Bibliophilia scholastica floreat:

Fifty Years of Rare Books and Special Collections at the University of Toronto

Exhibition and catalogue by Richard Landon

Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto
26 September to 21 December 2005

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Foreword

The present University of Toronto Library dates from 1890 when a disastrous fire destroyed its entire collection. At that time, the outpouring of donations from around the world enabled the University of Toronto to establish an impressive 30,000 volume library in a new building by 1892. During the next half-century the collections grew at a modest pace. It was only in the 1950s that the University of Toronto, led by President Claude Bissell, set its sights on becoming one of the great research universities of the world, and in order to realize that ambitious goal, embarked upon the creation of a great library.

With the support of University administrations and faculty over the last fifty years, the Libraries have experienced astonishing growth. Acquisition of the millionth volume was celebrated in 1962. The collection in 2005 now numbers well over fifteen million print and microform volumes. This year the University of Toronto Libraries were ranked third among academic research libraries in North America, behind Harvard and Yale, libraries established much earlier.

But numbers alone do not attest to the value of research collections. The establishment of a Rare Book Library to house the seminal works of intellectual history and special collections in selected fields was at the heart of the strategy to create a library of the quality that would enable research in Toronto and attract scholars from around the world. What has been accomplished in a mere fifty years is truly astounding: book and manuscript collections that rival the best in the world and increase in value each year, expert staff that are world renowned, and a spectacular facility for preservation and use of the collection - the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library. All of those associated with what has been achieved in such a brief period can take enormous pride in its success.

The original vision has been accomplished even more splendidly than those responsible – President Claude Bissell, Dean of Graduate Studies Ernest Sirluck, and Chief Librarian Robert Blackburn – might have imagined. Under the leadership of two librarians who dedicated much of their lives to the effort, Marion Brown, from 1955-76, and Richard Landon, Director since 1976, the Fisher Library has flourished. Its collections dating from the earliest cuneiform tablets through modern special collections of significant Canadian culture are far greater in depth and breadth than any that have been assembled in the comparable period. This remarkable achievement is the product of the knowledge and

dedication of staff, the interest and support of the Friends of Fisher, and the generosity of so many great benefactors, who have together built the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library. The scholars of today and those to come owe a great deal to the collectors who had the expertise in specialized fields and the wisdom to make their collections widely available through institutions such as the Fisher Library. In our increasingly digital information age, these unique examples of our past have gained even greater value, as information about them circulates more widely through the Internet. The Fisher collections will remain a key University asset for the future.

In our celebration of these remarkable achievements, Richard Landon, Director of the Thomas Fisher Library, deserves special recognition. As an inspired leader and outstanding scholar, he exhibits seemingly limitless knowledge and personal fascination with each item in the Fisher collection. His stories associated with the collections continually bring the objects to life and have stimulated countless faculty and students to delve further into the research evidence assembled in the Fisher. In this fiftieth anniversary exhibition Richard treats us to his selection of a few of the treasures of the collection, and the accompanying catalogue provides his illuminating description of the significance of each item chosen. After reading the catalogue with immense pleasure, I find it impossible to express adequately my feelings of enormous gratitude to Richard Landon and his staff for what they have built for us all.

Carole Moore
Chief Librarian, University of Toronto Library

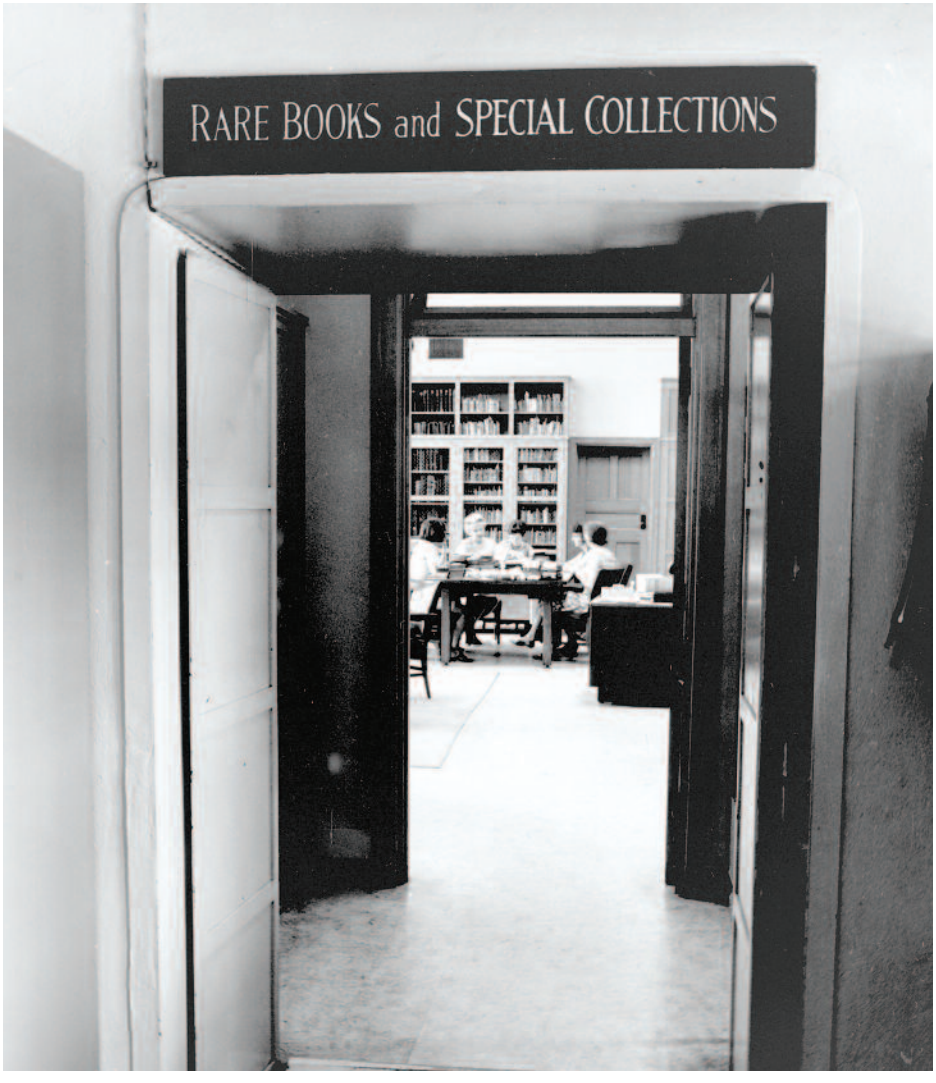
Preface

This exhibition was conceived and assembled by me and I have written the catalogue. The intention has been to display something of the range and depth of our large and diverse holdings, but, of course, these books and manuscripts only represent a small taste of what is on our shelves. When I arrived at the University of Toronto in 1967, the collections in Rare Books and Special Collections were small, but expanding quickly. It gives me some sense of satisfaction to record that there are now some 700,000 volumes and large holdings of manuscripts, and it has been a privilege to have been part of that growth. I have attempted to exhibit some books and manuscripts that have not been displayed before, and to show the old favourites in different contexts. The notes explain how these things got here, and how they relate to academic research and enhance the collections already here.

This exhibition and catalogue could not have been achieved without the expertise and enthusiasm of my colleagues and it is with gratitude that I acknowledge the assistance of Marie Korey, Anne Dondertman, P.J. Carefoote, Philip Oldfield, Jennifer Toews, Mary Garvie Yohn, Luba Frastacky, Sandra Alston, and Linda Joy. They have provided me with information and editorial assistance.

Over the past fifty years a great many people have worked in the Department and I had hoped to publish a list of them in this catalogue. The hope became futile when I realized how many there were and the impossibility of any list being complete. I can thus only say thank you to all those who have, over the past half century, worked to make the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library what it is today. I do, however, wish to provide a special acknowledgement to Marion Brown, the founder, and to the two people who have been the Assistant Directors during my tenure, Katharine Martyn and Anne Dondertman. The Friends of the Fisher Library have, as always, been of great assistance in the funding of the catalogue.

Richard Landon
Director



Introduction

The Department of Rare Books and Special Collections was founded in November 1955 by the Chief Librarian, Robert H. Blackburn, when he hired Marion E. Brown, a Canadian graduate of the University of Toronto who had been working in special collections at Brown University. Her first responsibility was to deal with the books and manuscripts that had accumulated in a room called the Art Cupboard since 1890, when the library had been virtually destroyed by the St. Valentine's Day fire which consumed University College. These consisted primarily of a few medieval manuscripts, early printed books, and

special volumes of later periods deemed valuable for specific reasons, such as the set of Pyne's *Royal Residences* (1829) that had been presented by Queen Victoria to the University following the fire. The stacks of the main library were the other obvious source for rare materials since this was where the vast majority of purchased and donated books had been dispersed throughout the classification system. The stacks yielded rich results (as indeed, fifty years later, they still do) and in 1957 a Rare Book Room was opened, in what is now the rooms above the south end of the Gerstein Science Information Centre, with accommodation for both books and researchers. This allowed libraries like the Buchanan Collection of Spanish and Italian literature to be reassembled and the DeLury Collection of Anglo-Irish literature to be housed in its entirety when it was presented by DeLury's estate in 1955.

Marion Brown retired as Head of the Department in 1976. Her tenure had coincided with the unprecedented growth of the collections in all parts of the library system and especially in the Special Collections Department. In 1961, the J.S. Will collection of some 16,000 volumes of French literature was purchased and as the University expanded rapidly so did the acquisition funds. When David Esplin arrived in 1966 as the Associate Librarian for Book Selection, he was able to initiate a much more comprehensive programme of collection development that included special collections, one of the first being the library of James Forbes, a non-conformist English clergyman who died in 1712. Although heavily theological in character, it also contained works of literature, history, and philosophy. Today, even the sermons of obscure seventeenth-century clerics have come to assume significance in some realms of recent scholarship. Collections as interconnected and diverse as Aristotle, Galileo, Darwin, Bacon, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, and Voltaire were acquired, by purchase and donation, during the early years of the 'new age' and helped to establish the University of Toronto as a research institution of international significance.

Claude Bissell, who began his lengthy and significant term as President of the University in 1960, was determined to make 'this great and good place', as he liked to call it, an important research institution. He also clearly and forcefully foresaw the role the library system should play in that transformation. A key aspect of his plan was the development of the School of Graduate Studies and he recruited another Canadian graduate of the University, Ernest Sirluck, from the University of Chicago to become Dean. Sirluck understood the value of research collections and became a key supporter of the library as well. Among his innova-

tions was the creation of interdisciplinary institutes, centres and programmes, many of them emerging from various combinations of the traditional academic disciplines. With so many based in the humanities, the library in general, and special collections in particular, were meant to provide the research resources to support studies from the masters to the post-doctoral level.

One of the earliest, founded in 1965, was the Institute for the History and Philosophy of Science and Technology. Its first Director, John Abrams, was recruited from California where he was accustomed to the rich resources of early scientific and medical works available in that state's university system. The Library was asked about the available resources at Toronto, a quick survey was performed, and it was discovered that, apart from a few high spots of natural history, mathematics, physics, and a 1543 Vesalius to represent medicine, there really wasn't very much. The Institute was told that extra, and on-going, funding would be required and the central administration was petitioned with the result that the two special collections, Science and Medicine, began to grow very rapidly. In 1967 Stillman Drake, a San Francisco investment banker who had become one of the international experts on the life and work of Galileo, was hired by the Institute to teach. He brought with him his personal collection of Galileo and other aspects of Renaissance science and it was put on deposit in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, by then housed in an office building on Charles Street. At one stroke, this area of research was established as a strength and Drake's books and manuscripts were gradually acquired by the

Department through purchase and gift, a process that has only just ended.

The Hannah Collection in the History of Medical and Related Sciences was presented to the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library in 1973 by Associated Medical Services. The greatest part, with its considerable strengths in anatomy and physiology, was purchased *en bloc* at Sotheby's in 1971 by Dr. Jason A. Hannah from the Medical Society of London. This donation began a transformation of the library's resources in this field that continues to the present day through annual acquisition grants from AMS. The result has been a rapid growth in such areas as obstetrics and gynecology, dentistry, and psychiatry. More recently, the rare book collections from the Academy of Medicine, including the wonderful T.G.H. Drake Collection in the history of pediatrics, have also been acquired and together these collections are among the largest in the Fisher Library. The Hannah Collection will be featured early next year in an exhibition to celebrate the seventieth anniversary of Associated Medical Services.

In 1967 the Richard Freeman Collection of the works of Charles Darwin was purchased. It had been the basis of Freeman's 1965 *Bibliographical Handlist* (revised 1977) and was comprehensive, with a special emphasis on bibliographical variants, translations, and Darwiniana. Again, it provided a foundation for the study of modern science which has been further strengthened through individual purchases and gifts. A Victorian Natural History collection, also from Richard Freeman, and a complete set of the works of Philip Henry Gosse, were also acquired and, in many ways, complement the Darwin Collection. An excellent Einstein collection, from Stillman Drake, was also added and thus, in a compar-

atively short period of time, the members of the Institute, and many other scholars, had made available to them large and important research resources. All of this was accomplished during a period of markedly increased competition both from other institutions as well as from private collectors. Science and medicine have become very popular fields for collecting, a trend which continues to the present, with a corresponding exponential rise in market values.

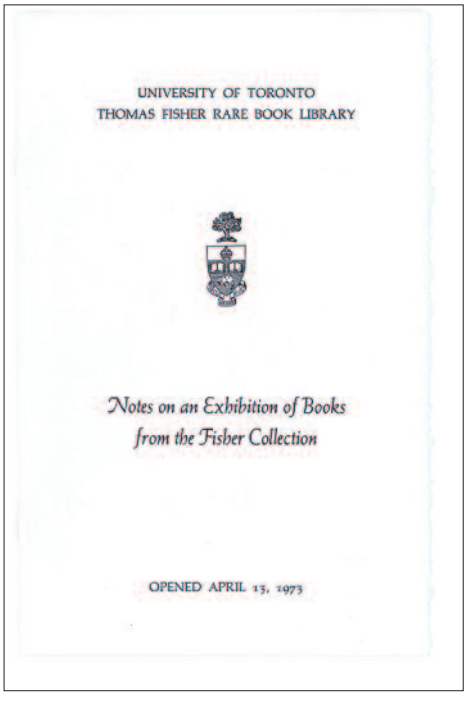
These responses to Bissell's challenge were repeated time and again in other interdisciplinary areas. Therefore, as graduate programmes increased in size and complexity, so too did both the library system and special collections.

The Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library opened on 13 April 1973 with an exhibition of William Shakespeare and the etchings of Wenceslaus Hollar, both from collections which had been donated by Sidney Fisher of Montreal. With his twin brother, Charles, he had developed a very successful electronics company, but his avocation was Shakespeare and the collection was quite comprehensive, including all four seventeenth-century folio editions. Charles had collected extensively the works of Kipling, Norman Douglas, and Lord Dunsany, including manuscript material, and these came as well. To honour their contribution, it was decided to name the library after their great-grandfather, a miller who had come from Yorkshire to the Humber River area of Upper Canada in 1817 where he prospered. European and British literature proved to be another great area of research interest to faculty and graduate students at the University of Toronto and at many of the burgeoning institutions in southwestern Ontario which could now be supported. Indeed, the mandate presented to the central

library system was to be a provincial resource, since the provincial government had provided most of the money for the Robarts Library complex.

As the seventies waned and budgets became tighter the Department increasingly relied on donations to build its collections, although individual items continued to be acquired to fill holes and extend strengths. The building itself acted as a kind of magnet and its attraction was assisted greatly by the Ontario Heritage Act of 1968 and the federal Cultural Property Act of 1973, both of which provided income-tax relief for gift-in-kind donations to designated institutions. The Fisher Library has benefited greatly from both, although the federal scheme eventually superseded the provincial one for books and manuscripts. The Fisher Library was one of the first institutions to be designated as 'Category A' and every year since 1973 it has submitted dozens of applications to the Canadian Cultural Property Export Review Board for certification of collections of books and manuscripts, photographs, graphic art work, and increasingly, sound and moving images. These are all deemed to be, in the words of the legislation, of 'outstanding significance and national importance'. The Library also participates in other aspects of the Board's responsibilities. For example, it regularly reviews applications for export permits for books and manuscripts, most of which will be sold at auction in London or New York.

In 1955 the staff of the new Department was very small, but by the mid-sixties it began to grow quickly, reaching a total of over thirty at one point. It has always


UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
THOMAS FISHER RARE BOOK LIBRARY

Notes on an Exhibition of Books from the Fisher Collection

OPENED APRIL 13, 1973

consisted of a more-or-less equal division between librarians and support staff and originally was further divided into public services (reference), technical services (cataloguing), manuscript processing, and conservation. The traditional divisions of responsibility were altered in 1976 to a more integrated structure with an increased emphasis on subject knowledge and language expertise and the opportunity for all staff to interact directly with the researchers.

A University of Toronto Archives section was added in 1964 to organize and preserve the official records of the University, along with the private papers of some of the large number of outstanding faculty who have taught here over the past century. The University Archives became a separate department which since 1973 has occupied the top two floors of the Fisher Library, with the Archivist reporting to the Director.

One trait that has remained consistent over the years is the stability of the staff with many people spending all or most of their careers in Rare Books or Archives. Expertise in this profession seems exponential: the longer one works with special collections, the more one knows and the more useful one becomes. A great many people have worked for the Library over the last fifty years, including generations of part-time graduate students. The combination of the collections and the staff has ensured that the Library remains an integral part of the central library system, the university as a whole, and the general scholarly world. Many people outside the Department have contributed to building the collections, especially the selectors in the Collection Development Department, but early on the decision was made that all other functions should be under departmental control and this has proven to be a very effective arrangement. Administratively the Director reports to the Chief Librarian, which was not always the case, and all staff are involved in general library and university affairs.

The Department of Rare Books and Special Collections and the University Archives were not adequately housed until 1973 when the Thomas Fisher Rare Book library was opened. Finally there was room to house the fast growing collections, although the predictions of how long adequate space would last proved to be woefully inadequate. The Library now occupies a whole basement floor of the adjoining Robarts Library, some Archives collections are stored off-site, and space is again a problem. In 1967 the collections were said to comprise some 40,000 volumes, plus a few collections of papers. The size of our collections now is estimated to be about 700,000 volumes, with about 2500 linear metres of unbound manuscripts. Statistically these numbers indicate that over the past fifty

years the collections have grown by a factor of twenty, but size is not the real indicator of value. The diversity of the holdings reflects, to a considerable extent, the many new fields of research and teaching now part of the university curriculum. The traditional disciplines are alive and well, but they are now complemented by innovative areas of study as well as the interdisciplinary nature of research, especially in the humanities. To respond adequately to this situation is both exciting and challenging. The old adage 'build on strength' no longer wholly represents a reasonable reaction to modern research needs. As a result the Fisher Library has developed strengths in areas which enjoyed little or no presence in the collections of the past, such as Hebraica and Judaica, modern British book illustration, modern philosophy, and Lewis Carroll.

One area for which strong holdings existed before 1955 is Canadiana, both historical and literary. It has received special attention from the beginning of the Department and a concerted attempt has been made to be as comprehensive as possible for the national literature, including the archives of Canadian writers. Small and private press publications, ephemera, and what once seemed the inconsequential effusions of minor writers have all been assiduously gathered to

represent as widely as possible Canadians' views of themselves and the rest of the world.

This exhibition is necessarily limited by the space available and by the knowledge of its curator. There is an emphasis on some of the less traditional special collections acquired and created over the past fifty years and especially those in non-literary fields. However, the large and diverse general collections of the Department have not been neglected. A late and revered colleague, Robert Rosenthal of Chicago, was fond of posing the question: 'Why would you want to buy a first edition of *Paradise Lost*, which every other place of significance on the continent also possesses, when you can possess the only known copy on the continent of an eye-witness account of the Upper Canada Rebellion?' The only possible answer is that one has to have both, and the Fisher Library does.

Examples of general collection strengths that have been carefully nurtured include, besides Canadiana, post-Restoration English drama and theatre history, the works of Daniel Defoe, 19th-century English fiction with an emphasis on the non-canonical writers, and French drama of the 18th century. The principle of building on strength has been evoked in the field of Italian literature from the Renaissance to the 19th century, and we regularly add important items to the *rime*, plays, and libretti collections, which were founded as a result of the early emphasis on Italian studies at the University of Toronto. We continue to add to the Buchanan Collection of Spanish and Italian literature, and the Stanton Collection of Portuguese literature added a whole new dimension to the Library when it was received in 1988. In cooperation with the Graduate Department of English, an intensive effort was made to collect books from the transition period of English literature (approximately 1880 to 1930). The resulting large collection was named in honour of Norman J. Endicott, who taught in the English Department for many years and was responsible for Fisher's acquisition of the complementary DeLury and Douglas Duncan Collections.

The expectations of users have changed as well, especially since the advent of electronic resources ranging from widely dispersed bibliographic databases to the wonders of the World Wide Web. The Department has contributed to this revolution by initiating several digital collection projects, including *Anatomia* (early images of human anatomy), *The Barren Lands* (from the J.B. Tyrrell exploration collection), *The Discovery and Early Development of Insulin* (from the Banting and Best collections), *Canadian Pamphlets and Broadsides*, and our

collection of Egyptian papyri. The Library's website provides a wealth of information on our collections, services, and facilities. Many users of the collections now may never actually come into the Fisher Library at all, but many also make special trips because they have identified an item or seen an image on our website and want to handle the real object.

The year 2005 also marks the twenty-first anniversary of the Friends of the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, an organization founded both to support the collections and raise the Library's profile in Toronto and abroad. In the beginning, special help was provided by Prof. Richard Helmstadter and the first chair of the Steering Committee, Roger Wilson. For many years Ronald G. Peters, a major donor, served as Chair, and that position recently has been assumed by another major donor, Michael Walsh. The Friends of the Fisher has been a great success from the very beginning and has sponsored evening lectures by distinguished speakers from Canada, the United States, Britain, and Europe as well as from the large pool of local talent. We have also held regular exhibition openings, now three a year, and have helped to sponsor other special events. The four regular lectures are now all endowed, two in the Fall term and two in the Spring. The John Seltzer and Mark Seltzer Memorial Lecture, commemorating two of our Friends, is sponsored by Doreen Seltzer; The Alexander C. Pathy Lecture on the Book Arts is funded by the former Vice-President for Finance of the University; The David Nicholls Memorial Lecture is sponsored by Hilary Nicholls in memory of her late husband, both of them great Friends from the very beginning; and The Gryphon Lecture on the History of the Book, the first to be endowed, was established by another long-standing Friend, George Kiddell. The Library also sponsors the annual Kenny Prize lecture, funded through the estate of Robert S. Kenny, who also left us his remarkable collection on the Canadian and international redical left.

In 1988 we began publication of *The Halycon ~ The Newsletter of the Friends of the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library* and have continued to publish two issues a year. In it we have regularly reported on special acquisitions, especially gifts from Friends, and Luba Frastacky's annual account of the previous year's donations is eagerly anticipated, along with Jennifer Toews' complementary description of manuscript acquisitions. In the first issue we were able to feature a successful fundraising campaign to assist in the acquisition of the annotated proof-sheets of Darwin's *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*. At that time it was the first set of Darwin proofs to appear on the market for many years

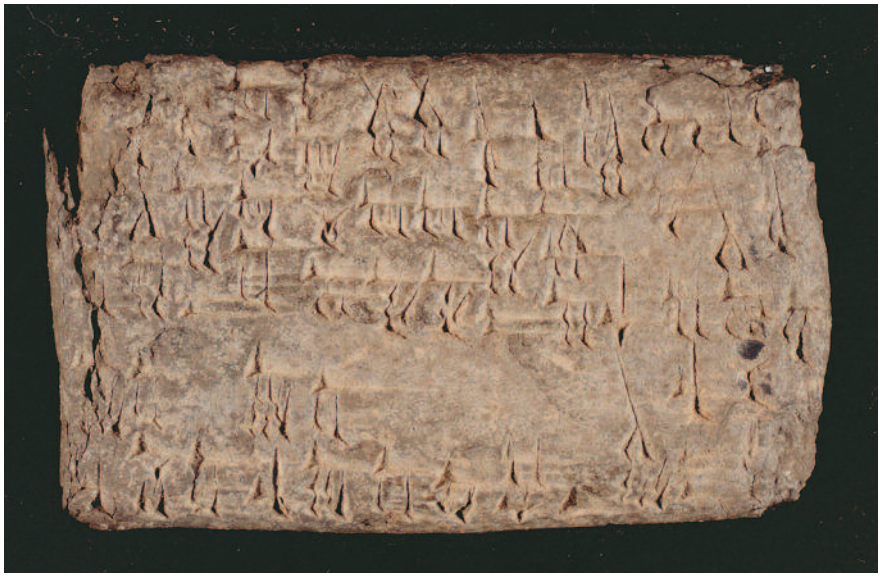
and we thought possibly the last. However, within three years we were able to acquire two more sets. The Friends have assisted in many other major acquisitions over the years, providing the extra funds needed to take advantage of unique opportunities.

The programme of exhibitions of books and manuscripts has long been a major component of the work of the Department, but before the construction of the Fisher Library there were never truly adequate exhibition facilities. With imaginative cases installed in the exhibition area and further space provided in the Maclean-Hunter Room, the Fisher has mounted hundreds of exhibitions since 1973 and has published a catalogue for every single one. Although the content of the catalogues has always been of a high standard, design and illustration was pretty minimal until the Friends of the Fisher began to act as a sponsor, along with other organizations, and since 1990 our catalogues have won several awards. Exhibition topics have usually, but not always, been drawn from the Fisher Library's own collections and the curators have most often been members of our own staff. There have been group efforts, with up to nine authors for a single catalogue, but there have been many notable solo efforts and several guest curators. We know that the catalogues and the exhibitions they describe have been appreciated by a wide international audience because they have been reviewed in newspapers and journals and there are continual requests to our website for copies. The catalogues constitute the major part of our publication programme and help to make both our collections and our facilities known to a wider range of scholars and the general public.

Although, in the grand scheme of history, fifty years is not a very significant period of time, the past half century does represent a most important span in the life of the University of Toronto and its library system. During this time the University established itself as an internationally recognized research institution, and the library responded to the challenge by providing the resources for the resulting increased scholarly demand. The Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, and then the Fisher Library, has been a vital component of this tremendous growth, and while we can pause and reflect on the achievements of fifty years, the pause will be brief, for the challenges remain and become more diverse and complex with each passing year. At the heart of our various mandates are the collections and it is their rich variety that provides the basis for this exhibition. Twenty-five years ago I wrote that 'the next quarter-century promises to be as challenging and exciting as the first'. I can only echo this sentiment for what lies ahead.

Babylonian Clay Tablet. 1789 b.c.

Cuneiform tablets survive in large numbers, mostly as legal documents which record the buying and selling of commodities, the selling and leasing of land, and other transactions which required formal documentation, although literary, historical, and philosophical texts have also been discovered. The wedge-shaped impressions (*cuneus* is Latin for wedge) in damp pieces of clay which were then baked and stored in archives in a climate which remained dry has ensured that these documents have been preserved. While the existence of inscriptions incised in stone and impressed on clay tablets had been known from ancient times the ability to read them, in the three languages of Sumerian, Akkadian, and Babylonian, had been lost. It was not until the mid-19th century and the development of the new science of Assyriology that Edward Hincks, an Irish country clergyman, Sir Henry Rawlinson, a military officer and diplomat, and William Henry Fox Talbot, the pioneer photographer, succeeded in deciphering the true syllabic functions of the three languages. In 1857 the Royal Asiatic Society organized a competition to submit a sealed translation of an inscription and the three British scholars, and a French Assyriologist, Jules Opport all entered. The four results were judged to be sufficiently similar to demonstrate that basic decipherment had genuinely been achieved and the process of recovering the texts of these ancient civilizations continues to this day.



Our tablet is a deed of sale for two derelict houses, probably in the city of Ur, and is dated in the eighth month of the thirty-fourth regnal year of Rim-Sin, King of Larsa. One house belonged to Apil-ilim and the other to Warrad-Kubi and ownership was being transferred to Sallurum. There were seven witnesses to the deed. This tablet once belonged to Lord Amherst of Hackney, a late 19th-century English collector of books and manuscripts who had a special interest in near-eastern antiquities. Part I of his collection of Babylonian cuneiform tablets was deciphered and published by Theophilus F. Pinches in 1908 and included those dated from ca. 4500 to ca. 2500 b.c. Unfortunately a severe reversal of Amherst's fortunes and his death the following year prevented the publication of the second part of the collection in which this particular tablet resided, although his daughter, Lady William Cecil, continued her interest in it. The whole collection was sold by Sotheby's on 13 June 1921, after her death, along with Amherst's other Egyptian and Oriental collections. The cuneiform tablets were sold in lots and described very briefly and it is thus impossible to identify this particular tablet. The collection was widely dispersed.

This document is an early example of the subtle subversion of an oral tradition that relied on memory and custom. Farmers today may still lease their land to a friend based on a handshake, but most of our legal transactions are recorded in written form, with many copies, while our literature is preserved in published form.

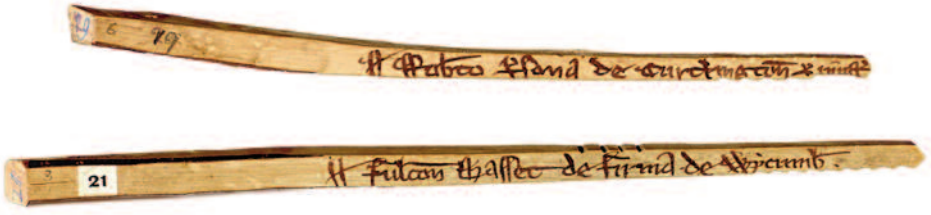
Acquired in 1994 in London from Sam Fogg.

Medieval English Tally Sticks. ca. 1250

In his 'Shipman's Tale' Geoffrey Chaucer has a wife say to her husband:

> For I will paie you well and readily
> From day to day, and if so be I faile,
> I am your wife; score it upon my taile.

The reference (and the obviously intentional rude pun) is to a tally stick, or 'taile' in Middle English, a device for recording and reconciling debts which seems to have begun being used in England shortly after the Norman Conquest. Small pieces of wood were cut with notches which signified the amount of the debt, with a 'v'-shaped notch to indicate pounds, broad grooves for shillings, and sharp cuts for pence. The stick was then split with a knife and each party to the transaction kept half as a record which would be brought together again when the debt



was discharged. Because each split was unique only one tally would match exactly with its mate, making it impossible to tamper with the account and guarding against forgery.

Tally sticks were originally used by sheriffs to keep track of taxes for government authorities, but by the 13th century were in general use for all kinds of financial transactions and could themselves be bought, sold and discounted. They remained in use officially until 1724 and the office of the Receipt of the Exchequer was not finally abolished until 1834. In that year officials were ordered to destroy the large archive of them that had been accumulated over seven hundred years and an attempt was made to burn them in a stove located beneath the House of Lords. The fire quickly got out of control and spread rapidly, completely consuming the Houses of Parliament and the Palace of Westminster. The great rarity of tally sticks today is obviously due to this disaster, although a few escaped destruction by having been stored in other locations. In 1913 Sir Hilary Jenkinson estimated that only 1300 were still in existence.

The two tally sticks recently acquired by the Fisher Library (due to the knowledge and alertness of Pearce Carefoote) are typical and can be dated to ca. 1250. Both have names and places written on them in a 13th-century charter hand and the amounts owed can be calculated from the notches carved into their sides. The first belonged to Fulk Basset, who can be identified as Fulco Basset, the Bishop of London, who died of the plague in 1259. He owed £9.4s.6d for the farm of Wycombe, a sizeable sum for the time. The other tally indicates that Robert of Curclington owed a fine of £4.8d 'for an injustice', which is not specified.

Tally sticks represent the beginnings of modern accounting and many of the terms we use today for banking and investment originate with them: two examples are the words 'stock', which is derived from another Middle English word for them, and 'cheque'.

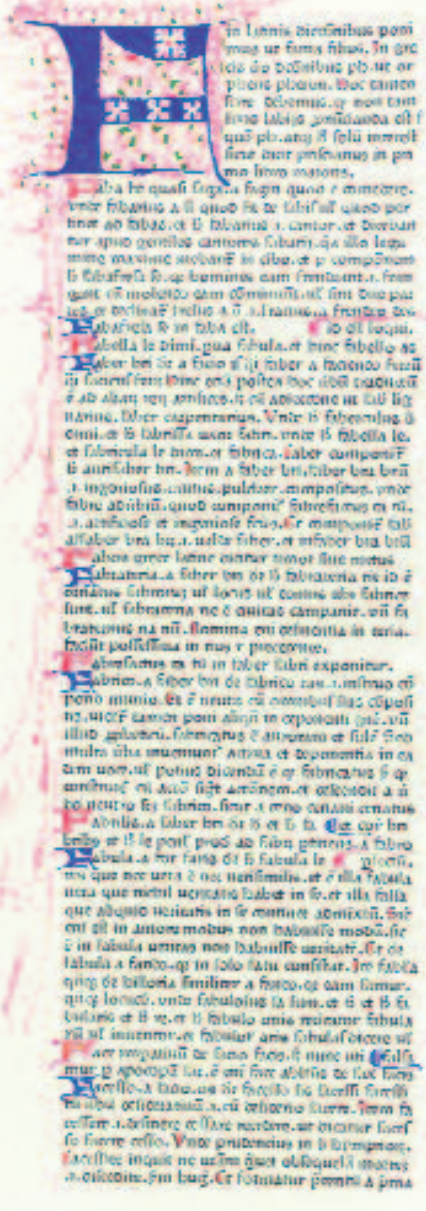
Basset's tally has a modern provenance. It was sold by Sotheby's in London in the sale of the antiquarian collector Frederick Arthur Crisp in February 1935 and was purchased by D.E. Jackson of Providence, Rhode Island. It again appeared for sale by Sotheby's in June of 1992. We have not been able to trace Robert of Curclington's tally.
Acquired in 2005 in Paris from Les Enluminures.

Johannes Balbus (d. 1298). *Catholicon*. [Mainz: Johann Gutenberg?], 1460.

The first European printers discovered early that various kinds of encyclopedias could be very popular and profitable. The text of the *Catholicon* by Balbus, who died in 1298, was already well known and highly regarded by theologians and writers of Biblical commentary by the mid-15th century, although the details of its author's life are not known. He was a Dominican father from Genoa and was sometimes known as Joannes de Janua. Whether 'Balbus', which means stammering or stuttering, is an accurate description of him is not known, but he did write several other treatises. In 1460 a printer in Mainz, quite possibly Gutenberg, issued the first printed edition of this large and lengthy book and it proved to be popular, with at least twenty-three editions being published before 1500.

The text of the *Catholicon* is really an extensive treatise on the Latin language. It includes an etymological dictionary and an explanatory work on grammar, including orthography, prosody, and vocabulary as well as sentence structure and style. It was one of the first semi-secular works to be printed and was extensively used as a reference source in monasteries, churches, and universities. It is perhaps better known now as a monument of early printing, but a controversial one.

The colophon at the end of the text reads, in part: '… this excellent book, *Catholicon*, has been printed in the goodly city of Mainz … and … brought to completion in the year of our Lord's Incarnation, 1460 – not by means of reed, stylus or quill, but with the miraculous and harmonious concurrence of punches and types cast in moulds.' This statement seems unequivocal, but the history and circumstances of its printing and publication are far from clear and scholars of early printing are still engaged in vigorous debate about who the printers were, when exactly it was printed, and where publication took place. It was a massive undertaking: 744 pages of text set in a large folio format in the smallest type-size yet used for printing. Judging by the survival rate, it enjoyed a relatively large press run, with 300 copies conjectured.



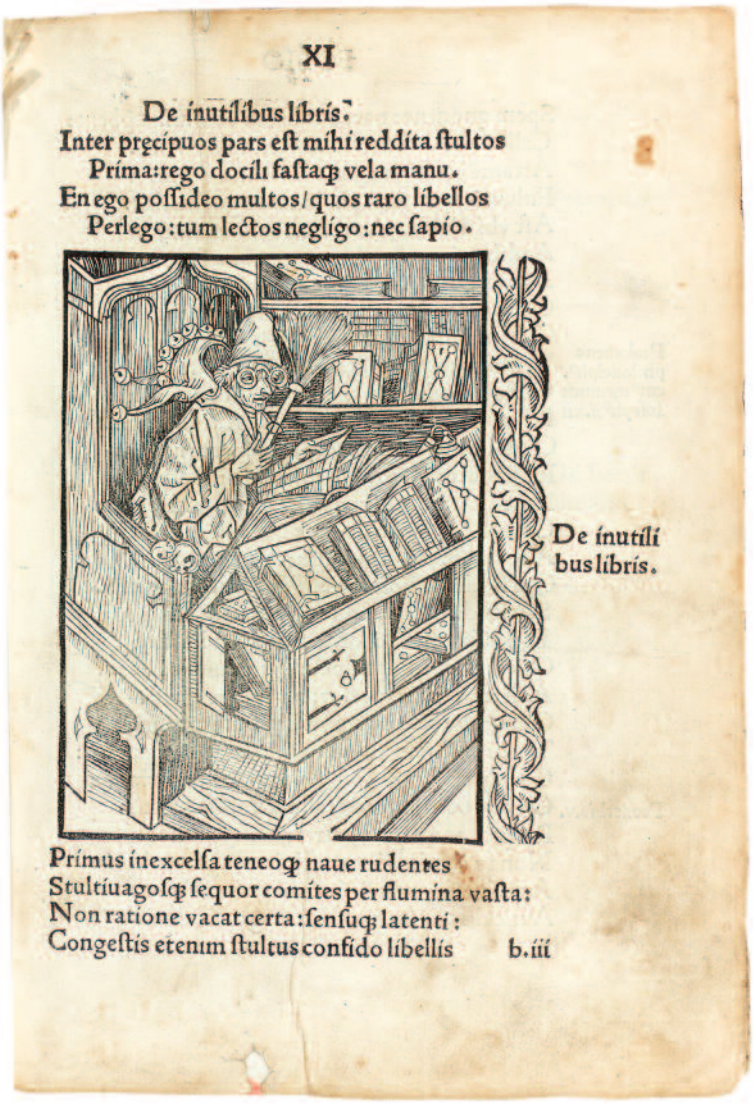
There were four impressions (or issues): one on vellum, of which ten copies survive, thought to have been produced in 1460. In the same year an issue printed on paper watermarked with the image of a Bull's Head and Star (which was clearly manufactured earlier) also appeared. The second issue, printed on Galliziani paper which was not made until 1468 (the year of Gutenberg's death), appeared then or later, while a third impression was printed on a mixture of Tower and Crown paper manufactured around 1472. All of these impressions were printed from the same setting of type and all have the same colophon. It is now believed that the type was set two lines at a time, possibly using some kind of an early stereotype process, but definite answers to the many questions raised in recent years regarding the production of the *Catholicon* have not yet been given.

The Fisher copy of the *Catholicon* is printed on Bull's Head and Star paper and has been decorated with large pen-work initials in red, blue, and green, following the medieval manuscript tradition, in a Mainz workshop. It was once owned by the Benedictine Order of Sankt Jakob in Mainz and later by Elector Lother Franz von Schönborn, Archbishop of Bamburg and Mainz. It was rebound by Zacharias Kling of Bamberg in the late 17th or early 18th century.
On long-term loan from a private collection since 1991.

Sebastian Brant (1458–1521). *Stultifera Navis*. Basel: Johann Bergmann von Olpe, 1 March 1497.

The first German edition of *Das Narrenschiff* was published in Basel in 1494 by Bergmann von Olpe and a second edition, which added two further chapters, appeared in 1495. The first Latin edition, translated by Jacob Locher, a pupil and protégé of Sebastian Brant, introduced the satirical text to a much wider audience and it proved to be very popular over a long period. There were also editions in French, Dutch, Flemish and Low German. The first English edition, translated, or rather adapted, by Alexander Barclay with the title *The Shyp of Folys of the Worlde* was issued by Richard Pynson in 1509 and a competing edition, translated by Henry Watson, appeared from Wynken de Worde's press in the same year.

As important as the text is the series of woodcuts, one for each of the 111 chapters, a few of them repeated, which illustrate and comment on each 'folly'. Some of them have been assigned to the young Albrecht Dürer who was in Basel from 1492 to 1494 and probably knew Brant. They display stylistic similarities to


XI

De inutílibus líbrís.

Inter prȩcípuos pars eſt míhi reddíta ſtultos
Príma: rego docílı faſtaq; vela manu.
En ego poſſídeo multos/quos raro líbellos
Perlego: tum lectos neglígo: nec ſapío.

De inutílí
buslíbrís.

Prímus ínexcelſa teneoq; naue rudentes
Stultíuagoſq; ſequor comítes per flumína vaſta:
Non ratione vacat certa: ſenſuq; latentí:
Congeſtís etenim ſtultus confído libellís

some of his other known works of the same period and some have the line of little bells on the fool's caps, thought to be a kind of signature for Dürer.

Sebastian Brant was born in Strasbourg and studied philosophy at the newly founded University of Basel, receiving a bachelor's degree. He then transferred to law and received a licence to practice and teach canon law in 1484, before being admitted to the degree of *Doctor utriusque juris* in 1489. At the same time he became an advisor to several Basel printer/publishers and edited manuscripts, read proofs, and wrote introductions for them. He also produced a quantity of Latin verse on religious, political and didactic themes, especially panegyrics in praise of Maximilian, who became the Holy Roman Emperor in 1486. Brant then began to translate some of his poems into German, reflecting the Renaissance

sensibilities of the emerging upper middle class citizens. He assisted his friend Bergmann von Olpe to set up his printing house and the *Narrenschiff* was the first book issued by his press. Brant remained in Basel until 1501, when he returned to Strasbourg where he became a prominent local politician and member of the literary society that entertained Erasmus on his way from England to Basel in 1514. He lived long enough to witness the beginnings of the Protestant Reformation, which troubled him greatly as he was very conservative and a stern moralist. He died in 1521, still espousing the same satirical attitude to folly that he had published thirty years before.

Brant's clear intentions are set forth in his Prologue:

> For the profit, and salutary instruction, admonition
> and pursuit of wisdom, common sense, and good
> manners; also for the condemnation and reproach
> of folly, blindness, error, and stupidity of all
> ranks and kinds of men.

Each chapter, or folly, begins with a short verse or *precis* of the poem which follows, accompanied by a woodcut. The most ironically appealing to book collectors, and one for which Brandt obviously had a special understanding, is the first: 'Of Useless Books', with the spectacled scholar at his reading desk holding his duster and his fool's cap.

> In dunce's dance I take the lead,
> Books useless, numerous my creed,
> Which I can't understand or read
>
> If on this ship I'm number one
> For special reasons that was done,
> Yes, I'm the first one here you see
> Because I like my library.
> Of splendid books I own no end,
> But few that I can comprehend;
> I cherish books of various ages
> And keep the flies from off the pages.

(Translation by Edwin H. Zeydel)
Donated by Louis Melzack in 1986.

Viefuille Book of Hours, ca. 1445.

This beautiful late medieval manuscript, written on fine vellum and decorated with sixteen miniature paintings, was created in Paris for Jacqueline de Viefuille. Most unusually, her ownership is acknowledged on leaf 43 recto: 'ce livre icy apartient a seur Jacqueline de Viefuille, religieuse de lhostel Dieu de Paris' and it is likely that she came from a wealthy family that presented this private book of devotion to her, perhaps on the occasion of her becoming a nun. The full-page paintings are thought to have been executed by a disciple of the Bedford Master, perhaps the Master of Jean Rolin II, and they remain fresh and vibrant. The binding is not its first, but was executed in a Parisian shop in the late 16th century; full olive morocco, elaborately tooled in gilt in a Duodo design, with a silver centre-piece and corner pieces containing the initials PM and PIS.

A Book of Hours (or *Horae*) is a personal book of prayers principally for the use of those not in holy orders. Deacons, priests, and bishops are still daily required by the Catholic Church to recite or chant the Divine Office in all of its complexity. For this purpose they use breviaries and antiphonaries. The emergence of Books of Hours in the 12th century and their great popularity from


placebo domino
ilexi quoniam ex
audiet dns voce
orationis mee
Quia inclina


Dominelabia
mea aperies
et os meum
adnunciabit

the late 13th to the early 16th centuries (including many printed editions during the latter years of this period), was owing to an increasing desire to imitate the clergy and their apparently more direct relationship with the Deity. Their relative simplicity and the didactic pictures they contained made them sacred objects that could be admired and used, but could also, in their most elaborate and highly decorated forms, convey the prestige of a family. Another factor that contributed to the popularity of Books of Hours was the emergence of the cult of the Virgin Mary. Many of the great Gothic cathedrals of Europe were erected in her honour during this period and the Book of Hours became an analogous object of worship; a Chartres Cathedral one could hold in one's hand, with a whole section devoted to the Hours of the Virgin.

The contents of Books of Hours varied from place to place, especially with the introduction of local saints into the Calendar, whose presence assist in dating the individual volumes. Typically, however, there are eight parts: a Calendar, the four Gospel Lessons, the Hours of the Virgin, the Hours of the Cross and Hours of the Holy Spirit, two prayers to the Virgin, the Penitential Psalms and Litany, the Office of the Dead, and Suffrages. There was a rich pictorial tradition for each of these texts and the number and quality of the illustrations was limited only by the skill of the artist and the wealth of the patron who commissioned the manuscript. The artists were mostly anonymous, but some, like the Bedford Master, can be identified by their qualities of artistic style and their substantial body of work. The Viefuille Hours contains pictures of a very high quality indeed and would have been very expensive. Its sixteen miniatures include several of the standard images: the four evangelists, each writing his Gospel; biblical scenes of the Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, Annunciation to the Shepherds, Adoration of the Magi, Presentation in the Temple, Flight into Egypt, Crucifixion, and Descent of the Holy Spirit; as well as devotional scenes such as the Coronation of the Virgin, David kneeling before Christ, and the burial service.

The Hours of the Virgin (or "The Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary") form the core part of any Book of Hours. They consist of a series of prayers corresponding to the eight canonical Hours of each day (Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, and Compline) observed by the ordained clergy. The laity, including nuns and lay brothers, could replicate this regimen in their own homes and convents, *Horae* in hand. Some of the surviving copies (and many have survived) display ample evidence of sustained use, but many are in virtually the

same pristine state as when they were first written and decorated. Given that Jeanne de Viefuille belonged to an active order of nursing sisters, it is not surprising to find her copy still in mint condition.
On long-term loan from a private collection since 1991.

The *Zohar*, early 15th century.

In 1996, Albert D. Friedberg, a Toronto businessman and book collector, donated the most important collection of its kind ever received by the Fisher Library. It consisted of thirty-five Hebrew manuscripts, most of them from the medieval period (and several of them dated), three dozen Genizah fragments, and one hundred early printed books. This magnificent gift at once established the University of Toronto as an internationally important centre for the study of the texts of early Hebraica, shortly after the University created a Jewish Studies Program.

The collection of manuscripts, several of which once formed part of the famous collection of David Solomon Sassoon (1880–1942), covers almost all the areas of Jewish scholarship, including the Bible, with a complete text dated December 1307, transcribed in Toledo by Joseph ben Judah ibn Merwas. Two 13th-century manuscripts of Biblical exegesis by Rashi (1040–1105), the most popular Hebrew interpreter of the Middle Ages, have a German provenance and there are several works of Hebrew grammar. There are several examples of Halakhah, or Jewish legal texts, and liturgical and mystical manuscripts. What has been called the 'crowning jewel' of the Friedberg Collection is a manuscript of the *Zohar*, the major work of medieval Jewish mysticism. It was written by Moses De Leon in the 13th century and very few early manuscripts of it survive. The Freidberg *Zohar* has been dated at the beginning of the 15th century and is the most complete early exemplar extant. As there has never been a critical edition published it will be an essential manuscript for modern scholarship. It was possibly once owned by Shabbetai Zevi, the mystical messianic pretender of the 17th century and thus has an appealing provenance as well.

The early printed books of the Friedberg Collection are both distinguished and rare. There are several incunables, including Solomon ibn Gabirol's *Mivhar hapeninim* (Soncino, 1484). There is a copy of the very rare Constantinople 1509 edition of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, and previously unrecorded copies of *Sefer mazalot shel Adam* (1557) and *Pitron balomot* (1563).

In 1997 the Fisher Library received the library of Rabbi Abraham Price from his estate. It contains many 17th and 18th century works of Hebrew literature, history and critical commentary and provides an effective complement to the Friedberg Collection.

Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies. Published according to the True Originall Copies. London: Printed by Isaac Jaggard, and Ed. Blount, 1623.

The first collected edition of Shakespeare's plays, commonly known as the First Folio, is universally considered to be the cornerstone of any collection of English literature and has been keenly pursued by collectors for some three hundred years. This is the only copy in Canada.

Half of the plays had been previously published in quarto editions, often with defective texts, but the real importance of the First Folio is that it presents in print for the first time eighteen plays. Without it we would not have *Macbeth, Julius Cæsar, Antony and Cleopatra, Measure for Measure, Taming of the Shrew, Twelfth Night, Winter's Tale, Henry VI part I, Comedy of Errors, As You Like It, All's Well That Ends Well, King John, Tempest, Two Gentlemen of Verona, Coriolanus, Timon of Athens, Henry VII, and Cymbeline*. No autograph manuscripts of Shakespeare survive except, possibly, a section of *King John*. The first folio was edited by John Heminge and Henry Condell (two of Shakespeare's fellow players in the company of The King's Men) with the assistance of other members of the company and the publishers, named in the colophon as William Jaggard, Edward Blount, J. Smethwicke, and William Aspley. It was a complicated venture, involving many different rights and permissions and took a long time to produce. The dedication was addressed to William Herbert, 3rd Earl of Pembroke, and his brother Philip who succeeded him as 4th Earl in the following words: 'We have but collected them, and done an office to the dead, to procure his Orphanes, Guardians; without ambition either of selfe-profit, or fame: onely to keepe the memory alive, as was our Shakespeare, by humble offer of his playes, to your most noble patronage'. To the 'great Variety of Readers' Heminge and Condell say that 'it is yours that reade him … Reade him, therefore; and againe, and againe'. And so it has come to pass; there are thousands of editions of the plays, a larger critical literature than for any other writer, and an endless number of stage and film productions that, despite liberties of interpretation, continue to bewitch readers and play-goers alike with the richness, power, sympathy and wit of their

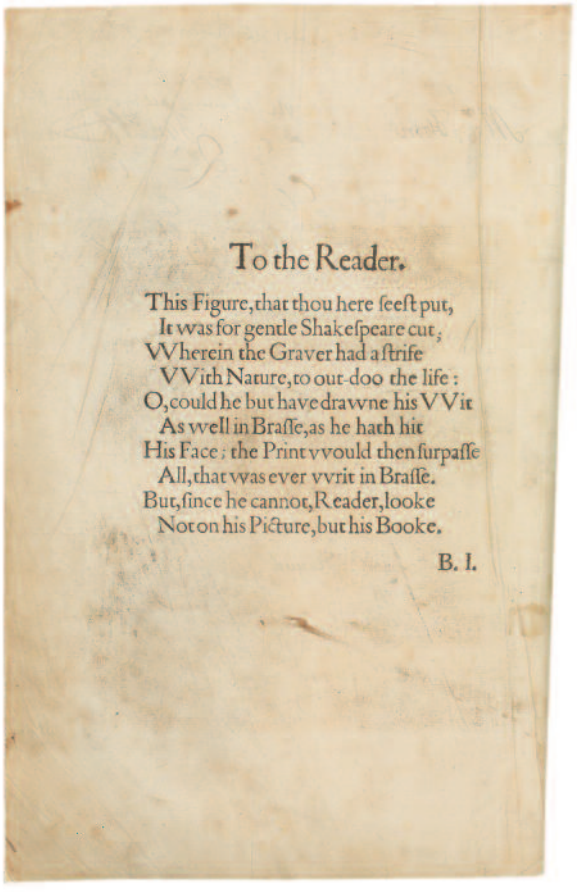
language.

Production of the large folio of 454 leaves began early in 1622 and continued, with some interruptions, until November of 1623. Six compositors worked on setting and correcting the text and due to the complexities of printing and the hundreds of stop-press corrections there are three issues of the book, almost all of the survivors being examples of the third, as is this copy. It is thought that about 750 copies were printed and sold for one pound per copy in sheets. (Peter Blayney has lowered that estimate to 15 shillings.) Around 200 copies survive although counting fragments the total is closer to 300, a very high rate for a book of the

period. Most of these copies are defective and this one has a facsimile title leaf and the leaf with Ben Jonson's verse in facsimile by John Harris, the most famous facsimile maker of the nineteenth century who could imitate a page of print so faithfully it could not be detected. The famous engraved portrait by Martin Droeshout, now considered to be one of only two genuine likenesses of Shakespeare, has been especially prone to removal and replacement.

The Fisher copy of the First Folio was bound (or, more likely, rebound) in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries in full calf with a gilt tooled back and was later rebacked. To Peter Blayney it is the 'rosebud copy', because of the impression left from a long-ago pressed rosebud on the leaves around page 395 (last group). Another of its distinctive features is the remains of an original deckle edge at page 139 (last group) where a leaf was folded in before the sheets were trimmed and bound. It also has an interesting provenance. The first owner who has left any evidence was John Lloyd who placed his handsome armorial bookplate on the front paste-down, but who cannot be further identified. The next owner was Eleanor Fuller Elliott, Lady Drake, who died in 1841. Quaritch obtained the Folio and in 1889 sold it to John Boyd Thacher, an Albany, New York, businessman and politician who collected incunables (that collection now in the Library of Congress), Americana, and the French Revolution. He died in 1909 and the Folio was sold by his widow to Beverly Chew in 1910. Chew, a New York banker and mainstay of The Grolier Club, sold his large collection of early English literature in 1912 to Henry Huntington (he was able to buy some of the books back at Huntington duplicate sales). The Folio was next sold through George D. Smith to Roderick Terry, a Reformed Church minister who lived in Newport, Rhode Island, and formed a large collection of English literature. At his auction sale on 8 November 1934 it was lot 289 and sold for $9750. to Gabriel Wells, a New York dealer who sold it on to Robinson Bros. in London. That firm sold it to H. Harvey Frost in 1937 and in 1955 he sold it through Days Booksellers and Colonel Petigrew to Sidney Fisher. It has thus crossed the Atlantic three times. It was, of course, the star attraction when the Fisher Collection came to the Fisher Library in 1973.

Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies, Published according to the true Originall Copies. The second Impression. London: Printed by Tho. Cotes, for Robert Allot, and are to be sold at the signe of the Black Beare in Paul's



To the Reader.

This Figure, that thou here ſeeſt put,
It was for gentle Shakeſpeare cut,
Wherein the Graver had a ſtrife
With Nature, to out-doo the life:
O, could he but have drawne his Wit
As well in Braſſe, as he hath hit
His Face; the Print would then ſurpaſſe
All, that was ever writ in Braſſe.
But, ſince he cannot, Reader, looke
Not on his Picture, but his Booke.

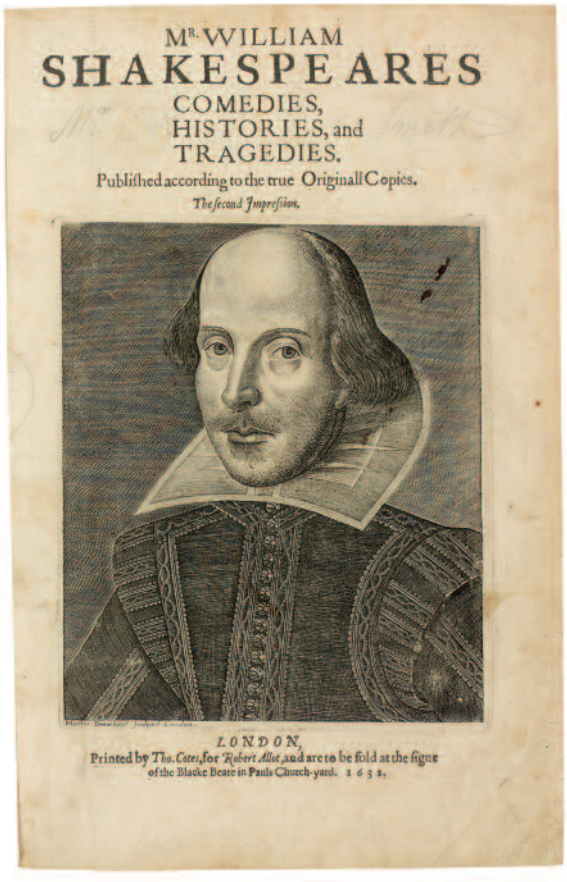
B. I.

Church-yard, 1632.

The publishing of the Second Folio was shared by five booksellers: John Smethwick, William Aspley, Richard Hawkins, Richard Meighen, and Robert Allot, all of whom owned rights to one or more of the plays. Thus different names appear in the imprint on the title-page, although Robert Allot had the largest share of the edition. It is presumed that the First Folio had gone out of print by 1632 as it was used as printer's copy for the Second. It is not as significant textually as the First, and, of course, introduces more accidental variants.

The Second Folio is perhaps most significant for the first appearance in print of John Milton, an epitaph on Shakespeare in sixteen verses written when he was twenty-four:

What needе my Shakespeare for his honour'd bones,
The labour of an Age, in piled stones
Or that his hallow'd Reliques should be hid
Under a starre-y pointing Pyramid?


Mr. WILLIAM
SHAKESPEARES
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The second Impression.
LONDON,
Printed by Tho. Cotes, for Robert Allot, and are to be sold at the signe
of the Blacke Beare in Pauls Church-yard. 1632.

The Fisher Library has two copies of the Second Folio. One was presented to the Library in 1962 by the Associates of the University of Toronto, Inc., a New York organisation through which many donations have come to the University, as part of the celebration of the University Library collections reaching one million books. It had been presented in 1810 to William West Betty (1791–1874), known as Young Roscius, a precocious child actor who created a sensation in the British theatre between 1803 and 1808. The novelty of his performances of the roles of Romeo, Hamlet, and Macbeth gradually paled, although he continued to work in the theatre until 1824 when he retired at the age of thirty-three. For the next fifty years he lived quietly and comfortably on the income from the large fortune he had accumulated as a youth. His Second Folio next belonged to John Francis Neylan and its many missing leaves were made up with facsimiles, probably about the time it was rebound by Rivière & Son in full polished calf. The second copy, which arrived with the Fisher Collection, is a tall, handsome book bound in 18th-century mottled tree-calf. Its discernable provenance begins

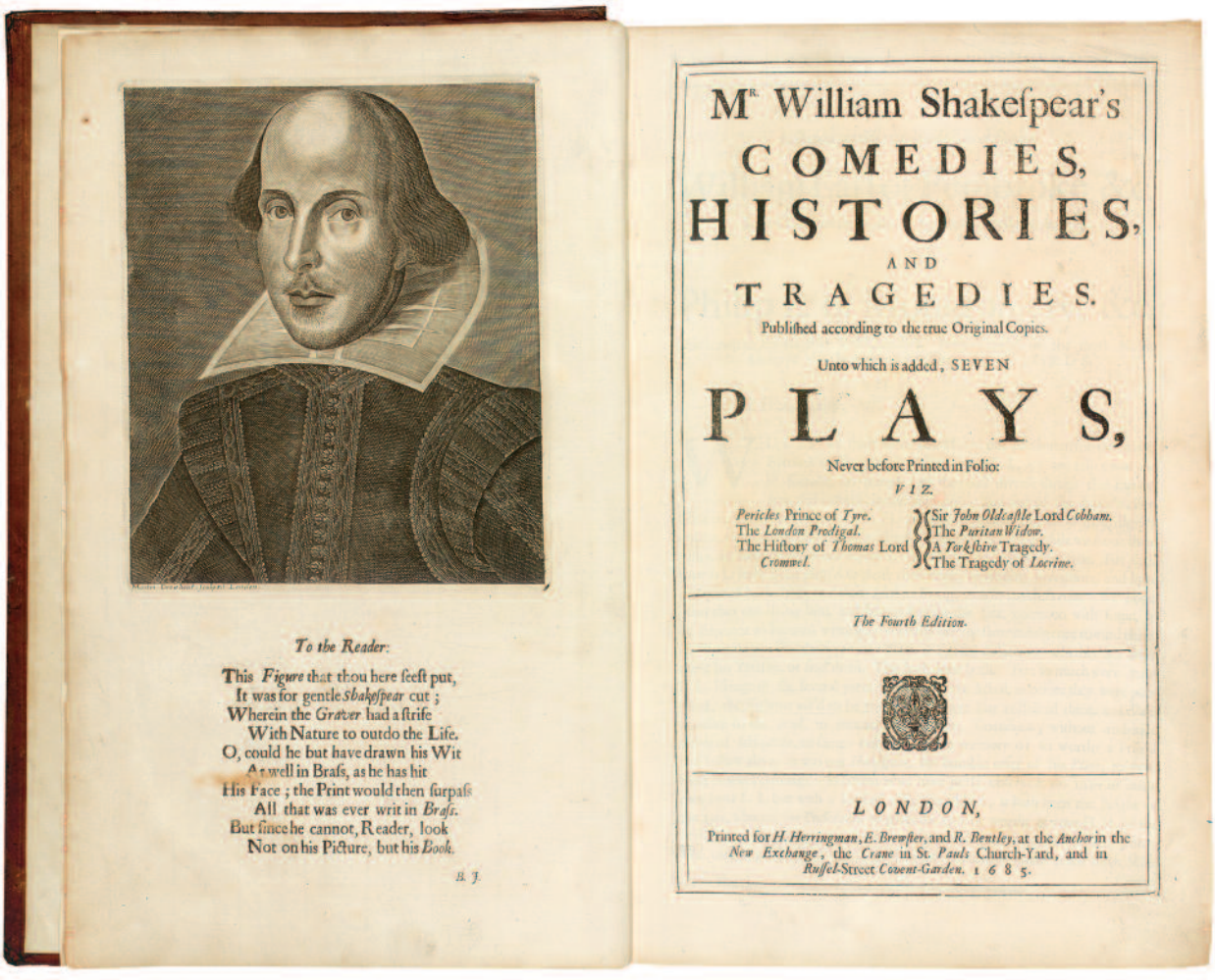
in 1715 with C. Snape and continues with J. Smith Ramsbotham (1884), James Humphrey Ramsbotham (1900), and Harvey Frost and Sidney Fisher.

Mr. William Shakespear's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies … The Third Impression. And unto this Impression is added seven Playes. London: Printed for P.C. 1664.

The Third Folio is the rarest of the 17th-century editions, due, probably, to the Great Fire of London in 1666. It exists in two issues, the first printed for Philip Chetwinde, 1663, and the second 'printed for P.C. 1664'. The Fisher copy of the 1664 issue thus has appended to it the seven new plays listed on the title-page, including *Locrine, A Yorkshire Tragedy,* and *Sir John Oldcastle*, which are all spurious with the possible exception of *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*. The main part of the text is a reprint of the Second Folio and thus Heminge and Condell are still the editors, even though they had died in 1630 and 1627 respectively. This copy belonged to Baron Horace de Landau, a Rothschild banker from Vienna who retired to Florence and died in 1903. The sale of part of his library was held in London in 1948, the first great Sotheby's book sale after the Second World War. The £90,982 paid for 129 lots (out of a total of some 80,000 volumes said to have been accumulated by the Baron) began the post-war boom for Sotheby's. The Third Folio had been part of a set of four sold together to Maggs Bros. for £1900 and it was sold on to Dudley M. Coleman. It was purchased from him by Sidney Fisher in 1955. In the late 19th century Rivière had rebound it in typical full red morocco, extensively tooled with gilt.

Mr. William Shakespear's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies … The Fourth Edition. London: Printed for H. Herringman, E. Brewster, and R. Bentley, 1685.

The Fisher Library also has two fine copies of the Fourth Folio of 1685, both of them the Brewster/Bentley issue, the publishers who shared responsibility for the volume with Henry Herringman. It was set from the second issue of the Third Folio and included *Pericles* and the six acknowledged spurious plays. The last of the 17th century editions, it contained the cumulation of textual error, substantive and accidental, but was considered the authoritative text until Samuel Johnson and Edward Capell demonstrated the superiority of the First Folio. Physically it is the largest of the Folio editions. Fisher copy 1 is bound in



To the Reader.

This *Figure* that thou here seest put,
It was for gentle *Shakespear* cut;
Wherein the *Graver* had a strife
With Nature to outdo the Life.
O, could he but have drawn his Wit
As well in Brass, as he has hit
His Face; the Print would then surpass
All that was ever writ in *Brass*.
But since he cannot, Reader, look
Not on his Picture, but his *Book*.

B. J.

M^R. William Shakespear's
COMEDIES,
HISTORIES,
AND
TRAGEDIES.
Published according to the true Original Copies.

Unto which is added, SEVEN
PLAYS,
Never before Printed in Folio:
VIZ.

Pericles Prince of *Tyre*.
The *London Prodigal*.
The History of *Thomas* Lord *Cromwel*.
Sir *John Oldcastle* Lord *Cobham*.
The *Puritan Widow*.
A *Yorkshire* Tragedy.
The Tragedy of *Locrine*.

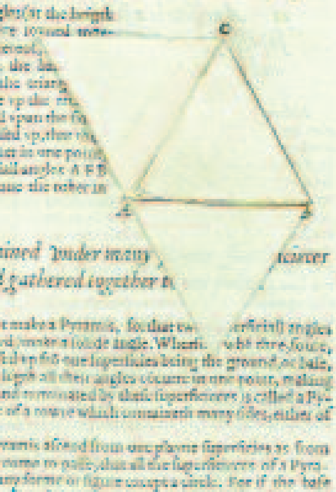
The Fourth Edition.

LONDON,
Printed for *H. Herringman*, *E. Brewster*, and *R. Bentley*, at the *Anchor* in the *New Exchange*, the *Crane* in St. *Pauls* Church-Yard, and in *Russel*-Street *Covent-Garden*. 1685.

18th-century full sprinkled calf and was presented to the Library by the Associates of the University of Toronto in 1966. Copy 2 is also bound in full 18th-century calf and has the bookplate of John Fothergill, possibly the famous 18th-century physician who had extensive natural history collections and whose library was sold at auction in 1781, after his death the previous year. It also belonged to Harvey Frost and Sidney Fisher.

The Fisher Shakespeare Collection also contains most of the significant later collected editions of his plays, beginning with Nicholas Rowe's six-volume edition of 1707. The editorial process begun by Heminge and Condell in 1623 continued through the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries and new editions still appear regularly. Shakespeare has been edited, forged, emasculated and interpreted both in performance and textually until his body of work has become the most familiar and influential to more people throughout the world than that of any other author.

ward narower and narower, at length ende their angles (at the height or toppe therof) in one point. So all their angles there ioyned together, make a solide angle. And for the better sight thereof, here a figure whereby ye shall more easily conceiue it, the base figure is a triangle, namely ABC, if on euery side of the triangle ABC, ye erect vp a triangle, as vpon the side AB, ye raise vp the triangle AFB, and vpon the side AC the triangle AFC, and vpon the side BC, the triangle BFC, and so bowing the triangles raised vp, that their toppes, namely the pointes F meete and ioyne together in one point, ye shal easly and plainly see how these three superficiall angles AFB, BFC, CFA ioyne and close together, touching the one the other in the point F, and so make a solide angle.

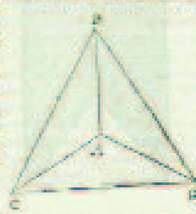


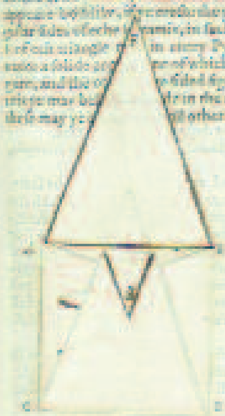
12 *A Pyramis is a solide figure contained vnder many playne superficieces set vpon one playne superficies, and gathered together to one point.* Twelfth diffinition.

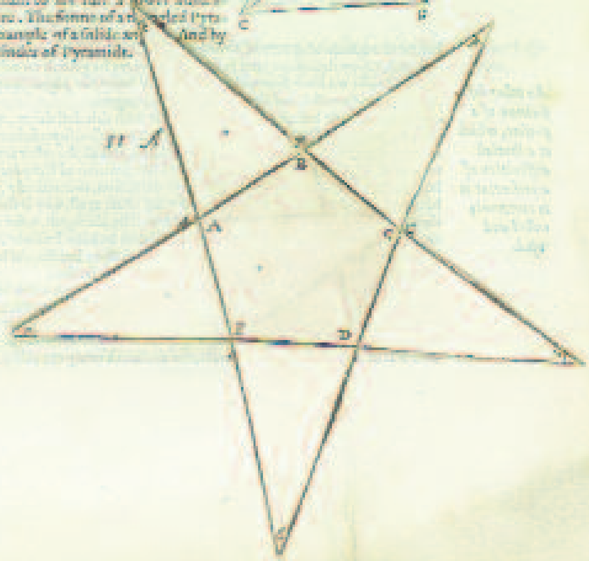
Two superficieces raysed vpon any ground cannot make a Pyramis, for that two superficiall angles ioyned together in the toppe, cannot (as before is sayd) make a solide angle. Wherfore when three, foure, fiue, or more (how many soeuer) superficieces are raised vp from one superficies being the ground or base, and come ascending diminishing their bredth, till at the length all their angles concurre in one point, making there a solide angle: the solide inclosed, bounded and terminated by those superficieces is called a Pyramis, as a spire in a tower of some side, and as a spire of a tower which containeth many sides, either of which is a Pyramis.

And because that all the superficieces of euery Pyramis ascend from one playne superficies as from the base and tende to one point, it must of necessitie come to passe, that all the superficieces of a Pyramis are triangles, except the base, which may be of any forme or figure except a circle. For if the base be a circle, then it ascendeth not with sides, or diuers superficieces, but with one round superficies, and hath not the name of a Pyramis, but is called (as hereafter shall appeare) a Cone.

Of Pyramids there are diuers kindes. For according to the varietie of the base is brought forth the varietie and diuersitie of kindes of Pyramids. If the base of a Pyramis be a triangle, then is it called a triangled Pyramis. If the base be a figure of fower angles, it is called a quadrangled Pyramis. If the base be a Pentagon, then is it a Pentagonall or fiueangled Pyramis. And so forth according to the encrease of the angles of the base infinitely. Although the figure of a Pyramis can not be well expressed in a playne superficies, yet may ye sufficiently conceiue of it both by the figure before set in the definition of a solide angle, and by the figure here set, if ye imagine the point A together with the lines AB, AC, and AD, to be eleuated on high. And yet that the reader may more clerely see the forme of a Pyramis, I haue here set two sundry Pyramids which will appeare bodilike, if ye erect the papers wherein are drawen the triangular sides of eche Pyramis, in such sort that the pointes of the angles of ech triangle may in euery Pyramis concurre in one point, and make a solide angle. One of which hath to his base a fower sided figure, and the other a fiue sided figure. The forme of a triangled Pyramis may be seene in the example of a solide angle. And by these may ye conceiue all other kindes of Pyramids.







Euclid (ca. 325 bc – ca. 265 bc). *The Elements of Geometrie of the Most Ancient Philosopher Euclide of Megara*. Imprinted at London: By John Daye, 1570.

The *Elements* of Euclid is the oldest mathematical textbook in the world and Euclidean geometry still forms part of the standard curriculum in schools. It was composed at the school of mathematics founded by Euclid in Alexandria, and organized all the mathematical knowledge of the ancient Greeks into a consistent system of theorems. According to Proclus, from whom our scanty knowledge of Euclid's life derives, he was once asked by King Ptolemy I if there were not an easier way to learn geometry than by studying the *Elements.* The great mathematician replied: 'there is no royal road to geometry'. Like many Greek scientific texts, the *Elements* entered the European tradition of scholarship through the medium of Arabic recensions and was translated into Latin in the late medieval period. The first printed edition, with commentary by Campano of Novara, appeared in 1482 from the press of Erhard Ratdolt in Venice. In 1505 Bartolomeo Zamberti produced a superior text and commentary, based on a Greek manuscript, but the real *editio princeps*, in Greek, did not appear until 1533, edited by Simon Grynaeus.

The Fisher Library has, over the past fifty years, assembled a strong Euclid collection which includes not only the early Latin and Greek editions, but also the first edition in Italian (1543), the first German edition (1562), and the first edition in Arabic (1594). We also have two copies of the first complete version of Euclid in English, the famous Dee Euclid of 1570. Although the translation was made by Henry Billingsley, assisted by his mathematical mentor David Whitehead, John Dee's long preface classifying and describing the mathematical arts became better known than the translation itself and the edition was commonly designated as his.

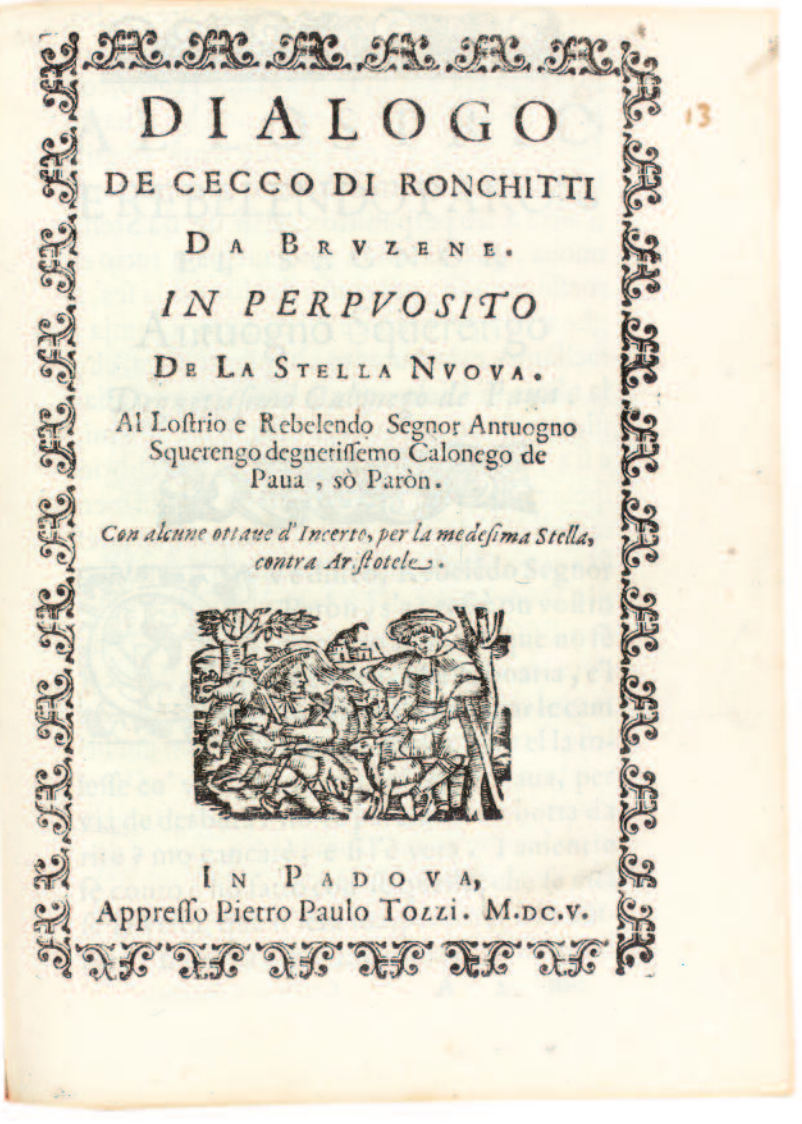
Both Dee and Billingsley attended St. John's College, Cambridge, and Dee received a MA degree in 1548. Billingsley took no degrees but entered the London haberdashery trade and prospered exceedingly, serving the city as alderman and Lord Mayor, and having five wives. He was knighted in 1597 and died in 1606, leaving considerable sums to his surviving children and the poor of his parish. His translation of Euclid was based on the 1533 Greek text, a

Latin/Arabic text of 1558, and Zamberti's edition of 1505. In his prefatory note 'from the Translator to the Reader' he explained his motivation for undertaking the work. 'Without the diligent studies of Euclides Elementes', he writes, 'it is impossible to attain unto the perfect knowledge of Geometrie, and consequently of any other of the Mathematical sciences'.

John Dee (1527–1609) was known in his own time as a necromancer and magician, appellations he strongly denied at the end of the Preface to the 1570 Euclid. In fact, he did practice astrology and alchemy, but was also a significant mathematical scholar and antiquary. He also collected one of the great libraries of Elizabethan Britain, books that he used in his studies and writings. He was, for instance, greatly influenced by the *De Revolutionibus* of Copernicus and owned two copies of the first edition of 1543. He travelled extensively in Europe and met many of the great scholars of his time. His ability to explain Euclid's geometry established his reputation as a great mathematician and the Preface remains his most enduring work.

Dee's Euclid also was a great triumph for its printer and publisher, John Day, and solidified his reputation as a titan of the 16th-century English book trade. His career was unremarkable up to the advent of Elizabeth's reign, but in 1559 he printed William Cunningham's *Cosmographical Glasse*, a handsome folio illustrated with woodcuts. That was followed by the most remarkable publishing venture of the Elizabethan era, John Foxe's *Book of English Martyrs* in 1563, a large folio of some 1800 pages with fifty woodcuts, which was instantly successful and made his fortune. It had reached a fourth edition by 1583, the year before Day's death. Thus he was able to finance the elaborate undertaking of the Euclid, another folio of 930 pages extensively illustrated with woodcut diagrams, sixty of which in Book 11 have folding flaps, which allowed the propositions to be demonstrated in three dimensions.

Acquired in 1985 in Toronto from the Village Book Store.



DIALOGO
DE CECCO DI RONCHITTI
DA BRVZENE.
IN PERPVOSITO
DE LA STELLA NVOVA.
Al Loſtrio e Rebelendo Segnor Antuogno
Squerengo degnetiſſemo Calonego de
Paua, sò Paròn.
Con alcune ottaue d'Incerto, per la medeſima Stella,
contra Arſtotele.
IN PADOVA,
Appreſſo Pietro Paulo Tozzi. M.DC.V.

Galileo Galilei (1564–1642). *Dialogo de Cecco di Ronchitti … de la Stella Nuova*. Padova: Apresso Pietro Paulo Tozzi, 1605.

'Alimberto Mauri'. *Considerazioni … spora Alcuni Luoghi de Discorso di Lodovico delle Colombe*. In Firenze: Apresso Gio. Antonio Caneo, 1606.

Galileo, a major progenitor of the Scientific Revolution was also a martyr of the new science. His career can be viewed as a series of controversies, beginning with his earliest published work on the 'new star' of 1604, written when he was already over 40. He then moved on to the proportional compass, the telescopic discoveries of 1610, the 'bodies in water' and sunspot controversies of 1612 to 1615,

the controversy of the comets (1619-20), and the most famous of all, the *Dialogo* of 1632 which led to his trial and house arrest until his death in 1642. The greatest of his scientific works, the *Discorsi e Dimostrazioni Matematiche* had necessarily to be published in Leiden in 1638. Each of his works provoked attacks by Aristotelian philosophers and theological opponents and, occasionally, he was defended in print by his scientific colleagues. With the exceptions of the 1632 *Dialogo* and the *Discorsi* all these works were small pamphlets published in limited numbers and all are rare, both in institutions and on the market.

When Stillman Drake came to the University of Toronto in 1967 he brought with him one of the best Galileo collections in private hands. Its deposit in the Rare Books and Special Collections Department and its gradual acquisition by the Library provided a very large base upon which to build, a process much aided and abetted by Drake himself. The Galileo Collection is now among the best anywhere, excepting the manuscripts which remain in Florence where most were created.

One of Stillman Drake's great acquisitions, made after he came to Toronto, was a *Sammelband* of some fifteen short works on comets, published between 1578 and 1605. All of them are rare and four are not recorded in any standard bibliographical source. The volume is in an early binding with the gilt coat of arms of Léonor d'Estampes de Valençay (1589–1651). It later belonged to the Galetti family of Florence and Baron Horace de Landau, part of whose library was sold in 1948.

Towards the end of the volume occurs the *Dialogo de Cecco di Ronchitti … de la Stella Nuova*, rumoured to have been written by Galileo almost from the time of its publication, but not definitely assigned to him until the late 19th century. On 9 October 1604 a new star was first observed in the heavens near the conjunction of Jupiter and Mars in Sagittarius. Because of its brightness and the many astrological inferences that were drawn from such sightings, the interest of several Aristotelian philosophers was engaged to attempt to explain what the nova was and how it came to be where it was. Galileo's interest was aroused as well and, for the first time, he became seriously interested in astronomical matters and gave three public lectures in which he apparently discussed parallax and the measurement of distance and attempted to refute the Aristotelian theory that novæ were sublunar phenomena. He was challenged by Cesare Cremonini, a personal friend but scientific opponent, and Antonio Lorenzini, one of the philosophers. The *Dialogo* was his direct reply, a discussion between Matteo and

Natale, two peasant farmers who speak in a rustic dialect. In Stillman Drake's rendition:

> Natale: Why, didn't you see that star three months ago, shining at night like a skunk's eye? …That's what's really causing these freaks and this drought, according to what a Doctor at Padua said.
>
> Matteo: How do you know it was never seen before?
>
> Natale: The other day I heard a man that was reading this little book, and he said it only began to show last October eighth. The book was by a Padua prof., and said a lot of things.
>
> Matteo: A pox on those goat-turds at Padua. Maybe just because that fellow never saw it before, he wants everybody to believe him that it wasn't there. Me, I've never been to Germany, but its there just the same.

Philosophical astronomy is scornfully dismissed and the two farmers keep coming back to measurement as the only real method of determining the exact nature of heavenly bodies.

Lodovico delle Colombe, a philosopher, amateur astronomer, and poet from Florence, entered the controversy early in 1606, after the new star had disappeared from view. His *Discorso … nel quale si Demonstra che la Nuova Stella Apparita …* put forward the opinion that the star was not 'new' at all and he further promised to reconcile this theory with all true astronomy, philosophy, and theology. The answer to this attack was published in Florence in June 1606 by 'Alimberto Mauri', in his *Considerazioni*, also part of this volume. In it Mauri suggested, very sarcastically, that Colombe should stick with philosophical astronomy and leave mathematics to those qualified to make accurate observations. Colombe attempted to discover the identity of Mauri without success and came to believe that Galileo had written the pamphlet himself. More recently an exhaustive search of sources has failed to turn up any trace of Alimberto Mauri and Stillman Drake believed that this name was in fact a pseudonym for Galileo.

The works concerning the new star controversy illustrate very well the great strength of the Galileo collection. The primary works by Galileo are present, of course, but it also has the contemporary reactions to them, many of them more elusive than the works themselves.

Acquired from Stillman Drake in 1985.

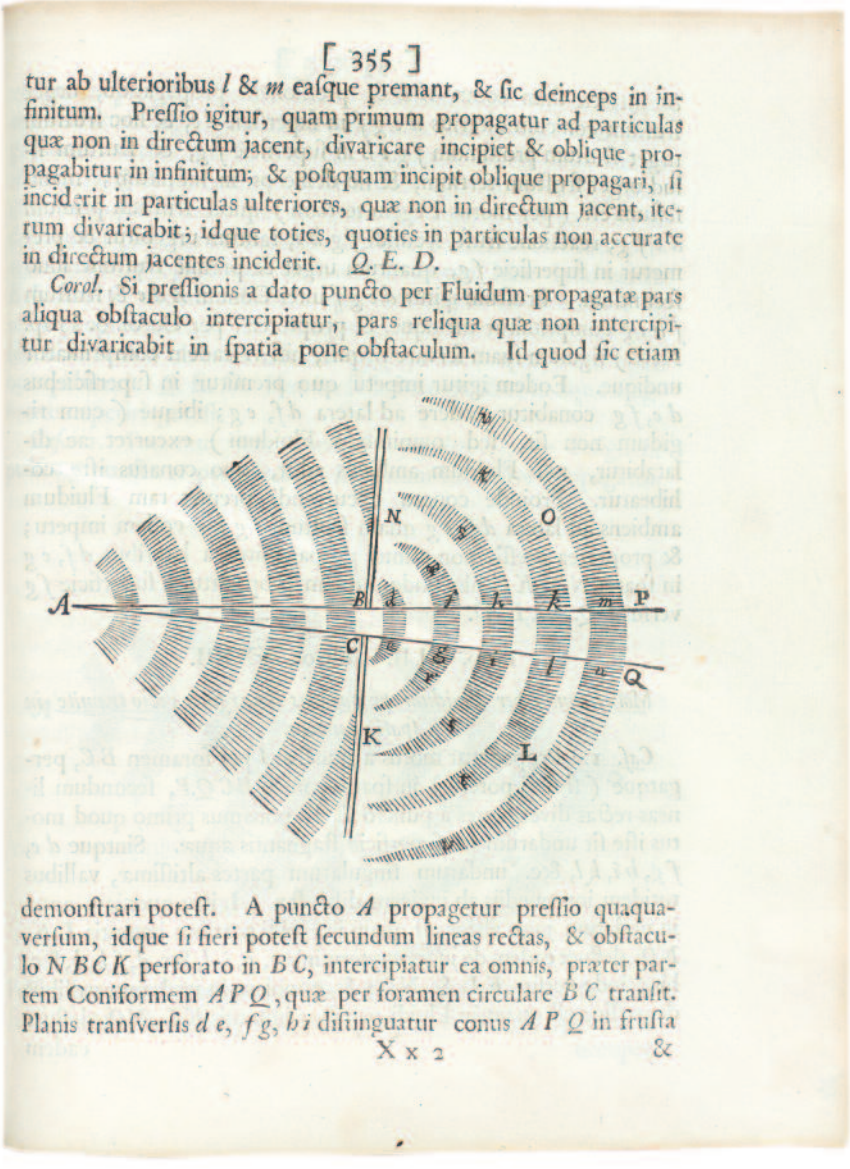
Isaac Newton (1643–1727). *Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica*. London: Joseph Streater, for the Royal Society, 1687.

Arguably the four most influential works of the Scientific Revolution of the 17th century are Galileo's *Discorsi* (1638), Descartes' *Discours* (1637), Huygens' *Horologium* (1673), and Newton's *Principia* (1687), the culmination being Newton's great work on gravitational astronomy and dynamics. All four are related to each other and with the precedents of Copernicus and Kepler, all are part of the history of science collections in the Fisher Library acquired during the past fifty years.

The *Principia* is often distinguished as the greatest work in the history of science because of its universality and its ability to explain natural phenomena which had previously only been observed and described. It demonstrated the physical unity of the cosmos through the application of the laws of gravity, using mathematical terms that could encompass both the terrestrial and celestial worlds. It thus became foundational for the age of rationalism and scientific determinism, where the spiritual could be separated from the physical, an irony in view of Newton's profound and deeply felt religious nature.

Newton is said to have remarked that there were only three people who could really understand the *Principia*, and he was one of them. This was obviously an exaggeration, but many readers found it difficult to comprehend, even when it appeared in an English translation in 1729. It was understood very well by Roger Cotes, who made several corrections in the second edition of 1713, as did Henry Pemberton who edited the third edition of 1726, the year before Newton's death at the age of 84.

Newton was the most prominent member of the Royal Society, of which he became a Fellow in 1672, twelve years after its founding. In 1703 he was elected President, an office that he held until his death. Other members included Robert Boyle, Robert Hooke, Edmund Halley (who financed the publication of the *Principia*), Sir Christopher Wren, and Samuel Pepys, whose *Imprimatur* as President appears on the title page of *Principia*. Pepys' *Diary* ends in 1669 and his reaction to the *Principia* is not known, but he did own a copy and in 1693 he had some correspondence with Newton about the odds in games of dice. Within the history of science collections in the Fisher Library all these figures are strongly



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tur ab ulterioribus *l* & *m* easque premant, & sic deinceps in infinitum. Pressio igitur, quam primum propagatur ad particulas quæ non in directum jacent, divaricare incipiet & oblique propagabitur in infinitum; & postquam incipit oblique propagari, si inciderit in particulas ulteriores, quæ non in directum jacent, iterum divaricabit; idque toties, quoties in particulas non accurate in directum jacentes inciderit. *Q. E. D.*

Corol. Si pressionis a dato puncto per Fluidum propagatæ pars aliqua obstaculo intercipiatur, pars reliqua quæ non intercipitur divaricabit in spatia pone obstaculum. Id quod sic etiam

demonstrari potest. A puncto *A* propagetur pressio quaquaversum, idque si fieri potest secundum lineas rectas, & obstaculo *N B C K* perforato in *B C*, intercipiatur ea omnis, præter partem Coniformem *A P Q*, quæ per foramen circulare *B C* transit. Planis transversis *d e*, *f g*, *h i* distinguatur conus *A P Q* in frusta

represented.

This copy is the first of the two issues, with a two-line imprint; a second issue, with a cancel title-leaf was sold in Europe. It is bound in contemporary calf, with a gilt decorated back.

Acquired in 1971 in Los Angeles from Zeitlin and VerBrugge for $4,750. (The Abel Berland copy sold at auction in October 2001 for $358,000).

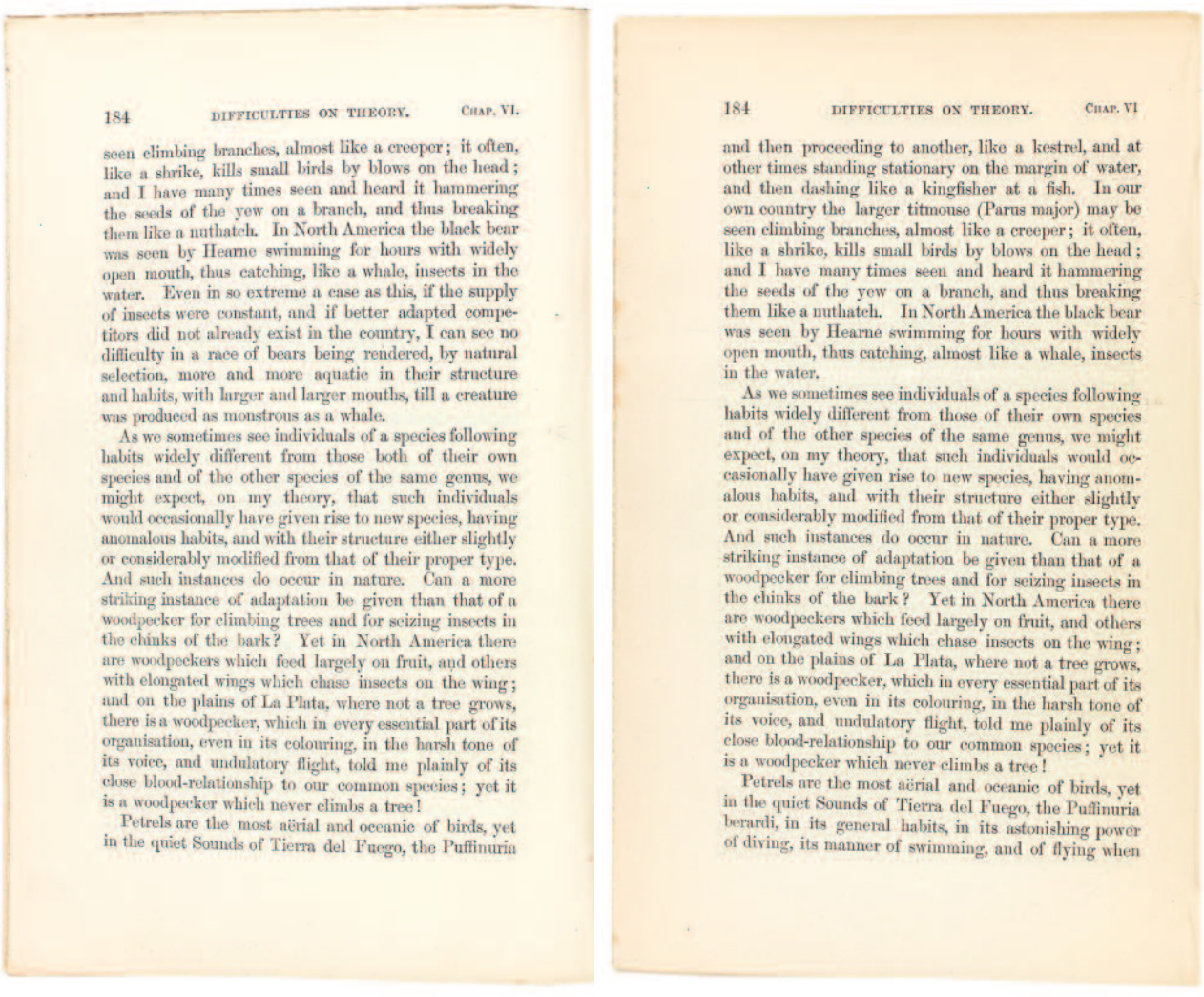
Charles Darwin. 'On the Tendency of Species to Form Varieties; and on the Perpetuation of Varieties and Species by Natural Selection'. London: 1858.

Charles Darwin. *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*. London: John Murray, 1859.

_____. First issue, first and second editions, 1859.

Charles Darwin returned to England with the *Beagle* on 2 October 1836 after spending almost five years on its surveying voyage around the world, with a concentration on the coasts of South America. He travelled as the guest of the Captain, Robert Fitz-Roy, but assumed the role of naturalist for the whole of the voyage. He began with a primary interest in geology, but developed an intense interest in the flora and, especially, the fauna of the countries visited by the ship. He spent much of his time in South America collecting the specimens which would form the basis of his research and would result in the most influential biological work ever published. In 1839, using his journal and notebooks as the basis, Darwin compiled his first major work, the *Journal of Researches*. It appeared as the third volume of the official account of the voyage and, under its later title, *The Voyage of the Beagle*, it became one of the most popular travel narratives of the period and remains his most frequently read book. After editing the *Zoology* of the voyage in five parts (1838-43), and writing three works on the geological results from his observations, he taught himself taxonomy by studying barnacles (both the living and fossil forms), and published his results in four volumes. He was also working steadily on what he referred to as his 'large book', which would include the results of his research up to that point, with the concept of natural selection as the mechanism of evolution already firmly in place.

On 18 June 1858 Darwin's steady but slow work was interrupted by the arrival of a letter from the Malay Archipelago written by Alfred Russel Wallace, a collector of specimens and researcher. Accompanying it was a paper, 'On the tendency of varieties to depart indefinitely from the original type' which contained an almost exact expression of his own theory of natural selection. In a quandary about how to handle a difficult question of priority he sent the paper to Sir Charles Lyell and Sir Joseph Hooker who recommended that he should prepare a summary of his own theory and that both men's work should be submitted to the Linnean Society. Darwin's outline, dated 1 July 1858, was duly



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seen climbing branches, almost like a creeper; it often, like a shrike, kills small birds by blows on the head; and I have many times seen and heard it hammering the seeds of the yew on a branch, and thus breaking them like a nuthatch. In North America the black bear was seen by Hearne swimming for hours with widely open mouth, thus catching, like a whale, insects in the water. Even in so extreme a case as this, if the supply of insects were constant, and if better adapted competitors did not already exist in the country, I can see no difficulty in a race of bears being rendered, by natural selection, more and more aquatic in their structure and habits, with larger and larger mouths, till a creature was produced as monstrous as a whale.

As we sometimes see individuals of a species following habits widely different from those both of their own species and of the other species of the same genus, we might expect, on my theory, that such individuals would occasionally have given rise to new species, having anomalous habits, and with their structure either slightly or considerably modified from that of their proper type. And such instances do occur in nature. Can a more striking instance of adaptation be given than that of a woodpecker for climbing trees and for seizing insects in the chinks of the bark? Yet in North America there are woodpeckers which feed largely on fruit, and others with elongated wings which chase insects on the wing; and on the plains of La Plata, where not a tree grows, there is a woodpecker, which in every essential part of its organisation, even in its colouring, in the harsh tone of its voice, and undulatory flight, told me plainly of its close blood-relationship to our common species; yet it is a woodpecker which never climbs a tree!

Petrels are the most aërial and oceanic of birds, yet in the quiet Sounds of Tierra del Fuego, the Puffinuria

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and then proceeding to another, like a kestrel, and at other times standing stationary on the margin of water, and then dashing like a kingfisher at a fish. In our own country the larger titmouse (Parus major) may be seen climbing branches, almost like a creeper; it often, like a shrike, kills small birds by blows on the head; and I have many times seen and heard it hammering the seeds of the yew on a branch, and thus breaking them like a nuthatch. In North America the black bear was seen by Hearne swimming for hours with widely open mouth, thus catching, almost like a whale, insects in the water.

As we sometimes see individuals of a species following habits widely different from those of their own species and of the other species of the same genus, we might expect, on my theory, that such individuals would occasionally have given rise to new species, having anomalous habits, and with their structure either slightly or considerably modified from that of their proper type. And such instances do occur in nature. Can a more striking instance of adaptation be given than that of a woodpecker for climbing trees and for seizing insects in the chinks of the bark? Yet in North America there are woodpeckers which feed largely on fruit, and others with elongated wings which chase insects on the wing; and on the plains of La Plata, where not a tree grows, there is a woodpecker, which in every essential part of its organisation, even in its colouring, in the harsh tone of its voice, and undulatory flight, told me plainly of its close blood-relationship to our common species; yet it is a woodpecker which never climbs a tree!

Petrels are the most aërial and oceanic of birds, yet in the quiet Sounds of Tierra del Fuego, the Puffinuria berardi, in its general habits, in its astonishing power of diving, its manner of swimming, and of flying when

read by Lyell and Hooker, and both papers, together with an abstract of an 1857 letter from Darwin to Asa Gray, were published in the *Journal of the Linnean Society of London, Zoology* on 30 August of the same year. Darwin was not present at the meeting because of a family illness, while Wallace was still in Malaya.

There was now considerable pressure on Darwin to publish a full account of his theory and he accordingly set to work on 20 July 1858 on what he still called an 'abstract', taken from the mass of material assembled for his 'large book'. It was accepted for publication by John Murray in April 1859 and by 14 June he was reading proofs and making extensive corrections. The 'second revises', or page proofs, are dated, gathering by gathering, from 16 July to 30 September, with the final date of 8 October appearing on the title-page. It dramatically included the addition of the word 'On' to the title. Publication day was 24 November and whether the oft-repeated statement that all 1250 copies of the first impression

were sold on that day is strictly true or not, the book did sell quickly to a curious public and it became a best-seller for a work of science. It was widely reviewed and the contents hotly debated, as the unstated implications were obvious to all readers: if plants and animals had evolved through natural selection so had *homo sapiens*. Humans were thus placed in a relationship to all other living things that shook traditional scientific and theological beliefs to their very foundations.

Immediately after publication Darwin began revisions for a second edition and on 14 December he recorded in his diary: 'I have been busy in getting a reprint (with a very few corrections) through the press … Murray is now printing 3000 copies'. It was advertised as being ready for sale on Christmas Eve in *The Times* and was actually published on 7 January, with 'Fifth Thousand' and the date 1860 on its title. Darwin's 'very few corrections' amounted to nine sentences dropped; 483 rewritten; and thirty added, and changes were made in every chapter; however, the second edition was essentially printed from the standing type of the first. There is a copy of the 1860 sheets with an 1859 title-page at Yale, but in 1985 we were able to obtain a so far unique copy dated 1859 with mixed sheets of the first and second editions. It has the outward appearance of a first, but contains at least six points of a second, most notably the truncation of the 'whale-bear story', a description of a bear catching insects while swimming. Darwin later regretted this textual revision.

Darwin went on to make extensive revisions through all six editions of *Origin* up to 1872. For the sixth edition the type was completely reset and stereotype plates were cast. Darwin, however, was still able to make small changes between printings and the 1876 eighteenth thousand constitutes the final text as he left it. By then about 7500 changes had been made since 1859. It is this great run of primary Darwins: editions, impressions, issues, with case variants and different advertising catalogues, and states that make up the core of the collection formed by Richard Freeman and used by him for his *Annotated Bibliographical Handlist* of 1965 (revised and enlarged 1977). When he added translations of Darwin's works in many languages and the many categories of Darwiniana; the works of contemporaries working in the same area, his many supporters and detractors, significant predecessors, and the later works of critics and biographers, the collection became very broad indeed. The Freeman Collection was acquired by the University of Toronto in 1968 and since then has been systematically filled in and extended. It now contains some 5000 volumes. Freeman's copy of the first edition of *Origin* was purchased by him some time in the 1950s for £230. (The

Fisher Library has two other copies from different sources.) The copy of the mixed sheet edition cost rather more when I bought it in 1983 from a Los Angeles book scout who had written me to ask what I thought it was: I made first refusal a condition of my reply to him. The 'Tendency of Species' came with another collection in 1980.

Peter Lowe (ca.1550–1610). *A Discourse of the Whole Art of Chyrurgerie*. London: Printed by Thomas Purfoot, 1634.

Peter Lowe founded the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow in 1599, and his *Discourse*, the first work written in Britain to systematically cover all aspects of surgery, was first published in 1597. There was a second edition in 1612, this third edition, and a fourth in 1654. All are scarce. The first edition was not illustrated, but the much enlarged second edition contained a series of woodcuts, copied from the works of the great 16th-century French surgeon, Ambroise Paré,

and his translator Jacques Guillemeau. The third edition follows the text of the second, 'corrected and much amended', with twenty-two woodcuts that have captions cut on the blocks.

The sub-title of the *Discourse* sets out the scope of the work in some detail: 'Wherein is exactly set down the definition, causes, accidents, prognostications, and cures of all sorts of diseases, both in generall and particular, which at any time heretofore have beene practiced by any chyrurgion: according to the opinion of all the ancient professors of that science. Which is not onely profitable for chyrurgions: but also for all sorts of people: both for preventing of sicknesse; and recoverie of health … Where unto is added the rule of making remedies which chyrurgions doe commonly use: with the presages of divine Hippocrates.' Lowe's work was written for students as well as practitioners, and came to be used as a kind of textbook for Scottish medicine. Like Paré's works it gives practical descriptions of operations, based on Lowe's experience as a surgeon in the French army and as a master surgeon of the Collège de St. Côme in Paris from 1566 to 1596. He uses a dialogue between himself and his son to express his theories of surgical treatment, a direct pedagogical device rather like an examination. A good deal of attention is paid to flesh wounds and, following Paré, he suggests some pioneering treatments, including the use of warm claret to wash wounds, an early example of the employment of alcohol as an antiseptic.

The series of woodcuts enhances the practical theme of the *Discourse* and includes images of surgical instruments, wooden legs, 'Cauters actuals for the fistula in the eye', dental instruments, and curiously 'Portraiture of the spermatique Vessels and stones'. When Lowe and his colleague Robert Hamilton were given power by the Glasgow Faculty to examine and license all those who wished to practice surgery in the west of Scotland their powers extended to the practice of medicine and pharmacy as well. The linking of the three forms of medical treatment was unusual at the time and later helped to form the unique character of the famous Glasgow Medical School.

This copy was attractively rebound around 1900 by Anastasia (Annie) Power, a member of C.R. Ashbee's Guild of Handicraft in Chipping Camden, where she was in charge of the Guild Bindery. The design is based on the work of Douglas Cockerell, but the full orange niger morocco binding, with large yapp edges is signed with Annie Power's monogram.

This copy of Lowe was purchased in 2005 from the proof-sheets of a catalogue from Roger Gaskell, an English antiquarian bookseller. It was once in

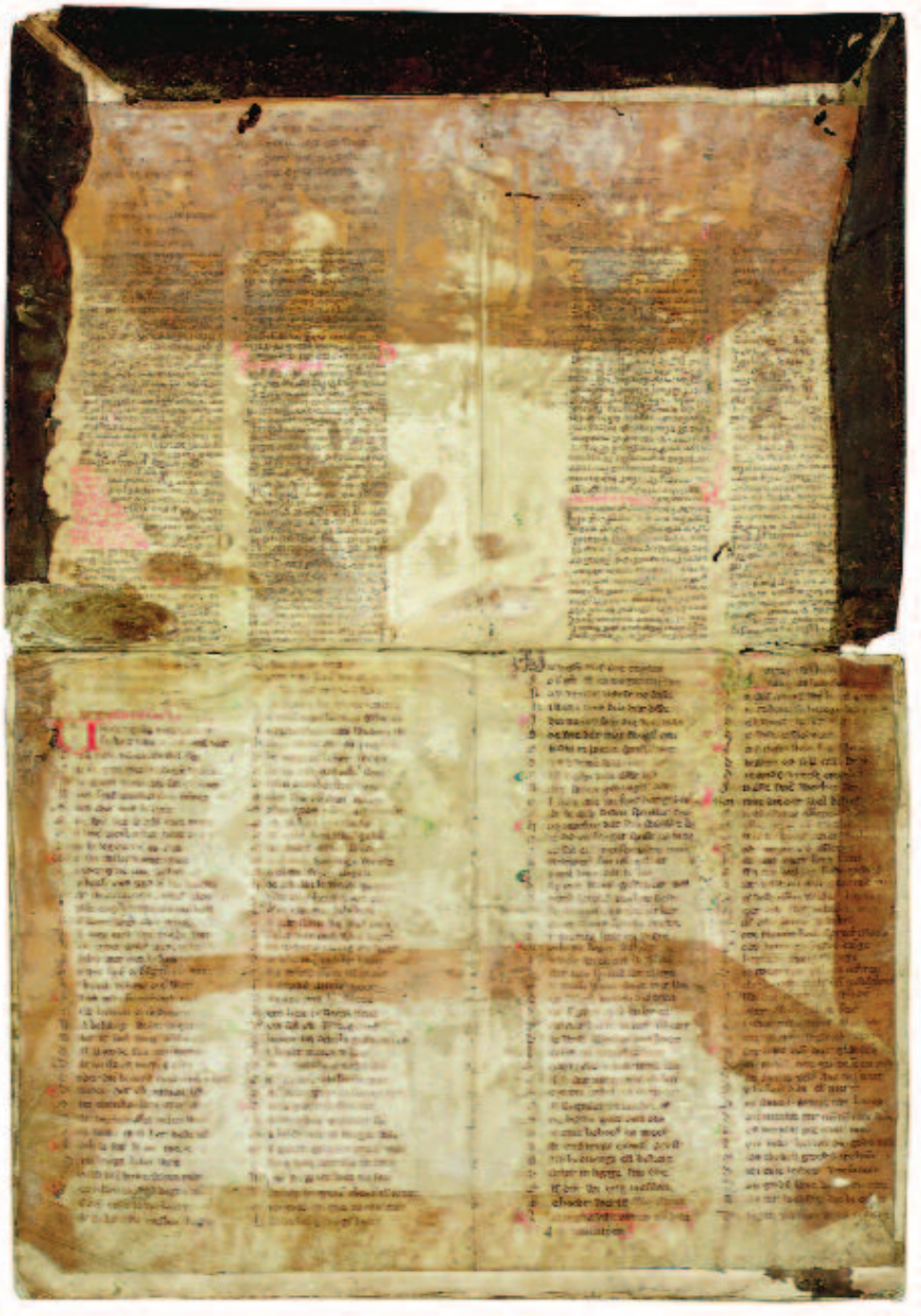
the collection of the Royal College of Surgeons and contains the cancelled College library stamp. It more recently belonged to Dr. Edwin Clarke (1919-1996), a medical historian and director of the Wellcome Institute. The funds for its purchase have been provided by Associated Medical Services, whose annual grant allows us to take advantage of unusual opportunities like the dispersal of Dr. Clarke's collection. It is the only copy recorded in a Canadian institution.

John of Gaddesden (ca. 1280–1348/9). *Rosa Anglica*. Pavia : [Leonardus Gerla for] Joannes Antonius Biretta, 24th January 1492.

The first medical work by an Englishman to appear in print, the *Rosa Anglica* was written in the early 14th century in Oxford and several early manuscripts of it are extant. That it was first printed in Pavia indicates that John of Gaddesden had a considerable European reputation, for two more early editions appeared in Venice and there were three more editions done at Augsburg in 1502, 1516, and 1595. It was not translated into English until 1929, and then from a 15th-century manuscript in Irish.

John of Gaddesden (or Johannes Anglicus) was probably born near Little or Great Gaddesden in Hertfordshire, hence his name. He was recorded as a Fellow of Merton College, Oxford in 1305 and 1307, and he evidently studied medicine at Oxford between 1307 and 1316. During that period he apparently wrote the *Rosa Anglica*. He obtained the rectory of Abingdon, Berkshire in 1316, but presented it to John Ely in 1317 and exchanged it for Chipping Norton in 1321. He probably remained in Oxford until 1332, when, as John de Catesdene, Master of Arts and Medicine as well as King's clerk, he was made a Canon of St. Paul's, London, while still holding the rectory. In 1334/5 he attended the monks of Abingdon for a fee of 13s. 6d. By 1338 he was serving Edward, Prince of Wales (the Black Prince), and attended his daughter Joan as physician in 1341. He received, as a New Year's gift in 1347/48, a rose of gold from his patron, which was probably an allusion to the *Rosa Anglica*. He was dead by July 1349, probably a victim of the plague.

Gaddesden was among the first medieval physicians to have been trained in England and the first to establish an international reputation. His book contained précis of the works of more than forty medical authorities, ancient and modern. He chose the title because the *Rosa Anglica* has five books, the same as the number of sepals on a rose, and as the rose excels all other flowers, so the *Rosa* will excel all previous medical works. He did provide his own cures as well,



claiming, for instance, to have saved the son of Edward I from smallpox by wrapping him in a scarlet cloth and placing him on a bed with red hangings. He also practised as a barber-surgeon and set bones, drew blood and teeth, and could kill lice. His fee structure seems to have been based on the principle of expensive remedies for the rich and cheap ones for the poor. He was recognized by Chaucer

as a great medical authority, along with Galen and Avicenna, although other commentators dismissed his work as a stale compendium. He may have written some other works, but it is unclear which ones, besides the *Rosa Anglica*, can confidently be attributed to him.

This copy of the *Rosa Anglica* came to the Hannah Collection in the Fisher Library in 1981 because I remembered that we had two copies of Pierre Fauchard's *Le Chirurgien Dentiste* (1728), the first scientific work on teeth and the foundation of modern dentistry. It is a rare book and when a London bookseller, who was assembling a collection on the history of dentistry, asked me if I knew how he could acquire a copy, I replied that perhaps we could execute a trade. He suggested the *Rosa Anglica* and when I examined his copy of it I quickly agreed, partly because it was gratifying to add a great book in a contemporary (though somewhat damaged) binding, but also because I noticed a vellum leaf of medieval manuscript waste that had been used by the original binder to strengthen the binding. This seemed like an instance of added-value and, although I didn't really know what it was, I could tell it was vernacular and seemed like a form of German. I showed it to a colleague in the German Department who told me that it was actually Dutch. After some research, its importance was revealed as the oldest and most extensive fragment of a mid-14th century didactic poem called *Dietse Doctrinael*. It was subsequently edited and published in a scholarly journal. The bindings of older books often have valuable evidence for scholars in fields which widely diverge from the content of the volume itself.

Albert Einstein (1879–1955). Autograph letter signed to Michael Polanyi.
30 December 1914.

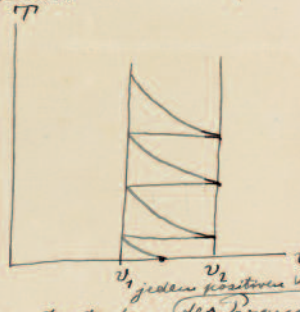
The year 2005 also marks the centenary of the publication of Albert Einstein's special theory of relativity and the fiftieth anniversary of his death. The 1905 paper, 'On the Electrodynamics of Moving Bodies', one of four ground breaking physics papers he published that year, overthrew Newton's theory of absolute space and time which had been the foundation of physics for over two hundred years. This was followed in 1916 by Einstein's general theory of relativity as a result of which he became one of the most famous personages of the 20th century.

On 30 December 1914 he wrote a letter to Michael Polanyi, a young Hungarian doctor who had written to him with an inquiry about the method of determining absolute zero. He began by saying that they were obviously not in

Berlin, 30. XII. 14.

Lieber Herr Kollege!

Aus Ihrem Briefe sehe ich, dass wir uns noch nicht ganz verstehen. Die stillschweigende Voraussetzung, in welcher ich eine petitio principii sehe ist die, dass es zur Erreichung des absoluten Nullpunktes unendlich vieler Stufen Ihres Prozesses bedürfe. Ist der absolute Nullpunkt aber durch endlich viele Stufen erreichbar gemäss Ihrem Diagramm:



jedem positiven Werte

so versagt der Beweis, trotzdem des Parameters v bei jeder Temperatur ein realisierbarer Zustand entsprechen mag. Solange Sie nicht ausschliessen können, dass Ihr Stufenprozess in der gezeichneten Art verlaufe, lässt sich über die Gültigkeit des Nernst'schen Theorems nichts ableiten.

Mit vorzüglicher Hochachtung
Ihr ergebener A. Einstein.

P. S. auf meine Bemerkung über den osmotischen Druck komme ich jetzt nicht zurück, weil dies zur Beurteilung des Prinzipiellen nicht nötig ist.

agreement and that the basis of their differences was 'that your argument means an infinite number of steps in order to reach zero'. He then supplied a diagram that he believed could provide a method of reaching zero in a finite manner. There are seven letters from Einstein, over the period from 1913 to 1938, in the Michael Polanyi Collection, a large archive which was given to the Fisher Library by his son, John Polanyi, the Nobel Laureate in chemistry who has spent his long and distinguished career at the University of Toronto.

Michael Polanyi (1891–1976) had three brilliant careers. He first received a medical degree and served as a medical officer in the Austro-Hungarian army. He then completed a Ph.D. in physical chemistry and became internationally renowned in that field, holding professorships at the University of Budapest, the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute, and Victoria University in Manchester. Because of his great interest in freedom of thought and expression in the sciences, he moved on to philosophy and developed an epistemology that could be used to discover, authenticate, and defend truth. In his many articles and books, and especially his 1959 treatise, *The Study of Man*, he expounded his conviction that faith or belief, not reason, is the only valid basis of fundamental truth. His broad epistemological objectives extended over all human endeavour, far beyond the realms of scientific research and became an interpretation of history. He provided analyses of the French Revolution (citing Rousseau's moral skepticism), the Bolshevik Revolution, and the Hungarian Revolution, raising many challenging and controversial questions. A revived interest in his life and work is indicated by the existence of two websites and two journals devoted to him. The collection in the Fisher Library contains material covering all these aspects of his career, but the glimpse of the twenty-three year old doctor debating a serious point of physics with Albert Einstein is most appealing.

ENCYCLOPÉDIE,

OU

DICTIONNAIRE RAISONNÉ DES SCIENCES,

DES ARTS ET DES MÉTIERS,

PAR UNE SOCIETÉ DE GENS DE LETTRES.

Mis en ordre & publié par M. *DIDEROT*, de l'Académie Royale des Sciences & des Belles-Lettres de Prusse; & quant à la PARTIE MATHÉMATIQUE, par M. *D'ALEMBERT*, de l'Académie Royale des Sciences de Paris, de celle de Prusse, & de la Société Royale de Londres.

Tantùm series juncturaque pollet,
Tantum de medio sumptis accedit honoris! HORAT.

TOME PREMIER.

A PARIS,

Chez { BRIASSON, *rue Saint Jacques, à la Science.*
DAVID l'aîné, *rue Saint Jacques, à la Plume d'or.*
LE BRETON, Imprimeur ordinaire du Roy, *rue de la Harpe.*
DURAND, *rue Saint Jacques, à Saint Landry, & au Griffon.*

M. DCC. LI.

AVEC APPROBATION ET PRIVILEGE DU ROY.

The Enlightenment

To be enlightened, it is generally assumed, is to be free from prejudice and superstition and this condition can only be obtained by the kind of thinking and teaching that enlightens the dark corners of human existence where ignorance and intolerance lurk. Written as 'Enlightenment', however, the word conveys the sense of a philosophical movement of 18th-century Europe in which reason shone its light on traditional theological concepts and the teaching of the ancients, and proclaimed individualism as the ideal of society. The literature of Enlightenment, in the form of treatises and some fiction, was most forcefully and controversially presented in France and Scotland between 1720 and 1800 and in both of these areas the Fisher Library has attempted to establish research collections of strength and depth. The French participants in the 'age of reason' were known as the *philosophes* and their publications were characterized by extreme bibliographical complexities, owing to suppression of texts and exile which resulted in many clandestine imprints and piracies. The Scottish Enlightenment works were not interfered with by authorities in the same way and the histories of their publication were more straightforward, though they did generate many controversies and had a lasting effect on modern thought. There were also many direct cross-channel connections between individuals involved in both movements.

The *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnarie Raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et des Metiers*, which was published between 1751 and 1780, finally constituted twenty-one folio volumes of text, twelve volumes of plates, and two volumes of indexes. It has been called the definitive 18th-century monument in the history of European thought, the acme of the age of reason, and a primary force in bringing about the French Revolution. It began in 1745 as a proposal to the Paris publisher André-François Le Breton to publish a French translation of Ephraim Chambers' *Cyclopedia*, but after he had taken on three other publishers as partners the plan became much more ambitious. The new partners recruited the young Denis Diderot, who had just edited a *Dictionnaire de Médicine*, and he brought in his well-known friend, Jean d'Alembert, the mathematician and philosopher whose *Traité de Dynamique* had been published to great acclaim in 1743. Diderot's only claim to fame was his *Pensées Philosophiques* (1746), an explosive work which had been publicly burned by the hangman. Indeed, Diderot spent several months in jail

before the first volume of the *Encyclopédie* was even published. It appeared, on schedule, in June 1751 with d'Alembert's *Discours préliminaire* and the impact that it made caused such an increase in subscriptions that the size of the edition was raised from 1600 to 2,050 copies. Volume two was published in January 1752 and was immediately followed by an *Arrêt du conseil* which attempted to suppress the whole work. Publication, however, continued and the next five volumes appeared at regular intervals until November 1757. After the fourth volume it was decided to increase the run of the edition to 4,225 copies and additional copies of the earlier volumes were also printed.

By volume seven the work had progressed as far as the letter 'G', but the clamour of outrage from the court, the church, and the judiciary had steadily increased to the point that d'Alembert withdrew himself as an editor and contributor. The whole enterprise was denounced before the Parlement and its privilege was withdrawn. The 4,000 subscribers also learned that the work would be much larger and much more expensive than they had been promised in the original prospectus. It was suggested that the remaining volumes of text should be printed outside France, in Geneva, or Amsterdam, but the government seems to have been reluctant to see the considerable profits of what was a large enterprise leave the country. The authorities, in effect, gave permission for the printing to be done surreptitiously in Paris and Diderot and d'Holbach, with the Chevalier de Jaucourt, carried on with their editorial functions. D'Alembert was persuaded to return to the fold to the extent that he agreed to write the articles on mathematics and science he had previously agreed to. Another vexing problem was censorship. Obviously the volumes being printed clandestinely could not be submitted to the official censors so the publisher, Le Breton, took it upon himself to read the texts of the final ten volumes and remove the parts of articles he thought would give offense to the authorities. Diderot did not discover this until late in 1764 and was understandably furious, but it was too late to do anything and the final ten volumes appeared in 1765, still retaining many bold and controversial articles which many found offensive, being both anti-government and anti-clerical. The first volume of plates appeared in 1762 and ten more followed up to 1772, containing a total of 2,886 engraved plates which made it one of the most lavishly illustrated works of the century. In 1768 the original publishers sold the plates and their rights to the *Encyclopédie* to Charles-Joseph Panckouke who began to reprint an edition of 2000 copies in Geneva which was completed in 1776. There were also several piracies issued in various European cities. In 1776

and 1777 he also published a supplement of four volumes of text and one of plates.

The Fisher Library has two sets of the *Encyclopédie*. The first was purchased in 1967 and one of my first jobs after I joined the Department was to collate and catalogue it. The collation took quite a while, but I learned a lot about the bibliographical complexities of French 18th-century books and I still have a large sheaf of notes. The set had been shipped to Toronto from Lichtenstein in a large wooden crate, which had been opened at Canada Customs. While nailing the lid back on, someone had driven a large spike through two volumes, and they had to be returned and replaced. The other set came with the Rousseau Collection.

Most of the prominent figures of the French Enlightenment wrote articles for the *Encyclopédie* and Voltaire, even though he withdrew his services in 1758, still managed to contribute forty-three. During his long life, François Marie Arouet de Voltaire (1694–1778) wrote many books: plays, poems, novels, and essays, as well as works of history, philosophy, and literary criticism. Many of his works became best sellers and made him a rich man. A consistent trait throughout most of his books, whether serious or frivolous, is opposition to authority of whatever kind, usually expressed through the medium of satire.

Voltaire was often in trouble with various authorities. He was first forced into exile in 1716 for writing lampoons against the Regent and again in 1719 after the production of his first tragedy *Oedipe*. In 1726 he moved to London for three years, an experience he found most congenial and stimulating. He greatly admired what he saw as English toleration of free thought and eccentricity and wrote *Letters Concerning the English Nation* in appreciation of his time there. In 1745, while temporarily in favour again with the court owing to the influence of Madame de Pompadour, he was made Historiographer Royal, after which he went back into hiding. In 1751 he accepted an invitation to the court of Frederick the Great in Berlin, where he quarrelled with the King for three years before finding his final refuge at Ferney, four miles from Geneva. There he was able to enjoy the political liberty of Switzerland together with the social liberty of France and write some of his most influential and enduring books, including *Essai sur l'Histoire Générale et sur les Mœurs et l'Esprit des Nations* (1756), the first work of what he called 'philosophie d'histoire'. In 1759 he anonymously published the work for which he is best remembered, *Candide, ou Optimisme*, a witty parable in which the folly of philosophical and religious optimism is displayed through the adventures of the innocent Candide and his worldly-wise mentor, Dr. Pangloss.

Candide remains one of the most bibliographically complex books of the 18th

century, with at least seventeen variants of the first edition known, all dated 1759, with no place of publication indicated. Which one constitutes the real first edition is a question that is still debated. It seems that the text was set in type in January 1759 in Geneva by the Cramers, Voltaire's regular publishers, but copies were not distributed to the trade in the normal way. Instead copies were sent to France, Holland, England, Germany, and Italy in an attempt to ensure a general diffusion of the text all across Europe. This resulted in the creation of sixteen further editions by the end of the year, some of them clandestine and some having a kind of authorized link with the original. Two of them can be shown to have been produced in London by analysis of the type and ornaments and the presence in one of them of a press figure, a compositorial feature known only in English printing. One of the two London editions was probably printed by John Nourse, who had links to both the Cramers and Voltaire. It is now widely accepted that Nourse and an unidentified Italian printer were sent early copies from Geneva and both published paginary reprints, probably in April. There are, however, textual differences, owing to last minute cancellations by the Cramers and no copy of the Cramer edition is known with the original text of gathering 'L'. There were also three rival English translations of *Candide* (one of them largely derivative) published in May 1759, an indication of how popular the work had immediately become. Its popularity would continue through the centuries.

From the Harcourt Brown Voltaire Collection we are able to display three of the 1759 French editions of *Candide* and the Nourse first edition in English. Harcourt Brown was a graduate of the French Department of University College where he took a course in 18th-century French literature from Joseph S. Will, a great scholar and book collector whose large library was purchased by the University in 1961. One day the student Brown was invited to Will's home and in what had been the dining-room, but was then filled with books, was handed volume after volume of first editions of French writers from the Renaissance to the 17th century. This transforming experience, combined with a fascination with the ideas of Voltaire, determined both Brown's career and the concentration of his collecting interests. He became a Professor of French at Brown University and used his books both for his own research and for teaching his students, who learned not only about Voltaire but also a good deal about the physical features of books and the history of their publication. Many of the books in the Harcourt Brown Collection reveal the effects of being passed around in graduate seminars. After retirement he resided in Parry Sound and in 1980 offered his collection to

CANDIDE,

OU

L'OPTIMISME,

TRADUIT DE L'ALLEMAND

DE

Mr. LE DOCTEUR RALPH.

M. DCC. LIX.

CANDID:

OR,

All for the Best.

By M. DE VOLTAIRE.

LONDON,

Printed for J. NOURSE at the *Lamb* opposite *Katherine-Street* in the *Strand.*

MDCCLIX.

CANDIDE,

OU

L'OPTIMISME,

TRADUIT DE L'ALLEMAND.

DE

MR. LE DOCTEUR RALPH.

MDCC LIX.

CANDIDE,

OU

L'OPTIMISME,

TRADUIT DE L'ALLEMAND

DE

Mr. LE DOCTEUR RALPH.

M. DCC. LIX.

the Fisher Library. In his *Collecting Voltaire*, a pamphlet published to commemorate the presentation of the collection, he said, 'I became in part a Voltairean, which I have outgrown, I think', but also emphasized how central the collection had been to his career. As usual, it has been used as a basis to build an even stronger collection, a considerable challenge for an author as prolific and complex as Voltaire.

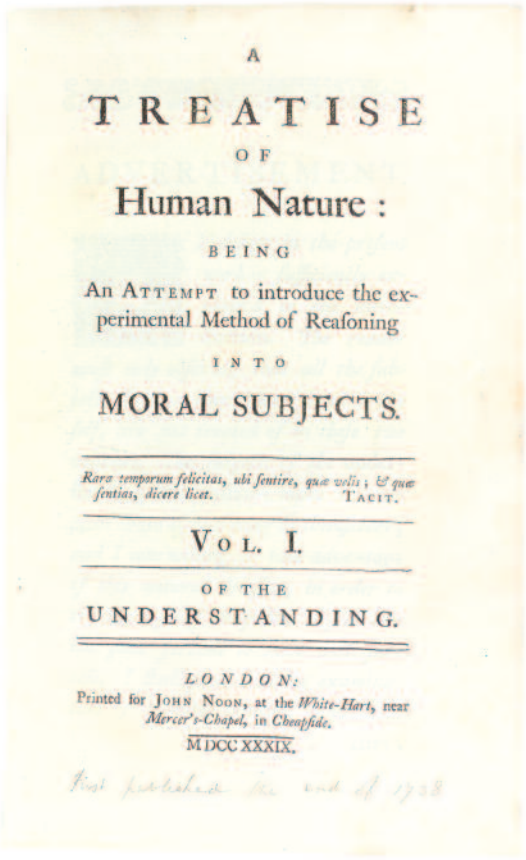
In 1971 the Library acquired a comprehensive collection of Jean Jacques Rousseau, including books, pamphlets, portraits, medallions, and a quantity of holograph manuscript material. It had been assembled by the noted Parisian antiquarian bookseller, Georges Heilbrun. It constituted a very firm basis upon which to build, although Rousseau proved to be at least as bibliographically complicated as Voltaire and almost every one of his books that is quoted or appears in a bookseller's catalogue seems to be a variant of some kind.

Rousseau was also a contributor to the *Encyclopédie*, most famously for his article 'Economie politique', but he also furnished most of the articles on music. He was born in 1712 and moved to Paris in the early 1740s as an indigent copier of music. He was also employed as a secretary to Mme. Louise Marie Madelaine Dupin and compiled for her voluminous notes for a book on the history of

women, which she contemplated but never completed. The manuscript was dismembered at some point, but several of its leaves, in Rousseau's hand, and some with Mme. Dupin's annotations survive together in the Fisher Library collection. In 1749 the Academy of Dijon announced a prize for an essay on the effect of the progress of civilization on morals and Rousseau's winning entry, on the paradox of the superiority of the noble savage, was published, to great acclaim, as *Un Discours sur les Arts et Sciences* in 1750. He then became a somewhat unorthodox member of the *philosophes*, but quarrelled with most of the other members, including Diderot, Voltaire, and d'Alembert. In 1760 he published *La Nouvelle Héloise* and in 1762 *Émile, ou de l'Education*, and his most influential work, *Du Contract Social; ou, Principes du Droit Politique*. Much offence was taken from the first two because of their sentimental representations of deism and he fled to Neuchatel and then to London, where Hume offered him asylum. He soon quarrelled with him as well and returned to Paris in 1770, where he copied music and worked on his *Confessions*, published in 1782, four years after his death.

The *Contrat Social*, as it came to be known, had a profound effect on the political thinking of the late 18th century and was used to develop the philosophical basis of both the American and French revolutions. It argued that real


PRINCIPES
DU
DROIT POLITIQUE.
PAR J. J. ROUSSEAU,
CITOYEN DE GENEVE.
— fœderis æquas
Dicamus leges. Æneid. XI.
A AMSTERDAM,
Chez MARC MICHEL REY.
MDCCLXII.



A

TREATISE

OF

Human Nature:

BEING

An ATTEMPT to introduce the experimental Method of Reasoning

INTO

MORAL SUBJECTS.

Rara temporum felicitas, ubi sentire, quæ velis; & quæ sentias, dicere licet. TACIT.

VOL. I.

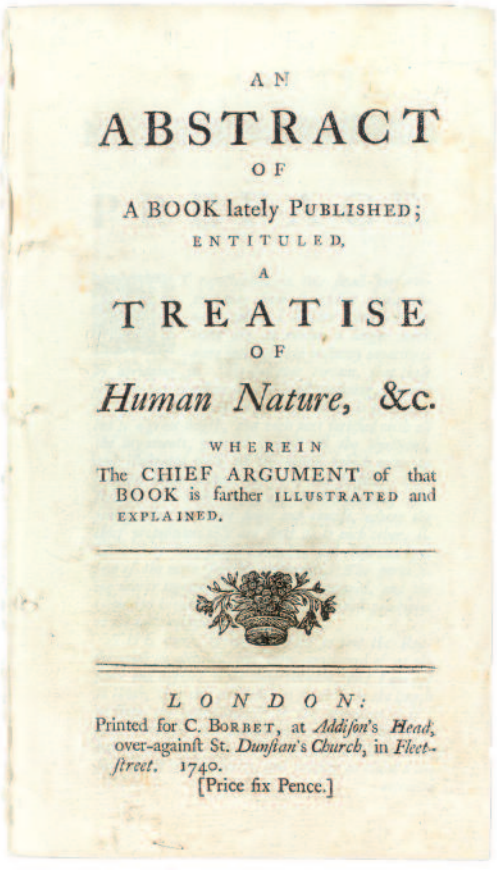
OF THE

UNDERSTANDING.

LONDON:

Printed for JOHN NOON, at the *White-Hart*, near *Mercer's-Chapel*, in *Cheapside*.

MDCCXXXIX.



AN

ABSTRACT

OF

A BOOK lately PUBLISHED;

ENTITULED,

A

TREATISE

OF

Human Nature, &c.

WHEREIN

The CHIEF ARGUMENT of that BOOK is farther ILLUSTRATED and EXPLAINED.

LONDON:

Printed for C. BORBET, at *Addison's Head*, over-againſt St. *Dunſtan's Church*, in *Fleet-ſtreet*. 1740.

[Price ſix Pence.]

republicanism demands that government depend on the mandate of the people and that liberty is man's natural and most precious possession. It continues in print in popular editions and has been translated into many languages. The first edition exists in two issues, the second of which has now come to the Fisher Library with the Michael Walsh Philosophy Collection.

The Fisher Library already had strong collections of the works of the writers of 18th-century Scotland who collectively became known as the Scottish Enlightenment when it received the Michael Walsh Philosophy Collection early in the new millennium. That grand and sweeping collection contains a very strong 18th century component, especially the works of David Hume, the founder of empiricism, and is virtually complete for lifetime editions of his works. Thus it is that we rejoice in the possession of two copies of his first and greatest book, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, and now also possess a copy of a Hume rarity, *An Abstract of a Book Lately Published, entituled, a Treatise of Human Nature, &c. Wherein the Chief Argument of the Book Is Farther Illustrated and Explained*.

Hume attended Edinburgh University, and was expected to become either a lawyer, a clergyman, or a businessman. None of these professions suited his

proclivities and he began a self-taught course of study in philosophy by reading Locke and Berkeley. In 1734 he moved to France for three years to work undisturbed on the *Treatise*, two volumes of which appeared in 1739 with a third in 1740. Its subtitle and volume titles reveal the nature and purpose of the work: … *Being an Attempt to introduce the experimental Method of Reasoning into Moral Subjects*. Volume I was called 'Of the Understanding', Volume II, 'Of the Passions', and Volume III, 'Of Morals'. The 'attempt' was a failure and, as he said, 'it fell dead-born from the press'. The *Abstract* was written to help counteract the hostility and misunderstanding Hume detected in the reactions to the *Treatise*. Both works were published anonymously and although members of his circle knew of his authorship he did not publicly acknowledge it until late in his life. The *Abstract* fell out of sight completely and it was not rediscovered until John Maynard Keynes acquired a copy in 1938 and published a facsimile of it. There are now nine copies of the original known world wide. The *Treatise*, perhaps because of a small press run and its failure to sell, remains scarce, desirable, and expensive.

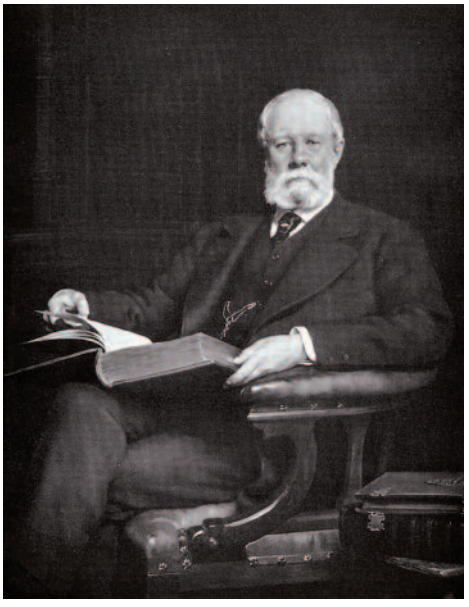
Hume's fortunes began to improve with the publication of his *Essays, Moral and Political* in 1744, which was essentially a restatement of parts of the *Treatise*. His other works also reached a wider audience and in 1752 he was appointed Keeper of the Advocates Library in Edinburgh. In 1754 the first volume of his *History of Great Britain* was published with great success and further volumes followed in 1757, 1759, and 1761, giving him both fame and fortune. In 1763 he moved to Paris as the Secretary to the British Embassy and from 1767 to 1769 he was Under-Secretary of State in London. He was now famous throughout Europe and retired to Edinburgh as a central member of the Enlightenment circle that gave Edinburgh its title as the 'Athens of the North'. When he died in 1776, allegedly refusing to be converted to Christianity on his death-bed by Boswell, Adam Smith wrote of him as 'a perfectly wise and virtuous man'.

Book and Manuscript Collecting: Amherst and Phillipps

Rare books and special collections departments are often the direct and obvious beneficiaries of the zeal, taste and technique of private collectors of books and manuscripts, and many of the most illustrious repositories are named after collectors: Morgan, Huntington, Folger – to name only a few from the United States. The Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library itself perpetuates the name of the collectors Sidney and Charles Fisher. These and many other examples within many different kinds of institutions represent great collections that have been kept together and, in most cases, considerably enhanced. They are the foundations of our essential research resources in the humanities. Not all important collections of books and manuscripts stay together, however, and many have been dispersed by auction and private treaty over the past several centuries and their individual items now repose on the shelves of other collectors, institutional and private. The British Museum *List of Catalogues of English Book Sales 1676–1900* contains some eight thousand records of sales, from the Lazarus Seaman sale of 31 October 1676 to the end of the 19th century, and the 20th century has added many more. Similar compilations exist for France, the Netherlands, and other European countries and the *Union List* for the United States for the years 1713 to 1934 contains over ten thousand entries.

The study of provenance and the movement of books and manuscripts over the centuries is an area of academic endeavour that special collections departments are uniquely qualified to support. The books and manuscripts themselves offer evidence in the form of bindings with armorial stamps, crests, and monograms; some contain bookplates and labels of previous owners and there are presentation inscriptions, signatures, notes, and other marks of ownership that can be deciphered and analysed. Archival evidence does not, however, often survive and the sale catalogues, most valuable when annotated with prices and buyers, remain the primary research resources. Being inherently ephemeral they are scarce and often difficult to use, due to the various kinds of classification schemes utilized by their compilers.

Two notable exceptions to the general rule are the archives of Lord Amherst of Hackney, one of the great English collectors of the latter half of the 19th century, and Sir Thomas Phillipps, the greatest ever collector of manuscripts, who lived from 1792 to 1872. The Amherst papers that detail his collection of



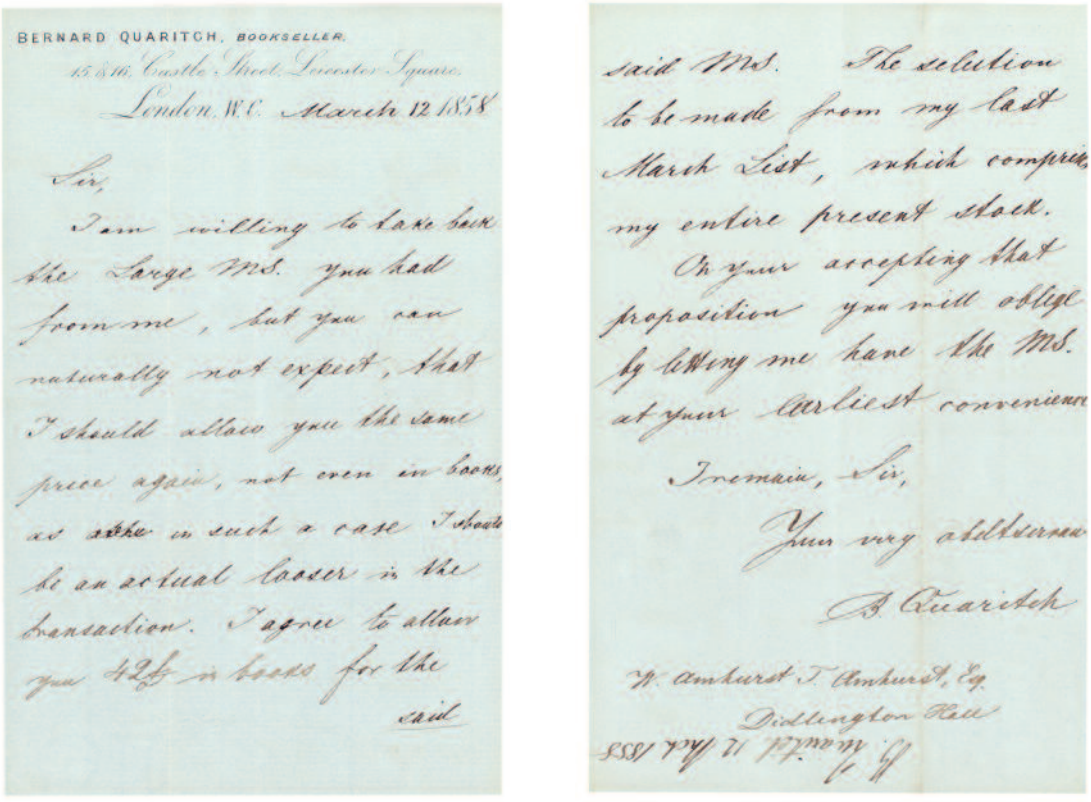
books and manuscripts are held by the Fisher Library, while the Phillipps papers were presented to the Bodleian Library. Sir Thomas, however, established a private press at his first home, Middle Hill near Broadway, where he had printed a wide variety of pamphlets and broadsides, normally in editions of fifty copies or less and the Fisher Library has a notable Middle Hill Press collection, including annotated proof copies.

William Amhurst Tyssen-Amherst, First Baron Amherst of Hackney was born in 1835, the eldest son and heir of William George Tyssen Daniel-Tyssen, the profusion of names due to his inheritance of various estates from the maternal side of the family. He attended Eton and Christ Church, Oxford, and married in 1856, beginning at that time both his family (six daughters survived him) and his library. He was comfortably supported by his extensive estates in Norfolk and elsewhere which by 1883 yielded more than £7000 in annual rents. His wide ranging interests, especially in the Middle East, led him to collect papyri and Babylonian clay tablets and he belonged to numerous scholarly and bibliophilic organizations and clubs, including the exclusive Roxburghe Club. He was also a Member of Parliament until his elevation to the peerage in 1892.

Amherst's library was the main focus of interest at his principal estate, Didlington Hall, where he brought together large research collections of antiquarian and new books, runs of periodicals, and manuscripts in the fields of history, travel, natural sciences, genealogy, Egyptology, and Orientalia. What became known as the 'Amherst Collection', however, consisted of the 1103 books

and 71 manuscripts catalogued by Seymour de Ricci in his *A Hand-List of a Collection of Books and Manuscripts* (1906) which appeared for sale in the Sotheby's catalogue of 1908/9. Its great strengths were seventeen books printed by William Caxton, ecclesiastical history, and the English Bible, but Amherst had equally strong interests in the history of printing and historic bookbindings. His daughter, Alicia, who wrote a description of the library between 1906 and 1908, said that 'his object in collecting was always to form a history of the special subject or class of books, and each purchase was made with the definite purpose of adding one more link to a continuous chain'. She illustrated this principle with his 'history of printing series' which began with a block-book *Apocalypse*, probably printed in Holland in 1455 (Amherst paid £500 for it at the 1887 Crawford sale and it brought £2000 in 1908). Next in the chain was a fragmentary *Biblia Pauperum* and volume one of the Gutenberg Bible (the Gosford, Toovey, Amherst, Dyson Perrins, Frere, Doheny, Maruzen copy, now at Keio University). Amherst paid £600 for it in 1884, it sold for £2050 at his sale, and it brought $5,390,000 (U.S.) at the Doheny sale in 1987. He also had two leaves of the 1457 *Psalter*, a fragment of a Donatus printed on vellum in the type of the 36-line Bible, a famous copy of the *Catholicon* of 1460, and so on, following the spread of printing through the cities of Germany to Holland, Italy (the 1465 Sweynheym and Pannartz *Lactantius*), France, Spain, and finally, England, where his fondness for Caxtons made the strongest showing of all. This litany of familiar books and printers forcefully demonstrates that Amherst bought his books carefully and individually with reference to a plan and that, although he preferred his books to be complete and in fine original bindings, he was willing to admit fragments to the collection to fill gaps in the series. He did not make *en bloc* acquisitions.

Over the course of half a century of collecting Amherst patronized a large number of booksellers but his principal source of supply was Bernard Quaritch, the 'Napoleon of Booksellers', who began his business in 1847 and published his first large catalogue in 1858. One of the most valuable and unusual features of the Amherst archive is the long series of correspondence between Quaritch and Amherst, which continued after Bernard's death in 1899, with his son, Bernard Alfred. Their first business transaction recorded in our collection was early in 1858 when Amherst sought to return a medieval manuscript for which he had paid £50 and the 39-year-old Prussian businessman laid out pretty clearly the basis of his relationship with the 23-year-old country squire:



BERNARD QUARITCH, BOOKSELLER,
15 & 16, Castle Street, Leicester Square,
London, W.C. March 12 1878

Sir,

I am willing to take back the Large MS. you had from me, but you can naturally not expect, that I should allow you the same price again, not even in books as in such a case I should be an actual looser in the transaction. I agree to allow you 42£ in books for the said MS. The selection to be made from my last March List, which comprises my entire present stock.

On your accepting that proposition you will oblige by letting me have the MS. at your earliest convenience.

I remain, Sir,

Your very obliged

B. Quaritch

W. Amherst Jr. Amherst, Esq.
Didlington Hall

Mar 14 1878

Sir, I am willing to take back the large MS. you had from me, but you can naturally not expect, that I should allow you the same price again, not even in books as in such a case I should be an actual loser in the transaction. I agree to allow you 42£ in books for the said MS. the selection to be made from my last March list, which comprises my entire present stock.

Amherst was probably not accustomed to receiving communications of this kind from tradesmen and objected. Within three days he received a firm reply stating the facts of the rare book trade as perceived by Quaritch:

Sir, I regret that we do not agree regarding the MS. for which you paid £50. Every commercial transaction implies a certain expense, which in the aggregate amounts in my business 15%. So unless I gain 15% upon every book I sell, I am *de facto* a loser. When I sold you the MS. and received £50 for it, about 7/10/10 I lost in various expenses – this will seem impossible to you, but I will explain it to you. The MS. was sold to you through the Machinery of my Catalogues, and that machinery viz printing, wages, etc. costs me 1000£ per annum.If I admitted your view of exchanging as correct, you would be able, by constant exchanges, to pass my entire stock through your hands; I know you would not do it, I

> merely mention it, to show that a tradesman expects and must have a profit on every transaction. We have many unfortunate purchases, which we are compelled to sell without asking for a profit.I can only repeat, that the sums stated in my last letter are those under which I agree to take back the MS. in question.

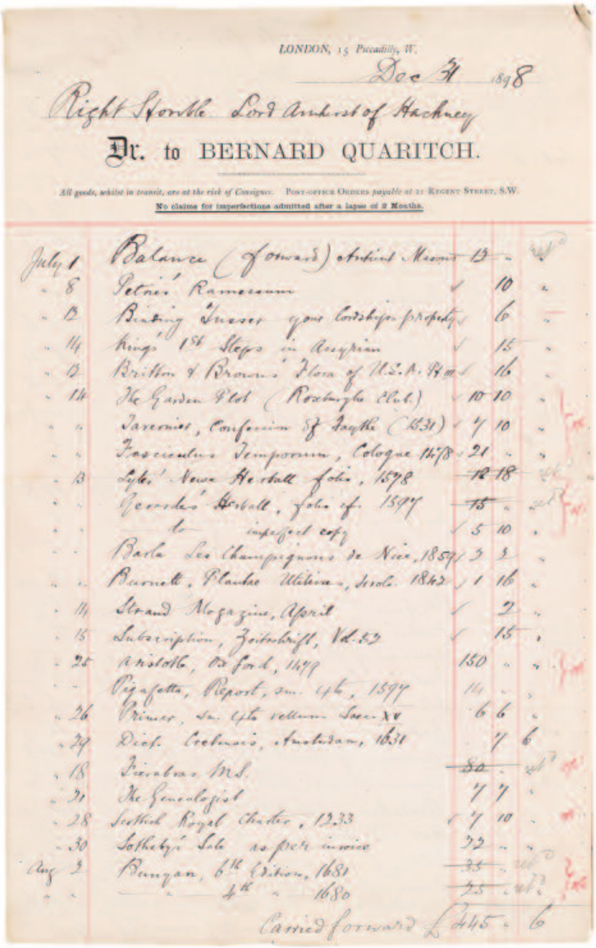
It seems that Amherst kept the manuscript and henceforth the relationship proceeded smoothly, with generosity displayed on both sides. Neither ever forgot his station in life, but their correspondence flourished and Amherst would dispatch hampers of game and birds shot on his estates to Quaritch's home at Christmas, and Quaritch would reply with flattering words (especially after Amherst received his Barony in 1892), along with the occasional discount.

Quaritch always remembered, however, his first priority – bookselling. Amherst was one of a small, select clientele, rich and enthusiastic, and providing the kind of patronage necessary to support his freewheeling approach to book collecting. In February of 1870 he wrote:

> A wealthy connoisseur like yourself, ought to buy my whole collection of rarities. By spending about £10,000, you would get a collection of first-class rarities only rivalled by the Libraries of Lord Lindsay (now Earl Crawford), of the Earl of Ashburnham, and of the Spencer collection. The enclosed prospectus gives you some idea of my rarities.

Amherst did not respond and stuck to his original plan of building his collection book by book, but obviously would have been flattered by his inclusion in such distinguished company, which also included Lord Carysfort, Henry Huth, Lord Rosebery, William Morris, and Lord Aldenham. Again, on the occasion of the Perkins sale in 1873, Quaritch asked Amherst rhetorically: 'What are a thousand pounds to a very rich man, if he sets his mind upon having an article [?]' (in this case two Gutenberg Bibles, one on vellum and one on paper). Amherst did not rise to this bait either and only acquired the 1535 Coverdale Bible at the Perkins sale. The vellum Bible was purchased by F.S. Ellis who sold it to Ashburnham (£3400) and is now at the Huntington Library. Quaritch, however, did buy the paper copy for £2690 and sold it to Huth. It is now at the Morgan Library.

The year 1885 was a good one for Quaritch and for Amherst. The great bibliophilic event began on 6 May with the sale of the Osterley Park library, consigned by the 7th Earl of Jersey, but mainly consisting of the collection formed by Brian Fairfax (1676–1740). The collection was particularly notable for its Caxtons, of which Quaritch bought ten, with five of them ending up in the Amherst Library.


LONDON, 15 Piccadilly, W.

Dec 31 1898

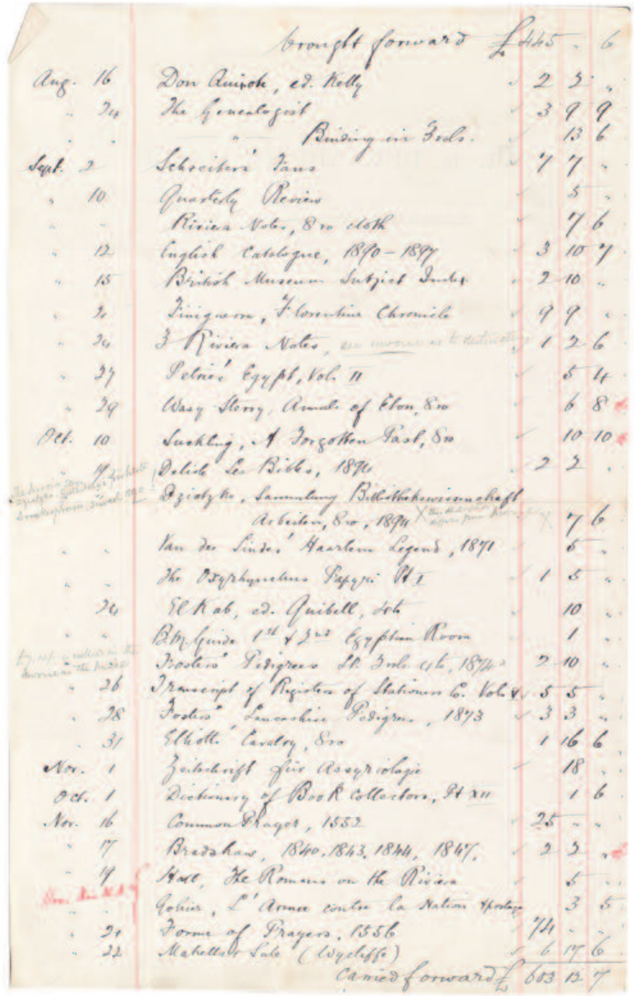
Right Honble Lord Amherst of Hackney

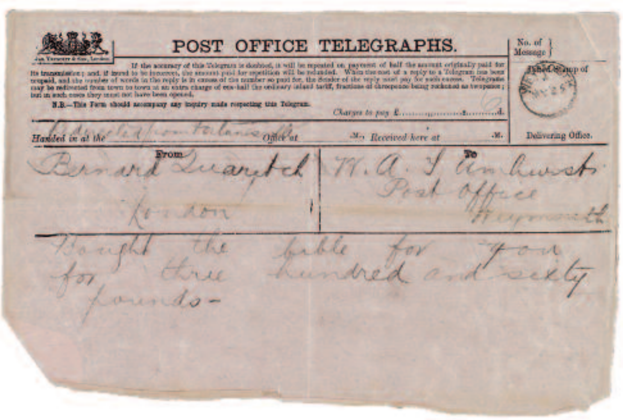
Dr. to BERNARD QUARITCH.

All goods, whilst in transit, are at the risk of Consignee. Post-office Orders payable at 21 Regent Street, S.W.

No claims for imperfections admitted after a lapse of 2 Months.

July 1	Balance (forward) Antient Account	13	-	-
8	Petrie's Ramesseum		10	-
13	Binding Insect your Lordship's property		6	-
14	King's 1st Steps in Assyrian		15	-
13	Britton & Brown's Flora of U.S.A. 3 v		16	-
14	The Garden Plot (Roxburghe Club)	10	10	-
"	Tavernier, Confession of Faythe (1531)	7	10	-
"	Fasciculus Temporum, Cologne 1478	21	-	-
13	Lyte's Newe Herball folio, 1578	12	18	-
"	Gerarde's Herball, folio of 1597	15	-	-
"	do imperfect copy	5	10	-
"	Barla Les Champignons de Nice, 1859	3	3	-
"	Burnett, Plantae Utiliores, 3 vols 1842	1	16	-
14	Strand Magazine, April		2	-
15	Subscription, Zeitschrift, Vol 53		15	-
25	Aristotle, Oxford, 1479	150	-	-
"	Pigafetta, Report, sm. 4to, 1597	14	-	-
26	Primer, sm 4to vellum Saec XV	6	6	-
29	Dict. Coelmans, Amsterdam, 1631		7	6
18	Fierabras MS.	80	-	-
31	The Genealogist	7	7	-
28	Scottish Royal Charter, 1233	7	10	-
30	Sotheby's Sale as per invoice	32	-	-
Aug 3	Bunyan, 6th Edition, 1681	35	-	-
"	— 4th — 1680	25	-	-
	Carried forward £	445	-	6


	brought forward £	445	-	6
Aug. 16	Don Quixote, ed. Kelly	2	3	-
24	The Genealogist	3	9	9
"	" Binding in 3 vols.		13	6
Sept. 2	Schreiber's Fans	7	7	-
10	Quarterly Review		5	-
"	Riviera Notes, 8vo cloth		7	6
12	English Catalogue, 1890–1897	3	10	7
15	British Museum Subject Index	2	10	-
21	Finiguerra, Florentine Chronicle	9	9	-
24	3 Riviera Notes	1	2	6
27	Petrie's Egypt, Vol. II		5	4
29	Wasey Sterry, Annals of Eton, 8vo		6	8
Oct. 10	Suckling, A Forgotten Past, 8vo		10	10
17	Delisle Les Bibles, 1894	2	2	-
	Dziatzko, Sammlung Bibliothekswissenschaft Arbeiten, 8vo, 1894		7	6
"	Van der Linde's Haarlem Legend, 1871		5	-
"	The Oxyrhynchus Papyri Pt I	1	5	-
26	El Kab, ed. Quibell, 4to		10	-
"	BM Guide 1st & 3rd Egyptian Room		1	-
	Foster's Pedigrees 4 vols 4to, 1874	2	10	-
26	Transcript of Registers of Stationers Co. Vol. V	5	5	-
28	Foster's Lancashire Pedigrees, 1873	3	3	-
31	Elliott's Cavalry, 8vo	1	16	6
Nov. 1	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie		18	-
Oct. 1	Dictionary of Book Collectors, Pt XII		1	6
Nov. 16	Common Prayer, 1552	25	-	-
17	Bradshaw, 1840, 1843, 1844, 1847	2	3	-
19	Hall, The Romans on the Riviera		5	-
"	Cohier, L'Armee contre la Nation		3	5
21	Forme of Prayers, 1556	74	-	-
22	Mabelthorpe Sale (Wycliffe)	6	17	6
	Carried forward £	603	13	7


POST OFFICE TELEGRAPHS.

No. of Message

If the accuracy of this Telegram is doubted, it will be repeated on payment of half the amount originally paid for its transmission; and, if found to be incorrect, the amount paid for repetition will be refunded. When the cost of a reply to a Telegram has been prepaid, and the number of words in the reply is in excess of the number so paid for, the Sender of the reply must pay for such excess. Telegrams may be redirected from town to town at an extra charge of one-half the ordinary inland tariff, fractions of threepence being reckoned as twopence; but in such cases they must not have been opened.

N.B.—This Form should accompany any inquiry made respecting this Telegram.

Charges to pay £........s........d.

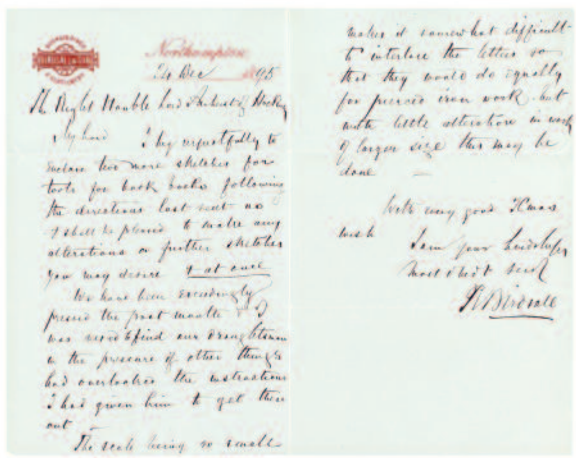
Handed in at the .... Office at ....M. Received here at ....M.

Delivering Office.

From: Bernard Quaritch, London

To: W. A. T. Amherst, Post Office, Weymouth

Bought the bible for you for three hundred and sixty pounds –


Northampton

24 Dec 95

The Right Honble Lord Amherst of Hackney

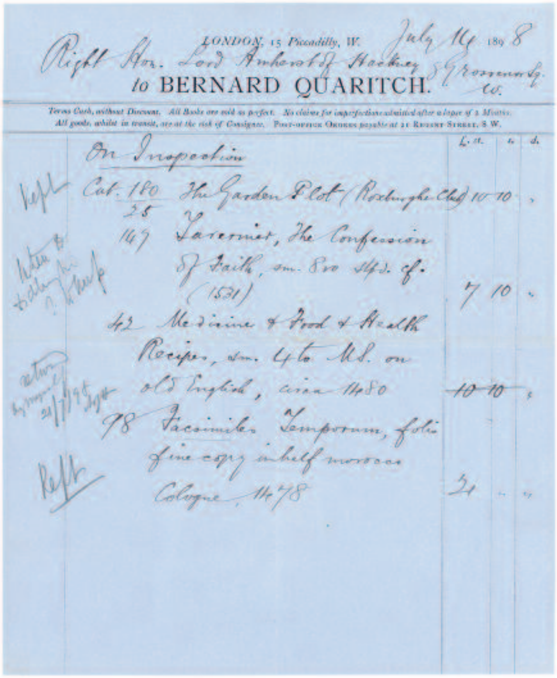
My Lord, I beg respectfully to enclose two more sketches for tools for back books following the directions last sent me & shall be pleased to make any alterations or further sketches you may desire & at once.

We have been exceedingly pressed the past month & I was vexed to find our draughtsman in the pressure of other things had overlooked the instructions I had given him to get these out.

The scale being so small makes it somewhat difficult to interlace the letters so that they would do equally for pressed iron work but with little alteration in work of larger size this may be done.

With every good Xmas wish I am your Lordship's Most obedt Servt

R Birdsall


Right Hon. Lord Amherst of Hackney
LONDON, 15 Piccadilly, W. July 14 1898
to BERNARD QUARITCH.

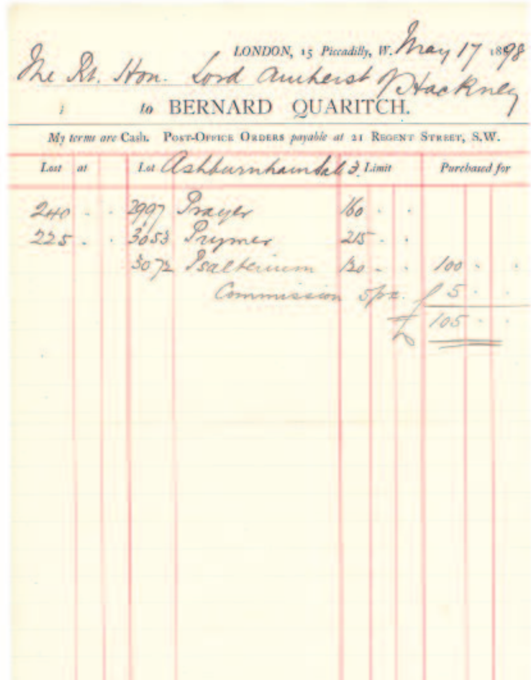
On Inspection

Cat. 180 The Garden Plot (Roxburghe Club) 10 10 -

149 Tavernier, The Confession of Faith, sm. 8vo slt. (1531) 7 10 -

42 Medicine & Food & Health Recipes, sm. 4to MS. on old English, circa 1480 10 10 -

98 Fasciculus Temporum, folio fine copy in half morocco Cologne 1478 2 - -


The Rt. Hon. Lord Amherst of Hackney
LONDON, 15 Piccadilly, W. May 17 1898
to BERNARD QUARITCH.
My terms are Cash. Post-Office Orders payable at 21 Regent Street, S.W.

Lost at	Lot Ashburnham	Limit	Purchased for
240	2907 Prayer	160	
225	3053 Prymer	215	
	3072 Psalterium	130	100
	Commission 5 p.c.		5
			£ 105

Of the sales total of £13,000 Quaritch contributed £10,000. The most exciting Caxton was the 'only genuine perfect copy known' of Lefevre's *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*, the first book printed in the English language. Quaritch had Amherst up to the mark for this sale, but he first established a limit of £450 for Troye, which he raised to £850 before the sale. A further revision was required and a small note in Amherst's hand survives with the cryptic message, 'I will go as far as £1250', with the further annotation on the reverse, 'I gave this to Q during the sale. Q bought it with the understanding that I should have the refusal of it, but I was not bound to take it after £1250'. A small difficulty arose because Quaritch actually paid £1820 for *Troye*. It was duly offered to Amherst with the comment, 'I must leave it to your decision to purchase or refuse the Lefevre. If you refuse I shall keep the volume for stock'. It was offered at only a 5% advance, or £1911, and Amherst bought it. It was one of his greatest acquisitions and he was holding it on his lap when his portrait was painted by John Collier. The 1490 Virgil was bought by Quaritch for stock, but was offered to Amherst with the comment, 'No other copy is likely to occur for sale in this generation. If you secure *this* Caxton your Library will rival, if not Lord Spencer's, anyhow the Duke of Devonshire's. When the Prince of Wales visits you again, you can make an exhibition of early printed books worthy of your position in the land. If for such an occasion you should require me, I shall be at your service'.

Amherst continued to acquire Caxtons and other early books, even after

Quaritch's death in 1899, but he had now begun to plan an elaborate catalogue of the collection which he commissioned Seymour de Ricci to compile for him. In 1906, however, he learned that the embezzlements of the solicitor who administered his estate and trust funds meant that he owed thousands of pounds and the sale of the library became an urgent necessity. De Ricci's catalogue was scaled back to a *Hand-List* and privately published in the hope that a buyer might be found for the whole collection. A loan was negotiated with a bank, secured against the books as collateral, and Didlington Hall was put up for rent. Alfred Quaritch went off to America with the *Hand-List* to approach John D. Rockefeller and McGill University about the possibility of a sale, but without success. J.P. Morgan had already declined to buy the library and Quaritch now was advising that the books and manuscripts should be sold at auction. After many rumours in the press and a few offers which amounted to far less than Amherst believed the collection to be worth, the books were finally sent to Sotheby's for cataloguing, a task which should have been easier because of the *Hand-List*, but did not prove to be so. Mr. Hodge, of Sotheby's wrote that, 'the catalogue will we hope be in some ways worthy of the Collection, and we think it will be the most detailed catalogue that this house has ever issued. The Hand-List is practically useless to us and we think when you read the proofs you will understand why our work has taken so long'. The result was indeed detailed and handsome, especially the limited issue of fifty copies printed on Japon vellum with several chromolithograph plates of bindings printed by William Griggs. There were further delays while Sotheby's waited for improvement in the economic climate of the United States, but finally the two sessions were scheduled for 3-5 December 1908 and 24-27 March 1909. Hodge told Amherst not to expect the £100,000 he hoped for, but suggested that they should not bring less than £50,000. The results of the first session were disappointing and the total of both sessions was £32,592, though this did not count the £25,000 paid by Morgan for the Caxtons. This brought the total to £57,592, more-or-less Mr. Hodge's estimate.

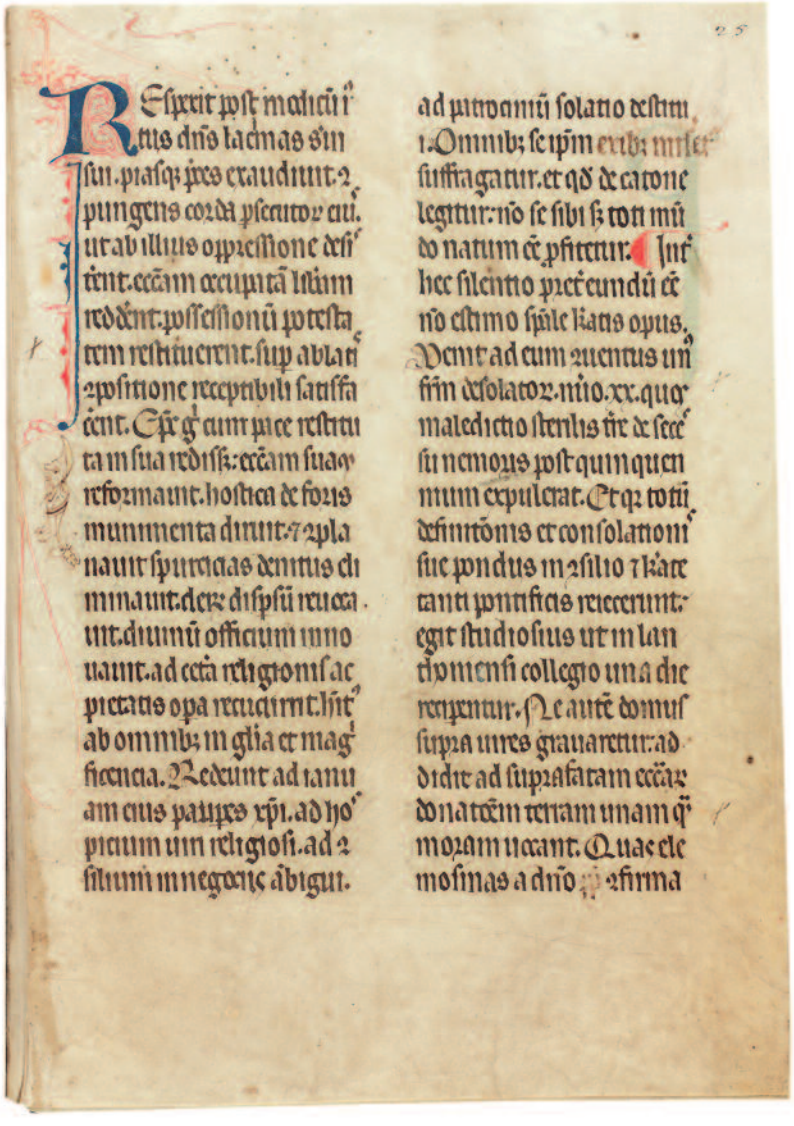
On 3 December 1908 Morgan sent a cable to London which read: 'inform Greene bid £32,500 for all Caxtons'. Miss Belle da Costa Greene, his librarian, had already made her own offer to Amherst and, while awaiting his answer the night before the sale, she attended an antiquarian book trade dinner where she was said to be the only woman present. During the evening she received word that the offer had been accepted and thus when asked by a colleague: 'Miss

Greene, will you promise me that in the morning you will not bid against me for a particular Caxton?' was able to reply simply: 'Yes, I'll promise not to bid against you at the sale tomorrow'. Her telegram to Morgan said: 'Junius cable just received … Amherst accepts offer twenty-five thousand Caxtons if cash at once. Advise purchase'.

Lord Amherst died suddenly on 16 January 1909 and so missed the second session of the sale. He had put together one of the great collections of his era and although it ultimately served only to enrich other collections it did enable him to preserve his estate for his family.

The career of Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792–1872) was entirely spent in the collecting of manuscripts and early printed books, an obsession so consuming that he coined the word 'vello-maniac' to describe himself. His accumulation of 60,000 manuscripts was the largest collection of unpublished historical material ever assembled by one person and rivaled, when it did not surpass, the collections of the great national institutions. He also owned around 50,000 printed books and wrote to Robert Curzon in 1869: 'I am buying Printed Books because I wish to have one copy of every Book in the World!!!!!' He spent over £200,000 on manuscripts and books, but their dispersal, which took more than a century, produced millions and every significant research collection, on several continents, contains works bearing his familiar accession numbers.

Phillipps was born in Manchester, the illegitimate and only child of Thomas Phillipps, a senior partner in a firm of calico manufacturers. His father bought Middle Hill, Broadway, Worcestershire, in 1794 and he was raised by an aging and irascible man whose sole ambition for him was that he should become a gentleman. He went up to University College, Oxford in 1811 where he greatly extended his antiquarian tastes and established his reputation as a determined collector of books, to the point that his father complained of his extravagance and tried to limit his allowance. He required a private tutor to prepare for his examinations, but did receive his BA degree in 1815. He also fell in love with Henrietta Molyneux, but because of her lack of a dowry he was unable to marry her until after the death of his father in 1818, when he was left an entailed estate from which he could only draw the income. An annual sum of over £6000 would have seemed munificent to most people, but by 1822 Phillipps was forced to flee to the continent to temporarily escape his creditors and he was never again out of debt for the rest of his long life. He did fulfill his father's ambitions by securing a baronetcy in 1821, thanks to his father-in-law's influence with the Duke of



Beaufort and a handy coronation which produced a number of honours. His three daughters were born in 1819, 1821, and 1829, and were often recruited as amanuenses to assist in the cataloguing of the ever expanding collection and to transcribe topographical and genealogical records.

Phillipps' regular sojourns in Europe provided increased opportunities for acquisitions as the French Revolution, the Napoleonic Wars, and the secularization of German monasteries had released onto the market vast quantities of manuscripts and early printed books and he regularly succumbed to temptation in every city he visited. At the sale of the library of Gerard Meerman, the historian of printing, at The Hague in 1824 he bought over 650 manuscripts, several of them from the 7th and 8th centuries, including the *Codex Theodosianus*, and the

Codex Claromontanus. It was perhaps the most important collection Phillipps ever acquired on a single occasion, but, at about the same time he was engaged in buying 374 manuscripts and 900 incunables from Leander Van Ess, a German Professor of Theology and this pattern of acquisition, in single lots at auction and in large groups by private treaty continued right up until his death.

In 1822 Phillipps established the Middle Hill Press in the Broadway Tower on his property and hired a succession of hapless printers to put into what he regarded as a permanent form, a series of cartularies, visitations, and other British documents either owned by him or copied from other repositories. His concept of a private press was far removed from the ideals of Horace Walpole at Strawberry Hill or, at another extreme, William Morris and the Kelmscott Press. He did conform, however, to Will Ransom's definition as 'the typographic expression of a personal ideal, conceived in freedom and maintained in independence'. Middle Hill Press productions were typically badly printed on inferior paper of various sizes, often from battered type. Their texts were hurriedly and inaccurately edited and held little interest for anyone except the devotees of early local history and genealogy and fellow anti-Catholic bigots. The *Staffordshire Visitation, 1663/4*, published for the first time in 1854 from a manuscript owned by Phillipps, would be followed by a broadside: 'To the Inhabitants of Broadway', with the brief text 'The Roman Catholics say that in the Sacrament of our Lord's Supper they actually eat the real body, and blood of Christ. If so, are they not Cannibals?' All these publications, some 550 of them, were issued in very small editions and distributed in such a haphazard and confused way that few scholars really had access to them. To receive a full set it was necessary to remain on friendly terms with Sir Thomas for some fifty years, a feat impossible to achieve in the face of shifting eccentricities, irascibility, and total disregard for the feelings of anyone but himself.

By far the most important publications of the Middle Hill Press were the series of catalogues of the collection of manuscripts and of printed books. Phillipps began in 1819 with a catalogue of books, comprising 1326 titles and continued to issue supplements listing some of his printed books up to 1871. Of much greater significance was the catalogue of manuscripts, begun in 1824 and continued to 1871. As each accession arrived at Middle Hill and, after 1864, at Thirlestaine House, Cheltenham, the manuscripts were briefly listed, numbered, and incorporated as printed gatherings into the catalogue, arranged by source. The headings were sometimes very precise (as numbers 3499-3506: 'Ex

Bibliotheca Rev. Theodori Williams') but many are hopelessly vague (as numbers 3573-3625: 'Miscellanea') and the descriptions often tantalizingly brief. Medieval codices, for example, that are now world famous and require a whole catalogue in themselves were often dealt with in a single line. A.N.L. Munby, whose *Phillipps Studies* in five volumes (Cambridge University Press, 1951-60) remains the standard source for all things Phillippean, estimated that fewer that a dozen complete copies are extant and each one of them varies somewhat. He acknowledged that the Phillipps Catalogue is very difficult to use and that even if a manuscript is located in it and an adequate description can be traced through its provenance, it is entirely another task to trace it to its present home. He also recommended that paleographers, historians and editors ought to 'read through by easy steps the 23,837 entries, a note-book in hand … to obtain any conception of the fantastic and unimaginable wealth of the greatest collection of manuscripts ever put together by one man'. This is itself easier imagined than accomplished (I know, I've tried).

In 1839 Phillipps became acquainted with James Orchard Halliwell, a youthful prodigy still a student at Cambridge, who offered to describe monastic cartularies in Cambridge for him. A correspondence ensued and an invitation to visit Middle Hill was extended, which Halliwell did in February 1842. He seems to have fallen immediately in love with Henrietta, the eldest daughter, for he wrote to Phillipps immediately after his visit asking Phillipps' consent to their marriage. Phillipps refused on the grounds that Halliwell's father would not provide him with enough money, but he was also unwilling to provide a dowry and on 9 August the couple eloped. Phillipps was furious and banned Halliwell from his house, although Henrietta visited occasionally for a short time. By 1845 Halliwell had been accused of stealing manuscripts from Trinity College and Phillipps joined enthusiastically in the controversy, attempting to denigrate his son-in-law's character and have him expelled from several societies. The charges were never proved, but Phillipps' implacable hatred of him continued until the end of his life. In 1842 Phillipps himself remarried, having advertised for several years for a woman with a decent dowry. One of his objects was obviously to produce a male heir to supplant the Halliwells, but by 1857, it became clear that this would not happen. Phillipps determined to move the library from Middle Hill since it was not entailed and could be settled on his third daughter, Kate, after the second daughter died in 1858. He began by having all the timber felled so that he would leave the estate with as little value as possible and in 1864 he moved

with the collection to Thirlestaine House. It was a much larger home, but not very comfortable, the kitchen being located on the other side of the road. Indeed, Lady Phillipps complained that she had been 'booked out of one wing and ratted out of the other'.

Phillipps lived out the rest of his life at Thirlestaine House, coping somehow with the huge library and a large collection of paintings. In 1866 he wrote to his solicitors:

> I have seven Works in the Press to collate & correct. People come continually to see my Gallery of Pictures & I am the only Cicerone. People come from the Continent to examine my MSS & from all parts of England, Scotland & Ireland, & I am the sole Librarian to search for the Books. Others in great numbers will write for information and I am sole amanuensis. The Booksellers send me countless catalogues which I look over & select & order & when the Books arrive I am sole unpacker and arranger on the Shelves.

What never changed, over more than fifty years, was the pace of acquisition and books and manuscripts were still arriving after his death, which occurred on 6 February 1872. He had given some thought to the future of the collection and began negotiations with Oxford University in the 1850s. These foundered on his insistence that he should become Bodley's Librarian. He also conducted intermittent negotiations with the British Museum and was made a Trustee in 1861. He fell out with his only real ally there, Sir Frederic Madden, and placed a highly inflated price on the collection. He next tried various locations in Wales, but all these efforts came to naught. Thirlestaine House and its contents were left in a trust for his youngest daughter, Katharine, with a life interest for her third son, Thomas Fitzroy Fenwick. Phillipp's will was proved at about £120,000 but only £100 was left to his long-suffering widow. According to its terms, not a book was to be moved and the Halliwells and all Roman Catholics were banned from entering. Halliwell did manage to break the entail and he and his family inherited the original estates. It was not until 1885 that the Fenwicks were able to get a judicial ruling that allowed the gradual dispersal of the contents since they could no longer support the upkeep of the house.

Both John Fenwick, who died in 1903, and his son proved to be very shrewd vendors and negotiated several private sales of groups of manuscripts, such as the Meerman Collection which was sold to the German government. They also instituted a series of Sotheby's auctions, beginning in 1886. At sales, Fitzroy

Fenwick was very careful to maintain a balance from the cross-section of the whole collection so as not to flood the market with any particular kind of manuscripts or printed book. He chose the items himself and wrote the descriptions for the twenty-two sales up to his death in 1938. There were a great many private-treaty sales of individual manuscripts to collectors, especially during the 1920s, and by the beginning of the Second World War a considerable trust fund had been established. Thirlestaine House, however, was requisitioned by the Ministry of Aircraft Production in 1939 and the remainder of the collection was stored in crates in the cellars for the duration of the war.

Fenwick's nephew, Alan, inherited the estate, but because of the high death duties and his inability to cope with a huge mass of material with which he was not acquainted, he decided to sell everything *en bloc*. In 1945 Philip and Lionel Robinson, the proprietors of William H. Robinson Ltd. of Pall Mall, London, offered £100,000 for the residue of the Phillipps books and manuscripts, virtually sight unseen as everything was still in the cellars. The offer was accepted and, although the Robinsons had to scramble to raise the money, they recouped it within a year and their astute investment proved to be the most spectacular transaction in the annals of bibliopoly. They continued to sell manuscripts and printed books through their catalogues to eager collectors and institutions until their retirement in 1956. They then established their own trust and initiated a further series of Sotheby's auctions in 1965 which continued through 1977 in twenty parts. The final residue was sold to H.P. Kraus in 1977 and Phillipps manuscripts still appear regularly at auction and in booksellers' catalogues.

Phillipps MS. 22230 contains an early 13th century life of Robert of Bethune, Bishop of Hereford, who died in 1148. It was written by his chaplain, William of Wycombe at the monastery of the Augustinian Canons Regular of Llantony Secunda in Gloucestershire which had been refounded by Robert in 1136. He was known as the 'good bishop' because he created a place of justice and peace during the anarchic political and ecclesiastical conditions of the 12th century and his life is extant in only three surviving manuscripts. It was not published until 1691. The manuscript migrated to a church (possibly the Cathedral) in Hereford and then to the collections of Dr. Silas Taylor, a Hereford antiquary and Thomas Bird, from whose auction Phillipps bought it in 1837. Unusually he gave it thirteen lines of description in his catalogue, including two incipits. It was sold again at Sotheby's on 30 November 1965 to H.P. Kraus from whom it came to the University of Toronto in 1966.

The Birdsall Collection

In 1968 the University Library purchased a collection of 3245 bookbinders' finishing tools from Anthony Birdsall in England. With its collection of catalogues of tool engravers, it remains the most important collection of its kind in North America. We then established a collection of bindings executed by the Birdsall firm between 1792 and 1961, attempting to include as wide a chronological range as possible and a representation of different materials and styles. In 1983, 1991, and 1994, we were able to acquire archival material going back to the 1840s, including rubbings and photographs, tool designs and patterns, and some records and correspondence. (Another part of the archival section is in the National Library of Wales.) The tools have been used extensively to create pastiche historical bindings in our conservation section and the archive has been consulted by binding historians.

Birdsall & Son was founded when William Birdsall purchased the bindery of John Lacy & Son in 1792, with its equipment and tools, some of which had been manufactured in the mid-18th century. Family tradition had it that some of them had been designed and cut by Roger Payne (1739–1797), the most famous creator of deluxe gold-tooled bindings of his time. William Birdsall was very entrepreneurial and added to the bindery a post office, a bookstore and a circulating library, and seems to have engaged in banking and insurance as well. His business flourished and he became a prominent citizen of Northampton, being elected mayor in 1803 and again in 1818. His son James was taken into partnership

in 1823 and succeeded to the business in 1826, his father and his brother having died. In 1836 he expanded the bookbinding part of the business considerably and the collection of tools must have significantly grown as well. The firm was bought out in the 1840s by Anthony Birdsall, a great nephew of the founder, and he and his son Richard, who joined the firm in about 1857, moved into the carriage trade with elaborately designed and tooled full-leather bindings based on the styles of the earlier periods, both British and European, but often using ornate Victorian motifs as well. They travelled to university, cathedral, and other libraries to make rubbings of interesting binding designs and kept them together in a 'Book of Rubbings', which was added to by later generations. In 1870 a new three-storey factory was built, with an addition in 1883, and a large staff undertook all kinds of commercial binding and restoration as well as special commissions from collectors and institutions, including restoration work for Lord Amherst. Birdsall & Son was now one of the most prominent firms in England and in 1880, William Blades recorded in *The Enemies of Books* that:

> In December, 1879, Mr. Birdsall, a well-known Bookbinder of Northampton, kindly sent me by post a fat little worm, which had been found by one of his workmen in an old book while being bound. He bore his journey extremely well, being very lively when turned out. I placed him in a box in warmth and quiet, with some small fragments of paper from a Boethius, printed by Caxton, and a leaf of a seventeenth-century book. He ate a small piece of the leaf, but either from too much fresh air, from unaccustomed liberty, or from change of food, he gradually weakened and died in about three weeks. I was sorry to lose him, as I wished to verify his name in his perfect state. Mr. Waterhouse, of the Entomological department of the British Museum, very kindly examined him before and was of opinion he was *Oecophora pseudospretella*.

Richard continued the business after the death of his father in 1893 and when he died suddenly in 1901, there were his three sons in partnership, the last of whom, Anthony, lived until 1972. He was a scholar as well as a fine craftsman and did considerable research on historic bookbindings. He continued the tradition of taking rubbings and added photographs, which he preserved and which came to the Fisher Library with the archival part of the collection.

The archive of Birdsall & Son contains photographs of bindings executed by the firm, but not, of course, naming each individual craftsman. There are also photographs of illuminated addresses, which were another specialty of the firm, as well as many rubbings and tool designs, and several plaquettes or small leather-covered boards showing examples of gold, silver, and blind tooling and blocking. They, and the mock-ups of spines and covers, would have been used as samples to show prospective customers and include examples of tooling on vellum. There are pattern cards and notes and correspondence and amongst the ephemeral pieces are advertisements for the firm.

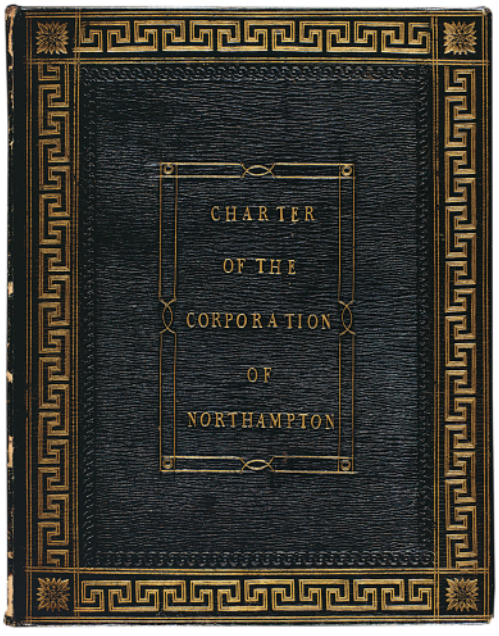
The portfolio of tool-makers' catalogues includes the firms of Morris & Co., Paas & Co., Pouch, R. Scott, Sears & Co., and Timbury. Several of them seem to survive only in this collection, due to the Birdsall's custom of designing their own tools and sending the drawings directly to the tool-maker. Most binderies cut out the engraved image and sent it back to the tool-maker, thus ensuring the destruction of the catalogue.

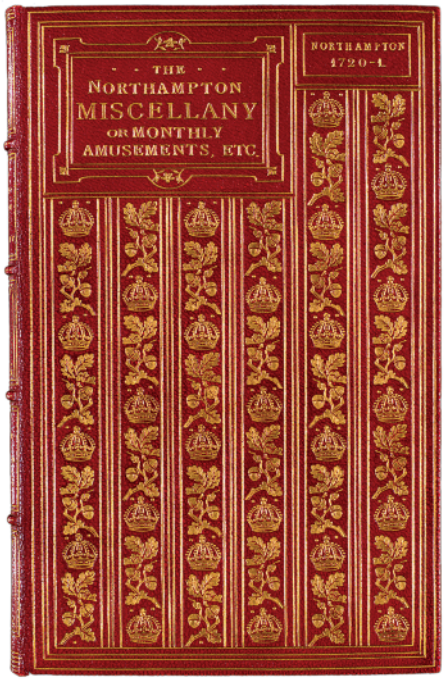
Birdsall bindings were signed with the names of the firm, either on a ticket or, more often, with tiny gilt letters on the bottom of the inside front board. There probably are many bindings not signed at all, especially during the early period and one sometimes sees bindings in what looks like the Birdsall style. When we have an opportunity, we check distinctive decorative impressions against the tools in the collection, occasionally with positive results.

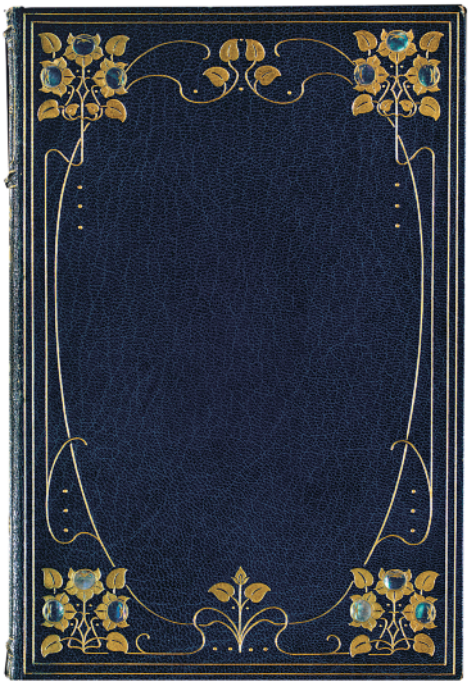
The bindings displayed are:

The Charter of the Corporation of the Town of Northampton (1804). Full dark blue morocco, an example of an early binding from the first decade of the 19th century.

Sir Thomas Browne, *Hydriotaphia* (1658). The first edition, probably bound in the late 19th century in full dark blue calf and tooled in the style of the 17th century.







The Northampton Miscellany 1720–21. Bound by Anthony Birdsall for himself, probably in the 1930s. It is executed in full red morocco and tooled in an adaptation of early 18th-century styles.

H.D. Lowry. *The Hundred Windows* (1904). Bound in polished blue calf with tooled mother-of-pearl decoration. This is early 20th-century work and was obviously commissioned as a gift.

Cyril Edwards. *Seven Sonnets* (1934). Polished tree-calf executed in the 1930s in a perfect imitation of the late 18th- and 19th-century tree-calf bindings.

Isaac Walton. *The Complete Angler* (1836). This design binding is the most spectacular example we have from the Birdsall firm. It was probably bound in the 1920s; its plain full green morocco outside does not suggest the extraordinary pictorial doublures, where inlays and onlays in different coloured leather have been arranged and heightened with wash to create fishing scenes. It was probably produced for an American client.

The main part of the Birdsall archive was acquired in 1991 with funds provided by the Isabel Waugh bequest.

By 1884, when Robert Louis Stevenson published his evocative essay 'A Penny Plain and Twopence Coloured', he was already lamenting the passing of a favourite childhood pastime: 'In the Leith Walk window, all the year round, there stood displayed a theatre in working order, with a "forest set", a "combat", and a few "robbers carousing" in the slides: and below and about, dearer tenfold to me! the plays themselves, those budgets of romance, lay tumbled one upon another'. He is describing a toy theatre, constructed of wood and set with the hand-coloured paper mounted scenes for a production of *The Miller and His*

Men, a blood-and-thunder melodrama first produced on the regular stage at Covent Garden in 1813. It became the most popular play in the toy theatre repertoire and the window described by Stevenson in Edinburgh around 1860 could have contained a version from any of the half-dozen major publishers: William West, John Kirby Green (both of whom claimed to have invented the juvenile drama), Hodgson, Skelt, Park, Webb, and the Pollock family, the only one to survive into the 20th century.

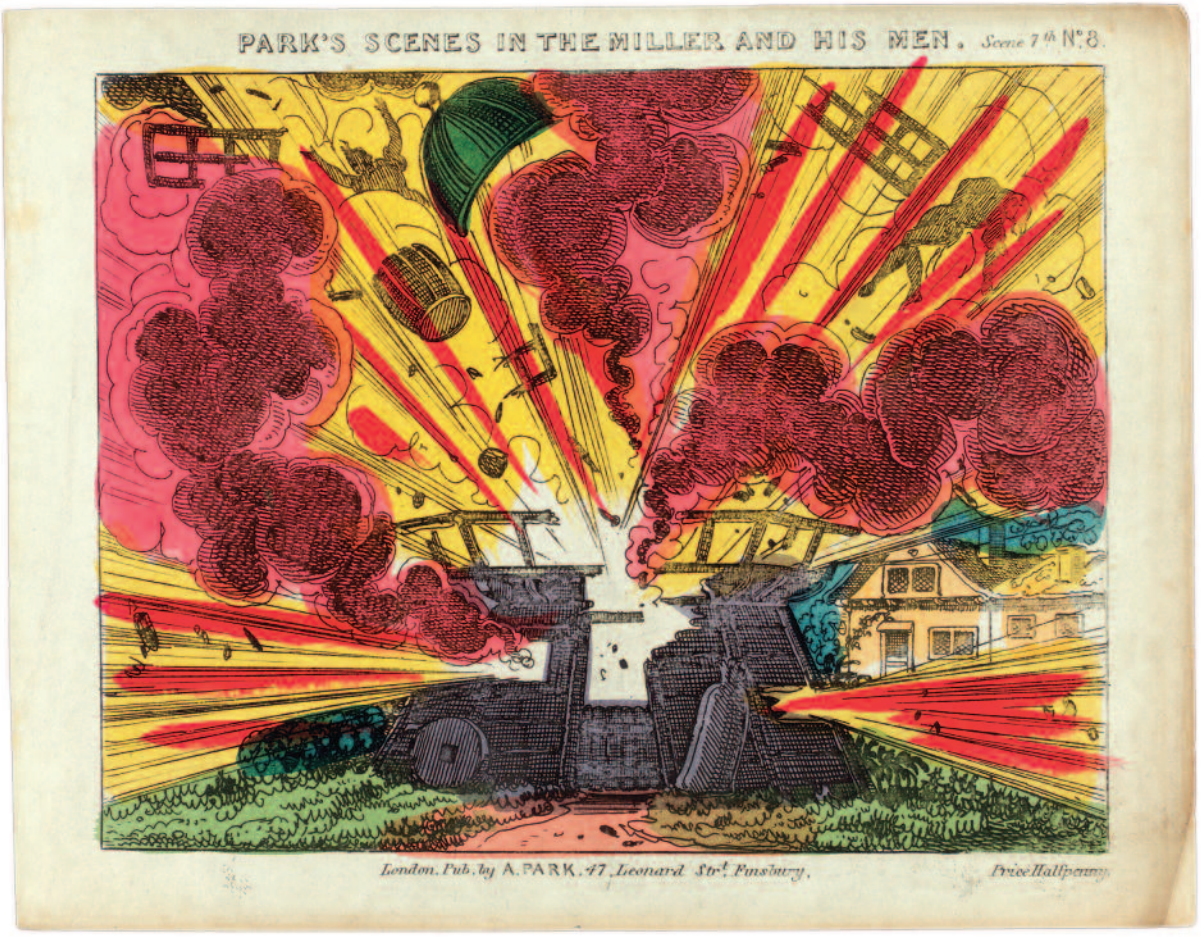
The toy theatre as a genre seems to have emerged from the London theatre-goer's fondness for souvenirs of their favourite productions, mainly portraits of leading actors in beloved roles. The first sheet to contain several engraved portraits was published in 1811. Soon scenery, in the form of backdrops, wings and furniture, was added and with the publication of the play texts themselves a new popular literary form was born. During its early period the whole paraphernalia of a stage, sets, and characters were aimed at an adult audience, but by the time Dickens became a schoolboy at Wellington House Academy in 1834, toy theatres had moved into the nurseries of middle and upper-class homes. At his school Dickens and his friends coloured, cut out, mounted, and assembled a production of *The Miller and His Men* and this experience certainly nurtured his life-long love of theatrical performance. This play had a special appeal because of the violent explosion with which it ends and much later Dickens would startle his Gad's Hill neighbours every Christmas as he engineered as large an explosion as possible to entertain his own children.

The texts, issued as small booklets, were abbreviated versions of melodramas, farces, and popular novels designed for a performance of about half-an-hour. This period of time probably stretched the attention-span of all but the most devoted of children and even Stevenson admitted that 'not could any child twice court the tedium, the worry, and the long-drawn disenchantment of an actual performance'. The pleasure was in the reading of the text, the colouring of the characters and the scenery (and he scorned 'that child who, wilfully foregoing the

pleasure, stoops to "twopence coloured"'), and the construction of the production. He remembered the titles of the plays he had possessed as a child: *Aladdin, The Red Rover, Jack Sheppard, The Smuggler, Robin Hood, My Poll and My Partner Joe, Three-Fingered Jack,* and, of course, *The Miller and His Men*. He also vividly remembered the names of the publishers, especially Skelt, which appealed to his childish imagination, but not the names of any authors, because most of the juvenile dramas were anonymous adaptations.

Toy theatres were not only published in England, but also in Germany (Papiertheater), Denmark (Dukketeater), Austria (Kindertheater), France (Imagerie d'Epinal), and Spain (El Theatro de los Niños). From the early 1870s several American publishers also issued sets of sheets for juvenile dramas, usually copied from the works of English predecessors. The main market, however, remained England and although G.K. Chesterton, Gordon Craig, Ellen Terry, Noel Coward, Winston Churchill, John Gielgud, and Charlie Chaplin recorded their fond reminiscences of the toy theatres of their childhoods, by 1900 they were mostly a memory, as they were to Stevenson in 1884.

In 1970 the University of Toronto Library was offered the Desmond Seaton Reid Collection of Juvenile Drama, consisting of over 6,000 sheets of characters and scenes, and one of the four or five largest collections ever formed. It was especially strong for the earlier period with some 600 sheets from the house of William West issued between 1811 and 1831, and many others published before 1850. It was realized that because these sheets were mainly based on actual productions of the London stage they provided not only almost the only surviving pictorial records of the Regency stage, but also often gave the names of the theatres, the dates of productions, and even the names of cast members. In addition the collection contained about 250 playbooks, texts that were, without exception, rare because every adaptation was different. Part of the University's expanding School of Graduate Studies included a Drama Centre, and we had already been collecting drama and English theatre history for other periods.

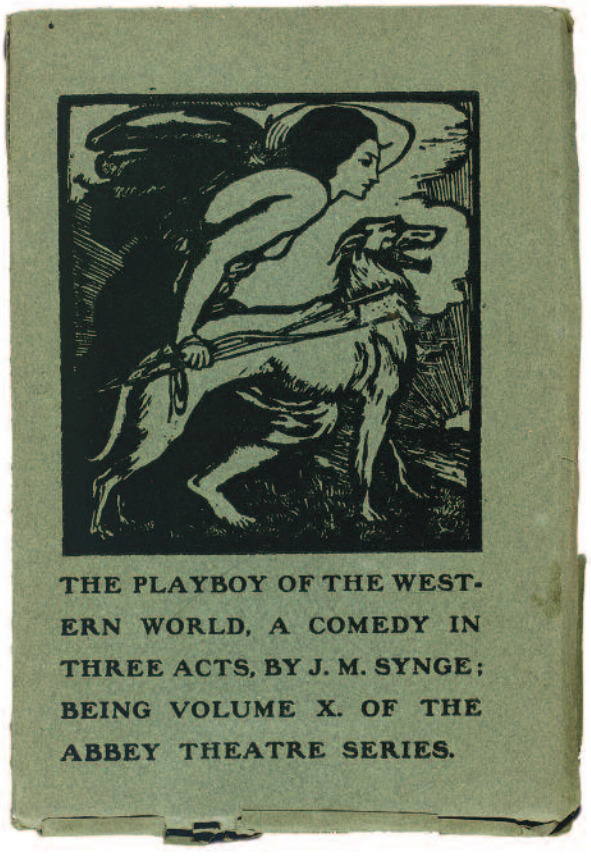


Both the research potential of the collection and its rarity had great appeal and the collection was purchased. Posed with the challenge to name a great British playwright between Sheridan and Wilde it is difficult to think of an obvious candidate and thus the history of English theatre for much of the 19th century is really the history of performance and the Seaton Reid Collection fills a notable gap. Its research potential also extends into the field of graphic art, as many well-known artists, such as the Cruikshank brothers and Robert Dighton, worked on juvenile drama scenes. Alas, the 'WB', whose initials appear on the sheet for West's *The Broken Sword*, seems not to be William Blake, the poet and artist. Both the development of engraving and lithography for a specialized kind of graphic art are also illustrated in great detail.

The large stage on which is mounted the scenery and characters for the final scene of *The Miller and His Men* was constructed in 1936 by a Dr. Hughes of Broadstairs for the British Puppet and Model Theatre Guild. The version presented was published by W.G.Webb, based on a production at the Haymarket Theatre in 1861 and perhaps that was the one noticed by Robert Louis Stevenson in the Edinburgh shop window. In 1978 George Speaight, a leading historian of juvenile drama, visited the Fisher Library to use the Seaton Reid Collection and while in Toronto gave a memorable performance of *The Miller and His Men* in which he played all the parts. It concluded with a most satisfactory, and loud, explosion.

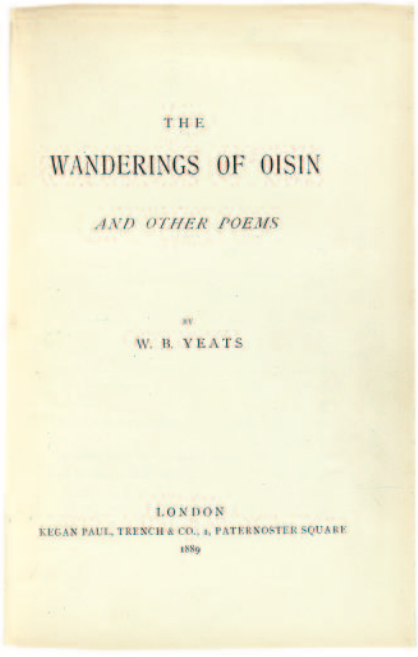
Alfred Tennyson DeLury, his name perhaps presaging some involvement in literary matters, was born on a farm near Manilla, Ontario in 1864. He graduated in mathematics from the University of Toronto and became a lecturer in that department in 1892. He was promoted to Professor in 1908 and was Dean of the Faculty of Arts from 1922 to 1935. He died in 1951. His career as a collector began with the history of mathematics, but early in the 20th century he discovered the Anglo-Irish literary movement, still in its early stages, and especially the work of W.B. Yeats. DeLury became acquainted with the Yeats family, George Russell, and John and Malcolm Magee, one of whom lived near Toronto. These contacts provided a basis for him to get to know the other members of Yeats' literary circle and he began to collect their books and broadsides. Thus his holdings of W.B. Yeats, his father John Butler Yeats, his brother Jack B. Yeats (both primarily known as artists), as well as Lady Gregory, Katharine Tynan, and AE (George Russell) became virtually complete. DeLury was about the same age or older than most of the writers he collected and thus was able to buy many of the books as they were published and this accounts for the remarkably fine condition of most of the items in his collection. The runs of other associates like Oliver Gogarty, Standish O'Grady, George Moore, Douglas Hyde, and Frank O'Connor were represented in long runs, as were Lord Dunsany, James Stephens, Padraic Colum, Sean O'Faolain, and Liam O'Flaherty. Although he was interested enough in the work of James Joyce to acquire a first edition of *Ulysses* and some other early works, DeLury did not pursue him with the same passion as he had for the Yeats circle and most of the strong Joyce holdings were purchased after 1955. He also seems to have been ambivalent about G.B. Shaw and that aspect of the collection has been filled in as well.

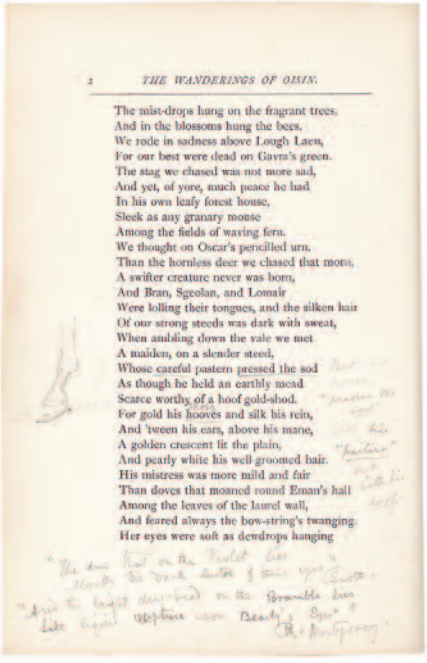
DeLury had a special interest in writers whom he considered to have had a strong influence on Yeats, and acquired many of the works of Thomas Davis, Samuel Ferguson, and J.C. Mangen. William Allingham was strongly represented along with many of the books of the prolific William Carleton. Even more imaginatively, DeLury paid attention to the works of lesser known writers and the collection can present almost complete sets of Jane Barlow and Emily Lawless.



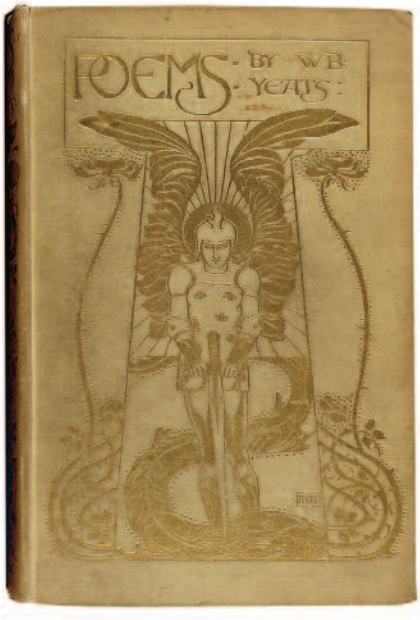
Because of Yeats' role in the founding and running of the Abbey Theatre, DeLury collected first editions of the plays performed there by Yeats himself, as well as J.M. Synge and Lady Gregory, but also included the plays of Sean O'Casey, Lennox Robinson, Edward Martyn, and St. John Ervine. He also formed a large collection of background material on the theatre, including programmes from 1903 to 1925, a complete run of *The Arrow*, and many pieces of ephemera. Playwrights not now much recognized, but whose work was performed at the Abbey – Rutherford Mayne, William Boyle, and Seamus O'Kelly, for example – were consistently added to the collection.

While in London, Yeats had known William Morris and other members of the arts and crafts movement. When the family moved to Ireland they lived at Dundrum, which was near the Dun Emer Guild where Evelyn Gleeson had established a centre for Irish female artists to work under the direction of noted designers and craftsmen. Yeats' sisters, Susan Mary and Elizabeth Corbet, known as Lily and Lollie, joined the Guild to improve the skills they had acquired in London, where Lily had learned embroidery from May Morris and


THE
WANDERINGS OF OISIN
AND OTHER POEMS
BY
W. B. YEATS
LONDON
KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH & CO., 1, PATERNOSTER SQUARE
1889


2 THE WANDERINGS OF OISIN.

The mist-drops hung on the fragrant trees,
And in the blossoms hung the bees.
We rode in sadness above Lough Laen,
For our best were dead on Gavra's green.
The stag we chased was not more sad,
And yet, of yore, much peace he had
In his own leafy forest house,
Sleek as any granary mouse
Among the fields of waving fern.
We thought on Oscar's pencilled urn.
Than the hornless deer we chased that morn,
A swifter creature never was born,
And Bran, Sgeolan, and Lomair
Were lolling their tongues, and the silken hair
Of our strong steeds was dark with sweat,
When ambling down the vale we met
A maiden, on a slender steed,
Whose careful pastern pressed the sod
As though he held an earthly mead
Scarce worthy of a hoof gold-shod.
For gold his hooves and silk his rein,
And 'tween his ears, above his mane,
A golden crescent lit the plain,
And pearly white his well-groomed hair.
His mistress was more mild and fair
Than doves that moaned round Eman's hall
Among the leaves of the laurel wall,
And feared always the bow-string's twanging.
Her eyes were soft as dewdrops hanging



W.B. Yeats. *The Wanderings of Oisin and Other Poems* (1889). Yeats' first book (*Mosada* is really an offprint), extensively annotated by his father, John Butler Yeats. His correction of W.B.'s imperfect understanding of equine anatomy was adopted in later editions (for 'pastern' read 'hoof').

W.B. Yeats. *Poems* (1895). Inscribed by W.B. on the flyleaf with the first verse of 'The Lake Isle of Innisfree'. The title-page and cover were designed by H. Granville Fell.

W.B. Yeats. *The Secret Rose* (1897). Illustrated by John Butler Yeats and with a cover design by Althea Gyles.

Lollie had studied typography and printing. They established the Dun Emer Press in 1902 (after 1908 called the Cuala Press) upon the advice of Emery Walker, and began to issue limited editions of some of the most prominent Irish writers, including, of course, their brother. The books were printed on an Albion press in Caslon type with little or no decoration. In contrast they began a *Broadside* series in 1908 of poems and songs, illustrated with brilliant hand-coloured woodcuts, many of them by Jack B. Yeats. DeLury got to know the sisters well, admired their work, and formed what surely must have been the first Cuala Press collection in Canada.

Because the early part of Yeats' career was spent in London, where he had helped to found the Rhymers' Club and become part of the literary scene, DeLury enthusiastically collected his associates, Lionel Johnson, Ernest Dowson, and John Davidson. He also took on Oscar Wilde and William Sharp. In fact any English writer admired by Yeats became fair game and the collection has long runs of Walter de la Mare, Michael Field, T. Sturge Moore (who designed the bindings for eleven of Yeats's books), W.H. Davies, John Drinkwater, and Arthur Symons. Ezra Pound, neither Anglo nor Irish, exerted a considerable influence on Yeats and so DeLury collected him too, although the Fisher Library now has a separate Pound collection, donated in 2000 by Eberhard Buehler.

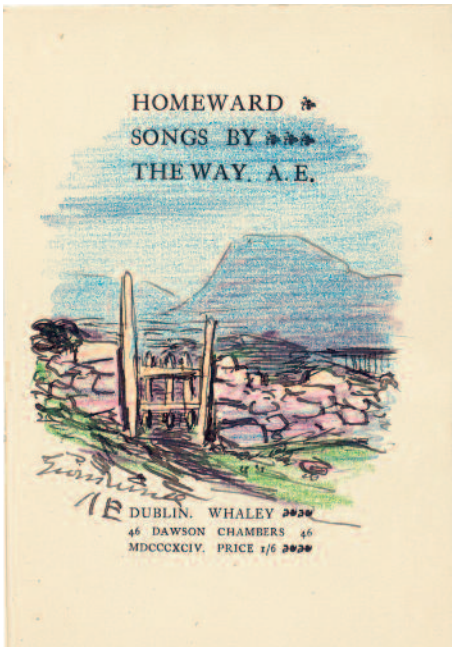
What Alfred DeLury demonstrated triumphantly was that it was possible to put together a great special collection of genuine research value based on the work of one's own contemporaries. Such collections have been commonplace for some time, but that was not true when he began his quest and the DeLury Collection made a wonderful foundation for the beginning of the department.

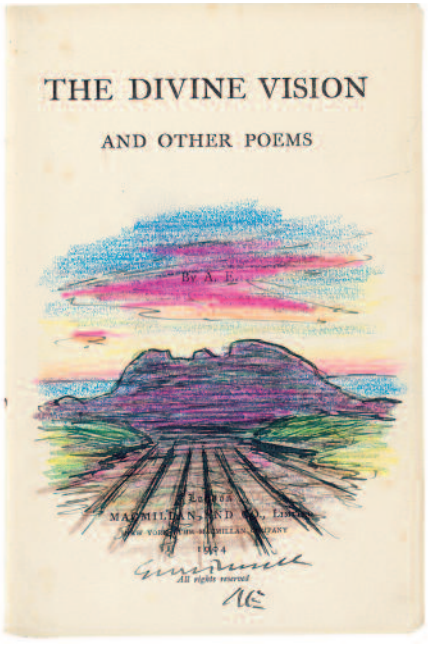
This small selection can convey only a sense of the extent and depth of the DeLury collection:

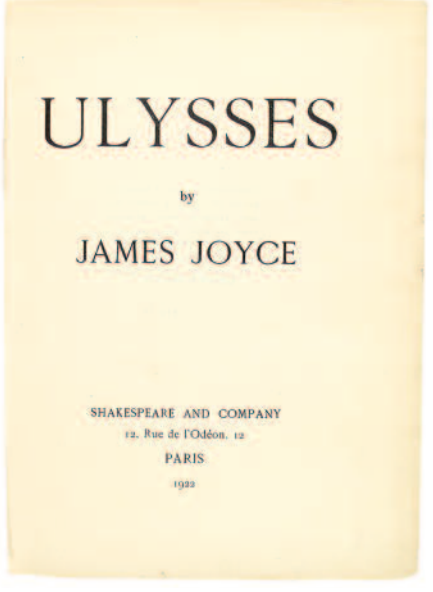
Oscar Wilde. *Salomé* (1893). The first edition, published in Paris and London in an edition of 600 copies.

A.E. (George Russell). *Homeward: Songs by the Way* (1894). Signed on the title-page, with a pencil and crayon drawing by A.E.

A.E. (George Russell). *The Divine Vision and Other Poems* (1904). Signed on the title-page, with a crayon drawing by A.E.

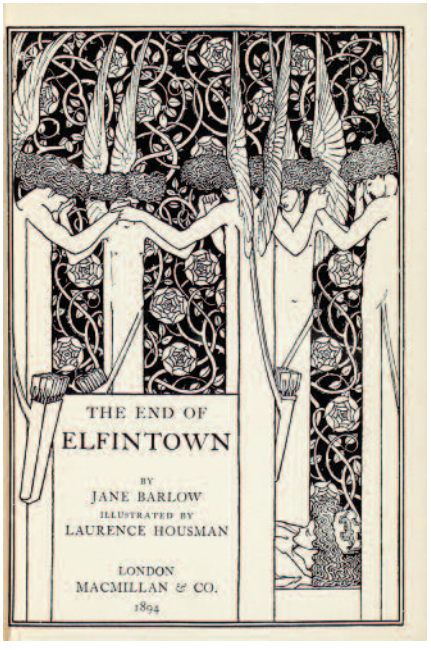


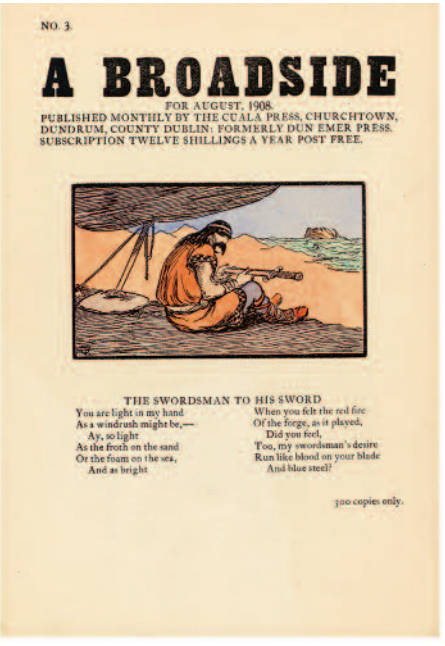


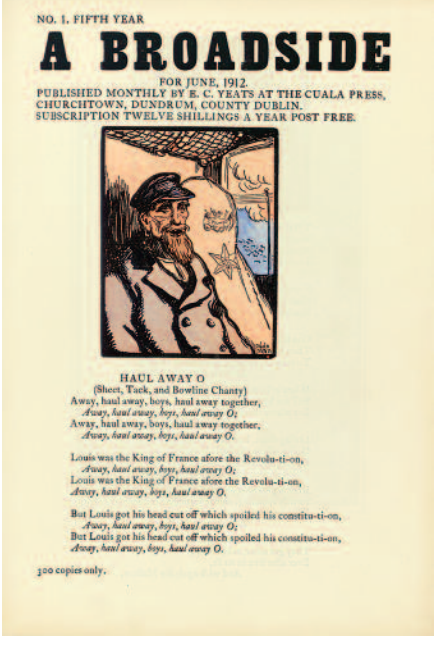


J.M. Synge. *The Playboy of the Western World* (1907). The first edition, with a frontispiece portrait by J.B. Yeats. Also displayed is the Theatre Edition, which is a variant, and possibly the first edition.

James Joyce. *Ulysses* (1922). The first edition, limited to 1000 copies, and published in Paris by Shakespeare and Company.





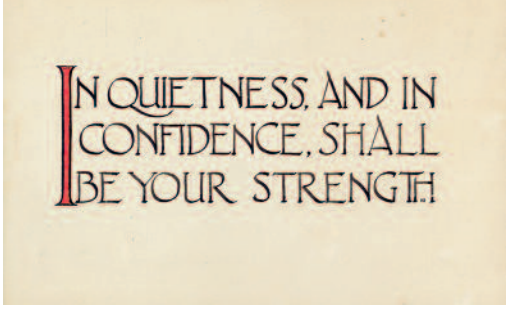


Jane Barlow. *The End of Elfintown* (1894). Illustrated and with a binding by Laurence Houseman.

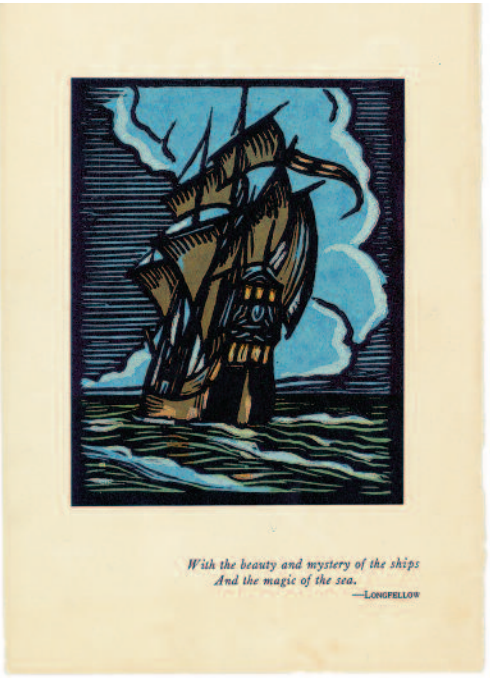
Cuala Press. *A Broadside for August 1908*. Illustrated by Jack B. Yeats.

Cuala Press. *A Broadside for June 1912*. Illustrated by Jack B. Yeats.

The Margaret E. Edison Collection of Thoreau MacDonald was formed by Marnie Edison over a period of some thirty years and used by her for the creation of her book, *Thoreau MacDonald: A Catalogue of Design and Illustration* (University of Toronto Press, 1973). I first saw the collection in 1970 when I was asked by Marnie Edison to provide descriptions of the books and prepare the catalogue and index. She knew Thoreau MacDonald and often visited him at his home in Thornhill in the course of her work on the catalogue. I accompanied her on one of these excursions, met TM (as he often signed himself) and got to know him as well. I found his art, with its rural and nature-based emphasis, very appealing and bought some pencil sketches, drawings, and water-colours from him. He also designed a book plate for me and I began to collect his books and pamphlets for myself. In 1976 Marnie Edison donated her collection to the Fisher Library and added to it her original drawings and designs, printed reproductions, correspondence, and research notes up until her death in 1990. There have also been major additions to the manuscript component of the collection from Carl Schaefer (1986), E.R. Hunter (1986, 1987, and 1992), and the estate of Doris Huestis Speirs (1993, 1995, 1997, and 1999). Although there is Thoreau MacDonald material in several other institutions and in private collections, this is now the principal archival source for his career as a graphic artist.

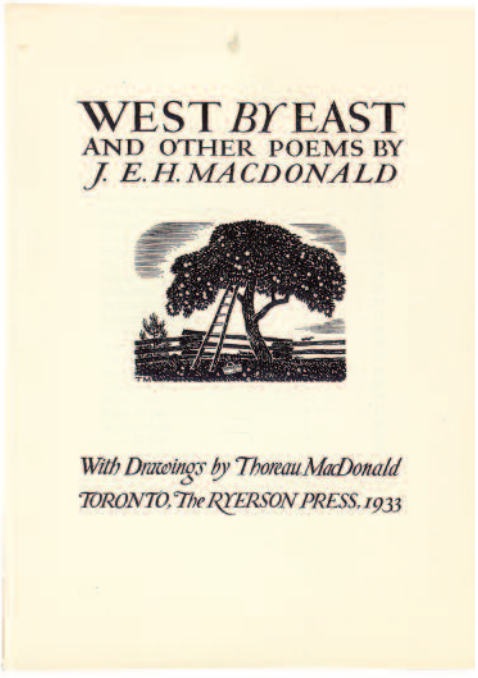


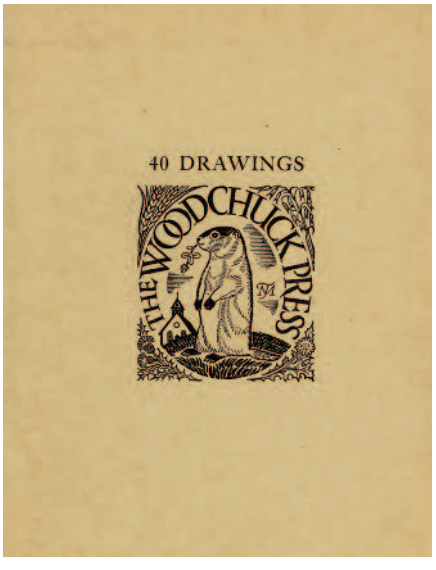
Thoreau MacDonald was born in Toronto in 1901, the only child of James E.H. MacDonald, the Group of Seven artist, and his wife Joan. In 1904 his father was asked to join The Carleton Studio in London and the family lived at Loughton, near Epping Forest, until 1907, when they returned to Toronto and JEH returned to Grip Ltd. as a graphic designer and illustrator. TM's earliest memories were of the woods near High Park, where his father could paint on weekends, and he could explore the flora and fauna. His love of nature was thus developed early and it and the tenets of Henry David Thoreau, for whom he was named, would be the strongest influences throughout his long life.

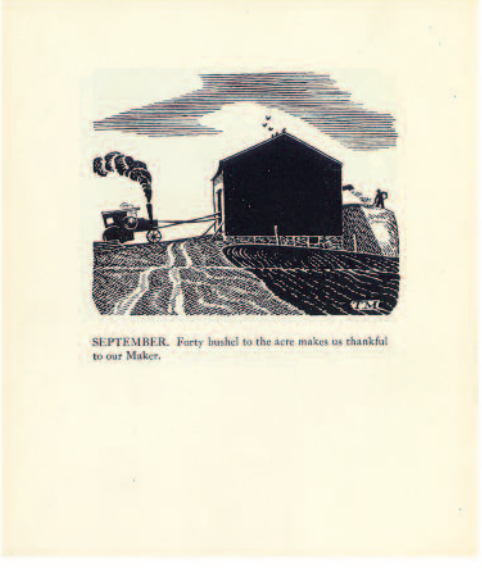


In 1912 the MacDonalds moved to Thornhill, into the farmhouse where TM would spend the rest of his life. In 1914 his father rented space in the newly opened Studio Building in Toronto which Thoreau would later share and use until 1949. He had been spending summer holidays at Split Rock Island, Georgian Bay, and his diary for July 1912, complete with charming drawings of animals, survives in the collection. His father's acquaintance with Dr. James MacCallum and the commission he received to assist in the decoration of the MacCallum cottage in 1915 meant more trips to Georgian Bay and the wild, expansive scenery of trees and rock would greatly influence his early work. In 1917 JEH suffered a severe breakdown, possibly caused by a stroke, and during his long convalescence his son assisted him with his design and lettering commissions.

Thoreau MacDonald's first published work, three lino-cuts, appeared in *The Canadian Forum* on 22 February 1922 and he continued to publish drawings and lino-cuts in it until 1932, acting as Art Editor for about eight years. His first book, *Early Canadian Woodcuts (lately discovered)*, a privately printed pamphlet of eight leaves, with eight images, but no text, also appeared in 1922. Although called woodcuts they seem to be reproduced from lino-cuts and perhaps the deception is deliberate. It is his rarest work, only four copies having been discovered, including the one in the Edison Collection. The first commercially published book with TM designs was *Ben King's Verse* (McClelland and Stewart, 1923), for which he did the lettering on the title-page, cover, spine and jacket. The other







images, notably a jester, are probably by JEH, who decorated five other books for McClelland and Stewart that year. Thoreau continued to create designs, decorations, and his by now very distinctive lettering, for McClelland and Stewart and other Toronto publishers throughout the 1920s.

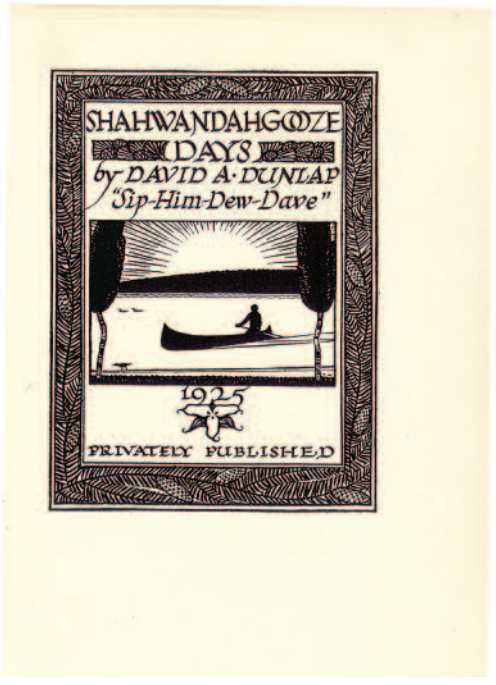
In 1924 TM's work was exhibited for the first time at the Art Gallery of Toronto in the Canadian Graphic Art Exhibition, and he made the first of many appearances at the Canadian National Exhibition in 1925. His first cover for the

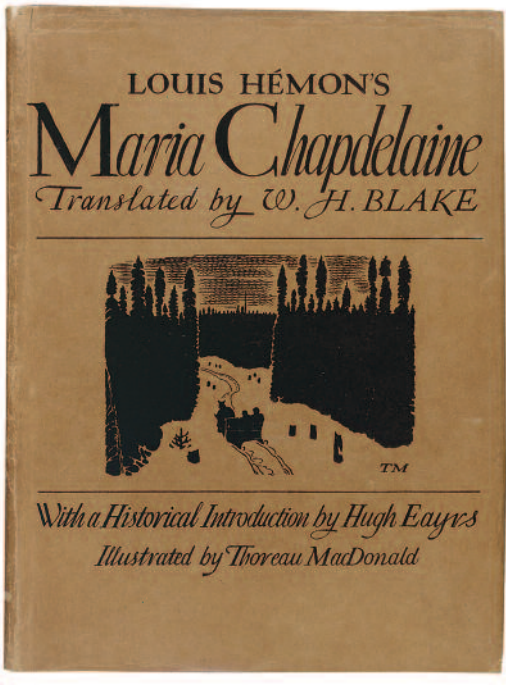
annual CNE *Catalogue* was done for the 1927 edition and between then and 1956 he designed twenty-one covers for catalogues in which his own work was often listed. From 1924 to 1942 his work was displayed at exhibitions almost every year, reaching a high of eight separate venues in 1933. After 1942 his exhibitions were more sporadic, possibly due to his retiring nature and reluctance to promote his work.

In 1931 JEH again suffered a serious illness and took a leave of absence from his position as Principal of the Ontario College of Art to recuperate in Barbados. Typically he continued to sketch and paint, but when he returned to OCA in the autumn of 1932 he died suddenly of a massive stroke. He had begun to write poems in 1917 and in 1933 Thoreau designed and illustrated a selection of them for The Ryerson Press, called *West By East and Other Poems*. The twenty drawings were executed in his confident and mature style, the book was well printed by Ryerson in a limited edition of 500 copies (250 for sale), and it was his second commission from a publisher with whom he would have an ongoing and long relationship.

In 1933 there also appeared the first two Woodchuck Press books, TM's own imprint for which he provided some text, illustrations, and design. They were preceded in 1932 by a privately printed four-page pamphlet called *A Landmark Lost; 1856–1932*, his immediate reaction to the fate of a church in Willowdale whose 'spire [was] heartlessly destroyed in July 1932'. On one copy TM later wrote '1st thing printed', which may mean that he viewed it as the first of his works for which he had exercised complete control over the production. The Woodchuck Press as an imprint, but with no printer indicated, and with its chirpy woodchuck device, lasted until 1946, although the later privately printed books are, in effect, a continuation of the press. The first book was his own *A Few of the Old Gates at Thornhill and Some Nearby Farms, Carefully Drawn by Thoreau MacDonald*, with the gates faithfully rendered and a few vignettes which are somewhat reminiscent of Thomas Bewick's wood engravings. He also published some more of his father's poems as *Village & Fields*. All these were limited to about 200 copies, as were *A Year on the Farm* (1934) and *Some Tools of the Pioneers* (1936) and all celebrated the fast disappearing rural life of the Thornhill area.

During this period Thoreau established his reputation as a commercial designer and illustrator. In 1925 he provided eleven drawings for Brother Marie Victorin's *The Chopping Bee and Other Laurentian Stories* (Musson) and twenty-one for David A. Dunlap's privately published *Shahwandahgooze Days*. He





designed and decorated Wilson MacDonald's *An Ode on the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation* (1927) and illustrated E.J. Pratt's *The Iron Door* (1927). His drawings for Ronald K. Gordon's *A Canadian Child's ABC* (1931) were among his most delightful and Ryerson commissioned him to design and decorate Charles G.D. Roberts' *The Iceberg, and Other Poems* (1934). TM's greatest challenge as a book illustrator (and his personal favourite, despite some misgivings about the quality of reproduction), was *Maria Chapdelaine*, the iconic Quebec novel by Louis Hémon, first published in France in 1914 without illustrations, and in Canada in 1916. It was translated into English by W.H. Blake for Macmillan of Canada in 1921, and was reprinted many times, most notably with illustrations by Clarence Gagnon for Éditions Mornay of Paris in 1933. Thoreau's own forty-five drawings were commissioned by Hugh Eayrs, the President of Macmillan, who provided an historical introduction, and his images remain as evocative in black and white as do those of Gagnon in colour. There were further editions in 1948, 1958, and 1964. Another large commission came in 1944 from the Caxton Printers of Caldwell, Idaho, and from Macmillan for thirty-two drawings to illustrate Marius Barbeau's *Mountain Cloud*.

In 1942 E. Robert Hunter, a Canadian art historian who became the Director of the Norton Gallery of Art, West Palm Beach, Florida, published a small book on TM and his work in the Ryerson Canadian Art Series. It was the first extended critical attention he attracted, written by a sympathetic friend who had

published a short biography of his father in 1940. At about this time he also became friends with Ray Nash, who taught at Dartmouth College, and Norman Kent, artist and the editor of *American Artist*, both of whom became great admirers of his work. This recognition led to further reviews and articles on his work in both Canada and the United States and to more international commissions, such as forty-seven drawings for Henry Beston's *Northern Farm* (1948) and Leslie Roberts' *The Mackenzie* (1949) in the Rivers of America series.

In 1944 TM published his only work of sustained prose, *The Group of Seven*, for the Ryerson Canadian Art Series, and even then its 34 pages were mostly taken up with reproductions of the artists' works. Although brief, it contained some typically trenchant opinions, as that the Group, 'had some idea that a Canadian rapids or rail fence, seen through clear Canadian air, was as worthy a subject as a foggy Dutch canal or misty English hedgerow'. He also quoted a bit of his father's parody of Wordsworth's 'We Are Seven':

> We want no dull or frigid gray,
> Of old conventions on our way,
> We see the beckoning future ray –
> We are the Group of Seven.

His modest contribution to Canadian art history was apparently appreciated as ten editions were published up to 1972. He also continued to provide illustrations and designs for the works of Canadian writers such as Duncan Campbell Scott, A.M.Klein, and Earle Birney. Two books whose contents he especially sympathized with and for which he could create nostalgic rural images were *Andy Clarke and his Neighbourly News* (1949) and *Country Hours*, by Clarke Lock (1959). Many of his drawings appeared in three books for boys by Jack Hambleton: *Forest Ranger* (1948), *Young Bush Pilot* (1949), and *Abitibi Adventure* (1950). His association with Ray Nash resulted in *Thoreau MacDonald's Drawings for Dartmouth* (1950), printed by Roderick

Stinehour at his North Country Press, but really the first of a very long series of Stinehour Press books, one of the finest printing establishments in the United States.

In 1951 The Ryerson Press published, in an edition of about 500 copies, *Woods and Fields; 70 drawings by Thoreau MacDonald*, a retrospective of unpublished work in his most accomplished and recognizable style. The design of the book was very reminiscent of the Woodchuck Press productions of the 1930s and launched another series of books which were essentially privately published, but printed by Tex Mitchell and DM Press, which was operated by Frank Yamomoto. The brief text contains the only explicit statement by TM about the medium of most of his graphic art:

> These drawings have no significance apart from the subject. They are only a reminder of the immediate past, remnants of what might be called the Dan Patch, Maud S., Lou Dillon era. They are all line drawings, not because the writer likes this wiry & difficult medium, but because it's cheaper to print than any other. The draftsman can only hope his meaning is clear & try for some of the style and finish we like to see in all good work, whether ploughing, carpentry, or a well built woodpile. Only 3 of the drawings have been previously printed.

Thirteen years later he produced, in a small edition, *54 Old Houses, mostly from Farms in the Thornhill, Toronto area*, an unusual book for him in that it contained

not drawings but 66 photographs 'made during the 1929 depression'. They were 'collected by Thoreau MacDonald', but the implication is that the photographs were taken by him because the buildings 'were built by local men from pine sawn in small water powered mills, or of brick often made right on the farm, and were the product of a quiet age, industrious but not industrial'. In a note in one copy he wrote, 'this was an unsuccessful experiment', and certainly it was not repeated, although photographs which seem to have been made by him are in the Fisher Library collection. Perhaps as a reaction to the 'unsuccessful experiment' he produced *House and Barn* in 1965, which featured his drawings of buildings, again a record of what was disappearing from his landscape. This effort was successful enough to be reprinted during the same year.

Birds & Animals and *Birds & Animals, 2nd Series* were published in 1968 and 1971, each in an edition of 150 copies. The creatures were freely drawn and usually presented in their natural settings of forest, field and swamp. As TM remarked, "it's a thrill to see any wild animal tending his affairs in his home environment. These drawings are a kind of record of meetings with animals. They are not the work of a naturalist nor an artist just a fond observer'. He was, of course, much more than an observer and the total of 110 drawings, which included a few linocuts and stencils, forcefully and charmingly demonstrated his deep understanding and affection for wild animals. Both books were reprinted in editions of 500 copies in 1973. His last book, *Farm Drawings* was published in 1971 and again

was limited to 150 copies. It was introduced with a paraphrase from Goldsmith's *The Deserted Village*: 'Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey| Where factories multiply and farms decay'. It is a retrospective work, 'mostly old drawings, remnants from a happier time', and spans the fifty year period from 1922 to 1971, including many of his favourite images of horses. In an early journal TM recorded that he had always wanted to own a horse, but though he never achieved that boyhood ambition he did observe the horses of his neighbours and friends with close attention and was able to capture the elegance and power of the working farm horse with great success.

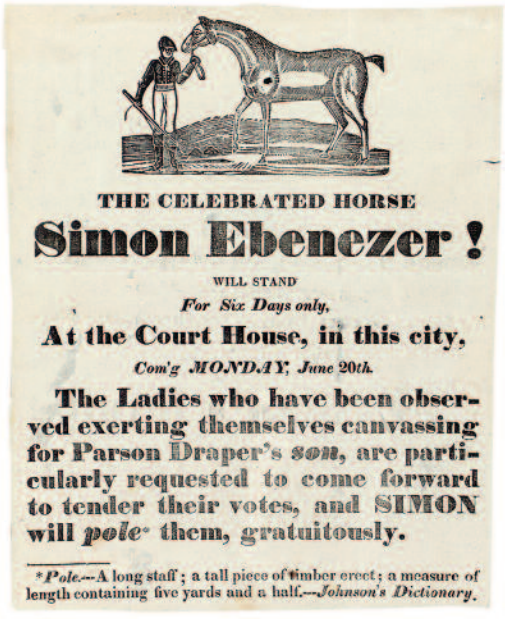
Thoreau MacDonald continued to live in his family's home in Thornhill until almost the end of his life. In his latter years he withdrew himself almost completely from worldly concerns and seemed to be able to draw upon an inner spiritual core for his daily sustenance. When Marnie Edison's book was launched in 1973 at the Martin Ahvenus bookstore in downtown Toronto he was driven in for the occasion and remarked that it was the first time he had been on Yorkville Avenue for at least twenty-five years, and that the trip on the train had been faster then. He died on 30 May 1989.

TM was a self-taught artist, who began to sketch as a small child, but, of course, the most profound influence on his work was that of his father. From JEH he imbibed the principles of graphic design and book illustration that were part of the arts and crafts revival in England in the early 20th century, especially the lettering of Edward Johnston. In the 'Autobiographical Note' that he wrote for the Edison book TM said that he had 'tried to teach myself by studying the Trajan Column, the work of Edward Johnston, W. A. Dwiggins, Eric Gill, F.W. Goudy, Percy Smith, and whatever else I could find. Practice was the main thing'. From the time he was sixteen and had to assist his ailing father to complete the commercial commissions upon which his livelihood depended, the practice was continuous and unrelenting. He also wrote that, 'I specialized in Roman Letters and always thought them the most noble and severe forms devised by man, well suited to express such ideas as "All things noble are as difficult as they are rare"' – a quotation from Spinoza which he reproduced as a small broadside. That he was able to adapt these sources of inspiration to the depiction of rural Ontario and develop a uniquely recognizable style was his great achievement as an artist.

James Lesslie was born in 1802 in Dundee, Scotland, the third of twelve children. His father, Edward, was a prosperous stationer, bookseller, and bookbinder who decided to emigrate to Upper Canada in 1820 to provide his large family with greater opportunities. Edward's second son, John, travelled with William Lyon Mackenzie, also from Dundee, to York and there they opened a general store, with John Lesslie specializing in bookselling. They opened another store in Dundas the next year, before dissolving the partnership in 1823. When James arrived in 1822 with a sister and brother he was advised to open a shop in Kingston which he ran for the next four years. By then the rest of the family had settled in Dundas and in 1826 James took over the management of the thriving York establishment on King Street. Edward died in 1828, but all three stores continued to be called Lesslie and Sons.

James increased his wealth and his influence by investing in real estate and by becoming involved in local politics. In 1831 he helped to establish a mechanics' institute and when York was incorporated as the City of Toronto in 1834 he ran in the first civic elections and was returned as alderman in company with Mackenzie, whom he supported as the first mayor. He was a Reformer who believed in civil liberty and religious equality, opposing the Family Compact and the privileges of the Church of England. In 1835 he became the manager of the Bank of the People and participated vigorously in the bitter election of 1836. While he supported Mackenzie's Rebellion of 1837 he did not directly participate in it, although he was jailed with his brother for thirteen days because of suspicions concerning his loyalty to the Crown. His moderate Reform movement received a strong endorsement from the recommendations of Lord Durham's *Report* in 1839 and he became the publisher of the Toronto *Examiner* in 1842. The founding of the *Globe* in 1844 by George Brown, however, provided stiff competition and he finally sold out to Brown in 1855. He continued his involvement with civic affairs, especially the school system, and served as a justice of the peace. In about 1855 he sold his stationery, book, and drug business and retired to a 28-acre farm estate in the village of Eglinton. There he lived quietly until his death in 1885.

The Lesslie scrapbook seems to have been created by James as a political memento of some of the turbulent times through which he lived. It contains



THE CELEBRATED HORSE

Simon Ebenezer !

WILL STAND

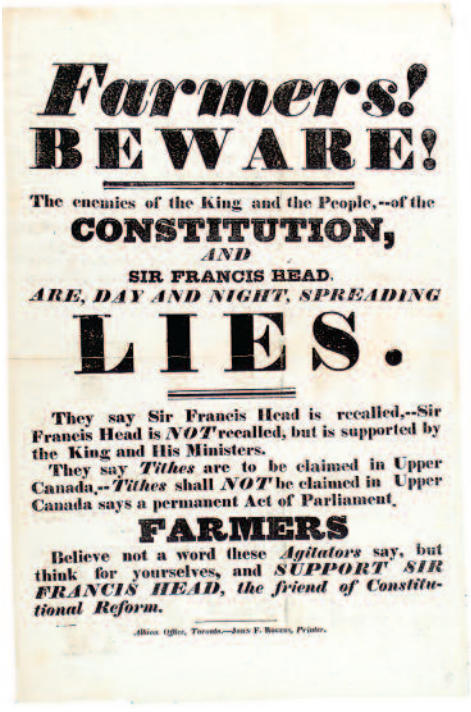
For Six Days only,

At the Court House, in this city,

Com'g MONDAY, June 20th.

The Ladies who have been observed exerting themselves canvassing for Parson Draper's *son*, are particularly requested to come forward to tender their votes, and SIMON will *pole them, gratuitously.**

**Pole.*—A long staff; a tall piece of timber erect; a measure of length containing five yards and a half.—*Johnson's Dictionary.*



Farmers!

BEWARE!

The enemies of the King and the People,—of the

CONSTITUTION,

AND

SIR FRANCIS HEAD,

ARE, DAY AND NIGHT, SPREADING

LIES.

They say Sir Francis Head is recalled,—Sir Francis Head is *NOT* recalled, but is supported by the King and His Ministers.

They say *Tithes* are to be claimed in Upper Canada,—*Tithes* shall *NOT* be claimed in Upper Canada says a permanent Act of Parliament.

FARMERS

Believe not a word these *Agitators* say, but think for yourselves, and *SUPPORT SIR FRANCIS HEAD, the friend of Constitutional Reform.*

Albion Office, Toronto.—John F. Bowes, Printer.

about ninety items: broadsides and clippings from newspapers, as well as a few pamphlets. Most of the material relates to the 1836 election which was strenuously fought across the province and resulted in a flood of ephemeral literature. Of the twenty-seven handbills preserved in the Lesslie scrapbook concerning the 1836 election, twenty-six are unique. The volume itself seems to have been preserved in the family until the 1960s, when it was taken to the office of the Premier of Ontario, John Robarts. He sent it to the University Library, where it was microfilmed and then returned. It then disappeared, not to emerge until 1999, when it was acquired by the Fisher Library from Robin Russell by a combination of purchase and donation.

One unique broadside that could not have been seen by anyone viewing the microfilm was 'The Celebrated Horse Simon Ebenezer', with its risqué reference to ladies canvassing for Parson Draper's son who could be 'poled gratuitously' by Simon. It was hidden underneath another broadside and was not discovered until our conservation staff were working on the album. Parson Draper's son was William Henry Draper, a Conservative candidate who was returned and 'Simon Ebenezer' was Simon Ebenezer Washburn, one of his associates. Many of the broadsides were typographically adventurous, warning farmers to beware of 'the enemies of the King and the People' who are spreading lies about Sir Francis Bond Head, while 'A Freeholder' on the other side exhorts electors to be faithful

to the 'Reform Representatives' because Sir Francis has 'dismembered the late Executive Council'. A longish 'song, Dedicated to W.L. M'Kenzie, the gratuitous dispenser of "Pestilence & Famine"' begins:

> My Lie-on dear, my Jo Mac,
> When first I heard your name
> You were Less-lie at Little York
> And lived unknown to fame.

An earlier, and smaller, handbill was produced for the accession of William IV by the Sheriff of Hamilton, William M. Jarvis, on 14 September 1830 and a lithographic cartoon, 'Scenes in U. Canada. No. 1' has been annotated. One of the earlier broadsides is James Lesslie's first advertisement for his store in Kingston, dated September 1823. He calls himself a 'bookseller, stationer and druggist' and carries all kinds of paper, pens (quill and patent), razors, and umbrellas. Among his medicines are borax, Epsom salts, foxglove, laudanum, Peruvian bark, and Virginia snake root, along with several patent medicines. The selection of books includes many practical handbooks and cookbooks, and a list of school books, but one could also purchase *Robinson Crusoe*, *Tom Jones*, *The Vicar of Wakefield*, and Johnson's *Dictionary*. James Lesslie began auspiciously as a young businessman in Kingston and ended his days as one of the respected citizens of Toronto, an Ontarian and a Canadian.

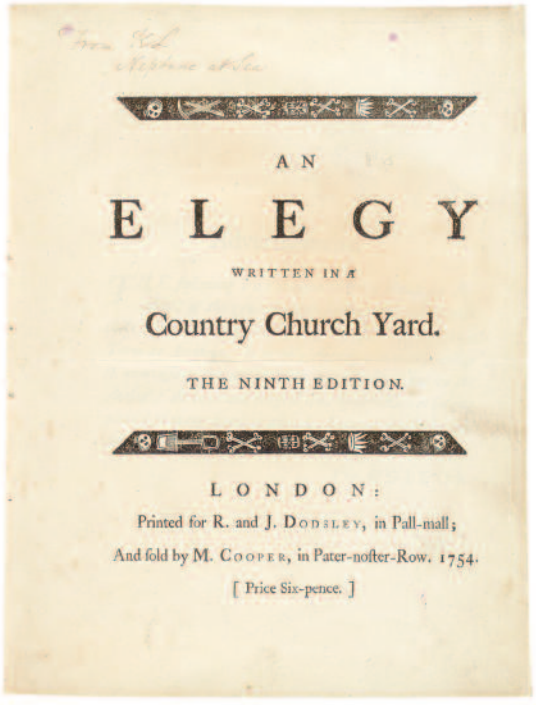
Provenance

The collections in the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library have been built primarily on a textual foundation. The scholars who use the books and manuscripts are most often concerned about their contents, what authors have said, and how this relates to what other authors have written. But every humanities scholar knows (or should know) that the physical structure of the book – its paper, type, design, binding, and how they are all combined to produce and market the book – can provide valuable information of various kinds. Over the past few years bibliography and history have combined to form a new and exciting academic discipline, loosely known as 'history of the book' and the University of Toronto has been a leader in this field, with graduate and undergraduate programmes well established. Another aspect of book history that can yield very interesting results is provenance. Every copy of every book and manuscript has a provenance, whether it can be easily discerned or not, and thus the presence of book plates and labels, stamps on bindings, signatures, notes, or booksellers' codes can become an important facet of an acquisition decision. It is very satisfying to combine a great text with a great provenance, and the Fisher Library possesses many wonderful examples.

Perhaps the most spectacular of these is General James Wolfe's copy of Thomas Gray's *An Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard*, acquired in 1988 as the seven millionth volume in the University of Toronto Library system. A copy of the 1754 edition was given to Wolfe by his fiancée, Katherine Lowther, before he set sail for Canada in 1759 and was inscribed by him 'From K.L. Neptune at Sea'. He obviously read Gray's melancholy meditation on death carefully and made some annotations, including the underlining of 'The paths of glory lead but to the grave'. His annotations match the mood of the poem. In response to the lines,

> Chill Penury repress'd their noble rage,
> And froze the genial current of the soul,

he wrote 'How ineffectual are often our own unaided exertions, especially in early Life? How many shining Lights owe to Patronage & Affluence what their Talents wd never procure them!' Whether Wolfe really recited the *Elegy* to the men in his boat on the eve of the Battle of the Plains of Abraham and said 'Gentlemen, I would rather have written that piece than take Quebec tomorrow',



AN

ELEGY

WRITTEN IN A

Country Church Yard.

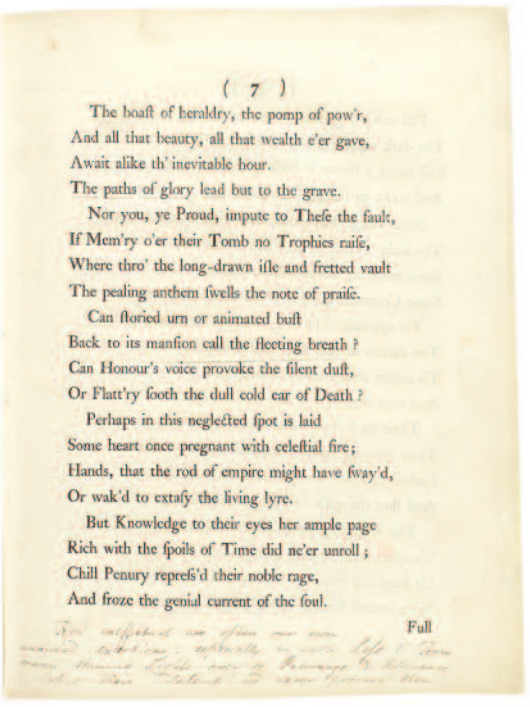
THE NINTH EDITION.

LONDON:

Printed for R. and J. DODSLEY, in Pall-mall;

And fold by M. COOPER, in Pater-noſter-Row. 1754.

[Price Six-pence.]



(7)

The boaſt of heraldry, the pomp of pow'r,
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
Await alike th' inevitable hour.
The paths of glory lead but to the grave.
Nor you, ye Proud, impute to Theſe the fault,
If Mem'ry o'er their Tomb no Trophies raiſe,
Where thro' the long-drawn iſle and fretted vault
The pealing anthem ſwells the note of praiſe.
Can ſtoried urn or animated buſt
Back to its manſion call the fleeting breath?
Can Honour's voice provoke the ſilent duſt,
Or Flatt'ry ſooth the dull cold ear of Death?
Perhaps in this neglected ſpot is laid
Some heart once pregnant with celeſtial fire;
Hands, that the rod of empire might have ſway'd,
Or wak'd to extaſy the living lyre.
But Knowledge to their eyes her ample page
Rich with the ſpoils of Time did ne'er unroll;
Chill Penury repreſs'd their noble rage,
And froze the genial current of the ſoul.

Full

as recounted by an eye-witness many years later, will never be known for certain. His reaction to it, however, indicates something of his state of mind, and it has been suggested that he deliberately exposed himself to enemy fire, thus achieving both victory and death.

I first became aware of the existence of Wolfe's copy of the *Elegy* in the early 1980s, when I was shown it by Edwin Wolf II, the head of the Library Company of Philadelphia, to whose brother it belonged. After Wolfe's death, the book had been returned to Katherine Lowther, along with a miniature portrait of herself. She later married the Duke of Bolton. Upon her death it was left to her personal maid as a memento of the heroic General, and then descended through two generations of that family, ending up in a collection in Calais. In 1912 it surfaced in London, was authenticated by Beckles Wilson, and sold to A.S.W. Rosenbach, the famous antiquarian bookseller. He sold it in 1916 to his cousin, Morris Wolf, for $5000 and it was inherited by his son Robert. In 1988 I was asked to find a suitable volume for the seven millionth celebration and remembered the *Elegy*. I asked Edwin whether his brother might consider selling it to the University of Toronto and, receiving an affirmative reply, I negotiated a price with Clarence Wolf, the proprietor of George S. MacManus Company and another Wolf relation. It was a good deal more than $5000 and the Steering Committee of the Friends of Fisher was somewhat startled, but with the great


IN PROPHETAM
EZECHIELEM COMMENTARIVS D.
Ioan. Oecolampadij, per Vuolfgan-
gum Capitonem æditus.
DE OBITV OECOLAMP. EPIST. GRYNAEI.
De uita eius Vuolfgan. Capito.
ARGENTORATI APVD MATTHIAM
Apiarium. Anno M. D. XXXIIII.

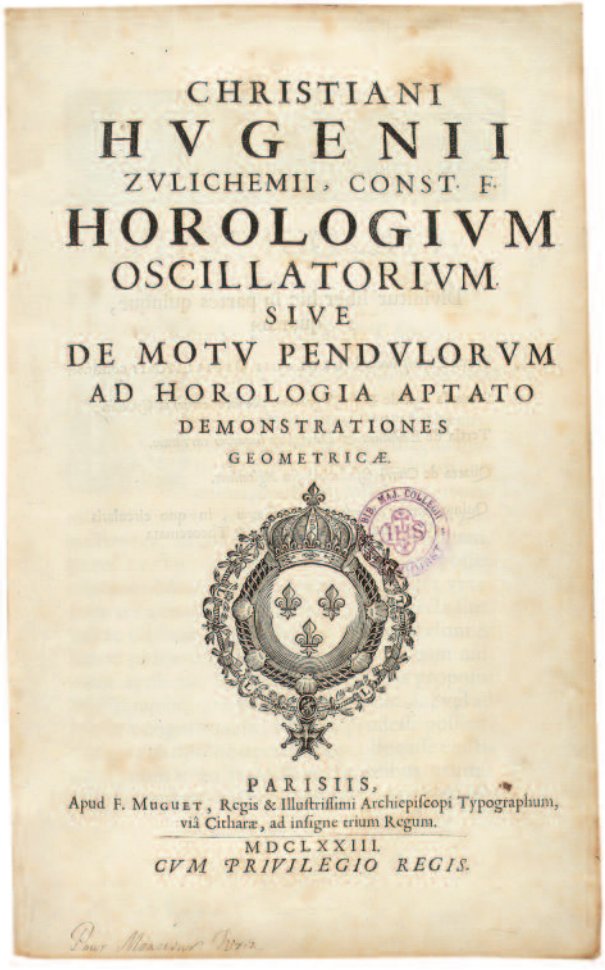
assistance of the Canadian Cultural Property Review Board we raised the money and a Canadian cultural icon returned to Canada for the first time since 1759. We now need to find Montcalm's copy of Montaigne.

One morning in the Autumn of 1994 I received a telephone call from a Miss Armitage. Without much introduction she announced that she had a book once owned by Archibishop Cranmer and when I inquired how she knew this she replied, simply, 'My father told me', then added, 'He was an Anglican clergyman, you know'. Having learned long ago that one should follow up on even unpromising leads, I made an appointment and the next day made my way to a small house in what was once thought of as north Toronto, where Helen Armitage lived with her sister Kay. I was handed a book wrapped in oilcloth and

mentally prepared myself for my short speech on the inherent value of family heirlooms that can't be properly appreciated by anyone outside the family. When I removed the oilcloth I found I was holding a volume bound in 16th-century calf and when I opened it I was staring at the holograph inscription 'Thomas Cantuarien' on the title page of Joannes Oecolampadius' *In Prophetam Ezechielem Commentarius* (Argentori, 1534). Miss Armitage was absolutely right; she had a book from the library of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury (1489-1556).

Thomas Cranmer, who played a leading role in the English Reformation and provided Henry VIII with doctrinal arguments to solve his matrimonial problems, did not fare so well during the reign of Queen Mary and was burnt at the stake in 1556 for treason. He had formed a considerable library of some six hundred printed books and seventy manuscripts which he made freely available to other scholars. His habit of inscribing each book with his name, or, more likely having his secretary do it, was probably done as an attempt to ensure the return of borrowed items. His library was confiscated in 1563 and much of it was obtained by Henry Fitzalan, the 12th Earl of Arundel (1511?–1580), and Lord Steward of Queen Mary, who in turn passed it on to his son-in-law, John, Lord Lumley (1534–1609). Lumley became the tutor of Henry, Prince of Wales, the eldest son of King James, who bought most of his teacher's library after his death. Thus many of Cranmer's books and manuscripts became part of the Old Royal Library which was presented to the nation by George II in 1757 as part of the foundation collection of the British Museum. Many books were, however, dispersed, with those at Lambeth Palace, Oxford, and Cambridge probably coming from Lumley as gifts.

According to David G. Selwyn's *The Library of Thomas Cranmer* (1996) the Archbishop owned five volumes by Oecolampadius (1482–1531), a German Reformer associated with Zwingli, but Selwyn had not located his copy of the commentary on Ezekiel. It had passed to Thomas Holcroft, the gift of Hamo Percival in 1620, and, in the 19th century entered the library of Dr. Herbert Norman Evans (1802–1877) of Hampstead, whose library was sold on 10 May and 21 June 1864. It was lot 971 and was sold to a Mr. Waller, probably a bookseller, for two pounds. By 1887 it was in Toronto, the property of Alfred Henry Reyner, a Professor of English Literature at Victoria University, and presumably was given by him to the Reverend Armitage.



CHRISTIANI
HVGENII
ZVLICHEMII, CONST. F.
HOROLOGIVM
OSCILLATORIVM
SIVE
DE MOTV PENDVLORVM
AD HOROLOGIA APTATO
DEMONSTRATIONES
GEOMETRICÆ.

PARISIIS,
Apud F. Muguet, Regis & Illuſtriſſimi Archiepiſcopi Typographum,
viâ Citharæ, ad inſigne trium Regum.
MDCLXXIII.
CVM PRIVILEGIO REGIS.

Pour Monsieur Wren

Christian Huygens (1629–1695), the great Dutch mathematician, physicist, and astronomer, published his *Horologiam Oscillatorium* in Paris in 1673. It became famous because the pendulum clock of its title had a great practical significance in the history of science, but it really was a general treatise on dynamics, coming between Galileo's *Discorsi* of 1638 and Newton's *Principia* of 1687. It also drew upon the work of Descartes and is recognized as one of the most significant scientific contributions of the 17th century. Huygens was elected as a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1663, three years after its founding, and he made several contributions to its *Transactions*. He also became acquainted with the other members, including Sir Christopher Wren, also a prominent mathematician, but much better known as the architect who transformed London after the Great Fire of 1666. He was a founder of the Royal Society and its President from 1680 to 1682. It was the custom for members to present copies of their books to their colleagues and thus this copy of *Horologium* was given 'Pour Monsieur Wren' by the author. He also presented a copy to Newton which is now at Stanford.

Wren's library was inherited by his son Christopher (1675–1747) and sold at auction by Cock and Langford in 1748. The *Horologium* was lot 424 in a large sale and fetched one shilling. It was later acquired by Stonyhurst, a Jesuit college in Lancashire, and their library stamp is also on the title-page. It appeared at auction as lot 47 of a Christie's, London, sale on 28 June 1973 and was acquired by Norman Robertson of Toronto. He presented it to the Fisher Library, with other scientific books, in 1987.

Sir Thomas Lucy (1583-1640) was the grandson of the Sir Thomas Lucy who, in Shakespearean folklore, prosecuted and punished the young playwright for stealing deer from Charlecote Park and was portrayed as Justice Shallow in 'The Merry Wives of Windsor'. As a young man of property, who matriculated at Magdalen College, Oxford, attended at Lincoln's Inn, and was knighted in 1603, he was drawn towards the literary life of London. He met John Donne and Ben Jonson and developed a close friendship with Lord Herbert of Cherbury. In 1605 he inherited Charlecote and several other estates, which provided an annual income of over £3500, and began his career as a justice of the peace, deputy lieutenant, and as a long-serving Member of Parliament for Warwickshire. He

also established a large library, especially rich in French and Italian books, and pursued antiquarian interests in conjunction with William Dugdale. He died in 1640 following a fall from a horse and his monument in Charlecote parish church depicts the library.

A particularly interesting volume from the Lucy library was acquired by the Fisher Library in 1970. It is a copy of Boccaccio's *Il Decamerone*, published in Venice in 1548 and edited by Francesco Sansovino, himself a prominent literary figure. The margins throughout the book are filled with annotations in a neat Italic hand, presumably that of Sir Thomas. They mostly provide translations of Italian words which have been underlined: on page 350, for instance, the word 'rugiadose' is given the meaning 'deweye' and 'meriggio' is glossed as 'noone or mydde daye' and on the following page 'contaminarla' is 'to defyle or impayere'. This edition of the *Decamerone* is also illustrated with delicate woodcuts and provides one of the many links in the Fisher Library collections between Italian and English literature.

John Evelyn (1620–1706), like his friend and fellow diarist Samuel Pepys, was one of the greatest book collectors of his time, although his taste in books differed materially. Pepys was attracted to antiquarian works, European incunables, and works printed by Caxton, whereas Evelyn acquired books primarily for their content and especially the new information they might contain. Thus his library (which eventually reached some 5000 titles in size) embraced literature, history, philosophical and theological treatises, and works of science, medicine and technology. Both men lavished attention on their libraries, arranging them carefully, compiling catalogues, and having the books bound to their own specifications. They both also took pains to ensure that their libraries would go down to posterity intact, but whereas Pepys' books now rest comfortably on their original shelves in Magdalene College, Cambridge, Evelyn's have been scattered to private and institutional collections all over the world. Books were sold by his descendants in the 18th century and William Upcott liberally helped himself during the 19th century. In 1951 the remaining books and papers were placed on deposit at Christ Church College, Oxford, and in 1977/78 Christie's auctioned off 1,737 lots, of which the British Library was able to obtain about 300, mostly books that had been annotated by Evelyn. The BL was also able to acquire the Evelyn archive from the estate and, at last, scholars have free access to a very rich collection that will allow a re-evaluation of his significance as a scholar and writer.

Gervase Markham's *Markham's Maister-Peece: Comtayning all Knowledge belonging to the Smith, Farrier, or Horse-Leech* (London, 1644) is a typical example of an Evelyn book. Among his many interests was horses and horsemanship and there are many references to them in his *Diary*. Markham, whose extraordinary literary career embraced poetry, drama, and prose narratives, also wrote books on husbandry, domestic economy, military training, and horses, beginning with *A Discourse of Horsemanshippe* in 1593. Eventually there were five different books on horses simultaneously on the market, all of them by Markham, and in 1617 he signed an agreement with the Stationers' Company not to write any more. He died in 1637 but his books continued to be republished throughout the 17th and 18th centuries.

Evelyn first visited Paris in 1643 where he met the English Ambassador, Sir Richard Browne, whose daughter Mary he later married in 1647. Browne was also a book collector who had his volumes elaborately bound, often in morocco, and tooled in gold with coats of arms and ciphers. Evelyn, as a Royalist, resided in Paris for extended periods between 1643 and 1652 and adopted the style of his father-in-law's bindings. His copy of Markham's book exhibits the special binding tools he had crafted for himself. Engraved in each corner of the mottled brown calf binding is his monogram within palm and olive branches. In the centre of the panel is the

monogram again within an oak and olive wreath, intertwined with crossed palm fronds. It is handsome and distinctive and contains his press-marks which indicate something of the arrangement of the library into classes. As a founding member of the Royal Society, Evelyn was much concerned with scientific method and classification and he was also much influenced by Gabriel Naudé's *Avis pour dresser une bibliothéque*, the second edition of which was published in 1644. He translated it into English and published it in 1661 as *Instructions Concerning Erecting of a Library*, but ignored Naudé's advice that 'it is a great deal better, and more necessary to have a good quantity of books well and ordinarily bound'. In many of his books Evelyn wrote his motto *Omnia Explorate, Meliora Retinete* (Prove All Things, Retaine the Best), a very useful motto for a book collector.

This volume was lot 979 in the 15 March 1978 Christie's sale and was acquired by the Fisher Library in 1985.

Walter Harte (1709–1774) is remembered today as a minor poet, much influenced by Pope, who befriended him, and as the tutor of Philip Stanhope, the illegitimate son of the Earl of Chesterfield. His first book, called *Poems on Several Occasions* was published in 1727, when he was only nineteen and still a student at Oxford. It is not especially rare, but what distinguishes the Fisher Library copy is its unbroken provenance since the day of its publication.

Harte had this copy bound for himself in maroon morocco with decorative gold tooling, and owned it until he died in 1774. It was lot 1213 in his sale at Leigh and Sotheby, 31 January 1785 and, together with lot 1214, was sold for 6d. to Cather, a bookseller. Its next owner was Dr. Charles Chauncey, the prominent physician who, on his death in 1787 left the *Poems* to his brother Nathaniel. At his sale (Leigh and Sotheby, 15 April 1790) it was lot 1622 and was bought by James Bindley, a commissioner of the stamp office for fifty-three years who formed a great book collection. It was consigned to Robert H. Evans on 7 December 1818, the year of Bindley's death, and as lot 310 made 13s. to Triphook, a bookseller acting for Richard Heber, one of the greatest book collectors of his, or any, time. His library of some 200,000 volumes took three years and sixteen sales to disperse and Harte's *Poems* was lot 1057 in Part IV (8 December 1834). It brought 8s.5d. to Thomas Thorpe, a prominent bookseller, on behalf of William Henry Miller, whose fine collection of English literature was known as the Britwell Court Collection. He died unmarried in 1848 and the collection descended through his nieces, Sarah and Emma Marsh, to Samuel Christy, who became Samuel Christie-Miller on coming

into the Britwell estate. The next owner, Wakefield Christie-Miller, added to the collection and left it to his son, Sidney Richardson Christie-Miller, who decided to sell it at Sotheby's beginning in 1916. It took until 1927, with a final sale in 1971, to disperse the library, Henry Huntington taking the lion's share. When Walter Harte's *Poems* appeared as lot 286 on 16 March 1926, however, it was bought for £4/5/- by Birrell & Garnett, who catalogued it for £7/7/- as 'probably the most interesting copy of the book now extant', and sold it to Hansard Watt. He was a mysterious literary figure who probably died in 1930 as the book appeared at Sotheby's again on 15 July 1930 as lot 211 and sold for £2/10/- to Quartich, who had it rebacked and listed it in their Catalogue 486, no. 496 for £4. It was sold to E.W.H. Meyerstein, the poet and biographer of Thomas Chatterton, who died in 1952, and at his sale (Sotheby's 16 December 1952, lot 185) it went for £4 to Commins, the Bournemouth antiquarian firm owned by Alan G. Thomas. He kept it and after his death in 1992 the *Poems* again went to Sotheby's, where it was sold on 21 June 1995 as lot 190 to Marlborough Rare Books who offered it as no. 137 in their Catalogue 152. Before the catalogue was published, however, the late John Manners offered it to me and thus it has come to rest in the Fisher Library as a prime example of the close relationship between book collecting and the antiquarian book trade.

In 1979 David Mason, the Toronto antiquarian bookseller, offered me *The Outcast Prophet*, a three-volume novel written by B.W. Arthur Sleigh and published in London in 1847. Its immediate appeal was that part of it was set in Canada and, although I was acquainted with Sleigh because of his *Pine Forests and Hacmatack Clearings* (1853), I had never heard of this book. I bought it for the Fisher Library and began to look for references to it, but it did not appear in any of the usual sources. It was not listed in the *National Union Catalog*, the *British Museum Catalogue*, or in Michael Sadleir's catalogue of his own great collection of Victorian fiction. When I wrote to Robert Lee Wolff, whose 19th-century fiction collection was much larger than Sadleir's, he confessed he had never seen *The Outcast Prophet*, nor, indeed, even heard of it. It was not in Watters or Allibone, or the revised edition of Lowndes, and I began to wonder why it seemed to be so rare. When volume IX of the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* was published in 1976, there was an entry that revealed that Burrows Willcocks Arthur Sleigh had actually been born in Lower Canada in 1821, had served with the 77th Foot Regiment in Halifax and Quebec, and had returned to England, where his parents then lived, in 1848. His career as a landowner in Prince Edward Island, his various commercial failures in Canada and the United States, and his founding of the London *Daily Telegraph* in 1855 were all chronicled, but no mention was made of *The Outcast Prophet*. He died at Chelsea in 1869. I even read the book, the first person, I think, to do so for some time. In an introduction Sleigh says he wrote it to relieve the tedium of life in a barracks, which fit in with his time in Quebec. Although the story begins in Canada it is mostly about the American Revolutionary War and its style reminds one a lot of James Fenimore Cooper.

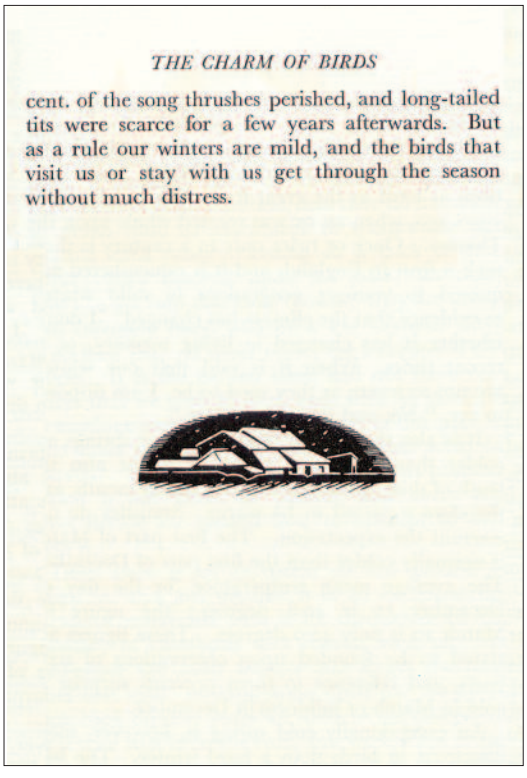
I had noticed that the publisher of *The Outcast Prophet* was Thomas Cautley Newby and began to investigate him for clues regarding the apparent rarity of the book. I quickly discovered that he had published, also in 1847, both *Wuthering Heights* and *The Macdermots of Ballycloran*, the first books of Emily Brontë and Anthony Trollope and two of the 'black tulips' of Victorian literature. In fact Newby seemed rather to specialize in publishing the first novels of writers, who then took their second novels to larger publishers and achieved fame and sometimes fortune. Was he really only a vanity publisher who betrayed his

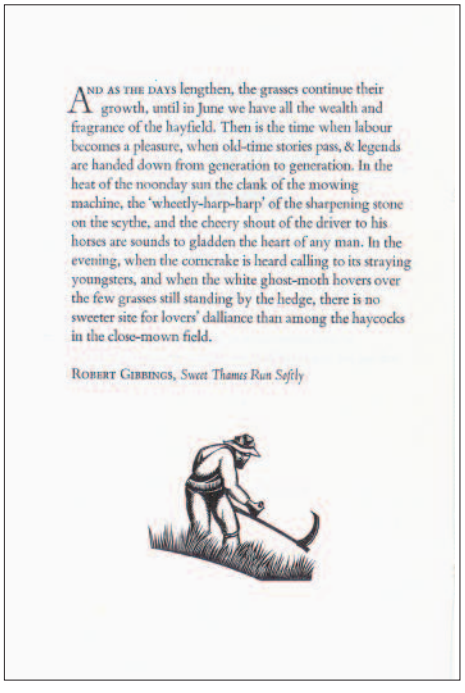
authors and kept the profits, as was claimed by Brontë and Trollope, and repeated by every literary historian who bothered to mention him since? The answer has to be qualified in several ways. He certainly did indulge in a form of vanity publishing, as did many of his colleagues, and probably often printed only enough copies to satisfy the circulating library market, which almost guaranteed that they would either be read to death or discarded and pulped to make way for new stock. He was, however, not a fly-by-night publisher and remained at three addresses in the same area, Cavendish Square, from 1843 to 1874. His list was extensive and varied, with a great deal of non-fiction on travel and exploration, biography, popular science, sport, and religion. There is some testimony that he was kind and generous to several minor writers. He died at the age of eighty-four in his daughter's house in Folkstone in 1882 and he certainly didn't make a fortune, as his will was proved at £38.

I'm sure there are other copies of *The Outcast Prophet* extant and with electronic databases it should be much easier to find them. But, I haven't looked,

as I wish to cherish my illusion of a Canadian unicum found in Toronto.

On 6 June 1994, the fiftieth anniversary of D-Day, I visited Maggs Bros. in Berkeley Square, London, and there was shown a collection of twenty original woodblocks engraved by Robert Gibbings for the 1927 first edition of *The Charm of Birds* by Viscount Grey of Falloden. I bought them on the spot for the Fisher Library, as they had been catalogued as number 59 in Maggs *Catalogue 1175* and I couldn't imagine such a unique item remaining unsold for very long. The same day I visited the Ulysses Bookshop in Bloomsbury and bought for myself a fine first edition of *The Charm of Birds*, which I read for the first time, admiring





the wood engravings of Gibbings, long one of my favourite graphic artists. It occurred to me then that the illustrations had not been printed from the original blocks, as the press run of the first impression was 5000 copies, but either from stereos or electros. The logical consequence of this train of thought was to wonder what the images might look like when printed from the originals. Back in Toronto I showed the blocks to Crispin Elsted of the Barbarian Press in Mission, B.C., and he and his wife Jan enthusiastically embraced the concept of a joint project to produce a finely printed limited edition using the blocks. Thus came about *Gibbings & Grey and The Charm of Birds* (1998) with Gibbings' wonderful images of birds and rural scenes accompanied by appropriate text from Grey's

book, with a couple of examples from two books written by the artist.

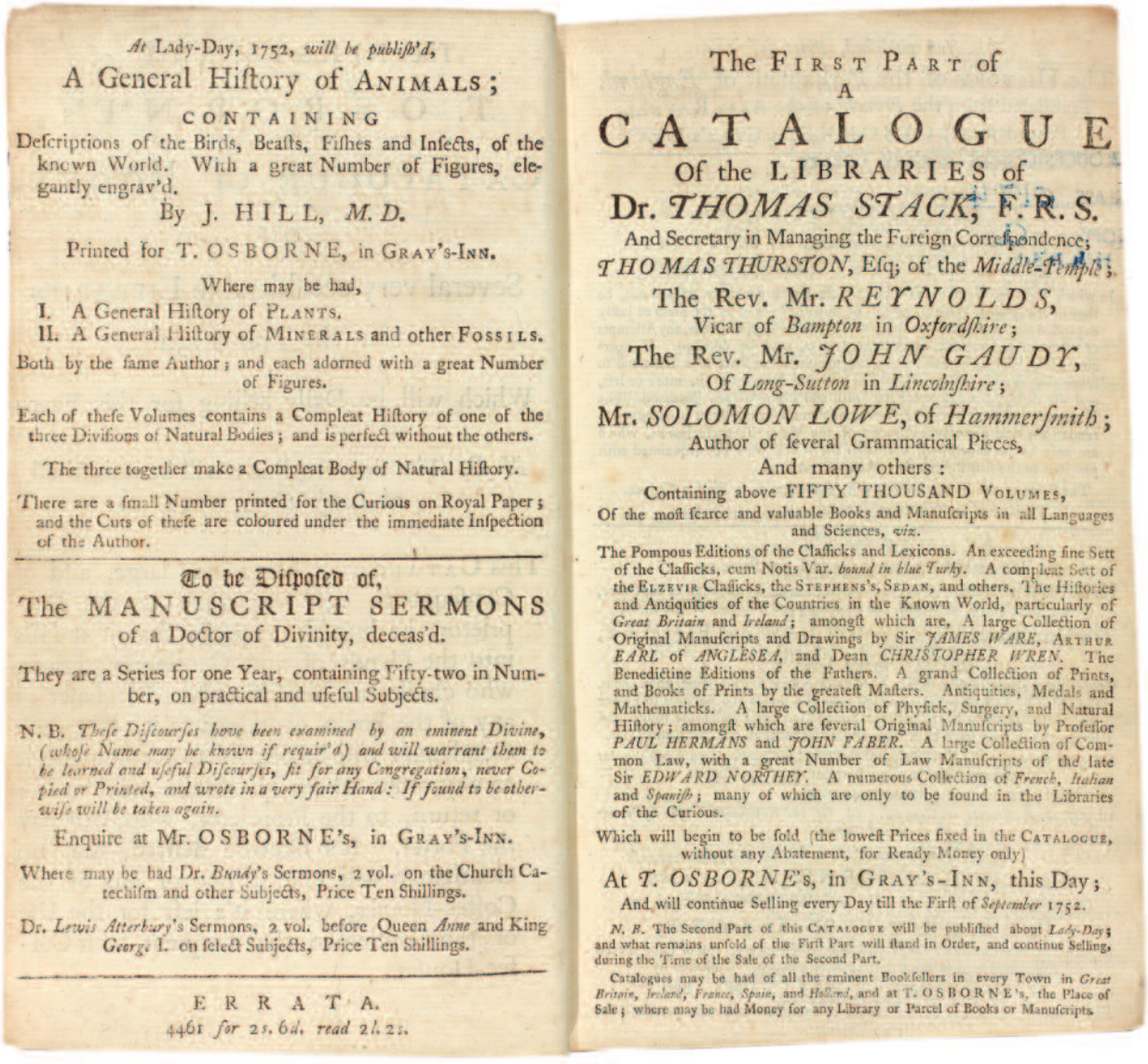
The Right Honourable Sir Edward Grey, 3rd Baronet, Knight of the Garter, Viscount Grey of Falloden (1862–1933) descended from a long line of politicians and statesmen. He is best remembered as the longest-serving British Foreign Secretary, who declared, on the outbreak of the First World War, 'the lights are going out all over Europe; we shall not see them lit again in our lifetime'. He developed a passion for fly fishing and birds, and turned the estate of Falloden into a sanctuary for them. In 1916 he resigned his cabinet position because he had become virtually blind. He could no longer see his beloved birds unless they actually sat on him, which they often did. He retained, however, his acute and retentive ear for their song and *The Charm of Birds* often describes how to identify birds by the sound of their voices.

Grey was especially fortunate in his choice of illustrator for both his *Falloden Papers* (1926) and *The Charm of Birds*. Robert Gibbings (1889–1958) was then the proprietor of the Golden Cockerel Press, and an accomplished wood engraver in his own right, with a predilection for the English countryside. Grey's two books mark Gibbings' first work for commercial publishers and they enjoyed great success with many reprints. This experience stimulated his interest in the possibilities of wood engraving as a popular medium. Beginning in 1942, Gibbings reached the zenith of his own popularity with the immensely admired series of 'river books'.

The context in the Fisher Library for the work of Robert Gibbings is the Alan Horne Collection of 20th-century British book illustration, a large and developing resource for research. It will have added to it the largest Gibbings collection in the country.

The catalogues of 18th-century English antiquarian booksellers are notoriously rare, both in research institutions and on the market. They are, moreover, a largely untapped resource for the history of book collecting, the trade, and often have interesting implications for literary history. In 1997, therefore, when I spied four volumes of Thomas Osborne catalogues issued in London between 1752 and 1754 in the advance proofs of a Ximenes Rare Books catalogue, I immediately ordered them and was gratified to discover that only two other complete sets of this sequence have been recorded.

Thomas Osborne (1704?–1767), the greatest bookseller of his day, has come



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down to posterity with mixed reviews. He was disliked by Pope because of his handling of subscription copies of the *Iliad*, and in the 1743 revised edition of *The Dunciad* his name replaced that of Samuel Chapman in the urinating contest with Edmund Curll. Johnson called him 'a man entirely destitute of shame, without sense of any disgrace but that of poverty', and famously knocked him down with a folio volume during a dispute about the *Harleian Miscellany*. John Nichols, however, remembered him with respect and he was obviously very successful, issuing at least fifty-three catalogues between 1729 and 1768. In 1742 Osborne bought the Harleian Collection of books and pamphlets, formed by Robert Harley, 1st Earl of Oxford, and his son, Edward. He paid only £13,000 for over 50,000 books, less, it was said, than the binding bills for them, but found

that the market was not easily able to digest such a large number of antiquarian books. He hired Samuel Johnson and William Oldys to produce a catalogue, which they did in five volumes between 1743 and 1745. In his prefatory 'An account of the Harleian Library', Johnson justified its publication by subscription with one of his wonderful convoluted sentences:

> But our Design, like our Proposal, is uncommon, and to be prosecuted at a very uncommon Expense; it being intended, that the books shall be distributed into their distinct Classes, and every class ranged with some Regard to the Age of the Writers; that every Book shall be accurately described; that the Peculiarities of Editions shall be remarked, and Observations from the Authors of Literary History occasionally interspersed, that, by this Catalogue, we may inform Posterity, of the Excellence and Value of the great Collection, and promote the Knowledge of scare Books, and Elegant Editions.

It was a noble objective, but Osborne was anxious to recover some of the money and the compilation was done so quickly that most of the books were not described at all. They sold very slowly and the remaining titles kept reappearing over and over again in later Osborne catalogues. The Harleian catalogue, of which the Fisher Library has a set, was a fixed-price sale, with the prices in the books. The 1752-54 catalogues have the prices printed in the volumes and their title-pages claim that the books are from the libraries of collectors: Dr. Thomas Stack, Thomas Thurston, the Rev. Mr. Reynalds, etc. None of these names seem familiar to a student of the 18th century and although some were real people and some fictitious, they had one thing in common; many of the books said to be part of their bibliophilic legacy were actually from the collection of Robert and Edward Harley.

The only known set of page-proofs of Robert W. Service's *Songs of a Sourdough* (William Briggs, 1907) turned up at a Toronto auction in June of 1997. I was in England, travelling about, but David Mason managed to reach me by telephone to ask if the Fisher Library was interested. I replied that we certainly were and enquired about the sale estimate. It was only $200-300, but we both knew it would bring a great deal more than that. After some discussion I said what you are never supposed to say to your agent at an auction: 'just buy it', and David

Mason did just that. I arrived back in Toronto some time later to discover that we had spent $12,500 for Robert Service. It was not just an ordinary proof copy, however. It had come from the collection of Alice Freeman, the wife of John W.E. Brown, who was the first Territorial Secretary of the Yukon. She was a journalist, who used the *nom de plume* Faith Fenton, and she had also spent some time in Dawson. According to Brown's note on the first page of the proof, 'This page proof or unbound copy was brought to Faith by the hand of the publishing Co for her opinion as to its merits'. It thus seems that even after having the poems set in type Briggs had not decided whether to publish them or not. Faith Fenton's report was obviously positive and *Songs of a Sourdough* went on to become a national bestseller. Service went on to Hollywood.

Robert Service's poems are not considered to be serious Canadian Literature, but some of them seem to me iconic. While growing up in the West I met many cowpunchers and lumberjacks, men who spent a lot of time by themselves, who could recite 'The Shooting of Dan McGrew' and 'The Cremation of Sam McGee'. The late Pierre Berton would give a spirited rendition of 'Sam McGee' on a moment's notice and Service's memorable verses were an important part of popular Canadian culture.

An early 18th-century illustrated manuscript on Biblical subjects, which employs poems, prayers, meditation, and short essays in a formal and elaborate way may not, on the face of it, seem very exciting. I had never seen one before 1991, when Arthur Armstrong presented it to the Fisher Library on behalf of the estate of J. Hopkirk, and I have never seen anything quite like it since.

Several of the illustrations are signed 'R. Dodsley' or 'Robt. Dodsley' and although it is tempting to assign its authorship to Robert Dodsley (1703–1764), the well known publisher, poet, playwright, and editor, it seems more likely that the manuscript was created by his father, Robert Dodsley (1681–1750), a school master, and perhaps headmaster, of the Free School of Mansfield. The elder Dodsley probably also provided private instruction for students and it may have been a kind of pedagogical tool, a model from which pupils could copy. The methodology of the layout of text and images suggests that the educational theories of John Locke may have been a source of inspiration.

The manuscript is composed of a series of Biblical themes: the Creation, Cain and Abel, Noah and the Ark, the Tower of Babel, Sodom and Gomorrah,

etc., which are presented in a formal school hand and decorated with coloured borders. The watercolour drawings of the themes are provided with movable flaps which, when raised, reveal another scene, usually a consequence of the first. Thus, for instance, the Tower of Babel is shown reaching to the sky and then, with the flaps raised, is shown split asunder. There is then given a meditation, a prayer, and often a poem on the theme. When we acquired it and had some conservation work done on it, including a rebinding, I meant to do some more research on it and try to locate some more examples. I still mean to do so, when I can find the time.

The Fisher Library doesn't have very much 18th-century English erotica, as books of this kind are rare. They were usually published clandestinely, were often

suppressed, and there has always been eager competition for them among private collectors. *The Pleasures of Love. Containing a Variety of Entertaining Particulars, and Curiosities in the Cabinet of Venus* (London, Printed in the Year mdcclxxv) seems especially scarce, and there is no copy of it in the Private Case of the British Library. It was offered to me in 1992 by Dylan's Book Store of Swansea when its proprietor, Jeff Towns, was visiting Toronto for a book fair and I have never seen another offered for sale.

The tale it tells is pretty conventional: a young man is forcibly separated from his lover by his father, after spending an explicitly amorous weekend at an inn. He is sent to London to study law, but falls into dissolute ways and has many adventures with the ladies of the city. He is reduced to the verge of penury and accepts service as a footman at a large house in the country. The mistress of the house seems to require of her footman only that he service her regularly, and he takes on the cook and the housemaid as well, being kept very busy indeed. He is, however, reunited with his beloved Betsy, discovers that his father has died and that he is now the master of a large estate. He marries Betsy and then discovers that she is not a farmer's daughter as he had thought, but entitled to an inheritance of £20,000. 'I could not', he observes in conclusion, 'help acknowledging the hand of Providence, in thus bringing about things by so uncommon a series of chequered circumstances'. I feel much the same way about the books described in

this section of the exhibition.

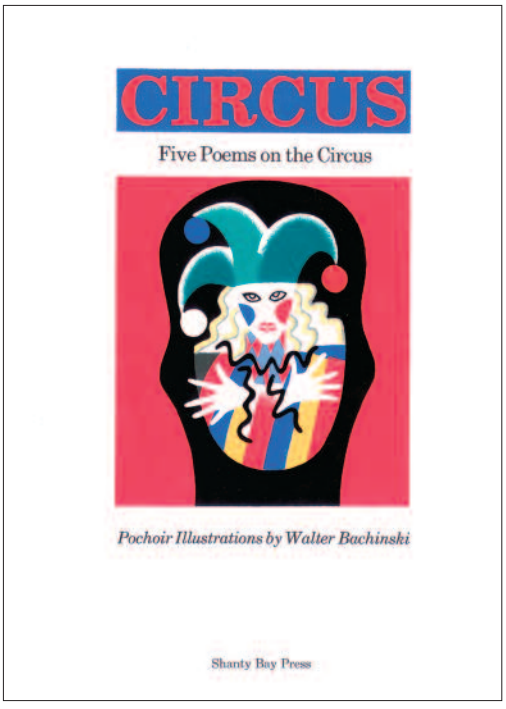
We would like to know a lot more about Alexander Scott Carter, who was born in England in 1881, came to Toronto in 1912, and returned to England sometime before his death in 1968. In Toronto he practised as an architect and designer, the results of his creativity still visible in many Toronto buildings, in the form of carved wooden decoration, stained glass windows, and the liturgical vessels used in churches. Several buildings on the St. George campus of the University of Toronto display examples of his work, although they are not always easily identifiable.

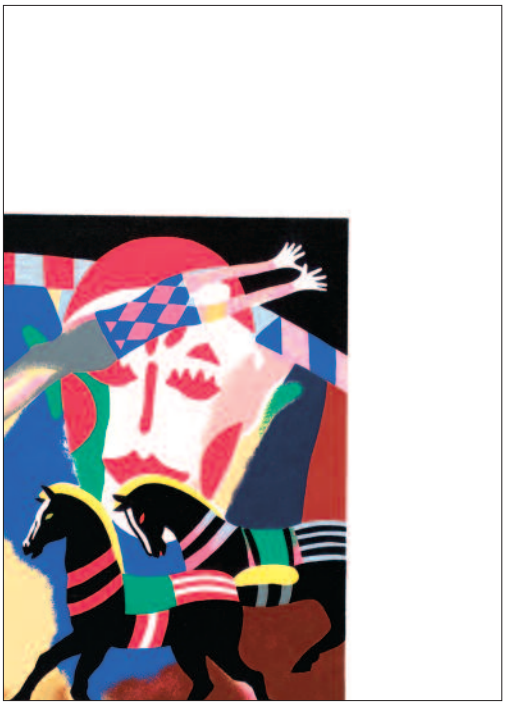
In 2000 I was offered, by a dealer in Cambridge, Mass., an album of beautiful drawings and designs, many in colour, by A. Scott Carter. I bought it and was intrigued to find a number '4' inside the front cover. I asked Charles Wood where he had found it and learned that it had been purchased at a book fair in London. Logically there ought to be albums '1' to '3' in existence somewhere, but I have not

been able to trace them. The next trove of Carter archival material was offered to me by John Rush of Hamilton. It consisted of a large number of architectural drawings and blueprints, many of them very large, and a great mass of other design material which had obviously been rolled up and stored somewhere dusty. I believe this was a collection left with a friend when Carter moved back to England and that it came onto the market because the friend eventually died as well. I bought it and it is still undergoing conservation treatment.

More recently we were offered a stunning Scott Carter object by a gallery owner from Haileybury, Ontario. It is an illuminated address commissioned by the T. Eaton Company to commemorate the death in 1922 of Sir John Craig Eaton, the son of the founder. It is written on vellum, with highly decorated and illuminated initials and is signed by all the directors of Eaton's. Scott Carter created several illuminated addresses for various Toronto institutions and we have other examples, but this one is special because of its binding and the small casket in which it rests. The binding is composed of leather and silver and is inlaid with jewels. The box has painted leather panels surrounded by engraved silver borders and an ornate domed lid with more silver decoration and jewels. It could not be resisted and we are pleased to display it for the first time.

Scott Carter was an active member of the Arts and Letters Club and the Fisher Library has a close relationship with that flourishing organization. More information will emerge about an obviously interesting and important figure, and





surely we will acquire more Scott Carter material.

Canada has had a flourishing private press movement since the 1930s and the Fisher Library has attempted to collect as many of the books, pamphlets, and broadsides issued by these presses as possible. They often have featured texts by Canadian writers and thus overlap with our comprehensive collections of Canadian literature. A few years ago I was visited by Walter Bachinski and Janis Butler who had established the Shanty Bay Press at Shanty Bay, Ontario, which was going to issue limited editions of hand-printed books with *pochoir* illustrations. I was very impressed by their first book, Virgil's *The Eclogues* (1999), and bought a copy for the Fisher Library; but their most spectacular book to date has been *Circus*, published in an edition of sixty copies in 2002. It contains poems on circuses by D.H. Lawrence, Gwendolyn MacEwen, Rainer Maria Rilke, P.K.Page, and Kenneth Koch, each accompanied by a stunning *pochoir* image.

Pochoir is a stencil technique for producing coloured illustrations by hand. It was used to print playing cards in the early 15th century and has been revived sporadically over the centuries, most notably in France for costume books and by the Curwen Press in England in the 1920s. It is very labour intensive, requiring, in the case of *Circus*, the cutting of up to thirty celluloid stencils and the separate application of many colours by hand. The results are fresh and brilliant. Walter

Bachinski begins with a carefully constructed pastel, used as a model, and then cuts the stencils and applies the colours. It is art and craft of the highest order and the books are completed with the letterpress printing and binding of Janis Butler. We are fortunate to be able to display the original pastel with the *pochoir* for Lawrence's poem 'When I went to the Circus'.

The books and manuscripts in this exhibition span almost 4000 years, which places the fifty years of this Department of Rare Books and Special Collections in a humble perspective. It has been a privilege and a pleasure to provide one view of the rich research resources acquired over the past half century, a stimulus for future growth.