdin had found a very willing friend and supporter who goes wholly unmentioned in the narrative. Moreover, the name of the “Rev. Mr. —” is ostentatiously suppressed. In Dibdin’s first letter to him, he says he will publish the latter’s letter, but:

It shall be printed ... without your name—nor shall I publicly use it [the name] at all, though out of kindness you have stipulated for no such arrangement. My reason is, that though I may find it necessary to go to loggerheads with witlings and crotchet-mongers, it would be unhandsome to bring you in as my second, or even bottle-holder. (51)

The reader, then, is meant to accept that the name is concealed, not because the “Rev. Mr. —” stipulated this, but because Dibdin now wants to protect his correspondent from his, Dibdin’s, quarrels. Dibdin had not chosen to protect Swift and Boyton so carefully.

14. Letter 14.

A fourth and final clue, and the decisive one, is that having introduced the fiction of a “New Correspondent,” Dibdin does remarkably little with it. After the initial letter of 6 November, there are no more letters from the “Rev. Mr. —” until 17 February. This represents him as now thoroughly persuaded that Dibdin should go to India, and makes a particular dig at Nottingham, where Dibdin had experienced an unfavourable reception: “The nasty *Snottinghamites* alone would have sickened me to such a degree, that when I appeared before them, it would have given me all the qualmishness and have produced all the effect of an emetic” (132). Nine days later, Dibdin wrote to acknowledge another communication from the “Rev. Mr. —” which this time had enclosed a satirical “impromptu,” “*On hearing of Mr. DIBDIN’s ill success at NOTTINGHAM*” (152).¹⁵ The reader, then, is left to conclude that of all the strong views Dibdin expresses on people, places and issues in the course of the *MT*, the only one which really exercised the feelings and pen of the “Rev. Mr. —” were the remarks on Nottingham! If this was meant to hint that the “Rev. Mr. —” might be a disgruntled member of the Nottingham clergy, or perhaps based in Derby, Nottingham’s great regional rival, it was a red herring: no “Rev. Mr.” appears on the subscribers’ lists for these towns. In general, Dibdin went on writing letter after letter to the “Rev. Mr. —” without any stated expectation of a reply or frustration at the lack of one.

Altogether, then, the evidence is overwhelmingly against the “Rev. Mr. —” being a real person, suggesting that Dibdin significantly rethought the nature of his book in early November 1787. The advantages were obvious: he would no longer need to make duplicate copies of his letters, would no longer need to wait for replies that might never come, and could, when in the mood, write his own replies. Nevertheless, it is possible that Dibdin hoped his readers would link the “Rev. Mr. —” address of the letters to an actual person. Of the 25 people with that designation in the subscribers’ lists, one was a major literary figure, with several interests coincident with Dibdin’s: William Mason (1725–97), the rector of Aston. He had subscribed in Sheffield, which is presumably where he saw Dibdin’s entertainment, and Dibdin had been there in October 1787. Dibdin may have hoped that curious readers would make the link with Mason, and the signature “*****” suggested a name of five characters. Dibdin was often less than polite when assessing the merits of his contemporaries, but he would later describe Mason as “a sweet and beautiful writer, and a man universally beloved and esteemed.”¹⁶

The removal of Swift from Dibdin’s publishing plan appears to have significantly impacted the planned book in another way, too. Dibdin’s letter “To the Public” of 24 October—the one in which he states “I shall address no more letters to T. S. Esq.”—also contains this information:

15. Interestingly, in the following decade George Moutard Woodward quoted a slightly different version of the “impromptu” with the statement that it was “said to be written by the celebrated Mr. Dibden [sic] (from woeful experience) and supposed to be addressed to himself.” See his *Eccentric Excursions: Or, Literary & Pictorial Sketches* (London, 1796), 178.

16. Charles Dibdin, *A Complete History of the English Stage*, 5 vols. (London, 1797–1800), 5:289.

Five minutes before I sat down to this table where I am now writing, being at BEVERLY in Yorkshire, I dispatched to the printer at HULL a manuscript of the *proposal* for publishing my MUSICAL TOUR. (45)

Hull was just nine miles by road from Beverley, and the printing was clearly done quickly, so when Dibdin later came to his account of these days he could state “At BEVERLY I first issued my proposals for printing this work” (139). Dibdin had now decided to make the *MT* a subscription volume and realized his tour offered him a wonderful opportunity for collecting subscribers. It may be just a coincidence that he took his first steps toward this just after breaking with Swift, but the evidence suggests it was part of his larger rethinking of the book at this time. Swift had recently published *The Temple of Folly* with the well-known London publisher Joseph Johnson, and may have believed that he had the influence, and perhaps the money, to ensure the acceptance of a completed manuscript volume by an established publisher. Dibdin now concluded, probably correctly, that he stood to make rather more money if he became his own publisher and used his performances as a way of advertising for subscriptions. In the future, he would regularly be his own publisher.

Dibdin provided a good deal of business for printers in the course of his tour. On arriving in a new area, he would employ the local printer to produce handbills advertising his performances. We even know how much he expected to pay for these, for on his second visit to Derby he complained that the printer John Drewry wanted “to charge half-a-crown [i.e., 30p] a hundred for the same sort of bills which he had printed the first time I was there for eighteen-pence” (153–54). From November 1787 onwards, these handbills probably routinely mentioned the planned subscription volume, and for anyone wanting to know more, Dibdin had his separate “proposal.” Working with Dibdin in this way, it would not be surprising if regional printers showed an interest in printing the *MT* itself, and Dibdin assures his readers that this was the case: “Before I ever saw Mr. GALES I had received numberless civilities at the hands of different *printers*, from many of whom I have had offers to print my TOUR—after I knew Mr. GALES, I preferred him to all the printers I had seen” (207). Joseph Gales (1761–1841), remembered most of all for his radical views and later career in America, was a young printer who had set up business in Sheffield in 1784. Dibdin’s first visit to Sheffield took place in mid-October 1787, and lasted two or three days (129). He makes no mention of having met Gales on that occasion, but he probably did so, for at the end of the year he received a letter from the printer, seemingly inviting him to return to Sheffield, which he promptly did, arriving on 31 December. Because of this return, Dibdin later wrote, he “acquired the friendship of Mr. GALES, and the satisfaction of employing him to print this work” (208).

Dibdin remained in Sheffield until 12 January 1788 (213) and in this period must have made definite plans with Gales for the printing of the volume, contracting for 600 copies (Advertisement). Dibdin then took off to Manchester for ten days or so before returning to Sheffield; “on the following week,” he then writes, “this TOUR was put to press” (242). Although Dibdin does not specify the date, these clues suggest that Gales and his apprentices probably started work on Dibdin’s incomplete manuscript on Monday 28 January. Dibdin was able to

inspect 64 pages (four sheets) of proofs before leaving Sheffield again, this time for Leeds, where he performed on 11 February. Dibdin later wrote that “it was utterly impracticable I should myself superintend more than the first sixty-four pages” (435). A comparison of the Winchester manuscript with the published *MT* shows that he made several corrections at this stage. He must also have approved Gales’ typography and generous page layout: there is no doubt that the intention was to produce a large, impressive volume. From this time on, he would send Gales regular instalments of the work through the post: “more than three-fourths of the copy has gone, letter after letter by the post,” Dibdin noted as he approached the end of his book (436). Although he seems to imply here that the letters were sent individually to Gales, it is hard to believe that he would not have sometimes bundled several together. The Winchester manuscript supports this, a certain number of pages containing Gales’ address and post stamps but the number of these far less than the number of letters.

Dibdin’s position in late January 1788 was almost comically desperate. He had written less than a quarter of the final *MT* and brought his story up to around the end of August 1787. When he commenced serious work on the *MT* in October, he had around six months with which to catch up. Now, in January, he was still nearly five months behind himself. Yet his stated intention was to sail for India in April, by which time the *MT* needed to be completed, published, and delivered to subscribers. The only realistic solution was to accept that the *MT* would not be able to cover the entirety of the still ongoing tour. Dibdin did so, and on 17 February wrote to Gales from Newcastle, asking him to advertise that “The subscription will finally close by the fifteenth of March and the publication be out by the twenty fifth.”¹⁷ The same day he wrote a second letter to himself from the imaginary “Rev. Mr. —”, this time commencing with the dramatic injunction:

Go to INDIA—dig in mines—tempt any danger—do any thing to better your fortune—to place yourself beyond the power of such humiliation! I declare to heaven I could not sustain the mortifications that you have *smiled* at, let what might be the consideration. (132)

Two days later Dibdin replied to this in a manner that suggests he believed he was concluding the *MT*. This letter of 19 February is entitled “The Duty of a Public Man” and it sets out a general account of Dibdin’s “public conduct” before swelling to a magniloquent conclusion unlike anything he had written before:

I believe the best command and obedience within the exercise of the human mind, is a peremptory subdiction of all feelings but those which tend to the expansion of the heart, and promote the wide and benevolent circulation of universal liberality, and an implicit submission to all those moral duties which soften the manners, humanize the soul, and impel us to beneficent acts of general fraternal kindness that can alone *dignify reason*, and lift us into MANLY PREEMINENCE. (138)

Had the book concluded here, it would have been less than a third of its eventual length and detailed the tour up to the beginning of November 1787.

¹⁷. This letter is preserved in the Winchester manuscript of the *MT*, between letters 31 and 32.

But Dibdin almost immediately changed his mind. The next letter is dated the following day, 20 February, though there must be some suspicion that Dibdin backdated this in an attempt to disguise the sense of a grand terminus. The really consequential decision behind this was the determination to delay the move to India, thus allowing the tour to be extended and the publication date of the *MT* to be significantly postponed. He later obliquely explained the change of plan in a letter of 28 April 1788: “I found, should I do so [sail for India in April], I must have gone abroad in a more unpleasant way than—I thank my *able* and *willing* friends—I am now likely to do” (423). The reference seems to be primarily to the fact that, by extending the tour, he realized he could make a good deal more money. But the delay also allowed him to finish his book to his satisfaction, and to turn it into a monumental farewell to England. In the end he would not set out on his abortive journey until August.

Between 20 February and 4 March, Dibdin composed ten further letters, adopting a more summary style of narration that took advantage of the fact he had visited many places more than once. This allowed him to bring his account up to mid-December, meaning he was now only three and half months behind himself. Had Dibdin continued at this rate, he could probably have caught up with his own movements in five or six weeks. But he was now returning to Liverpool, a city which had proved particularly welcoming and supportive, and he could potentially make a lot of money there. Dibdin accordingly found himself in a dilemma: should he concentrate on his performances, and all the social networking that ensured good attendance at those performances, or should he concentrate on the *MT*? The solution he adopted is explained in the penultimate letter in the *MT*:

When I went last from SHEFFIELD to LIVERPOOL, the matter then written went no farther than Letter 44—which the reader will see is dated SHEFFIELD, March 4. As I well knew the hospitality I should find at LIVERPOOL, on my return, and the variety of pleasures that would be kindly chalked out for me, I felt myself conscious that to keep pace with Mr. GALES would be no easy matter. We therefore agreed that as soon as Letter 44 should be finished, to go on upon Letter 75, which begins *The Readings*; as, instead of *inventing*, I should in that case have nothing to do but *copy*. Thus we calculated that there would be a vacancy of thirty letters—a number sufficient to contain all that it would be necessary to say on the TOUR itself, and the statement of pieces. We outreckoned ourselves however two ways. In the first place, in bringing up the matter to page 307, instead of 305 or 309, we found ourselves entangled with an odd quarter of a sheet, and were thus obliged to have duplicates of the pages 307 and 308, though the *matter* will be found different. This will all be clearly understood by noticing that Letter 44, is dated as above SHEFFIELD, March 4, Letter 75—which begins *The Readings*—is dated LIVERPOOL, March 6, Letter 98—which finishes *The Readings*—is dated LONDON, March 22, and Letter 45—which returns again to the main subject, is dated LONDON, March 25. (438)

There is much to think about in this fascinating glimpse behind the scenes. Dibdin’s report makes it clear that, unsurprisingly, he wanted to publish the finished *Tour* as soon as possible after completing it; and that by March 1788 he had decided that the completed book should contain the full text of *Readings and Music*. His initial plan, as set out in the first letter, it may be recalled, involved “the essence of what I have delivered, at different places, under the title of READINGS and MUSIC.” It seems unlikely that he meant by that the complete, extended text of his entertainment. But what is most remarkable about the early March

plans is their grandiosity. On 4 March, Dibdin had brought his narration up to mid-December, and his book up to 183 pages. So far, then, he had worked at a rate of approximately twenty pages per month of tour. By now allowing 123 pages for the rest of the tour, he was apparently thinking it might continue to June, or, alternatively, planning a great deal more digression.

Dibdin's later working practice with his "Table Entertainments" was to write out the text he intended to perform, but then to make numerous additions, deletions and rearrangements as he continued to refine and adapt his work.¹⁸ Assuming that *Readings and Music* existed in some comparable form, Dibdin's job in Liverpool was indeed to "copy," but also to tidy and regulate. Although the epistolary format made little sense when it came to presenting a supposedly continuous dramatic text, he continued to employ it. *Readings and Music* is thus divided into no less than 24 letters, each one commencing on a new page: the headings, each occupying a third of the page, the spaces at the ends of the letters, and some added footnotes, extend the text to a remarkable 100 pages, not counting the unnumbered pages of score expanding it still further. Even the casual reader can be in no doubt that Dibdin is seeking to fill as many pages as possible. What he presents is not equivalent to any single performance of the show, but a sort of aggregate of all the versions through which it had evolved. Thus the published version in the *MT* includes 50 songs, though Dibdin's normal performance practice was to sing 24. As he notes in the passage quoted above, Dibdin prepared a text of this "ideal," extended version of the show between 6 and 22 March.

After a brief rest, on 25 March Dibdin began work on the 123-page missing section he would require to complete his volume, and that in the end needed to be 125 pages long. What Dibdin and Gales had forgotten is that the nature of the printing process meant the total number of pages prior to the new material (i.e., *Readings and Music*) needed to be divisible by four—to avoid a single leaf having to be inserted—which would have been the case had they started printing *Readings and Music* on page 305 or 309.¹⁹ Dibdin did not find it as easy to fill the gap as he apparently expected. His account of the tour proper was completed on 17 April, but this only brought him to page 249, leaving another 59 pages of additional content urgently needing to be filled. Here Dibdin announces that he will "wind up" with a "running account of places, inns, &c. and a few more gleanings," as well as more "remarks on the subject of music" and a catalogue "of my [theatrical] pieces, and the profits which arose from them" (249). It was the catalogue that served Dibdin best, for, rather absurdly divided into letters like everything else, it filled 24 pages. His original plans for the *MT* had mentioned "many theatrical transactions," but it is hard to believe that he then imagined it encompassing this sort of career overview. Given that a persistent theme of the book is Dibdin's not being properly appreciated in England—hence the intended

18. There are three manuscript volumes of Dibdin's performance texts for the "Table Entertainments" in the British Library (Add. Ms. 30,960–30,962). From these, notably, Retrospect Opera has recently been able to create a performance edition and recording of *The Wags* (1790), Dibdin's biggest success in the genre (ROo08).

19. Strictly speaking, I believe Dibdin was wrong to say they were "entangled with an odd quarter of a sheet": they were "entangled" with an odd eighth of a sheet, i.e., 2 pages.

removal to India—the catalogue allowed him to settle a few more scores and it is not too obviously out of place in what was already a very heterogeneous volume. To modern Dibdin scholars, it has proved invaluable. Dibdin completed the catalogue on 25 April, at which point he had just over 400 consecutive pages of the *MT* completed.

Dibdin was still not done. The following day he headed a new letter “The Corps de Reserve” and claimed to have “purposely reserved about forty pages for general observations” (407). These were mostly concerned with newspapers and the culture of reviewing and criticism—themes which had earlier loomed large in *The Devil*. Dibdin was, among his many other talents, a notable amateur artist who was able to exhibit at the Royal Academy in 1801, and he drew on the vocabulary of painting to justify this final section of the book: he would “rub off hardnesses, and throw in some finishing touches, to make this picture have a proper roundness and harmony in its general effects” (422). It was an awkward metaphor given that he could not change what had already been printed, and it is unlikely that any reader has ever found the book particularly harmonious: nevertheless, it is significant that Dibdin wanted his work judged this way. He dated the last letter—Letter 107—on 1 May, the day he initially closed the subscription, and the volume was finally complete. Toward the end of his labours, Dibdin claimed that the *MT* had been “written in a greater hurry than ever book was” (419). Even allowing for his proclivity to exaggeration, he surely cannot have considered this the case prior to March 1788. But nearly two-thirds of the volume had been written in March and April, and though hardly unprecedented, this was certainly impressive, especially as there is no obvious falling off in the quality of Dibdin’s writing in these months.

In this final period of intense work, Dibdin enjoyed a remarkable piece of luck which seemingly did a good deal to ensure the success of the *MT*. In a letter dated 23 April, and significantly entitled “The Coup de Theatre,” Dibdin explains that his “kindest and most generous friend” had arranged an audience for him with the Prince of Wales, the future George IV (282). This audience can be dated 5 April 1788 with some precision.²⁰ Dibdin played some twenty songs for the prince, some of them certainly drawn from *Readings and Music*, and the climax of the evening came when the future king said “I might use his name in any way that I thought would be of service to me” (283). Dibdin was thus able to dedicate—or, in his preferred term, “inscribe”—the book to the prince, “With pride of heart, humble deference, and grateful susceptibility.” The Winchester manuscript gives some idea of whom the book might have been dedicated to, had this meeting with the prince not been arranged. It contains four dedications each designed for a “single book”: to Dibdin’s wife; to William Davis (eventually the dedicatee of Dibdin’s *Collection of Songs, Selected from the Works of Mr. Dibdin* of 1790); to Thomas Preston; and to Gales. The most interesting of these is the inscription to “Mrs. Dibdin / in return for the chearfulness and kind attention

20. Dibdin says that it was the evening when “MARCHESI . . . made his first appearance at the *Opera*” (283). Luigi Marchesi was one of the most celebrated singers of his time and his London debut was seen as a major cultural event.

with which she alleviated the fatigues and inconveniences of / This Tour." She goes entirely unmentioned in the *MT* itself.

The Prince of Wales's patronage gave a late boost to the subscription and Dibdin seems to have been quite overwhelmed by it. Indeed, the royalist sentiments in the *MT* represent another aspect of this remarkable book's transformative significance in his career, for Dibdin had previously felt very differently about the House of Hanover. The major royal event during the period he published *The Devil* was the death of Princess Amelia, George III's aunt and the last surviving child of George II, on 31 October 1786. *The Devil* includes a complaint that "THE papers, and indeed the whole town [are] at this time absurdly full of the death of the Princess Amelia," and offers, as an antidote, a humorous "Impromptu":

AMELIA in the ground doth lie,
And black of course is worn in common;
Hard that so many men must dye!
In compliment to one old woman.²¹

This was probably, though not certainly, written by Dibdin, who in either case was happy to print it, as his only comment on the Princess's death. After the *MT*, such sentiments disappear from his writing, and on the contrary he went out of his way to celebrate royal events, as for example with his *Ode in Honour of the Nuptials of Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales* (1795). In the wake of the French Revolution, Dibdin's popular brand of royalism, diffused through dozens of songs, did much to shore up loyalist feeling in England.

The publication of the *MT* was set for 12 May. On 26 April, Dibdin and Gales claimed they had "nearly five Hundred" subscribers, some of whom had subscribed for multiple copies, and that the subscription would close on 1 May.²² By the time Gales printed the list of "Subscribers' Names," 557 copies were accounted for, though my own amended copy of the *MT*, seemingly used by Gales as a sort of reference copy, shows that a few subscribers had withdrawn, or been wrongly recorded in the first place. Dibdin intended to take the remaining copies to India. When the volume appeared on 12 May, an "Advertisement" at the front written by Dibdin—occupying the final leaves of the Winchester manuscript—claimed there had been a late surge of interest, with "nearly two hundred" extra copies subscribed for; Dibdin was accordingly extending the subscription to 12 June, after which a "second edition" would be printed by John Preston in London (Gales having "a prior engagement"). This may in part have been marketing hype, for I have found no evidence that any second edition was actually produced. A balanced reading of the evidence would suggest that the book was probably oversubscribed, but not to such an extent that it made sense to print a new edition. Nevertheless, despite his tendency to grumble, it seems that both the musical tour and the volume he wrote about it succeeded beyond Dibdin's expectations.

21. *The Devil* (London, 1786–87), 128 (No. VIII).

22. "Musical Tour," *Sheffield Register*, 26 April 1788, [2].

The consequences were momentous. Having worked the idea of India out of his system, the *MT* became a beginning rather than an end: Dibdin made a decision to stay in England, to entertain the public with “Table Entertainments,” and to go on writing books. His nephew, notably, was Thomas Frognall Dibdin (1776–1847), the celebrated bibliographer, whose early literary interests were very likely stimulated by his uncle’s increasingly serious commitment to the printed word.

STAGES OF COMPOSITION IN
CHARLOTTE BRONTË'S FAIR-COPY
MANUSCRIPT OF *SHIRLEY*

by

BARBARA HERITAGE

ON September 8, 1849, James Taylor traveled from London to Haworth, Yorkshire, to collect the manuscript of Charlotte Brontë's novel *Shirley* for publication.¹ His firm, Smith, Elder and Co., had been awaiting the completion of the book for nearly a year. Readers both in England and abroad were eager to read the next work by Currer Bell, whose first published novel, *Jane Eyre*, had attracted so much notice. Before that, the previously unknown writer had co-written and published only an obscure collection of poetry with Acton and Ellis Bell that few had read. The public continued to speculate about the identity of this new author, who had written with such power and originality.

Composed in three physically distinct volumes for publication as a three-volume novel, the fair-copy manuscript of *Shirley* consists of high-grade writing paper—a mixture of wove and laid folded half-sheets—copied out in a clear, legible hand with a steel-tipped dip pen. Although the first two volumes of the manuscript are each made up of about 140 bifolia or approximately 280 leaves, the third volume is noticeably longer, composed of about 160 bifolia or 320 leaves. Examining these, one finds that the novel's text has been carefully written

1. The summary description conveyed at the outset of this essay draws on my bibliographical findings, described in detail later in this work. The dates are from correspondence collected in Margaret Smith's invaluable edition, *The Letters of Charlotte Brontë* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000). For more on Taylor's invitation to Haworth, see *Letters*, 2:247. The research presented in this essay was made possible by a 2019 research award from the Willison Foundation Charitable Trust as well as a 2015 award from the Friends of Princeton University Library. I am grateful to Karen Chase, Jerome McGann, and Michael F. Suarez, S.J. for supporting those projects. A number of other colleagues greatly aided this work: Ann Dinsdale and Sarah Laycock at the Brontë Parsonage Museum provided not only access to rare and fragile materials, some of which were on display, but also expert guidance on their respective collections. Alexandra Ault, Karen Limper-Herz, Alexander Lock, and Laura Walker provided key assistance at the British Library. I am also grateful to Tim Dolin and David Vander Meulen, who both provided feedback toward the final stage of publishing this article. I am most indebted, however, to Terry Belanger, for reading this essay in its own various stages of composition during what turned out to be an unprecedented global pandemic. His biographical expertise, learned observations, and helpful suggestions improved this work at every turn. Finally, my own bibliographical research would not have been possible without his support and the early training that I received at Rare Book School. This work is dedicated to him.

out onto the recto of each leaf. (Only two leaves contain any content from the novel on their versos.) The upper right-hand corner of each leaf bears numbering in brown ink. At the beginning of the manuscript, the sequence appears to be regular enough. But starting in the second volume, the brown-ink numbers have been crossed out and replaced by a new series written in red ink that continues to the end of the third volume.

The manuscript's widely spaced lines provide ample room for alterations to its text. Although some leaves bear no revisions at all, most reflect at least some kind of change, whether the crossing-out of a sentence, the re-wording of a phrase, or the insertion of new writing in the author's clear hand. More remarkable though are other, more structural changes: a number of the manuscript's leaves exhibit large excisions—conspicuous gaps where portions of paper have been cut out with a blade. Some leaves are two-thirds of their original size, while others are less than half the height of other full leaves in the manuscript. One leaf has been sliced down to a small fragment containing just a few lines.

These gaping excisions appear to have been made with a pen knife. The edges where the unwanted parts have been excised are jagged—not the smooth continuous cuts made by scissors. It is likely that some, but not all, of the leaves bearing excisions were still conjugate, over the fold, with their companion leaves, when Brontë gave the manuscript to Taylor on September 8. In addition, some of the manuscript's quires, or groupings of nested bifolia, would likely have appeared to have been opened or sliced along their conjugate folds and then rearranged.² And some singleton leaves would have been inserted in various places.³

Upon Taylor's return to London, the fair-copy manuscript was probably reviewed by Brontë's publisher, George Smith, before being delivered to the printing house of Stewart and Murray, where it served as the printer's copy. There, the remaining folds of the manuscript's gatherings would have been opened with a knife or paper cutter, dismantling the manuscript's nested bifolia into individual leaves, and enabling their circulation in small batches among the

2. I discuss the manuscript's quire structure, as well as the sale of stationery in quires, in more detail below. There are instances where entire leaves were fully excised from the manuscript volumes, which would have necessitated splitting the manuscript's bifolia. For example, a leaf occurring in volume 2, which would have been numbered in pencil and brown ink as 374, is missing from Brontë's brown-ink numbering sequence in volume 2. It was removed as part of a revision to "Mr. Donne's Exodus" that entailed partial excisions to neighboring leaves 373 and 375 (BM ff. 94 and 95). The excisions and removal of the leaf, in this instance, pertain to a conversation in which the novel's heroines, Caroline Helstone and Shirley Keeldar, are discussing Robert Moore's guarded interest in Caroline. The extracted leaf, which almost certainly contained Shirley's outspoken thoughts on the matter ("In what way does it pique you?"), was removed by Brontë as part of the third stage of the manuscript's composition—before the "C" stage of red ink numbering, a process also described in more detail below.

3. This aspect of the manuscript's composition, described in more detail below, is evident in the occasional insertion of odd numbers of leaves, given that the manuscript was in large part composed on bifolia.

compositors.⁴ In the printing house, each chapter of the manuscript was divided among the men, who would set their particular portion into type. Wilson began work on leaves one through three, his name appearing in pencil on the first recto of the batch. The name of another compositor, Courtney, appears at the head of the first full paragraph on the recto of the fourth leaf; he started setting the next few pages. Ross began work at the paragraph beginning on the middle of the seventh leaf, and Walter Beck (signed as "Walter") took the first full paragraph beginning on the tenth leaf. Robertson started with the thirteenth leaf—Allen, with the sixteenth leaf. Bicknell began with the nineteenth leaf and set the end of the chapter. And so the crew of compositors worked, collectively setting each handwritten chapter into type. The dust and grime from the sorts of lead type dirtied their hands, which sullied the fine linen paper of the manuscript with their fingerprints.

Within a matter of days, Charlotte Brontë received by mail the first proof sheets of her novel, along with suggested revisions from James Taylor and W. S. Williams, her readers at Smith, Elder.⁵ By September 17, she had marked up and returned the first batch of proof sheets for review by her publishers, who would then have sent the corrected sheets to the printing house.⁶ As part of this multi-stage process, Brontë agreed, at the suggestion of her publisher, to rewrite in English an essay that had appeared in French in the third volume of the manuscript; for this purpose, she asked for the return of the requisite portion. Her editors received and approved the new leaves of the manuscript⁷ and the proofs passed quickly back and forth between Haworth and London. A set was sent to New York to Harper & Brothers, which had paid George Smith £50 for the "first sheets of Currer Bell's new work" on September 20.⁸ The novel

4. The fair-copy manuscripts for *Jane Eyre* and *Villette* also served as printer's copy. As with the manuscript for *Shirley*, both were divided among the compositors, with sections of each chapter distributed to various typesetters. This procedure conformed with the general practices summarized by the printer William Savage, who notes: "Copy is generally given out to the compositor in regular portions . . . if in manuscript, a chapter, or section, as it may be; for the compositor has never the whole volume in his hands at once, excepting it be bound and not allowed to be cut up, or taken to pieces." See *A Dictionary of the Art of Printing* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1841), 187. The printer Caleb Stower advises: "With manuscript copy it will be better to take one from the other in such a manner as not in the smallest degree to delay the imposition, or block up the letter; that is, that no compositor may retain the making up too long by holding too large a taking of copy." See *The Compositor's and Pressman's Guide to the Art of Printing* (London: B. Crosby and Co., 1808), 93.

5. Brontë had received the proofs by at least September 13; she wrote to W. S. Williams that day, questioning him on a matter "censured" by Taylor in the proofs returned to her. See *Letters*, 2:251.

6. *Letters*, 2:255.

7. *Letters*, 2:266.

8. This entry, which is not listed in Christopher Feeney's *Index to the Archives of Harper and Brothers, 1817–1914*, has been documented in detail by Eleanor Houghton in her chapter "Charlotte Brontë's Moccasins: The Wild West Brought Home," in *Charlotte Brontë, Embodiment and the Material World*, ed. Justine Pizzo and Eleanor Houghton (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 179. See Harper and Brothers, "Contract Book 1846–1898," 19, Reel 1/58, in *Harper and Brothers Archives—Microfilm*, Film no: 1266 (Cambridge: Chadwyck Healey).

was published in London on October 26 and later in New York on November 22.⁹ The proofs that Harper & Brothers received, however, did not reflect all of Brontë's final corrections for the first London edition.¹⁰ Harper & Brothers would silently correct their own text—either from updated corrected proofs or from a copy of the London edition.

Today, the manuscript of *Shirley* is housed at the British Library (BL), where it is shelved alongside the fair-copy manuscripts of *Jane Eyre* and *Villette*, as well as with manuscripts written by Robert Browning, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, and William Makepeace Thackeray—volumes donated to the library as part of the George Smith Memorial Bequest, which was initially made in 1914 upon the death of Elizabeth Smith, George Smith's widow. In 1933, the Smith children

9. For the London publication date, see *Letters*, 2:270. The earliest American advertisement for *Shirley* appears in the November 20, 1849, issue of the *Evening Post* (NY), which announced the novel's publication next Thursday morning. The *Newark Daily Advertiser* (NJ) reported receiving a copy of the book on November 22, 1849. Thanks to Vincent Golden for his assistance in locating these early ads.

10. When I began comparing copies of the first American edition with the manuscript and first London edition in the autumn of 2020, I discovered a series of variants in the earliest state of the last chapter of the first American edition that are reflected in the fair-copy MS, but not in the first London edition, as printed by Smith, Elder. My curiosity had been spurred by an observation made by Walter E. Smith, who noted in *The Brontë Sisters: A Bibliographical Catalogue* (Los Angeles: Heritage Book Shop, 1991) the presence of additional text on p. 206 of "some copies" of the first American edition in wrappers, published by Harper & Brothers (HB) in 1849, that was not present in any of the other editions he had seen: "You may meet these two again, reader, one day, or you may not; none but the presumptuous promise for the future: we know not what a day or an hour may bring forth" (Smith, 125). Smith did not trace this variant to the MS; but when I did, I found numerous other instances that clearly show that the English proofs initially used to compose the first American edition did not reflect Brontë's final text for the first London edition, but rather an earlier set of proofs that retained language from the MS and that were later altered or removed as part of subsequent proof-stage revisions. For example, on p. 203 in the second column of the first HB edition, the text reads: "a rose-tree, transplanted from the Hollow, which bloomed"—language appearing in the MS (BM f. 311); the Smith, Elder (SE) edition reads: "a rose-tree, which bloomed" (p. 306). Page 206 of the HB edition reads "stone or brick and ashes," as with the MS (BM f. 322), while the SE edition reads "stone and brick and ashes" (p. 316). Some instances include early text entirely removed from Smith Elder's edition of the novel. For example, the following text appears on BM f. 306 of the MS and in column two on p. 202 of the HB edition, but not in the SE edition: "I don't know whether I have duly disposed of all minor characters; I fear not; but if any friend wishes to know more, a note addressed to Mr. Currer Bell, Hay-lane Cottage, Hay, near Millcote, may be expected to meet with prompt attention. I confess this promise seems given in rather equivocal terms—no matter: the experiment, if approved, might be tried." A full list of variants from the first state of the N gathering of the HB edition will appear in a forthcoming critical edition of *Shirley* that I am co-editing with Tim Dolin for Cambridge University Press. These variants provide valuable additional insight into the texts of the proofs, which are no longer extant. I also located variants at the end of the first printing of the HB edition of *Villette* that correlate with the surviving proofs for *Villette* located in Sterling Library, University of London.

relinquished their remaining life-interest in the manuscripts, donating them to the national institution.¹¹

The manuscript volumes are bound in three-quarter leather bindings that Charlotte Brontë never saw. The manuscript's individual leaves are mounted on paper guards that she never touched, and some of the leaves have been repaired with paper made more than a century after her death. New leaves have been bound into the volumes, too, to replace ones that seemed to be missing—and the manuscript has been foliated in a later hand. The manuscript is the only witness that remains of Charlotte Brontë's second novel. No other drafts survive.¹²

Modern manuscripts—that is, materials created after 1700 CE—greatly outnumber holdings of early modern, medieval, and ancient manuscript material in most research libraries.¹³ Although many important studies have been conducted on modern literary manuscripts,¹⁴ most English-language bibliographical scholarship

11. For documentation on the George Smith Memorial Bequest, see [http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/dlDisplay.do?docId=IAMSo32-002056382&vid=IAMS_VU2&indx=1&dym=false&dscnt=1&onCampus=false&group=ALL&institution=BL&ct=search&vl\(freeTexto\)=032-002056382](http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/dlDisplay.do?docId=IAMSo32-002056382&vid=IAMS_VU2&indx=1&dym=false&dscnt=1&onCampus=false&group=ALL&institution=BL&ct=search&vl(freeTexto)=032-002056382), accessed December 20, 2020.

12. Some have speculated that the MS referred to as "John Henry" (RTCor, no. 194, Princeton University) is an early draft of *Shirley*. Historical and textual evidence show, however, that the MS is almost certainly an early draft of *The Professor*. My research on this topic is forthcoming in an essay that will appear in a new scholarly edition of *The Professor*, edited by Sara L. Pearson, to be published by Cambridge University Press.

13. Exact numbers are difficult to gauge, but the following data provides some sense of the numbers. A search conducted on October 24, 2020, for all records in WorldCat that include "manuscript" as part of the material description of holdings yielded 655,631 results for entries dating from year 1 to 1700, and 13,160,994 results for entries dating from 1701 to 2020. Of the 210,122 manuscripts and archives held by the British Library, 55,062 date before 1700, while 155,070 date from after 1700. The Morgan Library & Museum owns 2,262 medieval and Renaissance manuscripts, as compared to 62,452 "literary and historical" manuscripts.

14. Scholarship conducted on Emily Dickinson's poetry manuscripts is well known, including R. W. Franklin's foundational edition, *The Manuscript Books of Emily Dickinson* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1981) and Marta L. Werner's *Emily Dickinson's Open Folios: Scenes of Reading, Surfaces of Writing* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), as well as more recent studies, such as Cristanne Miller's *Emily Dickinson's Poems as She Preserved Them* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016). Other notable and influential studies of manuscripts include: Charles Robinson's study of Mary Shelley's "Frankenstein notebooks," which includes highly detailed information, such as beta-radiographs of the watermarks found in the notebooks; Fredson Bowers' bibliographical scholarship on the manuscripts of Walt Whitman, including *Whitman's Manuscripts: Leaves of Grass (1860): A Parallel Text* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, [1955]); William M. Gibson's study of Mark Twain's *The Mysterious Stranger Manuscripts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969); and Hans Walter Gabler's work on James Joyce's manuscripts. This is, of course, just a small sample of the important work that has been done on modern literary manuscripts. In addition, recent approaches, such as efforts in the so-called genetic editing of manuscripts, have brought increased attention to the study of modern literary manuscripts in Europe, particularly in France and Germany.

on manuscripts still concentrates on pre-modern documents.¹⁵ The term “codicology” therefore may hold little meaning for English-language scholars interested in nineteenth-century materials.¹⁶ Even so, this systematic way of studying the structures of manuscripts takes into account all kinds of material evidence crucial for understanding how authors composed their works. Supplies such as writing instruments, inks, and paper stocks, along with processes such as ruling, copying, excising and inserting, paginating, and binding, can usefully (and sometimes critically) inform our understanding of how writing is composed, revised, or otherwise altered. Additional information, including how individuals other than authors (e.g., printers, publishers, later owners, bookbinders, curators, and conservators) have altered manuscripts, is essential for understanding exactly whose “hands”—and whose handiwork—we see when we ourselves handle and study these artifacts.

It may surprise some readers that the Brontës’ literary manuscripts have not yet received this kind of close codicological and bibliographical attention, given the sisters’ international fame and cultural stature. Scholars have tended to rely on biographical explanations for interpreting the Brontës’ manuscripts. Some of these assessments have focused on the patriarchal systems and cultural conditions that challenged and limited the work of nineteenth-century women writers. Other accounts have traced the Brontës’ writing practices to imaginative and even unconscious, trance-like states.¹⁷ Few have attempted a more holistic and methodical examination of the documents’ material construction.

In the case of *Shirley*, Charlotte Brontë made numerous partial-leaf excisions to her fair-copy manuscript in the late spring and summer of 1849 as part of late-stage revisions to its text before handing over the manuscript to her publisher in September of that year. These visible extractions have intrigued and puzzled the handful of scholars and editors who have worked closely with the novel’s three manuscript volumes. Most of these writers have discussed the excisions in connec-

¹⁵. Of the four leading English-language scholarly journals specifically devoted to manuscript studies, three focus exclusively on pre-modern documents: *Manuscripta*, *Scripta*, and *Manuscript Studies*. The notable outlier is *Manuscript Cultures*, a periodical founded in 2008 that is published in both English and German by the University of Hamburg’s Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures. *Manuscripta*, founded in 1957 and currently edited by Gregory Pass, publishes research on medieval and Renaissance manuscripts, with a focus on “material aspects of the production, distribution, reception, and transmission of pre-modern manuscripts”; <https://www.brepols.net/series/MSS>, accessed August 19, 2022. *Scripta: An International Journal of Codicology and Palaeography*, started in 2008 and edited by Fabrizio Serra, publishes scholarship in English, French, and Italian that focuses on the intersection of ancient and medieval manuscripts, with an emphasis on “the history of written manuscripts in European and Mediterranean civilization”; <http://www.libraweb.net/riviste.php?chiave=89>, accessed August 19, 2022. The journal *Manuscript Studies*, recently launched in 2016 by the University of Pennsylvania’s Schoenberg Institute for Manuscript Studies, “embraces the full complexity of global manuscript studies in the digital age,” while maintaining a focus on “pre-modern” manuscript cultures; <https://mss.pennpress.org/home/>, accessed August 19, 2022. *English Manuscript Studies, 1100–1700*, which ran from 1989 to 2007, did not include research on modern manuscripts.

¹⁶. Donald H. Reiman’s monograph *The Study of Modern Manuscripts: Public, Confidential, and Private* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993) makes only a passing reference to developments in codicology and paleography in the preface of his work (ix).

¹⁷. Barbara Heritage, “Reading the Writing Desk: Charlotte Brontë’s Instruments and Authorial Craft,” in “Romantic Women and their Books,” ed. Michelle Levy and Andrew Stauffer, special issue, *Studies in Romanticism* 60, no. 4 (Winter 2021): 509–10.

tion with the deaths of Charlotte Brontë's three remaining siblings—Branwell, Emily, and Anne—which took place while the novel was still awaiting completion. They have described with poignance the deep grief that Brontë endured, and they have speculated about the particular challenges that she likely faced in response to her profound loss—accounts that have impressed subsequent generations of readers and writers. At the same time, the perceived impact of this loss has overshadowed other details of importance pertaining to the manuscript: why the excisions were made, when they were made, and how they relate to the overall material structure of the manuscript in its many stages of composition.

The present study offers a fresh interpretation of the manuscript and, by extension, Charlotte Brontë's own practices as a woman writer. Here I have attempted to provide an intensive analysis of the manuscript's physical features—its paper, leaf and page numbering, inks, excisions, and insertions—by drawing on a variety of bibliographical and codicological methods that, taken together, yield new insight into Brontë's compositional practices. The evidence resulting from this analysis calls into question standard critical accounts of how the manuscript was composed and edited. My findings include the discovery of late additions, significant expansions, and previously undetected revisions that are documented within the very structure of the manuscript. Hidden within plain sight, these changes bear silent but powerful witness to Brontë's strategic approach to crafting her narrative. At the same time, when interpreted alongside Brontë's correspondence, these alterations to the manuscript tell a more nuanced story of the woman writer at work. Among the strata of the manuscript's leaves, we can trace gaps in writing when Brontë was primarily serving as a caregiver for her dying siblings. The manuscript was inadvertently shaped by these caregiving duties, which required Brontë's emotional and physical attention and which often took priority over the labor of writing itself. The manuscript thus makes material the kinds of hard, practical challenges that women writers such as Charlotte Brontë faced in caring for their families while pursuing careers as authors.

Modern manuscripts, like all historical artifacts, are subject to alteration and modification over time—their handling by compositors and press readers, the sequences of their leaves (whether unbound or as the result of a later binding process), and even their contents, in the event that new leaves are introduced or existing leaves are repaired. In the case of *Shirley*, the manuscript has been significantly altered through interventions made by those who have been in contact with it over more than a century and a half.

The manuscript volumes thus present various strata of data—different forms of handwriting, numbering, and leaf placement—that are the result of various agencies at work, sometimes with different intentions that are not clearly delineated as such. The surviving manuscript of *Shirley* is not just the product of one individual, but of many—not a solo aria, but rather like a chorus that is, at times, discordant. Just as one must attune one's ear to identify different voices and instruments in the study of music, we must train our eyes to read various hands and the work of their tools.

Brontë composed *Shirley* as a three-volume novel, and its narrative is contingent on its intended format in three parts, its word count, its pacing—and, as we

shall see, its physical structure. Each of the three novels that Charlotte Brontë wrote and that were published during her lifetime—*Jane Eyre*, *Shirley*, and *Villette*¹⁸—were formulated and composed for publication as three-volume novels in print.¹⁹ Her publisher specifically sought novels in this format to meet the demands of circulating libraries, whose terms and conditions, in turn, proved lucrative for both parties.²⁰ As others have noted, the divisions between volumes were integral to the novel's overall structure and plot.²¹ The complex editorial process underlying *Shirley*'s own three-volume structure is made apparent, in part, by evidence found in paper stocks—a bibliographical analysis that can usefully inform our critical interpretations with regard not only to the novel's shape, but also its meaning.

Since *Shirley*'s initial publication in 1849, much of the criticism on the novel has had to do with the unity of its structure or the lack thereof. George Henry Lewes, who had so warmly championed *Jane Eyre* after its publication in 1847, asserts in an unsigned review that Currer Bell's second published novel is “not a picture; but a portfolio of random sketches.”²² He writes: “The book may be laid down at any chapter, and almost any chapter might be omitted.”²³ This strand of criticism has continued in various forms into the twenty-first century. Various rationales have been proposed for Brontë's organization of *Shirley*. The novel's collage-like quality, perceived as a flaw by Lewes for its lack of “artistic fusion,”²⁴ has been interpreted by others as a deliberate, experimental approach. For instance, in her chapter “The Terrible Handwriting: *Shirley*,” Heather Glen interprets *Shirley* as a “self-conscious play with the fictional medium itself”²⁵—a heteroglossia, cacophony of voices not unlike the Tower of Babel, which, as Glen shows, was both the subject of other artists known to the Brontës and a shaping influence on them.²⁶

In their respective analyses and opposing views, Lewes and Glen both gesture toward physical media—the portfolio and handwriting—to make their points. But for Lewes and Glen, these analogies are merely figurative; they are not intended to refer to the actual physical presentation of Brontë's manuscript, which holds little interest for them, despite the intriguing parallels their comparisons suggest. Lewes speaks of the “portfolio” of the visual artist, while Glen considers not the handwrit-

18. Charlotte Brontë's first full novel, *The Professor*, was not written as a three-volume novel, and was published only after her death in 1857.

19. Brontë dated the end of the first volume *Shirley*, for example, and sent it separately to her publishers for review in February 1849. For an analysis of the three-volume format of the fair-copy manuscript of *Jane Eyre* and its composition as such, see Barbara Heritage, “Authors and Bookmakers: *Jane Eyre* in the Marketplace,” *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 106, no. 4 (2012): 449–85 (472–75).

20. It was Brontë, however, who determined the content, pacing, and divisions. See “Authors and Bookmakers,” 472–75.

21. See “Novelists, Novels, and the Establishment: From George Eliot and George Gissing: The Novelist's Viewpoint,” in Guinevere L. Griest's *Mudie's Circulating Library & the Victorian Novel* (Newton Abbot, Devon: David & Charles, 1970), 87–119.

22. Lewes, “*Shirley: a Tale*. By Currer Bell, Author of ‘Jane Eyre,’” *The Edinburgh Review*, no. 183 (January 1850): 160.

23. Lewes, “*Shirley*,” 159.

24. *Ibid.*

25. Heather Glen, *Charlotte Bronte: The Imagination in History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 147.

26. Glen, *Imagination in History*, 168–69.

ing of manuscripts but rather “that terrible handwriting of human destiny, illness and death,” as perceived by George Eliot²⁷—a grappling with the grave consequences of sickness, social isolation, and loss that, indeed, mark the novel’s very core.

At the same time, these comparisons raise tantalizing questions both about the circumstances underlying the creation of the manuscript and the ways in which scholars have talked about its composition. Is there any evidence in the manuscript that accounts for the novel’s feeling of disunity or discord? Is this sense of random disjunction, observed by Lewes and others, reflected in the actual structure of the manuscript itself? Any attempt to address these questions requires a close study of the document and its physical construction.

I. THE CURRENT STATE OF THE MANUSCRIPT

Even a quick glance at the fair-copy manuscript of *Shirley* suggests that many hands have modified the manuscript since it left Charlotte Brontë’s custody. Currently, volumes 1 and 3 are three-quarter bound in boards covered in brown goatskin and fine-grained book cloth. These recent bindings date from August 1976, when volumes 1 and 3 of the manuscript were rebound by the BL,²⁸ according to a “Record of Treatment” tipped in onto the rectos of the first of three rear free endpapers.²⁹ Volume 2 of the manuscript is still in a binding that was likely commissioned by Brontë’s publisher, George Smith. The binding of volume 2 consists of worn, three-quarter tan calf and boards covered in marbled paper, in a manner typical of the last quarter of the nineteenth century; the volume contains light brown uncoated endpapers with a single flyleaf at the front appearing to have been introduced as part of the binding process.³⁰ When the BL later rebound volumes 1 and 3 in 1976, the binders discarded the endpapers, but they

27. Glen, *Imagination in History*, 186.

28. The spines of the 1976 rebind are decorated as follows: covered in brown goatskin, they feature six compartments and five raised bands (double ruling in blind around each raised band). Reading from the head of the spine down: the top compartment is empty, except for a new, white shelf mark label that reads “\$667 | A”; the second compartment contains a deep maroon spine label that reads as follows: “[double rule in gold] | SHIRLEY [in gold] | [single rule in gold] | M. S. S. [in gold] | [double rule in gold]”; the third compartment is empty; the fourth compartment contains the following lettering tooled in gold: “VOL. | I [III]”; the fifth compartment contains the following text tooled in gold: “GEORGE SMITH | MEMORIAL | VOL. IV [VI]”; the sixth compartment contains the following text tooled in gold: “BRITISH LIBRARY | ADDITIONAL | MS. | 43,477 [43,479]”.

29. The record of treatment documents that “RS” examined volume 1 of the manuscript, Add MS 43477, “after binding” on 24.8.76. Volume 3, Add MS 43479, is also documented as having been examined by “RS” on the same day.

30. The following is a description for the spine of volume 2. The original spine is of brown leather (appears to be calf) with six compartments and five raised bands (each raised band tooled in gold with double rule) with a deep maroon spine label located in the second compartment (“SHIRLEY”) tooled in gold: top compartment blank, aside from a sticker label with the old shelfmark “670” canceled in pencil; in second compartment from top: “[double rule in gold] | SHIRLEY. | [single rule] | M. S. S. | [double rule in gold]”; third compartment empty; fourth compartment: “VOL. | II”; fifth compartment: “GEORGE SMITH | MEMORIAL | VOL. V”; sixth compartment: “BRIT. MUS. | ADDITIONAL | MS. | 43,478. | [old shelf mark label at bottom with the following letter in pencil] B”. These library markings were tooled onto the spine in the twentieth century.

retained the older fly-leaves and preserved the original spines of the nineteenth-century bindings by gluing them onto the front pastedowns of the new bindings. The lower compartments of all three original spines bear the British Museum's library manuscript number stamped in gold.³¹

Although such information may seem peripheral to the study of Brontë's own document, it is crucial for any editor or critic to note. Any time a book is rebound, additional materials can be introduced into its structure; the leaves of a manuscript can be removed or added to—or reorganized and joined in various ways—particularly in this case, in which they have been supplemented and altered. Often binders and conservators will make repairs to paper leaves as part of the rebinding process. Such alterations can materially influence the shape of a work. (I once discovered, for instance, that one of Brontë's early manuscripts, held in a leading research library, had been rearranged and digitized out of order after it had been treated by a conservator, who was presumably well intentioned but apparently unfamiliar with the manuscript's textual contents.) Today, professional conservators routinely and very carefully document their alterations to books, a trend that started in the 1970s according to Cathleen Baker.³² In the nineteenth century, however, bookbinders who performed restoration work did not usually note their modifications. Even with respect to changes made in the twentieth century, one cannot rely on accurate recordkeeping. For example, the BL has no documentation available outlining any former alterations made to the paper leaves of the manuscript volumes of *Shirley*—a troubling oversight, as this valuable manuscript bears many excisions and repairs, as well as additions and rearrangements.

To undertake my study, I created a table to document the manuscript's paper stocks, its multiple forms of leaf and page numbering, its writing media (i.e., different colored inks and pencil), its excisions, the compositors' markup, and other notable features (e.g., paper repairs, sewing holes, &c.). Using a light sheet, I moved through the manuscript, page by page, recording this information for all of its 896 leaves; I performed this work at the BL twice, first in 2017, and then again in 2019 to check my earlier work and to record additional details about the manuscript's leaf and page numbering, which turned out to be more complicated than expected.

Paper-based evidence confirms that one full wove leaf (vol. 1, BM f. 215) was added to the manuscript as part of its nineteenth-century binding—an alteration that was also documented by the British Museum staff when they officially accessioned the manuscript in 1949.³³ This full leaf apparently replaced a fragment of a leaf that had been so heavily excised by Brontë and, consequently, so small,

31. The British Museum accessioned the manuscript of *Shirley* only in 1949. The BM, however, routinely toolled information onto non-institutional bindings during that time period—a fact worth noting, given that this alteration was not documented in writing. I am grateful to Karen Limper-Herz both for confirming that this was a practice of the BM, and for sharing her opinion about the date of the original bindings. We both independently determined that they dated from the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

32. Cathleen Baker addressed this issue as part of a discussion she led on RBS Online in October 28, 2020: "How Making Paper by Hand and by Machine Impacts Its Characteristics."

33. The note reads: "the blank leaf between ff.214 & 216, inserted in place of the original f. 215, was in its present position when the MS. was received in the B.M." The note is written in blue pen on the label appearing on the verso of the first of three endpapers at the back of volume 1, Add MS 43477.

that it appears to have been lost before the manuscript was first bound at the instruction of George Smith.³⁴ Later, another full wove leaf (BM f. 22, vol. 1) seems to have been added by the BL conservators during the 1976 rebinding to fill in a gap in the manuscript's foliation—an omission, notably, in the numbering to the leaves falling between the novel's first and second chapters, but entailing no loss to the text.³⁵ We will return to this detail, which is significant.

Drawing on this evidence, as well as the chronology of the binding work itself, we can deduce who made the paper repairs to Brontë's partial-leaf excisions. Except for two early repairs made by Brontë herself, all of the repairs to the leaves in the second volume of the manuscript appear to have been made as part of the nineteenth-century binding.³⁶ How can one tell? The second volume was not rebound by the BL, and so many of the leaves (particularly those whose partial-leaf excisions run the full width of the leaf) could not have been guarded or safely patched without first disbinding the volume. Notably, the red ink of the British Museum stamp, applied to the versos of select leaves of the manuscript when it was accessioned in 1949, appears on top of one of these pre-existing repairs (BM f. 10). Of the fifteen partial-leaf excisions³⁷ in volume 2 unrepaired by Brontë, only four (or 27%) were patched with new partial leaves pasted onto the versos of the leaves to stabilize them.³⁸ The glue used to affix these nineteenth-century patches has damaged the manuscript's leaves in places, probably owing

34. Following the text of the 1849 London edition of *Shirley*, this missing fragment would have read as follows, "where, and whom she would. Rose was to have a fine, generous soul, a noble intellect profoundly cultivated, a heart as true as steel, but the manner to attract was not to be hers." (See p. 204 of volume 1 of the London edition, printed by Smith, Elder, or p. 174 of the Clarendon edition.) Presumably, the excised text that followed the fragment pertained to Rose Yorke's inability to attract others. This interpretation must remain speculative, given that the proof sheets do not survive.

35. Unlike BM f. 215, this blank leaf was not noted as being in the manuscript when it was accessioned. Also, this leaf was not foliated with the other leaves in 1949, and it matches the same wove paper used to mount all of the leaves for the 1976 BL rebinding.

36. Both of the repairs made by Brontë in volume 2 entail textual changes in the running texts falling on BM ff. 270 and 280. BM f. 270 consists of two joined fragments of leaves: the first fragment is 8.65 cm tall (9 lines); the second fragment is 6 cm tall (6 lines). Both are 18.5 cm wide (as with all other leaves in the MS). Both the cut at the bottom edge of the upper fragment and the cut at the top edge of the lower fragment are wavy, suggesting that Brontë excised a portion of text from the middle of a full leaf, and then joined the upper and lower fragments together. The upper leaf is pasted on top of the upper portion of the lower leaf. No marginal stub from the original MS appears to be present, suggesting that the leaf may have been a singleton—hence the necessity for joining the fragments resulting from the excision. BM f. 280 consists of a similar case: two fragments of leaves were mended together; the upper leaf is pasted on top of upper portion of the lower leaf. The upper fragment measures from 4.1 to 5 cm in height, and the lower fragment 11.2 to 11.7 cm in height. Taken together, the entire mended leaf measures 16 cm tall.

37. There are 17 partial-leaf excisions in volume 2; yet one of them, BM f. 159, which has been "counted" as an excision by past editors and tracked as such in this study, is likely a half-leaf insertion that entailed no removal of text from the MS.

38. It appears that the aim of that first series of nineteenth-century repairs was to stabilize vulnerable leaves that had been heavily excised in the middle—but not the half-sheet excisions or smaller excisions made by Brontë to the tops or bottoms of leaves. The wove paper used to repair these leaves appears to match the aforementioned white wove paper at BM f. 215, vol. 1, which consists of a blank leaf paginated in pencil brackets in a nineteenth-century hand.

to the adhesive's high acidic content. In addition, these older repairs³⁹ are identifiable as such, as they bear visible acid damage from the iron gall ink that Brontë used—damage that is not yet visible on the more recent repairs made to the manuscript in the twentieth century.⁴⁰

In contrast, four (or 57%) of the seven leaves bearing partial-leaf excisions in BL-bound volume 3 have been repaired. These patches appear to be made with paper matching the blank, unpaginated, full wove cream-colored leaf (BM f. 22, vol. 1) inserted into volume 1 during the 1976 rebind, as well as the paper of the new guards used to mount the leaves in volumes 1 and 3 as part of the conservation and rebinding process. The paste used to make these repairs does not exhibit the damage evident to the earlier repairs made in volume 2. And, tellingly, the BM stamp appears neither on these repairs nor in the center of unrepaired leaves (as it does in the second volume), but rather on the remaining fragmentary portions at the margins of the leaves (e.g., BM ff. 99 and 100, vol. 3). Why is this so? Either the excised central portions of these leaves were still unrepaired and missing when the BM accessioned and stamped the binding nearly thirty years earlier; or cruder repairs already made in the nineteenth century were replaced by the BL as part of the 1976 conservation of manuscript volumes 1 and 3. Residual damage to the paper affecting the original leaf, but not to the wove repair itself, suggests that the latter could have been the case. No repairs were made to the four excisions in volume 1, beyond the two leaves that Brontë mended herself (BM ff. 126 and 144).⁴¹

2. BRONTË'S ALTERATIONS TO THE MANUSCRIPT

Having established the scope of the binders' and conservators' interventions, we can now turn to Charlotte Brontë's own work with the volumes. This aspect of the manuscript requires more interpretation and bibliographical analysis, as much of the evidence pertaining to Brontë's own alterations has been either destroyed or hidden.

The current manuscript consists of 896 leaves, including both the leaf added during the BL rebinding and the replacement leaf added during the nineteenth-century binding of the manuscript. Volume 1 contains 284 leaves; volume 2 consists of 289 leaves; and volume 3 includes 323 leaves. Volume 3 appears to have been originally planned on a scale similar with volumes 1 and 2, but, as we shall see, it was expanded in the late stages of the novel's composition. In all, Brontë's fair copy would have consisted of 895 leaves.

39. See, for example, the repair to BM f. 10, vol. 2.

40. For a detailed description of nineteenth-century writing ink, see chapter three, pp. 33–46, of Thomas Griffiths' *The Writing Desk and Its Contents* (London: John W. Parker, 1844).

41. With respect to BM f. 126, vol. 1, Brontë added a footnote that was likely included to replace a stanza of poetry that was probably excised. With respect to BM f. 144, it appears as though she removed two lines from within the leaf following the poem and preceding the narrator's wry comment about the poem *not* reflecting on the relationship between Caroline and Robert Moore. The fragments were joined by Brontë, but a gap remains unrepaired following "Robin-a-Ree."

The manuscript contains a number of conspicuous partial-leaf excisions that require interpretation. Although one critic has speculated that the paper was cut away with sewing scissors, it is more likely that Brontë made the excisions with the blade of a quill cutter⁴² to remove portions of leaves (and their text) from the manuscript during various stages of its composition and revision. I note 28 partial-leaf excisions made by Brontë—just one more than was identified by Herbert Rosengarten and Margaret Smith, the editors of the 1979 Clarendon edition, which remains the most textually authoritative edition of the novel to date.⁴³ Rosengarten and Smith argue that these partial-leaf excisions, combined with other revisions to the document, “reflect Charlotte’s difficulties in writing the novel.”⁴⁴ Surveying the many changes made to volumes 2 and 3, they note Brontë’s “dark and desolate” period of bereavement in 1849,⁴⁵ and they argue that, when compared to the fair-copy manuscript volumes of *Jane Eyre*, the manuscript volumes of *Shirley* offer “physical evidence of Charlotte’s greater uncertainty of composition and more laborious revision.”⁴⁶ Notably, the Clarendon editors rely on a biographical explanation for many of these changes, including the weight of Emily Brontë’s death on her sister: the “painful, even raw, reality, that will not, perhaps, easily be adapted into the fictional framework.”⁴⁷ One comes away with the overwhelming sense that the excisions to the manuscript are akin to scars—physical scars—resulting from the real and multiple traumas that Brontë endured while writing it. Recently this sentiment has been echoed, if not somewhat distorted, by another critic, who characterizes the manuscript as “a text of grief” that “makes material a sorrowful mind.”⁴⁸ Yet, while the death of Charlotte Brontë’s sisters unquestionably influenced the writing of the novel, this tendency to interpret the manuscript through the lens of biography has obscured our understanding of it. So powerful has been the pull of this wrenching

42. I discuss these aspects in more detail below with respect to Ileana Marin’s study of the manuscript.

43. The Clarendon edition of *Shirley* uses the first edition as its copy text, and incorporates emendations “wherever possible” from the manuscript or second edition. As part of that enterprise, editors Rosengarten and Smith attempt to identify all of the significant revisions that Brontë made to the manuscript; their careful analysis was limited, however, by their methods in examining the manuscript itself. The various states of the manuscript and its stages of composition become evident when analyzing the paper stocks along with the manuscript’s multiple forms of leaf/page numbering. The Clarendon editors do not identify the former (it was not part of the scope of their project), and they document the latter only in part. Notably, the final page-numbering so often referred to by scholars was not made by Brontë at all, but rather was the work of BM curators who foliated the manuscript in the twentieth century—circumstances that I describe in more detail below.

44. *Shirley*, Clarendon edition, xxvi.

45. Ibid.

46. *Shirley*, Clarendon edition, xxvii.

47. In *The Brontë Cabinet*, Deborah Lutz claims that the “alterations and deletions multiply” in volume 3—the portion of the manuscript written after Anne’s death—when in fact the majority of excisions occur in volumes 1 and 2. She does not cite her sources, other than correspondence collected in Margaret Smith’s edition, so it is unclear how she came to this particular conclusion. See *The Brontë Cabinet: Three Lives in Nine Objects* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2015), 184.

biographical narrative that it has overshadowed other evidence that the manuscript holds about the story of its own making.

A close study of the manuscript's paper and leaf and page numbering reveals that a number of expansions were made to the manuscript, as well as significant revisions (in the way of removed and recopied leaves). In all, Brontë added 51 leaves to the manuscript. This includes 22 leaves of new material that she incorporated into the manuscript while modifying her fair-copy manuscript—the most notable being a ten-leaf expansion to the chapter “Written in the Schoolroom” in volume 3 that I discovered as part of this study.⁴⁸ In addition, 29 leaves bear evidence of having been added to the manuscript by Brontë as part of a later stage of extensive revision and recopying.⁴⁹ The most significant group among these particular leaves are those that replaced Brontë’s original first chapter, strongly suggesting that she revised and recopied it. This new evidence challenges the long-held scholarly belief that Brontë resolutely refused to modify her first chapter despite pressure from her publisher to alter it.⁵⁰ Lastly, I found that Brontë probably removed 32 leaves from the manuscript at various stages during which she copied and recopied it; many of these changes were part of an early state of the manuscript and its copy text, and they can be identified by studying Brontë’s leaf numberings made in pencil within the manuscript. Some of these removed leaves were replaced with new, expanded material—most of which was copied out on fresh bifolia; in other instances, Brontë appears to have dropped substantial sections of text from the novel. All in all, including the 28 partial-leaf excisions, Brontë made 111 changes either to the leaf size or to the codicological structure of the manuscript, amounting to approximately 12% of its combined total of 896 leaves.⁵¹

This new data counters the findings of a 2013 article published in *Brontë Studies* that claims that Brontë’s activities while revising *Shirley* were chiefly aimed at removing text from her manuscript. In her article, Ileana Marin interprets

48. Only eight of these 22 new leaves were identified by the Clarendon editors as definitely being part of any expansion to the manuscript—their focus being on the “late insertion of the ‘Femme Savante’ essay in chapter 27” (xxv; also see p. xxvii). The expansion to “Written in the Schoolroom” has not, to date, been documented (so far as I can tell) by any editor or scholar.

49. The Clarendon editors missed the majority of these, although they speculated in two instances that leaves could have been introduced owing to “rewritten or expanded material.” In their introduction, the editors note a repetition in the numbering of ff. 299 and 300 in volume 2 “possibly because new material had been added” (xxv). The Clarendon edition does not track penciled numbering (or lack of) or red numbering, but later notes some additional differences in numbering: “Leaf 43, which contains less text than usual, may be rewritten. Leaves 42 and 43 were originally numbered 324 and 325; no original number is visible on f. 44; ff. 45 and 46 were also numbered 324 and 325: perhaps the error was caused by an insertion of rewritten or expanded material” (see p. 269). In this case, one of these leaves appears to be recopied material (or text of approximately the same length as what was cut), while three new leaves of material were added, increasing the overall numbering of leaves in volume 2. See table 2 below.

50. Rosengarten and Smith note that “the readers at Cornhill were disturbed by Charlotte’s satire on the Church” and write that “Charlotte would not withdraw the offending chapter.” *Shirley*, Clarendon edition, xix.

51. This figure does not include the four repairs that Brontë made to leaves. The BM/BL leaf count of 896 leaves includes f. 22 from volume 1—a leaf that they added to the manuscript to replace a leaf that was almost certainly removed by Brontë as part of the revision of chapter 1.

Brontë's excisions as a deliberate attempt to conceal and "censor" its content from her publishers: "Charlotte came up with a system of revision that allowed her to conceal from her publishers the revision process and bolster her identity as a professional writer. . . . The pressure of conceiving female characters that did not seem to be the schematic creations of a female author meant to Charlotte that she would need to excise passages which might have betrayed personal details about the author."⁵² The result, according to Marin, is "a more fragmented narrative."⁵³ She identifies these excisions as the "symptoms of a writing disorder or disease," which she calls the "'Jane Eyre' complex":

The Jane Eyre complex describes the author's contradictory desire to reveal and conceal personal, even intimate or offensive, occurrences in her own life. . . . She understood that the interpretation of her first readers (Smith and Williams) was decisive for the publication of her work and thus used the process of revision to withdraw or, more accurately, to censor what seemed to her excessive, exaggerated, or too explicit references to her personal life, even willing to jeopardize the novel's narrative coherence by doing so.⁵⁴

It is unusual to claim that any author who was deliberately preparing a novel for publication would feel the need to censor her own fair copy after writing it out, and Marin does not provide any parallel instances for the purposes of comparison. Instead, she pursues an interpretation that centers on the anxiety of the woman author, and turns to fiction for her answers. Material and mind mimic one another: the novel's apparent fragmentation lacks coherence and serves as a mirror of Brontë's own psychological "disorder." The partial-leaf excisions are evidence of a form of self-censorship and psychological withdrawal. Life, in this instance, imitates art; the process of revising the manuscript reenacts conflicts apparent in the narratives of Brontë's own novels.

This interpretation is problematic for a number of reasons. First, the claim pursues a reading of the manuscript that subjects Brontë herself to the kind of "suspicious" and gendering gaze that, according to Marin, Brontë sought to avoid. In doing so, Marin's analysis reinscribes the flawed, essentialist notion of the woman writer as a neurotic (the infamous "madwoman in the attic" analogy that feminists both invoked and, in some cases, later fought to dispel⁵⁵) without

52. Ileana Marin, "Charlotte Brontë's Heron Scissors: Cancellations and Excisions in the Manuscript of *Shirley*," *Brontë Studies* 38, no. 1 (2013): 19–20. I also cite this study in my article, "Reading the Writing Desk"; see pp. 512–18.

53. Marin, "Charlotte Brontë's Heron Scissors," 27.

54. Marin, "Charlotte Brontë's Heron Scissors," 25.

55. In *The Madwoman in the Attic*, Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar seek to identify the "anxieties out of which this tradition [of women writing] must have grown." Yet their model itself is diagnostic, comparing woman authorship to the "splitting or distribution of her identity"—a kind of "schizophrenia of authorship." Charlotte Brontë is singled out as providing "a paradigm of many distinctively female anxieties and abilities." See Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1984), xi, xii, 69. More recently, feminists such as Nina Baym and Marta Caminero-Santangelo have drawn attention to the problematic nature of the "madwoman metaphor" and the kind of dichotomous thinking that "identifies women with irrationality in the first place." See Caminero-Santangelo's book *The Madwoman Can't Speak: Or Why Insanity Is Not Subversive* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 1–2.

taking into consideration the routine activities of the manuscript-making process itself. The reading also conflates Brontë's identity with her work—a fallacy that is traceable to earlier feminist studies, such as Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar's landmark study *The Madwoman in the Attic*, which employ metaphors of illness (in the case of Gilbert and Gubar, "female schizophrenia" and "dis-ease") in an effort to identify the very real, adverse effects of patriarchal structures on nineteenth-century women writers.⁵⁶ The result in this instance is an argument that purports to be based on material evidence but that hinges on a literal psychological diagnosis of a woman author who surely deserves less armchair analysis—and instead more bibliographical attention—from her twenty-first-century critics.

Finally, Marin's study offers up an interpretation of the manuscript that is at odds with its material construction.⁵⁷ Marin argues that only two of the 28 excisions that Brontë made entailed any substitution with another text—evidence that leads her to conclude that Brontë was intent on merely eliminating passages from the novel.⁵⁸ Yet, of the 28 excisions that I have documented, 11 excisions entail textual changes, including substantial revisions that required either the recopying of leaves or the addition of new leaves that expanded the length of the manuscript. And so, by my calculation, 39% of the excisions present in the manuscript were made as part of a series of substantial, later-stage revisions or expansions to the manuscript—some of which actually increased its size, rather than reducing it. Brontë often excised the upper or lower portions of leaves owing to changes made to the content in the sections of leaves falling between them. These inserted leaves bear new writing that, at a casual glance, seem to be part of one continuous draft. When taking additional leaf removals into account along with partial-leaf excisions, there are a total of 41 instances of removals that entailed expansions. In short, when Brontë removed either full leaves or portions of them, it was often with the aim of introducing new or revised content.

3. PAPER AS EVIDENCE

To investigate how a manuscript was composed and edited—and to identify any excisions or revisions made to it—requires a very close look at its physical structure. Although much evidence has been lost as a result of the way in which

56. Gilbert and Gubar, *Madwoman in the Attic*, 69, 71. Also see Mary Jacobus, review of *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination* and *Shakespeare's Sisters: Feminist Essays on Women Poets*, by Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *Signs* 6, no. 3 (1981): 519. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3173761>. For more discussion about these points, see "Reading the Writing Desk," pp. 504, 512–13.

57. Marin's brief description of the manuscript considerably deviates from established documentation about it. In her analysis, Marin mentions 906 folios (see p. 27)—numbers that do not reflect either the Clarendon analysis (which she cites just once in her article) or the 896-leaf count of the British Museum and BL. Her count likely includes some combination of endpapers or fly-leaves inserted by bookbinders. In addition, Marin mentions 28 excisions (p. 27), but her footnote (p. 29) lists just 25 leaves bearing excisions—and this list includes five leaves that are entirely intact, per my own direct examination of the manuscript and also the study of the Clarendon editors: BM ff. 149 and 150, vol. 1; BM ff. 9, 45, and 252, vol. 2. It is unclear how Marin identified these intact leaves as bearing excisions.

58. Marin, "Charlotte Brontë's Heron Scissors," 27.

the manuscript of *Shirley* has been bound and rebound, its paper stocks can offer substantial information about its production and Brontë's own writing practice.

Charlotte Brontë used four different varieties of high-grade stationery to copy out her manuscript. As described in more detail below, the writing paper she used was sold in quires or partial quires of nested bifolia. Each bifolium consisted of two leaves or four pages. Although the leaves in the manuscript are not uniform in height, at 18.3 cm wide they are now all uniform in width, suggesting that the manuscript was trimmed for the purposes of binding. These bifolia would have measured 38 cm wide or thereabouts when opened, but the size would have slightly varied among manufacturers. The four paper stocks included in the manuscript are:

- (1) London Superfine, a high-quality wove paper measuring 23.2 cm tall, with a blind-embossed stationer's crest often appearing, when visible, in the upper left-hand corners of the rectos of both leaves of the bifolium (though often much fainter, if present, on the second leaf) and containing the (embossed) lettering "LONDON | SUPERFINE" inside a circle; the crest features an embossed crown in its center;
- (2) Cream Laid, another high-quality paper of approximately the same height as London Superfine, and exhibiting chain lines and wirelines that appear to be real, as opposed to being made with a dandy roll; here, when visible, the embossed stationer's crest features the words "CREAM | LAID" within an oblong octagon, positioned as described above;
- (3) Royal Superfine, a smooth-surface (possibly glazed) laid paper that is noticeably shorter, measuring 22.65 cm; when visible, the stationer's crest contains the words "ROYAL | SUPERFINE", again inside a circle, featuring an embossed crown in its center, positioned as described above; and
- (4) A laid paper, likely made by the Whatman firm, with a crown, shield, and posthorn with a pendant cursive "W" watermark; its watermark is positioned as when appearing in a quarto format (i.e., across the fold and running parallel to the top and bottom edges of the bifolium);⁵⁹ a very small, round watermark crest frequently appears in the position where stationers' crests usually are embossed (i.e., the upper left-hand corner of the recto of the closed bifolium—or the crown side of the sheet), though *not* on second leaf of the bifolium (i.e., the "W" side); this paper measures 22.6 cm in height.

The average dimension of a leaf from the manuscript in its present state is about 18 cm wide by 23 cm tall—or about 7 by 9 inches. Using a dip pen, Brontë copied out her novels onto the rectos of these leaves when creating her fair copy manuscripts.

Prior to making her fair copies, Brontë's drafting process was quite different. She tended to use both sides of the leaf while initially composing her writing—sometimes drafting her manuscripts on smaller (and likely less expensive) papers and writing in pencil, as we can see in the portions of the manuscript for

59. Stationery was cut down from larger sheets; see below for more details on the original full sheet size.

"Emma."⁶⁰ When she did use larger, fine writing papers for drafting her work, she either folded the pre-made bifolia in half, creating smaller units, in which she wrote on both sides of the leaf, or else she carefully tore them in half, again using both sides of the paper for drafting her work.⁶¹ These pencil drafts were able to fit easily within her portable writing desk, which has been preserved by the Brontë Parsonage Museum.⁶²

All the extant fair copies of Charlotte Brontë's major novels were written on high-quality writing paper typically described by mid-nineteenth-century stationers as "quarto-size" or "post."⁶³ Local stationers, such as John Greenwood of Haworth, would have sold paper in quires from reams or half-reams. Indeed, Greenwood told Charlotte Brontë's first biographer, Elizabeth Gaskell, that he walked ten miles to Halifax on many occasions to buy half-reams of paper to try and ensure that he had a ready supply of paper for the Brontë sisters: "When I was out of stock, I was always afraid of their coming; they seemed so distressed about it, if I had none."⁶⁴ Only some of these letter papers bear watermarks; as described earlier, nearly all are marked by stationers'

60. The MS for "Emma" (RTCor no. 196 in the Robert H. Taylor Collection of Princeton University) measures 12 cm wide by 18.4 cm tall. It is difficult to ascertain the original format of the manuscript, which has been rebound. However, it seems to be a gathering of ten bifolia. The manuscript is copied out onto what appear to be nested bifolia in the form of an incompletely drafted quire. The paper is a laid paper with an embossed emblem of three flowers with stems and leaves inside a circle that appears in the uppermost left-hand side of the rectos of the first ten foliated leaves of the manuscript; the embossings gradually diminish, suggesting that it was embossed as a nested quire.

61. The MS of "John Henry" (RTCor no. 194 in the Robert H. Taylor Collection of Princeton University) was copied out onto Satin Post, a wove paper without watermarks. Brontë folded the letter paper in half, creating smaller quartos, as is apparent by the fact that watermark crests are visible on leaves one through seven; the point of the shield-like crest points not toward the bottom of the leaf, but toward the gutter. The leaves measure 11.5 cm wide by 18.2 cm tall, or 4.5 inches wide by 7.2 inches tall. The MS referred to as "Henry Hastings" (HEW 1.4.14 in the Harry Elkins Widener Collection) contains half-sheets; see leaves five and eight of the third quire. The former leaf is torn along the top, while the latter is torn along the bottom edge.

62. A second writing desk exists that is believed to have been owned by Charlotte Brontë. The desk is held in NYPL's Berg Collection. It does not contain writing materials, however, but rather a memorial card for Brontë as well as a lock of her own hair, which suggests that it was most recently used by Arthur Bell Nicholls, her husband, as a receptacle for memorabilia.

63. Large sheets of post writing paper were sold in sizes measuring about 15.5 by 18 inches (or 38.1 by 45.72 cm)—advertised dimensions varied—before they were cut into halves and then folded. Indeed, a half-sheet of this size, when cut parallel with the chain lines through the center of the sheet, results in a half-sheet measuring approximately 38 cm wide by 23 cm tall unfolded, and a bifolium of 19 cm wide by 23 cm tall. Additional examples are described later in this article. For measurements of uncut, unfolded sheets, see the entry for "Post" under "Writing and Printing Paper" (p. 76) in *Wyman's Dictionary of Stationery and Useful Compendium of Useful Information for the Office, Counting House, and Library* (London: Wyman & Sons, n.d. [1875]. https://www.google.com/books/edition/Wyman_s_Dictionary_of_Stationery_and_Com/uof7VoljwfkC, accessed September 7, 2020).

64. Greenwood told Gaskell that he could not keep greater quantities of paper in stock "for want of capital." See Elizabeth Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, ed. Angus Easson (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 229.

crests—embossings made to the upper left-hand corner of partial quires using a pair of dies.⁶⁵

As I learned when examining the contents of the Brontës' writing desks at the Brontë Parsonage Museum in Haworth, the writing papers they used were sold in partial quires of nested bifolia measuring about 19 cm wide by 23 inches tall when closed (about 7.5 inches wide by 9 inches tall).⁶⁶ Although typically sold retail in this convenient folded form, the writing papers that Charlotte Brontë used were pre-cut, originating from larger, full-formed sheets.

Contemporary trade sources indicate that 24 sheets of writing paper made up a complete quire, as marketed for sale; and 20 quires made up a ream. For context, a full-formed sheet of "large post" writing paper is advertised as measuring about 40 by 52 cm (or 16 by 20.5 inches) alongside "quarto"-sized letter paper measuring only 20.32 cm wide by 26.67 cm tall (or 8 inches wide by 10.5 inches tall).⁶⁷ Large sheets of writing paper were advertised for sale to stationers and others by the quire, "packet" (i.e., partial ream consisting of five quires), and ream.⁶⁸ Although, as another contemporary source notes, "the post papers [were] seldom sold retail in the . . . original size . . . being usually cut in half, folded, and ploughed round the edges, forming, in that state, quarto post, the

65. Studying the septernion from Emily Brontë's desk, it became clear to me that the mark was embossed only after the bifolia were nested together: the recto of the first leaf bears a strong impression, with each following leaf bearing fainter and fainter successive impressions. This kind of evidence could prove very useful in establishing a sub-order within the drafting process itself. The other paper stock I located in Emily Brontë's desk, London Superfine, matched a paper used in the manuscript of *Shirley*. Very little has been written on the subject of stationers' crests. For an introductory overview of the use of stationers' crests, see Joe Nickell, "Stationers' Crests: A Catalog of More than 200 Embossed Paper Marks, 1835–1901," *Manuscripts* 45, no. 3 (1993): 199–216.

66. When examining the contents of Emily Brontë's desk at the Brontë Parsonage Museum (Bonj [v]), I found two entirely unused samples of the same paper stocks that Charlotte Brontë had used for copying out her novels. One stock was the same paper I had seen in *Villelette*: a laid paper with an embossed crest featuring flowers. It survived in the form of an unused partial quire: seven bifolia nested one inside another with a bright yellow string lying in the center fold. The other paper stock I located in Emily Brontë's desk, London Superfine, matched a paper used in the manuscript of *Shirley*. It was stored as a sheaf of 10 bifolia. Open, these bifolia measured 38 cm wide by 23 cm tall; closed, the width measured 19 cm. Juliet Barker's inventory of Charlotte Brontë's desk contains mention of two single "sheets" (presumably bifolia made from folded half-sheets) of unused writing paper, also of London Superfine and the flowered stock, folded so as to result in four leaves each—the smaller quarto format that Brontë used for drafting works.

67. See the entry for "Paper" in *Wyman's Dictionary of Stationery*, 76–77.

68. Ibid. Also, George Tindall describes how stationers usually only obtain 18 quires of "good" writing paper when purchasing a ream, with the outer two quires consisting of just 20 sheets each and inferior or even "worthless" paper. See his entry "Paper-making by Hand, and Finishing" (pp. 161–62) in *The Technical Educator: An Encyclopædia of Education*, vol. 3 (London: Cassell, Petter, and Galpin, 1871). https://www.google.com/books/edition/The_technical_educator_an_encyclopaedia/Ky4CAAAAQAAJ.

letter-paper of the shops.”⁶⁹ Stationers could also purchase pre-folded quarto-sized writing paper in 20-quire reams. Because a single gathering of 24 folded sheets would not lie flat, stationers would often break the 24-sheet quires into smaller units, for instance, into two separate groupings of 12 sheets apiece, or 24 leaves each. Thus, a complete 24-sheet quire could contain two sub-quires.

The dimensions of the unused bifolia of London Superfine in the Brontës’ writing desks measure 38 cm wide by 23 cm tall when fully open, or approximately 15 by 9 inches, resulting in a ratio of 1.65—a measurement that does not conform to the standard sizes of full sheets of writing paper sold at the time, whose ratios range from 1.23 to 1.29.⁷⁰ These measurements indicate that these bifolia were indeed originally created from half-sheets, which, when folded, would have constituted quartos when compared to the original full-formed sheet—a fact confirmed by examining the Cream Laid paper that Brontë used in the manuscript of *Shirley*. Its wirelines run vertically (quarto-wise) instead of horizontally, as with a true folio, and the chain lines run from the gutters to fore-edges of the leaves.

Volume 3 of the manuscript contains one such 24-leaf quire of 12 folded, nested bifolia, where the exact position of the quire’s watermarks indicate that the leaves are conjugate. Measurements of each of these partially visible watermarks suggest that the entire watermark (i.e., as it would appear on a half-sheet) would have measured about 16.2 cm.⁷¹ A study of the measurements in this particular gathering contains notable outliers in the cut of the sheets that clearly show the conjugacy of BM f. 3 and f. 22, of BM f. 7 and f. 18, of BM f.8 and f. 17, of BM f.10 and f. 15, and of BM f.11 and f. 14 (see table 1).

Other partial-quire combinations were possible. Printers working from manuscript copy referred to these smaller units of nested bifolia as ternions, quaternions, quinternions, &c.⁷² Although these units could have resulted from further division and use by writers themselves, Emily Brontë’s writing desk contains an intact, unused septernion, or partial quire of seven bifolia, as well as an unused partial quire of 10 nested bifolia—suggesting that larger gatherings were also commonly made up and used.⁷³

69. See p. 236 under the entry for “Paper” (pp. 235–39) in volume 2 of Luke Herbert’s *The Engineer’s and Mechanic’s Encyclopaedia Comprehending Practical Illustrations of the Machinery and Processes Employed in Every Description of Manufacture of the British Empire* (London: Thomas Kelly, 1849). https://www.google.com/books/edition/The_Engineer_s_Mechanic_s_Encyclopaedia/6gw-b8McR5EC, accessed September 15, 2024.

70. A publication published in conjunction with the Great Exhibition provides a table with the measurements of writing papers, as opposed to printing papers; see p. 945 in vol. 3 of *Reports of the Juries on the Subjects in the Thirty Classes into Which the Exhibition Was Divided* (London: Spicer Brothers and W Clowes and Sons, 1852). See https://www.google.com/books/edition/Reports_by_the_Juries_on_the_Subjects_in/YJdDAAAAcAAJ, accessed August 16, 2021.

71. This measurement is easiest to detect what would have been the centermost bifolium (BM ff. 12–13) of the quire.

72. See entries for “Ternion,” “Quadternion,” and “Quinternion” in Charles Thomas Jacobi’s *The Printer’s Vocabulary* (London: The Chiswick Press, 1888). https://www.google.com/books/edition/The_Printers_Vocabulary/6oYaAAAAMAAJ, accessed August 15, 2021.

73. See previous footnote.

TABLE I. Watermarks as evidence of conjugate leaves in the fair-copy MS of *Shirley* (vol. 3)

BM Fol.	Watermark measurement from gutter	BM Fol.	Watermark measurement from gutter
f. 1	7 cm	f. 24	8.75 cm
f. 2	7.1 cm	f. 23	8.4 cm
f. 3	10.1 cm	f. 22	5.6 cm
f. 4	8.9 cm	f. 21	7.5 cm
f. 5	8.4 cm	f. 20	7.9 cm
f. 6	8 cm	f. 19	7.85 cm
f. 7	2 cm	f. 18	14.2 cm
f. 8	2.1 cm	f. 17	14.1 cm
f. 9	8.1 cm	f. 16	7.9 cm
f. 10	9.75 cm	f. 15	6.5 cm
f. 11	9.5 cm	f. 14	6.8 cm
f. 12	8.6 cm	f. 13	7.5 cm

Because Brontë's fair-copy manuscript of *Shirley* has been bound, disbound, and rebound again, it is unclear exactly how all of these bifolia were arranged. The evidence suggests though that Brontë did not unnest the quires and copy out her novel on loose two-leaf bifolia arranged sequentially, one after the other, but rather that she wrote the manuscript within groupings such as the partial quire of 12 bifolia described earlier, as well as in smaller subquires, ranging from quaternions, sexternions, and septernions to larger subquires of 10 and 11 bifolia. The manuscript seems to reflect the kind of relative diminishment of the impressions of the embossed stationers' crest within each subquire, as observed in the septernion found in Emily Brontë's desk.⁷⁴ Tellingly, the first chapter of volume 1 of *Shirley* is written on 21 leaves, and the stationers' crest is clearly visible on the first leaf, and only faintly visible on leaves two through four—and not visible at all until an odd leaf is introduced (BM f. 21) that was recycled from prior use as a title-page. Had Brontë separated out the bifolia and/or cut them into single leaves before using them, this relative diminishment of the blind-stamped stationers' crests from leaf to leaf would not occur in any sort of regular order; it would be random.

The drafts of Brontë's other extant manuscripts that were unfinished and left unbound, as well as earlier works, such as the manuscript commonly referred to

74. See note 65 above.

as “Henry Hastings” at Harvard, are written in nested partial quires.⁷⁵ Keeping this information in mind, it seems significant that almost all of the longer revisions or expansions to *Shirley* that required additional paper were copied out in *even* numbers of leaves, suggesting the insertion of nested bifolia—the largest being the revision to the first chapter, which was likely copied out onto a new quire consisting of 20 leaves, or ten folded half-sheets. Although the leaves are no longer conjugate (i.e., joined over the folds) and the structure cannot be ascertained, other manuscripts made by Brontë contain partial quires close in size.⁷⁶ Notably, the chapters as they were first copied out in the manuscript vary in length: one chapter is as brief as 13 leaves, while another is as long as 39-and-a-half leaves.

According to Gaskell, Brontë educated herself about how to prepare a manuscript for publication by obtaining a manual on the subject.⁷⁷ Studying this guide, Brontë would have learned about matters ranging from the kinds of paper and handwriting typically preferred by publishers to strategies for gauging the length and sale potential of a work. It is apparent that, in preparing her fair-copy manuscript for submission to a publisher, Brontë followed the general practices of the day. According to Saunders and Otley’s *Advice to Authors*, a resource that Brontë likely consulted,⁷⁸ it was “much better . . . to write on separate sheets of paper, taking care to number the sheets, or folios” than to write in “pretty copy-books,” as was “the fashion much cherished by ladies.” Copybooks, the manual notes, “must be torn to pieces before they are put upon the compositors’ cases.”⁷⁹

One of the writing papers that Brontë used while copying out *Shirley* bears an embossed stationer’s mark reading “London Superfine,” a substrate that was noted for being a high-grade paper made entirely from linen rags.⁸⁰ London Superfine was not inexpensive. Typically sold in reams of 480 “sheets” (i.e., half-sheets), superfine writing papers like those Brontë used could have cost anywhere from six to eighteen shillings per ream—a sizable sum for a woman with limited means. In 1841, Charlotte Brontë had earned a meager salary of just £20 a

75. The draft MS for Brontë’s last, unfinished novel, “Emma” (RTCor no. 196 in the Robert H. Taylor Collection of Princeton University), was written within what appears to be a nested quire of ten folios. Ten leaves of the original MS have writing composed on them (leaves two through eleven); and ten were left blank (leaf one, plus leaves twelve through twenty). And the “Henry Hastings” MS (HEW 1.4.14 Harry Elkins Widener Collection) consists of two ten-leaf quires, a 16-leaf quire, and a four-leaf quire; these folia were made from half sheets of the larger letter papers she used. The juvenilia were also copied out in quires, albeit smaller ones. For a description of this process, see Barbara Heritage, “Charlotte Bronte’s ‘Chinese Fac-similes’: A Comparative Approach to Interpreting the Materials of Authorial Labour and Artistic Process,” in *Charlotte Bronte, Embodiment and the Material World*, ed. Justine Pizzo and Eleanor Houghton (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 210–212.

76. See the previous note, describing the format of “Emma,” which contains a 20-leaf quire. Another unbound manuscript, “Henry Hastings,” contains a 16-leaf quire.

77. Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, 231, 526.

78. See Heritage, “Authors and Bookmakers,” 470–71. Gaskell notes the publisher in her MS: “a small volume, published by Saunders & Otley.”

79. *Advice to Authors* (London: Saunders and Otley, n.d.), 6–7.

80. From the *London Encyclopedia*: “Rags are sold to the paper-makers sorted into four or five different kinds: No. 1, sometimes called London superfine, being all linen, and reserved for the finest paper,” 551. https://www.google.com/books/edition/The_London_Encyclopaedia/J3JMAAAAMAAJ, accessed September 7, 2020.

year, or about seven-and-a-half shillings a week, while working as a governess at Upperwood House in Rawdon, West Yorkshire; her small income was further reduced by a deduction of about £4 per annum for laundry. Her younger sister, Anne, was paid £40 a year (or £10 per quarter) for her work as a governess at Thorpe Green Hall—about 15 shillings per week.⁸¹ That was considered to be a very favorable salary—one near the upper end of the range for what a governess could earn at that time. And so one ream of high-grade “post”—or the approximate amount of paper that Brontë required for copying out *Shirley*—could have easily cost a woman employed as a governess an entire week of her salary, if not more. Although Brontë's earning potential had significantly increased as of 1847 with the sale of *Jane Eyre*, the cost of paper was still not inconsequential.⁸²

In *Advice to Authors*, Brontë would have read that it was “common practice . . . to write only on one side of the leaf, and to leave the opposite, or under page, blank.”⁸³ This is generally the practice she followed. But instead of ruling her own paper or purchasing pre-ruled paper (as is suggested by *Advice to Authors*), Brontë likely used a separate, heavily ruled leaf of paper, such as the one kept in her writing desk, to slip under the surface of her letter paper.⁸⁴ When I placed the extant ruled leaf from Brontë's desk under a leaf of London Superfine paper stock, its dark lines showed through the writing paper, which suggests that the leaf could have readily served as a guide for the copying of her manuscripts. The use of a ruled leaf would have allowed Brontë to regulate the number of lines per page and thus systematize the pace and flow of her novels.⁸⁵

If this were the case, the ruled leaf that Brontë used would have provided a margin of at least 2 cm on the left-hand side of each bifolium onto which she wrote out the fair copies of her manuscripts—an inference supported by the fairly uniform registration of the leaves in the manuscript of *Shirley*. Part of this left-hand margin could have been removed at the printing house if the bifolia were sliced instead of slit; the remaining margin was likely trimmed yet again as part of the later binding process commissioned by George Smith. Brontë copied out her novel nearly flush with the right-hand margin of the leaves; occasionally

81. Juliet Barker, *The Brontës* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1994), 351.

82. Brontë was paid £100 for the copyright of *Jane Eyre*, and received an additional £400 in payments for the novel. She was paid £500 for *Shirley*. *Letters*, 1:541, 2:262.

83. *Advice to Authors* (London: Saunders and Otley, n.d.), 7.

84. Ruled leaves were ephemeral, and created on an *ad hoc* basis. The extant ruled leaf that I studied at the Brontë Parsonage Museum in 2019 is made of wove paper. It measures 19.25 cm wide (across the leaf); 23 cm long (top to bottom). The leaf was ruled in pencil first, then in ink. It was made of a thicker weight paper than the other writing papers I found in her desk. This example has a 1.1 cm margin on the left side of the template. The lines were ruled approximately 1 cm apart from one another, with 21 lines ruled on the leaf, allowing for 22 spaces for text. I identified two small holes punctured into the sheet above and below line 6 from the bottom of the device.

85. Brontë came to adopt the use of a ruled leaf later in her process as a writer. The outset of her first manuscript intended for publication, “The Professor,” does not seem to follow any systematic ruling—nor do the earlier manuscripts generally referred to as the juvenilia. But she employed a ruled leaf consistently afterward in composing her manuscripts for *Jane Eyre*, *Shirley*, and *Villette*. See “Authors and Bookmakers,” 473. (In 2012, I detected the use of a ruled surface in the fair-copy manuscript of *Jane Eyre*, before locating an example of a ruled leaf, which I was able to do in 2019, during my research into the extant contents of the Brontës' writing desks.)

her writing touches their very edges, but without any loss to the text. She usually left just a centimeter of space—the same space she interposed between the lines of her text—at the top and bottom of each page, except at the ends and beginnings of some chapters.

The layout of the manuscript text, with its substantial left-hand margin—which she did not use when making corrections—suggests that the leaves could have been loosely sewn or otherwise temporarily bound. Whether or not Brontë did this is unclear; I have noted the presence of needle marks and holes in the left margins of the leaves, but those holes appear in the first and third volumes of the manuscript, and could have resulted from its nineteenth-century binding, before the leaves were individually mounted and rebound by the British Library. At the same time, any leaves bearing partial excisions would have been extremely frail and liable to tearing before they were repaired as part of the binding process; for this reason, it is quite possible that Brontë lightly bound her volumes in some fashion.

4. CORRELATION OF PAPER STOCKS AND VARIANT LEAF NUMBERING

As Brontë copied out her novel in ink onto high-grade writing paper from her smaller-sized penciled drafts, she first numbered the leaves of the fair copy in pencil before inking over the numbers at a later state of the manuscript's preparation.⁸⁶ This underlying numbering in pencil, previously unnoted by scholars as far as I can tell, may have correlated to how she initially paginated her pencil drafts, which no longer survive.⁸⁷ By the same token, the absence of these

86. Brontë tended to foliate instead of paginate her fair-copy MSS. I used the term “numbering” to avoid any confusion with respect to this process, as well as to distinguish her numbering process from the BM’s own foliation of the manuscript. Brontë did paginate the verso of one leaf where she added writing intended for publication: BM f. 267 in volume 3, Add MS 43479, which she numbered as 834 and 835 in the C state of her numbering system (outlined in more detail below). Notably, the BM only foliated the leaf on its recto. The only other instance in which Brontë added content to a verso intended for publication in *Shirley* can be found on BM f. 236 in volume 2, Add MS 43478. This addendum, which was marked by an asterisk, makes a sarcastic reference to how Currier Bell was “charmed to meet with a complete exposition” on governesses in the January 1849 issue of *The Quarterly*—a not-so-veiled riposte to Elizabeth Rigby’s severe critique of *Jane Eyre* in the December 1848 issue of *The Quarterly*. This wording was intended to replace a portion of canceled text on BM f. 237, vol. 2; in the end, Brontë decided to cancel both, likely in light of her publisher’s express wish to exclude the defensive preface in response to *The Quarterly* from the published book.

87. Because no working drafts for *Shirley* survive, this interpretation must remain speculative. Yet extant working drafts for other writings shed some light on her process. Although Brontë used smaller-sized paper and formats to draft her novels, she foliated just the rectos, not the versos, of her late pencil drafts; because both sides of the leaves bore writing, it seems that one recto and verso combined essentially worked out to the same approximate length of writing appearing on the recto of the larger-sized writing paper. We see this system at work with Brontë’s last draft for a novel, “Emma” (RTCor no. 196 in the Robert H. Taylor Collection of Princeton University): the leaves measure 11.5 cm wide by 17.8 cm tall—approximately half the size of the full letter papers that Brontë used for making her fair copies—and she foliated her writing by the leaf, not by the page.

numbers can also prove meaningful, as Brontë generally did not pencil in her numbering in her later rounds of editing when introducing new material into the manuscript; she simply numbered the leaf in ink instead (see table 3).

In all, there are five different forms of numbering in the manuscript of *Shirley*. In chronological order, they are as follows:

- (A) the initial penciled sequence of numbers, possibly corresponding with numbering in Brontë's penciled drafts;⁸⁸
- (B) numbers that Brontë copied in brown ink over her earlier penciled numbers and that occasionally vary from those underlying penciled numbers—thus reflecting changes she likely made during the initial process of copying out the manuscript;
- (C) numbering that Brontë made in a now-faded red ink (identified as a “new series of numbers in brown ink” by the Clarendon editors⁸⁹) that was introduced as part of her first significant revision of the manuscript after she had fully copied out volume 3 in July and August of 1849;
- (D) a brief sequence of numbers made by Brontë in brown ink and pencil (referred to by the Clarendon editors as “three sequences” of “two cancelled numbering sequences” [xxv]) that corrects the red sequence in the middle of the third volume, after Brontë introduced yet another late, but significant, expansion to the novel in September of 1849;⁹⁰ and
- (E) the penciled foliation made by British Museum staff a century later in 1949. The librarians took the liberty of striking through *all* of Charlotte Brontë's own numbering as they inserted their own penciled foliation on the leaves in accordance with what appears to have been the standard, if reprehensible, practice in the BM at the time. (The foliation is documented by the staff on labels applied to the rear free endpapers in volumes 2 and 3 of the manuscript.⁹¹)

Both the Clarendon editors and Marin generally refer to these later BM numbers when describing the manuscript—the former occasionally referring to

88. See the previous footnote. There is a further nuance to Brontë's numbering system that is difficult to capture without introducing ambiguity into my own system for tracking it; technically, as will be seen, the leaf numbering for the first chapter is likely not part of the “A” and “B” sequences described—but part of a later pencil-and-ink revision. Introducing an additional sequence of letters for the purposes of making this distinction seems unhelpful, given the confusion it would likely introduce into the overall order of the manuscript's composition.

89. *Shirley*, Clarendon, xxv.

90. These changes were made to the chapter titled “The Last Blue-Stocking,” which Brontë revised at the behest of her publishers—a case alluded to briefly before and described in detail below. This last numbering sequence trails off after a few leaves. In fact, BM ff. 102 through 323 of volume 3 were never entirely renumbered by Brontë, for they were in London with her publisher, who had mailed the portion of the chapter in question to Brontë for revision.

91. The documentation in volume 1 does not clearly specify that the manuscript was foliated (or by whom), but this is doubtlessly the case, as the folio count recorded at the back of each manuscript is written in the same hand as the foliation. (Note: the foliation is clearly a different hand from Brontë's; the person who foliated the manuscripts crossed their “4’s with a tail, whereas Brontë did not.) Volume 2 is recorded as being foliated by [signature difficult to decipher], and volume 3 was foliated by “JM.”

some of Brontë's own preceding numbering in a few instances (viz., xxv, xxvii, 269)—an approach that failed to recover a great deal of additional information about the earlier stages of the manuscript's composition and revision. A full representation of the numbers on the last leaf in volume 3, in order of their chronological written sequence as delineated above, would run as follows: A873.B873.C891.[D897].E323. That is: A873[CB pencil].B873[CB brown ink].C891[CB red ink].[D897]; the final numbering sequence that was discontinued by CB]. E323[the BM foliation].⁹² In one glance, the sequence provides quite a bit of data—namely, that the manuscript had increased in size by 24 leaves between the time it was first copied out in full and then later revised.⁹³

By examining the different states of the manuscript's leaf (and occasional page) numbering alongside the manuscript's paper stocks, one can readily establish the various stages at which the manuscript was copied out. The great majority of volumes 1 and 2 were copied onto Cream Laid writing paper,⁹⁴ while the majority of volume 3 was copied onto London Superfine letter paper. I believe that Brontë's use of these two principal paper stocks roughly corresponds to the two main periods when she copied out her manuscript.

Although it is generally known that Brontë wrote most of *Shirley* during two different periods, there has been some question within the scholarly community as to exactly when and why the interruption occurred between her two writing stints. Examining the manuscript, it is clear that Brontë finished copying out volume 1 in September 1848, as she adds her completion date (almost exactly a year before Taylor arrived in Haworth to retrieve the volume) at the end of the volume.⁹⁵ Volume 2 is undated, but is largely written on the same laid paper stock as volume 1. In her correspondence, Brontë indicates that she "laid aside" the manuscript while she herself was ill following the death of her brother, Branwell.⁹⁶ And in a later letter to George Smith, Brontë indicates that "two-thirds of 'Shirley'" had been written while her sisters still lived and were able to respond to

92. Brontë's leaf count is one leaf longer than that of the BM as she paginated the verso of BM leaf 267 (CB leaf 835) in volume 3 of the manuscript.

93. This must be qualified, as Brontë paginated the verso of one leaf: BM f. 267 of volume 3, as indicated in the previous note.

94. Approximately 92% (261 leaves) of the paper in volume 1 is Cream Laid, with the remainder consisting of 21 leaves of London Superfine (7%) used for the first chapter of the manuscript, one leaf (BM f. 215) introduced as part of the nineteenth-century rebinding, and one leaf of the twentieth-century cream-colored wove paper introduced during the BL rebinding. Approximately 92% (265 leaves, or 11 + 23 + 114 + 114 + 3) of volume 2 is made up of Cream Laid, with 4% London Superfine (11 leaves, or 5 + 4 + 2) and 4% Royal Superfine (13 leaves, or 12 + 1). Approximately 12% of volume 3 is made up of laid watermarked paper (38 leaves, or 24 + 14), with 6% Cream Laid (18 leaves), and the rest, or approximately 82%, London Superfine (267 leaves).

95. Volume 1 was completed in September 1848, as dated by Brontë on the last leaf of volume 1 of the manuscript.

96. Brontë writes to W. S. Williams: "My book, alas! is laid aside for the present; both head and hand seem to have lost their cunning; imagination is pale, stagnant, mute. This incapacity chagrins me; sometimes I have a feeling of cankered care on the subject, but I combat it as well as I can; it does no good." Margaret Smith believes that the letter was written on October 18, 1848, based on the source. *Letters*, 2:128. This is the same date Clement Shorter attributed to the letter; see p. 458 of *The Brontës: Life and Letters* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1908).

her work.⁹⁷ Brontë's friend and biographer, the novelist Elizabeth Gaskell, seems to corroborate this history when she writes:

She had nearly finished the second volume of her tale when Branwell died,—after him Emily,—after her Anne;—the pen, laid down when there were three sisters living and loving, was taken up when one alone remained. Well might she call the first chapter that she wrote after this, “The Valley of the Shadow of Death.”⁹⁸

“The Valley of the Shadow of Death” chapter mentioned by Gaskell is the first of volume 3; thus, according to Gaskell, Brontë resumed writing volume 3 only after the death of her remaining sister. In her edition of Charlotte Brontë's letters, Margaret Smith disagrees with Gaskell, suggesting that, as late as February 1849, Brontë “writes as if she had completed no more than the first volume rather than the greater part of two, as Mrs. Gaskell alleged.” Smith continues: “the second volume, if she had begun it, was perhaps still in the form of a preliminary pencil-draft—CB's normal method of composition, according to the *Life*.⁹⁹

On the contrary, the evidence found in the manuscript's differing paper stocks largely corroborates Gaskell's claim, suggesting that Brontë had copied out the majority of volume 2 by late September 1848. Toward the end of volume 2, the run of Cream Laid paper abruptly ends at f. A551.B551.C557.E273—a leaf that falls in that volume's final chapter, “An Evening Out.” The remaining 16 leaves of volume 2 contain a mixture of paper stocks (Royal Superfine and Cream Laid) that do not correlate with any changes to their numbering—a fact that seems to confirm that Brontë attempted to work on the manuscript intermittently. A letter written in September of 1850 also seems to confirm this. In it, Brontë recounted to James Taylor of Smith, Elder how the “great part” of *Shirley* was “written under the shadow of impending calamity” and the “last volume . . . composed in the eager, restless endeavor to combat mental sufferings that were scarcely tolerable.”¹⁰⁰

Sickness had stalked the Brontë household ever since September of 1848 and had still not abated in January of 1849.¹⁰¹ After the death of her brother, Branwell, on September 24, Charlotte Brontë had increasingly found herself performing a different form of labor from that of writing: the caregiving duties of nursing her own family members. Whether soliciting medical advice for Emily (who adamantly refused it until her death in December), or attending to Anne and their

97. See Brontë letter to Smith dated October 30, 1852.

98. Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, 315.

99. *Letters*, 2:182.

100. *Letters*, 2:461.

101. “All the days of winter have gone by darkly and heavily like a funeral train; since September sickness has not quitted the house.” *Letters*, 2:168. The situation was rather more complex, unfolding over many prior months. Branwell's dependence on alcohol and opium had contributed to the deterioration of his health and had even disguised the symptoms of tuberculosis. As Juliet Barker notes: “Branwell's health had worsened so imperceptibly over the last eighteen months that no one had noticed how ill he had become. So often drunk or hung over, it could only be expected that his constitution would be affected. . . . Any sympathy Charlotte felt for her brother had long evaporated; now he simply irritated her.” See *The Brontës* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1995), 564–65. Branwell's father had primarily looked after him during his illness, although sometimes the sisters assisted in caring for him, particularly at night (see *Letters*, 2:93).

father, who required medicines, blisters, and other treatments, Charlotte focused on looking after her loved ones.¹⁰² In January, she writes to Williams: "My literary character is effaced for the time . . . care of Papa and Anne is necessarily my chief present object in life to the exclusion of all that could give me interest with my Publishers or their connexions."¹⁰³ Her choice of the word "effaced" is suggestive here: in her correspondence with her publishers during this period, she sought to separate "Charlotte Brontë" from "Curer Bell," indicating a pivot from the latter (masculine) identity: "Should Anne get better, I think I could rally and become Curer Bell once more."¹⁰⁴ In February 1849, when Anne showed some signs of recovery, Brontë wrote to her publisher about her attempted endeavor to resume her work on the novel, even as she continued to look after Anne, who had by that time had been diagnosed with tuberculosis. Even at this point, Charlotte seems only to have been able to return to the novel sporadically. In February, she writes: "I wish it were more than a commencement, for how it will be re-united after the long break, or how it can gather force of flow when the current has been checked—or rather drawn off so long—I know not."¹⁰⁵ It was at this point that she was likely completing work on the end of volume 2 in a series of interrupted, brief intervals, as evidenced by the varying stocks of paper, as described earlier.

Although Gaskell writes that Brontë did not begin work on volume 3 until after Anne's death, it seems clear that Brontë did draft and copy out the volume's first three chapters intermittently during the first half of 1849. Brontë's mixed use of paper continues within the first 56 leaves of volume 3—starting with "The Valley of the Shadow of Death"—which were copied out irregularly on Cream Laid paper, as well as on watermarked laid paper (yet again on leaves without any apparent alterations to their numbering). The abrupt changes in paper stocks may reflect another important fluctuation in Brontë's life at that time: the erratic intervals during which Anne's health temporarily improved before further declining.¹⁰⁶ Brontë likely wrote on whatever high-grade writing paper was at hand as she copied out her work in various spurts. She seems to have regained her momentum only toward the end of copying out these very difficult chapters, whose heroine, narrowly recovering from the brink of death, was loosely mod-

102. After Branwell's death, Charlotte became ill, and, upon recovering in the autumn, she tended to her sisters, as well as her father and their servant, Tabitha Aykroyd, who was "suffering under serious indisposition" in November 1848; see *Letters*, 2:132. Emily refused professional medical assistance as well as other treatments, such as homeopathy; see *Letters*, 2:142, 145, 146–147, 150, 152. Charlotte sought medical advice and kept a careful eye on her sister, despite Emily's dogged reluctance to be helped. Charlotte finally convinced Emily to try homeopathic medicine in early December, and she drew up a detailed account of Emily's malady; but then Emily refused to take the medicine when it was received, and she died shortly afterward. See *Letters*, 2:154. In late December, Charlotte was caring for her father and Anne, who became ill with influenza; *Letters*, 2:159, 165. In January, Charlotte was nursing Anne, which included administering and dressing blisters and giving her cod-liver oil (*Letters*, 2:166) and also ordering a respirator to help with her breathing (*Letters*, 2:171). Charlotte herself suffered from "pains" in her chest and back, which she treated with "pitch plasters and bran tea"; see *Letters*, 2:169.

103. *Letters*, 2:168.

104. *Letters*, 2:168.

105. *Letters*, 2:181.

106. See *Letters*, 2:181, 189, 191, 196.

eled on Anne. As late as May 8, 1849, Brontë writes: "I can make no promise as to when another [book] will be ready—neither my time nor my efforts are my own. That absorption in my employment to which I gave myself up without fear of doing wrong when I wrote 'Jane Eyre' would now be alike impossible and blamable; but I do what I can—and have made some little progress: we must all be patient."¹⁰⁷ Brontë made her moral obligations very clear to her publisher: Anne's well-being came first, *then* writing. She would not endanger her sister's life for the sake of completing *Shirley*.

After a prolonged and painful illness, Anne finally died on May 28 in Scarborough, where she and Charlotte had both hoped that she would eventually recover. And so Charlotte Brontë parted with the last of her six siblings, who all perished from the same dreaded disease, the "galloping consumption"—named so for the swiftness of its spread and the speed with which it killed its victims. Brontë wrote to W. S. Williams of Smith, Elder: "had a prophet warned me how I should stand in June 1849—how stripped and bereaved—had he foretold the autumn—the winter, the spring of sickness and suffering to be gone through—I should have thought—this can never be endured. It is over. Branwell—Emily—Anne are gone like dreams—gone as Maria and Elizabeth went twenty years ago."¹⁰⁸ Brontë sought work—and the labor of writing, in particular—as a remedy for the intense pain resulting from their loss. On June 25, she wrote to Williams: "Labour must be the cure, not sympathy—Labour is the only radical cure for rooted Sorrow—The society of a calm, serenely cheerful companion . . . soothes pain like a soft opiate—but I find it does not probe or heal the wound—sharper more severe means are necessary to make a remedy. Total change might do much—where that cannot be obtained—work is the best substitute."¹⁰⁹ The deliberateness of Brontë's approach contradicts those who have characterized her work at this time as "confused," uncertain, and clouded by grief.¹¹⁰ As described earlier, such assessments have inadvertently depicted Brontë as a hapless woman—her broken spirit reflected in the fractured leaves of her manuscript. It can be shown, however, that she approached her work during this period with a particularly strategic focus.

By July, Brontë had gathered her powers, resuming her work in a steady stream of London Superfine stock, which runs throughout the rest of volume 3. Indeed, codicological evidence seems to confirm that, after completing this volume, Brontë then used this same London Superfine paper stock as needed to go back and carefully revise each volume as she steadily worked to polish her novel for publication. And so while the manuscript is indeed marked by death—that "painful, even raw, reality" described by Rosengarten and Smith—her priorities were clear. The interruptions to the manuscript's completion resulted from her active efforts to save the lives of her sisters. The corresponding gaps in the

107. *Letters*, 2:206.

108. *Letters*, 2:220.

109. *Letters*, 2:224.

110. Rosengarten and Smith characterize this period as one of "uncertainty" (Clarendon edition, xxvi), while Deborah Lutz describes it as "confused" (*The Brontë Cabinet*, 184). I discuss some of the reasons and trends unpinning these interpretations in "Reading the Writing Desk," 518–19.

manuscript's paper stocks reflect her labor as a caregiver, which took precedence over her work as a writer.

In fact, the evidence suggests that Charlotte Brontë made most of the excisions and revisions largely *after* the passing of Branwell, Emily, and Anne, not concurrent with them. When interpreted in this light, the excisions are not proof of Charlotte Brontë's bewilderment or perplexed indecision, but rather evidence of her efforts to unify the novel, drawing it together after the "long break" she speaks of with respect to her writing process and that is evident in the very structure of the manuscript itself.¹¹¹ She took care to revisit the novel as a whole—to suture gaps in plot, in particular—through a carefully thought-out process of revision and expansion.

5. EXCISIONS AS EXPANSIONS

As Brontë copied out new leaves during this late stage of revision, she inserted sections of London Superfine wove paper within the laid leaves of volume 1 and volume 2 (see table 2), and thus inadvertently left evidence of her editorial interventions. These insertions constitute the entirety of chapter one of volume 1: "Levitical" (BM ff. 1–21); a five-leaf section (BM ff. 12–16) in chapter one of volume 2: "Shirley and Caroline"; a four-leaf section (BM ff. 40–43) in chapter two of volume 2: "Further Communications on Business"; and a two-leaf section (BM ff. 158–159) in chapter seven of volume 2: "Which the Genteel Reader is Recommended to Skip, Low Persons Being Here Introduced." All the wove paper sections in volume 2 were clearly later additions to the manuscript, as each wove section also exhibits variants in the numbering Brontë assigned them. The latter two sections are flanked by partial-leaf excisions—the removal of prior writing that was cut out of the manuscript's leaves in order to accommodate a combination of new and rewritten material presented in the inserted wove leaves. Note that in each instance but one,¹¹² the wove insertions lack any draft numbers in pencil, which also suggests that these leaves were not part of the manuscript in its initial state.

The following example from volume 2 helps to illustrate the practical utility of correlating differences in numbering with the manuscript's various paper stocks. In the chapter "Shirley and Caroline," a partial-leaf excision of about five lines on f. A294.B294.E10 (see figure 1) precedes an extensive revision copied out on five full leaves of London Superfine wove paper (see table 2). In this chapter, Brontë removed three from the manuscript, as is evident in the gap in penciled numbering between leaves f. A294.B294.E10 and f. A299.B299.C30r. E17. She then replaced those leaves with (presumably) revised writing on three leaves of wove paper, and she also expanded the section by adding two leaves—a change apparent in the duplication of the brown-inked numbering sequence in

III. *Letters*, 2:181.

112. A penciled "11"—possibly "211"—appears preceding the "299" (BM f. 15, vol. 2). An ink blot mars the upper right-hand corner of the leaf. It is possible that this was a draft leaf for the revised version of chapter one and was damaged and later reused here. This leaf is part of a five-leaf insertion—suggesting that one loose leaf was likely inserted along with two bifolia.

TABLE 2. Paper in the fair-copy manuscript of *Shirley* (vols. 1, 2)

Paper Stock	Occurrences	Notes
<i>Volume 1</i>		
London Superfine wove	BM ff. 1–21	
C2o cream-colored wove (BL conservation)	[BM f. 22]	
Cream Laid	BM ff. 23–284	
<i>Volume 2</i>		
Cream Laid	BM ff. 1–11	<i>Last leaves in series:</i> A294.B294.E10 <i>PLE</i> A295.B295.E11
London Superfine wove	BM ff. 12–16	[A lacking].B296.E12
	“Shirley and Caroline”	[A lacking].B297.E13
		[A lacking].B298.E14
		[A11?].B299.E15
		[A lacking].B300.E16
Cream Laid	BM ff. 17–39	<i>First leaf in series:</i> A299.B299.C301.E17
	:	<i>Last leaf in series</i> A321.B321.C323.E39 <i>PLE</i>
London Superfine wove	BM ff. 40–43	[A lacking].B322.C324.E40
	“Further Communications on Business”	[A lacking].B323.C325.E41
		[A lacking].B324.C326.E42
		[A lacking].B325.C327.E43
Cream Laid	BM ff. 44–157	<i>First leaves in series:</i> [A323].[B323].C328.E44 <i>PLE</i> A324.B324.C329.E45
		<i>Last leaf in series:</i> A437.B437.C441.E157 <i>PLE</i>
London Superfine wove	BM ff. 158–159	[A lacking].B437.C442.E158
	“Which the Genteel Reader is Recommended to Skip ...”	[A lacking].B438.C443.E159 <i>PLE (half leaf)</i>
Cream Laid	BM ff. 160–289	<i>First leaves in series:</i> [A438].[B438].C444.E160 <i>PLE</i> A439.B439.C445.E161

PLE = Partial leaf excision; written material cut out and removed from leaves.

this section: [A11?].B299.E15 (inserted London Superfine wove paper), [A lacking].B300.E16 (inserted London Superfine wove paper), A299.B299.C301.E17 (existing Cream Laid paper), A300.B300.C302.E18 (existing Cream Laid paper). These two overlapping brown-ink sequences represent two different states of the MS: the numbering on the Cream Laid leaves is the earlier sequence that replicates the original pencil numbering, whereas the brown-ink numbering on the London Superfine wove leaves is likely concurrent with state C (the “red-ink state”) of the manuscript’s numbering. In fact, the red-ink numbers are first introduced in the manuscript directly following this insertion. The new numbering on the wove insertions did not need to be made in red ink, as the insertion was the first of its kind in the volume, and Brontë used red ink only to disambiguate her B sequence from her newly edited C sequence.¹¹³

The text that was extracted from the manuscript here pertained to a conversation between the novel’s two heroines, Caroline Helstone and Shirley Keeldar, who are talking about men—particularly, the “society of clever men”—at the point leading up to the removal of the leaves. In the lengthy insertion, Caroline and Shirley pursue this engaging topic, delving into a discussion about the capacity for men to continue to feel affection for the women who live with them day after day. The young women consider both the character and characteristics of Caroline’s uncle, Mr. Helstone, who, according to Caroline, “speaks of marriage as a burden.”¹¹⁴ As Caroline contemplates the wisdom of remaining unmarried, Shirley describes her own method for detecting a man with a kind heart: “we watch him, and see him kind to animals, to little children, to poor people.”¹¹⁵ Shirley, we learn, trusts to the opinion of “the little Irish beggar that comes barefoot to my door; the mouse that steals out of the cranny of the wainscot . . . the dog that licks my hand and sits beside my knee.”¹¹⁶ When Shirley questions Caroline as to whether she recognizes anyone who meets such a description, Caroline recalls Robert Moore (with whom she has already fallen in love).

These inserted leaves may serve an even greater purpose in the novel, however. The passage helps advance the novel’s marriage plot doubly, as it foreshadows Shirley’s own love for Robert’s brother, Louis. Within this newly added portion in volume 2, Caroline observes that “the old dog always comes out of his kennel and wags his tail, and whines affectionally”¹¹⁷ when Robert Moore is near; this conversation not only serves the practical purpose of discreetly communicating Caroline’s own affection for Robert to Shirley, but it also prepares Brontë’s readers to recognize a similar pattern in volume 3 when Shirley’s own dog, Tartar, shows “a single partiality” for Robert’s brother, Louis: “Tartar looked, slavered, and sighed . . . and coolly settled himself on his haunches at Louis Moore’s side. That gentleman drew the dog’s big, black-muzzled head on to his knee, patted him, and smiled one little smile to himself.”¹¹⁸ These tokens of

113. The Clarendon editors note the excision of five lines, but make no note of either the recopied leaves or the expansion; see Rosengarten and Smith, 241.

114. *Shirley*, Clarendon edition, 242.

115. *Shirley*, Clarendon edition, 243.

116. *Shirley*, Clarendon edition, 243–44.

117. *Shirley*, Clarendon edition, 244.

118. *Shirley*, Clarendon edition, 514.

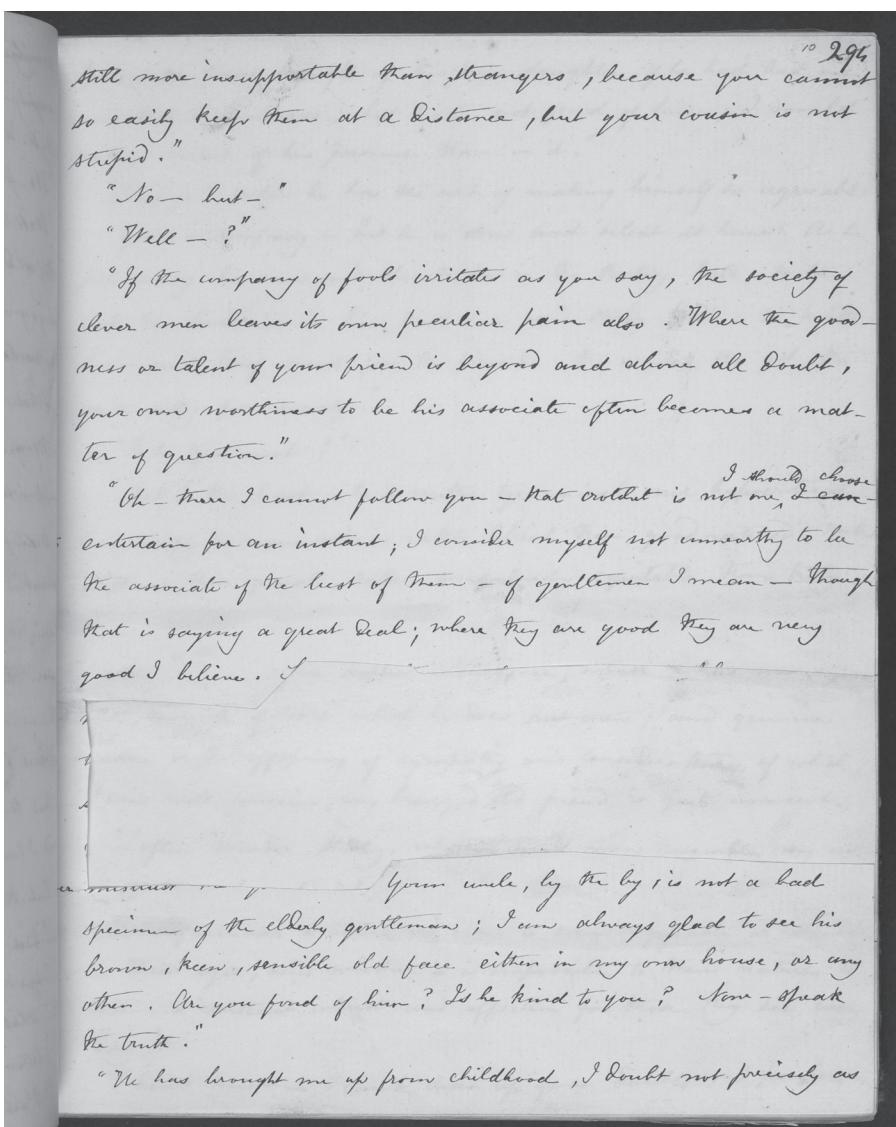


FIGURE 1. Partial-leaf excision made by Charlotte Brontë likely repaired by the binder George Smith hired in the late nineteenth century: f. A294.B294.E10. © British Library Board, f. 10, Add MS 43478.

affection convey to the careful observer that Louis is probably not only beloved by Tartar, but also by Shirley. While it is impossible to know whether the prior text extracted from volume 2 of the manuscript contained a similar description, the parallels between the two volumes seem meaningful, and it is possible that this detail was added in as a late revision to strengthen the tie.

Along the same lines, the inserted leaves in volume 2 also lay the groundwork for Shirley's eventual decision to subordinate herself to her chosen husband in volume 3. In the late addition to volume 2, Shirley proclaims on [A11?].B299.E15:

"Indisputably, a great, good, handsome man is the first of created things. . . .

"I would scorn to contend for empire with him,—I would scorn it. Shall my left hand dispute for precedence with my right?—shall my heart quarrel with my pulse?—shall my veins be jealous of the blood which fills them?"¹¹⁹

In volume 3—and in yet another late insertion consisting of a leaf of London Superfine wove paper: [A lacking].[B lacking].C878.E310—the narrator describes Shirley's "lost privilege of liberty" leading up to her marriage:

Louis was himself obliged to direct all arrangements: he was virtually master of Field-head, weeks before he became so nominally: the least presumptuous, the kindest master that ever was; but with his lady absolute. She abdicated without a word or a struggle. . . .

In all this, Miss Keeldar partly yielded to her disposition; but a remark she made a year afterwards proved that she partly also acted on system. "Louis," she said, "would never have learned to rule, if she had not ceased to govern: the incapacity of the sovereign had developed the powers of the premier."¹²⁰

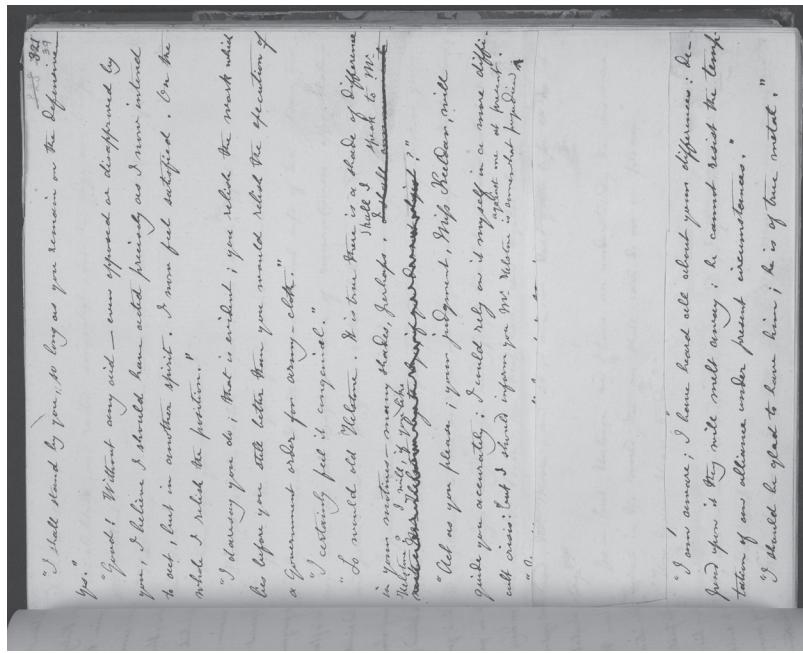
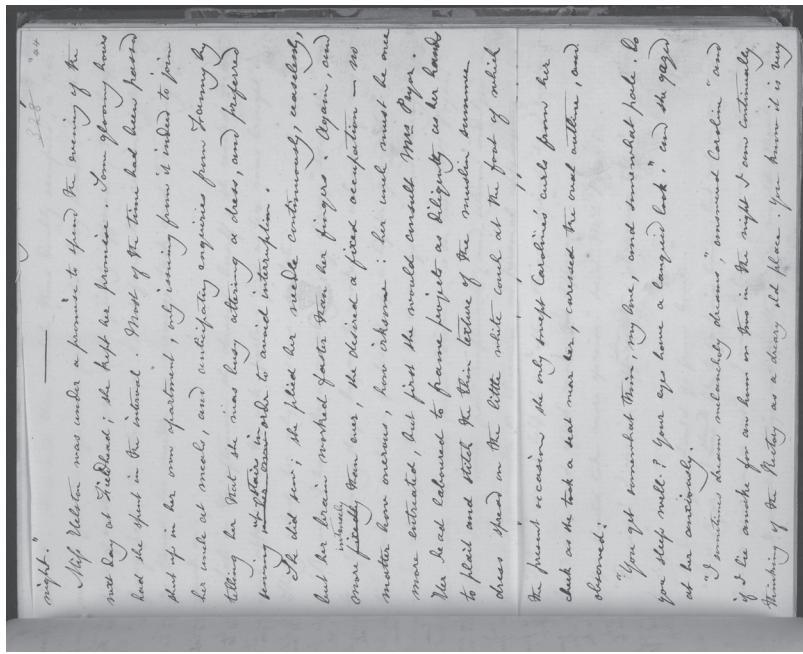
The late insertion in volume 2 helps explain why Shirley, who is usually so very independent, eventually chooses to submit herself to the authority of this man toward the end of volume 3—a development in the plot that could, in other circumstances, seem out of character.

Other instances of excision and expansion offer clear evidence of even more strategic revisions to the novel and its plot across its several volumes. Major revisions to the chapter "Further Communications on Business" entailed two partial-leaf excisions (ff. A321.B321.C323.E39 and [A323].[B323].C328.E44), the removal of one full leaf (what had been f. A322.B322), and the insertion of four wove leaves (see table 2), likely bearing approximately three pages' worth of new material—an alteration evident again not just in the changes to the paper stock, but also in differences in leaf numbering. Note that the partially excised leaf preceding the wove insertion is numbered A321.B321.C323.E39—reflecting a difference of just two leaves apparent between its brown- and red-ink sequences—and the leaf following the section of wove leaves bears the sequence A324.B324.C329.E45. The latter numbering demarcates a difference of five leaves owing to the new three-leaf expansion. This revision seems to have been made at an intermediate stage between the brown-ink and the later red-ink sequences, as both brown-ink and red-ink numbering are present on the wove leaves. Were this section entirely concurrent with the red-ink sequence, why would brown-ink numbering have been necessary at all? In addition, this wove section is corrected in red ink, suggesting that the red-ink numbering was introduced only as part of a later round of revision. The equivalent of one full wove leaf may have entailed some recopying of material that was revised as part of the excisions made to the adjacent leaves ff. A321.B321.C323.E39 and [A323].[B323].C328.E44 (see figures 2 and 3).¹²¹

119. *Shirley*, Clarendon edition, 245.

120. *Shirley*, Clarendon edition, 730.

121. Also see note 49 above.



FIGURES 2 AND 3. Partially excised laid leaves flanking the four-leaf wove insertion in "Communications on Business." Note that the upper half of f. [A323].B323.C328.E44 was excised, and then the remaining portion moved up by Brontë and paginated in red ink. All her numbering was cancelled by the BM staff when they foliated the manuscript. © British Library Board, ff. 39 and 44, Add MS 43478.

The writing on the newly inserted wove leaves in this chapter pertains to Shirley's conversation with Robert Moore, and the addition largely has to do with Michael Hartley, who, as Shirley describes him, is a "mad Calvinist and Jacobin weaver"—a man "addicted to poaching, and often goes abroad at night with his gun."¹²² Here we learn that Moore has had an argument with Hartley. Examining this addition with respect to the novel's larger narrative structure, it becomes clear that Brontë introduced this new material pertaining to this subplot only after writing and copying out volume 3, so as to foreshadow the action to come. At the end of the third volume, and at the conclusion of the chapter "Rushedge, A Confessional," Robert Moore is shot; and we finally learn in the novel's final chapter, "The Winding-up," that it was Hartley who fired the shot: "Mr. Moore knew who had shot him, and all Briarfield knew: it was no other than Michael Hartley, the half-crazed weaver once before alluded to."¹²³ The fact that the narrator specifically makes mention of this *single* prior allusion—and the evidence of this particular insertion—offers a telling example of how Brontë's composition and fair-copy process unfolded. It seems that Brontë went back and added this extended discussion about Hartley in volume 2 to set the stage for this crucial moment.¹²⁴ Yet, it is also important to note that there are not one, but *two* prior mentions of Michael Hartley in the novel. Indeed, the first instance occurs in the first chapter of the first volume—a portion of the manuscript that may have been revised at an even later date than "Further Communications on Business," given multiple strands of bibliographical and historical evidence, discussed in more detail below. It is unclear whether the single prior allusion to Hartley described in volume 3 refers to the revised text of volume 1 or to the insertion in volume 2. If it refers to volume 2, that would combine with other factors to suggest that the first chapter was revised at an even later time. Regardless, the erroneous reference to a "single" allusion provides yet another indication that the novel was expanded to include an additional passage pertaining to Hartley very late in the process.

Before delving into the complex case of volume 1's first chapter, it is helpful to consider yet another instance of how the manuscript's excisions relate to its expansions. The insertion of two wove leaves into the chapter "Which the

122. *Shirley*, Clarendon edition, 266.

123. *Shirley*, Clarendon edition, 726.

124. One could consider whether the descender visible at the top of the excision on ff. 44 volume 2 is that of a *y*—and, by extension, postulate that this handwriting is possibly linked to some prior mention of the name "Hartley" in the earlier draft of the fair-copy manuscript of volume 2. The inserted text copied out on the new leaf ends: "Don't offer yourself as a target to Michael Hartley, and good-night!" Yet, while it is clear that the prior, extracted text likely ended in "good- | night," the spacing of this handwriting does not match that of "Hartley, and good- | night" as there is room for about two or three words—not one—between the word with the swash descender and "good"—as is evident when comparing the spacing of this excised text to that of the line below. It should also be noted that many words on the same leaf and throughout the manuscript also end in *y*—and that Brontë's letterform for *g* often contains a descender of this kind, as can be seen in the formation of the *g* in the word "altering" on this leaf. In the event that Michael Hartley was mentioned, it is clear that he was mentioned only briefly, given the extent of the material added to the manuscript in this area, which pertains almost entirely to him.

"Genteel Reader is Recommended to Skip, Low Persons being Here Introduced" presents another telling instance of revision that only becomes apparent when comparing the partially excised and newly inserted material in volume 2 of the manuscript with a later expansion made to volume 3. As is evident in table 2, two wove leaves appear between two laid leaves (see figures 4 and 5) that bear both substantial partial-leaf excisions and evidence of renumbering, indicating rewriting and revision rather than an extensive expansion.

Of the two wove leaves inserted here, the second (see figure 6) is little more than a half-leaf ending with an asterisk corresponding to another asterisk appearing on laid f. [A438].[B438].C444.E160, where Brontë's earlier text resumes; the net gain, in terms of length, is about only a page (i.e., one side of a leaf) of additional text. Furthermore, it is clear that Brontë entirely removed some content, as the mention of Juno—still visible on the fragment of partially excised laid f. A437.B437.C441.E157—does not appear within any of the newly inserted material. Instead, the wove leaf and half-leaf contain an impassioned speech in which Shirley dismisses John Milton's depiction of Eve, and then questions both the poet's morality and his capacity to understand women:

"Milton was great; but was he good? His brain was right; how was his heart? . . .
Milton tried to see the first woman; but, Cary, he saw her not." . . .

. . . "It was his cook that he saw; or it was Mrs. Gill, as I have seen her, making custards, in the heat of the summer, in the cool dairy" . . .

. . . "I would beg to remind him that the first men of the earth were Titans, and that Eve was their mother."¹²⁵

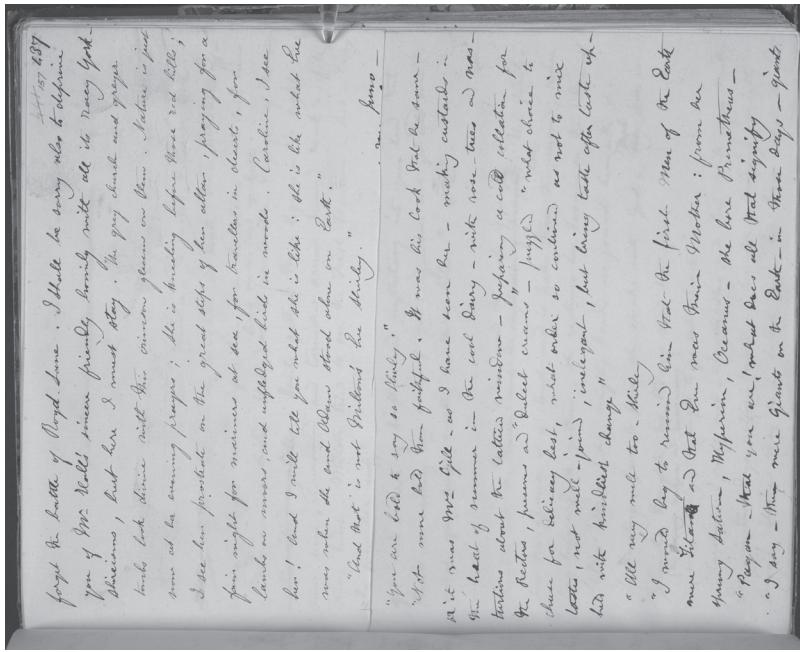
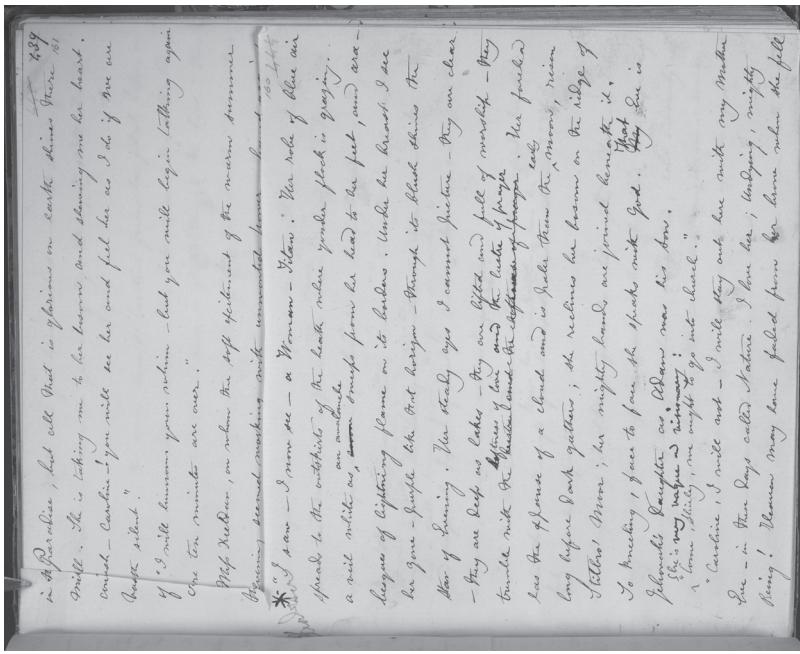
This newly added speech bears a striking resemblance in tone and content to another late expansion that we find in volume 3's chapter, "The First Blue-Stocking," which is titled as "Le Cheval dompté" ("The Tamed Horse") in the manuscript and which was only retitled as part of a later proof stage.

Although this latter chapter is entirely written on wove stock in keeping with the paper used for the majority of the third volume, variants in the chapter's numbering (see table 3) reveal that it also had been extensively revised, as has already been noted, in part, by the Clarendon editors.¹²⁶ Brontë removed a "long paragraph" in French appearing on ff. A658.B658 and A659.B659, and part of f. A660.B660 at the suggestion of her publishers; by this point, the manuscript was already in the custody of Smith, Elder, and so she requested that they mail the chapter back to her for this alteration.¹²⁷ She then drafted an English "translation," written on eight new leaves that apparently

125. *Shirley*, Clarendon edition, 359.

126. The Clarendon editors document the "substitution of an English version of the essay, 'La Première Femme Savante' (seven and a half manuscript leaves) for a letter in French which probably took up no more than two leaves. The substituted passage . . . may recall Shirley's previous vision of Eve as 'Jehovah's daughter' in volume II, chapter 7." *Shirley*, Clarendon edition, xxvii.

127. See Charlotte's letter to W. S. Williams sent in September 1849: "You observed that the French in 'Shirley' might be cavilled at—there is a long paragraph written in the French language in that chapter entitled 'Le Cheval dompté' . . . if you deem it advisable and will return the chapter—I will efface and substitute something else—in English." See *Letters*, 2:257.



FIGURES 4 AND 5. Partially excised laid leaves flanking the one-and-a-half-leaf wove insertion in "Which the Genteel Reader is Recommended to Skip..." The asterisk on f. [A438].B438.C444-Er60 corresponds to an asterisk present on f. [A lacking] B438.C443-Er59, a half-leaf wove insertion counted as a partial-leaf "excision" but that likely entailed no loss of text. © British Library Board, ff. 157 and 160, Add MS 43478.

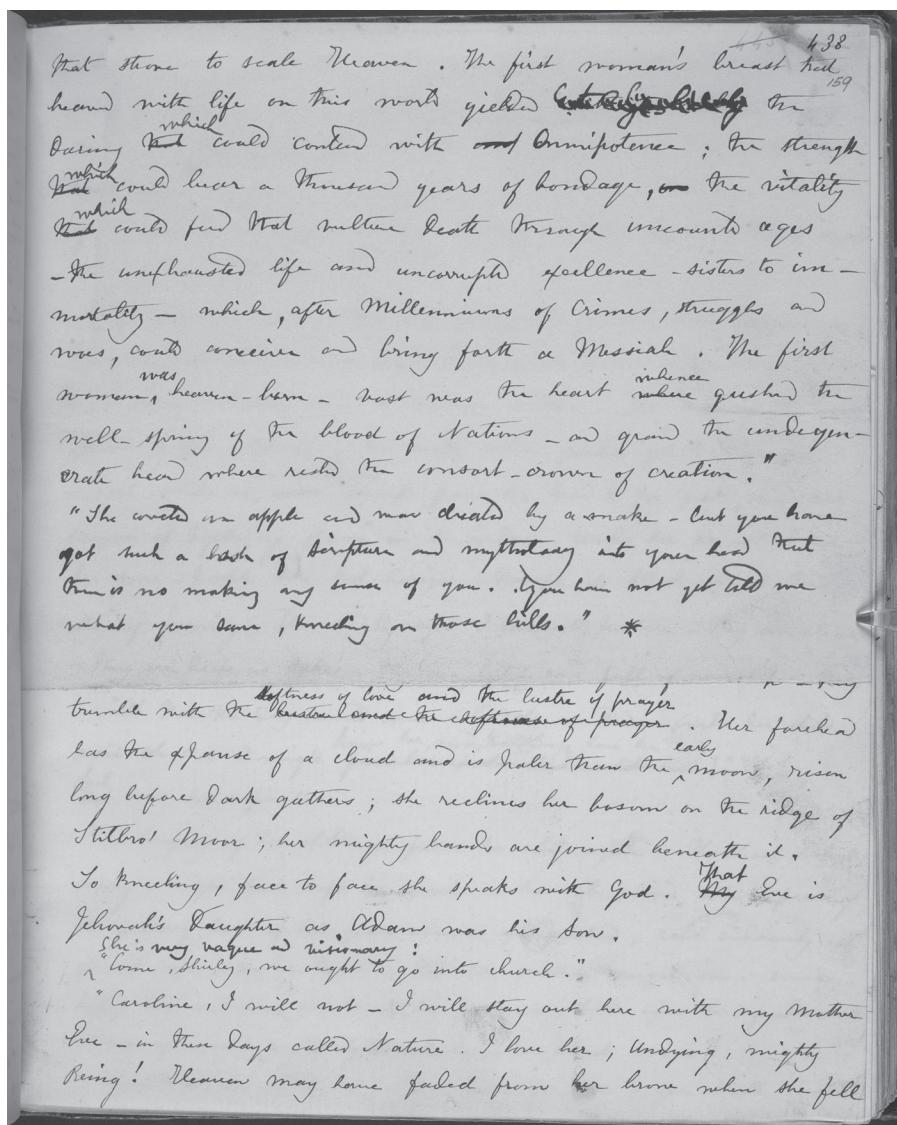


FIGURE 6. The half-leaf wove insertion f. [A lacking].B438.C443.E159. The lack of any underlying pencil numbering, combined with the wove paper stock, confirms that this was a later addition, while the presence of brown numbering suggests that the alteration was made before Brontë introduced the red-ink sequence into the MS. The asterisk corresponds to the partial-leaf excision present on f. [A438].[B438].C444.E160. © British Library Board, f. 159, Add MS 43478.

TABLE 3. Leaf numbering in “The First Blue-Stocking” (vol. 3)

BM foliation	CB pencil	CB brown ink (1)	CB red ink	CB brown ink (2) with underlying pencil
(E state)	(A state)	(B state)	(C state)	(D state)
89	656	656	662	N/A
90	657	657	663	N/A
91	N/A	N/A	N/A	664
92	N/A	N/A	N/A	665
93	N/A	N/A	N/A	666
94	N/A	N/A	N/A	667
95	N/A	N/A	N/A	668
96	N/A	N/A	N/A	669
97	N/A	N/A	N/A	670
98	N/A	N/A	N/A	671
99	[660]	[660]	[666]	672
100	661	661	667	673
101	662	662	668	674, only in pencil
102	663	663	669	674, only in pencil; should be 675
103	664	664	670	No numbering; should be 676
104	665	665	671	[677]
105	666	666	672	[678]
106	667	667	673	[679]

extended beyond the scope of the original paragraph, given the substantial increase in length. (The original passage in French would likely have run about two pages, and would have been introduced by dialogue.) The newly inserted leaves, which are numbered in pencil and brown ink, initiate the final “D” sequence of the manuscript’s numbering, which was discontinued at A664.B664. C670.E103. Between the expansion and the discontinuation of the sequence, three leaves of the existing manuscript were renumbered (A661.B661.C667. D673.E100–A663.B663.C669.D664 [665].E102)—probably simply to clarify the positioning of the new leaves within the chapter’s original sequence. Furthermore, Brontë was unable to re-number the succeeding leaves following the chapter, as she had previously done when introducing the red-ink sequence

into the novel, because the rest of the novel was already in the hands of her publisher. This explains the interruption to her red-ink numbering, as well as its disuse afterward.

The substance of the expansion has to do with Eva, “*La Première Femme Savante*”—the subject of a school essay, we are told, that was written by Shirley in her youth and that was subsequently memorized by her teacher, Louis Moore (Robert Moore’s brother). Louis, as portrayed within the action of novel, recites the essay aloud, in its entirety, from memory.¹²⁸ Eva is Shirley’s vision of an early woman, living at the dawn of time—an alternative, we intuit, to Milton’s Eve, as mentioned in volume 2. Indeed, the name “Eva” appropriately carries a feminine ending, as if to demarcate the difference—reminding us that Shirley, not Milton, is the author of this particular narrative.

This dialectic is emphasized by the two sections, which cross-inform one another. Because the meditation on Eva comes later in the novel, it serves both as a corrective to the Eve of *Paradise Lost* and as a more complete re-imagining of Eve as she might have been. Yet, in the chronology of Shirley’s own life, Shirley writes her essay on Eva *before* she delivers her diatribe against Milton to Caroline Helstone. As a result, when we read the novel’s last volume, we recall Shirley’s prior criticism, and we realize that Shirley, as a schoolgirl, had already supplied a vision of her own to challenge the Miltonic Eve that she later disputes as a grown woman. Indeed, it is Shirley who seems most befitting of the title “femme savante”—a heroine also worthy of carrying the title of this particular novel.

Because these two episodes appear within different volumes—and across the gap of time when Brontë “laid aside” her work—an intervention was likely necessary in order to tighten the parallel between the sections. As with the prior examples of “Shirley and Caroline” and also “Further Communications on Business,” the insertion in volume 2 lays the groundwork for a later passage in volume 3.¹²⁹ Here it is certain, however, that the revision to volume 2 preceded that to volume 3, as we know that the addition of the long “Eva” text was introduced extremely late in the process.

6. ANALYSIS OF MISSING AND RECYCLED LEAVES

With each of the prior three examples, changes in foliation and page numbering correlate to the use of different paper stocks, and so help to establish the scope and approximate order in which Brontë modified her manuscript. How then do we approach the question of the first chapter, “Levitical,” which is not only written on London Superfine wove stock but, notably, is also the only part of volume 1 not written on Cream Laid paper? This is surely significant when we recall that London Superfine wove paper stock appears in volume 2 only in

128. The narrator “translates” Louis Moore’s recitation of the essay “on pain of being unintelligible to some readers.” See f. D664.Egr.

129. At the time the insertion was made to volume 2, the passage it corresponded with would have the short essay in French, probably titled “*La Première Femme Savante*” and most likely focusing on Eve/Eva, in accord with the subject of the later expansion.

instances where text had been modified, until the wove stock's principal and regular use in volume 3. We know that Brontë's publishers had asked her to revise chapter one in February, as is documented in her correspondence.¹³⁰ But, to date, scholars have assumed that Brontë refused to edit the opening of her novel, based on her responses to W. S. Williams and James Taylor of Smith, Elder.¹³¹

The leaves in chapter one do not reflect any apparent change to their inked numbering (see table 4) as we have seen in volume 2 in conjunction with changes in paper stocks. But there is a marked gap where f. 22 should appear that separates the wove leaves of chapter one, which concludes on f. 21, from the laid paper used for chapter two, which begins on f. 23.¹³² This omission carries with it no apparent loss of text, as we learn when collating the manuscript with the first edition—a fact that strongly suggests that Brontë removed f. 22 herself as part of an editorial process.¹³³ Furthermore, f. 21 (the last leaf of chapter one) is written on a recycled leaf whose verso bears the title *Shirley*—another clue that the chapter was revised and recopied only at a later stage, as Brontë did not entirely decide on the title *Shirley* until August 24, 1849—long after she had first sent the manuscript volume 1 to her publisher in February; before that, the novel had been tentatively referred to as *Hollow's Mill*, a title that was ultimately

¹³⁰ Brontë's correspondence, identified as likely being written on February 20, 1849, reads as follows: "I sincerely thank you both for the candid expression of your objections—what you say with reference to the first chapter shall be duly weighed—At present I feel reluctant to withdraw it—because as I formerly said of the Lowood-part of 'Jane Eyre'—it is true—The curates and their ongoing are merely photographed from the life." *Letters*, 2:181.

¹³¹ For example, Jacob Korg writes: "Although Smith and Elder asked her to cut the first chapter, a satiric description of the curates at dinner, Charlotte Brontë refused, arguing that the scene was authentic." See "The Problem of Unity in *Shirley*," *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 12, no. 2 (1957): 125–36 (126). doi:10.2307/3044150, accessed August 19, 2020. The general view is reflected by Rosengarten and Smith, who do not document or consider any of the bibliographical or codicological evidence presented here, and who write as follows: "Charlotte would not withdraw the offending chapter, telling James Taylor that she could not 'sacrifice truth to the fear of blame'; but she accepted his strictures on 'the bad taste of the opening apostrophe—that I had already condemned in my own mind.' *Shirley*, xix. Further on, Rosengarten and Smith write: "most of the alterations are slight" in volume 1. Their footnotes and apparatus make no mention of the manuscript evidence that I discuss. In her article, Marin maintains this position: "she did not comply with her publishers' suggestion to drop the first chapter because it might have offended religious readers and it might have destroyed the aesthetic unity of the composition." See Marin, "Charlotte Brontë's Heron Scissors," 24.

¹³² As I mentioned earlier, the BL conservators inserted a replacement leaf as part of the 1976 rebinding—but the leaf is not clearly marked as such.

¹³³ My opinion here is different from that of Smith and Rosengarten, who note: "there is no f. 22, but this seems to be an error: no matter is omitted at this point." See *Shirley*, Clarendon edition, xxiv. While Smith and Rosengarten see this as a numbering error, it is worth observing that Brontë was not prone to making mistakes of this kind. Indeed, there are no other detectable numbering errors of this sort in the entire manuscript. Also, when drawing this conclusion, Smith and Rosengarten did not take into consideration the difference in paper stocks, the differences in leaf numbering made in pencil, or the recycled title page leaf—evidence that clearly suggests a revision was made.

TABLE 4. Leaf numbering in "Levitical" (vol. 1, chap. 1)

BM foliation (E state)	CB pencil (A state)	CB brown ink (1) (B state)	CB red ink (C state)	CB brown ink (2) (D state)
N/A	[Not visible]	1	N/A	N/A
N/A	2	2	N/A	N/A
N/A	3	3	N/A	N/A
N/A	4	4	N/A	N/A
N/A	5	5	N/A	N/A
N/A	6	6	N/A	N/A
N/A	7	7	N/A	N/A
N/A	[8]	8	N/A	N/A
N/A	[9]	9	N/A	N/A
N/A	10	10	N/A	N/A
N/A	13	11	N/A	N/A
N/A	14	12	N/A	N/A
N/A	15	13	N/A	N/A
N/A	16	14	N/A	N/A
N/A	17	15	N/A	N/A
N/A	18	16	N/A	N/A
N/A	19	17	N/A	N/A
N/A	20	18	N/A	N/A
N/A	21	19	N/A	N/A
N/A	22	20	N/A	N/A
	N/A			
N/A	[t.p. verso]	21	N/A	N/A
N/A	N/A	[22]	N/A	N/A
N/A	23	23	N/A	N/A

Paper stock: London Superfine wove, except for (1) leaf [22] (C20 wove [BL conserved]) in B state and (2) leaf 23 (Cream Laid) in A and B states. Leaf 23 is from chapter 2.

rejected by her publishers.¹³⁴ Cumulatively, this evidence suggests that Brontë revisited and revised the first chapter sometime after August 24.

Even so, it is difficult to determine exactly what revisions were made to the chapter. There is significant variation occurring between the “A” pencil numbering sequence and the “B” brown-ink numbering of the leaves, suggesting that Brontë may have made additional changes in the pencil draft that likely served as the updated copy text for the fair-copy manuscript.¹³⁵ As table 4 shows, the penciled leaf numbering skips from “10” to “13”—evidence that suggests that two pages’ worth of draft material could have been set aside at the last moment as Brontë edited the chapter. Notably, the penciled numbering ends with f. 22—a detail that leads one to wonder whether Brontë had set out to replace all 22 leaves that may have originally constituted chapter one, before making additional last-minute changes that led her to withdraw ff. 11 and 12, and that necessitated an additional leaf (viz., the unpaginated, recycled leaf bearing the *Shirley* title page on its verso).

The full case becomes somewhat clearer upon reviewing Brontë’s correspondence alongside this bibliographical evidence. On February 4, 1849, Brontë mailed the first volume of her manuscript to her publisher with an accompanying letter including the following disclaimer: “The Manuscript has all its errors upon it, not having been read through since copying.”¹³⁶ Although W. S. Williams’ reply has not survived, in Brontë’s correspondence with the firm later that month about their “objections” to the first chapter, she wanted to know in particular their reasons for requesting a change: “I should like you to explain to me more fully the ground of your objections—is it because you think this chapter will render the work liable to severe handling by the press? Is it because knowing as you now do the identity of ‘Curer Bell’—this scene strikes you as unfeminine—? Is it because it is intrinsically defective and inferior—? I am afraid the first two reasons would not weigh with me—the last would.”¹³⁷

Apparently, Brontë soon afterward received a reply from Williams that, in her words, was “calculated to command careful consideration.”¹³⁸ It seems that Williams and Taylor had advised her to “give up Malone and Donne”—two curates who undergo satirical treatment in the published version of the novel, but who may have been subject to even harsher treatment in an earlier version, given that her publishers apparently had told her that the chapter pushed the boundaries of good taste and “artistic treatment.” In addition, Brontë’s letter sug-

¹³⁴. On August 21, 1849, Brontë writes to W. S. Williams: “If I remember rightly my Cornhill critics object to ‘Hollow’s Mill,’ nor do I now find it appropriate. It might rather be called ‘Fieldhead’—though, I think ‘Shirley’ would perhaps be the best title: ‘Shirley,’ I fancy, has turned out the most prominent and peculiar character in the work. Cornhill may decide between ‘Fieldhead’ and ‘Shirley.’” See *Letters*, 2:237. Brontë did refer to the manuscript as “Shirley” in a communication sent on March 1, 1849 to James Taylor; notably, this was after she sent the first draft (and presumably the prior title of “Hollow’s Mill”) to Smith, Elder on February 4, 1849. See *Letters*, 2:188.

¹³⁵. The leaf numbering for the first chapter is likely not part of the “A” and “B” sequences described but was introduced during a later pencil-and-ink revision (as with the brown-ink “D” sequence).

¹³⁶. *Letters*, 2:176.

¹³⁷. *Letters*, 2:181.

¹³⁸. *Letters*, 2:185.

gests that Williams and Taylor found the opening scene to be “irrelevant to the book.”¹³⁹ Although Brontë did not ultimately cast aside these two characters, she acknowledged in her reply the possible unwelcome repercussions—particularly negative criticism from the “periodical press”—that could result from publishing the chapter as it stood. Then, invoking her identity as the male author Currer Bell, she writes “Currer Bell, without pretending to be David, feels no awe of the unwieldy Anakim,” but reassured them that he (Currer Bell) would reasonably accommodate their concerns: “comprehend me rightly, gentlemen—it would grieve him to involve others in blame—any censure that would really injure and annoy his publishers would wound himself—therefore believe that he will not act rashly—trust his discretion.”¹⁴⁰ Acknowledging his criticism of the opening apostrophe, she (resuming the voice of “C. Brontë”) wanted to move on: “Enough said of a work in embryo—Permit me to request in conclusion that the M.S. may now be returned as soon as convenient.”¹⁴¹ Weighing these communications along with the codicological evidence, I believe that Brontë (in this case, operating as Bell) indeed reworked the first chapter in a way that would suit the need to retain Donne and Malone (who appear elsewhere in the novel) while also addressing some of the other concerns that Williams and Taylor had raised. Indeed, there is a letter written by Brontë to her publishers on September 19, 1849 that begins “I have made the alteration—but I have made it to please Cornhill—not the Public nor the critics.”¹⁴² Margaret Smith speculated that the “alteration” pertained to the second paragraph in the first chapter; but the evidence offered by the manuscript suggests that the revision was much larger than that.

This revision could also have entailed changes with respect to the novel’s introduction and characterization of Michael Hartley, given Brontë’s late-stage alterations to volume 2 of the manuscript and also given Hartley’s role in the novel’s denouement in volume 3. Indeed, a sizable portion—ff. 16 to 20—of chapter one pertains to Hartley. Were the material recopied and revised from the initial, earlier draft, this extended passage would constitute the single prior allusion to Hartley mentioned at the end of volume 3. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the first chapter is shorter rather than longer in its revision. It is also possible though that Brontë withdrew other, more controversial material from chapter one and filled it out with this extended passage about Hartley; in that case, the inserted material about Hartley in volume 2 would constitute an expansion of what would have been a brief mention about him in that volume. Both scenarios are possible. In either case, a larger pattern and purpose is clear: Brontë made a strategic attempt to unify the novel’s action across its three volumes.

This new evidence helps to inform our reading of *Shirley* as a whole. The novel’s opening chapter has been widely discussed and debated among critics since the novel’s initial release in 1849. Titled “Levitical,” the chapter was clearly intended as a critique on both the privileges exacted by junior assistants to senior clergymen,

^{139.} Ibid.

^{140.} *Letters*, 2:186.

^{141.} Ibid.

^{142.} *Letters*, 2:256–57.

as well a satire on their inflated self-importance and grandiose polemical views.¹⁴³ The opening failed to succeed with a number of contemporary readers—this despite Brontë's apparent late intervention at the prior behest of her publishers. George Henry Lewes wrote in his unsigned review of *Shirley* that it was a “mistake” to include the three “offensive, uninstructive and unamusing” curates featured in the initial chapter of the novel.¹⁴⁴ Over time, the figures have become “infamous” in Brontë criticism, and they continue to be discussed in great detail (viz., Dolin; Perkin; Thormählen).¹⁴⁵ An influential essay written in the mid-twentieth century by Jacob Korg branded the chapter as an “irrelevant” element marring the novel's unity.¹⁴⁶ In keeping with this Lewesian strain of criticism, Tim Dolin has interpreted *Shirley*'s “arbitrariness” as “reinforc[ing] the sense that it resists a logic of historical influence or even causality.”¹⁴⁷ He argues that the novel “is plagued with anagnoseses [sic], confessions pleading new beginnings, and reversals of fortune,” and notes that “*Shirley* is one of the first English novels to display as structural disturbance the disquieting implications of the modern crowd . . . [a] structural disturbance that was, and still is, perceived to be its formal imperfection.”¹⁴⁸ Yet recent critics have welcomed these same qualities as a signal innovation in Brontë's writing. Justine Pizzo argues that the comic nature of *Shirley*'s opening chapter establishes the novel's “episodic structure and seemingly discrete, disunified vignettes that mark its difference from the rest of Brontë's oeuvre.”¹⁴⁹

If *Shirley* seems to be episodic in its design, close bibliographical analysis indicates that this was a calculated effect. Brontë carefully considered the risk of retaining her first chapter, as she clearly seems to have modified an earlier, slightly longer version of the chapter (i.e., longer by one leaf) in order to allay at least some of her publishers' concerns, while retaining the characters of Donne, Malone, and Sweeting for her main purpose. The free-wheeling exploits and haughty attitudes of these young, unmarried men starkly contrast with the condition in which the novel's two unmarried heroines find themselves—a marked disparity between the kind of privilege that certain men had (and often abused) and the limitations imposed on women, who were highly restricted in what they could say and do. Although it remains unclear exactly what changes were made to the first chapter, the ultimate fates and fortunes of these curates—who appear elsewhere throughout the novel—are disclosed within the novel's last chapter,

143. See J. Russell Perkin, *Theology and the Victorian Novel* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 61.

144. Lewes referred to the curates as he continued: “That they are not inventions, however, we feel persuaded. For nothing but a strong sense of their reality could have seduced the authoress into such a mistake as admitting them at all.” Lewes, *Currer Bell's ‘Shirley,’* 84.

145. Tim Dolin, *Mistress of the House: Women of Property in the Victorian Novel* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997); Perkin, *Theology and the Victorian Novel*; and Marianne Thormählen, *The Brontës and Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

146. Jacob Korg, “The Problem of Unity in *Shirley*,” *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 12, no. 2 (1957): 125–36 (126). doi:10.2307/3044150, accessed August 19, 2020.

147. Tim Dolin, “Fictional Territory and a Woman's Place: Regional and Sexual Difference in *Shirley*,” *ELH* 62, no. 1 (1995): 197–215 (205). <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30030266>, accessed October 31, 2020.

148. *Ibid.*

149. Justine Pizzo, “Gendering the Comic Body: Physical Humour in *Shirley*,” in *Charlotte Bronte, Embodiment and the Material World*, ed. Justine Pizzo and Eleanor Houghton (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 50.

“The Winding-up.” Brontë’s inclusio is yet another deliberate bracketing technique that underscores the curates’ significance—as well as Michael Hartley’s—in the novel’s overall structure. As we have seen, it was Brontë’s practice to edit and tighten such parallels across the novel’s three volumes. Given the material evidence presented here, it is reasonable to suppose that she modified her opening chapter in concert with the composition of the novel’s conclusion.

7. THE ROLE OF INTERPRETATION

This article has attempted to call attention to the kinds of rich bibliographical and codicological evidence found in a modern literary manuscript. It has largely focused on demonstrating the utility of correlating variations in the substrates of the manuscript with differences in its numbering. It cannot offer a close analysis of all of the changes made by Brontë, which is better handled in the form of a critical edition. At the same time, it is important to acknowledge that the manuscript contains some significant expansions that entail no apparent changes to its paper stocks.

One notable example, already discussed, is Brontë’s revision to her chapter “The First Blue-Stocking”—the “translation” of the French passage that was made in September 1849 per the advice of her publishers. Another even larger expansion preceding that one seems to have gone undetected to date. “Written in the Schoolroom” was copied out by Brontë in the summer of 1849. The chapter, which falls toward the very end of volume 3, describes Louis Moore’s proposal to Shirley Keeldar. Ending with f. A851.B851.C858.[D864].E290, the chapter was followed by “The Winding-up.” Then, as table 5 shows, a series of ten leaves was inserted as part of stage C of the composition process, as is evident by the changes to the manuscript’s red-ink and B-series brown-ink numbering. This new section, demarcated by a double rule of two short pen strokes in the manuscript, begins on the very bottom of f. A851.B851.C858.[D864].E290. Nine leaves later, we find A852.B852.C869.[D875].E301 and its ensuing sequence. What had been a difference in seven leaves between the numbering of states B and C later increased to a difference of 17 leaves.

This newly added section is conveniently framed as an interpolated narrative from Louis Moore’s blank book—a narrative device that Brontë uses earlier on in the third volume of the novel in the chapter, “Louis Moore,” and later again, at the beginning of “Written in the Schoolroom.” Critics such as Lewes found this tactic rather clumsy, as his following critique makes evident:

There, again, there is Louis Moore writing long narratives in his note-book. *What he writes is often striking; and had the authoress only thought of making him keep a journal, probability would have been sufficiently saved.* But, instead of that, she obliges him to sit down in Shirley’s room, draw out a note-book, and proceed to write very circumstantially, for our benefit, what everyone feels he would never have *written* at all. And while writing he is so intensely conscious of being *read*, that he says, “I confess it—to this mute page, I may confess it” . . . All that Louis Moore writes might have been told by the authoress, without subterfuge.¹⁵⁰

¹⁵⁰. Lewes, “*Shirley: a Tale*. By Currer Bell, Author of ‘Jane Eyre,’” *The Edinburgh Review*, no. 183 (January 1850): 168.

TABLE 5. Leaf numbering in "Written in the Schoolroom" and "The Winding-up" (vol. 3)

BM foliation (E state)	CB pencil (A state)	CB brown ink (1) (B state)	CB red ink (C state)	CB brown ink (2) (D state)
289	850	850	857	[863]
290	851	851	858	[864]
291	852	852	859	[865]
292	853	853	860	[866]
293	854	854	861	[867]
294	855	855	862	[868]
295	856	856	863	[869]
296	857	857	864	[870]
297	858	858	865	[871]
298	859	859	866	[872]
299	860	860	867	[873]
300	861	861	868	[874]
301	852	852 [862]	869	[875]
302	85?	853 [863]	870	[876]
303	854	854 [864]	871	[877]
304	856	855 [865]	872	[878]
305	857	856 [866]	873	[879]
306	858	857 [867]	874	[880]
307	85?	858* [868]	875	[881]
308	860	859 [869]	876	[882]
309	861	860 [870]	877	[883]
310	N/A	N/A	878	[884]
311	[862]	[861][872]	879	[885]

Paper stock: London Superfine wove.

Brontë seems to have anticipated this very criticism. At the outset of this late expansion, her narrator addresses the novel's readers as follows: "Yet again, a passage from the blank book, if you like, reader; if you don't like it, pass it over:—."¹⁵¹ The device, indeed, feels most contrived at this particular point of

151. *Shirley*, Clarendon edition, 713.

the novel—unsurprising, perhaps, given that the entry in question is literally appended to an existing chapter, which was already written in the style of a blank book entry. The later entry made by Louis Moore reports how news of his engagement to Shirley is received by her uncle and former guardian, Mr. Sympson—a scene entailing some rather charged language, owing to Mr. Sympson's objection to having his niece marry her former tutor. Perhaps the narrative device of the blank book was especially helpful in this instance: Moore writes that Mr. Sympson "uttered words with which this page shall never be polluted."¹⁵² Yet, without a doubt, the device of Moore's entries in his "blank book" also readily allowed Brontë to adjust and adapt this portion of her narrative with comparative ease when she was pressed for time. Indeed, as we have already seen, *Shirley* contains a number of interpolated texts that served as a convenient node of access for expansion and revision. This example and Shirley's essay on Eva are two of six instances of such texts that were altered in a way that entailed partial-leaf excisions or the insertions of new leaves.

One final and telling example of a change to an interpolated text can be found in the first volume of the novel within the chapter "Coriolanus," which bears a partial-leaf excision and repair to f. A126.B126. The following leaf features two stanzas of André Chénier's poem "La jeune captive," which Caroline Helstone recites to her cousin, Robert Moore, with whom she is secretly in love. These stanzas clearly offer a coded commentary on her private feelings toward her cousin: "Mon beau voyage encore est si loin de sa fin! | . . . | Un instant seulement mes lèvres ont pressé | La coupe en mes mains encore pleine"; "The voyage of life is but begun for me | . . . | My lips have hardly touched the cup as yet | Still brimming in my hand."

Brontë cut out about five or six lines preceding the two stanzas, pasting into their place a slip of paper with a commentary on Caroline's taste in poetry. The new text, fashioned as a footnote, reads:

† Caroline had never seen Millevoye's "Jeune Malade," otherwise she would have known that there is a better poem in the French language than Chénier's "Captive;" a poem worthy to have been written in English,—an inartificial, genuine, impressive strain. To how many other samples of French verse can the same epithets be applied with truth?

Although it is unclear exactly what text was excised from f. A126.B126, one distinct possibility is that the leaf bore the poem's preceding stanza, which runs approximately the same length as the prior two. The case for a third stanza having been present is further supported in the novel by the narrator's reference to the "last three stanzas" that Caroline "rehearsed well."¹⁵³ The stanza that was probably present in the manuscript and later removed would have likely read as follows:

Est-ce à moi de mourir? Tranquille je m'endors,
Et tranquille je veille; et ma veille aux remords
Ni mon sommeil ne sont en proie.
Ma bienvenue au jour me rit dans tous les yeux;

152. *Shirley*, Clarendon edition, 716.

153. *Shirley*, Clarendon edition, 106.

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"As far as they concern you I confided them. I know that it would be better for you to be loved by your most people than to be hated by them, and I am sure that kindness is more likely to win their regard, than pride. If you were friend and cold to me and Hartree should me love you? When you are cold to me - as you are sometimes - can I venture to be affectionate in return?"

"Your letter, I am glad my lesson both in language and ethics with a touch on politics; it is your turn. Hartree tells me you were much taken by a little piece of poetry you learnt the other day, a piece by from André Révész (*la jeune Captain*), do you remember it still?

"I think so."

"Replied it then. Take your time and mind your accent; as finally let us have our English up."

Caroline - beginning in a low, rather tremulous voice, and gaining courage as she proceeded - reflected the French accent of Charles. The last three stanzas she recited well!

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[¶] Caroline had never seen Pittenger's "Jean Malib" ; otherwise she would have known that there is a better poem in the French language than Charles' "Captain"; a poem worthy to have been written in England; one beautiful, genuine, impressive poem. So how many other wonders of good and rare can be found after a spell of such a trip with such?

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"Mon beau voyage encore est si loin de ta fin! Je pars, et die arme qui bâillent le bâtonnier J'air faire le premier à faire.
Au long de la mer à faire commerce,
Un instant seulement mes bâtons ont frappé
La corde sur mes mouscas encor flâne. &c.

Je me dirai que j'aurai tantôt - je veux bien la matinée;
Et comme le soleil, je trouverai du plaisir,
Je veux acheter mon année.
Bonneau tout ma vie, et le bonheur des jardins
J'en ai une heure pour les faire du plaisir,
Je veux acheter ma journée!"

fifteenth

He stood at first with his eyes cast down, but soon he hastily raised them; having looked in his glass, he could not detect Caroline, without her forewarning where his gaze was fixed.

Her dark hair a colour, her eyes a light, her countenance an expression this evening which would have made even plain features striking; but there was not the generous aspect of plainness to部分 in her case. The sunshine was not shed over enough bareness; it fell on soft bloom. Each bâtonnier was turned with grace; the whole aspect was pleasing: at the first movement - animated - interested - touched - she might be called) beautiful. Such a face was calculated to awaken not only

FIGURES 7 AND 8. Ff. A126.B126 and A127.B127. Note the repair and new text appended to the lower portion of f. A126.B126. © British Library Board, ff. 126 and 127, Add MS 43477.

Sur des fronts abattus, mon aspect dans ces lieux
Ranime presque de la joie.¹⁵⁴

Why would these lines have been excised and replaced with this new paratextual device? It seems that this scene required especially careful handling. Brontë may have initially included this stanza to foreshadow Caroline's near-death experience, resulting from her own unrequited love for Moore: "Est-ce à moi de mourir?"; "Is it my lot to die?" Yet to a discerning nineteenth-century reader, the inclusion of such lines could have been interpreted as an unseemly attempt by Caroline to advance herself in the estimation of Robert Moore: "Ma bienvenue au jour me rit dans tous les yeux; | Sur des fronts abattus, mon aspect dans ces lieux | Ranime presque de la joie"; "My welcome shines from every morning face, | And to these downcast souls my presence in this place | Almost restores their joy." Had Brontë left the stanza in the manuscript, Caroline could have been seen to be insinuating that she, like the sun, serves a central role in the lives of the Moores—that without her, their lives would be dreary and downcast. If Brontë indeed removed this particular stanza, it would have helped to counteract or at least to soften such criticism. (Indeed, Mrs. Yorke openly accuses Caroline of this very kind of coy behavior later in the novel.) Brontë's footnote thus serves as a rhetorical decoy—an intellectualized, defensive strategy recasting the focus of this romantic scene into an analysis of French poetry—and a modification calculated to detract attention from the very real implication that Caroline Helstone is, in fact, courting Robert Moore. Although these findings must remain open to further interpretation, they are meant to offer a sense of how bibliography can draw together two forms of analysis—one based in codicology, the other in close reading—in a way that is still very much grounded in the manuscript as artifact.

More generally, this kind of close reading, which entails text and object alike, provides a means for revisiting the kinds of scholarly narratives that have formed around the historical practices of writers—in this case, an author whose identity as a woman has raised, for some critics, questions about censure, silence, and erasure with respect to her writing practice. Brontë was undoubtedly concerned with matters of gender, as is evident throughout her novels, as well as in her use of a male pseudonym that extended into her correspondence, where we find marked opinions held by "Curer Bell." As communicated to her publishers, she did not want to be restricted to what would be conceived as "feminine" language. Even so, as a close analysis of the manuscript of *Shirley* shows, during this time her work as a writer was shaped and even supplanted by her role as a caregiver—a tension between work and home that few male authors of Curer Bell's stature would have experienced, at least to anything approaching the same degree.

^{154.} C. D. Warner et al. translation via Bartleby: <https://www.bartleby.com/library/poem/1315.html>, accessed December 20, 2020:

Is it my lot to die? In peace I lay me down,
In peace awake again, a peace nor care doth drown,
Nor fell remorse destroy.
My welcome shines from every morning face,
And to these downcast souls my presence in this place
Almost restores their joy.

By turning our attention to the materials and mechanics of writing processes as well as the role of women's labor, we can gain clearer insight into the historical practices and domestic duties that marked women's writing. Although material surfaces are silent, laid or wove, embossed or watermarked, excised or intact, they can speak to activities otherwise undocumented in the historical record. By learning how to discern the changes introduced by Brontë amid those made by the hands of many others—printers, publishers, collectors, bookbinders, curators, and conservators—we find the story of a rising woman author who prioritized the care of her family over the expectations of her publishers and readers. Having lived through a global pandemic, many of us are now more attuned to the caregiving duties required of those coping with grave illness. It is helpful, I think, to understand Brontë's break from working on the manuscript as a decision necessitated by this more urgent charge.

And yet we also see another choice at work at a later stage of composition: a strategic process of revision that drew together plot points across the book's three volumes—deliberate changes that, when introduced, drew together the narrative threads of Brontë's novel. By studying the manuscript slowly, carefully, and methodically using the techniques afforded by bibliography, these two distinct stages emerge from among the manuscript's complex layers of composition to tell a more nuanced story of how Charlotte Brontë's work as a writer intersected with her duties as both a daughter and sister. Sometimes slowing down—as Brontë herself was forced to—allows us to revisit our own critical assumptions with fresh eyes and a clearer sense of purpose. Where her work as a writer left legible traces, her labor as a caregiver created subtle absences barely detectable, but still discernable, in the leaves she left behind.

“THE BROTHERS” AND THE
ENGLISH *COMTE DE GABALIS*

by

JOSCELYN GODWIN

*C*omte de Gabalis is a short novel in the form of five discourses, published anonymously in 1670 and certainly authored by the Abbé Nicolas de Montfaucon de Villars (1635?–1673).¹ Anglophone readers are most likely to find it in a translation first published in 1913 and often reprinted.² Attributed only to “The Brothers,” it carries a pseudo-scholarly commentary every verso page and on 145 pages at the end, in which Villars’ lively and satirical text is treated as a solemn source of esoteric teachings. Who were these Brothers? This article seeks to answer that question and to illuminate an enigmatic episode in *Gabal*is’ reception history.

Villars’ novel was an instant success. It was soon banned in France, reprinted in Holland and Cologne, and supplied with spurious sequels. Two different English translations appeared in 1680, inspiring Alexander Pope in his *Rape of the Lock* (1712), and a third soon afterwards.³ Pope’s mock epic introduced English readers, as Villars had the French, to the picturesque realm of the elementals: sylphs, salamanders, undines or nymphs, and gnomes. Gabalis, a German count, claims deep knowledge of them and their habits, as well as of Kabbalah, alchemy, and occult mysteries. He urges the sceptical narrator to renounce human women and to marry a sylph, adding that the greatest ones of the past were all the result of such inter-species intercourse.

The 1913 translation is accurate, if ponderous, and omits Villars’ more salacious passages. The Brothers are named as publisher and copyright holder, and leave us to draw our own conclusions from their oval emblem (figure 1), which appears insistently: twice on the dust jacket, twice embossed on the cover, and four more times inside the book.

1. The best scholarly edition, exactly transcribing the 1670 print, is Montfaucon de Villars, *Le Comte de Gabalis; La Critique de Bérénice*, Introduction et Commentaire par Roger Laufer (Paris: A. G. Nizet, 1963).

2. The title page reads: Comte de Gabalis / by the/Abbé N. de Montfaucon de Villars / Rendered out of French into English / with a Commentary. / “When a thing is hidden away with so much pains, / merely to reveal it is to destroy it.” Tertullian / Published by The Brothers / [symbol] / and printed at The Old Bourne Press, / under the supervision of W. H. Broome, / 15 Holborn, London, EC. / Copyright, The Brothers, 1913.

3. *The Count of Gabalis: or Conferences about Secret Sciences* (London: for Robert Harford, 1680); *The Count of Gabalis, or, The Extravagant Mysteries of the Cabalists* (London: for B.M., Printer to the Cabalistical Society of the Sages, at the Sign of the Rosy-Crucian, 1680); *The Count of Gabalis, Being a Diverting History of the Rosicrucian Doctrine of Spirits* (London: for B. Lintott & E. Curril, 1714).

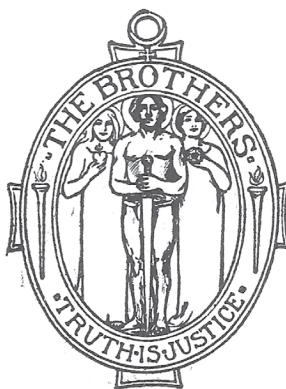


FIGURE 1. Emblem of The Brothers.

The printer was the Old Bourne Press, a private press founded in London in 1902 by W. Herbert Broome that produced illustrated books in limited editions. *Comte de Gabalis* fits the profile of a private commission, using the resources of Broome's workshop. It is richly illustrated in line, sepia, and photogravure. The unsigned decorations are typical of the Symbolist period of the late nineteenth century, such as the chapter heading (figure 2) which shows the four types of elementals gathered around a philosophical family. The initial letter on page 274 (figure 3) is copied, line by line, from Elihu Vedder's famous painting *The Questioner of the Sphinx* (the lesser-known version of 1875, in semi-profile). Other illustrations are taken with due acknowledgment from museums.

There is only one reference to The Brothers in the body of the book, and it is a teasing one. The photograph opposite p. 297 of a half-length, turbaned figure is captioned: "Portrait of a Master. Painted by R. Owned by The Brothers." It is visibly an "old master" oil painting with a crackled surface. Since Rembrandt's *Polish Rider* (now in the Frick Collection, New York) is the only other painting reproduced in the book, and the artist was known for his love of Oriental costume, the reader is free—perhaps even invited—to imagine The Brothers as custodians of priceless art treasures.

Examples of this edition are sometimes seen with the imprint of William Rider & Son, the London publisher of much occult literature, and the date 1922. A new title page has been pasted in, reading: "Comte de Gabalis. *Discourses on the Secret Sciences and Mysteries, in accordance with the principles of the Ancient Magi and the Wisdom of the Kabalistic Philosophers*. By the Abbé N. de Montfaucon de Villars. Newly rendered into English with Commentary and Annotations." A catalogue entry of Weiser Antiquarian Books comments: "We can only presume that Rider took over the already bound stock of books from 'The Brothers' and had a new title-page printed and inserted, and (perhaps later) a dust jacket printed."⁴ This

4. I am grateful to Keith Richmond of Weiser Antiquarian Books from bringing this to my attention.



DISCOURSE IV.



AWAITED the Comte de Gabalis at my house, as we had arranged at parting. He came at the appointed hour, and accosting me with a smiling air, said, "Ah, well, my Son, which of the Invisible Peoples does God

FIGURE 2. *Comte de Gabalis* (1913), p. 115.



EVIATHAN. JOB xl, 1.—Canst thou draw out leviathan with an hook?

The word Leviathan in Hebrew is made up of two roots, Levi and Than. "ThN, Than, which is the root of Serpent or

FIGURE 3. *Comte de Gabalis* (1913), p. 274.

variant is identical to the 1913 edition in every respect except that there is no copyright line.

The true second edition appeared in New York, 1914, identical to the first in binding, format, font, and design. However, the text has been reset, so that the pagination differs by a few lines, and the italics and capitals are different. The commentaries lack the London edition's identifying letters, from A to HHH. A few footnotes are added. If there was a dust jacket, I have not seen it. The obverse of the half-title names "New York / Harry B. Haines, 527 West 110th Street / London

/ W. H. Broome, 15 Holborn, E. C. / Copyright, *The Brothers*, 1914." On the title page: "PUBLISHED BY THE BROTHERS," and on the obverse: "COPYRIGHT 1914, / BY THE BROTHERS. / [symbol] / THE NEWS PRINTING COMPANY / PATERSON N.J." Harry B. Haines (1882-1972) was editor and publisher of the *Morning/Evening News* of Paterson, New Jersey. Evidently this edition was another private commission, executed by Haines's printer.

The third edition (New York, 1922) contains a real surprise. It was issued by a commercial house, the well-known Masonic publisher Macoy. The dust jacket carries advertisements for books by Theosophical authors (William Q. Judge, Anna Kingsford, Mabel Collins, Franz Hartmann), and the spine shows the Masonic square and compass in place of The Brothers' emblem, which now occurs only on the copyright page. The quality of production is hardly inferior to the preceding editions, except that the photographs and half-tone illustrations are in gray, not sepia, and without tissue guards. The text has again been reset and the footnotes numbered, rather than identified by symbols. The portrait by "R" is no longer said to be owned by The Brothers. The surprise is that the translation is now described as "Rendered out of French into English with a Commentary by Lotus Dudley," and "Copyright 1914, 1922 Sarah Emery Dudley." Lotus Dudley also signs a new Foreword, inserted on a formerly blank page. All this is confirmed in the U.S. *Catalogue of Copyright Entries*.⁵

Lotus and Sarah Dudley were in fact the same person, and quite conspicuous in certain circles. Sarah Lotta Emery Dudley (1878-1954) was a daughter of George Daniel Emery (1833-1909), a wealthy industrialist in Buffalo, New York.⁶ She was educated at the Cambridge School for Girls and at Bryn Mawr College.⁷ In 1904 she married Charles Tarbell Dudley, a Harvard graduate and mining engineer. They settled in San Francisco and had two children, but their marriage was short-lived, for in 1908 Charles died of tuberculosis.⁸ According to the Bryn Mawr alumnae newsletter, Sarah went to England the following year, 1909.⁹

The same newsletter announces in June 1914 that "Lotta Emery Dudley (Mrs. Charles Tarbell Dudley), has been spending several months in America. She came over to supervise the publication of *her book* [my italics]."¹⁰ This explains how the second edition of *Comte de Gobalis* appeared from its American

5. *Catalogue of Copyright Entries*, New Series, 1922, entry no. 8317 for *Comte de Gobalis* is dated May 3, 1922, under the number A 674197 and the name of "Sarah Emery Dudley, c/o Macoy Publishing & Masonic Supply Co." It adds "Copyright is claimed on the foreword, by Lotus Dudley."

6. The career of George Emery, known as the "Mahogany King," is documented in Samuel A. Eliot, *Biographical History of Massachusetts*, vol. 4 (Boston: Massachusetts Biographical Society, 1913), 114-17.

7. Information from ancestry.com.

8. Obituary of Charles Tarbell Dudley 'oo in *Yale Alumni Weekly*, XVIII/7 (Nov. 11, 1908): 183.

9. "Mrs. C. T. Dudley is visiting Mary Converse '98 before sailing to England where she will spend the summer." *Bryn Mawr Alumnae Quarterly*, April 1909.

10. *Bryn Mawr Alumnae Quarterly*, July 1914. "News from the Classes. 1900." The quotation continues: "She has been the guest of the Sorosis Club, the New York Women's Press Club, and has addressed other organizations in New York and in the Middle West."

press so soon, and so faithfully to the original design. It also staked a claim for Dudley to The Brother's production, if only among her collegiate friends.

From July 1915 until 1919, Dudley directed a small private school in Greenwich, Connecticut. It was called the Wabanaki School, after the indigenous tribe of the region, and was situated next to the estate of Ernest Thompson Seton (1860-1946). He had been instrumental in founding the Boy Scouts of America and other movements favoring the free, outdoor education of the young, and had a particular admiration for the Native Americans and their culture.

So did Dudley. After she retired from the school she became a psychic or spiritual adviser, notably of the socialite and diarist Mabel Dodge Luhan (1879-1962), who knew her as "Mrs. Lotus Dudley."¹¹ In 1919 Mabel was considering settling in Taos, New Mexico, and marrying Tony Luhan, an Indian of the Tiwa tribe. Dudley assured "Mrs. Sterne" (as Mabel then was) that she (Mabel) was destined to build a bridge between Indian wisdom and the West. Taos was to be a great spiritual center, indeed the "heart of the world."¹² Due to Mabel's magnetism and wealth, the town would soon become a meeting-point of cultural celebrities.

Dudley's later career included international conferencing with influential connections.¹³ On one occasion her sense of entitlement went too far, and she spent two days in detention by the Paris police.¹⁴ In 1935 she contributed a long introduction to excerpts from the *Ramayana*, published by the London orientalist house of Luzac.¹⁵ By 1937 she appears to have become a Muslim.¹⁶ She was evidently a complex woman, whose biography would reward further research. But was the *Comte de Gabalis* really her work?

No such idea was current on the other side of the Atlantic, where the clues converged on a character known only as M. In 1927, an "occult autobiography" titled *The White Brother* appeared under the name of Michael Juste.¹⁷ It describes

11. Gale M. Harley, *Emma Curtis Hopkins: Forgotten Founder of New Thought* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2002), 105-109, on Hopkins' opposition to Dudley's influence over Mabel Luhan. See also Lois Palken Rudnick, *Intimate Memories: The Autobiography of Mabel Dodge Luhan* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), 165.

12. Seven letters from Dudley to Luhan are in the Mabel Dodge Luhan Papers, Beinecke Library, Yale University, YCAL MAA 196, Box 10, folder 274. Here quoted: letter of May 29, 1919.

13. "I attended the International Congress of Women in Vienna in May and represented the United States on the Committee of Letters, and was at the preliminary meeting at Budapest and the later conferences elsewhere. Since the end of June I have been visiting my old friend, the Duchess of Somerset, at Maiden Bradley." *Bryn Mawr Bulletin*, XI/2 (Feb. 1931).

14. "Paris Frees New York Woman," *New York Evening Post*, July 17, 1933: "Mrs. Charles Tarbell Dudley of New York, who was held by police after she insisted on seeing President Labrun last Friday, was released today and left for London. She had been a resident of Paris for three years."

15. Mahatma Tulsidas, *Book of Ram, the Bible of India*, trans. Hari Prasad Shastri (London: Luzac, 1935), 7-22.

16. Lotus Dudley writes on Feb. 22, 1937 from Herne Hill, London, addressing "Dear Sir and Brother in Islam, Assalam-o-alaikum" and expressing her "steadfastness in Islam." *Islamic Review* 25 (1937): 276.

17. Michael Juste, *The White Brother: An Occult Autobiography* (London: Rider & Co., n.d. [1927]).

a group of young aspirants living a Bohemian existence in postwar Bloomsbury. Their mentor, the White Brother of the title, is an older occultist called “Brother M” who takes them on astral journeys and other adventures.

The book is actually a *roman à clef*. Michael Juste was a pseudonym of Michael Hurwitz (1897–1961), author, poet, playwright, and, under the name of Michael Houghton, founder and proprietor of the Atlantis Bookshop, which still exists (as of 2024) near the British Museum. His nephew, the eminent English violinist Emanuel Hurwitz, remembered him as “a benevolent white magician.”¹⁸ Michael’s friend, called “David” in the book, is securely identified as Raphael Hurst (1898–1981), who would become a best-selling author on spirituality under the name of Paul Brunton.¹⁹ Brunton’s son, Kenneth Thurston Hurst (1923–2009), has confirmed that Brother M was a family friend and his own godfather (witness Kenneth’s middle name). But he only knew him as Mr. Thurston, an American painter living in London and specializing in lacquer work for upscale department stores. No one hitherto had been able to identify him.

There are two further books authored simply by M and bearing The Brothers’ emblem. The first was *The Dayspring of Youth* (1933), advertised by the publisher as “By One of the Brothers.”²⁰ The reviewer in *Psychic Science* speculated that M “seems to be identical with Michael Juste, author of *White Brother*.”²¹ It was a good guess, but missed the mark.

A second book by M, *The Lord God of Truth Within*, was compiled by Hurwitz and published in 1941 by the press of the esoteric entrepreneur Manly Palmer Hall.²² It is subtitled *A Posthumous Sequel to The Dayspring of Youth*, and includes anecdotes about sylphs and gnomes who are M’s personal friends.

M mentions *Comte de Gabalis* in both books. In *Dayspring* he prefacing a long quotation with the words: “In a book previously mentioned by us, *The Comte de Gabalis*, we have written this passage about prayer . . .” (p. 326). In *The Lord God of Truth Within*, M writes: “we have spoken about [Merlin] in a former book [footnote] *Comte de Gabalis*.” (p. 159) The three books form a coherent, if idiosyncratic, body of doctrine.

Yet the 1922 edition loudly claimed to be the work of Lotus Dudley. My first unpleasant suspicion was that she had appropriated Thurston’s work and republished it under her own name(s). He could have been referring to this when he wrote, in the Preface to *The Dayspring of Youth*, “as certain people in the past have assumed authorship of some of my writings, all publications of the Brothers will be issued in future under their seal and copyrighted” (p. 7). But this does not accord with what is known of Dudley’s character. The references to *Comte de Gabalis* in Thurston’s later books, carefully read, do not claim authorship: they merely say that his words have appeared in it.

18. Riki Gerardy, *Talks with Emanuel Hurwitz: 82 Years with the Violin* (Edgware: Zelia, 2006), 11.

19. On Brunton’s connections with Michael Juste and with M, see Kenneth Thurston Hurst, *Paul Brunton: A Personal View* (Burdett, NY: Larson Publications, 1989), 44–46, 60–62.

20. M, *The Dayspring of Youth (Yoga Practice Adapted for Western Bodies)* (London & New York: Putnam, 1933).

21. Unsigned review, *Psychic Science* 12/4 (Jan. 1934): 317.

22. M, *The Lord God of Truth Within* (Los Angeles: Phoenix Press, 1941).

By a chance that could only have happened in the era of the Internet, I came across a joint application by Thurston and Dudley for a U.S. patent:²³

Patent application filed April 15, 1913. Serial no. 761,151. Book cover. Charles W. Thurston and Sarah Emery Dudley, United States Citizens residing at London. Patent issued by the United States Patent Office, July 14, 1914, no. 1,103,102.

The application is for a book cover incorporating a slot on the inside into which a card can be inserted. The invention is trivial, but the technical drawing accompanying it (figure 4) shows the unmistakable emblem of The Brothers, just as it appears on the front paste-down of the 1913 edition of *Comte de Gabalis*. And there are the signatures of Charles W. Thurston and Sarah Emery Dudley. Simultaneously with the first edition, they had planted this clue to The Brothers' identity where no one would think of looking for it. It also revealed Thurston's first name, making it possible to track him down.²⁴ In 2021 I acquired sixteen letters written in the 1920s and 1930s to Hurwitz from Brunton, Thurston, and Thurston's wife, which supplied further biographical information on all of them.²⁵

Charles Willis Thurston (1872–1937) was born near Boston into an inventor's family. As a boy he "gathered mushrooms in Emerson's front yard"²⁶ and frequented the local Native Americans. He left a faint trail in the Boston art scene.²⁷ By 1908 he was among the host of American artists exhibiting in Paris. Thus he was almost certainly the unnamed illustrator of our edition. I do not know whether there were any other Brothers, nor who was Thurston's own master. His teachings partly resemble those of Thomas Lake Harris (1823–1906), founder of the Brotherhood of the New Life, who consorted with fairies and claimed to be married to a queen in their realm.

A tentative conclusion emerges from this: that Sarah or Lotus Dudley met Thurston in London after her husband's death. He instructed her in psychic and esoteric matters, and they collaborated on the *Comte de Gabalis*. While the occult material was Thurston's, by page-count it is in small proportion to the excerpts from classical works, quotations, summaries, supplements, and comparisons that fill out the 377 pages, not to mention the translation itself. Dudley, with her Bryn Mawr education and the British Museum at hand, was easily capable of such work. She probably financed the 1913 London edition and the New York edition of the following year. In 1922, with the earlier editions impossible to find,

23. The patent application was revealed in a YouTube talk of May 25, 2021, entitled "Who Wrote the Dayspring of Youth?" I am grateful to the presenter, identified only as "MtalksX," for this vital piece of information.

24. On his ancestry, see the Frost Genealogy (https://archive.org/stream/frostgenealogyinofros/frostgenealogyinofros_djvu.txt) and *Thurston Genealogies*, compiled by Brown Thurston (Portland, Maine: Compiler, 1880), 232.

25. Charles Thurston married Aileen Winifred Cook (1889 or 1890–1953) on April 30, 1921. The marriage certificate describes both as "Artist and decorator." The letters to Hurwitz will be made accessible on the website of the Paul Brunton Philosophic Foundation. See <https://www.paulbrunton.org/index.php>.

26. *The Lord God of Truth Within*, 198.

27. *The Boston Arts Club: Exhibition Record, 1873–1909*, compiled and edited Janice H. Chadbourne et al. (Madison, CT: Sound View Press, 1991), 375.

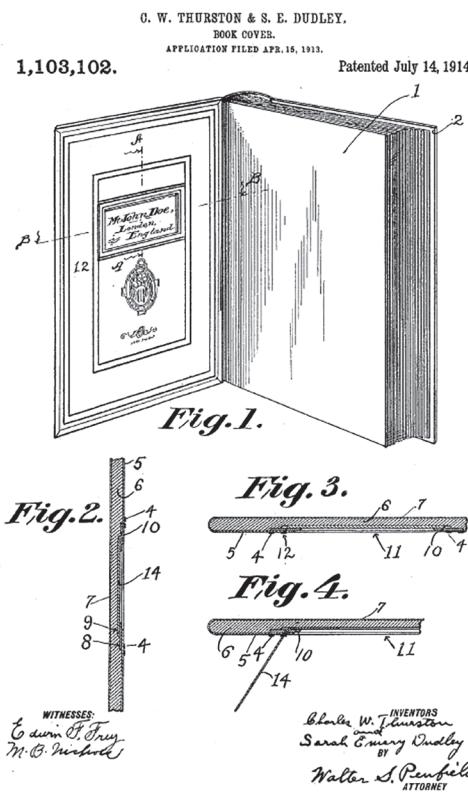


FIGURE 4. Patent granted to Charles W. Thurston and Sarah Emery Dudley (July 14, 1914).

she arranged for its new publication by a commercial publisher. This required copyrighting under an individual's legal name, so she gave her own. Since The Brothers no longer existed as a working group, there was no reason to perpetuate their mystery. If this is correct, the joint patent of a "book cover" in which names can be inserted and removed was appropriately symbolic, even prophetic.

THREE ENDINGS: FITZGERALD,
HEMINGWAY, FAULKNER

by

JAMES L. W. WEST III

THE original endings of three important American novels, recovered from surviving manuscripts and typescripts, have been restored in scholarly editions. Each restoration involves two marks of punctuation. The novels are F. Scott Fitzgerald's *This Side of Paradise* (1920), Ernest Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises* (1926), and William Faulkner's *The Wild Palms* (1939), which Faulkner wanted to call *If I Forget Thee, Jerusalem*. The punctuation marks are a period and a one-em dash for *This Side of Paradise*, a question-mark and a period for *The Sun Also Rises*, and a two-em dash and an exclamation point for *If I Forget Thee, Jerusalem*. An examination of the three endings, as first published and as later restored, will demonstrate how marks of punctuation can affect the interpretation of literary works. The editions to which the original endings have been restored are all "intentionalist" editions. Each of these editions attempts to capture the intentions of the author for the text at the time it was submitted, as a fair-copy typescript, to its publisher.

THIS SIDE OF PARADISE

Fitzgerald began composing his first novel in the fall of 1917. He was living with his friend John Biggs, Jr., at Princeton University, marking time until his army officer's commission was approved. He had decided not to continue as a student. When the United States declared war on Germany in April 1917, he answered the call to colors, enlisting (along with most of the rest of his class) in the armed forces. In late July he took the test for a commission in the army. In September he returned to the university and took up residence in a dormitory room with Biggs. During his final few weeks on campus, Fitzgerald attended lectures in English and history and helped with various chores on the *Nassau Literary Magazine*, of which Biggs was the editor.

Fitzgerald's first instinct was to compose his novel entirely in verse, but he quickly abandoned that notion and decided instead to employ a blend of prose, poetry, and drama dialogue. His novel was to be a bildungsroman; its working title was "The Romantic Egotist." Fitzgerald meant to trace the passage from adolescence to young manhood of his hero, a young aesthete named Stephen Palms, who was the first-person narrator. Fitzgerald produced three chapters at Princeton. His commission came through in late October, and he reported to training camp at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, in November. There he resumed work on his manuscript. Three years later he recalled the process:

Every Saturday at one o'clock when the week's work was over I hurried to the Officers' Club, and there, in a corner of a roomful of smoke, conversation and rattling newspapers, I wrote a 120,000-word novel on the consecutive week-ends of three months. There was no revising; there was no time for it. As I finished each chapter I sent it to a typist in Princeton.¹

By February 1918 Fitzgerald had in hand a finished typescript of "The Romantic Egotist."² In March he submitted it to Charles Scribner's Sons. There the novel caught the attention of a young editor named Maxwell Perkins, who recognized the author's inventiveness and talent. Perkins' enthusiasm, however, was not enough to carry the day. The other editors at the firm were skeptical about Fitzgerald's novel; they considered it to be garrulous and immature, poorly structured and overburdened with detail. The rejection letter to Fitzgerald, dated 19 August 1918, put special emphasis on the ending of "The Romantic Egotist." The letter reads in part: "[T]he story does not seem to us to work up to a conclusion;—neither the hero's career nor his character are shown to be brought to any stage which justifies an ending." And the letter continues: "It seems to us in short that the story does not culminate in anything as it must to justify the reader's interest as he follows it; and that it might be made to do so quite consistently with the characters and with its earlier stages."³ Fitzgerald, now stationed at Camp Sheridan, Alabama, was troubled by this letter. "How could I intrigue the hero into a 'philosophy of life,'" he later wrote, "when my own ideas were in much the state of Alice's after the hatter's tea-party?"⁴

The armistice that ended the war was signed on 11 November 1918. Fitzgerald, who did not "make it over" to Europe, was discharged in February 1919. After an unsuccessful five-month stint as a copy-writer at the Barron Collier advertising agency in New York City, he quit his job and went home to St. Paul, Minnesota. There, in a third-floor room in his parents' house, he set about re-writing his novel. He took the best parts of "The Romantic Egotist" and added freshly composed material; he also incorporated the typescripts of a short story, a one-act play, and several poems into the narrative—most of this material originally written at Princeton. At Perkins' suggestion he dropped the breathless first-person narration of "The Romantic Egotist" and shifted to a more mature third-person voice. He changed the protagonist's name from Stephen Palms to Amory Blaine and altered the title to *This Side of Paradise*, a phrase taken from the penultimate line of Rupert Brooke's poem "Tiare Tahiti."⁵ The result was a fast-moving narrative, loosely unified, and crowded with characters and inci-

1. "Who's Who—and Why," *Saturday Evening Post* 193 (18 September 1920): 61; collected in *My Lost City*, ed. James L. W. West III (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005): 4.

2. Typescript fragments of "The Romantic Egotist" survive in Fitzgerald's papers at the Department of Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

3. *Correspondence of F. Scott Fitzgerald*, ed. Matthew J. Bruccoli, Margaret M. Duggan, and Susan Walker (New York: Random House, 1980): 31. The letter, signed "Charles Scribner's Sons," was probably written by Maxwell Perkins.

4. From Fitzgerald's preface to *This Side of Paradise*, in *This Side of Paradise*, ed. James L. W. West III (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995): 394.

5. "Tiare Tahiti," in *1914 and Other Poems* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1915): 19-21.

dents. Fitzgerald was sure that this novel, now nearly complete in manuscript, had caught the mood of his post-war generation.

Still there was the problem of the ending. *This Side of Paradise* was a coming-of-age story: how was Fitzgerald to bring the novel to a satisfactory conclusion when his hero's life was only getting under way? Under pressure he improvised a solution. In the last chapter of the novel, he sent Amory on a long walk from New York City to Princeton. Along the way Amory contemplates his current situation: he is penniless and unemployed but unwilling to pursue a conventional course in life. Almost his only achievement, he believes, is a hard-won self-knowledge. He arrives in Princeton long after midnight and contemplates the towers and spires of the university. "Here was a new generation, shouting the old cries, learning the old creeds, through a reverie of long days and nights," Amory muses, "a new generation dedicated more than the last to the fear of poverty and the worship of success; grown up to find all gods dead, all wars fought, all faiths in man shaken...."⁶ Amory stretches out his arms to the "crystalline, radiant sky":

"I know myself," he cried, "but that is all—"

The dash, in Fitzgerald's hand at the end of the manuscript, addresses the criticism in the rejection letter. The dash captures the unfinished nature of the novel and makes it clear that everything in Amory's life so far has been preliminary (see figure 1).

Somewhere between manuscript and first print, the dash became a period. No evidence survives to reveal who made the change. The manuscript, made up of heavily revised holograph and typescript sheets, is preserved among Fitzgerald's papers in the Department of Special Collections at Princeton.⁷ The document, messy and difficult to follow, is not a fair copy. A typescript made from this manuscript served as setting copy, but that typescript does not survive, nor do galley proofs or page proofs. The change from dash to period might therefore have been made anywhere along the line of textual transmission: by Fitzgerald's typist (Fitzgerald could not type), by a Scribner copy-editor, or by Perkins. Fitzgerald himself might have made the change, either on the setting copy or in proof, or he might have accepted the alteration after it was urged upon him by Perkins, though there is no letter from the editor to Fitzgerald in which this change is suggested.⁸ The first edition of the novel, published on 26 March 1920, ends with a period (see figure 2).

The presence of the dash in the last line of the manuscript was first noted in my dissertation.⁹ In 1982 I included a discussion of the dash and period in a

6. Cambridge edition, 260. I have emended "Gods" to "gods" in this quotation.

7. The manuscript can be viewed in a full-color digital reproduction on the Special Collections website at Princeton. The manuscript of *This Side of Paradise* and the typescript fragments of "The Romantic Egotist" are both published in black-and-white facsimile in *F. Scott Fitzgerald Manuscripts*, vol. I, parts 1 and 2, ed. Matthew J. Bruccoli (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1990).

8. Letters between Fitzgerald and Perkins concerning the production and proofing of *This Side of Paradise* are published in *Dear Scott/Dear Max: The Fitzgerald-Perkins Correspondence*, ed. John Kuehl and Jackson R. Bryer (New York: Scribner, 1971): 17-30.

9. "Materials for an Established Text of F. Scott Fitzgerald's *This Side of Paradise*." Diss., University of South Carolina, 1971, p. 42.

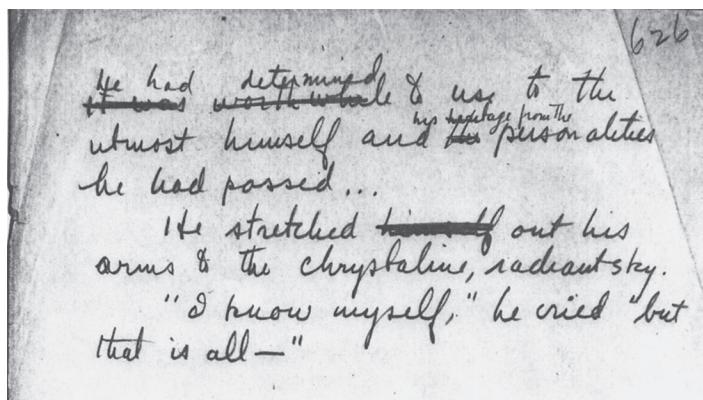


FIGURE 1. From final page of the manuscript, *This Side of Paradise*. F. Scott Fitzgerald Papers, Department of Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

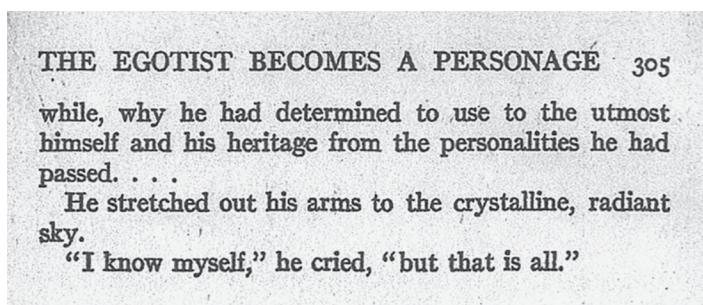


FIGURE 2. From final page of the first edition, *This Side of Paradise*. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920.

monograph derived from the dissertation.¹⁰ All editions of *This Side of Paradise*, however, continued to end with the period until 1995. In that year I published a full-dress edition of the novel with Cambridge University Press as the third volume in The Cambridge Edition of the Works of F. Scott Fitzgerald. The text of this edition ends with a dash. The strongest evidence for the dash is the manuscript leaf, which is inscribed in Fitzgerald's hand. The period, by contrast, could have been introduced by anyone involved in the making of the book. For the Cambridge edition, I chose the dash.

The final punctuation mark has an effect on how the novel is read and interpreted. With the period, the novel comes to an abrupt halt. ("I know myself," he cried, "but that is all.") Self-knowledge has been achieved. Amory's education is finished; his young manhood is over; he is ready to face whatever life brings. With the dash the novel is open-ended and the conclusion more hesitant. ("I

¹⁰. *The Making of This Side of Paradise* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982): 73-80.

know myself," he cried, but that is all—") Amory knows himself, or believes that he does, but that is all he is confident of knowing. He is still fundamentally the same person—idle, romantic, inquisitive, skeptical, unwilling to conform. Perhaps there is a place in society for him, but this is far from certain. Only the first part of Amory's life has been completed. The dash dovetails with the title—*This Side of Paradise*. The reader has followed Amory's journey to the beginnings of adulthood; what will come next we do not know.

The 1995 Cambridge text, ending with the dash, was published with the approval of the F. Scott Fitzgerald Literary Trust. This text was adopted by Scribner as its standard text and was first reprinted as a paperback by that publisher in 1996. The text with the dash has appeared in all Scribner editions from that date to the present.

THE SUN ALSO RISES

Ernest Hemingway began work on his first novel in mid-July 1925, shortly after attending, for the third time, the annual bullfighting fiesta in the Spanish town of Pamplona. He worked steadily on the novel through July and August and finished an autograph first draft on 21 September 1925. His working title was "Fiesta: A Novel." Hemingway (who, unlike Fitzgerald, could type) prepared a typescript from his manuscript. This typescript does not survive, but it must have existed. The differences between the holograph and the setting-copy typescript, which is extant, are so great that at least one revised typescript (and possibly more than one) must have intervened. Hemingway used a professional typing service for preparation of the setting copy. He made a very few emendations in his own hand on the finished sheets. The typescript, a fair copy bearing the title *The Sun Also Rises*, was put into the transatlantic mail to Maxwell Perkins at Scribner on 24 April 1926.¹¹ This is the document that served as setting copy for the first edition; it survives today in the Papers of Ernest Hemingway at the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia. (The manuscript is preserved in the Ernest Hemingway Collection, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum.¹²) The compositors at the Scribner Press added handwritten galley "takes" to the setting copy—markings that indicate where each galley begins and ends—but this typescript was not otherwise marked before the type was assembled. All changes between the setting copy and the first edition must therefore have taken place in proof. Neither galleys nor page proofs, however, are known to survive.

The Sun Also Rises is the quintessential "lost generation" novel. It portrays the enervation and nihilism of the generation that had lived through the Great War. Much of the novel is presented in dialogue; the exchanges between characters are flat and unemotional, though a great deal is happening beneath the surface.

11. *The Letters of Ernest Hemingway*, vol. 3, ed. Rena Sanderson, Sandra Spanier, and Robert W. Trogdon (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015): 64–66. Hemingway was living in Paris during the proofing of the novel.

12. This manuscript has been published in facsimile: Ernest Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises: A Facsimile Edition*, ed. Matthew J. Brucoli. Archive of Literary Documents II. (Detroit: Omnigraphics, 1990).

The protagonist and first-person narrator is Jake Barnes, a journalist who has been wounded during the war. The wound has left him incapable of sex. He is in love with Brett Ashley, a decadent British aristocrat who seems to return his feelings, but they are unable to consummate their love.

At the very end of the novel, Jake and Brett are together in a taxi-cab. His arm is around her, and she is resting her head on his shoulder. "Oh, Jake," she says, "we could have had such a damned good time together." Jake's answer in the manuscript is ironic: "Yes," he says. "It's nice as hell to think so." The sentence ends with a period. At the bottom of this same manuscript page, the final leaf of the document, Hemingway has written an alternate version of the line: "Isn't it nice to think so"—with no terminal punctuation. In the setting-copy typescript, prepared by the typing service, the final line is worded differently but still ends with a period, though the period is typed outside the quotation marks. ("Isn't it pretty to think so").¹³ The final line of the first edition, published by Scribner on 22 October 1926, ends on page 259 with a question-mark. ("Isn't it pretty to think so?") (See figures 3, 4, and 5).

No evidence survives to indicate who changed the period to a question-mark. Hemingway received galley proofs from Perkins on 11 August 1926 and returned them, with corrections, on 27 August.¹⁴ As I have mentioned, these galleys do not survive, nor do page proofs. The extant correspondence between Perkins and Hemingway concerns various textual matters—the use of profanity and of real names primarily. *The Sun Also Rises* was bowdlerized in proof. Three instances of "bulls have no balls" in Book Two, chapter 16, were altered to "bulls have no horns" (first edition, pp. 181–82). In the letters between Hemingway and Perkins, however, there is no mention of the final punctuation mark.¹⁵ *The Sun Also Rises* was published on 22 October 1926.

It seems probable that someone at Scribner, working on a form of proof, introduced the question-mark. Grammatically the sentence is a rhetorical question and does not require a question-mark. Still the mark was added, perhaps as part of a house style being imposed on the text. This interpretation is supported by twelve other rhetorical questions in the novel, all of them occurring in passages of dialogue, and all ending with periods in Hemingway's manuscript and setting-copy typescript. All twelve, like the final line of the novel, end with question-marks in the first edition.

Some examples will be helpful. In Book One, chapter 3, Jake and Brett are drinking at a café with friends. Brett becomes tipsy. "You're wonderfully sober," says Jake to Brett. She answers: "Yes. Aren't I. And when one's with the crowd I'm with, one can drink in such safety, too." In both the manuscript and the setting copy there is a period after "Aren't I." In the first edition, on page 22,

13. Commas and periods are consistently typed outside the quotation marks in the typescript, suggesting that the typist at the typing service was British, or that the typists who worked there were accustomed to using British styling. See figure 4. Some of the typescripts of short stories that Fitzgerald wrote in Paris in the 1920s also have British spelling and accidentals. Perhaps he and Hemingway, who were friends during those years, used the same typing service.

14. *Letters*, vol. 3, pp. 106, 109.

15. Hemingway's letters to Perkins during the production and proofing of the novel are in *Letters*, vol. 3, pp. 39–145.

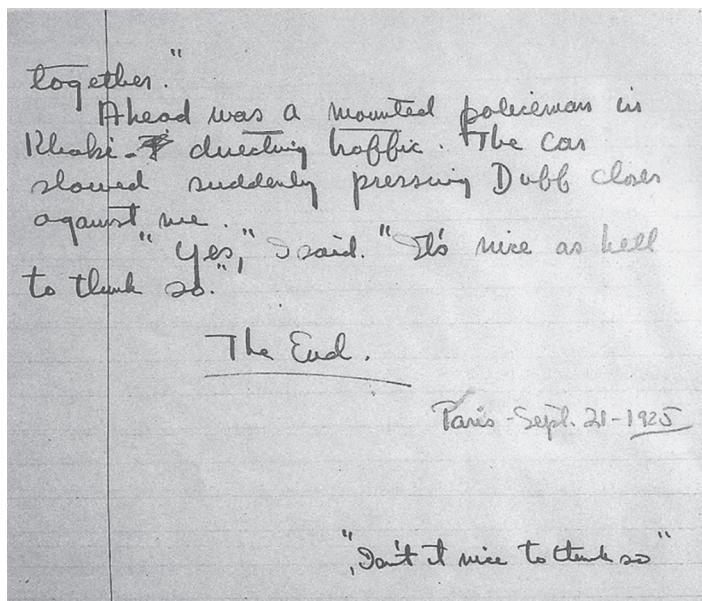


FIGURE 3. From final page of the manuscript, *The Sun Also Rises*. Ernest Hemingway Collection, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum.

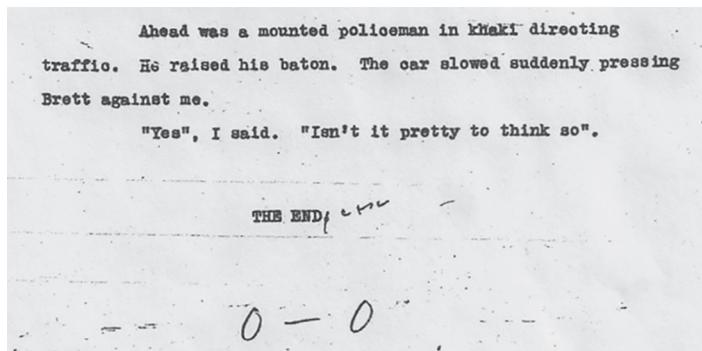


FIGURE 4. From final page of the setting copy, *The Sun Also Rises*. Papers of Ernest Hemingway, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.

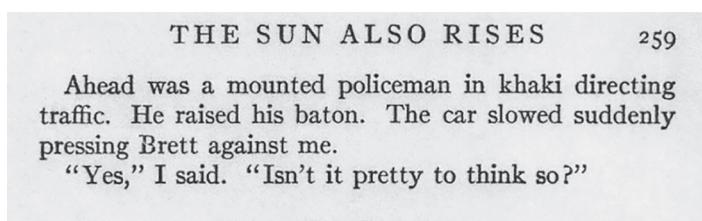


FIGURE 5. From final page of the first edition, *The Sun Also Rises*. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926.

there is a question-mark: "Aren't I?" Another example occurs near the end of the novel, in Book Two, chapter 17. Here Robert Cohn, who has had a brief affair with Brett, asks Jake to forgive him. "So long, Jake," says Cohn. "You'll shake hands, won't you?" In the manuscript Jake answers: "Sure. Why not." In the setting copy the punctuation is the same (though the period after "not" is typed outside the quotation marks). On page 202 of the first edition Jake says: "Sure. Why not?" These two examples are typical of the other rhetorical questions to which question-marks have been affixed between the setting copy and the first edition. One's sense is that Hemingway, for these readings, wanted the characters to speak in a flat tone, without animation.

The matter is of some importance. As one reads dialogue in a text, one hears the rhythms and intonations of the spoken words by paying attention to the pointing, the accidentals. The voice of the character who is speaking rises and falls according to the punctuation. With the period at the end of the novel, Jake delivers his statement in a resigned tone. ("Isn't it pretty to think so.") This is consistent with his character and with the view he has come to take toward life. The question-mark, however, changes the way one hears the sentence. ("Isn't it pretty to think so?") Jake's voice rises at the end, making his statement sound flippant. This is out of character for him. He is bitter but is careful not to let his bitterness show. The final line, spoken without emotion, is in keeping with his behavior elsewhere in the novel.

Which punctuation mark should an editor choose for an edition of *The Sun Also Rises*? Here, as with *This Side of Paradise*, the editor must take a chance. How one hears the final line counts in the decision, as does one's reading of Jake's character. Documentary evidence, however, is a more reliable basis for editorial choice. The decision here seems straightforward. The period is present, in Hemingway's hand, in the final line of the manuscript. The period is also present in the fair copy that Hemingway submitted to Scribner. For twelve other rhetorical questions the same thing happened: periods in manuscript and fair copy were replaced by question-marks in the first edition. The periods should be restored to the text.

Every edition of *The Sun Also Rises* published between 1926 and 2020 has question-marks following the rhetorical questions. All of these editions end with: "Isn't it pretty to think so?" In 2018 the Library of America persuaded Scribner and the Hemingway estate to allow inclusion of *The Sun Also Rises*, which was nearing the end of its copyright protection, in a volume of early writings by Hemingway. The texts were prepared by Robert W. Trogdon, who consulted the surviving manuscripts, typescripts, and proofs for the writings in the volume. In the Trogdon text of *The Sun Also Rises*, the periods at the ends of the rhetorical questions are restored, as are the three instances of "bulls have no balls." The final line of this edition reads: "Isn't it pretty to think so."¹⁶

The Sun Also Rises entered the public domain on 1 January 2022. Shortly thereafter, the Library of America published a paperback edition of the Trogdon

16. Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises & Other Writings, 1918–1926*, ed. Robert W. Trogdon (New York: Library of America, 2020). The emendations are recorded in the apparatus to this volume. The readings that involve the punctuation of rhetorical questions occur at 389.3, 397.18, 401.22, 414.33, 432.24, 432.40, 437.30, 487.20, 506.4, 516.32, 527.34, 567.37, and 570.8 of the text.

text, ending with the period. This paperback includes a selection of Hemingway's journalism and letters from 1925–1926.¹⁷ It is essential, after restoring a text, to make it available to readers in a reasonably priced edition. This has happened for *This Side of Paradise* and for *The Sun Also Rises*. As we shall see, it has happened also for *If I Forget Thee, Jerusalem*.

IF I FORGET THEE, JERUSALEM

William Faulkner's eleventh novel, published on 19 January 1939, has a complicated textual history. Faulkner wrote the novel under the title *If I Forget Thee, Jerusalem*.¹⁸ Random House, his publisher, changed the title to *The Wild Palms*. The novel consists of two interwoven stories, in alternating chapters. The primary narrative, entitled "The Wild Palms," is tragic; the secondary narrative, "Old Man," is comic. "The Wild Palms" is set in 1937. It tells the story of a woman and a man, Charlotte Rittenmeyer and Harry Wilbourne, who resolve to free themselves from the burdens and constraints of society. Charlotte, a wife and mother, leaves her husband and two children; Harry, an unmarried medical student, abandons his studies and follows Charlotte in pursuit of what she conceives to be freedom. Their first few months together go well, but their idyll cannot endure. Charlotte becomes pregnant, and Harry (at her urging) performs an abortion. He botches the operation; Charlotte dies of hemorrhaging; Harry is sentenced to fifty years in prison. He refuses to commit suicide and decides to live out his years in captivity. Harry resolves to keep Charlotte alive in memory. The final line of "The Wild Palms," in italicized interior monologue, gives his decision:

"Between grief and nothing I will take grief."

The secondary story, "Old Man," is a comic fable. The characters have no names: the protagonist is called "the tall convict," and the woman is simply "the woman" or "she." "Old Man" is set during the severe flooding of the Mississippi River in 1927. The tall convict has been temporarily released from prison in order to rescue people stranded by the flood. He takes a skiff and paddle and sets out on the river. He finds a pregnant woman clinging to a tree and helps her into the boat. For the remainder of "Old Man," he and she are tossed about on the powerful river, coming to rest briefly on a small island where, with his assistance, she gives birth. The tall convict performs heroically during his period of freedom. He saves the woman and brings her and the baby to dry land. Throughout the narrative, however, he seems terrified of the woman and of what she represents. His only desire is to return to captivity. He fears the disorder and messiness of life and prefers the regularity of imprisonment; he has no desire to complicate his existence with women, and certainly not with sex or childbirth. In Faulkner's manuscript and in the setting-copy typescript, which he typed, "Old Man" ends

17. Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises: The Library of America Corrected Text*, ed. Robert W. Trogdon (New York: Library of America, 2022).

18. The title is an allusion to Psalms 137: "By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea, we wept, when we remembered Zion." Images and wording from this psalm, which concerns captivity and freedom, appear throughout Faulkner's novel.

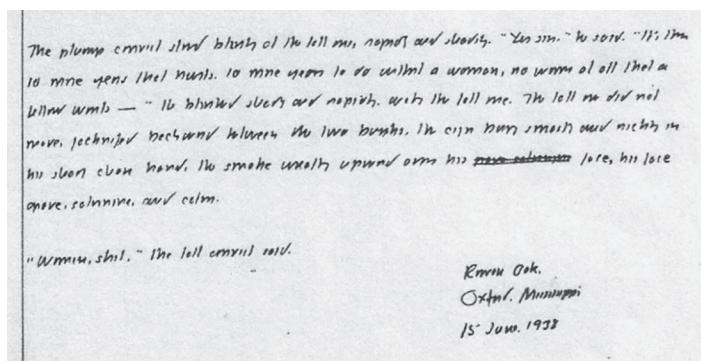


FIGURE 6. From final page of the manuscript, *If I Forget Thee, Jerusalem*. Papers of William Faulkner, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.

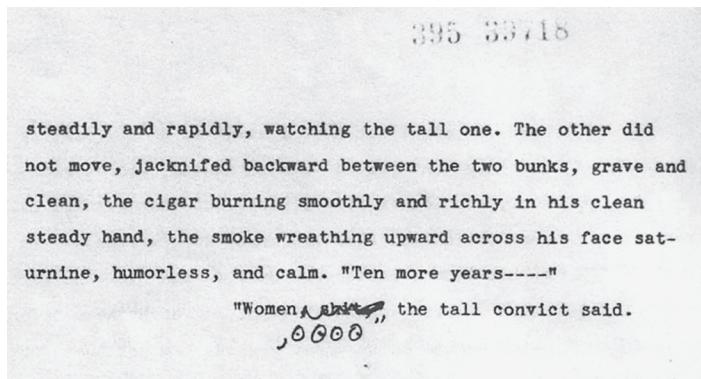


FIGURE 7. From final page of the setting copy, *If I Forget Thee, Jerusalem*. Papers of William Faulkner, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.

with the convict back in prison (see figures 6 and 7). Another ten years have been added to his sentence. He seems content, even pleased, with his fate. When asked by another inmate whether he will miss the company of women, his reply (the last line of the novel) is quite different from Harry's last line:

"Women, shit," the tall convict said.

Faulkner began composing "The Wild Palms" and "Old Man" as two separate stories but soon realized that the narratives were related to each other, not by plot and character but by theme and image. Both stories are about freedom versus imprisonment, the disorder of life versus the security of incarceration. Faulkner now began writing the novel in alternating stints, bringing "The Wild Palms" to a point of high intensity, then shifting to the comedy of "Old Man," then returning to the drama of "The Wild Palms," and onward until the end of

the novel. The manuscript, composed between September 1937 and June 1938, survives among Faulkner's papers at the Small Special Collections Library. The pagination of the document confirms that Faulkner wrote the two stories in alternating chapters, composing a chapter of one and then a chapter of the other. He did not write "The Wild Palms" in its entirety, then write "Old Man," and then shuffle the chapters. This structural experimentation was characteristic of Faulkner's work from the late 1920s until the early 1940s, a period that saw publication of *The Sound and the Fury* (1929), *As I Lay Dying* (1930), *Absalom, Absalom!* (1936), *The Hamlet* (1940), and *Go Down, Moses* (1942)—all of which take liberties with conventional narrative structure.

Faulkner's publisher, however, seems not to have understood what he was doing. Saxe Commins, Faulkner's editor at Random House, changed the title of the novel from *If I Forget Thee, Jerusalem*, an inclusive title, to *The Wild Palms*, the title of the primary story. The change in title, made over Faulkner's objections, caused confusion for many years after publication. Scholars and critics did not recognize *The Wild Palms* as a novel. The history of subsequent editions did not help matters. In 1948 both "The Wild Palms" and "Old Man" were issued separately, in individual paperback volumes.¹⁹ In a 1954 paperback the two narratives were published together but one after the other, with the full text of "The Wild Palms" appearing first, followed by "Old Man" in its entirety.²⁰

The novel was also bowdlerized. Faulkner objected to this sanitizing but was overruled.²¹ The setting-copy typescript, like the manuscript, is among Faulkner's papers at the Small Special Collections Library.²² On the typescript Faulkner's editor has marked out the word "shit." He has preserved Faulkner's comma and has substituted four ellipsis points for the profane word. Proofs for the book do not survive, but further changes in the final line must have occurred there. On page 339 of the first edition, the final page of "Old Man" and of the novel, the comma and the ellipsis points have been replaced by an open two-em dash and an exclamation point (see figure 8). The final line now reads:

"Women —— !" the tall convict said.

19. *The Wild Palms* (New York: New American Library, 1948); *The Old Man* (New York: New American Library, 1948). For these and later editions, the word "The" was added to the title of "Old Man."

20. *The Wild Palms and The Old Man* (New York: New American Library, 1954).

21. Faulkner had little leverage with his publisher in 1939. Random House was the fifth imprint to publish his work and was carrying him as a *succès d'estime*. His first book with Random House, *Absalom, Absalom!*, had not sold well; *If I Forget Thee, Jerusalem*, with another biblical title, was not likely to do better—hence, presumably, the change in title. In 1939 Faulkner was best known as the author of *Sanctuary* (1931), a scandalous novel about a young woman who is raped with a corn cob. It is not surprising that the publisher bowdlerized *The Wild Palms*. The sanitizing, however, was incomplete: the words "pricks" and "cunts" appear on p. 52 of the first edition, and "Shit!" appears on p. 101. Later, after he had won the Nobel Prize in 1949, Faulkner swung more weight at Random House, and the heavy editing of his texts ceased.

22. Both the manuscript and the setting-copy typescript of the novel have been published in facsimile in *William Faulkner Manuscripts*, vol. 14, parts 1 and 2, ed. Thomas L. McHaney (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1986).

The open dash (i.e., preceded and followed by half-spaces) was presumably meant to stand for the word “shit.” Punctuation is often used in printed texts as a substitute for profanity, but the two-em dash here, with the exclamation point, does not suggest a profane word. The line instead conveys mild exasperation, or perhaps longing.

steadily and rapidly, watching the tall one. The other did not move, jackknifed backward between the two bunks, grave and clean, the cigar burning smoothly and richly in his clean steady hand, the smoke wreathing upward across his face saturnine, humorless, and calm.
“Ten more years—”

“Women ——!” the tall convict said.

FIGURE 8. From final page of the first edition, *The Wild Palms*. Random House, 1939.

Further change occurred in subsequent typesettings. In the *Viking Portable Faulkner* (1946), the half-spaces have been removed.

“Women——!” the tall convict said.

The French translator, confused, rendered the line this way in 1952:

— Ah ! Les femmes ! » dit le grand forçat.²³

In the New American Library edition of 1954, the long dash becomes a closed one-em dash, with the exclamation point retained:

“Women—!” the tall convict said.

The Vintage paperback of 1962 is a slight improvement, with three hyphens and the letter “t” plus the exclamation point. It reads:

“Women---t!” the tall convict said.

These textual discoveries were noted first by Thomas L. McHaney in his dissertation in 1968.²⁴ Twenty-two years later, McHaney and Noel Polk, with the permission of Faulkner’s literary estate, collaborated on a corrected text of the novel that was published by the Library of America. Here the title of Faulkner’s work is given as *If I Forget Thee, Jerusalem [The Wild Palms]*.²⁵ On the last page of this edition the final line has been restored. (“Women, shit,” the tall convict said.) Random House adopted this text, and indeed all of the corrected texts produced

23. *Les Palmiers sauvages* (Paris: Gallimard, 1952).

24. McHaney, “William Faulkner’s *The Wild Palms*: A Textual and Critical Study.” Diss. University of South Carolina, 1968. See especially Appendix I, “The Text,” pp. 252-65.

25. In the volume William Faulkner, *Novels 1936-1940* (1990): 493-726.

by Polk for the Library of America, in its subsequent editions of Faulkner's novels. Today, all copies published of *If I Forget Thee, Jerusalem*, which is still under copyright protection, end with the restored line. One hopes that the corrections will be carried forward in editions issued after the novel enters the public domain in 2035.

All editors hope to find significant variants in important works of literature. Editors want to discover variants that will alter meaning, or at least cause teachers and critics to rethink their ideas about interpretation. This is probably a legacy of the New Criticism, with its emphasis on close reading. The New Critics taught that each word carries meaning, as does each punctuation mark, and that the interpretation of a literary work can turn on a single sentence. Perhaps the New Critics were right. Some sentences in fiction bring immediately to mind the works in which they appear. ("Mr. Holmes, they were the footprints of a gigantic hound!") Some capture a central image. ("The red sun was pasted in the sky like a wafer.") Some sentences prepare the work for its conclusion. ("Marlow ceased, and sat apart, indistinct and silent, in the pose of a meditating Buddha.") Some sentences tie together all that has come before. ("Reader, I married him.") Other sentences, appearing at the very end of a work, encapsulate its meaning. ("He loved Big Brother.")

The discovery of pivotal variants is rare. Many excellent scholarly editions present texts that have been emended throughout, but the emendations are not especially significant. Documentary or "versionist" editions usually offer texts that are identical to, or not very different from, earlier texts. Facsimile editions typically list emendations at the foot of the page or in an apparatus. These editions can do many good things: they can provide narratives of composition and revision, trace the textual history of the work, and provide useful historical annotations. Time schemes are sometimes straightened out; the author's accidentals are reinstated; misspellings and other demonstrable errors are corrected. These are valuable services, but they do not provide a definitive response, if there is one, to the notion that scholarly editing is essentially clerical work. All editors have heard this sort of thing. Why should an editor undertake the considerable labor of a full-dress edition if the interpretation of the work is to remain unchanged? Important variants might indeed turn up in the collations, but an editor usually does not know this when beginning a project. The editor must proceed on faith.

In the case of these three final sentences, however, we do have variants of consequence. Each of these readings falls at the very end of its novel, and each involves punctuation. These are not minor works; they are important novels, taught in classrooms and interpreted by critics. How these changes came about—from dash to period, period to question-mark, profane word to long dash—these stories can be included in lectures and discussed with students, most of whom probably think that a literary work springs immaculate from its creator's brow. With a dash at the end of *This Side of Paradise*, the journey of its hero is just beginning. With a period at the end of *The Sun Also Rises*, the narrator takes a bleak but realistic view of his future. And with the word "shit" at the end of *If I Forget Thee, Jerusalem*, the tall convict's rejection of women, and of life, is made clear.

Notes on Contributors

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JOHN CONSIDINE taught English at the University of Alberta until 2021. *Sixteenth-Century English Dictionaries*, the first volume of his *Dictionaries in the English-Speaking World, 1500–1800*, was published by OUP in 2022, and *The Cambridge Handbook of the Dictionary* (2024) includes his chapters “Dictionaries in Book History” and “Dictionaries and Intellectual History”.

STEPHEN CLARKE is a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and an Honorary Research Fellow of the University of Liverpool. He is Chairman of Dr Johnson's House Trust and of the Beckford Society and Secretary to the Board of Managers of the Lewis Walpole Library at Yale University, and was a trustee of Strawberry Hill

from 2005 to 2018. His most recent books are *The Selected Letters of Horace Walpole* (2017), which he edited for Everyman's Library, and *Lefty Lewis and the Waldegraves: Collecting, Obsession, Friendship*, published in 2022 by *The Book Collector*.

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BARBARA HERITAGE is the Miranker Family Director of Collections, Exhibitions & Scholarly Initiatives at Rare Book School at the University of Virginia. She has spoken and published extensively on the writings of Charlotte Brontë, with an emphasis on the history of Brontë's manuscripts and the publication histories of her novels. Additional projects include *Building the Book from the Ancient World to the Present Day*, a book co-authored with Ruth-Ellen St. Onge that accompanied their 2022 exhibition at the Grolier Club. With Donna A. C. Sy, she has co-edited *Teaching Text Technologies and Critical Bibliography Among the Disciplines: Objects of Study* (Routledge, 2025). She is the Secretary of the Antiquarian Book School Foundation, and a member of the American Antiquarian Society and the Grolier Club.

JOSCELYN GODWIN is Professor of Music Emeritus at Colgate University, and an Honorary Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London. He has authored or edited about 40 books on Western esoteric traditions and on speculative music, and translated many more, including the *Hypernerotomachia Poliphili* of 1499, works of the harmonicist Hans Kayser, and the papers of the Gruppo di UR.

JAMES L. W. WEST III is E. E. Sparks Professor of English, Emeritus, at Pennsylvania State University. He is the general editor of The Cambridge Edition of the Works of F. Scott Fitzgerald and the editor, most recently, of *The Cambridge Centennial Edition of THE GREAT GATSBY* (2025).

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March 22 (Annual Meeting)

John Unsworth, University Librarian and Dean of Libraries at the University of Virginia, “The Renovation of Alderman Library, 2007 to 2023”

2020

March 20 (Annual Meeting)

Canceled by COVID

Shalmi Barman (English, UVa), “The Genealogy of the Title Page in Poe’s *Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym*”

Michael VanHoose (English, UVa), “Typography and the Printing Costs of British Books, 1789–1830”

Catherine Walshak (English, UVa), “Tourism Culture and Travel Books in the Early Twentieth Century”

Julie Wilson (English, UVa), “Garnett’s 1882 Edition of *Beowulf* and Pedagogy at UVA”

2022

March 18 (Annual Meeting)

Louis Mainwaring Foster (Classics, UVa), “Thucydides and the Establishment of Greek Identity”

John Shimazaki (English, UVa), “The Absence of Phillis Wheatley’s Portrait from American Editions of *Poems on Various Subjects*”

Samantha Stephens (English, UVa), “The Digital Typography of Kamau Brathwaite”

2023

March 23 (Annual Meeting)

David L. Vander Meulen, Professor of English, University of Virginia, “Handsome, Durable, and Inexpensive: The ‘Modern Library,’ 1925–1959”

2024

March 22 (Annual Meeting)

Spencer Grayson (English, UVa), “Reading Annotations for Queer Intimacy in the 16th and 18th Centuries”

Regan Schadl (English, UVa), “John Clare’s 1821 in Poetry and Paper: Watermark Twins and Orientation”

Hyeona Park (English, UVa), “Wrestling with Slavery in Typescripts of Willa Cather’s *Sapphira and the Slave Girl*”

STUDENT AWARDS IN BOOK COLLECTING

2020

Katherine Churchill
(Bowdoin, before 1950)

Hannah Barker

(Zen in the Art of Collecting: The Works of Ray Bradbury)

2022

Austin Benson

(The Little Office[s] of Our Lady, 1599–1966:
Online Book Collecting during the COVID-19 Pandemic)

Cherrie Kwok

(Postcolonial Ephemera: Collecting Fragments of
Decadent Hong Kong)

Rebecca Barry

(Expanding Generic Bounds of Space-Time: 150 Years of Speculative
and Science Fiction)

2024

Christian Daichi Carlson

(To Sing One's *Verses* in Full: Reassembling the
World of Elizabeth Daryush)

Lewis Kothmann

(Understanding the Middle Kingdom: A Collection on Contemporary
Chinese Political Economy and Relevant History and Culture)

Joseph Johns

(Pursuing the Common Good: Collecting Works of Political Philosophy)

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2019

Samuel Maxwell Grimes

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