Reflections marking the occasion of Alexandra Mason’s retirement from the Kenneth Spencer Research Library

Edited by Beth M. Whittaker
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maner garyson that noman may repnish
And that is a lord? to be beloupyd of his
of his people. Now fry as to your third?
I am pleased to present these remarks, thirteen years after the event in question. I did not have the pleasure to attend *Vivat Liber: Celebrating Books, Librarians and Readers at the Kenneth Spencer Research Library*. Although I had worked as a student assistant in the Spencer Library from 1992-1994, by the time Alexandra (Sandy) Mason announced her retirement, I was well into the period I refer to as my Babylonian exile, my time in the wilderneses of Texas and Ohio, before returning to my professional home in 2009.

In the meantime, Sandy had retired, and her friends and colleagues had gathered on a spring afternoon to salute her, and the legacy she left for those of us who continue to build on the work of her lifetime.

Despite this retirement, however, when I arrived back in Lawrence, Sandy was still alive and very much kicking. Anyone who knew her would not be surprised
to learn that she did not stop being passionate about the library upon retirement. She passed away in July 2011, and the ceremony at which she was interred was unbelievably hot. Those in attendance joked that she would have been miserable!

When I spoke with colleagues about a suitable way to memorialize her, two ideas emerged: the purchase of incunabula and the publication of this volume, long dormant. To address the first, the Spencer Library now holds a leaf from Caxton’s first edition of Canterbury Tales (Pryce D9). And here you have the second tribute.

It will be obvious to readers that much has changed since 1999 in the world of libraries and scholarship. We did not attempt to bring references up to date, or update the status of projects mentioned by the speakers, so this volume serves in some ways as a time capsule of the world of special collections at the turning point of the 21st century.

One of the most convenient changes is that electronic publication made this work so much easier than it would have been a decade ago. The speakers had provided William J. Crowe, former dean of libraries and head of Spencer Research Library, with electronic copies of their remarks. Light editing was easy, and after permission was secured from the living speakers, this festschrift was a few clicks away. I must thank Stuart Roberts for his initial work on this project, and Bill Crowe, for having the foresight to plan this years in advance.
In the course of this project, I made or renewed contact with outstanding thinkers and scholars, and honored the memory of those, A. C. Elias and Gordon Sauer, who are no longer with us. And all of this was made possible by the woman who encouraged me to become a librarian, who essentially built the special collections at the Spencer Library, and who continues to inspire us all, Alexandra Mason. It is a joy to present *Vivat Liber* in her honor.
troy, before the turly ma"eth. Stodze saith, that the garsion is ye tyme aduyed. But now late that Was accorded be your neggh;uerence Withouten loue, your olde slaterers that counceylle yold cert;
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On the afternoon of May 1st, 1999, nearly one hundred supporters of the Kenneth Spencer Research Library gathered at the library to participate in *Vivat Liber: Celebrating Books, Librarians and Readers at the Kenneth Spencer Research Library*. The event was held to honor Alexandra Mason, Spencer Librarian, who retired in June 1999. A reception and gala dinner sponsored by the University of Kansas Friends of the Library followed the afternoon symposium.

David McKitterick traveled from Trinity College, Cambridge, to deliver the keynote address. McKitterick’s research and writing on the history of the book in England made him an excellent choice to speak on the continued importance of special collections. His wide-ranging remarks touched upon the value of detailed bibliographic description and on the usefulness of comparing special collections and their books with museums and their artifacts.
After a short break in the Spencer Lounge the audience gathered again to hear a panel of scholars, a librarian, and a bookseller. Each panelist spoke on an aspect of special collections libraries or librarianship of particular relevance to Sandy Mason.

Nora Quinlan, Distance Education Librarian at Nova Southeastern University, opened the panel presentations with a narrative and slide show illustrating her introduction to special collections librarianship by Sandy and the Spencer staff. Quinlan described the freedom and responsibilities she experienced at Spencer, and the generous tutelage she received.

A.C. Elias, an independent scholar of Jonathan Swift and his circle, followed Quinlan. Elias spoke about his use of Kansas’s excellent Irish and 18th century British collections and the staff’s expertise. While the Spencer’s remarkable 18th century holdings do not include a large Swift collection, the confluence of relevant collections and specialized tools make the Spencer fertile ground for Swift scholars.

Breon Mitchell, professor of Comparative Literature and Germanic Studies at Indiana University, spoke about his introduction to the world of books and learning as an undergraduate student at Kansas. He spoke of his journey from Salina, Kansas, to his college rooms at Oxford, where he found himself, as a Rhodes Scholar, comparing book-hunting tales with John Sparrow. His experiences as a student worker in the Department of Special Collections at Kansas played a pivotal role in the journey.
Dr. Gordon Sauer, a dermatologist from Kansas City and a world expert on the great 19th century British ornithologist John Gould, spoke next. Dr. Sauer delighted the audience with his personal history—beginning as a young man with an interest in “John Gould, the Bird Man.” When Dr. Sauer arrived in St. Joseph, Missouri, from New York, in 1951, he had already published his first article on Gould, and was certain that he would be far from the great research libraries upon which he relied for his research. He was overwhelmed when he discovered that the greatest concentration of Gouldiana in the world is housed at the University of Kansas—50 imperial folios and 80 percent of extant Gould and company original drawings. The serendipitous confluence of his passion and the Spencer collection has been mutually beneficial to scholar and library, and Dr. Sauer has added generously to the collection over the years.

Bernard M. Rosenthal, book dealer from Berkeley, California, spoke on the symbiotic relationship between librarian and bookseller. Because the types of medieval manuscripts that Rosenthal sold to Joe Rubinstein, KU’s first special collections librarian, and later to Sandy Mason, are now priced beyond the reach of many libraries, Rosenthal proposed a new area for collection building. He noted that there are thousands of texts that were printed only once or twice and those printings represent the only extant texts of now lost manuscripts. During the course of *Vivat Liber*, Rosenthal and his wife, Ruth, made a gift to the Department of Special Collections exemplifying this form: it is a 16th
century printing of a poem in praise of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa that had been composed in the late 12th century. The Rosenthals presented the volume, Gunther von Pairis’ *Ligurini de gestis Imp. Caesars Friderici Primi Augusti*…, (Augsburg: Erhard Oeglin, 1507) in honor of Sandy Mason.

Roger Stoddard of Houghton Library, Harvard College, entertained the audience with an original fable. His talk was a celebration of the skills and knowledge required of special collections librarians—skills that Sandy Mason possesses in full measure. Stoddard spoke of the need for “fattening up” rare books and manuscripts collections in the care of librarians. By teaching and lecturing about them, annotating them on exhibition, publishing accounts of them in both technical and “popular” forums, incorporating new findings about them in catalogs, inventories, and guides, special collections librarians do their work. He posited that teaching and research are the primary timeless mission of special collections libraries, and that the greatest honor to Sandy will be for the University of Kansas to take full advantage of the treasures in its midst.

The event was graced by the presence of Loraine Vosper, widow of Robert Vosper. As Director of KU Libraries from 1952 to 1961, Vosper established the Department of Special Collections in 1953 with the support of Chancellor Franklin D. Murphy, and it was under Vosper’s leadership that Joseph Rubinstein was appointed to build and lead the department. Rubinstein’s brother was in attendance at the *Vivat Liber* program, and at the evening banquet offered reminiscences of Joseph Rubinstein in his pre-KU years.
A number of book people from around the U.S. joined the festivities, among them Bruce Bradley, The Linda Hall Library; Donald Eddy, Ithaca, New York; Peter Graham, Syracuse, New York; Hope Mayo, New York City; and Joel Silver, The Lilly Library.
that my house to defend and my house to approach.

O this sentence sung said great hostages and be accomplished? ye then defended? be treed understonde. Then is that a rych man not his good? is that his neighbours.
It is customary on occasions such as this to look backward as well as forward.¹

Not surprisingly, the 1876 report by the Bureau of Education on Public Libraries in the United States does not mention the University of Kansas. According to the index (and as this book is over 1200 pages long, I hope you will forgive me for not searching in greater detail), the only remarks on libraries in Kansas concerned legislation passed in 1870, which allowed the authorities to raise money for school district libraries. The report remarked merely that so far no further action had been taken on this. It also noted that any purchases were to be restricted to ‘works of history, biography, science and travels’ – that is, no religion or politics, no law, no imaginative literature or philosophy, not even in the safety of the dead languages.
However, the editors’ more general remarks on college libraries have a contemporary ring to them. I note:

‘The college collections of books should be regarded as instruments to be kept in use, rather than as precious treasures to be stored up.’

‘The librarian should not be a miser; hoarding away his riches where nobody can easily find them, but a capitalist, constantly using his accumulated wealth for the encouragement of further production.’

In this respect, the Spencer Library can perhaps permit itself a little self-congratulation. In particular on this occasion, we are here to pay public tribute to one who has worked her hardest to ensure that the books in her care are indeed ‘instruments to be kept in use’ – as well as, incidentally, precious treasures in their own right.

The fact that the editors of the report of 1876, written a century and a quarter ago, should have felt compelled to remark on qualities such as miserliness, on hoarding away, on ‘precious treasures to be stored up’ rather than books to be used, speaks of an attitude to books perhaps too readily found amongst librarians of the time. More to the point here, it also challenges us today, as we determine the future of our research libraries, and how they are to be used in a world where for many people, brought up in an environment accustomed to the computer, old books increasingly require explanation.

In the belief that educational provision is so much improved since the 1870s, we may also comfort
ourselves that the world specifically of libraries, of library management, of library funding, has changed fundamentally in the intervening generations. However, in concentrating today on special collections, it is important to recall that we do so in the context of the library system as a whole. Major and serious questions face other departments also, and all face difficult decisions in overall funding patterns. Some of the more obvious issues, all of which affect special collections, include the relationship of books to other media and to research library electronic networks; the ruinous inflation of periodical costs and the still undetermined consequences of ways that these may be challenged by non-print media; and, very obviously, questions of conservation and embrittlement. These all have financial implications, at a time when it has been predicted that overall U.S. university library expenditure might remain at 4 percent of budget, with IT costs rising quickly from 6 to 11 percent.2

Even in the best of all possible financial worlds, the last hundred or more years have seen a period that cannot continue as it has. At the most basic level, and as any bookdealer or librarian or, indeed, private collector will testify, it is no longer possible to buy old books on the same scale as was possible even twenty years ago, and even then there was every reason to complain that fewer such books were available than there had been. In the late 1950s, one London bookseller estimated that he was exporting at least a ton of old books to America every week. Stock is short, and many prices are commensurately high. As an investment for
cash profit, we are told that most books make a poor choice. There are many spectacular exceptions to this: thanks to the computer industry, there is currently avid interest in the high spots in the history of science and mathematics, demonstrated in the prices at Christie’s (New York) sales of the Haskell Norman library during 1998. But it is also true (again, there are many exceptions) that the pace of many library budgets, beset with other and competing demands, cannot meet the more ordinary increasing prices in the trade – prices which are themselves, if only in part, a measure of scarcity.

No less important, the reader has to be served differently.

Let us put this in perspective. The changes in one library are not necessarily the same in another, but the effects of those changes may be felt – unpredictably – in other places. Ever more, the global population of readers on our doorsteps becomes one that is more tight-knit, thanks first to the jet engine, latterly to the slump in the cost of international air travel, and most recently in the unanticipated speed of expansion of computer networks, library consortia and the Internet.

These extra-ordinary features of our daily life have had as powerful an effect on the ways that libraries are used as the much debated schemes for inter-library cooperation that have been a feature of management theory and practice for a generation and more. In Britain, the Follett Report to the university funding bodies in 1993 recommended the development of a ‘national and regional strategy governing library provision for researchers, across all subjects.’
Stimulated by a modicum of new government money, there is currently in train an exercise designed to develop just such strategies, not so much to prevent or discourage collecting, as to see that the management of mutual interests is carried forward without wasteful duplication of effort. There is a long way still to go in this, and hopes of collaboration have yet properly to be developed into reality: this includes collaboration between the higher education sector and the larger public libraries holding collections sometimes of just as great importance. No library is an island. That has been true since early medieval times, but we now perceive the links between the different parts of the archipelago of research with new ideas, new means of access and, one day, it is to be hoped, with better maps.

We talk here not just of printed matter, but also of manuscripts and archives, and of how to set records of all of these next, eventually, to those of museums. At present, the world of manuscripts lags behind that of printed books in making readily available records of the whereabouts and details of collections. The British Library’s online public access catalogue access of its printed books has rapidly become familiar the world over. It has now been available for several years, and is arguably the single most useful bibliographical tool in the world available to many researchers. It receives more than 3 million enquiries a year. The Manuscripts Department expects soon to make available its own version of a computerized catalogue.

There are now several international databases of early printed books. There is none, so far, for manuscripts. The
problem is partly one of language, of interchangeable search terms. Although there exist thesauri of essential terms for medieval manuscripts in French, Italian and Spanish, none has been agreed for English, and even in England this subject is fraught with disagreements and professional jealousies. The problems that confront the management of modern archives are even greater. The need for a national archival network in Britain is acknowledged, but it is likely to be some time before it comes into being. Meanwhile, the many literary as well as historical documents that survive in Britain’s archive repositories (I speak not just of university libraries) remain difficult to discover, and largely ignored by scholarship. The archives of America may be more recent, but the needs, for researchers and for librarians and archivists alike, are much the same.

Third, I come to a topic that affects scholarship and learning, now and in the future, in an even more fundamentally obvious way. What we may call the profile of books immediately available to readers has changed for all time. It is, of course, the duty of the acquisitions librarian to ensure that this is so. That is why we build collections, add to existing collections, tackle subjects for which demand seems to justify what we might call bibliographical venture capital – or (if we are more daring and imaginative) which might one day, in the fullness of time, be justified.

It has been said by one librarian in the Northeast that it is the duty of the librarian to make space. But knowledge does not work like that. The urge toward expansion, whether
in new books, old books, or collections of papers, sits at the very roots of assumptions about our major university, specialist and national libraries. It has dominated such libraries since the nineteenth century. In the 1860s, Henry Stevens, an enterprising bookseller from Vermont, realized that the new thirst for books in the university and historical libraries of his country could be profitably served by duplicates from the libraries of the old world.\textsuperscript{5} He was but one of several booksellers who exploited and encouraged such beliefs. The experience of libraries at his hands is a reminder that the question of deaccessioning is always a complicated one. Unplanned, as with unplanned expansion, it can be disastrous. It certainly carries great attendant dangers to the integrity of teaching and research.\textsuperscript{6} But the belief in library expansion as an end in itself was easily the greatest of the several influences on the structure and financing of the book market, new and second-hand, for the period that we may perhaps come to identify at its peak between the career of Henry E. Huntington before the First World War, and the recent crisis in the east Asian economy.

On the other hand, and as a counter to this notion of expansion and educational improvement, students in those universities fortunate enough to have large open stacks have in the last generation been faced with disabling diminution of experience.

As our books become more valuable not just in terms of money or rarity, but also in terms of scholarly, educational and managerial investment, so the concept of an open access library, on which the American and British systems
of higher education have been largely founded, becomes one that is endlessly compromised. The open stacks in the Widener Library at Harvard are perhaps the most celebrated example of this, as they have been gradually relieved of their sixteenth- and seventeenth-century books; yet it remains that these open stacks are still massively informative, offering riches on a scale and over a period matched (so far as I know) nowhere else so readily. The Widener is simply an extreme example of a library seeking to protect the older books, and under pressure from ever larger quantities of new ones. At Cambridge University Library, which has been claimed to be the largest open access library in Europe, it was possible until the late 1960s to find books from the earliest years of the sixteenth century on the open shelves—including, for example, a copy of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible published in 1514-17, the first edition of Erasmus on the New Testament, and much else besides. Until a series of thefts made it no longer tolerable, the early editions of the English romantic poets were also on the open shelves. To go back only one further generation in this library, in the 1950s there was still on the open shelves virtually all of the great library given by King George I in 1715, considered at that time to be the best in private hands in the country.

Put quite simply: for all the energy of acquisitions librarians, it is now impossible for either students or their teachers so easily to handle older books in the quantities and of the variety available to past generations. Teaching and librarianship alike will have to pay special attention to
this fundamental difference of experience, much as we do already for those who come up to university to read English, having no knowledge of the Bible and are therefore in no position to understand either Shakespeare or Milton. The potential demand on research libraries and their special collections not just for support or research, but actually for teaching, is likely to increase, as students have to be introduced to what they cannot easily see for themselves. It is likely to increase still further as IT access to images and computer forms of texts is recognized for what it is: a surrogate limited by a technology, and therefore limited in its interpretation, wholly different from that which underlies the ways in which books or images were first conceived and then circulated to past generations. To any major university, this has obvious implications for staffing in libraries, and particularly but by no means exclusively in special collections, where there is an increasing need for guidance and for interpretation.

Or we may approach this from another angle. The computer catalogue is in its infancy. At present, libraries are investing very large sums of money in retro-conversion of their older card or sheaf catalogues. The prices for this vary, at anything between about two and twelve dollars per record, but it is to be expected that part at least of these costs will gradually diminish as more records become available for down-loading and local use. Besides this, we have seen ever more efficient library management packages, a collapse in the price of computer memory, and tumbling costs of scanning. Quite apart from the ongoing
costs of computer renewal in the major libraries and universities, one cost that can be safely predicted to rise is that of staff: not just of computer and other IT staff, but also of the skills that can take advantage of this massive capital investment which at present is being so notably under-used. To invest in IT, and then not to exploit it to its utmost, can hardly be flattered with the title of investment. In other words, not to recruit the staff to exploit this investment for research and education is, in effect, to stand still—and so, relatively, to slip back.

If we look forward a little, and consider how these and other developments will affect the interests of special collections, we begin to see something of the library world as it will appear to researchers in less than ten years’ time. With that, we can also begin to consider how best to serve some of the lines of research and thinking that are already in hand. Most obviously, there beckons the prospect—already partially realized, for example, in the study of fifteenth-century printed books—that will link catalogue record to image. For the present, and because of the quite substantial demands on costs and computer space, these links are usually limited: in the case of fifteenth-century books to a few crucial pages, rather than whole texts. Some libraries are exploring the possibilities of scanning fragile originals (various kinds of ephemera, and photographic collections, are obvious candidates here) and linking them to catalogue records. The benefits are manifest for catalogues of manuscripts, where images are crucial in identifying and comparing handwriting or decoration.
The projects afoot in California and at Columbia, using either newly scanned images or existing film stock, promise to show something of how this may be achieved for manuscripts. The obvious managerial difficulties are essentially of two kinds. First is that of trying to predict use when it is still impractical to digitize everything, cover to cover and edition by edition; or of how to sit images and verbal records in parallel, so that the large image computer files do not clog access to their indexing and analysis. Here at least, the principles are in place. The second has been less studied: of how to ensure that, by reformatting, computer-held information can be retained and read. The pattern of ongoing costs for such material is unpredictable. I shall return later to the implications for learning.

Less ambitiously from the point of technology, but more so from the point of view of investments in people, is the question of the depth of cataloguing. Special and rare book librarians have ensured that the MARC record has provision for the recording and recovery of a great deal of detail besides the traditional first demands on a catalogue of author, title and imprint. In an invaluable book, David Pearson, now of the Wellcome Institute in London, has drawn attention to the possibilities that already exist for the search of books by provenance. In a more difficult, but no less fundamental area for the study of books, their contents and their use, hopes have also frequently been expressed for catalogue guidance in an organized and disciplined way on the history of bookbindings. Specialists might think of further desiderata. Such details are at the centre of much
historical work; and yet it remains that the appropriate MARC fields are very under-used by cataloguers, mainly because of costs, and partly because many cataloguers are not trained to see what might be exploited. So, too, and more remarkably, the provisions in the structure of records for details such as places of publication, dates, languages, or names of printers or booksellers are likewise under-used.\textsuperscript{9} This is a general experience, though it is most noticeable in the largest libraries, where they might arguably yield the most useful results. The technology exists; it is, quite literally, at the fingertips of every cataloguer; but the financial will to use it has so far not been sufficiently stimulated by faculty demands.

In much of this, it is a question of cost: not just of absolute costs but of relative ones: the degree to which investment in the library may be justified by faculty use. This is what drives expenditure on the book budget, though here we may identify further influences, such as the jostling for position among universities which the home institution strives to justify with a large library; or the extent to which, just like laboratories and other facilities for the sciences, a large research library can attract the best faculty.

. . . . .

But let us look a little further at how books are being studied, and how we may expect them to be studied over the coming decade.

We may take just the English-speaking world. The last century or so, beginning perhaps with A. H. Bullen’s
catalogue of pre-1641 English books in the British Museum, published in 1884, has seen a concentrated and usually well-focused effort on the part of the international bibliographical community to establish what exactly was published between Caxton’s first press in 1475 and the nineteenth century. There remain many questions concerning nineteenth-century books. Nonetheless, for the period down to 1800 we now have the *English Short-Title Catalogue* almost in place. This represents an amalgam of much of Pollard and Redgrave’s *Short-title Catalogue* to 1640, revised by Katharine F. Pantzer and others; Donald Wing’s equivalent survey from 1641 to 1700; Carolyn Nelson and Matthew Seccombe’s detailed account of periodicals between 1641 and 1700; and the much more recent *Eighteenth-century Short-title Catalogue*, including the North American Imprints Project run by the American Antiquarian Society.

The position for non-British and North American books in this period is much less satisfactory, in that the sixteenth century is only patchily covered, and the cover for the seventeenth century is distinctly skimpy. But, as we were reminded by the publication only a few months ago of the Amsterdam catalogue of sixteenth-century books from the northern Netherlands¹⁰; as the catalogue of non-British European books down to 1700 in the three dozen Anglican cathedral libraries of England and Wales reminded us last year¹¹; and as the growing union-catalogue databases of RLIN in the United States, and the Consortium of European Research Libraries in Europe all remind us by their daily
growth, organized retrospective bibliography is putting in place the historical documents from which may grow the historical questions of the future.

The British and North American record gives us, for the first time, the opportunity to build reasonably informed overviews of the history of the book: of its making, of its publication, of its circulation, and of its use. The same excitement was evident at the launch of the Incunable Short-title Catalogue (ISTC) as at the first conference to celebrate the achievements of the eighteenth-century STC: The realization that new kinds of questions could now be asked, that analysis by date, and to some extent by subject or by genre were now possible on a scale impossible in an environment dependent on ordering principally by author.

However, the ten or fifteen years since these excitements have also found more wary responses. I take two obvious areas of study.

First is the question of manuscripts. It was addressed by Ian Doyle at the incunables conference, with respect specifically to medieval manuscripts. For many people in the English-speaking world, something of the magnitude of the question for later books came not with the publication of the Index of English Literary Manuscripts (a survey, still incomplete, by Peter Beal and others, of British authors in manuscript—autograph or transcribed—from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries), but with a book by Harold Love, of Monash University: Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England, published by Oxford University Press in 1995 and recently reissued under a
slightly different title by the University of Massachusetts Press. Love was one of the first to demonstrate, on a scale that took him far beyond the familiar realms of the circulation of poems by Donne and other seventeenth-century poets, that manuscript publication remained not just an amateur pastime, but a commercially organized system, operating on a large scale, even in the last decades of the seventeenth century. Whether in poetry (Love’s own edition of the work of the Earl of Rochester was published in spring 1999), in politics or in religion, manuscript and print existed, as normal means of publication, side by side for three hundred years after Gutenberg. Nor was it just a clandestine affair. Notwithstanding the efforts of governments of various political hues in the mid-seventeenth century to suppress unlicensed and illicit printing, subversive literature of all kinds continued to be printed.

So, too, manuscripts were a means of circulating texts to which no objection could be raised. There was still a commercial trade in manuscript copies of sermons, to be preached Sunday by Sunday in the Church of England, even in the nineteenth century. In some areas, and perhaps particularly in law, the promotion of daily activity depended on manuscript just as much as print. The recent catalogue of English legal manuscripts in Cambridge University Library, a catalogue that deliberately excludes Roman law so as to concentrate on the riches of that collection, demonstrated on an impressive scale something of how deeply this was rooted in legal expectations and practice.
The fact that it has taken almost three centuries between the arrival of most of these legal manuscripts at Cambridge, and the emergent realization of their significance, might give the more glib library administrator pause for thought. Research libraries constantly re-identify themselves, as interests and knowledge change. It is safe to say that in pre-Maitland nineteenth-century Cambridge, even with a six-volume catalogue of the manuscripts in course of publication, no one would have thought of the University Library as a great legal library. And yet, sitting within the collections, was an accumulation gathered with an omnivorous enthusiasm for all things manuscript (and therefore, incidentally, legal) comparable with Sir Thomas Phillipps himself. Most of it came from the library of John Moore, bishop, friend of Isaac Newton and of the classicist Richard Bentley, the owner of a remarkable collection of books printed by Caxton, and a man with a bent for medicine: not, in other words, an obvious legal historian.

The basic question remains. How exactly were these and other similar manuscripts made? Were they made by professional scribes? How far may they be grouped? More generally, they are a reminder that if we are to understand either printed books or manuscripts just in the fifteenth century, but also for centuries subsequently, we need to be able to put manuscript and printed book side by side, in our reading rooms and in our catalogues. In other words, we need to reverse some of the assumptions that, ever since the generation of Mabillon and Montfaucon, have
tended to separate the two media, written and printed, in the interests of economy and librarianship.

My second generic example is the question of images. The *Eighteenth-Century Short-Title Catalogue* deliberately ignored engraved images, even when they contained large numbers of words, such as satires by Gillray, or engravings (for example) illustrating and quoting from Thomas Gray or Laurence Sterne. The other short-title catalogues have done much the same. And yet, as the exhibition of seventeenth-century English prints at the British Museum in 1998 revealed, in yet another context, word and image are inseparable.¹⁷ The bibliographical boundary between the two is by no means clear. As a result of perfectly reasonable decisions to exclude much pictoral matter from the short-title catalogues, it is extraordinarily difficult to study the printed ephemera that has underpinned so many aspects of our society since the sixteenth century.

In modern times, there is now a major collection of the art of the newspaper cartoon at the University of Kent, in Canterbury, where the catalogue is linked to a databank of electronically held images. For literature, for historical disciplines of all kinds, film is both a form to be studied in its own right, and evidence for its witness to opinion, propaganda, the management of information, social and economic assumptions, or simply the history of taste. For an earlier period in the history faculty in my own university one of the most popular courses to be started in recent years concerns the place of caricature and the popular print in political and social life in the late eighteenth and early
nineteenth centuries. The recent lists of major university presses, offering new books on graphic art from several points of view, have confirmed what many librarians already know: that in an age dependent on the image, whether in film, advertising or the icons on our computer screens, there is a thirst for the history of the making and use of images at least as strong as that for the history of the printed book itself.

All this has implications for the use of periodicals and newspapers. Intellectually, it raises yet again the issue of the relationship between public and private spaces as locations for what we see. It therefore brings the special collections reading room into a closer relationship with the world quite literally outside; and the various political, religious, moral or economic forces are seen at work in both.18

I turn to a third and final example, where the management of our research libraries will over the next few years need to respond much more to research needs. In the last few years, we have witnessed an extraordinary growth of interest in the history of reading. It is an amorphous subject. It has attracted some work that has been very valuable, and other that is little more than merely fashionable. To different scholars, it focuses, for example, on a form of literary criticism; on the evidential value of the physical qualities of books and other papers as historical documents; on literary records such as may be found in the record of the reading of the youthful David Copperfield (itself reflecting in some measure the reading of the young Dickens himself); on the clues to be found in marginalia or
other marks of ownership or use; on the archival records of
the book trade or of library borrowing; on the visual record
of reading practice in paintings and photographs; on the
special interests of particular magazines (and here, so far,
of women’s and popular magazines in particular). Evidently,
if we are to judge by the published work, the variety of
approaches is itself an attraction. This is natural in a subject
that is still young. The British Library, in conjunction with
Simon Eliot, even has a project to record historical evidence
of reading practices on a database. The society which
brings many of its practitioners together, SHARP (Society
for the History of Authorship, Reading, and Publishing19)
was founded so as to be as hospitable as possible, and has
attracted a rapidly growing membership.

Many aspects of such a sprawling subject derive from
materials that libraries are well able to produce. One result
has been to begin to explore the administrative records of
institutions, to discover how collections have been built up,
and used. It therefore bears on the history of libraries, and
the use of our own records.

Questions of annotation, ownership and use are more
difficult. I am not the first person to remind an audience
that there are all too few guides to books containing
manuscript annotation. The locus classicus is perhaps
the offshoot of the nineteenth-century cataloguing of the
manuscripts at Cambridge, a project almost forced on the
compilers since they had to cope with a class of printed
books that had long been identified as bearing adversaria,
and therefore, in their predecessors’ view, as manuscripts.
Much similar information is to be found, for its own field, in Paul Kristeller’s *Iter Italicum*. In 1994 Robin Alston published a survey of those books recorded in the British Library’s own printed catalogue as having annotations, or signature of ownership. Valuable as it is, it is by no means complete. More recently, the substantial group of books bought by Yale University from Bernard Rosenthal, and the splendid catalogue that accompanies it, has demonstrated how varied a kind of evidence of use this can be—and also how recalcitrant it can be for a cataloguer seeking to make it available through the limitations of the ordinary computer catalogue. In the nature of things, most annotation is anonymous—and not necessarily the worse evidence for that on the history of reading, of use, and of response.20

One of the largest questions relates to a further field that is, in some senses, very poorly documented indeed, and yet where there exists much more evidence than is sometimes realized. Simply in documentary terms, we have vastly less information concerning reading or book ownership by women than we do by men. This is a result of the status of women in the eyes of the law, rather than just within their everyday life, as owners of property.

I do not propose to venture into the complicated area of whether a woman’s signature on a book may or may not signify as a record of legal ownership. But it is quite clear that such a signature does at the very least signify some particular interest—intellectual, sentimental, religious, or family. For men as book owners, the evidence is legion by comparison, even though it has many peculiarities and its
own inadequacies. Records of book auctions, inventories of estates, and notes of household expenses all tend to a record that appears to be of men, but in fact is often misleading in that such records may relate to both sexes indifferently. And yet, it remains that the series of editions of the inventories of books in private libraries in renaissance England, edited by R. J. Fehrenbach in Maryland and Elisabeth Leedham-Green in England, has so far published none of books belonging to women. In his great survey of private libraries in England down to 1640, Sears Jayne was only able to find three such lists of books, two of them made for the male-dominated institutions to which women had presented books. Whether or not these women ever read these books is another question entirely.

Hence the importance of notes of provenance. There is plenty of evidence that women owned and used books, but it is scattered through the scribbles and signatures of books that are so far, in this respect, not so much inadequately recorded as hardly recorded at all. In the seventeenth century, at one extreme stands a figure such as Anne Sadleir, daughter of Sir Edward Coke, Lord Chief Justice. She was a person of considerably piety, and we know a lot about her religious inclinations thanks to her surviving books and notes. We also have a small group of letters. But, spectacularly, she was also in a position to give to Trinity College in Cambridge, following the execution of Charles I, what is generally reckoned to be one of the finest illuminated books of the thirteenth century, a large folio Apocalypse, the text of the Book of Revelations.
illustrated with a lavish series of pictures in red, blue and gold depicting the figures seen in his dream by St. John. Her purpose in presenting it to Trinity College was straightforward: it was for safety, in faith that the ‘vulger people’ would be brought to their former obedience, and that Charles II would be restored to the throne.

Her Apocalypse has been often exhibited, and it is coming under further scrutiny as a part of millenial fervor. But Anne Sadleir’s steps for the safety of one of the most valuable family possessions are hardly useful evidence of women’s reading more generally. For that, at this period, we have to resort to a painfully slow process of building up evidence book by book, as Paul Morgan has for the library, rich in all kinds of minor literature, of the much less wealthy contemporary of Anne Sadleir, Frances Wolfreston of Staffordshire. If we move to more recent times, we are told by the author of the standard history of book collecting in England that Frances Mary Currer (1785-1861) was the country’s earliest female bibliophile. Booksellers have repeated this hundreds of times since those words were written in the 1920s, because Currer, unusually, put a bookplate in her library, which was later sold at auction, and the book trade has therefore been reasonably well supplied with examples. But we should feel uneasy at the pioneering status accorded her by de Ricci and his disciples.

As everyone here will be aware, these are not easy times for university funding. Hence the importance of
engaging library work with faculty, of ensuring that the library is exploited for its educational possibilities. In Britain, there has recently been a nationwide exercise in what in management circles is called ‘mapping’; a survey of what various groups of users, in different subject areas, consider to be the most urgent needs in libraries. Perhaps not surprisingly, the results were only partially illuminating. Some researchers were not able even to draw on the most basic tools that their equivalents in other parts of the country had been accustomed to for decades: it was dispiriting, for example, to find how little collaboration there was in some areas even for sharing periodical subscriptions.

The exercise also pointed to developing needs. In particular, we may note here a growing interest in so-called ‘grey’ literature, the literature of reports from semi-official or unofficial bodies; the literature of protest and of pressure groups, which are playing so large a part now in the democratic process as voters become increasingly suspicious of main-line political parties. For libraries, such documents, printed or photocopied, can tend to fall midway between the responsibilities of manuscripts and of printed books. Another area for concern is the enormous pamphlet literature of the last two centuries. For the eighteenth century, this is better charted water, and Kansas has been to the forefront in setting an example. But, for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries we have so far much less satisfactory bibliographical control; and the *Nineteenth-Century Short-Title Catalogue*, based as it is at present on so
few libraries, offers all too little guidance even as to what exists, let alone its relative rarity or its location. In areas such as these, collections such as the O’Hegarty collection in the Spencer Library are of primary importance. They include publications of a kind that has never been collected in an everyday manner by the copyright libraries in the British Isles, and much that will have escaped government departments and private individuals. Indeed, it is probable that in important respects this particular collection is the best of its kind not just outside Ireland, but anywhere.

Some of the most promising historical research depends on the ephemeral and neglected literature: so common at its time that it was ignored. The history of disease and of medicine amongst the less privileged; the history of domestic life; the history of popular religion; of women’s daily existence; of travel and of transport; of ways in which language has been used; of popular theatre and popular music; of punishment; of recreation; of birth and of death; of street life; of children; of the old. I take these subjects at random, as examples of areas of research where a new awareness of the power of ballads and popular songs, advertisements, chapbooks, handbills and other forms of cheap literature provide a picture very different from what we may call the literary establishment. Much of this kind of material is ephemeral, on poor paper and in the throes of rapid deterioration. It raises serious questions of conservation. It can be an embarrassment in this respect. Much will only be preserved by reserving it from everyday use, and sharing it in re-formatted surrogates.
We have seen and heard much of surrogates and of reformatting in the last few years. Some of the tales of what has recently been discarded by libraries are hair-raising. Let us not be sanctimonious about this. Libraries have always had to discard and destroy. Indeed, the culture of preservation is a relatively recent phenomenon, as we realize by a moment’s thought about the history of manuscripts and their use to strengthen bindings in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, or the history of British public records in the nineteenth century, or of drives for waste paper during the Second World War. It is only in about the last two decades that we have begun to appreciate the interest of imperfect books; and most booksellers and librarians still—perhaps understandably—eschew them. But, on the other hand, the impulse, unconsidered and acted on without consultation, to digitize or film, and then destroy, should be resisted by research libraries whose duty is to enable the understanding of texts in the forms in which they have been created and published. John Milton wrote in a world that had no need to face film or digitization, and he was concerned with control of texts in another way. But his words ring out from 1644: ‘Hee who destroyes a good Booke, kills reason it selfe.’

The reasons for our new awareness of much that was in the past ignored as commonplace are not just born of new awareness of rarity. It has also to do with wider questions concerning the place of print in a society possessed of a new alternative.
The relevance of museum practice and expectations is evident. In a recent collection of articles written over the course of twenty and more years, Professor Tanselle pointed out that no museum keeper would dream of discarding original materials, and keeping them only in surrogate form.25 His analogy with the librarian who makes a microfilm and then discards the original is a dramatic one; and it requires a little more examination.

Museums now make a habit of reducing the quantity of original material on display, and using the space thereby gained to explain by means of more or less technical wizardry some of the principles of their collections. The aims are, very broadly, educational. The result is to be seen any day at a large museum. A few weeks ago, I was in the Natural History Museum, in London. That museum is a celebrated success in terms of popular appeal. But yet, when one looked at the age profile of the visitors on that day (dominated by young children, rather short on teenagers, distinctly short on unaccompanied adults), the effect of the decision to remove from public view many of the detailed and ordered displays of natural creation was plain to see. By means of models, photographs and computer images, the museum had sought, and found, a highly profitable but different market. As a teaching museum, it had moved down the equivalent of several school grades. Its function as a research institution has been largely removed from public view.26

There is food for thought here in the world of libraries. To present a surrogate of the original is, indeed, to
accomplish education at one level. But like the exhibits for those children in the Natural History Museum, this is no more than an introduction. Among other things, like making available as much literature as possible to as many people as need it, it is the business of a research library to enable the detailed analysis, from a whole variety of approaches, of original documents—be they medieval manuscripts or nineteenth-century weekly newspapers. Only by considering the originals, the implications of their bibliographical form, the material of their manufacture, the details of their printing, the degree of their durability, and by comparing these features with the same in other documents, can we begin to understand the purposes, meanings and spheres of influence of any document—printed, manuscript, film, digital or other. The phrase coined by Professor McKenzie in his Panizzi lectures in 1985, ‘forms effect meaning’, should ring in the ears of every librarian. Projects such as the Online Books Evaluation project at Columbia, interesting as they are, and useful as they will be for some purposes, have a strictly limited use for historians and others whose business is, or ought to be, as much with the artifact as with the marks that it bears.

Hence the importance of special collections in particular and research libraries as a whole: not just repositories of words and images, but also repositories of the vehicles by which these words and images were first brought to life, the paper, skin, papyrus, bark or other material on which they were printed, written, stamped or carved. Only by examining such artifacts can we begin to understand
the complicated links between the author and his or her environment; the possibilities and limitations of authorship; what it is that we or our predecessors mean or meant by publication; how and why particular texts look as they do, and how they are or may be modified as a result of their manufacture; how to balance modern rarity against what was earlier commonplace; how to evaluate the evidence on which we base these conclusions; how, in the end, readers have handled these pieces of paper, these books, these representations, these compromises between author and reader in which we may seek to discover meanings.

In some respects there is not much new in this. But it is new in two ways.

First, in raising concepts such as compromise, it reaches well beyond the certainties sought out by an older tradition of Anglo-American bibliography. In the hands of a core of influential leaders during the middle years of this century, this became a discipline that even sought to harness a belief in scientific demonstration and exactitude to what is, in reality, one subject to the vagaries and inconsistencies of human behaviour. How that behavior and textual experience may be represented is, or should be, one of major concern to current and future research.

Second, it is new to the last years of the twentieth century. To a generation for whom a printer is no longer a person, but an office desk machine linked to a keyboard, and for whom to read on screen is as natural as to read from print or from manuscript—and therefore for whom the evanescent word has no physical existence, and is
transiently defined by a series of intangible codes—the history of the book has within the space of a very few years become a topic of perhaps especial concern. We may agree that the book is not dying, but simply changing. But what do we mean by books? How does the codex differ from the database or from the novel or other ‘book’ that we can call up on screen? Why do books look as they do? How have they assumed their present conventions of materials, internal organization, circulation and sale? The several national histories of the book now in preparation are one obvious manifestation of this concern. Inspired by Henri-Jean Martin, Roger Chartier and others in France, where a history of the French book has been published in five volumes, teams in the United States and in Britain are now writing their own collaborative histories. We may expect to see the first of each of these two series within the next six months: the volume on the colonial period in the United States, and that on the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries in Britain. Meanwhile, there are other plans afoot in Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Not before time, some preliminary consideration is also being given concerning how to write the international history of the book, and how (for example) to analyze the growth and manipulation of international conglomerates with multifarious interests only one of which is in books. In other words, a subject potentially so large both thematically and geographically challenges the assumptions that underlie our research libraries, and requires us to re-examine our preconceptions of the organization of knowledge itself.
At the centre, we come back to books and the other artefacts of libraries—including, now, electronic texts. I hinted earlier at some of the conceptual and intellectual difficulties that face the historian of reading. The greatest of these is the question of how to reconcile what we know by bibliographical analysis with what we know by other processes. If the history of reading has a future as a coherent discipline, it will have to find a way of absorbing questions concerning the materiality of texts, of typography and book design, of comparative analysis among different editions, of the relationship between product and price, of the different responses and expectations of each generation to different human and material resources. It is sited in a no-man’s land between bibliographical theory and the experiences of individuals.

Thus, special collections will be at the forefront—more so, perhaps, than ever before. We now live in a world that is physically, not just chronologically or geographically, increasingly remote from the world of the printed book and manuscript in the pre-computer and pre-word-processing age. When in 1972 Philip Gaskell wrote his now standard textbook, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, he divided it between two broad periods: of the hand-press (that is, down to roughly 1800-20) and of the machine press. His book remains at the head of reading lists, and has recently been translated into Spanish. One of its greatest strengths was unexpected in its apposite timing, in that it was written at what proved to be the end of an era.
The revolution in the production of all forms of print in the last twenty or thirty years; and, linked to that as an integral part of everyday experience, the extent to which our reading and writing experiences are dependent on the computer: these make us look again, with new eyes, at the world of the codex, of the pen, and of printing.

Notes

1 Apart from the addition of a few footnotes, the following has been generally left in the sometimes informal style in which it was delivered. I felt greatly honored when invited to speak at the opening of the celebrations to mark the retirement of Sandy Mason from the Spencer Library. To Michael Hoeflich, who suggested that I should come, I owe especial gratitude. He and his wife Karen were ever-generous and thoughtful hosts. On campus, Bill Crowe and Mary M. Rosenbloom were chief among many who ensured that the day proved both worthwhile and memorable for all concerned. I thank them all.


3 For one demonstrator project, see the details of the American Heritage Project, which seeks to assemble finding aids of all kinds to the American heritage in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: <http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/Finding Aids/EAD/ameriher.html>.

4 The (British) National Council on Archives report Archives on-line (1998) is available at <http://www.archives.org.uk/index2.html>. For an outline index to the extensive, but far from complete, holdings of the British National Register of Archives, see <http://www.hmc.gov.uk/nra/nra.html>.


12 The Consortium of European Libraries (CERL) began its Hand Press Book database in 1992, with the aim of recording all books printed in Europe before 1830. The consortium now has 28 full members and 22 associate members in 25 countries; its database is held on RLIN.


15 For Phillipps, arguably the greatest collector of manuscripts in history, see A.N.L. Munby, *Phillipps studies* 5 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951-60), also abridged by Nicholas Barker as *Portrait of an obsession* (New York: Putnam, 1967).

16 For Moore, see McKitterick, *Cambridge University Library*, pp. 47-142.


18 A few days before this lecture, as a result of an anti-tobacco ruling, the Marlboro man was barred from roadside hoardings as the most widely familiar of all examples of word working with image.

19 <http://www.indiana.edu/~sharp/>.


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I come to this celebration with, as I told Sandy Mason earlier, many mixed emotions. It is very hard to come back to your past life, especially when you work—as I do—in such a new world of technology. But it is a part of my life, and I felt greatly honored to be invited to participate. My time at the University of Kansas was very important; it is where I really learned to be a librarian. I thought it very “telling” that I am staying at the Halcyon House here in town, a bed and breakfast near downtown Lawrence, because my time here at Lawrence was a halcyon time of my life, a time I look back on with great fondness, and wonderful memories. I make an effort always to try to come back and stay in touch with people here.

In my new position at Nova Southeastern University, I work very much in the technologies. I do a great deal of
training in distance library services and I am much more at ease now in working with Power Point presentations. I thought it only to be appropriate to cross over and show you that world, and bring it back to the rare book world, as well.

I start off with a quotation that I found on a keepsake which we had printed as a birthday card for Sandy Mason many years ago in the Hole and Corner Press. I thought it was an appropriate way to think about how this library developed over the years. “It takes a person thought and time to really build a collection like this library.”

My first view of the Kenneth Spencer Research Library was from the air. If you remember, many years ago, they used to fly in candidates for positions on a little plane out of KCI airport. I used to joke that it was a way to test the candidate’s mettle. If you survived the flight and got off the plane happy, and didn’t kiss the earth, then you had the job. When I first came to Lawrence on my interview, I was the only passenger on the plane. The pilot asked why I was coming. I said, for a job at the university. He said, let me show you the university. He flew over the campus, pointing out all the libraries on campus, including the Spencer Library.

I came here quite naive. I was almost straight out of library school; just a few years had intervened. I literally had come to start a new life. I flew here with hardly any belongings—a box of dishes, boxes of books. I did have some of those already! To me, it was a very new and exciting opportunity in my life. I entered something that was very important—a world of learning that I had not
ever been exposed to before. And I would find here more
than I ever dreamed possible.

The first assignment I had was to read the *Guide to
Special Collections*. And if you were to look at my copy,
you’d see at the very, very top, in Sandy’s handwriting,
“Ms. Quinlan.” That’s how I wanted to be known, “Ms.
Quinlan.” I looked through this recently, and it was
heavily annotated. She had corrected everything in the
*Guide* that had to be corrected, so that I would have the
most recent information about the library.

For me, the most important part of this job was how
much I was helped to learn. I traveled back in time with
the Summerfield Collection, for example. One of the
benefits of this job was the time that I was allowed to
spend learning. Sandy and the others here gave me the
time to do that. I would spend hours in the stacks, looking
at material, just looking, browsing, pulling books off the
shelves, seeming to do research, but really learning about
the library and its collections.

There was so much here. It is such a rich collection, a
true treasure. I always tell people it is probably the best-
kept secret of the Midwest. Sometimes I wish people didn’t
know about it because I want to keep it a special secret
for myself and for those here. Yet, it is something that
everyone needs to know more about.

In particular, I was assigned to be in charge of the
Irish collection. A sense of humor is the whimsy of it
because I knew nothing about the Irish Collection. I had
no background in Irish studies, but I had an appropriate name! It was felt that if she had that name, she could work with that collection. I spent a lot of time working in it, cataloging material in it, doing reference from it, and it became a very important part of my time here.

I had the opportunity to teach. I took on the classes on the History of the Book. I helped revive the tradition that had been established by Sandy, but had lapsed because of so many other things she had to do. She revived that with me, and gave me a chance to learn by teaching as well. Teaching for me is very important, and to this day the skills I learned here in teaching, I carry on. A very large part of my current job is teaching. In a particularly important class picture, taken at the end of the semester, 1982, one of the students who can be seen is my husband!

I also had the opportunity to prepare exhibits, to do in-depth research, to learn about a specific area of interest. During my tenure here, I did three major exhibits. I also had a chance to play in the cases. I could go out in the Ambulatory and just put in a display; pick a subject, and just do something, or go off and do one in the reference reading room. Again this gave me a chance to learn as much as I could about the collections, which made me a better librarian—both in using the collections and in helping users.

I worked to establish the Hole and Corner Press, which has gotten larger and better since the days when I was here. Even in this I had a chance to learn—about printing, working with students, producing small keepsakes and
booklets. It was a wonderful time for me to work in this area. I managed to continue this in my job in Colorado. But I hate to say that since I moved to Florida I haven’t had a chance even to look at a printing press.

What else is there for me to remember? The start the ESTC Project, reading dealer catalogs _ad infinitum_, helping to select material for the collection, to have that opportunity was a real learning experience. Too, there was being the LOD (“Librarian on Duty”), where you had to deal with all the people who came through the front gates and get to know what they wanted and help them get to it, the Snyder Book Collecting Contest—a very, very important program here at this library, where endless generations of students have learned the skills—or been exposed to improving their skills—in book collecting. Cataloging on OCLC... I came here when OCLC was first brought into the library, and so along with everyone else learned skills that became very valuable to me in later years. The ability to catalog is an important part of being a librarian. To have that as part of my repertoire has made my career better. The Watson Library Book Fair, as part of the rededication of Watson Library, also was a large part of my life.

And then the _people_ who worked here: Mary Ann, Bill, Jim, Sally, Ann, Sandy, and Annie Williams. All of them were part of my everyday life here at the Spencer Library.

What made all this possible for somebody like myself who came out of a background that had nothing to do with rare books—to learn rare books and to learn really how
to be a professional librarian? First of all, it is a group of mentors. I’m not talking about just Sandy, but of all the staff and the librarians in the Spencer Library during the time I was here. They offered me a community that was open to all who wanted to participate. They never stopped learning, and, in turn, they taught me what they knew. They allowed me to participate and take responsibility, and allowed me to make mistakes as well, and allowed me to recover from them. They had a shared sense of purpose in a deeply believed cause. I think you do understand how strong the cause was here, and still is to this day—a belief in rare books and manuscripts and the importance of them as something that students and faculty could use. It’s a very, very strong belief, and one that I have always kept with me when I’ve gone on to other schools.

This is a library that surrounded me with a love of books and gave me the books to love as well; a very, very wonderful part of my life.
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alle this Bronge & alle this Bilbo
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A good many years ago, as an undergraduate, I remember getting into a wrangle with my adviser about some now-forgotten but horribly unjust requirement in my departmental regulations. If the whole faculty proceeded that way, I remarked, the students would decamp en masse and then where would the faculty be? Actually, he said, the faculty would be in heaven. They wouldn’t have the constant interruption of pipsqueaks like me during office hours, they wouldn’t have to waste time preparing or giving lectures, and they wouldn’t need to argue over the size of class enrollments with dingbat administrators. Instead, he pointed out, the faculty could spend every available moment engaged as they ought to be engaged in—writing, research, and the general pursuit of knowledge.
Today, as an ordinary library user among so many distinguished bookmen, librarians and ex-librarians, I won’t make the same kind of mistake I did then, by nattering on about the rights and privileges of ordinary library users. Instead I would like to speak as a beneficiary of the Spencer Library, as someone who has gained significantly in his research over the years from what Alexandra Mason and her colleagues have achieved here. Since my first visit, in 1987, I have seldom given a conference paper, published an article, or written a chapter for a book that hasn’t drawn in some way on the Spencer’s holdings or its staff’s expertise.

The key phrase here is drawn in some way. I have never made any major discoveries based exclusively or even preponderantly on Spencer holdings or on holdings from any other single research library, either. I am a student of early 18th-century Ireland, especially the great satirist Jonathan Swift and his circle of friends and collaborators in Dublin. The days are long past (if they ever existed at all) when you could march into a rare-book library and ask to see their major unpublished Swift manuscripts and then turn away in disgust when you’re told that, gee, they don’t think they have any. For Swift as for other major figures, there are still some discoveries to be made, often of things which have been hiding all these years in plain view. They are being rediscovered in piecemeal ways, in the manner of a jigsaw puzzle, by fitting together a multiplicity of pieces of evidence from a multiplicity of different sources. It is here that a well-conceived, well-run research library proves its worth.
Until fairly recently, scholars have paid little attention to the ways that texts, and ideas, were transmitted to their readers; to the way that a pamphlet or poem, let’s say, would be copied and recopied in manuscript, then printed and reprinted in different places and with varying formats, with occasional editing and revising to suit the new circumstances. Since so much 18th-century literature appeared anonymously, who was the original author or authors, and who were the editors? Which form of the text is attributable to each? What previous works are they responding to or commenting upon? What's the meaning of their many topical references, to current personalities and events? In the past, scholars took great pains to identify the work of major figures like Swift—determining his canon, to use the current jargon—before moving on to generalize about it. Only recently have we begun to tackle questions of authorship in the mass of other literature from his time. Often it is almost equally skillful, sometimes written by friends and protégés of Swift’s. And occasionally (as I’ve been discovering) it turns out to have been authorized, co-written, or quietly produced by Swift himself. The traditional way of building up a literary collection is to purchase “Famous Firsts,” first editions of the known works of Swift or whatever major figure is at stake. For researchers like me, such collections are no longer enough in themselves. Hence my periodic visits to Kansas, which owns few if any Famous Firsts by Swift. Thanks to the 18th-century materials here in the P.S. O’Hegarty Irish collection, mainly in polemics and history, as supplemented by the 18th-century Irish- or Irish-related titles in the Richard
Howey economics collection, the Spencer has built up a solid critical mass of early Dublin imprints. And since 18th-century Ireland can no more be understood in isolation than Colonial America, these materials can be further checked and compared against the Spencer’s enviably strong holdings for 18th-century British, history, economics and literature, many of which either reprint Irish titles or provide the copy texts for the revised or reprinted Irish editions at Kansas.

Again, since most 18th-century poetry was topical rather than personal and avidly read by a far broader audience than reads verse today, Kansas boasts an ace in the hole which isn’t antiquarian at all. This sits in some of the card-file cabinets in Bill Mitchell’s bailiwick, and is called the Boys-Mizener First-Line Index of Case Poetry,¹ laboriously compiled years ago by two out-of-state professors, Richard Boys and Arthur Mizener, and then donated to Kansas. It indexes all poems printed or reprinted in early 18th-century verse miscellanies, or anthologies, one of the most popular ways at the time to publish poetry. For anyone seeking to trace the descent of a text, or to shed some light on its date or authorship, Boys-Mizener is an essential tool. Between Boys-Mizener, the Irish collections and the British collections, Kansas provides fertile ground for research. For someone like me, there’s enough here to guarantee that you will find at least some of the things you are looking for and more than enough for serendipity, the chance of bumping into at least a few useful things which had never occurred to you to seek. On every one of my visits,
including this one, there has always been something that jumps out and says, Surprise!

After all this buildup, I should be telling you that, thanks to the Spencer Library, we now know that Swift wasn’t a satirist at all, but rather a serious-minded transgendered foot-fetishist who pioneered the post-modernist approach to Queer Studies. I fear that the truth is less dramatic, certainly less *au courant*. To those of us concerned with the written word and its readers, it may be equally interesting. Between the end of 1731 and 1736, during the final years of his career before ill health began to sideline him, Swift’s acknowledged literary output slowed to a trickle. Culturally, politically, and economically, this was a period of tremendous energy and optimism in Ireland. What was Swift doing with himself? It now appears that he was spending a good deal of time amusing himself in collaborative literary ventures with his circle in Dublin—a set of lively-minded but provincial friends whom you have probably never heard of, including the preacher Patrick Delany, the schoolmaster Thomas Sheridan, the learned classicist and press-corrector Constantia Grierson, the clever young parson Matthew Pilkington and his wife Laetitia, a woolen-drapers rhyming wife named Mary Barber, and at the peripheries, a couple of Trinity College students named Dunkin and Dalacourt. We knew that Swift had collected, revised, and annotated his own *Works* for publication in 1735, giving us the version of his writings most often used today. It now appears that this process had started a couple of years earlier, with an unheralded
Dublin collection in 1732 and that he had involved some of his Dublin friends in the work. In her later Memoirs Laetitia Pilkington had mentioned group editing sessions, under Swift’s supervision, for Mary Barber’s collected Poems of 1754. Laetitia’s husband Matthew, in his own collected Poems of 1730, had credited Swift and some other unnamed judges for improvements in the text. From tracing and comparing the earlier texts of these poems, partly through Boys-Mizener, I’ve been able to establish that the same editorial techniques were at work as in the newly rediscovered 1732 Swift collection and in Swift’s authorized Works of 1755. We find the same attention to the sound as well as the sense, the same signs of group rather than individual editing. Similarly, we find the same attention to the needs of a middle-brow Irish readership, which might not catch all the allusions in a piece written ten or fifteen years earlier, especially when originally composed (as Swift’s often were) for a narrower or more sophisticated audience.  

Apparently Swift and his circle turned their attention to other authors as well. At the beginning of 1733 we find him writing to his English friend Alexander Pope about Pope’s new satire, the Epistle On the Use of Riches, which has just been reprinted in Dublin. “We have no objection,” Swift writes, “but to the obscurity of several passages by our ignorance in facts and persons, which makes us lose abundance of the satire. Had the printer given me notice,” Swift continues, “I would have honestly printed the names at length” instead of the cautious blanks or initials which
appear in the text “and writ explanatory notes” to help “the middling reader.” Now the publisher who had reprinted Pope was Swift’s authorized printer in Dublin, George Faulkner. In Faulkner’s very next edition of the poem, three or four months later, we find everything that Swift had proposed the names printed out at length, as well as some useful new explanatory notes, sounding very much like Swift. Neither Swift nor Pope scholars have noticed them before. What’s more by comparing Irish editions of Pope here in Kansas, at several libraries in Dublin, and at the University of Texas I find that similar notes (some with new and useful information) have been added to all of Pope’s satires which Faulkner reprinted in Dublin during the ensuing two or three years.

This concern for the “middling Irish reader” comes through in several other projects which Swift authorized or directed, unknown or disregarded before now. Some manuscript notes on Swift, recently acquired by the University of Pennsylvania and validated by the fragmentary original at the Victoria & Albert in London, show him authorizing the young scholar Dunkin to revamp a popular English burlesque, Charles Cotton’s *Scarronides or Virgil Travesty*. They reveal that Swift presided over a revised English-language edition of Cervantes’ *Don Quixote*, complete with his own prefatory essay on satire and irony published in Dublin in 1735 but not noticed before now. Swift may sometimes have commented on satire satirically, once remarking, for example, that it’s a mirror in which we see every face but our own, but to the best of my knowledge,
this is the first time we find him discussing the subject seriously. The same manuscript notes reveal that Swift also wrote a short satiric poem about young Dunkin’s college rival James Dalacourt. Why should he have bothered with a couple of small fry? An obscure pamphlet by Dunkin, in the O’Hegarty Collection here at Kansas, reveals the cause and begins to suggest some of the complexity of the situation. For his collected *Works* of 1735, Swift had decided to publish a manuscript poem he had written in Latin. Presumably for the sake of his middling readers, he wanted an English verse translation to accompany it, and apparently held some sort of informal competition at Trinity College. Dalacourt had submitted a translation, it transpires, but according to Dunkin this was rejected leading to bad blood with Swift and with Dunkin, whose own translation won out and eventually appeared in Swift’s *Works*. There is much still to disentangle about this and other transactions in the 1730s, but at last we are beginning to get a sense of Swift’s milieu, his literary priorities, his related avocations, and the texts he revised for us in his *Works*.5

At almost every step of the way the Spencer Library has contributed, usually at the nuts and bolts level, rather than in some splashy dramatic fashion. For major works I’ve discovered here, the best I can offer is an idealistic essay on Ireland by Swift’s friend Constantia Grierson, present in the Howey collection in both the original Dublin edition and the London reprint. It is hardly stellar in itself, but it is pertinent to a controversial section of *Gulliver’s Travels* which Swift first added in his *Works* of 1735.6 Just as often
I find myself doing things like checking the publishers’ lists of recent titles sometimes added at the back of Dublin imprints, to help determine the date of pamphlets never advertised in the press, including the first Dublin reprint of Pope to contain Swift’s annotations. Work like this may be unglamorous, but when you’re piecing together a jigsaw puzzle, it becomes essential.

Another activity I find essential, both for personal and professional reasons, is talking with knowledgeable experts comparing notes, trying out ideas, seeking new research approaches for knotty problems, perhaps even receiving a little intelligent encouragement along the way. For reasons too tedious to go into, there are not many people left in English studies who do serious documentary research. Too many are isolated in their respective English departments or, like me, exiled altogether from the academic scene. Here the Spencer Library has offered and I hope, will continue to offer, advantages which not even the British Library can match. That is the remarkable staff which Sandy Mason has assembled. A huge library like the B.L. may boast knowledgeable people as well, but unless you already know them, it can be difficult fighting through the various layers of bureaucracy to reach them personally. On my first visit to Lawrence, as a complete stranger, I found myself conferring with Bill Mitchell about Boys-Mizener and early Dublin imprints, going into the stacks with Ann Hyde to check uncatalogued O’Hegarty manuscripts, and outlining problems in my Pilkington edition with Sandy Mason herself. The benefit I gained was enormous. By
phone, letter, and e-mail ever since, I haven’t hesitated to follow it up. And as the beneficiary of their assistance, I find myself a bit readier than I was to share my expertise with scholars who approach me in turn with questions. At St. Paul’s Cathedral in London, everyone knows the epitaph of its architect, Sir Christopher Wren: *Si monumentum requiris, circumspice*. I think that the monument of a great research library, which requires strong people as well as strong holdings, must extend somewhat further beyond the architecture, the books and manuscripts, even the people who built them up and keep them growing. You must also look at the benefits thereby conferred: on the many articles, papers, dissertations and other studies partly researched here, and even (perhaps) on the growth of those of us so happily engaged in the work.

Notes


2 The discovery of the revisions and annotations in the 1752 Swift collection Samuel Fairbrother’s reprinting that year of the first two *Swift-Pope Miscellanies* volumes was made by John Irwin Fischer and was first announced at the 1994 Swift Symposium in Germany, in his and James Woolley’s unpublished paper, “The Swift Poems Project: An Edition and Electronic Archive.” For analysis and comparison of these revisions with revisions in the authorized 1755 Swift *Works*, in the 1734 Mary Barber *Poems* (which include some of Constantia Grierson’s), and in the 1750 Matthew Pilkington *Poems*, see my own “Senatus Consultum: Revising Verse in Swift’s Dublin Circle 1729-1755,” in Hermann J. Real and Helgard Stöver-Leidig, eds., *Reading Swift: Papers from The Third Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift* (Munich, 1998), pp. 249-67.

Here I draw from my forthcoming paper “Swift Annotates Pope, with Other Projects for the Middling Reader,” scheduled for the 10th World Congress on the Enlightenment, Dublin, July 1999. At O’Hegarty B2532.6, KU owns a copy of the improved Pope *Epistle to Cobham* (Dublin, by Faulkner, 1754), Foxon P922.


This is her anonymous *The Present State of Ireland Consider’d* (Dublin, by and for George Grierson, 1730), KU shelfmark Howey C1216. The London reprint of the same year, also at KU, is Howey B672. All Mrs. Grierson’s publications were anonymous. Her works and her connection with *Gulliver’s Travels* are the subject of my unpublished paper, “Reforming Mankind and Other Loose Ends: Constantia Grierson, William Wollaston, and Gulliver’s Letter to Sympon.” For Mrs. Grierson herself, see Elias, “A Manuscript Book of Constantia Grierson’s,” *Swift Studies*, 2 (1987), 35-56.
If the castle were captured, would the garrison be suffered to
remain? But now late that Has accorded be your neglect,
without your love, your old
flatterers that counseylle you and
pryuey counseylle you the son
that counseylle you to advance you
Certes pre as I have said? Before
was telle? suche manner of folk to
myselfs kyn vnough reprove?
that kynlese late be now descend to
proceed after the doctrine of Turk
of thys mater or of thys coun;
ly enquire. For it is best not
done to void thys trespaas and
trespassours, and? in what manner
alle this Brongete? alle this Bild
of pe epamynge the second? condicon
istus addeth in this same mater.
Thank you for giving me the opportunity to join in this very special occasion. It means a great deal to me to be able to say thank you and tell you a little about what it was like, as an undergraduate, to benefit from Special Collections at KU.

I’d like to begin with an anecdote from my graduate years at Oxford. I recalled this story on my way here to Lawrence, while looking through two or three back issues of the *Times Literary Supplement*, and catching up on my reading. In one of the recent issues there was a review of a biography of John Sparrow, Warden of All Souls. Two or three lines of that review awakened my memories. Let me read you those lines:

*His deepest and most abiding passion from childhood to the grave was collecting books. Although passionately adverse to*
youth culture, he had an unaffected enjoyment of the company of the young, and spent endless hours in talk and debate with the junior fellows of All Souls. And although his was a college without students (that heavenly place), through his patronage of the Society of Bibliophiles he probably had close and friendly contact with more undergraduates than any other college head of his time.

This is what brought my memories suddenly flooding back, for I had been one of those undergraduate members of the Society of Bibliophiles. We often travelled together to view private collections in Oxford and beyond. There were not many of us, about eight to ten a year, a number that was matched by rare books lovers and bibliophiles from among the fellows of the colleges and the librarians. We took several trips to wonderful collections all around England.

The high point, at least for the undergraduates, was the end of each third term, when we would hold our meeting in John Sparrow’s lodgings. Each member brought a favorite book from his or her collection, and shared it with the others, selecting the best and most exciting books we had found in the past year. Once we had all made our presentations, John Sparrow would quietly disappear upstairs and come back down with an armload of books. And here’s what he carried: If you had a first edition of a book, he would have an inscribed copy. If you had an inscribed copy, he would have it inscribed to the author’s mother. The riches he had at hand were simply amazing. On one such occasion, I brought along a very interesting book. I had been in Maggs in London, browsing through a dusty shelf of German books, when my future wife Lynda
pulled out a copy of *The Life of Friedrich the Great* by Thomas Carlyle, translated into German, and showed it to me. Opening it up, I found the book plate of Adolph Hitler. There was a typed note inside from the bookseller, dated 1945, saying he had obtained the book from an American soldier who had entered Hitler’s home in Berchtesgaden and taken it off a shelf in the library.

I bought this book, since no one else seemed to have noticed it over the years. I took it back to my college, and read Hugh Trevor Roper’s book on the last days of Hitler. Trevor Roper states that Carlyle’s biography of Frederick was, in fact, Hitler’s favorite book, and that Goebbels read from it to Hitler shortly before Hitler’s suicide. I contacted Hugh Trevor Roper, told him what I had, and he invited me to tea. He wanted to see if there were any annotations in the book. He said it was interesting that Hitler had two copies, because there was obviously the copy in the bunker that Goebbels had read from, but that this was clearly Hitler’s copy as well, bound in full leather, and retained in his personal library. This was the book I brought along for our end of term gathering.

John Sparrow was somewhat taken aback. He produced a first edition of *Mein Kampf* in two volumes, but in his heart he didn’t seem to feel he had trumped this particular book. He was moved to say something unusual (I won’t attempt to imitate his beautiful accent): “Mr. Mitchell, I’m going to break a rule that we have in this society. We never, never ask this question, but would you mind telling us how much you paid for it?” The answer was £5. John
Sparrow checked the code at the back of the book. He said that Maggs used the code word *harlequin*, and it revealed that they had paid three pounds for the book in 1945. It had been on the shelf for twenty years at five pounds.

I was musing about this on my way to Lawrence because I thought how improbable it was that any book would have broken down British reserve in this way—and how equally improbable it had been for a twenty-one year old from Salina, Kansas, to be sitting in those lodgings with people who knew so much more than he did, talking about rare books and drinking sherry.

Just four years earlier, I had arrived at the University of Kansas, loving books, but knowing little about them. Something had happened to me in those four years, and it happened in Special Collections at the University of Kansas. The distance I had traveled to arrive in England was more than thousands of miles, it was a spiritual distance as well.

At the end of my first year at Kansas, I wanted to study abroad. I’d never been anywhere, so I hoped to go to Germany and study with the KU summer language institute, which is still a great program here at the University of Kansas. I told my mother, and she was horrified. “Why would you ever want to leave Kansas?” she asked in shock. Her reaction made me think of the teachers I’d had that first year. I’d studied with Marilyn Stokstad and Francis Heller, and the late Charlton Hinman. I didn’t *know* who he was, but I’d studied Shakespeare with him in a freshman honors seminar, and finally learned what a First Folio was. I told my mother how excited I was, and
said that I wanted to keep on learning by travelling abroad. She burst into tears, and said, “If I had known this would happen, I never would have sent you to college.”

I came back from that summer in Germany and started working for the KU library. I started out in the math department library, then moved to the one in the German department. I began to learn how librarians work and think, how to fill out book orders and read catalogues, and that was exciting for me too. I started studying languages more deeply, began translating poetry and prose, and became fascinated by the poems of Rainer Maria Rilke. This love of literature first brought me to the exhibitions and programs of Special Collections. I discovered they had a wonderful collection of the works Rainer Maria Rilke. I couldn’t believe there were almost 1700 books by and about a particular author, including every edition and binding variant, and appearances in periodicals. I remember being particularly struck by a beautiful six-volume set of a periodical called *Hyperion*, limited to 50 copies on Japanese paper and bound in full leather by the Wiener Werkstätte. It also included the first appearance in print of a text by Franz Kafka. Years later I was able to buy a set of my own. My thoughts returned directly to the collections here, and I knew I had laid a solid cornerstone for my Kafka collection.

Another strong memory from KU days also has to do with book collecting, and how much a young student can learn from Special Collections. It was the Snyder Book Collecting Contest, which still exists today. I was encouraged to enter the competition because I had been
collecting books on pseudo-science: books that proved the world was flat, or that the pyramids were created by visitors from outer space, or that proved flying saucers exist—not exactly high-quality rare books, as you might imagine. I entered the contest and was fortunate enough to win. The award was an inspiration, encouraging me and solidifying my interest in collecting. But the contest offered more than that. The staff in Special Collections guided me to an understanding of how one goes about organizing coherent bibliographical descriptions, and how to convey a sense of what a collection is in bibliographical terms. Moreover they actually displayed the books of the winners, so I could see my own collection under glass. These books were far from rare or valuable, but my heart and thought had gone into collecting them, and it meant a great deal to me.

Over my years at KU, I grew from a person who knew almost nothing about books to someone who knew enough to spot a volume of special interest, to understand the difference between first editions and later ones, to note bindings and recognize association copies. So when that Hitler volume appeared on the shelf, I didn’t hesitate. As a graduate student, I was busy writing a dissertation on James Joyce’s *Ulysses* and its influence on the German novel. One of my research trips brought me back to the Spencer Library to use the Spoerri collection of James Joyce, where I found all the early German translations of *Ulysses*, as well as translations into other languages, an invaluable aid to completing my doctorate.
When I finished at Oxford in 1968, I went to Indiana University, starting there thirty-one years ago. One of the primary attractions at I.U. was the Lilly Library. I felt immediately at home. I’m very proud to have been a co-founder of the Friends of the Lilly Library, and to have chaired the faculty committee for many years. Among other pleasant opportunities it has given me, it offered me a chance to see Sandy Mason from time to time as a member of our distinguished Board of Visitors.

A thread thus runs from my earliest memories of KU’s Special Collections to my present role at the Lilly Library. I am thankful for everything Sandy Mason and the library staff did to bring the world of books and learning to me—and not just to me, but to countless other undergraduates and graduate students over the years. You may not always hear specifically how much it means, Sandy, but it has made my life much richer and more meaningful—and I thank you for it.
lyng before the battle made the
Mogde faith, that the garrison is y
ge tyme adymped. But now late
that hase accorded be your neygh-
uerence Withouten love, your olde
flaterers that counctyple yold cert-
ly counctyple yold the son
that counctyple you to alterge you
Certes lyre as I have said? before
the cleyred suche maner of folk to
merryours ben ynoough repreynd?
that theles late he now descend to
proceed after the doctryne of Turk
of thys mateere ox of thys coun-
try terquyre, For it is Wist Wex
don to yold thys trespaas and
trespausours, and? in What maner
alle this Brownge & alle this Bild
ye epamynge the secon? condiccon
ullius doteh in this same mateer.
The magnitude of this occasion must not be lost and I believe it devolved upon me to tell about the first years of the University of Kansas, Department of Special Collections and the Kenneth Spencer Research Library. A library is the nucleus around which caring and inquisitive persons circulate. The caring persons for this rare book library began nurturing the books and manuscripts in the late 1800s, but the great expansion took place in 1945 after the death of Ralph Ellis, who was a true bibliomaniac. After the fate of his outstanding natural history and travel collection was settled by the Supreme Court of the State of Kansas, the rare books needed room to expand. Ralph Ellis’s mother had felt a special library should be built for her son’s collection, but the Kenneth Spencer family made the new library a reality.
The Ralph Ellis collection contained over 15,000 volumes, with thousands of manuscripts, pamphlets and ephemera related to ornithology, general natural history, and early voyages. It was first housed in a metal cage in one of the lower levels at Watson Library. This was the way I first saw it in 1951.

I had recently moved from New York City to St. Joseph, Missouri, to join a general medicine clinic and begin my practice of dermatology. For some years, beginning in my teens, I had evinced an interest in birds and bird art. My mother had purchased three John Gould prints from an antique dealer in central Illinois, near our house. I knew something about Audubon and Wilson, but could not find much written about John Gould. My interest was piqued, and I began my search for Gouldiana. In 1948, I published my first article on this British bird man. My material had come from the John Crerar Library in Chicago, the New York Public Library, the Library of Congress, the Louisville Public Library, and other eastern facilities.

When I moved to St. Joseph, Missouri, I feared my chances of further study of Gould material would be limited—I was not near the great centers of learning. Then, someone in our bird group in St. Joseph suggested that I ought to visit the University of Kansas, because he had heard there was quite a collection of bird books there. Soon I was in Lawrence. This is when I saw the Ellis collection locked in a metal cage. John Nugent showed me around.

Imagine my pleasant surprise when I found the largest collection in the world of Gouldiana—in Kansas. Not only
had Ralph Ellis accumulated 48 of the 50 imperial folio volumes published by John Gould, but also much more importantly, he had purchased 90 percent of the extant Gould “and company” original watercolors, sketches, annotated drawings, tissue drawings, tracings, and 12 original lithographic stones. Surrounding and augmenting this natural history bonanza were many volumes related to Gould’s artists and associates, Edward Lear, Joseph Wolf, Sir William Jardine, Prideaux John Selby, Lord Derby, Charles Darwin, John James Audubon, and on and on. Also, there were complete series of many of the nineteenth century journals in the collection—The Proceedings and the Transactions of the Zoological Society of London, and many others. As you all know, these periodical publications provide a wealth of information on the pursuits and persons of a certain period.

It would appear that I had been destined to be near this remarkable Gouldiana collection.

The Ellis collection has not been a static one. As Robert Vosper told me, this unique collection was one of the main factors that made him decide to come to Kansas in 1952 as the Director of Libraries. Next came Joseph Rubinstein in 1953 to be the first curator of the Department of Special Collections. Joe and I had many pleasant and stimulating conversations on rare books and the Ellis treasure trove. He was a great stimulus to my early research work on the Ellis material. There was a large safe in the cage, and it was bursting with the meticulous files of Ralph Ellis’s frenzied book buying, especially as it related to dealings with his
mother. Ralph constantly overspent his generous allowance on books. Other files concerned his dealers, his mentors, his psychiatrist, his incarceration in a mental institution where he had been committed by his mother, his troubles with the police, his two wives, and his frequent visits to doctors on the East and West coasts to get relief for a disabling monthly outbreak of painful sores in his mouth. Incidentally, these doctor visits from the age of infancy were documented in three medical journals and are of considerable interest to me as a dermatologist.

Alexandra Mason came to Kansas in 1957, and when in 1963, Joe Rubinstein wished to return to his former career as an antiquarian book dealer, she was appointed as the head of the Department of Special Collections. When the new Kenneth Spencer Research Library was completed in 1968, Sandy became the Spencer Librarian.

The final migration of the Ellis collection was now completed, from Berkeley, California, to Lawrence, Kansas, via one-and-a-half boxcars, to the cage at Watson Library, and now in the very attractive and utilitarian Kenneth Spencer Research Library.

The Ellis collection, and many other vibrant collections in the Spencer Library, as has been stated earlier in the symposium, have received a careful and scholarly nurturing by Sandy. For the Ellis collection, she found the money necessary to purchase the two Gould imperial folio volumes not owned by Ellis. Another purchase was from the dealer Kraus in New York City. He had for sale two bound volumes of original drawings by John Gould and his associates, once
owned by the Sir William Jardine family. I had examined these volumes in New York City. Sandy wisely made this purchase for the Spencer Library.

Bob Mengel arrived in Kansas in 1953. He was hired as the “Ornithological consultant to the Ellis collection, Watson Library.” His task was to catalogue the Ellis ornithological collection. Years passed. When Mengel saw fit to give up this position for pure ornithology, he had only progressed through G in the catalogue. Then Sandy Mason and Jim Helyar took on the arduous task of complementing Mengel’s collations. This resulted in two volumes of *A Catalogue of the Ellis Collection of Ornithological Books, A through D*. Incidentally, I understand that Sandy hopes to resume work on this catalogue in her retirement.

Library collections should be utilized by researchers. In the case of the Ellis-Gould collection, the researchers have come from England, Europe, and Australia to work on the unique Gould material. My book, *John Gould the Bird Man: A Chronology and Bibliography*, was published in 1982. Sandy Mason and Jim Helyar were most helpful and encouraging to me. The color plates in the book, illustrated previously unpublished original paintings and sketches from the Ellis-Gould Collection.

Sandy Mason will be missed by her library associates, students, researchers, and good friends.

Sandy, this is not the end, but a new beginning.
lying before the curacy makerth. Mordze saith, that the garrison is y
ge tyme aduysed? But now late that was accorded by your neygh-
uerent Withouten loute your olde slaterers that countaylle yow cert-
2 pryuely countaylle yow the son-
that countaylle you to alenge you. Certes syre as I have said? Before
newe cleyed? suche maner of folk to
mcy pulleus ben enough repleuyd?
that nathles late he now descende to
procede after the doctrine of Tur
of thys matere or of thys count-
yly tenquyre. For it is Wist well
don to yow thys trespaas and?
trespassours and? in What maner
alle this Wounge & alle this Bilo
l pe epamyne the second? condicty
yssius adde in this same mater.
In honor of Alexandra Mason

I’m asked to speak about the particular strengths of Special Collections in Spencer, their usefulness to scholars, and the potential for further development.

I can only speak for myself, of course, because what I know best are the books and collections that came to Spencer through me—and these are manuscripts before about 1500 or 1550, early printed books, the history of humanistic scholarship, and scholarly reference books dealing with the period from, say, St. Augustine to the Council of Trent (I try to avoid the words “medieval” and “Renaissance” because they are so vague, but it’s hard to do without them.) These were my chosen special fields then, and they still are, with a few concessions to changing times.
Joe Rubinstein, whom I had met in Berkeley in the immediate postwar years after we came home from the War, was one of the graduate students who gathered around the great historian Ernst Kantorowicz, who was then teaching at Berkeley after having left his native Germany. Kantorowicz had gained international fame with his biography of Frederick II of Hohenstaufen published in Berlin in the early 1930’s. His second magnum opus, which among other things demonstrated his extraordinary range and versatility, was *The King’s Two Bodies* (Princeton University Press, 1957), a monograph on English constitutional history which earned him the Haskins Medal. While at Berkeley, Joe Rubinstein had almost completed his dissertation, suggested to him by Kantorowicz: the Horatian concept of “Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori” as interpreted in the Middle Ages. Then came the Loyalty Oath Controversy which tore Berkeley apart in the McCarthy years. Kantorowicz resigned in protest and left for the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, and Joe was too dispirited to finish his thesis. Instead, he went to library school; every cloud has its silver lining, indeed! And I like to think that in some measure the spirit of one of our century’s greatest historians is embedded in the Spencer Library thanks to one of his disciples. Another Kantorowicz/Kansas connection is on a less intellectual level: the collector Ralph Ellis, whose ornithological library is one of the glories of your library, lived in a huge house in Berkeley. It had an apartment which Ellis rented out; his tenant for many years was the newly arrived professor Ernst Kantorowicz!
I, too, had attended some of those seminars in Berkeley, and so it is not surprising that by the time Joe had become Special Collections Librarian at Kansas and I had become “BMR Inc.” in New York in the early 1950s, we were very much on the same wavelength.

I was able to supply primary materials, that is, actual medieval manuscripts, original documents and paleographical specimens, as well as the all-important secondary literature necessary for any serious research. It is difficult for today’s younger scholars to imagine how extraordinarily rare some perfectly “ordinary” reference books had become: bibliographies such as Paetow’s *Guide to the Study of Medieval History*, Potthast’s *Repertorium fontium medii aevi*, full or partial sets of the *Monumenta Germaniae historica* or the *Rolls Series* were commanding prices higher than many incunables; catalogs of collections of medieval and Renaissance manuscripts (a “sub-specialty” of mine), such as the multi-volume catalog of the manuscripts at Wolfenbüttel or the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, were unobtainable. The explanation of course is simple: such works were printed in relatively small editions to begin with; during World War II many libraries went up in flames; and in the postwar period not only were the institutions which had suffered these losses trying to replace them, but dozens of newly-minted universities in the United States, Europe and Japan were building research collections—especially in the U.S. in the post-Sputnik era which began with the Soviet “beep-beep-beep” from space, in 1957. It took years before the
publication of scholarly reprints on a sufficiently large scale could begin to satisfy this demand.

So in the 1950s and 1960s librarians like Joe Rubinstein and Sandy Mason, intent on building first-class humanities collections, were up against heavy odds. And you can see that there was some advantage in having a bookseller/friend in New York who knew their desiderata, who spoke their language and who would give them first option on the books he knew they wanted. An additional advantage they enjoyed when ordering books from me—an advantage also shared by others—was that when they phoned to order some tongue-twister titles like Olschki’s *Geschichte der neusprachlichen wissenschaftlichen Literatur* or an early edition of Homer’s *Batrachomyomachia* nobody at my end of the line would ask them to please spell it.

Over those early years, Kansas built a collection of manuscripts and of ancillary literature which is really remarkable. Let me hasten to add that they also bought books from other dealers. It was, and to some extent continues to be, a textbook case of the bookseller/librarian symbiosis which is essential for building a library. Another key ingredient is institutional loyalty. Again, Sandy is a textbook case, and when I look around me at the libraries that built important holdings of humanistic scholarship during the half century of my activity, I think of people like Bill Jackson and Roger Stoddard at Harvard, Fritz Liebert at Yale, Karl Kup at the New York Library, Curt Bühler at the Morgan, Tony Bliss at Berkeley—just to mention a few who come to mind—
who devoted their professional lives to one institution. And Sandy Mason at Kansas.

Another key ingredient for building a library is faculty enthusiasm and support. I have it on good authority that Joe’s last words of advice to Sandy as he was leaving were: “Remember, when you want to buy a good book, don’t consult faculty.” I rather doubt that Sandy had to put this admonition into practice—I know of many instances where Kansas faculty was instrumental in encouraging and supporting acquisitions.

Now what about the potential for development and further research? In this connection it is important to bear in mind that the serious interest in medieval manuscripts which began with Joe Rubinstein roughly coincided with the first gathering of the Comité International de Paléographie Latine in Paris, in 1954; with the publication of the first issue of the journal Scriptorium a few years earlier, and with Kristeller’s early work on the Iter Italicum. It was the time when the study of medieval and Renaissance manuscripts was being revitalized in the postwar period.

The wonderful and at the same time exasperating aspect of medieval manuscripts is that no matter how much time you spend with them, you can never really catalog them completely or definitively. Each decade, each generation discovers new aspects, new connections, new relationships and perspectives that must be studied and taken into account—and so, just having a relatively large number of such volumes is an inherent and continuing
challenge. Expanding the present collection of manuscripts will require very large financial outlays: illustrated manuscripts have always been expensive, but now even their humbler cousins, the text manuscripts favored by Joe Rubinstein and Sandy Mason, have risen sharply in price, and they have become increasingly difficult to find, because their research potential makes them so attractive to private as well as institutional collectors, and also because European countries have made a determined effort to repatriate “their” manuscripts.

Let me now turn to another and more realistic possibility of expanding the collections of early books: there are literally thousands of texts that were printed only once or twice hundreds of years ago and which are not available in newer or critical editions. Such editions are, of course, precious research tools while at the same time their availability (and hence their price) is not guided by fashion or glamour. Here the sophisticated librarian still has an opportunity for expanding her or his holdings of early books. Now I will illustrate what I mean, and my wife Ruth and I hereby present to the Spencer Library such a volume. Here is its story:

A half a millennium ago, a circle of prominent humanists in Germany gathered around their leader, the scholar Konrad Celtes (1459-1508) whose erudition was such that even the Italians regarded him highly (it was he who discovered the plays of Hroswitha). They called themselves the Sodalitas Celtica, and like their Italian brethren south of the Alps, they scoured the libraries of
Europe looking for lost or neglected texts. In a Cistercian monastery in Upper Franconia (Bavaria), Celtes came across a manuscript containing a long and hitherto unknown poem in praise of the deeds of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, composed in the late 12th century. It was published with a preface by Konrad Peutinger in Augsburg in 1507. The manuscript discovered by Celtes and used by the printers is now lost, and no others exist. There were a few later reprints of the text but of course this first edition is now also the best and most reliable one.

Celtes’ and Peutinger’s enthusiasm for this poem was such that at the end of the volume they have added an appeal that it should be read by the members of the Sodalitas to all their students at the universities of Vienna, Freiburg, Tübingen, Ingolstadt and Leipzig.

And now, let it be read in Lawrence, Kansas.¹

Notes

¹ Mr. Rosenthal then presented to the Library, in honor of Sandy Mason, a copy of Ligurini de gestis imperatoris Caesaris Friderici primi Augusti libri decem, carmine heroico conscripti, nuper apud Francones in silva Hercynia & druydarum Eberacensi coenobio a Chunrado Celte reperti postliminio restituti [ed. Conradus Peutinger]. Augsburg: Erhard Oeglin, April 1507.
I’ve brought you a story¹ from Cambridge—the one in New England. I hope you like it. It’s not a shaggy dog story. There are no dogs in it at all. It’s a story about birds.

It seems that these two birds stepped outside for a smoke after a conference. They lit up their cigarettes, and one turned to the other and said: “I never saw a bird like you before. What kind of a bird are you anyhow?”

all the time.” “Well, I guess that explains it. You are the one who gave that paper on ‘Food in the Workplace: Celebration in the Seventeenth-Century Printing Office,’ aren’t you?”

“Yes, indeed,” he said, “and just what kind of a bird are you? Your paper on ‘The Adventure of the California Box Cars, the Nebraska Farmhouse, the Finnish Wheelbarrow, and the Coal Shed in Alabama’ didn’t make any sense to me at all.” She turned to him and replied, “Cause I’m a Jay, Jay, Jay, Jay, Jayhawk, and I’m a hunter.” “I see,” he said. “But, what is it that you hunt?” “I’m after a lot of old stuff, like books and manuscripts. I have a place over on Mt. Oread where I keep them.”

“Do you ever show them to people? I’d love to see them,” he said. “Well,” she replied, “I’ve always got an exhibition up, and I talk and write about them all the time.” “Could I come and look?” he asked. “Are they far away?” (He was quite overweight, I should point out-- not at all the trim high flier of a Jayhawk.) “Sure,” she said, “but why fly when you can ride? My car’s right over there.” “Not the little red sports car?” he asked. She nodded, so he waddled right over and slipped into the passenger seat.

It was a long drive, but finally they ascended a hill, and the Jayhawk led the Wayzgoose into her place. He was enthralled by everything he saw. “We must have a party,” he cried out. To be honest, the Jayhawk didn’t like parties very much, particularly in her place, but she didn’t want to disappoint her guest, so she asked if they could hold it outside. He got on the phone and the most
wonderful-looking food and drink commenced to arrive. She let out an earsplitting scream, something with “Rock” and “Chalk” to it that I couldn’t possibly replicate for you here. That did the trick, her friends began to show up, and everyone had a fine time – even the Jayhawk. At the end she thanked the Wayzgoose for giving her such a splendid party. She even said “Why don’t we do this every year?” “That’s exactly what I was about to suggest myself,” he responded as he waddled down the hill.

. . . . .

I’ve prepared some remarks. My working title was “To seek freely after truth and to keep faith with all who came before us.” That’s a quotation from your Library Dean Bill Crowe, but let’s modify it slightly: “Never enough food in the workplace: why do librarians starve while books grow fat and libraries overeat?”

. . . . .

Alexandra Mason and I are rare books/special collections librarians. Between us we’ve been starving for eighty-three years! It would be ridiculous to attempt a count of the stuff we’ve hauled in across our loading docks, but if our universities are determined to build new libraries and extend old ones, then they’ve got to hire folks like us to fill them up. Wouldn’t the administrators look silly with all those buildings empty?

One day, of course, they will be so (empty of books that is) and there is nothing that Sandy and I or any of you can do about it. Overeating leads to excess stomach acidity.
and indigestion with unsurprising results: the books that don’t self-destruct will no longer be needed for their information. Spencer will be the last library at Kansas with books that are made of paper and vellum, boards and thread, leather and cloth, ink and pigment. Spencer will stand alone here with the only evidence of the 500-year-old, pre-electronic text-circulation system—far more fantastic than anything that a Borges could invent—called book-printing. (Books created Borges; otherwise he would have been just another Blind Homer, wandering about and mumbling his fantasies.)

The question is: what are you going to do with those books, the survivors? How do you prepare for the day when undergraduates will come to Lawrence with the sure knowledge that Shakespeare and the Bible are electronic texts hacked out over the internet? How does the University respond to that, assuming that it decides to retain its mission as mentor to the citizenry and teacher of teachers? Already Sandy and I, midway to that future, are challenged by library colleagues who think we’re teachers and by faculty who know that we are not. While our book selector colleagues buy books in blocks by profile plans, we’re acquisitions librarians who choose and compete for books one at a time. While we explain our collections and their contents, book by book and manuscript by manuscript to scholars and students, our reference-librarian colleagues are revealing access codes to databases and explaining powerful search techniques. While university administrators lead us ever closer to
standards of industrial management, we are collaborating with people who are not on the payroll: with interns and volunteers, students and faculty from home and abroad, in the construction of exhibitions, handlists, catalog records, and the like. It seems that all our tasks take us closer to people and collections and farther from the central life of our libraries.

Have circumstances created a bipolar library, one for books and people and the other for people and data? Are we ready to face a future in which one of the poles spins off into virtual reality while another remains apparently unchanging, where medium is message, container is just as important as the thing contained, and reading is less than half the work of understanding?

The other day I read out in seminar one of my favorite bibliographical descriptions. It’s very brief: “Biblia Latina prima typis exscripta Mogunt. 1450.” That’s the whole thing, and that’s the Gutenberg Bible: “Bible in Latin, the first to be written out in types, Mainz, 1450.” It’s part of the first bibliography of fifteenth-century books, compiled by a pioneer subject bibliographer, Cornelius à Beughem, and published in Amsterdam in 1688. Cornelius never saw the Bible, but its production was printing lore by the end of the fifteenth century, and that thin oral tradition, unconfirmed and unchallenged by material evidence, supported his seven-word description. Not until a century later, in 1789, did scholars discover inscriptions by a rubricator, dated August 1456, in a copy of the book, thereby substantiating the tradition. Imagine, if you will, the whole library
of literature on the Gutenberg that has been accreting around it ever since. As a matter of fact, there are reams of yet-to-be-published evidence about it at the Crocker Cyclotron in Davis, California. Thanks to the thick encrustation of scholarship and tradition that embraces it, the Gutenberg is now a very fat book.

Sandy and I are in the business of fattening up our books: teaching and lecturing about them, annotating them on exhibition, publishing accounts of them both technical and ‘popular’, incorporating new findings about them in our catalogs, inventories, and guides.

Recently in conference papers—Sandy has heard me on the subject—I have been promoting the ‘transactional analysis of books’: who used them for what purpose and how. It seems to me that historical book collections should be teeming, most particularly the staff of them, with ideas like that and their application. Is that the way to go? You could store and forget the old books, but is that behavior appropriate in an educational institution? You could let things happen—our usual way with libraries—or you could plan ahead.

I would propose teaching and research as the primary mission of special collections enterprises, supported by the tools of acquisition, conservation, cataloging, and reader service. Reader service is the payoff, getting scholars interactive with books and their histories. Part of that service is the public catalog record: never completed, it must be constantly updated with new findings that librarians seek and find in the literature. Conservation
fixes the attention of staff and conservators on the historical evidence in books and the need to preserve it. Acquisitions work fits together the pieces of collections, and it reminds librarians of the regard in which their books are held in the market.

Historical book collections, composed of their matériel like museums of natural history, anthropology, antiquities, technology, and the arts should be established as research institutes, charged to offer courses as well as seminars and teaching exhibitions. (For instance, ‘Printing in tongues for church and state’, ‘Totalitarian press and its doubles’, ‘Revolutions that printing guaranteed’, ‘How are libraries exclusive?’, ‘Who chooses the books that others read or shouldn’t read or may not read?’; but, not to forget dressing up and dressing down the book with the basics: casting type, making paper, formatting, operating the press, etc.) Staffing, dependent on the education and apprenticing of scholar-librarians for the future, will be the greatest challenge. Will we need doctoral programs that combine History, Literature, Bibliography, and Book History? How else can we guarantee the survival of books and perpetuate the understanding of their culture?

Alexandra Mason has devoted her life to Kansas in a role that is complicated and difficult to understand, and Kansas has rewarded her with many honors and celebrations, including today’s events. To my mind your best reward to Sandy Mason would be a thoughtful study by all the affected parties—faculty and librarians, students and administrators—that will look ahead—far beyond
today’s ever-pressing needs and concerns, to plan a leadership role in research and teaching for the historical book collections here at Kansas. What finer validation could you provide for the life of service that she has entrusted to you!

Notes

1 A Wayzgoose or Way Goose was a feast tendered by the master printer for all the workers in the printing-office on Bartholomew-tide (24 August) just before it would become necessary to employ artificial (candle) light. The Kansas Jayhawk is a mythical bird which serves as mascot for the University football team, and the “Rock Chalk” chant is known by Kansans as the “world’s greatest college cheer.”


Colophon

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This volume was laid out in Adobe InDesign. Text is set in the Walbaum family of typefaces, accompanied by WeissRundgotisch on the cover. Images feature the leaf from Caxton’s first edition of Canterbury Tales (Pryce D9), purchased by Kenneth Spencer Research Library in honor of Alexandra Mason.

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