

E.W.B. NICHOLSON (1849 - 1912) AND HIS IMPORTANCE TO LIBRARIANSHIP.

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ABSTRACT.

(in accordance with new regulations, as from 1 October 1977.)

E.W.B. Nicholson was librarian of the London Institution from 1873 to 1882, and Bodley's Librarian from 1882 to 1912; he was primarily responsible for the foundation of the Library Association of the United Kingdom in 1877. This thesis is intended as an assessment of Nicholson's contributions to librarianship. The large amount of source material available makes it possible to examine Nicholson's work in considerable depth.

His rôle in initiating the first International Conference of Librarians is shown, and his work for various Library Association committees. He was the main force behind the Metropolitan Free Libraries Association, despite many setbacks, and he drafted a Public Libraries Bill. The latter caused controversy amongst provincial librarians, who nearly seceded from the Library Association. Nicholson became disillusioned with the Library Association's seeming failure to cope with librarianship matters, and after many disagreements resigned in 1883.

Nicholson's appointment to the Bodleian was unpopular and laid the foundations of future opposition. His senior assistant, Falconer Madan, came to believe Nicholson was insane, and refused to co-operate in any way. Several Bodleian Curators opposed Nicholson at every opportunity, which only made him more determined to resist them.

Nicholson's Bodleian work is considered according to categories: financial administration, staffing, accommodation, cataloguing and classification, acquisitions policy, and Nicholson's administrative abilities. His achievements included: a cataloguing code and classification scheme, an underground bookstore and new reading rooms, securing increased funds, the employment of boys and women, and a vast increase in the number of accessions. Finally, Nicholson's illness and subsequent decline are dealt with. Nicholson's achievements were notable, but his career was marred by his contentious character.

E.W.B. NICHOLSON (1849-1912) AND HIS IMPORTANCE TO LIBRARIANSHIP.

ABSTRACT.

E.W.B. Nicholson was librarian of the London Institution from 1873 to 1882, founder of the Library Association in 1877, and Bodley's Librarian from 1882 to 1912. The present thesis is not intended as a complete biography but as a study of his contributions to librarianship and of the reasons why he deserves to be remembered. The text is based largely on primary materials, mostly in the Bodleian Library's own archives.

Part 1. The early years, 1849-1882.

Chapter 1. Early life and career.

Nicholson's family background is sketched, and his years at Tonbridge School. Here his self-confidence developed, amounting sometimes to arrogance. He produced a catalogue of the school library, began writing on a variety of subjects, and gained a taste for controversy. At Trinity College, Oxford, Nicholson pursued his literary ambitions by editing a short-lived magazine, but his main efforts were directed towards the Oxford Union Society, where he was Librarian. In 1873 he became Superintendent and Librarian of the London Institution, and many of his achievements anticipated future developments at the Bodleian, for instance in cataloguing, classification, binding, and the employment of boys. The Institution's use considerably increased, due to Nicholson's reforms of the libraries and lectures.

Chapter 2. The Library Association of the United Kingdom.

Following the lead of the new American Library Association, Nicholson in 1877 suggested a librarians' conference in London and on his own initiative invited J. Winter Jones of the British Museum to be President. An 'Organizing Committee' was set up, with Nicholson as Honorary Secretary, and with many leading librarians, including H.R. Tedder who became Nicholson's closest colleague. But some provincial librarians regretted Nicholson's haste and feared London domination. The Conference was a success, and the Library Association of the United Kingdom was formally established, with Nicholson as joint Secretary. Nicholson soon resigned because of other calls on his time, but played a prominent part in L.A.U.K.

affairs, especially at the annual meetings. However, Nicholson's uncompromising attitudes and activities provoked resentment, for instance from Henry Bradshaw (initially), but Nicholson's attacks on the L.A.U.K.'s finances caused the most trouble. Disillusioned with the Association's lack of achievement, Nicholson resigned from its Council in 1881. He returned as a Vice-President, but became impatient at their timidity, and resigned again in 1883. He had nothing further to do with the L.A.U.K. but did maintain contacts with former colleagues.

Chapter 3. The Library Association committees and the Metropolitan Free Libraries Association.

This chapter looks at what went wrong with the L.A.U.K. during its first five years, and why Nicholson became so disillusioned. Various committees were set up but could rarely agree on suitable courses of action: for instance, on a cataloguing code, size-notation, the proposed 'General Catalogue of English Literature', the training of library-assistants, and the question of a librarians' journal; in all these topics Nicholson initially played a prominent part. On Nicholson's initiative, a Metropolitan Free Libraries Committee was set up to promote public libraries in London, with Nicholson as Secretary and the main driving force; but the Committee's efforts were roundly defeated in Hackney, Kensington, and Whitechapel, and Nicholson himself received much personal abuse. This Committee became the Metropolitan Free Libraries Association in 1879, with the prime purpose of amending library legislation. Nicholson and Tedder drafted a Public Libraries Bill, which was introduced in Parliament by Sir John Lubbock in 1881, but certain clauses, for example on inspection and disestablishment, caused so much controversy among L.A.U.K. members that a group of Northern public librarians prepared their own Bill. They were angered because Nicholson, a non-public librarian, seemed to be telling public librarians what was best for them, and they threatened to secede from the L.A.U.K. In the event, both Bills failed, and the M.F.L.A. faded away.

Chapter 4. Literary work and University affairs.

Nicholson's main ambition was to enjoy fame as a writer. He wrote poetry, fiction, a play, and books and articles on philology and theology, but had little critical success. Nicholson particularly wanted to edit a popular magazine, but plans fell through, and he went to the Bodleian instead. At Oxford, Nicholson engaged in vivisection

disputes, advocated University reform, and was keenly interested in preserving the architecture of Oxford; all these activities helped to make Nicholson a controversial character. Nicholson had scholarly pretensions, but his writings on palaeography, the Pictish inscriptions, the Arthurian question, and other philological matters harmed, rather than enhanced, his reputation. Nicholson always believed he was right, but was far too hasty in his work. In his last years Nicholson devised several money-making schemes, none of which were taken up.

Part 2. The Bodleian Library, 1882-1912.

Chapter 5. Nicholson's appointment and relations with F. Madan and the Curators.

Nicholson's election as Bodley's Librarian in 1882 was a surprise to many, and Nicholson was to find that resentment at the choice was to overshadow his librarianship. His relations with the Junior Sublibrarian, Falconer Madan, deteriorated so much that co-operation became impossible; Madan compiled detailed memoranda attacking Nicholson. Madan was friendly with several Curators who were critical of Nicholson's administration and who formed themselves into 'The Club'; they attacked Nicholson both privately and publicly on a number of occasions, especially in 1890. Madan and others published anonymous articles criticizing Nicholson. The relationship between Nicholson and Madan is seen at its lowest point in a series of letters dating from 1892. As more hostile Bodleian Curators were elected, Nicholson became increasingly concerned about their interference in his work and made spirited protests. When the Curators attempted to censure Nicholson in 1897 over the shifting of books, Nicholson claimed that the Curators had no control over him, but they were satisfied that they had ultimate responsibility. In conclusion are more examples of Madan's criticisms of Nicholson, and his growing belief in Nicholson's insanity.

Chapter 6. Financial administration.

The Bodleian was always in severe financial circumstances, and Nicholson's most pressing concern was controlling expenditure, at the same time as he tried to secure increased grants from University and colleges. Nicholson was frequently criticized for wasteful expenditure, which led to the establishment of the Curators' Finance and Standing Committees, and to public attacks. In 1894 Nicholson publicly appealed for money, but met with no response. W.E. Gladstone subsequently

approached Andrew Carnegie on the Bodleian's behalf, unsuccessfully. The Tercentenary of the Bodleian in 1902 provided a further opportunity for an appeal for benefactions, but turned out to be an embarrassing disaster. However, the publication of the 'Statements of the needs of the University' (1902) led to donations from T.A. Brassey and the Oxford University Endowment Fund, which financed important Bodleian improvements.

Chapter 7. The increase of staff.

Nicholson set himself to improve and increase his staff. He employed temporary 'Extra Staff' with special qualifications, and encouraged the employment of women in libraries, against opposition. Nicholson used boys for carrying out routine work cheaply; he ruled them strictly but was always concerned for their welfare. The boys' misdemeanours caused concern amongst the Curators, but the system was generally successful. Nicholson's best action was beginning the 'Staff-Kalendar', the first published manual of library practice of its kind.

Chapter 8. The extension of accommodation.

Fresh shelving space was always needed, and Nicholson planned much Bodleian expansion, including using the Old Schools, and the Sheldonian and Old Ashmolean basements. Rolling bookcases were introduced, but trouble arose from Nicholson's practice of shifting books more than was thought necessary. Nicholson failed in 1896 to gain control of the whole of the Old Ashmolean. The Hebdomadal Council invited a British Museum librarian to advise on future Bodleian extension, which brought a strong protest from Nicholson about interference. In 1899 plans were drawn up for an underground bookstore, completed in 1912 and the first in Britain on such a large scale. For readers, Nicholson opened the Camera Gallery and after much argument converted part of the Picture Gallery into the Upper Reading Room in 1907. Unfortunately, Nicholson became increasingly neurotic if work was not carried out exactly as he wished. He was fanatical about fire-precautions, but clashed with the University Chest about matters concerning the Bodleian exterior, especially the storing of bicycles, and he even caused controversy by unblocking windows.

Chapter 9. Cataloguing and classification.

One of Nicholson's first tasks was to compile a cataloguing code, though his belief in detailed cataloguing meant that arrears accumulated. Catalogue revision began in 1907 with the eventual aim of printing the

author catalogue, although Nicholson's health was threatened by the amount of work. Nicholson devised a detailed classification scheme, with separate schemes for incunabula, law, and other special subjects. The classification made possible the subject catalogue, but this was vigorously opposed by some Curators, and the sheer size of the work eventually defeated Nicholson; an off-shoot was his 'information-card' system, a kind of 'current-awareness' service. In 1896 the Curators considered reducing cataloguing and other economies, but Nicholson made a dramatic plea to librarians throughout the world to support his views on librarianship. Nicholson directed the cataloguing of manuscripts but was opposed to the 'Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts', approved by the Curators in 1890 and entrusted to Madan; Madan considered that he was responsible only to the Curators, and friction was caused when Nicholson tried to impose his control. Nicholson printed a severe, but unissued, attack on Madan in 1903. Nicholson planned many other catalogues, including elaborate ones for the Oriental collections, and for the coins.

Chapter 10. Acquisitions policy.

One of Nicholson's most constant duties was preserving the Bodleian's legal deposit privilege; privately-printed books posed a considerable problem. As for purchases, financial considerations made Nicholson reluctant to spend much; for this he was criticized, and he offended several Library benefactors. Notable accessions included the St. Margaret's Gospel Book and the Shakespeare First Folio, the latter secured after a public appeal by Nicholson. Nicholson encouraged the deposit of certain collections, as well as the acquisition of dissertations, Oriental manuscripts, cuneiform tablets, etc. Nicholson strongly pressed the Library's rights, but occasionally had to return manuscripts, under protest, and was finally unsuccessful in his efforts to secure parts of the Althorp Caxtons and the Phillipps manuscripts. He did acquire a large quantity of ephemera. However, Nicholson often had to face criticism of his acquisitions policies. He diligently preserved the coins-collection, despite A.J. Evans' attempts on behalf of the Ashmolean, and took care of the pictures.

Chapter 11. Administration.

Nicholson did not get on well with several readers because many of his actions were different from those of his predecessor. Yet he attempted to improve readers' facilities as much as possible, though in the matter of opening hours, for example, he was opposed by Madan

and the Curators. An important innovation was the students' 'Select' Library, though Nicholson was criticized when thefts meant that access had to be curtailed. One of the worst storms of Nicholson's administration was the lending controversy of 1887, when he was publicly attacked by Madan and several Curators, and was defeated. Nicholson met opposition over the exhibition of manuscripts and over palaeographical lectures. Manuscripts were damaged by Nicholson's repair methods, particularly a Zend manuscript and several papyri. Nicholson defended his repair methods at the St. Gallen Conference in 1898. He introduced photography to the Library and tried to encourage the publications of facsimiles of Bodleian books, though he did his best to dissuade others from anticipating him.

Chapter 12. Nicholson's illness, and epilogue.

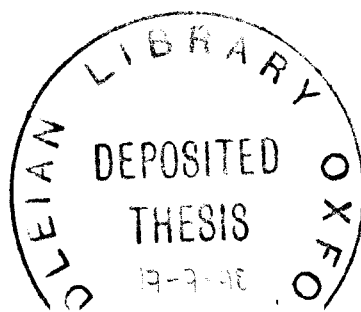
In 1901 Nicholson suffered a nervous breakdown; the strain of work and worry had been affecting him for many years previously. Gradually his neuroses became worse, and from 1907 Nicholson was capable of little work as his mental faculties declined. In 1911 the Curators set up a secret Committee to investigate Nicholson's fitness, and they offered him one year's leave of absence. Nicholson reluctantly accepted, but died immediately afterwards. A new Bodleian statute was soon drafted, strengthening the Curators' powers. In an epilogue, Nicholson's chief characteristics are considered.

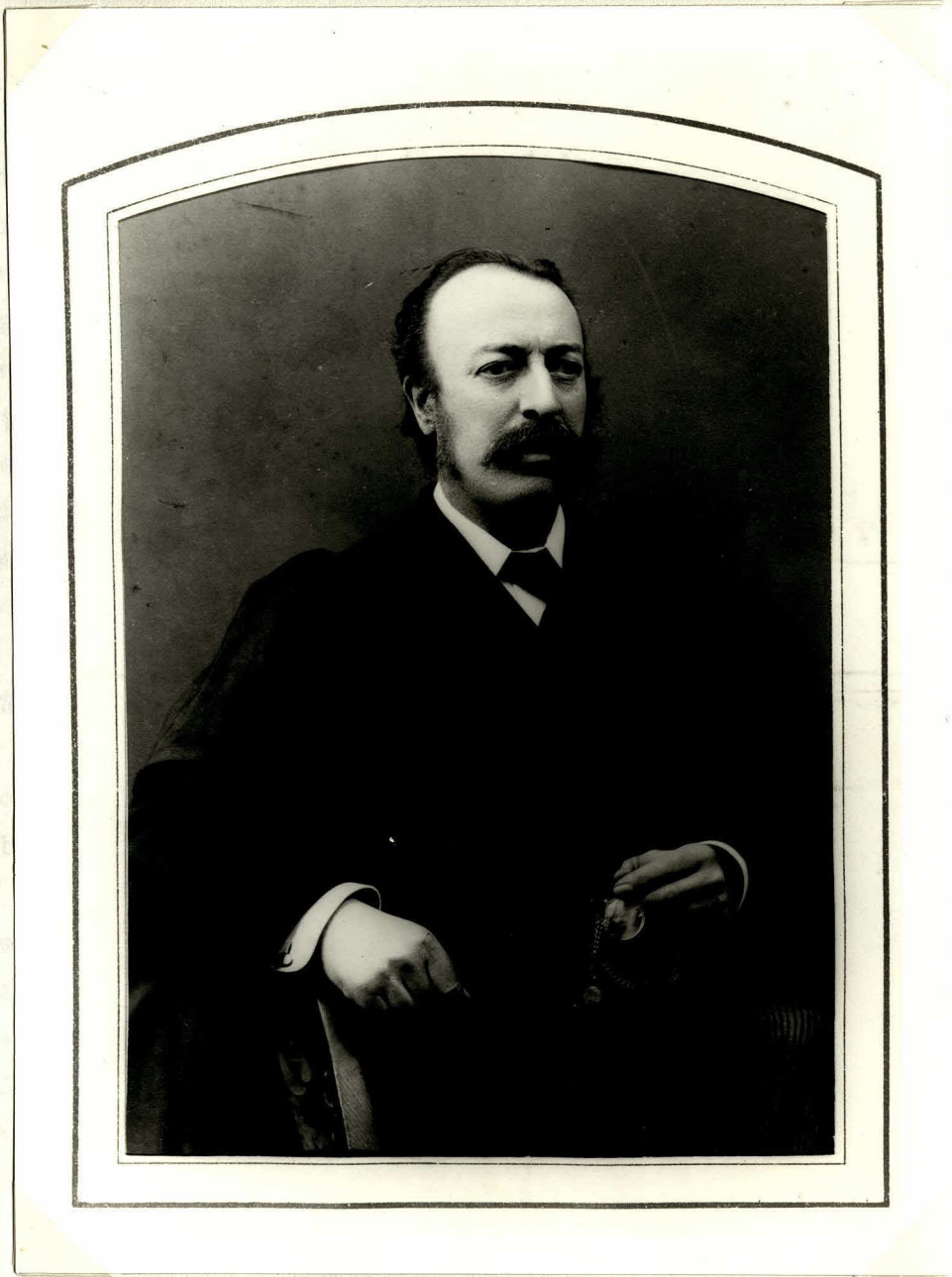
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E.W.B.NICHOLSON (1849 - 1912).

Photograph taken in February 1892.

From Bodleian Library papers, 'Staff album'.

PREFACE.

As founder of the Library Association and as Bodley's Librarian for thirty years, E.W.B. Nicholson was one of the country's leading librarians of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. His achievements are not widely known to librarians, partly because most of his life was devoted to serving just one institution, and partly because he deliberately ostracized himself from the Library Association following a series of disagreements. Nicholson was a controversial character, and his colleagues, both in the Library Association and the Bodleian, frequently deplored his ideas and deeds. No detailed study of his life and work exists; indeed, only a handful of articles has been written about him. The present thesis is intended not as a complete biography, but as an account of his contributions to librarianship; for this reason, his achievements at the Bodleian are considered according to categories.

The thesis is based primarily on Nicholson's private and official papers in the Bodleian Library, which have not been studied extensively since Sir Edmund Craster began to prepare his history of the Bodleian, thirty years ago. A major source of information has been the hitherto unexplored Bodleian diary kept by Falconer Madan, Nicholson's deputy. The Library records for Nicholson's period of office are exceptionally full. Correspondence and memoranda were carefully preserved and provide the opportunity of examining his work in depth. The problem in dealing with them has been one of selection.

The fullest possible references have been given to Bodleian archives. All references are purely bibliographical citations. Because of the word-limit, it was not possible to provide an index, but a full list of contents is given.

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and the staff of Duke Humfrey's Library. The author also wishes to acknowledge the assistance of: T.H. Aston, Keeper of the University Archives; C.H. Roberts, Secretary to the Delegates of the Oxford University Press; and the librarians of Brasenose and Worcester Colleges, Oxford.

Outside Oxford, a number of librarians and archivists have been most helpful, notably: E.J. Miller, Honorary Archivist, Department of Printed Books, British Library; M.A.F. Borrie, Assistant Keeper, Department of Manuscripts, British Library; Mrs. A. Hopley, Director's Office, British Museum; A.E.B. Owen, Under-Librarian in charge of manuscripts, Cambridge University Library; J.C.T. Oates, Under-Librarian in charge of rare books, Cambridge University Library; D. Dawe, formerly Principal Keeper, Guildhall Library, London; Miss J.M. Ayton, Archivist, Manchester Central Library; the late Dr. G.A. Stollard, Archivist, Royal Institution, London; Miss E.D. Yeo, Assistant Keeper, Department of Manuscripts, National Library of Scotland. The author also wishes to thank staff in: the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London; Sheffield University Library; the National Library of Wales; Warrington Central Library; Archives Department, Westminster City Libraries; Liverpool Record Office; and the London Library. The Library Association very kindly made available its own archives to the author, which was much appreciated.

The staff of several American libraries have given valuable assistance, including: K.A. Lohf, Librarian for Rare Books and Manuscripts, Columbia University Library; J.A. Schiff, Chief Research Archivist, Yale University Library; Miss J.F. Preston, Curator of Manuscripts, Henry E. Huntington Library; Mrs. A. Sherman, Manuscripts Assistant, Princeton University Library; and staff of the New York Public Library.

Amongst individuals who have provided assistance are: the late Mrs. M. Hankey (Nicholson's youngest daughter); Dr. B. Lawn; Dr. A.H.T. Robb-Smith (for information communicated to him by Dr. M. Cummings, Director of the National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, Maryland); N.J. Hall; and Mrs. W.J. Manley, for the typing.

Finally, this thesis was made possible by financial assistance from the Arts and Libraries Branch of the Department of Education and Science.

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Chapter 1.

EARLY LIFE AND CAREER

Edward Williams Byron Nicholson was born on 16 March 1849 in St. Helier, Jersey.¹ He was named Edward after his father, Williams after his father's maternal relations (Nicholson's great-great-uncle, Admiral Sir Thomas Williams, who died in 1841, had left his father £4,000); as for Byron - perhaps this was owing to the poetic tendencies of his father, several of whose verses survive.² Nicholson was very vain about his name. He originally discarded 'Williams' and during his 'poetry years' (up to 1882) often signed himself 'E. Byron Nicholson'. As he became interested in Celtic studies, he preferred 'E. Williams B. Nicholson'.

Family background.

The Nicholson family came originally from Sunderland. The family cupboards contained many skeletons. His great-grandfather, George Nicholson (ca. 1759 - ca. 1794) had died in an asylum, and the latter's only son, Captain Joseph Blanch Nicholson (1783-1857), had made an unhappy marriage to Anne Meirop Williams (1796-1875), sister of Admiral E.R. Williams (who died in 1865); while her husband was in India, she had produced an illegitimate child, Richard Harvey or Taylor. Joseph bequeathed to E.W.B. Nicholson, his only grandson, £500-£600 in shares, but with the life-interest to Anne and their daughter. Just before Anne's death, E.W.B. Nicholson and his mother discovered that she had transferred the shares to her illegitimate son, then in prison in Guernsey. Because of legal complexities, E.W.B. Nicholson received less than £200.³

Edward Nicholson, the only son of Joseph Nicholson, was born in 1821 and subsequently joined the Navy. His future wife, Emily Wall, was born in the same year. Her family was large but was ruined by the debts of their father, Thomas Wall of Neen Sollars, Shropshire. She adopted her mother's maiden name, Hamilton, and took to the stage, attracting the attention of Charles Kean. While appearing at the Theatre Royal, Jersey, she met the young sailor, Edward Nicholson, and they married on 23 December 1843. During the next six months he was dangerously ill, but returned to the Navy as a 'mate'. Their home was in St. Helier, and he finally left the Navy in 1847. He could not settle down; within days of his son's birth Edward Nicholson was in London, and by May 1849 was on his way to California to join the



E.W.B.NICHOLSON AS A CHILD.

On the back of the original photograph, Nicholson has written:
"Copy of glass photograph of E.W.B.Nicholson when about 6 years old.
Frock bright blue, with deep blue velvet bands. Quantum mutatus ab
illo! 7.3.1893".

From Bodleian Library papers, 'Nicholson family: portraits
and miscellanea'.

Gold Rush. Off Valparaiso he injured himself while jumping on to another ship, and at San Francisco was in a fever. He turned back, but died off San Diego on 18 January 1850.⁴

School life.

Edward Nicholson's widow departed with her infant son for Portsea; she left many possessions behind and was allegedly swindled by an auctioneer. She moved to relations in Llanrwst, North Wales, where E.W.B. Nicholson attended the Grammar School from 1857-9. In September 1859 he entered Liverpool College, where his poetic feelings seem to have developed, as the 10 year-old boy wrote to his mother: "I send you a little piece of poetry and also a hymn for a sick sinner unprepared for death the metre I am afraid is not good ... Excuse bad writing as it is a quill pen." Nicholson's mother was ambitious for her son, and her determination seems to have set Nicholson on the trail of academic and literary distinctions, which instilled in him an arrogant belief in his own abilities. Liverpool College offered few prospects, and in 1860 Mrs. Nicholson took her son to Tonbridge, Kent, where the local public school had many Exhibitions to Oxford and Cambridge. Wherever Nicholson went, Mrs. Nicholson followed, continually pushing him on.⁵

Nicholson entered Tonbridge School in summer 1860. He was frequently top of his class, though not in Midsummer 1862 ("Would have been top but for Fisher Imus. taking away my pen and question paper."). The headmaster was Rev. James Ind Welldon (1811-1896), whose 'Rules for conduct' Nicholson diligently preserved. Welldon was a strict but kindly disciplinarian, and a great believer in the benefits of cold water. Nicholson was prominent in the Debating Society, usually on the losing side. By now Nicholson had acquired a small library, including most Greek and Latin classics. He was attracted to the School Library and became Librarian, with E.S. Saxton; in July 1866 they published a catalogue, which Nicholson later described as "truly remarkable". An appendix appeared in 1867.⁶

The School magazine was The Tonbridgian, and on the back page of the April 1865 issue appeared 'Typho; From. Vinct. 359-380', a poem by 'N'. "My first contribution and first appearance in print," noted Nicholson proudly. Nicholson had found his calling, and in May was made sub-editor, becoming chief editor in October. Between 1865 and 1868 appeared over 75 pseudonymous pieces by Nicholson.

An historian of the School has written that the "Tonbridgian" was enlivened by the contributions of a brilliantly clever boy who used the pseudonym 'Van Drusen'; this was Nicholson's favoured pseudonym, apparently the name of an ancestor. These articles included: romantic poetry; epic poems; dubious derivations of words (which Nicholson also contributed to Notes and Queries); allegedly humorous articles, and editorials attacking School administration.

Nicholson over-reached himself in his last term, summer 1867, when, as 'Van Drusen', he criticized 'Foundationers' privileges'. Tonbridge School was a foundation of the Skinners' Company, who awarded University Exhibitions - but only Foundationers were eligible, i.e. boys who had lived in or near Tonbridge for five years. Unfortunately Nicholson hinted at undeserving Exhibitioners, and at one person in particular, but he had attacked the wrong 'personality', and instead of apologizing, published another critical letter, under a different pseudonym; then, as 'Van Drusen', he denied his intention of referring to a 'personality'. Nicholson confessed in 1890: "I was only 18 then. And I am sure that neither before then nor since have I been guilty in literary controversy of any like personality or any like deceit. So that I trust my standard of honour through life will not be gauged by those early breaches of it". Nicholson had entered early on the path of controversy. Foundationers' privileges were abolished in 1880.⁷

Trinity College, Oxford.

Nicholson entered Trinity College, Oxford, in October 1867 to study classics. His contemporaries included Henry Pelham, later President of the College and a Bodleian Curator; Randall Thomas Davidson, Archbishop of Canterbury; and W.W. Sweet Escott; while the Fellows included A.V. Dicey, H.G. Woods, W. Sanday, and, later, R.W. Raper. Nicholson's closest Trinity friend was James Sutherland Cotton, subsequently editor of the Academy, who published many of Nicholson's most contentious articles. Nicholson came under the spell of Darwin and Spencer, as well as of William Morris. Their ideas he discovered through the 'set' who became his closest friends and greatest influences: Franklin T. Richards, later Fellow of Trinity; F.E. Weatherly, barrister and song-writer (e.g. 'Danny Boy', 'Roses of Picardy'); F. York Powell, Robinson Ellis, F.Y. Edgeworth, and (Sir) John Murray. The most important influence was Grant Allen, later a popular writer. When many publishers initially declined his controversial novel 'The Woman who did', Nicholson offered to preserve the manuscript in the Bodleian until a more liberated age.⁸

Nicholson's first year was marked by over-expenditure, though he protested to his mother that there was nothing to be ashamed of: "no one can whisper against my character, I have never even been flushed with wine, much less drunk 100 times, I am no gambler, I have no occasion to run secret doctor's bills - I have not one dissipation, even of boating or smoking. I have a reputation for ability, am highly thought of by my Dons, am industrious, and shall spare no pains to make my career one of the most distinguished". Typically, Nicholson set himself more work than necessary. He attended Professor F. Max Müller's lectures on philology and Sanskrit, and (briefly) studied Italian. Nicholson missed several lectures each week since, he claimed, they were based on textual notes which he already possessed, and "since being a scholar I should not make the blunders in construing to which a commoner would be liable."⁹

In 1869 Nicholson obtained a first-class in Mods., but his self-imposed labours were increasing. He contributed to the Oxford Undergraduates' Journal and 'College rhymes', and was working on four books. His ambition was literary distinction, and in November 1869 appeared the Oxford University Magazine and Review, edited anonymously by himself and F.T. Richards. The strain of producing a 96-page monthly journal was too much, especially as the editors were the main contributors. Richards resigned, and Grant Allen helped Nicholson with the December issue. No more appeared. "I drop a tear", wrote Allen; but Nicholson recognized he had to concentrate on his studies. Nicholson tried unsuccessfully for many prizes before winning the Gaisford Greek Verse (1871) and the Hall Houghton Junior Greek Testament (1872) prizes. He was dissatisfied with his degree work, and in 1871, two terms before the Final examinations, abandoned classics for law and modern history, "in which I got a richly deserved Third". He was awarded his M.A. in 1874.¹⁰

A life-long passion was chess, and in April 1869 Nicholson was a founder-member of the University Chess Club, becoming successively Secretary and President. He organized the first correspondence matches with Cambridge in 1871-2, and his greatest triumph came in March 1873 when the City of London Chess Club was the venue for the first over-the-board match between Oxford and Cambridge. Over 700 people packed the rooms, and Oxford won, $9\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$. The Oxford team included Nicholson and a Brasenose undergraduate, Falconer Madan.¹¹

The Oxford Union Society.

Nicholson's main preoccupation was with the Oxford Union Society, about which he wrote several articles. He was prominent from his first term, when he urged the abolition of capital punishment, and was notorious from his second. This was because Nicholson had (innocently) followed J.S. Cotton in signing a petition with more names than their own. Nicholson would have been forgiven but for his impassioned speech in support of Cotton. Nicholson was fined £1, and Cotton was barred for a term. The Union was predominantly Tory, but Nicholson leaned increasingly towards the Liberal side, though he never engaged in party politics. He was Sub-Treasurer in 1871.¹²

With examinations over, Nicholson had more time for Union affairs and became Sub-Librarian under C.T. Cruttwell. When Cruttwell resigned in March 1872, the President, J. Bryce, appointed H.P. (brother of Franklin) Richards as Librarian for the remainder of the term instead of the Sub-Librarian. Nicholson produced a petition with over 150 signatures in his favour, but by then Richards had been elected Librarian for the following term. At the next poll, for Union officers for Michaelmas Term 1872, Nicholson defeated Richards for the Librarianship by 257 votes to 227; Cruttwell was President, with H. Asquith as Treasurer. The Library Committee included Andrew Lang and A.H. Sayce. The Library contained over 20,000 books, and Nicholson lost no time in compiling a report of its defects, which represents his first notable contribution to Librarianship. He recommended the disposal of many superannuated tomes, a properly classified shelf-arrangement, and printed classified catalogues. An alphabetical catalogue, with subject indexes, was published in 1875.¹³

Nicholson was involved with the Committee appointed to consider the restoration of the Pre-Raphaelite frescoes, which he favoured; but differences of opinion and personality clashes prevented agreement. Although Nicholson had moved to London in January 1873, he continued as Librarian for that term and suggested a Banquet to celebrate the Union Society's fiftieth jubilee. His idea found favour, and was fixed for 22 October 1873, with Lord Selborne presiding. Nicholson's friends suggested that he stand for the Presidency of the Union for the jubilee term. Nicholson's vanity was flattered, and he hastily prepared his candidature, while F.S. Pulling, J. Ashton Cross and E.C. Thomas canvassed for him. Nicholson refused to follow any party line, though he recognized that his speeches and excitable involvement in University affairs made him a controversial choice. His biggest disadvantage was

his opponent, R.G.C. Mowbray, whose father was the University Tory Burgess and a guest at the Banquet. The Union Tories were united, but the Liberals divided. Faced with an overwhelming defeat, Nicholson withdrew. He still attended the Banquet, which proved very successful. His interest in the Union continued, and as Bodley's Librarian he frequently gave advice on Library matters.¹⁴

The London Institution.

Nicholson remained at Oxford during 1872 and taught temporarily at the Rookery School, Headington. His pupils were uninspiring, with the exception of S.G. Owen, subsequently a classical scholar. The death of the librarian of the London Institution created an opportunity for academic and literary distinction which Nicholson could not ignore. His application form is a masterpiece of presumption. He described his main occupation as 'Literature' and enclosed a poem which C. Kingsley had reprinted in the Edinburgh Daily Review. He wrote that his literary experience was "considerable", and he dwelt on his Union librarianship and his famous predecessors. On 22nd January 1873 Nicholson was appointed Principal Librarian and Superintendent of the London Institution, Finsbury Circus, at £200 per annum, with rooms on the premises. He was governed by a Board of Management, whose President from 1874 was Warren de la Rue, F.R.S. An invaluable ally proved to be the new Honorary Secretary, Rev. William Rogers, a well-known educationalist and a friend of Benjamin Jowett.¹⁵

Nicholson's work has been detailed elsewhere, but deserves summarizing for the glimpses provided of future developments at the Bodleian, as in cataloguing, classification, binding, and the employment of boy assistants. Founded in 1805 as a proprietary institution, an Act of Parliament restricted the number of shares available (and therefore income) to 950; proprietors paid £2 per annum (raised to 2 guineas in 1874), and had access to two reading rooms, regular lectures, the Circulating Library, and a Reference Library of over 60,000 volumes. Nicholson found about 800 proprietors, and neither library was well used. An early task was to arrange for re-decoration. Sunlights replaced gas burners, which Nicholson believed damaged book bindings.¹⁶

The permanent stock of the Circulating Library comprised about 800 volumes; Nicholson increased purchases, borrowing more from commercial circulating libraries, and he adopted the then novel reservation-card system. Issues rose from approximately 2,000 per annum to about 10,000 by 1876. For the Reference Library Nicholson planned a

complete re-arrangement. He abolished the fixed notation and devised a subject classification based on a decimal notation (thus anticipating M. Dewey's system, though Nicholson's was far more modest). Nicholson sorted every book himself, fixed labels, and began a catalogue; the re-arrangement took until 1880, though broad subject areas were soon brought together. A published catalogue of the Reference Library proved an impossible task (as did a subject catalogue, which he later discovered at the Bodleian as well), but in July 1875 Nicholson issued a catalogue of the permanent stock of the Circulating Library, listing approximately 1,900 volumes and about 300 novels serialized in magazines. In February 1875 an attempt was made to increase the number of library users by allowing proprietors to introduce an unlimited number of readers. Nicholson was aiming at a public library service, but without prejudicing the rights of the share-holders.¹⁷

Lectures and revival.

Public attention was drawn to the Institution primarily by the lectures, twice-weekly from September to April. When Nicholson came, these consisted usually of several series of 4 - 6 lectures by a small number of regular speakers, chiefly the Institution's own three 'professors' and Henry Morley. Guests were rare, but for the 1874/5 season, Nicholson adopted a different tack. "Our lecture season has been one long triumph", he wrote to A.H. Sayce; "from Oxford we had Rolleston, Ruskin, Bryce, and Freeman". Henceforward Nicholson invited distinguished men to give no more than one lecture per season. The 1875/6 season included E. Ray Lankester, G.C. Brodrick, E.B. Tylor, Sayce and Morley, and future seasons included T.H. Huxley, Sir John Lubbock, S. Colvin, William Morris, H. Herkomer, and Grant Allen. On 17 February 1876, 700 people packed the Theatre to hear John Ruskin talk on rare gems, and 200 were turned away.¹⁸

The revival in the London Institution's fortunes dated from 13 November 1875, when a correspondent to the Times rated the Institution above the nearby Guildhall Library. Nicholson immediately sent to the Times a glowing account, but bemoaned the infrequent use of the libraries; he emphasized that proprietors could recommend any reader and that he himself would obtain admittance for students with good references. This publicity, along with reviews of the lectures, attracted an enormous response. Proprietors' shares, which had cost £5, were changing hands for £10, and reached 20 guineas in 1877. (Nicholson's mother made a profit of several pounds by buying and selling these shares at this time).¹⁹

Increased custom did not mean increased income. The new library users did not pay, unless they were new proprietors. The Board of Management decided in December 1875 to introduce a new class of membership - the annual subscribers. They paid two guineas per annum (later raised to three guineas) and enjoyed most of the proprietors' privileges, including the Circulating Library. At last there was more money and more books. The following table charts Nicholson's progress: ²⁰

<u>Financial years (i.e. Apr. - Apr.):</u>	<u>1873/4</u>	<u>1877/8</u>	<u>1881/2</u>
number of proprietors	830	933	928
number of annual subscribers	-	313	389
Circulating Library issues	approx. 2,450	over 15,000	75,730
permanent stock of Circulating Library	approx. 800	approx. 3,000	approx. 60,000
total income	£3,049.18.1d.	£3,807.16.10d.	£4,247. 4.2d.
total expenditure	£3,087. 2.5d	£3,852. 5. 9d.	£4,400. 9.6d.
subscriptions paid to commercial circulating libraries	£106. 7.0d.	£222. 8. 0d.	£288.19.5d.

On lecture nights the borrowers were so numerous that the loans-registers proved too cumbersome. Nicholson's assistant, George Parr, devised the 'card-ledger' charging system, combining the virtues of the indicator and the book-ledger.²¹

The rising income was swallowed up by more books and shelving, and by raising Nicholson's salary in June 1876 to £300 per annum. The latter followed his marriage on 1 February 1876 to Helen Grant MacGregor (1850-1938), daughter of Rev. Sir Charles MacGregor, Bart. (1819-1879), who was quite mad and had been deprived of his curacy for drunkenness. The first addition to the Nicholson family was Violet Helen, born in July 1877. Edward Macgregor Nicholson was born on 13 June 1878 but died five weeks later from "Want of power of assimilation". This was Nicholson's greatest personal sorrow, for he never had another son and was himself the last of the Nicholsons. His daughters Myrtle and May were born in 1881 and 1885 respectively.²²

The increasing numbers meant that more space was needed. Plans were drawn up for a building in the garden, but the Institution's capital could not be touched. The Board of Management decided to seek an amending Act, and, on Nicholson's suggestion, to expand the system of annual subscribers; but the proprietors defeated them at a Special General Meeting on 3 July 1878. The Institution's disadvantage was its situation in the City; most proprietors resided in far-away

suburbs. Few belonged to the Institution for its libraries, but rather for its advantage as a social club. They were horrified by the invasion of annual subscribers, whom they considered as morally and socially inferior and would depress the value of shares (in fact share values rose sharply). So faded (temporarily) Nicholson's dream of a Circulating Library containing tens of thousands of volumes. Nevertheless libraries and lectures continued to be packed.²³

In 1880 Nicholson employed boys to complete the labelling, sorting, and shelf-lists of the re-arranged Reference Library. However, Nicholson was concerned at its under-use. With an average 40 readers per day, only certain books were consulted, and few proprietors borrowed, as was their privilege: "Many departments in which it is particularly rich - such as history and natural history - are almost untouched, and it is probable that of the entire collection of 65,000 some 55,000 are not taken from the shelves once a year." Nicholson's solution was to combine the Reference and Circulating Libraries, and allow proprietors and annual subscribers to borrow up to ten volumes, excluding only the most valuable and those obviously for reference. The Managers agreed, and a Circulating Library of almost 60,000 volumes was made available.²⁴

The libraries were open from 10-9 on weekdays (10-3 on Saturdays), and the reading-rooms from 8-10 (8-6 on Saturdays). Nicholson was always at hand and had two permanent assistants. He had to organize every lecture (and lecture himself at short notice, if necessary), oversee the porters, edit the Journal of the London Institution, and carry out any orders of the Managers. To W. Rogers he wrote: "My theory of librarianship may be summed up in three articles - that a librarian should shrink from no trouble by which he can add to the instruction or convenience of students, that he should keep himself fully acquainted with the latest improvements and suggestions of other librarians, and that he should be on the watch against fostering his own hobbies at the expense of other departments of knowledge."

Nevertheless, Nicholson was not satisfied. In February 1880 he collected testimonials to apply for the post of Organizing Director and Secretary of the City and Guilds of London Institute: "... I have always wished to find myself ultimately in some position where I should be more actively connected with life and work, and I hardly know what other post would in the end fulfil that wish more completely than that for which I am about to apply." Whether he did apply is unknown, but he was obviously not selected. Generally Nicholson's relations

with his Board were good, but in 1880 he discovered that the senior porter owed about £10 to the junior porter. Nicholson's sense of justice was outraged, but the Managers took the senior porter's side, and Nicholson tendered his resignation. He was induced to withdraw it, but this was a further step towards leaving. When Bodley's Librarian died, Nicholson applied. He was also interested in editing a literary magazine; he wavered, but was elected Bodley's Librarian on 4 February 1882.²⁵

Nicholson's departure.

Nicholson refused to leave until April, in order to prepare the financial accounts and complete the cataloguing. When one assistant declined to work on Easter Monday, Nicholson complained to the President that both Sublibrarians showed complete indifference and had "not made the slightest effort to work beyond their ordinary slow pace"; the assistant was rebuked. As for a successor, one applicant was E.M. Borrajo, a temporary assistant in 1880 and retained as Nicholson's private assistant, at Nicholson's cost; but Borrajo circulated a testimonial previously given to him by Nicholson. Nicholson was furious that Borrajo had canvassed and compromised Nicholson's impartiality. Borrajo left in tears - but on the same day Nicholson invited Stanley Lane-Poole, another candidate, to become his personal assistant. Too late did Nicholson realize that he had compromised himself and Lane-Poole. (Nicholson did his best to help Borrajo, who subsequently became Sublibrarian and Librarian of the Guildhall Library.) To confuse matters further, Nicholson encouraged J.Y.W. MacAlister of the Leeds Library to apply. He did so, but suddenly withdrew; however, the Managers had already decided against him, and MacAlister was angry that Nicholson would not write to the Leeds Library Committee that MacAlister had intended to withdraw before his rejection was announced. The successful candidate was J.M. Horsburgh, a teacher, whom Nicholson was sure was the wrong choice, and who proved Nicholson right.²⁶

From Oxford Nicholson sent advice and a draft of his classification scheme; it was never printed, despite Nicholson's desire. Nicholson also worked on a supplement to the Circulating Library catalogue, printed in September 1882. Horsburgh had taken over the editing, and Nicholson was not allowed to see proofs. Little needs to be said of the resulting monument to bibliographical incompetence, beyond Nicholson's comments: "The errata are so very numerous and many of

them so painful, and the typographical details are so unlike what they were meant to be, that I only put a copy in the Bodleian because I feel it wrong to keep any English book from coming into the library ..."

No more catalogues seem to have been issued. The London Institution slowly declined after Nicholson's departure and never regained its, albeit brief, eminence of the 1870's; it ceased to function in 1912.²⁷

Chapter 2. THE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

The need for an association of British librarians had been felt long before the Library Association of the United Kingdom's (L.A.U.K.) establishment in 1877; the problem was the diversity of libraries and lack of communication. By the end of 1877 there were 72 rate-supported public libraries, as well as an incalculable number of institutional and society libraries. Most librarians were only paid clerks and few thought about sharing their 'professional' experiences. The 1877 International Conference of Librarians may have been a tremendous success - but only 28 public library authorities sent representatives; apathy and the low status of librarianship had to be taken into account.¹

The American Library Association.

Nicholson's public rôle in initiating the conference of librarians which preceded the foundation of the L.A.U.K. has been well documented, but not the opposition provoked. The conference only came about because of Nicholson's powers of organization and sheer determination. Curiously, the impetus derived from his former tutor, F. Max Müller, who in March 1876 published anonymously an article urging a 'Congress of Librarians'. This was reprinted in the (American) Publishers' Weekly, and immediately Frederick Leyboldt, its publisher, and R.R. Bowker planned a conference. (A Convention of Librarians had taken place in New York in 1853, but had not been repeated). 1876 was Centennial year, and Philadelphia was the site of an International Exhibition; the Conference was held there from 4-6 October. Leyboldt and Bowker had been joined by Melvil Dewey, who had ideas for a librarians' journal, and whose force of character and industry were primarily responsible for the resulting American Library Association.²

Melville Louis Kossuth Dewey "was gript [sic] with ambition at a very early age", wrote his biographer; "This ambition was to do something that would justify his existence in the eyes of Almighty God." He had already devised his decimal classification scheme, and was the driving force behind the American Library Association (as Secretary), the American Library Journal (as editor), the Spelling Reform Association, and the American Metric Bureau. Nicholson shared his enthusiasm for simplified spelling and decimal classification. Like Nicholson, the 25-year-old Dewey aroused great distrust amongst his seniors, but his enthusiasm won over such luminaries as Justin Winsor, W.F. Poole, C.A. Cutter, L.P. Smith, and A.R. Spofford.³

The Organizing Committee.

Charles Madeley recalled thoughts of planning with W.E.A. Axon in 1876 an association of Lancashire librarians, while others had discussed a similar idea - but Nicholson converted thoughts into deeds. On 27 January 1877 he reviewed in the Academy the American conference and suggested that their example be followed in the United Kingdom. The Times reprinted the article, which impelled Nicholson to invite J. Winter Jones, Principal Librarian of the British Museum, to preside over an English conference. Jones agreed, so Nicholson invited the other four national librarians to be Vice-Presidents - H.O. Coxe of the Bodleian, J.T. Clark of the Advocates' Library, and J. Malet of Trinity College, Dublin, agreed, but Henry Bradshaw of Cambridge University Library declined (Malet later withdrew). Nicholson's presumption is staggering. Not yet aged 28, and heavily involved in the London Institution, he had, without consulting other librarians, achieved a remarkable coup, and in the Times of 16 February 1877 he issued a public invitation to a conference; he also quoted extracts from the national librarians' replies. Albeit well-intentioned, Nicholson's energetic actions produced a split amongst librarians before their Association had been formed.⁴

James Yates of Leeds wondered why Nicholson had not invited Edward Edwards to be President, but Nicholson argued that the British Museum's Principal Librarian was the natural choice.⁵ On 9 April 1877 a group of London librarians met at the London Library under the chairmanship of its librarian, Robert Harrison, and formed themselves into an 'Organizing Committee', with Nicholson as Secretary. 19 signed the minutes-book, and amongst them were librarians whose influence on, and friendship with, the young Nicholson were to be vital.⁶

This Committee included: Richard Garnett, Superintendent of the British Museum Reading Room; Edward Maunde Thompson, Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts at the British Museum, and later Principal Librarian; H.B. Wheatley of the Royal Society; W.S.W. Vaux; E.C. Thomas, who, like Nicholson, had recently left Trinity College, Oxford, and had been librarian of the Oxford Union; and Henry R. Tedder, Librarian of the Athenaeum Club, who became Nicholson's closest friend and supporter. Tedder wrote of Nicholson: "No angry word ever passed between us. I never worked with anyone with such entire satisfaction. He was the soul of honour, of unremitting application, painstaking in all things, and meeting all difficulties with courage and good temper." Tedder was the L.A.'s most constant servant for over 45 years. One of his earliest services was to encourage members of the Athenaeum to take an interest in the new Association.⁷

Regretfully, all the personalities cannot here be elaborated, but two points must be made clear to understand the divisions which upset the early years of the L.A.U.K. - the Organizing Committee comprised of London librarians, and none, with one exception, were public librarians. There was only one rate-supported public library in the metropolis, in Westminster, and its librarian, Joseph Radford, was that one exception - but he was a fifth columnist. After the Organizing Committee's first meeting, he wrote to Andrea Crestadoro, the Manchester public librarian: "I have observed that London Librarians appear to have their share of local conceit and prejudice Some present thought that none but Librarians and their Assistants should attend the conference and that Members of Committees of management ought not to be present at the conference ... I trust you will pardon me for saying that I think all officers of Free Libraries should be careful in their communications to Mr. Nicholson until he places before them the definite wishes and proposals of the organizing Committee."

Radford also wrote to P. Cowell, the Liverpool public librarian, who wrote to Crestadoro: "From the first announcement of the Conference or rather in the action taken by Mr. Nicholson in regard to it, I have had some mis-givings that Librarians of Free Public Libraries were only to be allowed to be present by special permission of the Conference i.e. the Librarians of London. This, by no means, agrees with my notions of the matter, nor suits my temperament; and I unhesitatingly say, that if I had any inkling from you or Mr. Mullins, that you were not perfectly satisfied with the course of action take[n] by Mr. N. of London, at the time I wrote you, I shd certainly have stood aloof; as I shall do now, if I have any reason to think that the London idea is, that WE shd play second fiddle, act chorus, clap our hands & say hear! hear! to a few apparently self-elected of London, when they deliver themselves, no doubt to their own admiration ..."⁸

From the very beginnings the northern public librarians were deeply suspicious of their London colleagues, especially Nicholson. The fact that these librarians did attend the Conference is a tribute to the Committee's success in attracting support and to the proposed programme. Nevertheless these public librarians nearly destroyed the L.A.U.K. in 1881. As for Radford, he had little further to do with the Association, and was dismissed from Westminster in 1881 for embezzlement.⁹

Nicholson arranged for the Conference to be held in the London Institution on 2-5 October 1877, and circulated a draft programme.

M. Dewey was kept informed and the Conference's eventual Success was largely due to the 16 American delegates, including Winsor, Cutter, Dewey and Poole. "There is a growing feeling among our profession," Dewey wrote to Nicholson, "on this side that the time has come for a steady upward movement and that the old world and new will each derive advantages from working in complete harmony."¹⁰

The Organizing Committee nominated a Council of 12 for the Conference, half of whom were provincial representatives (including W.E.A. Axon, Cowell, Crestadoro, and J.D. Mullins), and six Vice-Presidents; Nicholson and Tedder were nominated as Secretaries. H. Bradshaw continued to regard the proceedings with suspicion, though he wished them well. He had been mortally offended because Nicholson had published in the Times his letter of refusal to be a Vice-President. When in July Nicholson asked him to consider nomination to the Council, Bradshaw again declined: "The hasty words 'Vice-President or anything of the sort' which I unfortunately used in my hurried reply to your first letter, and which have been so often thrown in my teeth since (with singularly bad taste) you thought it necessary to gibbet me with them in the Times, were at any rate meant to include such a Council as well as the body of Vice Presidents." The words in brackets only appear in Bradshaw's draft, but certainly reflect his feelings. His diaries for the period reveal that he was frequently "very bilious" or "hardly able to see", and when the Conference was taking place, he fled to Paris.¹¹

The International Conference of Librarians.

The Committee's meetings were reported in the Athenæum, though other newspapers were sceptical: the Publishers' Circular warned against "fruitless talk upon books", while the Daily Telegraph described librarians as "a kind of beneficent undertaker, continually 'performing' the funerals of defunct opuscles, bestowing them in handsome coffins of 'calf extra' or 'half morocco', giving them decent burial in many-shelved catacombs..." Nevertheless the conference papers were practical and stimulating, and ensured vigorous discussions.¹²

There was an exhibition of library appliances and catalogues, and visits were organized to many London libraries. 216 members attended, representing 140 libraries. Amongst non-librarians were Mark Pattison, W.S. Jevons, Leone Levi, H. Morley, and N. Trübner. Bernard Quaritch hoped the Conference would do good: "the provincial Libraries require a desperate onslaught against mediocrity and the circulating Library element." But the number of British public librarians represented was disappointing - only 28; many librarians were prevented from attending by their Committees, who were perhaps fearful of 'trades-unionism'.

The topics discussed included the British Museum, especially the need for a printed catalogue; special collections in public libraries; a controversial paper by P. Cowell advocating the provision of more fiction; a 'General Catalogue of English Literature'; binding; stock selection; open access etc. Much of the success was due to reviews in the Times, whose reporter Nicholson had specifically invited.¹³

Nicholson only delivered one paper, on buckram binding (which will be considered later), but in discussions he expressed himself 'amazed' that anyone could doubt the virtues of minute classification, and he favoured open-access. Nicholson was indignant at the low salaries of many provincial librarians, but, as R. Harrison later said, "the intervention of my friend Mr. Mullins, of Birmingham, at this point of the debate, served to check the torrent of indignation that was rising in the bosoms of the librarians who were present." The provincial librarians dare not appear to condone an attack on their political paymasters.¹⁴

On the last day, Friday 5 October, 1877, the Library Association of the United Kingdom was officially established and a constitution, drawn up by Nicholson and Tedder, was amended and accepted. Several committees were set up, whose work will be considered in the following chapter, and the American Library Journal was adopted as the official organ of both the L.A.U.K. and A.L.A., on Nicholson's suggestion, to be known as the Library Journal. A Council of 12 was elected (including 7 provincial members); R. Harrison was elected Treasurer, and Nicholson and Tedder as joint Secretaries. Nicholson was subsequently presented with a testimonial and a gold watch.¹⁵

The Secretaries' first task was to edit the Conference Transactions. The resulting volume is one of the L.A.U.K.'s finest, but took over six months to appear, which angered Dewey who wished to print the proceedings and papers in the Library Journal. Dewey claimed that B.F. Stevens of the Chiswick Press (who was himself scornful of "our Massachusetts friend with fonetik proclivities") was prejudicing the Journal's future. The auspices for future co-operation were not favourable.¹⁶

The monthly and annual meetings.

The first Council meeting was held on 19 February 1878. They decided that the Association should meet at 8 p.m. on the first Friday of each month, and so, on 1 March 1878, the monthly meetings were inaugurated. The venue was the London Institution, though other London

libraries were visited. Only London members attended, though the proceedings were reported in the Library Journal. On 23 May 1878, Nicholson resigned as joint Honorary Secretary and as an associate editor of the Library Journal. He blamed the ever-increasing calls on his time for putting "a considerable strain on my unfortunately nervous temperament." This was understandable, considering the demands of the London Institution, his literary tasks, and the imminent birth of his second child. He was succeeded by E.C. Thomas. At the Annual Meeting in October, Nicholson was elected to the Council.¹⁷

The annual meetings were when provincial members could come together; Nicholson attended the meetings in Oxford (1878), Manchester (1879), Edinburgh (1880), London (1881), and Cambridge (1882). The Oxford meeting was held under the chairmanship of H.O. Coxe, who dreaded the event: "Bodley 10-4 the ides of March are come. For Bodley's sake may I not be too feeble tomorrow". The meeting was a success. Manchester was a pleasant surprise, as Nicholson wrote to his mother: "The town is better built than Liverpool, and nothing like the filthy smoky place I was led to expect." In the evenings were held the 'Executive meetings', or unofficial gatherings of the most regular participants, when Nicholson would "troll forth" 'Little Billee', William Blades might sing 'Old King Cole', and Henry Stevens would tell racy stories. At Manchester Nicholson "recited 'Jim' (dropping my tumbler of course), and am supposed to have scored heavily."¹⁸

Sunday opening.

However, Nicholson was becoming unpopular. Many people resented controversial views on public library matters expressed by a non-public librarian, such as on salaries and the provision of fiction. At Manchester, Axon had urged the opening of public libraries on Sundays; J.D. Mullins moved that they should not pass any opinion, since the Association was not strong enough to dictate to the universe. Nicholson supported Axon, but the motion was withdrawn. In 1880 Nicholson moved a similar motion. Undeterred by a surge of indignation, Nicholson pointed out that he was only asking the Association to recommend Sunday opening to Library Committees, and he recognized that "local circumstances" might make this undesirable. C. Welch, Sublibrarian of the Guildhall Library, moved that they turn to other matters, supported by Rev. W.D. Macray of the Bodleian and passed by 38 votes to 8. In 1881, Nicholson moved his motion, seconded by Tedder, but W.H.K. Wright moved a blocking amendment. Yet again in 1882 Nicholson brought out his

motion, and despite H. Bradshaw's opinion that a vote would be useful, the public library members refused a discussion.¹⁹

Henry Bradshaw.

Nicholson was as devoted to promoting libraries as were the public librarians, but his excitable temperament made them wary of him. The annual meetings of 1881 and 1882 confirmed Nicholson's unpopularity, due to his Free Libraries Bill (to be considered in the following chapter) and his attacks on the L.A.U.K.'s financial situation. Henry Bradshaw had ignored the Association until E.C. Thomas suggested that he preside over the 1881 conference in Cambridge. Bradshaw protested that he would prefer first to attend an annual meeting as an observer. "You ask me to write to you frankly, and I have done so," he replied, "but I must trust to your courtesy not to find myself nicholsoned as the result of my frankness." Bradshaw had not forgiven Nicholson for quoting him in his letter to the Times of 16 February 1877. A preliminary meeting was held in Cambridge in March 1881, but supporters of the local Public Library objected. Nicholson's Free Libraries Bill was causing deep divisions throughout the L.A.U.K., and certain provisions worried Cambridge. The L.A.U.K. decided that the 1881 Annual Meeting should be in London, while Cambridge could act as hosts in 1882.²⁰

At London in 1881, Nicholson met Bradshaw for the first time, and they became the best of friends. Nicholson stayed with him at King's College for the 1882 Annual Meeting, and Bradshaw thoroughly enjoyed the conference: "It was like a three or four weeks holiday in the Alps", he wrote to a friend, " - the entire change - and the complete absence of jar, not a shadow of a thing going wrong." Nicholson's presence at Cambridge prevented his Sublibrarians, Falconer Madan and Adolf Neubauer, from attending. Neubauer was not disappointed, as he wrote to Bradshaw: "... I do not belong to the association because, pardon me the expression, I consider it a humbug; and there is still more reason now not to belong to it [i.e. Nicholson]. Besides we cannot be away all [sic], ... and as far as I know Mr. N. would not like to miss the opportunity of showing himself in his great dignity."²¹ When the official photograph of the Meeting came to be taken outside King's College Chapel, it was discovered that Nicholson, "with characteristic sprightliness, had climbed into one of the vacant niches on the façade, whence he was rescued by his horrified friends". Nicholson was displaying his 'dignity', and in the photograph itself, Nicholson is sulking at the rear of the group.²²

The financial situation.

After the 1883 Annual Meeting, Tedder wrote: "Unless the members of the Library Association check a tendency to become fellows of an ordinary Mutual Admiration Society, and evince greater disposition to grapple with the burning questions of librarianship and less disposition to re-discuss the well-worn topics which have been talked to death in each successive programme, it is to be feared that these annual gatherings may degenerate into mere peripatetic picnics."²³

Nicholson held similar views, and at the Annual Meeting in 1881 launched a fierce onslaught at what he saw as financial mismanagement.

The Association had a modest balance of £25.19s.2d., though subscriptions were low - 10s.6d. per annum, or 5 guineas for life membership. Nicholson discovered that only about half of the life-subscriptions had been invested: "Where are the other £22? Where, as the poet says, are the snows of yesteryear? Melted, Sir, melted." Furthermore the accounts included no statement of liabilities. If all the L.A.U.K.'s assets were taken into account, Nicholson estimated that there would still be a deficit. Nicholson's main contention was that the conference proceedings were too expensive and unnecessary. (The 1878 proceedings cost £45; the 1880 proceedings cost £76 and were not issued before February 1882). He wanted the proceedings to be published in Monthly Notes, then little more than an eight-page newsletter, started in 1880.

Although 336 members were listed by the 1881 conference, 194 subscriptions were owing. Many members had joined only to attend annual meetings in their localities; nevertheless they received the publications. Since the annual conference proceedings cost the equivalent of about 110 annual subscriptions, Nicholson was appalled that there might be insufficient subscriptions to cover liabilities. Nicholson insisted that he was not attacking the Treasurer, R. Harrison, but the policy: "The policy of which I speak has had two main principles. The first is 'Big cry, and never mind the wool', the second is 'Whatever you don't do, do avoid friction'. At this particular meeting there does not seem great likelihood of our way being blocked by papers on Libraries before the Deluge and discussions on the earliest traces of printing in Carmarthenshire, but hitherto the main object ruling policy has been to make what the music-halls call a varied and attractive programme, and the result in our four years of existence ... is apparently not ... one single improvement however trifling in

library-management or library-appliances. The fruits of the same policy have been seen in many of the papers solemnly submitted to the consideration of these annual meetings. If So-and-so sent in a thoroughly weak and wearisome paper the question of its acceptance or non-acceptance has mainly depended on the probability of So-and-so being touchy or not touchy about it."²⁴

The Constitution was amended so that Council invested life-subscriptions. The Treasurer issued a circular concerning arrears, and auditors were chosen. Constitutional amendments increased Council to 20 (12 from London, 8 provincial), but deleted the clause which committed the Association to the promotion of new libraries - a significant change, confirming Nicholson's contention that the Association was too cowardly to take an active rôle for fear of causing offence. On 4 November Council agreed, despite objections from Nicholson and Tedder, to publish the 1881 conference proceedings as previously. A Committee was set up, including Nicholson, to consider the best way of publishing the proceedings of the monthly meetings.²⁵

Nicholson's resignation.

The original report of this Committee is not apparently preserved, but on 25 November the Council met to discuss it. The chairman was W. Overall, Librarian of the Guildhall Library; his deputy, C. Welch, who had succeeded Tedder as joint Secretary (with E.C. Thomas), was also present. Overall refused to discuss the report, but eventually agreed. The report was amended, the main points being that Monthly Notes should be expanded, with a new honorary editor. Overall wanted two proposals to be rescinded at the next Council meeting. Motions to adjourn were defeated. Events followed rapidly. Tedder, seconded by Nicholson, moved that the report be adopted as amended; the chairman refused to put the motion. Nicholson, seconded by Tedder, moved that the chairman leave the chair; the chairman refused to put the motion. E.C. Thomas, seconded by Tedder, moved that the minutes of this Council meeting be printed in the next Monthly Notes; the chairman refused to put the motion. Nicholson then announced that he would move a vote of censure against Overall at the next Council meeting, and the meeting broke up.²⁶

On 2 December 1881, Council met and Nicholson, seconded by Tedder, moved his censure motion, and lost, 8-3. Nicholson promptly resigned from Council and departed, vowing never to return: "Mr. Overall has for years past lost hardly any opportunity of opposing those members of the Council who founded the Association, and who have been all along

trying in spite of Mr. Overall to get it do substantial work. So long as he simply violated good feeling, good sense, and good manners there was no legal ground for openly censuring him. But when he abused his position as chairman to violate every written or unwritten principle on which meetings are conducted for the purpose of obstructing the wishes of the Council then the point was at last reached when a vote of censure becomes not only justifiable but imperative."²⁷

The 1882 Meeting.

Nicholson attended monthly meetings until his departure for Oxford in April 1882. He went to the 1882 Annual Meeting at Cambridge to launch his final onslaught, again on the finances. The Treasurer reported the assets and liabilities, but to Nicholson's anger, Harrison now proposed that the instruction to invest life-subscriptions be rescinded. Only 172 subscriptions had been paid for 1882, yet there were supposed to be 321 subscribing members. The balance-sheet showed that receipts exceeded expenditure by £150.10s.7d., but assets exceeded liabilities by only £4.9s.7d.²⁸

Nicholson's criticisms were contained in a pamphlet distributed at the Cambridge meeting. C. Walford, on behalf of Council, acknowledged that Nicholson's allegations might 'perchance' be true. On Nicholson's insistence, the conference agreed to receive, but not adopt, the report of assets and liabilities and the auditors' report. Harrison's attempt to rescind the motion on investing life-subscriptions was lost.²⁹

Reluctantly Nicholson allowed himself to be elected a Vice-President, and in March 1883 proposed that the L.A.U.K. press Parliament for a return of library statistics. The Council postponed the matter until the Liverpool Annual Meeting. Furious at the delay, Nicholson complained that his proposal would probably be rejected, since it was opposed by local councils, and since Cowell was hostile. So Nicholson wrote angrily to E.C. Thomas, resigning from the Council again, regretting that he had been persuaded to return: "If I ever yield to such pressure again it will only be when the Council has recognized that its object should be to do useful work instead of eternally procrastinating it."³⁰ Nicholson never attended another meeting, and many of his fears were realized.

The later financial situation.

By 1884 arrears had doubled and there had been no economies in printing. The Treasurer wanted to alter the Constitutional clause which restricted membership of non-librarians to two-fifths of the total.

Nicholson had insisted on this clause, and the fact that by 1884 two-fifths of the L.A.U.K. were non-librarians shows their success in attracting people from outside librarianship - but it also showed their failure to recruit more librarians. This clause was deleted in 1889.³¹

An entrance fee of 10s.6d. was introduced in 1885, but concern was felt over the cost of printing a monthly journal and the annual transactions - almost £230 in 1885, when money was still owed for the 1883 proceedings. The crisis occurred in 1888; despite a cash balance, liabilities exceeded assets by £39.18s.5d. On 29 October, J.Y.W. MacAlister, now Secretary, wrote to Nicholson: "I think you will be pleased to hear I have succeeded in getting 'Management' first time for years to have a strict professional audit - result insolvency and chaos - natural evolution thereout, order and increased income, the first secured the latter hopeful. Have purged list down from 'upwards of 500' to a reality of 350!!!" (The number of members in 1885 was reported as 495; for 1888, 390).

MacAlister and Thomas announced a Special General Meeting to discuss increasing subscriptions, adding that their Founder, now Bodley's Librarian, had advocated this, years ago; increases were agreed at the 1889 Annual Meeting. Throughout the 1890's there was a regular deficit of assets compared to liabilities, but strict economies gradually helped matters.³²

Nicholson's later relations with the L.A.U.K.

Throughout his years as Bodley's Librarian, Nicholson continued to correspond with his closest former colleagues in the L.A.U.K., especially Henry Tedder, E.C. Thomas, and John (later Sir John) Young Walker MacAlister. In 1886 Nicholson went on holiday to North Devon with Tedder, who wrote to him afterwards:

"I look back to our tramp with great satisfaction. My hands still remind me of the sun. You will feel the benefit later on when you have got over the two glasses a night of strong spirits & water! Dont put anything down to the innocent shandy gaff. Holidays are savings invested to give deferred dividends." Thereafter they met rarely. Nicholson encouraged Tedder to apply for the Cambridge University Librarianship in 1889, but the latter declined. Tedder was always anxious about Nicholson's health, and regretted his Oxford squabbles.³³

Both MacAlister and Tedder tried to persuade him to return to the L.A.U.K. fold. In 1889 MacAlister wanted the L.A.U.K.'s twelfth year to "be signalized by the emerging of Achilles from his tent and the aiding by his voice and pen of the Association he founded.

Much that you disapproved of is now behind us - I hope for ever - our subns. are paid and our list is a bona-fide one that would stand the sharpest actuarial criticism." Nicholson refused. In 1895 Nicholson allowed himself to be elected a Vice-President, but consistently ignored meetings, and finally declined to be re-nominated in 1901. He was elected Fellow of the Library Association in 1896, by virtue of being a founder member. To celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the L.A.U.K., a Second International Conference was held in London in July 1897. Nicholson did not attend, but the 60 or so American librarians present subsequently toured the West Country, ending with a 'conversazione' organized by Nicholson in the Oxford Examination Schools.³⁴

In 1892 Nicholson hinted to MacAlister that he might invite an annual meeting to Oxford under his presidency in 1902, the Bodleian's Tercentenary year, but he wanted the Bodleian to be perfectly organized first. He told this to Tedder in 1897, who replied that Nicholson should never expect perfection, adding: "But you are one of the few men to whom self-denial comes as a habit of nature ...

What you say about our forgotten Resolutions is very true and I have had an idea to do something in the way you suggest. I was going to ask a Committee to report on the various questions with a view to revive some of the things we had half done. Unfortunately the Association is becoming more and more rate supported in its views and bibliography and cataloguing are subjects about which it is now difficult to excite much enthusiasm." The Library Association did not come to Oxford. Nicholson had recently suffered his first nervous breakdown and could not have carried out the necessary arrangements; nor was the Bodleian yet 'perfectly' organized. In addition, the L.A. had changed dramatically between 1898 and 1901, with the resignation as Secretary of MacAlister and his successor, F. Pacy; the controversy over MacAlister's Library, and his unsuccessful attempt to oust Tedder. These circumstances recall Nicholson's resignations, and demonstrate how the L.A.'s first 25 years were profoundly affected by incompatible personalities.³⁵

By 1902 the public library element was dominant in the L.A. Though Tedder continued for another two decades as Treasurer, a new breed of younger librarians was to run the L.A. The young Nicholson of 1877

might have applauded their enthusiasm and determination, but the middle-aged Bodley's Librarian had lost all interest.

During the 1900's all that the Library Association heard from Nicholson were occasional letters correcting mis-statements about the Bodleian. At the 1906 Annual Meeting, for instance, the chairman of Bradford Education Committee criticized the inaccessibility and sheer bulk of books in the deposit libraries, and claimed that the Bodleian was sending "cart-loads" to warehouses in the countryside: "No human eye ever sees them again, but perhaps the rats around Oxford are becoming more intelligent." Nicholson indignantly denied that Bodleian books were out-housed: "The 'information' is, in fact, a false and unsufferable libel, which no properly conducted Association should have published, least of all an Association which owes its own existence to the initiative of

E.W.B. Nicholson,
Bodley's Librarian."36

On Nicholson's death, no obituary ever appeared in the Library Association Record. (In September 1912 L.S. Jast wrote to Madan: "I am afraid that nothing strikes me as particularly 'odd' about the Library Association Record. The whole production is so weird in so many ways.") Instead, Tedder read an appreciative paper to the 1913 Annual Meeting. Madan invited an Annual Meeting to be held in Oxford in 1914, but War prevented this.³⁷

Chapter 3.

THE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION COMMITTEES AND THE
METROPOLITAN FREE LIBRARIES ASSOCIATION.

After Henry Tedder had delivered his tribute to Nicholson at the 1913 Library Association Annual Meeting, he was asked by Madan and others why Nicholson had lost interest in the L.A. Tedder could only reply that, knowing "his peculiar character, they must conclude that he felt that if he could not have a finger in every corner of the pie he preferred to keep his finger out of it." Certainly, Nicholson had a good many fingers in the L.A.U.K.'s pie, but he suffered increasing disillusionment because, he thought, the Association was reluctant to act positively on major issues. After his final resignation in 1883, he wrote to E.C.Thomas:

"It is now more than five years since the L.A.U.K. began work. What in the name of heaven has this great combination of all the libraries of the kingdom done in that time? It has simply produced, after three years' discussion a set of cataloguing-rules, and a scheme for the examination of library-assistants. The latter is still a dead-letter, the former are still unaccompanied by the illustrations which were ordered to be drawn up by the Annual Meeting of 1881.

The Committee on the Universal Catalogue has been quietly buried years ago, the Committee on size-notation cannot produce a report capable of standing the criticism of Mr. Madeley, the Committee on Poole's index failed to secure even a tolerable amount of assistance to Mr. Poole. The Committee on Library Statistics reported that it did not know how to take them. The Committee on Indicators reported that it cd. not form an opinion on their respective merits. The Council's report on binding which was to have been presented in 1881 is postponed to the publication of the Cambridge volume. The resolutions of the Cambridge meeting about a Public Libraries Bill and about the supply of printed documents are still unsatisfied and there is no sign that the Council are preparing the classification-scheme which they were asked to present at Liverpool. Monthly Notes appears more than a month after date, and the London volume after 20 months waiting is not yet announced. Finally in February 1883 it is stated that the Council still keep on the books the names of some gentlemen who ceased to be legally members in March 1882, and in March 1883 they admit that they still send Monthly Notes to some^{of} such gentlemen."¹

What went wrong? Nicholson was always impatient, but perhaps more might have been accomplished if other L.A.U.K. members had shared his enthusiasm, and if he had moderated his temperament. Nevertheless, the good intentions of the L.A.U.K. cannot be doubted, nor can the value of Nicholson's ideas.

Buckram binding.

Nicholson's advocacy of buckram binding made him notorious. It had been introduced into the London Institution by one of Nicholson's predecessors, E. Brayley. At the 1877 Conference, Nicholson contended that buckram did not rot like commoner bindings. Chemicals in gas were usually blamed for causing deterioration in bindings, but Nicholson reckoned that the culprit was heated air.² Several years' experience convinced him that, though buckram was ideal for rarely-used reference books, it was unsuitable for popular books. His doubts appeared in 'Buckram: a palinode' at the 1880 Annual Meeting, though he added that "as it is a fabric of Scottish make, I congratulate myself on having given, during a time of historic depression, a new impetus to one of the industries of North Britain." Though this was a rare occasion when Nicholson admitted he might be wrong, he told the next monthly meeting of his experiments with other possible binding materials. He was to use buckram at the Bodleian for large reference books and pamphlet cases.³

The cataloguing rules.

The American Library Association drew up a 'condensed cataloguing-code' and devised a system of size-notation. Nicholson endorsed the latter, and later declared that the art of cataloguing had reached its highest perfection in the U.S.A. At the L.A.U.K. monthly meeting in December 1878, Nicholson sought a committee to draw up a cataloguing-code. Tedder opposed, arguing that an amended British Museum code should suffice. Two committees were set up, one to devise a code for cataloguing title-entries (C.T.E.), the other to devise a size-notation table (C.S.N.). Only Nicholson and the two Secretaries (Tedder and Thomas) were on both committees.⁴

Nothing rouses a librarian's passions more than cataloguing. Possible rules were exhaustively discussed, and the disagreements caused can be judged by comparing the rules printed annually between 1879 and 1883.⁵

Size-notation.

As for size-notation, the Committee refused to acknowledge that modern books needed different treatment to older books. H. Bradshaw had expressed sizes (i.e. height) in inches at Cambridge in the 1850's, and had distinguished size from form (i.e. size of the folds), but had reluctantly to discard the size in inches. The C.S.N. had three systems to consider: the A.L.A. method; C. Madeley's 'Demy bookscale'; and the scheme of B.R. (brother of H.B.) Wheatley.

The following table shows the differences in notation:

<u>Height</u>	<u>A.L.A.</u>	<u>Madeley</u>	<u>Wheatley</u>
20"	F ⁶ [i.e. Folio, max. 60 cms.]	1a. fo.	Royal folio
8"	O [i.e. Octavo]	8 ^o	sm. 8 vo.
5"	T [i.e. 24 mo., max. 15 cms.]	18 ^o	24 mo.

The drawback of the systems was that public library catalogues really only needed the height of a book. The L.A.U.K. issued a questionnaire, and B.R. Wheatley's scheme was most preferred.⁶

When the C.S.N. met on 12 September 1879, the American system was supported only by Nicholson; Madeley's scheme was backed by Nicholson and Tedder; while Wheatley's method was favoured by Overall and B.R. Wheatley himself - the latter was agreed to, by the casting vote of the chairman, Overall. Nicholson and Tedder immediately dissented, and at the Annual Meeting Tedder moved an amendment that B.R. Wheatley's scheme be not recommended, and that size-notation should be discussed by the C.T.E. - this was agreed. At the 1880 Annual Meeting the cataloguing rules were again revised, but despite Nicholson's desire for the conference to sit night and day, consideration of the last few rules, including size-notation, was adjourned to the next annual meeting. In 1881, all those on size-notation were deleted.⁷

At the Bodleian Nicholson devised his 'Compendious cataloguing rules', based on the L.A.U.K. draft code. Faced with this, the L.A.U.K. finally revised their code at the 1883 Annual Meeting - but size-notation was excluded, since Madeley objected to any scheme which resembled Wheatley's. The 1882 C.S.N. report was not considered until 1892, when again the old disagreements blew up. The L.A.U.K. gave up altogether. Size-notation was a conflict between the 'old guard' academic librarians and the 'new guard' public librarians, who were not interested in using antiquarian terms when their shelves had no antiquarian books.⁸

Meanwhile, the 1882 Annual Meeting called for the compilation of a classification scheme - but this never saw the light of day, and the scope for disagreement would have been endless. Nicholson supported the idea in principle.⁹

Co-operative cataloguing.

Co-operative cataloguing has always been a librarian's pipe-dream, but the 1877 Conference set up one committee to prepare a 'General Catalogue of English Literature' (G.C.E.L.) and another to co-operate with William F. Poole in a revised edition of his invaluable 'Index to periodical literature'. Both projects were doomed, the latter

relying entirely on American participation. In 1879 J.B. Bailey unsuccessfully proposed that the L.A.U.K. publish an 'Index to periodical literature'.¹⁰

The General Catalogue of English Literature.

The utopian idea of publishing a universal catalogue of literature had been propounded in 1850-2, but had remained dormant until 1875, when Sir Henry Cole made proposals to the Society of Arts. In the latter year J. Ashton Cross proposed the formation of a central office to compile a universal index. Cross put forward his views to the 1877 Conference, and Cornelius Walford showed how a 'General Catalogue of English Literature' might be compiled; Nicholson heartily endorsed these ideas.¹¹

The thought of total bibliographical control soon spread, despite scepticism ("The ghosts of generations of departed Bollandists might grin with derisive amazement at the audacious proposal," commented one newspaper.) In an anonymous review of the 1877 Conference, the author (actually R. Harrison) suggested an Index Society, and within a fortnight it was established, with H.B. Wheatley as Secretary. Little was achieved, but their first publication was H.B. Wheatley's classic 'What is an index?', reviewed by Nicholson in the Academy.¹²

When the L.A.U.K.'s committee on a G.C.E.L. first met, on 3 May 1878, there were disagreements: Nicholson spoke strongly for subject-catalogues, believing that users would prefer to buy volumes on their particular subjects; Tedder, H.B. Wheatley, and others, favoured alphabetical author catalogues. Overall wanted the whole matter adjourned.¹³

Meanwhile the Society of Arts was considering a catalogue of pre-1600 English books, and invited evidence. Walford referred to Nicholson as an authority on classification. Nicholson again urged a classified catalogue, since participating libraries could contribute slips relating to particular subjects: "But to 999 men out of 1,000 a subject-catalogue would be of infinitely greater value - a catalogue that would enable them to see all the books that had been printed in English upon architecture. I would ask librarians to agree upon some scheme of classification ... Mr. Melvil Dewey's is infinitely better [than the British Museum's], and might be made the basis of the scheme to be adopted." He also suggested that every book listed in a universal catalogue should have a unique marginal number ("In the same way as every ship at Lloyds' has its number" added Sir H. Cole); printed lists of numbers would reveal which books were lacking in each library - this

idea has become feasible with computerized International Standard Book Numbers. Nicholson then recommended Latin to describe books in any universal catalogue.

E.C. Thomas expressed the controversial opinion that the lack of a printed British Museum catalogue was due mainly to J.W. Jones' hostility. The Society was most impressed by G. Bullen's proposed catalogue of pre-1640 English books in the British Museum.¹⁴ Instead of pressing for a universal catalogue, they decided instead to exert pressure on the British Museum Trustees to print the whole British Museum catalogue. The L.A.U.K.'s Committee resolved to compile an alphabetical author G.C.E.L., with subject indexes, and invited the British Museum to extend its pre-1640 catalogue to include books in other libraries - but the Trustees declined.¹⁵ The L.A.U.K. persevered, but by the 1882 Conference nothing had been done, and Garnett dismissed the G.C.E.L. as "at present intricate, indefinite, intangible." When the British Museum began printing its Catalogue in 1884, the G.C.E.L. was quietly dropped.¹⁶

Tedder urged the L.A.U.K. in 1895 to revive the G.C.E.L. - but there was no money. As for Nicholson, when in 1898 the Royal Society proposed an International Catalogue of Scientific Literature, he was extremely sceptical whether co-operation would work, except with heavy financing and detailed planning.¹⁷

Library training.

At the 1877 Conference, H.O. Coxe had suggested a 'School for librarians', while in 1878 Nicholson recounted approvingly how he had used well-educated boys in the London Institution. At the 1880 Annual Meeting was set up the Committee on the training of library assistants (C.T.L.A.), despite objections that assistants could not study if they worked 12 hours per day. The Committee included Nicholson and Tedder, but Thomas produced a draft syllabus, and they recommended that the L.A.U.K. itself set examinations and direct training.¹⁸

At the 1881 Annual Meeting, the report was received but not adopted. Once again, Overall was the obstruction. At the 1882 Cambridge meeting, Nicholson condemned library committees who were ignorant of the necessary qualifications for a librarian, and spoke of his own experiences of library assistants. Examinations were at last held in 1885, when three assistants presented themselves - but the foundations had been laid, and by non-public librarians.¹⁹ However, when in 1892 MacAlister proposed an examination centre in Oxford, Nicholson refused to involve himself again in L.A.U.K. affairs.²⁰

Library journals.

The Library Journal was never satisfactory for British members and was in constant financial trouble. In 1879 a Committee, including Nicholson, recommended a monthly news-sheet. N. Trübner offered to print an eight-page Monthly Notes; the 1879 Annual Meeting agreed, and William Brace was the first Hon. Editor. During 1880 the Library Journal suddenly ceased, much to W.F. Poole's annoyance: "The American librarians are disgusted and indignant that their character and interests have been betrayed in this manner." Although the Library Journal re-appeared, with Cutter replacing Dewey, the L.A.U.K. was thinking of producing their own journal. E.C. Thomas wanted a literary monthly, and a plan was approved by 4 votes (Nicholson, Tedder, R. Harrison and Bullen) to 3 (Overall, Welch, and A.J. Frost), but the close result dissuaded Thomas from continuing.²¹

The squabbles of November and December 1881 have been referred to in the previous chapter, when Nicholson, angry at Overall's tactics over the Journal Committee's report, resigned from Council. In October, Thomas' proposed journal had been again endorsed by Council (with two dissentients, Overall and Welch), but other commitments thwarted Thomas, and so an enlarged Monthly Notes resulted, with Thomas as Honorary Editor from February 1882.²²

In March 1884 E.C. Thomas began the unsuccessful Library Chronicle. Although Dewey was rumoured to be making overtures, Thomas decided to abandon his journal, and so appeared the Library, edited by J.Y.W. MacAlister. Madan contributed anonymous notes on the Bodleian, much to Nicholson's distaste. In 1892 MacAlister proposed a series on 'Founders of the Library Association', beginning with Nicholson, but nothing appeared. Nicholson himself would not contribute, nor agree to his name appearing as associate editor: "You are worse than the unjust judge," replied MacAlister, "or I have not the virtue of the importunate widow". The start of the Library Association Record in 1899 as the official L.A. organ, marked the Association's coming-of-age and indicated how rapidly the profession had grown since 1877.²³

The Metropolitan Free Libraries Committee.

Potentially the most important contributions which Nicholson might have made to the public library movement were the promotion of libraries in London and the consolidation of the Libraries Acts. The 1877 Conference set up, on Nicholson's motion, the Metropolitan Free Libraries Committee (M.F.L.C.). The Committee comprised 'names', including the

Archbishop of Canterbury, Sir John Lubbock, Leone Levi, W.S. Jevons, H. Morley, Rev. W. Rogers, and Tedder. The existing legislation was confused, and was adoptive, not compulsory. A library authority could levy a penny rate (or lower), and the Acts could be adopted by a majority vote at a public meeting of ratepayers (following a requisition from 10 ratepayers), or after a poll, or both. Under the 1877 Act, voting-papers were allowed.²⁴

London was fragmented into 67 parishes, and the predominantly working-class ratepayers were reluctant to increase their own rates. The only rate-supported public library by 1877 was in Westminster. There were voluntary libraries, notably James Heywood's in Notting Hill, but these depended on willing benefactors. The first meeting of the M.F.L.C. was held in the London Institution on 5 December 1877 (when Nicholson was appointed Secretary), and a deputation was sent to a public meeting in Islington, where L. Levi was involved - but little was achieved.²⁵

Nicholson drafted a circular on 'Library extension in London', sent to Vestrymen in selected parishes. This explained the procedure for adopting the Acts, appointing Commissioners, borrowing money for buildings, etc. One point was emphasized: "Under no circumstances whatever can a rate of more than a penny in the pound be levied, and the rate may be still further limited by the Vestry." The results were disappointing: only three Vestries were favourably inclined, and the M.F.L.C. chose Hackney as the first battleground. Hackney almost proved to be Nicholson's Waterloo, and his experiences convinced him of the folly of direct intervention in parochial affairs; Rev. W. Rogers recalled that he himself and Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice just escaped from Hackney Town Hall with their lives.²⁶

Hackney.

A local committee of library supporters met on 29 April¹⁸⁷⁸ in Hackney Town Hall, when Nicholson explained how the Acts worked elsewhere. A preliminary public meeting took place on 22 May, and the M.F.L.C. sent Nicholson, Tedder and others. But opposition was rising, mostly about the penny rate - experience of the School Board rate had convinced many that a library rate would soon increase, and there were rumours that A.J. Mundella, M.P. (a member of the M.F.L.C.), was moving a Bill to this effect. The 'Mundella scare' became a key factor, and despite Nicholson's arguments and Mundella's denial, a fly-sheet alleged that the rate would be 3d.²⁷

Attacks mounted against Nicholson's 'presumption' in telling Hackney ratepayers how to improve themselves. Opposition was led by the

Rev. J. de Kewer Williams, who later arrogantly boasted of how he "had the honour and the pleasure of saving Hackney from that dear luxury, a free library ..." Nicholson was accused of being deluded by figures and ignorant of local circumstances. One critic feared that children would be exposed to the 'blasphemous and communistic' writings of Voltaire.²⁸

The Vestry appointed 17 June for the crucial public meeting. The Town Hall was packed; Nicholson was present but did not speak. The proceedings were riotous, as can be gathered from the East London Observer:

"THE REV. THOMAS BROOK (rector of Hackney) then rose and said 'My fellow ratepayers (Cheers, hisses, and 'Sit down!') Will you allow me - ' (Uproar, 'Sit down!' 'Yah!') The rev. gentleman then resumed his seat."

Mr. Cook spoke: "But, sir, my greatest objection to this Act is that it is subversive to all the principles of independence which Englishmen have been celebrated for. (Continued uproar, and a Voice: 'Let 'em have it guvnor!') Englishmen have been long regarded as the most independent, and the most self-dependent of people; are we to interchange that. (Loud cries of 'No! no!')...Are we to go to the continent and ask for everything to be done for us? ('No! no!') Why, sir, I would give to the promoters of this movement - ('Six months!' from the gallery, and loud cheering)".

The adoption of the Acts was moved and lost; but the supporters had the right to demand a poll. On the day, Nicholson picked up leaflets proclaiming falsely that the rate would be 3d.. "But this was not all", reported Nicholson. "In Hackney 7 voters in every 12 are compound householders, and some of these men were openly threatened with a large increase of rent unless they voted against the Acts; while others were treated at public houses, and brought to the poll in cars and waggons. The end of all was the defeat of our cause by 4,389 votes to 631, four-fifths of the ratepayers not voting at all."³⁰

Kensington and Whitechapel.

Kensington Vestry was considering an offer from James Heywood (a M.F.L.C. member) to make over his Notting Hill Library to the parish, provided that the Acts were adopted. The necessary public meeting was held on 5 July; once more there were unruly scenes, and complaints about taxation. The proposed adoption was defeated by 97 votes to 83, but no poll of the whole parish was demanded, and Heywood continued to support his Library himself.³¹

At Whitechapel the M.F.L.C. encouraged a local committee, while Nicholson persuaded publishers to promise donations. In the Standard for 20 April 1878, he appealed to booksellers for soiled books, to successful authors for autographed copies, and even to unsuccessful authors: "Nay, what if our 'Long Vacation in Patagonia' did add nothing to the accounts of former tourists in that hackneyed holiday ground, and if our 'Anatomy and Physiology of the Bluebottle' was written in ignorance of the researches of Professor Jemand of Irgendwostadt? If these books are the first to give some poor man, woman, or child an idea of nature and humanity elsewhere, or to teach them how wonderful a thing is the commonest insect, the present will not have been worthless after all." This article was the Whitechapel Vestry's first inkling that a public library was proposed, and they condemned Nicholson for meddling in parochial affairs. On 15 May, a deputation, including Nicholson, met the Trustees of the Whitechapel Improvement Act. Not until November was the statutory requisition handed to the Vestry, and a public meeting was fixed for 9 December. The proceedings were stormy; many supported the idea of libraries, but believed they should be financed by voluntary subscriptions. A keen library supporter was the local vicar, Rev. (later Canon) S.A. Barnett, who had started a parish library; but when he was shouted down, the meeting had to be abandoned. On the following day a poll was held: the result was 261 in favour, and 497 against.³²

These defeats all occurred within eight months - no wonder that Nicholson resigned in May as joint Secretary of the L.A.U.K. because of pressure of work. (Incidentally, Hackney, Kensington and Whitechapel did not adopt the Acts until 1903, 1887 and 1889 respectively.) The M.F.L.C.'s first report, presented to the L.A.U.K.'s Annual Meeting of 1878, was a sorry catalogue of failures, and Nicholson's experiences impelled him to advise future library promoters: firstly, avoid the religious argument because lay people would suspect that a library might become a mission-house; secondly, avoid the temperance argument because publicans were their fiercest opponents; and thirdly, avoid flowery rhetoric about communing with the spirits of the mighty dead, which people did not care a 'red cent' for - but give them plenty of statistics instead.³³

The Metropolitan Free Libraries Association.

The M.F.L.C. decided to change tactics. Their main aim, realized Nicholson, must be to amend the Library Acts and prevent intimidation at the polls. But the M.F.L.C. had little money; during the first

year Nicholson himself paid their debts of £12.16s.2½d., in addition to his subscription of 2 guineas. They decided to form the Metropolitan Free Libraries Association (M.F.L.A.), independent of the L.A.U.K., with an annual subscription of 5s. An inaugural meeting was held on 3 April 1879, and supporters included Sir W.F. Pollock, Frederic Harrison, Thomas Hughes, Lord Aberdare, Anthony Trollope, and several Members of Parliament; Tedder was Treasurer, with Nicholson still Secretary. During 1879, libraries were mooted in Battersea and Tottenham, but rejected at Camberwell.³⁴

Consolidation of legislation.

At the 1879 L.A.U.K. Annual Meeting Nicholson delivered a paper on 'The consolidation and amendment of the Public Libraries Acts for England'. He pointed out inconsistencies, but recognized that the number of requisitionists should be higher than 10 and that ratepayers should have the power of disestablishment. Nicholson urged that voting-papers be mandatory and that a higher rate be levied if the ratepayers agreed; he believed that local councils, rather than ratepayers, should have the power to adopt, and favoured special legislation for London, and Government inspection of libraries. The L.A.U.K. subsequently resolved to co-operate with the M.F.L.A. in promoting a new Bill.³⁵

The M.F.L.A. Bill.

By the first annual meeting of the M.F.L.A., on 16 July 1880, a consolidating Bill had been drafted by Nicholson and Tedder; its main clauses were:

- 5 A requisition from 50 ratepayers could demand a public meeting; a poll could be taken, using voting papers.
- 15 The library rate was not to exceed 1d. in the pound on the rateable value of rated property.
- 19 Subscriptions might be collected by a voluntary rate "or otherwise".
- 21 Statistics should be laid before Parliament annually.
- 22 The Education Department might appoint inspectors.
- 24 Ratepayers could vote for disestablishment after five years, subject to a two-thirds majority and approval of the Education Dept. ..

Provision was made for parishes to combine, to acquire land, and for various administrative matters. Another clause, 14c, allowed London vestries, instead of ratepayers, to adopt the Acts. It is difficult to realise what a bombshell this Bill proved to be.³⁶

C. Walford thought they should not interfere in debatable public questions, but the Council was determined to promote a Bill. The Government declined to introduce the Bill and suggested that a private member would be best; in November 1880, Sir John Lubbock (a member of the M.F.L.A.) agreed. But the Bill had not yet been seen by L.A.U.K. members.³⁷

The L.A.U.K. Council discussed the proposed Bill on 25 November 1880; they were divided over clause 14c, feeling that Londoners would be denied the chance of expressing their opinions. Thomas sought the opinions of absent Councillors, while Nicholson issued a pamphlet explaining his experiences in Hackney and why London should be a special case. Overall and Welch issued a circular opposing the clause: "After three years of unsuccessful agitation by the M.F.L.A. in all parts of the Metropolis, such a proposal would be an attempt at coercion and would justly provoke a formidable opposition. At the same time it would place the Library Association in a false position before the public, it being in our opinion an attempt to drag a literary Association into political controversy." The last sentence is significant, illustrating the divide which precipitated Nicholson's resignation one year later. At the 1881 Annual Meeting, P. Cowell was to observe that library committees should initiate legislation; this, too, will serve to explain the events that followed.³⁸

The final opinion on clause 14c was 6 for, and 10 against, and the M.F.L.A. approved the amendments on 15 December. On 22 December Thomas and Welch invited L.A.U.K. members and Public Libraries Committees to petition Parliament in favour of the Bill,³⁹ but it had still not been published.

The first reading took place on 7 January 1881, and the second on 22 February, but was adjourned; only then did the provincial L.A.U.K. members realize that Nicholson had presented them with a fait accompli. Nicholson argued that the 1879 L.A.U.K. Annual Meeting had agreed to promote a Bill, but the provincials were outraged that a London non-public librarian had done everything himself. Nicholson was soon made aware of flaws - e.g. clause 15 referred to 'rateable' (i.e. nett) value on property, instead of 'annual' (i.e. gross) value. There was no clause allowing Urban Sanitary Districts to combine (nor metropolitan parishes), while one clause might be interpreted to mean that Cambridge Town Council might have to transfer its library powers. Above all, the provincials opposed inspectors, statistics, and disestablishment, and wanted a higher rate. To all criticism Nicholson agreed, and Lubbock promised amendments.⁴⁰

Nicholson had already explained many disputed points to critics, but he agreed to drop inspection, on Mundella's advice, and modify the statistics and disestablishment clauses.⁴¹

The Manchester Bill.

At all times, Nicholson wanted the provincial librarians to be kept informed. Despite his concessions, they fought Nicholson doggedly. P. Cowell wrote to Nicholson on 28 February: "You have certainly given the provincial librarians a slap in the face which many of them I know will not easily forget." To C.W. Sutton, the Manchester librarian, Cowell wrote: "How do you like the idea of a Governmt. Inspector (Nicholson or Tedder) to examine you?" Cowell and others argued that the L.A.U.K. Council had no mandate to draft a Bill. Anonymous letters appeared in the Manchester Guardian attacking Nicholson, despite his assurances that contended clauses could be amended.⁴²

C.W. Sutton wrote to J. Pink, the Cambridge librarian, that "we must show that we 'provincials' (who are really the authorities on the subject) are not to be passed over by the Londoners with impunity." Pink replied: "Furthermore I have taken the opportunity of telling Thomas that there exists a just jealousy against the assumption that all the wisdom is confined to London members, for the regulation of libraries, more especially Free Libraries."

The fiercest opposition came from the Manchester mayor, Thomas Baker. On 28 February he wrote to J. Slagg, M.P., that the Bill's prime mover was Nicholson, "who, we imagine, expected to be appointed Govt. Inspector under the proposed Act," though this allegation is unsupported. On 1 March C.W. Sutton wrote to P. Cowell: "My Chairman [i.e. Baker] has come to the conclusion that the directors of the Library Association have little or nothing in common with librarians of the Free Libraries; that the Lib. Assoc. has in several ways acted in a manner inimical to the interests of Town Libraries; that it would be a good thing now to form a 'Municipal Library Association'..."⁴³

The L.A.U.K. Council retreated, and on 5 March announced that the Bill was really the M.F.L.A.'s; however, they re-affirmed that the 1879 Annual Meeting had given them a mandate and that Nicholson had wanted members to be kept informed. T. Baker advertized a conference in Manchester Town Hall to discuss the Bill. Nicholson and Thomas were told that only those connected with public libraries could attend.⁴⁴ The conference was held on 17 March; letters were read from library authorities opposed to the Bill, and the L.A.U.K. Council was condemned.

Nicholson, in a letter, offered to adopt amendments - but the conference refused to recognize him, and an association of public library authorities (not librarians) was called for; they resolved to draft a Bill themselves. J.D. Mullins subsequently wrote to Nicholson: "The Rating Clause, the Inspection Clauses, and the permissive Suffocatory Clause, would if carried make the name of the Association execrated for generations to come."⁴⁵

The significance of the Manchester meeting lies in the attempt by library authorities' representatives to show that they knew better about library legislation. The L.A.U.K.'s basic weakness was demonstrated by its reluctance to control library affairs - which caused Nicholson so much frustration. Nicholson wanted the Association to guide library progress without being subservient to political dictation. The 'Municipal Library Association' did not materialize because not all councillors present had the authority to join.

On 18 March the L.A.U.K. Council withdrew support for the Bill. Lubbock was still sure that satisfactory amendments could be made, but the Bill was blocked. Baker decided to draft a new Bill, and his supporters met on 7 July. A further conference, held in Manchester on 19 September, agreed clauses allowing a 2d. rate and exemption from rates.⁴⁶

The L.A.U.K.'s 1881 Annual Meeting was held on 13-16 September in London, and Nicholson had given prior notice that Lubbock's amended Bill (i.e. the M.F.L.A. Bill without the most controversial clauses) should be voted on seriatim. On 23 August P. Cowell wrote to J. Pink: "I need hardly tell you how fully I endorse all you say about Nicholson & his officiousness. I am simply disgusted...."

I further propose that we form as soon as possible an inner assoc. of free libns., to resist as a body what may savour of dictation from London. I further propose that we only vote for certain public libns. to be on the Council and no others, leaving Londoners & their friends to vote for Nicholson & Co..⁴⁷

At the Annual Meeting, a resolution was unanimously passed, instructing Council to take no action concerning provincial librarians without consulting them; Nicholson agreed, but referred to the 1879 mandate. Nicholson, seconded by Tedder, moved his motion on his Bill and urged provincial librarians to speak, but W.H.K. Wright of Plymouth moved against any discussion. W.H. Overall agreed, saying that offence had been rightly taken at Nicholson's Bill; Wright's amendment was

carried. On 14 October the M.F.L.A. decided not to push forward their Bill, but to consider legislation "solely from a metropolitan point of view", and urged Baker's Manchester committee to include a clause in their Bill allowing London vestries to adopt the Acts (i.e. clause 14c); this was agreed to.⁴⁸

Legislative progress.

Lubbock refused to introduce the Manchester Bill, and the Manchester dissentients refused to compromise, insisting that only their Bill represented public libraries. Thus two Public Libraries Bills were before Parliament in 1882. The Manchester Bill was now blocked. Opposition stemmed from the proposed 2d. rate - and Baker obstinately refused to make any concessions. Lubbock refused to further either Bill.⁴⁹

Subsequent events substantially vindicated Nicholson's position. The M.F.L.A. and Manchester Bills were virtually identical, allowing that Nicholson had dropped his most contentious clauses. Baker's obstinacy destroyed any chance of success, and both Bills died. In 1882 the L.A.U.K. Annual Meeting resolved unanimously to ensure that the existing Acts were consolidated and amended - as in 1879. But as Nicholson was well aware, nothing would be done, and no consolidating Act appeared until 1892; the penny rate limit remained until 1919.⁵⁰ As for Nicholson's rejected clauses, the 1964 Public Libraries Act allowed for Government inspection and disestablishment, while libraries soon began sending statistics to the Government.

The secessions.

The most serious aspect of the 1881 controversy was the northern librarians' distrust of the L.A.U.K. As in 1877, there was talk of secession, but this was avoided since they believed their Bill would triumph; also, the number of County councillors was increased. The L.A.U.K. had yet to find a rôle, whether literary or political. The greatest criticism was that the Association was too academic and anti-public library; yet without the exertions of Nicholson, Tedder, and, later, MacAlister, the L.A.U.K. could never have survived. Dissatisfaction was shown by the number of breakaway groups with interests compatible with librarianship - the Index Society (1877); the 'Librarians of the Mersey District' (1887), which included Madeley, Cowell, and Sutton; the North Midland Library Association (1890); the vitriolic Society of Public Librarians (1895); the Library Assistants' Association (1895), and many more. Indeed, the trend has continued into the twentieth century.⁵¹

Nicholson believed that the L.A.U.K. should embrace all forms of librarianship, and opposed the Bibliographical Society, when suggested by MacAlister and W.A. Copinger in 1892: "I can see the force of your remarks about the Bibliographical Society", replied MacAlister, "but I also see the practical impossibility of doing much bibliographical work through the L.A.U.K., which is more and more tending to become a Public Library Association..."⁵²

So the L.A.U.K. developed into a Public Libraries Association, and by the 1900's, Tedder was the only officer left as a reminder of the academic librarians who had founded it. For Nicholson, the tragedy of 1881 was that he agreed with the provincial librarians, wanted greater consultation, and accepted every amendment to his Bill. But, as in 1877, his brashness had angered his colleagues, whose attitude disillusioned Nicholson about the L.A.U.K.'s future.

Epilogue.

The legislation controversy proved the end of the M.F.L.A., which only met three times during 1881. The annual report, signed by W. Stanley Jevons, delivered to its second annual meeting, on 8 August 1881, acknowledged that no useful work could be done until the Acts were reformed; Jevons himself published an article praising voluntary libraries and commending the M.F.L.A. under Nicholson's "able management". After its meeting of 14 October 1881, the Association did not meet until 22 December 1882. The truth was that Nicholson was the M.F.L.A.; his departure for the Bodleian removed their enthusiasm, and uncertainty over library legislation demoralized them.⁵³

The third annual meeting of the M.F.L.A. was held on 12 January 1883, by when only four people had paid subscriptions, producing a balance of £6.3s.1d. There ^{but} was no point in continuing; the M.F.L.A. had produced much publicity ^{but} no results, and its prominent supporters had deserted it. Another meeting took place on 6 December 1883; but without money, the Association could not send out circulars nor promote meetings. Ironically, its final year saw Wandsworth become the second London parish to adopt the Acts.⁵⁴ At last the breakthrough had come. In 1890 Stoke Newington was the first London parish to adopt the Acts solely by the vote of the Vestry, instead of the ratepayers, and became the 19th library authority in London. Progress was rapid; even if the M.F.L.A. gains no direct credit, they gradually affected public opinion. Thomas Greenwood took over the mantle of library propagandist, with his 'Free public libraries'.⁵⁵

Nicholson was too disillusioned to take any further part in public library affairs. At the Bodleian he was to discover what it really meant to be governed by a committee, like his public library colleagues.

Chapter 4. LITERARY WORK AND UNIVERSITY AFFAIRS.

"Mr. Edward Byron Nicholson is a young gentleman who seems, after having contracted several unfortunate attachments, to have found a lady who is all that could be desired, and to have made her his wife ... There is nothing very unusual in Mr. Nicholson's experiences; and the fact that he has chronicled them in very bad verse - artificial and affected in language, crude and obscure in idea - can only be explained by his second baptismal name - Byron. Persons thus christened may be predestined to make themselves ridiculous, and Mr. Nicholson is, perhaps, to be commiserated as the victim of an unkind destiny." Cruel, but not without truth. Nicholson's literary pretensions far exceeded his talents, though he undeniably had a gift for words. To Nicholson's pen can be ascribed at least 60 books and pamphlets, 18 works in collaboration, several songs, over 350 periodical articles, printed poems, and letters to the Press, in addition to the Bodleian annual reports and 138 reports to the Bodleian Curators - the last-named probably contain his best writing. At least ten other books were started but left incomplete.¹

Poetry and fiction.

Nicholson planned to be a poet and, while an undergraduate, sent sample verses to William Morris. Morris was encouraging, and Nicholson frequently mentioned Morris' name when approaching prospective publishers. He was allowed to correct proofs of 'The earthly Paradise', part III. Many of Nicholson's poems were written to girl-friends, especially Blanche Anthony of Hereford (Nicholson also wrote book-reviews for the Hereford Times.) Nicholson married Helen MacGregor (who was apparently a friend, or relation, of Miss Anthony) in 1876, and, with perhaps unbecoming haste, published his love poems in 'The Christ-Child' (1877). Barely 80 copies were sold, and he wrote few more, though he planned a verse primer. The influence of Morris and the 'Old English' school of writers, like E.A. Freeman, is shown in Nicholson's spellings, such as 'iland', 'holely', 'rime', 'sented', etc., and which partly explains the bad reviews.²

Nicholson wrote stories, including 'The man with two souls' in 1882, about mesmerism. This was reprinted in 1898 with others, including a revised version of 'The angel of Iblis'. Nicholson had scant praise for the original (1871) tale: "This is all unmitigated rot - Ithuriel is of course not the chap with the celebrated spear, which makes it so much the worse: there may be plenty of John Jones's on

earth but two angels with the same name cannot be allowed ... The whole is awfully pietistic and shockingly written." He offered to publish more, if the public liked them, but his London publishers only sold 42 copies in five years. Henry Tedder played the part of the 'candid friend' (he advised Nicholson not to approach the publisher John Lane, who had coined the phrase, 'Uncleanliness is next to Bodleyness'), and was particularly frank about Nicholson's only play, 'French and English'. This concerned illegitimacy, but two-act plays were unfashionable, and at least 25 London theatres rejected it. Nicholson never reconciled himself to his lack of success; his books were aimed to be popular - at the railway-stall market - but did not have sufficiently wide appeal.³

Philology.

The study of language was Nicholson's main preoccupation. His fondness for textual criticism came, he said, from reading notes to 'Hecuba' when he was twelve. In his first term at Oxford he engaged in a bitter dispute with T. L'Estrange over the Homeric question. L'Estrange was a follower of F.A. Paley, about whom Nicholson held strong opinions ("Paley has no more philology in his skull than a cat!"). During the 1870's Nicholson endeavoured to disprove the 'sense-and-sound' theory by metrical analysis, and in 1882 published the first of an intended series of Homeric studies; but nothing followed. With A.H. Sayce he vainly planned a 'philologically restored' Homer: "I really think that such an edition would make an 'epoch' in the study of Homer and philology at schools and by undergraduates, and contain a mass of information even for fairly advanced philologists."⁴

Textual criticism led Nicholson to theological matters. Being agnostic, he believed that his proposed Biblical commentaries would be unbiased, better, and more complete than previous editions. 'The Gospel according to the Hebrews' appeared in 1879. Nicholson ascribed it to the compiler of 'Matthew' and attacked the respected Professor Westcott. This and other points caused a stir amongst reviewers, and at one stage Nicholson was considering suing the editor of John Bull for libel. In addition, an anonymous letter-writer attacked Nicholson for disparaging Westcott. Nicholson deduced that the writer must be C. Plummer, subsequently a Bodleian Curator, and sent him a long letter defending himself and incidentally accusing Westcott of being 'criminally careless'. Luckily Plummer returned Nicholson's letter unopened, for it transpired that Nicholson's anonymous assailant was (apparently)

John Wordsworth, later Bishop of Salisbury. Nicholson's 'A new commentary on the Gospel according to Matthew' (1881) contained detailed philological notes and was better received, but no further commentaries appeared. Nicholson later described his notes for succeeding volumes as "Prae-scientific". Also in 1881 he published 'Our new New Testament', a criticism of the recent Revised Version. Financially, the books were a complete loss.⁵

From philology stemmed an interest in early English literature, in particular Sir John Mandeville's book of travels, and Nicholson began a modernized version. He discovered a previously unknown English text in the British Museum (M.S. Egerton 1982, subsequently edited by G.F. Warner), but came to believe that Mandeville originally wrote in French, that he was a Frenchman known as 'John of Burgundy', and that he never made his fabulous travels. With Colonel Sir Henry Yule, Nicholson summarized his theories in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, ninth edition (1883), and this remained the accepted version until the 1950's. Since then, many of Nicholson's theories have been reversed, but the real truth will probably never be discovered. Nicholson never completed his Mandeville, and it joined that growing pile of books started but never finished, which also included a new edition of Gower's 'Confessio amantis'.⁶

Nicholson delivered lectures to the London Institution and elsewhere on spelling and pronunciation. His poetry already showed his desire to use uncorrupted forms of words, which led him to phonetic spelling, and he endeavoured to practise what he preached. At a meeting of the English Spelling Reform Association on 29 January 1880, Nicholson recited 'All the world's a stage', etc., according, he claimed, to Shakspeare's [sic] pronunciation, and asserted that if Irving declaimed that speech in like manner, the 'Lyceum' would be fuller. In October this same Association published specimens of 44 schemes for a proposed phonetic alphabet. In a poll, Nicholson's own system scored no votes; the most popular was Isaac Pitman's.⁷

Magazine editor.

Nicholson saw his future as editor of a popular magazine. In January 1870 he sent a poem to Anthony Trollope, editor of St. Paul's Magazine, and proposed to write regularly on any subject. Trollope replied: "You will perhaps believe me, and perhaps will not, when I say that I am led by the culture and intellect shewn in your poem to regret that you should not have a clearer insight into your powers.

Such insight will no doubt come in time; but till it does come I fear you will have to suffer the sorrow of an unfulfilled ambition."

Nicholson was offered a sub-editorship on Fraser's Magazine, but declined - because he insisted on being editor or nothing. He was searching for a public rôle, which librarianship seemed to deny him, though Ruskin warned him: "I believe, if you will look into your own mind earnestly you will find your present leading motive, both in poetry and scholarship, to be vanity. Be sure, my dear Nicholson, that no useful fire will ever be lighted with that fuel. Trample it out, - and warm yourself first in sunshine."⁸

By October 1881 Nicholson had formulated plans for a popular monthly magazine, with contributions by London Institution lecturers, plus poems, tales, songs, book reviews, etc.: "I am firmly persuaded that nothing does fail which gives the public just what they want. If you follow the age, the age will always follow you, in merry-go-round fashion." The printers were not convinced, nor were many potential contributors. Nicholson took the idea of a magazine called The Age to P. Lyttleton Gell at Cassell's. Meanwhile, Nicholson had applied for the Bodleian Librarianship. "If you'll give me £800 a year I'll throw up the Bodleian", he told Gell; but Cassell's withdrew. "It was never a question with me of making the largest possible income," commented Nicholson. "But I wanted to be more of an active and influential personality than I cd. hope to be by remaining a librarian all my life."⁹

Vivisection and University reform.

Nicholson went to the Bodleian in 1882 hoping he could achieve literary and scholarly fame. Soon disillusioned, he resigned himself to librarianship. He published little during the first ten years, but in the 1890's was regularly writing articles on philological matters. However, many of his activities were controversial, especially when they attracted adverse attention to the Bodleian.

In 1879 Nicholson published 'The rights of an animal', which he believed to be the first attempt to consider man's social relations to animals as a branch of moral philosophy. He opposed vivisection, and when in 1883 at Oxford plans were put before Convocation for a Physiological Laboratory, Nicholson was to the fore of the opponents against the Waynflete Professor of Physiology, (Sir) John Burdon Sanderson. The decree was carried by 88-85, but Nicholson and others organized a petition against experiments on live animals. The debate was fixed for 5 February 1884; "I see from Spec [i.e. Spectator]"

wrote E.A. Freeman to J. Bryce, " - I only know what is in Spec; all Oxford things are done in such higger:mugger - that this question about granting thousands of pounds for torturing cats is to come on again in some shape ..." Freeman likened the proposal to the Siege of Jerusalem and bull-baiting; Nicholson caused a tumult, but the anti-vivisectionists were defeated by 188-147. Nicholson persevered, despite warnings from B. Jowett that the Bodleian might be harmed, and despite the fact that Burdon Sanderson's most active supporter was H.W. Acland, another Bodleian Curator. On 10 March 1885 Convocation debated decrees allowing grants to the new Laboratory. According to those present, this was one of the stormiest meetings ever. Despite a stream of circulars from Nicholson, the anti-vivisectionists were decisively defeated, 412-244.¹⁰

Nicholson was furious: "I think that more monstrous tyranny has never been perpetrated by a responsible executive", i.e. the Hebdomadal Council, who alone introduced decrees, such as those setting up the Physiological Laboratory, before Convocation. For the first and only time Nicholson engaged in University politics and allied himself to T.H. Grose, who in January 1885 had organized a 'Memorial' urging reforms, such as allowing M.A.'s the right to introduce legislation. Nicholson drafted his own proposals. Grose was elected to the Hebdomadal Council in 1887. Most reforms were rejected by the Council, but more Boards and University institutions (including the Bodleian) had to present annual reports, and Congregation members were allowed limited powers to ask questions - which led to the attacks on the Bodleian in Convocation in 1890.¹¹

Oxford architecture.

Nicholson subsequently played little part in general University affairs. He had some slight influence as an ex officio elector for the Merton Professorship of English language and literature (when A.S. Napier was appointed in 1885) and for the Slade Professorship of Fine Arts. The latter was of particular interest, since Nicholson was a friend and follower of Ruskin. H. Herkomer, the Professor since 1885, was regularly re-elected until 1895, when only Nicholson voted for him. In 1886 Nicholson suggested a protection society for Oxford, and in 1888 drafted a constitution of a 'Local League for the protection of the interests of the public in the beauties and antiquities of Oxford and the neighbourhood' Such a society was set up and included R. Raper and H.G. Woods, but Nicholson took no active part,

and the society seems to have evaporated. Nevertheless, the Oxford Preservation Trust (established in 1927) acknowledged the influence of Nicholson's 1886 proposal. When the Slade Professorship became vacant in 1910, Nicholson argued in favour of an architect as Professor, and published his 'Can we not save architecture in Oxford?'

Nicholson had become an architectural purist and detested the 'restorations' of T.G. Jackson and others, hoping that "perhaps the bombs of a hostile yet discriminating aviator may someday 'bring relief'!" He struggled in vain to prevent the building of the Hertford College bridge. Nicholson's pamphlet waxed most strongly on the "barbarities" committed on the Bodleian. His pamphlet was enthusiastically received and is probably the best example of the kind of writing at which Nicholson excelled. "Could we not arrange to burn Jackson and Champneys?", wrote Sir William Osler. "It would be a great addition to the Encaenia next year. And the Provost of Oriel might be suspended from the new buildings shortly after their completion." However, no architect offered himself.¹²

Palaeography.

If Nicholson had to abandon ideas of becoming a 'popular' writer, he certainly sought a reputation as a scholar. Although he confessedly knew nothing of palaeography, he did not lack enthusiasm to learn. Unfortunately, Nicholson's habit of rushing at matters, and his often wild guesses tended to undermine his scholarly claims, which in turn reflected on his capabilities as a librarian. When F. Madan began the 'Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts', Nicholson could not resist publishing his own opinions. Nicholson believed he could date manuscripts exactly by the presence, or otherwise, of hyphens, forked letters, and the like; such evidence is important to the palaeographer, but Nicholson would overlook other evidence if it conflicted with his opinions. He was anxious to trace the provenance of manuscripts (and did his best to prevent M.R. James from anticipating his findings), and his attribution of MS. Douce 296 to Ely convinced Madan that Nicholson was insane, as did Nicholson's explanation of a cipher in MS. Auct. T.1.25 (fol. 33), which Madan was equally sure was not a cipher. Nicholson initially wrote his opinions into the Official Copy of the 'Summary Catalogue' - "a copy I do not consult", wrote Madan, and so ignored Nicholson's findings.¹³

On the fly-leaf of the 'Codex Dunelmensis' of Terence (MS. Auct. F.2.13), Nicholson conjectured that it was copied from a manuscript in Paris; but the writer of a dissertation disproved 'Nicholson's theory'.

Nicholson angrily complained about his "mere obiter dicta" being turned into a 'theory'. Madan was unsympathetic: "I paid him the compliment of disregarding it, when I catalogued it".¹⁴ Nicholson's best work was his co-operation with Sir John Stainer in their 'Early Bodleian music' series, though he could not manage an exhaustive index to the last volume because "it would seriously affect my own health, by keeping up, and probably aggravating, the deficiency of sleep and the distress of nerve which long-continued overdrive and overharass have brought on me".

Even so, Nicholson's comments on several musical manuscripts were controversial. He argued for months with S.C. Cockerell over the Ormesby Psalter (MS. Douce 366), and for years with H.M. Bannister on most liturgical matters, especially on the Novalesa Troper (MS. Douce 222). Nicholson was convinced that the latter came from Dijon, while Bannister favoured Novalesa ("il Bibliotecario di Oxford è un ostinato di primo ordine", wrote one of Bannister's sympathizers). Nicholson detected nothing Italian in the writing and asserted that the manuscript's "measurement suggests an origin more to the E. of Orléans than to the S. of it". Madan delivered the coup de grâce by preparing a detailed summary of Bannister's latest findings in Italy - and adding in a P.S. the crucial evidence, discovered by Madan, which pointed to Novalesa. "I don't think he really believes a word you have written", Madan wrote to Bannister, "but like the French after Fashoda has an uneasy sense of inferiority, which is a very unusual frame of mind for him".¹⁵

Nicholson wanted to be scientific in his examination of manuscripts. One of his 'lucky shots' was his theory of paschal-cycle dating. Pin-pricks or marks are frequently found around a particular date in calendarial tables, and Nicholson asserted that the scribe indicated the following Easter, consequently revealing the year of writing. H.M. Bannister tested 50 manuscripts and decided that Nicholson's theory might not be unfounded (though not conclusive). Unfortunately, many scholars distrusted Nicholson, particularly after he had begun to write on Celtic philology in the 1890's.¹⁶

The Pictish inscriptions.

Nicholson and his family first discovered Scotland in 1887. In 1891 they reached Golspie in Sutherland and returned many times over the next 20 years. Here Nicholson saw a group of children playing and set them a competition which involved writing essays on local legends, customs, games, and songs. The results were published in 'Golspie:

contributions to its folk-lore'(1897). Nicholson also examined the Pictish oghams on the Golspie stone.¹⁷ In 1892 his friend, (Sir) John Rhys, startled Celtic scholars by suggesting that the Pictish language was related to Basque (a statement soon withdrawn).

Scholars had never succeeded in explaining the Pictish language, but, armed with Welsh and Gaelic primers, Nicholson solved the problem on 16 August 1893, and wrote a series of articles for the Academy.¹⁸

Nicholson claimed that Pictish, not Irish, was the mother of modern Scottish Gaelic (or, he asked, why do Scottish family names not begin with 'O' instead of 'Mac'?), and that the Picts were never defeated by the Irish Scots, only absorbed. He believed that Pictish was a Celtic tongue in which the letter 'p' was preserved; the ogham stones, according to Nicholson, marked boundaries. Nicholson's findings depended on the development of word-forms and place-names. J. Romilly Allen belatedly warned him about rushing into such matters: "With Prof. Rhys it was a case of L.I.D or the lunatic asylum and he had a miraculous escape, but it does not follow that others will be equally fortunate". Other scholars were aghast, saying that his philology was impossible. Nicholson corrected himself as he progressed, and when the articles were reprinted, with more corrections, as 'The vernacular inscriptions of the ancient kingdom of Alban' (1896), he acknowledged that his work was "simply the tour de force of a smatterer", and that he did not have time to learn everything. Nicholson was unmoved by objections: "I dare say the people who read hieroglyphics and cuneiforms made lots of mistakes: I fancy they sometimes do so still. That hasn't prevented them from being right on most points - nor has it me. But I can wait quite patiently for the recognition of that fact."¹⁹

Nicholson's Academy letters were interrupted on 10 March 1894 by a long article announcing his discovery of a Latin commentary by St. Adamnan. This had been bought for the Bodleian (MS. Lat.th.d.3), and Nicholson deduced from the words 'adunam' and 'Inolexe' that the former referred to the author, and that the latter, by a complicated process, meant an Irish saint called Colman. Nicholson expanded on this - but to his embarrassment was quite wrong. The passages quoted by Nicholson had been copied by an unknown writer from Jerome's 64th letter to Fabiola; 'adunam' was simply 'ad unam', and 'Inolexe' was a reference to Ulysees. Nicholson retreated with his reputation dented, and with a constant reminder of the dangers of jumping to conclusions.²⁰

Nicholson's Pictish theories were expounded finally in his 'Keltic researches' (1904), which included his opinions on Sequanian, a previously unknown Gaullish dialect, which Nicholson claimed linked Celtic languages and Latin. Nicholson did not confine himself to Pictish topics. The disagreements prevalent amongst Celtic scholars can be gauged from the different interpretations of the Baginbun stone in Ireland. Nicholson, admitting "all but complete ignorance of Irish", translated the inscription as 'Little son of Sit, grandson of MaqOil, five days old'. "The idea of its being a modern forgery is not worth a parting kick", he added. Lord Southesk thought the writing was merely graffiti - 'Larry O'Phail, [and] Luke Fenn, of Fethard' - while another 'scholar' turned the inscription upside down and read it partly as Gaelic; someone else inverted it and found a Greek inscription by Pytheas. J. Romilly Allen, following Rhys, translated: 'Meredy[th] of Reged made it.'

A consistent critic was M.-H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, editor of the Revue Celtique. When he objected to one of Nicholson's derivations, Nicholson replied that whatever the intermediate steps were, his conclusions were correct. D'Arbois de Jubainville advised Nicholson to keep his pen in his desk until he knew more Celtic grammar, but once again Nicholson defended his findings. D'Arbois de Jubainville gave up in disgust, proclaiming that he would take his own advice: "Je viens de briser la plume avec laquelle je lui avais répondu et à l'instant même j'en jette les débris au feu." The Revue Celtique subsequently published a sarcastic review of 'Keltic researches', but in his next book, Nicholson reprinted de Jubainville's comments, and by judicious deletion made it appear that de Jubainville was congratulating him.²²

The Bath tablet.

Nicholson spent many holidays in Wales transcribing Latin inscriptions, but published nothing, except when he believed he had found the tombstone of the Last Llywelyn. His powers of interpretation were stretched to the limit by a lead tablet at Bath. Nicholson established a Latin text, which he published as 'Vinisius to Nigra: a 4th cent. Christian letter' (1904). Nicholson discovered that the tablet was a letter, probably carried from Wroxeter to Bath by a certain Apulicus, and containing a reference to the Arian heresy. Unfortunately modern scholars do not agree. Both R.G. Collingwood and Barry Cunliffe consider that the tablet contains no writing, merely illiterate scribblings.²³

Celtic studies.

Nicholson turned in 1895 to other speculative fields involving place-names and word-forms. On being told that St. Patrick's birthplace was disputed, Nicholson looked up several references from which "I quickly formed a conjecture which appeared to me morally certain". This was that St. Patrick was born in Daventry and was kidnapped by Saxon pirates who had sailed up the River Nene.²⁴

From this dubious suggestion, Nicholson moved on to English history at the time of Arthur. Unfortunately Nicholson tangled with two rabid Welsh nationalists, Alfred Anscombe and A.W. Wade-Evans, who detested the 'English school' of historians, who, they claimed, deliberately suppressed any evidence favourable to the Welsh. Many of Nicholson's articles were replies, such as 'Gildas vindicatus', from which he went on to show that the battle of Badon was fought near Bath.²⁵

Nicholson soon became a regular contributor to the Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie, Y Cymmrodor, and the Celtic Review. He asserted inter alia, that the Hibernian canons emanated from Iona, not Ireland; and that place-names proved that a body of Vandal mercenaries from Spain had fought in Wessex ("a remarkable instance of a momentous fact which had been staring historians in the face for nearly 800 years but which they haven't had the eyes to see", he wrote to Sayce). He explored the Harleian genealogies, the Annales Cambriæ, Nennius, and the 'Y Gododdin' song-cycle.²⁶ Most of Nicholson's writings have long been superseded but scholars are no more agreed now on the events of the Arthurian age; many current theories are as credible or as incredible, as those of Nicholson and his contemporaries.²⁷

Lack of success, and songs.

As a writer, Nicholson found little success. Financially, only 'Christ-Child' and 'Hebrews' made a profit (less than £5 together), while of his first four books, published by Kegan Paul, only 'Matthew' was issued at the publishers' risk - and lost them over £75. Nicholson himself lost at least £60 on 'Keltic researches' and probably over £100 on 'Golspie'; he declined to issue the latter book to subscribers, at a higher price, because "I have a sufficient professional position, and (if I may say so) a sufficient literary repute, to make anything of that kind seem undignified".²⁸

Nicholson had many other schemes, including a popular book on English prosody, a 'Primer of librarianship', and an edition of Sir Thomas Bodley's letters, but these did not materialize. In 1884 he approached a publisher about re-issuing a quaint book on Loch Earn

by Angus M'Diarmid ("an exceptional side-tickler"), with his own notes. He was convinced of a large sale, but the publisher declined when Nicholson elaborated on the work and expense involved, including a "long journey" to Scotland.²⁹ In the mid-1890's Nicholson made his doomed attempt to reach the public through 'Golspie' and 'The man with two souls, and other stories', but neither sold well. At the same time, he produced several songs, with words and melodies by himself and accompaniments by Sir John Stainer. They were mainly ballads, like those his mother used to sing, and included a Welsh national anthem, "The red dragon"; but Nicholson never received a penny, since so few were sold. He wanted them to be performed publicly and sent copies to Clara Butt, Patti, and others - to no avail.³⁰

The last schemes.

By 1908 Nicholson had suffered two nervous breakdowns and was becoming increasingly neurotic about his lack of success. As his family expenses exceeded his income, he looked round for other sources of money. He devised cartoons for Punch, considered Angus M'Diarmid again, and sent a long letter to a singer, imploring her to perform his songs in Oxford. H.R. Tedder sought professional advice on the songs, and Nicholson approached his friend, F.E. Weatherly, for 'tips' - but quite unsuccessfully. So in 1908-9 Nicholson turned to other ideas. He tried to interest manufacturers in producing pictorial biscuits; however, he refused to divulge his plans unless he was offered shares or an annual cheque in proportion to their annual increase in profits - which he confidently estimated at £5,000 per annum. They were unimpressed. His next scheme was to issue free newspapers with a daily circulation of 500,000, all costs being paid by advertizing. He approached several proprietors, explaining that "the exigencies of a grown up family and of a health broken by overdrive and overworry have made it important for me to try at last to turn my wits a little to my own advantage." They too were unimpressed.

His most grandiose idea was inspired by a story of H.G. Wells. Disturbed by the possibility of battleships being attacked by airships with bombs of frozen air, Nicholson sent to the Admiralty a plan for protecting ironclads by festooning them with steel girders and other material. They too were not impressed. So Nicholson died without having made his fortune nor a literary reputation. As Trollope had told him 42 years previously, "... I fear you will have to suffer the sorrow of an unfulfilled ambition."³¹

Part 2. THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY, 1882-1912.

Chapter 5. NICHOLSON'S APPOINTMENT AND RELATIONS WITH
F. MADAN AND THE CURATORS.

E.W.B. Nicholson's election was a surprise both to conservative Oxford and to scholars generally. "The chief of a great library should be the friend and equal of scholars", proclaimed the Times, "a recognized leader in the world of learning, a man who moves freely and as an equal among the great aristocracy of letters", with "the patience of a saint and the manners of an ambassador." To Henry Bradshaw, Nicholson wrote that "I feel myself exceedingly unworthy of such an honor, but if I had not thought myself capable of doing useful hard work I should not have become a candidate. And it is some consolation to me to think that I was probably elected not on account of supposed proficiencies which I do not possess, but because the Curators have great plans of reorganization in their mind, involving some years of hard work ..." ¹ However, the ramifications of Nicholson's election affected the whole of his librarianship.

Coxe and the Sub-Librarianship.

H.O. Coxe had been widely liked and enjoyed a reputation as a scholar and a gentleman. The Bodleian was ideal for him, and he served Sir Thomas Bodley faithfully from 1839 until his death in July 1881. "I often used to look up at his stern old Phiz, as I entered the Libry, & say, 'Well Sir, I won't offend you today if I can help it!'", he once told Madan. Coxe was not primarily an administrator and often found himself between opposing factions of Curators. Benjamin Jowett advocated popularization and was impatient to make Coxe take up his ideas. Opposing him was Mark Pattison, who felt that the University should be a place for scholarly research and who deprecated Curatorial interference. Nicholson was more amenable to Jowett's ideas, and felt that the Bodleian should serve everyone, not just University members. Pattison's disciples included Ingram Bywater ("the incarnation of scholarship, the embodiment of Mark Pattison's ideal", wrote L.R. Farnell) and Henry Pelham, who both became Bodleian Curators and fierce opponents of Nicholson. ²

Adolf Neubauer, the Senior Sublibrarian, who had worked for the Bodleian since 1868, was an obvious choice as Coxe's successor, but was disliked by many. In 1872 Coxe had discussed the matter with Bywater - "with Neubauer & him I could leave the dear old place happily."

Bywater actually became Junior Sublibrarian in October 1879 (other candidates had included Thomas Arnold, W.R. Morfill, and J.L.G. Mowat), but was shocked by the amount of work. He detested Jowett's favourite subject catalogue and expected to undertake his own research work after 2 p.m.: "I have been used to hard work all my life but hardly care to learn to realize during the long summer days the feelings of a muzzled ox treading out the corn". Some Curators were prepared to change the Library Statute for him, but Bywater resigned in March 1880. Coxe consulted Jowett who urged "[Edwin] Hatch on me as sub. or Nicholson!! I won't have the latter." In the event Falconer Madan, Fellow and Librarian of Brasenose College, was appointed; his tutor had been J. Wordsworth, Coxe's son-in-law.³

Nicholson's election.

There were many candidates for Coxe's post, including H. Bradshaw, who subsequently withdrew; R. Garnett, E.M. Thompson, and E. Scott, all of the British Museum; and W. Stubbs. From the staff, Pattison backed Neubauer, while W.D. Macray also entered the running. Jowett favoured his friend, Edwin Hatch; but ^{the} temperamental Hatch was as unacceptable to Neubauer's supporters, as Neubauer was to Hatch's (Pattison was convinced that Max Müller had stood for a Curatorship in 1881 in order to sabotage Neubauer's chances.) Nicholson was the unknown quantity - except to Jowett, who had visited the London Institution and was a friend of W. Rogers (though Nicholson indignantly denied that he wanted Rogers to use any 'influence'). The Curators met on 4 February 1882 and reduced the number of contenders to four. "At the first tour de sentir," wrote Pattison, "Hatch had 4, Nicholson 4, Neubauer 4, Madan 1. It was felt that Hatch or Neubauer must give way, so Jowett, Price & M. Müller, who were I suspect 3 of the Hatch voters, went over to Nicholson - and (I also expect) Stubbs so Nichn was elected."⁴

"I'm very glad to hear ... of Nicholson's election to Bodleian", wrote J. Ruskin to H.W. Acland, " - it is every way well", while Bradshaw wrote to H. Tedder: "I confess I am delighted. I could not have hoped that the Curators would do anything half so sensible or so courageous."⁵ Jowett immediately sent to Nicholson plans for Bodleian extension (without telling Nicholson that other Curators did not necessarily share Jowett's views), but advised him against coming until Convocation had approved his appointment. Opposition was feared: "The Curators have not covered themselves with glory, they have not raised themselves in the eyes of the country ...", wrote the editor of the Oxford University Herald - actually E.S. Ffoulkes, an

unsuccessful candidate, who issued an anonymous circular against Nicholson. W.D. Macray, who thought Nicholson's appointment an injustice to Library employées, described Convocation on 16 February: "When the appointment, however, was put to the vote Foulkes waited for Non-Placets before rising to speak, & the intending N.P.s waited for him, & so suddenly the vote passed sub silentio while the one waited for the other!!" The House dissolved amidst laughter. Nicholson's salary was now £1,000 per annum.⁶ He and his family moved to 2 Canterbury Road, where he lived for the rest of his life.

Other candidates were equally annoyed: "He is not the right man", wrote E.M. Thompson; "... The Curators have made a blunder". Neubauer threatened to return abroad ("if driven to a certain point"), and H. Pelham organized a petition to have Neubauer's salary raised, which was eventually successful. The brash, young Nicholson did not make a good impression. M. Pattison found him "vain, egotistical, and vulgar"; W.A. Spooner thought him "not quite a gentleman"; and Nicholson soon upset readers by questioning privileges which they had enjoyed under Coxe. However, the winds of change were blowing through Oxford following the 1877 University Commission. In the early 1880's younger, more dynamic men were being appointed to other University institutions and were to have a close connection with the Bodleian - for instance, A.J. Evans at the Ashmolean; H. Hart, Controller of the University Press; P.L. Gell, Secretary to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press; while to All Souls' College came Sir William Anson and C.W.C. Oman.⁷

Curators and opposition.

The Curators in 1882 (and throughout Nicholson's reign) numbered 13, including 8 ex officio: the Vice-Chancellor, both Proctors, and five Regius Professors - Medicine (H.W. Acland), Divinity (W. Ince), Hebrew (E.B. Pusey, succeeded in 1882 by S.R. Driver), Greek (Jowett), and Law (J. Bryce). Five Curators were elected by Congregation: F. Max Müller, M. Pattison, William Stubbs, Dean Liddell, and Bartholomew Price. These Curators were generally friendly towards Nicholson, but he had entered the Library in April 1882 unaware that lines of opposition had already been drawn up. As Curators died, they were replaced by younger, more active men, notably Chandler, Bywater, Pelham, and J.L.G. Mowat. Nicholson's reputation for modern methods of librarianship had preceded him, and he was the first Bodley's Librarian with experience of a different kind of library. L.R. Farnell blamed the appointment on "Jowett's policy to popularise the Bodleian; but the only result of this policy that I could discern was to banish from that sanctuary while



E.W.B.NICHOLSON, CA. 1882.

On the back of the original photograph, Nicholson has written:
"...suffering very much from bad sleep due to overwork".

From Bodleian Library papers, 'Staff album'.

Nicholson reigned there the peace and scholarly atmosphere that had prevailed before him and has prevailed again since his departure." In Farnell's opinion, Nicholson "had also the self-confidence that breeds megalomania".⁸

Nicholson soon realized that reforms involved lengthy battles with Curators and readers. His staff were against him, but whereas a lesser man might have bowed under the pressure, Nicholson went to the other extreme. He deliberately ignored advice and declared war on all detractors, which he waged privately in his printed protests to the Curators and publicly in the Oxford Magazine and elsewhere. If thwarted, he would threaten to bombard the University with fly-sheets or to take legal action. But the nub of the problem was Nicholson's relations with the Junior Sublibrarian, F. Madan.

Falconer Madan.

Falconer Madan (1851-1935) had become Fellow of Brasenose in 1876, and Librarian in 1877. He had painstakingly re-arranged the Library and found that the College had 'swindled' the Library of £5,000, owing (he proved) since 1725. He also discovered hundreds of mistakes in Liddell and Scott's 'Greek Lexicon' and was offered its editorship by Dean Liddell in 1879; but he preferred the Bodleian. As a bibliographer, Madan is best remembered for his bibliography of Oxford books (which Nicholson refused to allow him to compile in Library time), and his early investigations into Liddell and Scott reveal the passion for detail which helps to make a good bibliographer. Unfortunately, Madan's expertise in emphasizing the importance of small details was carried over into his Library work. While Coxe was ill, Madan would make copious notes about the Library, including the staff's arrival times and work, and the times at which foreigners used the lavatory; this habit of recording everything for posterity was soon turned against Nicholson.⁹

Madan's relationship with Nicholson is curiously paralleled by that of Sir Frederic Madden to Panizzi at the British Museum. Both Madan and Madden were descended from the Irish O'Madden's; both had a possessive concern for their national collections of manuscripts; and both resented interference from superiors who did not share their detailed knowledge. Madden bequeathed his private journals, which included many unkind remarks about Panizzi, to the Bodleian in a chest unopened until 1920. Madan, after his retirement as Bodley's Librarian in 1919, bound his memoranda of Nicholson's administration and deposited them in the same chest. However, Madan compiled his memoranda for a specific purpose: "These three locked volumes of Bodleian Notes during Mr. Nicholson's

Librarianship contain the materials for my defence in case any action were taken against me. The notes are in almost all cases contemporary, and sometimes written hastily and under the strong feeling of the moment. These must be condoned. I have endeavoured to give as much accurate detail as the circumstance allowed, and the perusal of these papers cannot but afford amusement to posterity."¹⁰

Madan was conservative in politics and attitudes. His usual criticism of Nicholson was that Coxe would have acted differently. Madan believed that the Bodleian should not extend facilities nor cater for more readers; he opposed all expansion, even longer opening-hours. Whereas Nicholson was concerned by the possibility of damage by fire, Madan dreaded damage from readers; he advocated strict supervision and dire penalties. Madan wore Nicholson down by blaming him for everything, whether Nicholson's fault or not. Instead of offering constructive criticism, Madan ignored the Librarian and communicated secretly with the Curators. This made Nicholson more unresponsive to criticism, because he knew that the Curators' attacks on him usually emanated from Madan. Madan's attitude was that the whole administrative system was wrong; therefore he refused to accept any responsibility. Madan despised Nicholson's lack of scholarship and the way he rode roughshod over the Curators. Ironically, both men genuinely wanted to improve the Bodleian, but Nicholson had the authority to push his opinions, which naturally provoked resentment. Because he refused to co-operate, Madan frequently did not realize that Nicholson too was aware of the problems; often, Madan criticized Nicholson for inaction when Nicholson's ideas for the same problem had been turned down by the Curators (e.g. the telephone, electric light, and printing of the Catalogue).

The grounds for dispute.

For the first 18 months all went well, ^{but,} as Madan wrote in 1884, by "the close of 1883 and beginning of 1884 I began to find out that the Librarian was not a good librarian. He has no idea of taking up one thing at a time and carrying it through." The initial reasons for Madan's dislike of Nicholson may seem trivial, but represented ever-present grounds for complaint: the Gough Room re-arrangement; Nicholson's size-notation scheme; the state of the law books; lack of verification and handlists; and inadequate supervision. "On the other hand he is capable, energetic, and admirable for the modern arrangements of the place. He chooses the boys well; and has a good memory." Nicholson was well-aware of Madan's feelings, as the latter recorded: "July 21.1884. This day the Librarian asked me in a very courteous way whether he had done

anything to disturb me which he could set right: and gave me an opportunity of putting before him my view of my own position: namely that any points on which I disagreed with him were matters of principle and in no way personal, that I simply liked the Library much more than I disliked the present management, that it was a great advantage that all power and responsibility should be in the hands of one, and that I was most willing to do any kind of work set me: and that what I did not want was that I should be associated with, and so answerable for, any part of the government of the Library, unnecessarily. No details were mentioned."¹¹

The Curators.

Nicholson, however, had not only Madan to contend with.

"For three years after I was elected in 1882, life was just worth living", wrote Nicholson in 1898; "I was always short of space, always short of staff, always short of money, always hopelessly overworked - taking only three weeks' holiday in the year and working for the rest of it at a ruinous pace. But the Curators didn't try to stop me from cleansing what Dean Liddell called in their presence and mine 'an Augean stable'; and I had the satisfaction of feeling that, if my already broken health would stand the continuous strain, I should some day have the library properly organized and arranged, and be able to spare myself a little for the future.

One of the Curators of those days was Mark Pattison. The last time he ever set foot in Bodley he said to me 'My experience is that the only way to manage a library is to let the librarian do what he wants'."¹²

Nicholson soon realized just how large a problem the Bodleian posed: "Well, I altered my plan of life there and then. I made up my mind to stick to the Bodleian till I'd properly organized it all round, and had made it capable of doing all the current work which duty bids it do, and of clearing off within a reasonable time its more obvious arrears." But "Time, however, passes and Curators", and different Curators had differing ideas about administration: relations with them were as stormy as with Madan.¹³

Chandler and Mowat.

Shadows appeared on the horizon in November 1884 when two Curators were elected to replace William Stubbs (who had resigned) and the late Mark Pattison. As elected Curators held office for ten years, Nicholson soon regretted the arrival of H.W. Chandler and Ingram Bywater.

Nicholson had no fixed views about his statutory duties; he advised the Curators and accepted instructions. Under the Library Statute they met twice per term and at the Visitation on 8 November. Only with hindsight did Nicholson consider that Chandler's motion opposing exhibitions, defeated on 2 May 1885, marked the first attempt to deprive him of one of his statutory functions, for Nicholson believed that only he could decide such matters. Fundamentally, Chandler was opposed to the Curators, whom he blamed for betraying the University and for allowing the Librarian too much discretion. He issued vituperative memoranda, but the Curators remained unmoved.¹⁴

Chandler frequently inspected the rooms disapprovingly, while on 2 May 1885 J.L.G. Mowat, a proctor, visited Madan. "I reminded him how serious a thing it was for a subordinate to be questioned about his opinion on the Librarian's actions in the Library", wrote Madan, "but he replied that he considered that he ought to have the opinion of each responsible officer on the state of the Library. ... I carefully abstained from showing or mentioning anything which any person could not see with his own eyes as Curator, except that I mentioned in some cases what Mr. Coxe's way had been." On the following day they lunched together: "I still abstained from mentioning anything inaccessible to a Curator's investigation, but on the whole went fuller into matters; clearly showing him that I considered his asking for such information as I had given as a grave matter."¹⁵

The 'Memorial'.

In 1887 Madan's opposition came into the open when he publicly spoke against Nicholson in Convocation on the question of lending books (which Nicholson favoured). In the following year a group of Madan's friends, led by Farnell and Pelham, prepared a 'Memorial' against Nicholson's stock-selection, binding, and staffing policies. Bywater's and Chandler's interest in this, and in the lending dispute, encouraged Madan towards more overt criticism. On 1 June 1888 Madan spoke to Nicholson: "I clearly repeated my offer to frame my indictment agst. him, and said that there was no desire of concealment of my objections to his policy, on my part. But I couldn't be expected to keep on nibbling at him every day ...

He alone is responsible: I would go if I had private means.

He said he had no private means, had sacrificed all his literary aims, would not have taken £10,000 a year if he had known what the Library work was before he took the place, and had done 9 years' work in 6 years, and would look on himself as a deserter if he ran away

before 15 or 20 years." On 9 June the Curators referred the 'Memorial' to a Committee, which reported on 1 December. In November came to light the theft of the Wallingford deed by a boy, and Madan offered to speak out against Nicholson on 1 December; but Bywater and Chandler advised against: "I do not wish to precipitate the crisis", wrote Bywater, "and when it comes the enquiry must be comprehensive and not restricted to a particular point."¹⁶

Chandler warned Nicholson about a public indictment of his administration and urged him to blame the Curators; Nicholson refused: "I have done nothing in my office to be ashamed of, and if I had I should not like to see the blame shoveled off onto the Curators." The Curators were apparently much moved by Chandler's threat of a scandal, but issued a conciliatory statement to the 'Memorialists'. Thus Nicholson, helped by Jowett and Max Müller, successfully parried the 'Memorial's' allegations. The Hebdomadal Council subsequently decided to reform the Board of Curators by substituting appointees of the Faculties Boards for the Regius Professors, while Chandler proposed a reduction of the Board. However, on 9 March 1889 Jowett moved that the Curators express no opinion, which was carried, 6-4.¹⁷

'The Club'.

In February 1889 the 'Memorialists' formed themselves into 'The Club'; members included Pelham, Bywater, Mowat, Madan, A.J. Evans, J. Rhÿs, and W.M. Lindsay. 'The Club's' main aim was to press the interests of the University over those of the Colleges (e.g. by strengthening the professoriate rather than College tutors) and to develop the University as an institution for research, following Pattison's ideal (thus they opposed degrees for women); and they wished to safeguard the Bodleian as a centre for serious study. 'The Club's' main success was in supporting members for vacant Bodleian Curatorships, and so bringing in men to counteract Nicholson, such as Andrew Clark, Pelham and T.W. Jackson.¹⁸

H.W. Chandler had for years been taking chloral, which was affecting his mind. On 16 May 1889 he took an overdose of prussic acid and created another vacant Curatorship. Chandler's successor was his friend, J.L.G. Mowat, a former proctor, who had previously complained of Nicholson over the Mentz Psalter. Encouraged by Madan, he, Bywater and the Junior Proctor, Andrew Clark (fellow-members of 'The Club'), plagued Nicholson incessantly over the next 18 months. In rapid succession were established committees on the exhibition cases and the Selden End accommodation, the Gough Room fittings, the 'Summary

Catalogue' and handlisting arrears, while 1891 began with the controversies over the damaged Zend manuscript and the papyri. These actions produced several Curators' resolutions which Nicholson condemned as illegal - especially those empowering Madan to begin the 'Summary Catalogue' and go to Cheltenham to inspect the Phillipps manuscripts (Nicholson believed that only he could direct the work of the staff).¹⁹

'The Club' prepared further questions attacking Nicholson's administration, based on information which Madan provided from his notes. These were discussed by Convocation on 28 January 1890 when Mowat, Pelham, H. Nettleship, and T.H. Grose criticized Nicholson fiercely over binding and stock-selection. He denied the allegations, attacked Madan (who did not speak), and claimed that the charges were part of a personal campaign by "this miserable cabal of some half-dozen persons in Oxford." The debate was inconclusive, and again Nicholson thwarted his critics by his own vigorous arguments.²⁰

Nicholson's 'increasing exclusion'.

One of the 'questions' of 1890 was whether the Curators personally inspected the Library. The Curators replied (Bywater publicly dissenting) that they exercised general control but preferred not to interfere in the Librarian's direct administration.²¹ Nicholson was becoming concerned that they were interfering and that their Committees of 1889-90 were deliberately not consulting him. In May 1890 he issued his pamphlet 'On the increasing exclusion of the Bodleian Librarian from the meetings of the Curators'. Nicholson had usually attended throughout Curators' meetings until 29 October 1887, when Chandler asked that he absent himself. He was subsequently directed to withdraw from all meetings after making his customary report, but would be recalled for the remaining items on the Agenda. However, the custom grew that the rest of the Agenda, including Committee reports, were taken in Nicholson's absence. To advertize his views, Nicholson developed the practice of sending printed pamphlets to the Curators and adding essays to the Agenda. His main concerns were that he could not correct misunderstandings at Committees and that most Curators at statutory meetings were frequently hostile: "Nor is the number of debated questions on the decrease: no sooner has one been temporarily 'laid' than another is raised. There never was a time when it was more necessary to the Librarian that he should be allowed legitimate opportunity of influencing the decisions of the Curators." The Curators did nothing.²²

Anonymous attacks.

Meanwhile, Madan adopted the reprehensible method of publishing anonymous attacks on the Bodleian. J.Y.W. MacAlister had asked him to write Bodleian notes for the Library, and in the very first issue (January 1889) appeared an anonymous review of Nicholson's first published report, 'The Bodleian Library in 1882-7'. The reviewer, alias Madan, mocked Nicholson's shelf-classification, his statistical calculations, reductions in purchases, altered pressmarks, and buckram binding, and even satirized the report's last page: "The tail-piece on p. 66 appears to be a very amusing and highly symbolical engraving: a fine bird sits in a vine, close to some ripe grapes, carolling a song of triumph: below squat two loathsome toads, bursting their sides with spleen. What does it mean?"

Nicholson drafted an indignant letter to MacAlister complaining that "almost every sentence after the third contains a covert sneer or an innuendo, and the review ends with what is meant to be a downright stab". He refused to answer anonymous criticism, but told MacAlister what he thought of the comment on the tail-piece: "I did not think the bird a fine one - I thought that the fruit were berries and not grapes - I did not know that the croakers were 'loathsome toads' and not frogs - I did not detect that they were splitting their sides with spleen. But if I had seen these things ... I should still have chosen the tailpiece ..."23

In the same issue of the Library was published a satire by 'Theophrastus Junior' on the 'Practical' Librarian. It is tempting to view this as a crafty attack on Nicholson, with its references to 'Jack-of-all-trades', buckram binding, and "cunning inventions" such as a "mechanic crane" (Nicholson had used Cotgreave's 'Long reacher'). This suspicion is strengthened by a sequel on the 'Theoretical' Librarian in the Library for March 1889, with references to statistics, unrealized monumental works of scholarship, and cataloguing: "He is so busy in devising yet another perfect plan for the ordering of his books that he hath no time to set them in their places, and though a book sought for may by good hap be discovered, it is never found." Nicholson again drafted a complaint to MacAlister, and in the February 1889 Library, MacAlister claimed that the first article was but "harmless fun" and confessed that the pseudonymous writer was a Scot (as he was) - but the author might conceivably have been E.G. Duff, who had worked in the Bodleian long enough to be aware of Nicholson's aspirations, as satirized in these pieces.²⁴ Also in the March 1889 issue appeared a signed article by Duff describing a Sarum Horæ in

the Bodleian, and adding that the book had been bound, repaired, and damaged, thus implicitly blaming Nicholson. Madan had already drafted a letter to Bywater, drawing attention to this statement, when he examined the volume - and found it unharmed; Duff was warned not to be so hasty.²⁵

In April 1890 Madan anonymously reviewed in the Library the Convocation debate of 28 January 1890, giving prominence to Mowat and Bywater's speeches. Attacks also appeared on Nicholson and his annual reports in the national press, while the Oxford Magazine was the local thorn in his side. In May 1890 an undergraduate magazine published 'Parleyings with certain people. 1. Bodley's Librarian' ("It is significant that no 'Parleyings' with anybody else followed", commented Nicholson.). This rather clever satire was ascribed by Madan to Duff, who vehemently denied it; however, its references to the Sarum Horae and the unfortunate incident involving a Bodleian incunabulum and a bucket of water point, inter alia, to a person with Duff's knowledge of early printed books. The article took the form of an interview, and concluded:

"'And do your staff support you?'

'All but the Sub-librarians and the curators; however, I can laugh at them, while I have the good will of my boys'.

'Then you intend to stay here?'

'Till I die, Sir. This is my library, and I shall do what I like with it'.

He felt offended at the hint of his resigning, so I left".²⁶

Madan wrote more anonymous attacks for the Library, but in May 1891 MacAlister, who told Nicholson that he was pained at the "array of sins you charge against the Library", agreed to send Bodleian annual reports to London reviewers with no animus. By now Madan's relations with Nicholson had reached their lowest point. In 1890 Madan had persuaded the Curators to authorize the 'Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts'; Nicholson bitterly opposed it, as will be described in a subsequent chapter, but was defeated. Madan now delighted in pointing out failings in the administration of the manuscripts. For instance, in May 1891 he reported that four volumes of Clarendon State Papers "have this day been allowed to go out of the Library to the binder's" unprotected, unfoliated, unstamped, and without markings. "Note the phraseology", observed Nicholson, "- not 'sent', because that would assign the blame to the sender, but 'allowed to go', because that assigns it to

the Librarian." He added:

"Mr. Madan, when I asked him why he did not tell me before the manuscripts went, said he had to take time to consider whether it was his duty to report it, and that the friendly relations between us were not such that he cared to report everything. I told him I did not consider that the state of our relations relieved him from the responsibility of reporting anything that he saw going wrong, as he must remember that those relations are entirely of his own choice".²⁷

The 1892 correspondence.

On 18 May 1892 the Oxford Magazine published yet another anonymous attack, citing the inadequate handlisting of manuscripts and the "cumbrous" classification, and specifying the wasteful binding of MS.Eng.poet.f.1. Nicholson knew that no reader had seen this manuscript, but that Madan had recently catalogued it. On 19 May he wrote to Madan from the Bodleian to enquire whether Madan knew the writer's identity. On the same date from the same place Madan wrote that he did not (though privately guessed that it was Andrew Clark, a Curator), but added that if friends entered his study, he might show "the volume as a curiosity, but I cannot charge my memory with the names of any friends who did as a fact so come in".²⁸

"May I ask - as a curiosity in what respect?" replied Nicholson, adding that Madan might have a private memorandum (he was well-aware of Madan's secret notes) identifying the writer. "And I will ask specifically whether you have stated such facts or given such opportunities to Mr. R.Lane Poole, in case you forget his name". (Poole had previously attacked Nicholson anonymously in the Oxford Magazine.) "I regard it as a curiosity in respect of the proportion of written to blank leaves being less than one to thirty", replied Madan; he had no memoranda on the subject and had not communicated with Poole. Nicholson politely thanked him and commented that they both knew the best way of safe-guarding such valuable manuscripts, but that an ill-informed person might use this instance "as a weapon for anonymously stabbing the Librarian. There is the greater possibility of such accidents because it so happens that the few people whom I know of as opposed to my own administration hardly ever come to the library without going to your study."

On 25 May another anonymous paragraph appeared in the Oxford Magazine, correcting the previous statement. Madan wrote to Nicholson that once again no reader had seen the manuscript, but that the second

writer had received inaccurate information derived from Library sources about this manuscript; he even knew the cost of binding. (Madan gratuitously added his discovery that Nicholson had referenced two manuscripts with the same number and had mis-classified a liturgical manuscript.) "I know who the writer of the second note is, thanks", replied Nicholson (having himself shown the manuscript to the second writer); "I think his slightly inaccurate generosity of feeling a more desirable quality than the accurate malignity of the former paragraphist". Nicholson thanked him for the information about the wrongly-referenced manuscripts and continued by asking Madan whether a bunch of superseded keys in the latter's study could be removed. He also drew Madan's attention to MS. Add.B.116, which included a letter by J. Bloxam in which were quotations from a letter criticizing Nicholson's election to the Bodleian. In pencil on the manuscript Madan had identified the unnamed author of the critical quotations as E.M. Thompson of the British Museum; Nicholson wondered why Madan had marked Bodleian property.²⁹

Madan replied:

"May 26.1892, 10 p.m.

Dear Mr. Librarian,

I have just received your note.

It is a relief to me to know that there is a way by which a Note in the Magazine about a Bodleian manuscript may be written without the manuscript being ordered in the ordinary way and without my being supposed to have afforded any information or opportunities for information.

The large bunch of superseded keys were not put in my study by me, and I have no desire to retain them or to get rid of them, thanks.

With respect to MS. Add.B.116, I blush to find my good deeds discovered. I remember seeing the letter to which you refer in the Rev. John Rigaud's possession before it entered the Library. When it came before me for cataloguing purposes I thought it undesirable that the almost exclusive information I possessed about the writer alluded to, should be lost. I therefore inserted the note; and incidentally did you a real service thereby.

I am

Truly yours

F. Madan

(Sublibrarian of the
Bodleian)

E.W.B. Nicholson, Esq.

P.S. May 27 10 p.m. I really have not had a minute to call my own today till now, when I send this off".

Nicholson replied that he had removed the keys himself and added that notes on manuscripts should be confined to the inside covers. As for Thompson's remarks, Nicholson thought them quite natural in the circumstances: "There are, however, people in whose minds such remarks rankle, and, considering the desirability of maintaining good personal relations between the two libraries, you might in writing that note have done a real disservice not only to me but to the library." This correspondence dates from 1892, but Nicholson was to remain Librarian for another 20 years. The Bodleian atmosphere remained poisoned throughout this period, and there were no attempts at reconciliation or co-operation. "My position is that I like the Library more than I dislike the Librarian, and patiently wait", had written Madan in 1884, and wait he did.³⁰

H. Pelham and the Standing Committee.

Andrew Clark had, while proctor, been instrumental in establishing the 'Summary Catalogue'. His reward came when Max Müller's Curatorship fell vacant in 1891. Max Müller wanted to be re-elected, but, under pressure, withdrew in Clark's favour. Madan was exultant: "Then the Master of Balliol is practically gone, and the Dean of Ch. Ch. so we shall have two more to get in perhaps Pelham & T.W. Jackson." Dean Liddell resigned in February 1892. Sir William Anson, the Bodleian's anonymous donor, was nominated, but 'The Club' supported Pelham. Nicholson was appalled: "For Mowat never was hostile to me in the personal way in which I believe (and Chandler believed) Pelham is", he wrote to Oman. Nicholson planned a circular denouncing Pelham and drafted a speech for Congregation, where the voting would take place: "Professor Pelham disapproved the librarian's election, he has disapproved the librarian himself ever since, and if invisibly to Professor Pelham an archangel cd. be substituted for the librarian I fear Professor Pelham would disapprove the archangel as well." Oman and Anson dissuaded Nicholson, and Pelham was elected by 109 votes to Anson's 103.³¹

Nicholson anticipated renewed opposition, and in 1892 Mowat casually admitted to Nicholson that he wished to 'fetter' him; this was quoted in Nicholson's violent printed protest against Mowat's motion on shifting.³² Then, on 11 June 1892, Pelham dropped his bombshell, a proposal to form a Standing Committee. As will be seen,

its main purpose was to establish the Curators' financial control. Nicholson argued that business would be multiplied at the expense of work, while the Curators' power would be entrusted to a committee of five who would exclude Nicholson from their meetings. Nicholson felt that the present Curators' meetings could be shorter if he was allowed to explain his actions personally. "To my mind", wrote Nicholson, "the causa causans of the existence of the Committee is the wish to 'fetter' the present Librarian, and there is a possibility that at least 3 seats on this Committee may be obtained by Curators who, if the Librarian were to offer his resignation to-morrow, would vote for its acceptance". The Standing Committee was approved on 15 November by 5 - 4, and rules were agreed on 3 December; the Committee subsequently met weekly during term. From 10 December Nicholson was allowed to attend all Curators' meetings, provided that he withdrew if any single Curator so requested.³³

Stubbs and Mowat.

1893 passed peacefully, apart from Pelham's motions on book-shifting, but in October Jowett died. His successor was Bywater, who exchanged his elected Curatorship for an ex officio one. A. Clark resigned on leaving Oxford; the vacancies were filled by Sir William Anson and T.W. Jackson. Madan was depressed, since Clark would show him his Curators' papers: "I told Mowat plainly that now 10 years were well over and Clark gone, as long as for instance (1) MSS. were not foliated ..., (2) the Library was not annually verified, (3) the Catalogue was allowed to be on two diff't. systems, (4) the Law Books are unreferenced, (5) Duplicates are left in the highway of the boys in Gough Annexe: so long I despair of him and the Curators." Madan felt that the Librarian was winning: "he has had 10 years in full, and is not muzzled. Accordingly I now give up the Curators as hopeless, and take small interest in the Library as such. Mowat had better resign, and not continue nagging. I give him up, as I have given Macray up." On 22 May 1894 William Stubbs, now Bishop of Oxford, was decreed a perpetual Curator. This was most unusual and was proposed by Bywater, but Madan discovered the reason: while Jowett was alive, he had been supported by W. Ince, a Canon of Christ Church; Stubbs' appointment was intended as a checkmate - Bishop against Canon.³⁴

The next event was unexpected. On 6 August 1894 Mowat hanged himself "during a temporary access of insanity" in the same room in which Chandler had committed suicide. Bodleian worries had claimed another victim. Oman wanted the nomination to replace him, but

ironically he was a proctor, and the Vice-Chancellor, J.R. Magrath, ruled that he was ineligible. H.A. Wilson, Librarian of Magdalen College, was elected and took his duties seriously, carefully noting Bodleian failings, such as inadequate handlists, thefts, exhibitions, and the time which Nicholson spent with a particular female assistant. The main event of winter 1895 was the move against Nicholson handling papyri, provoking another attack on his exclusion from meetings. He regretted that some Curators regarded him "as being what the Americans would term a one-horse librarian - who was well enough suited, perhaps, to the London Institution, and would be doubtless fitted to manage the Birmingham Free Library - but not to be mentioned in the same wreath with the real heads of his profession. And Professor Pelham has manifested his opinion of my knowledge on all matters relating to manuscripts, &c., so many times, and with such absolute frankness, in the joint presence of other Curators and myself, as to leave no doubt of his own estimate of me."³⁵

Nicholson's obsessive belief that he was being 'fettered' was not without justification, but he made the situation worse by adopting a policy of attack as the best means of defence, and by asserting his authority dogmatically. When he altered the D'Orville pressmarks in the 'Summary Catalogue', the Curators soon heard, and Nicholson demanded from Madan whether he had told them; Madan denied this. Nicholson allowed Madan to talk privately to individual Curators (he could hardly prevent him), but refused him the right to complain officially, "being bound as he is by Statute 'Bibliothecarii arbitrium in omnibus bibliothecæ negotiis sequi'...". Madan had little faith in the Curators, as he told T.W. Jackson in October 1895: "They do not as a body know, nor as a body do they care to know that the Library is badly administered: and the few who do know do not face the alternative of being active and forcible (which involves great anxiety and mental distress), or from retiring from the position after a dignified protest, which should be made public".³⁶

The 1896 pamphlets.

With Nicholson continually sniping at the Curators, and vice versa, a crisis had to come. The Ashmolean dispute occurred in 1896, when Nicholson won a partial victory over the Hebdomadal Council, while he angered the Curators by winning the papyri dispute and high-handedly sacking W.H. Allnutt. The Curators hit back by considering the Jenner proposals to reduce accessions and cataloguing, and by proposing to transfer the coins to the Ashmolean. All these topics will be considered

in their context in subsequent chapters. In November Pelham told Madan that the coins were only part of a larger struggle, while Bywater enigmatically told him how fortunate he was in a 'ring-fence' with the 'Summary Catalogue' as a 'temporary expedient'. How extraordinary, thought Madan. And T.W. Jackson hinted that the crisis could occur suddenly. But between 19 November and 18 December 1896 Nicholson issued three strongly-worded pamphlets: 'The Hebdomadal Council and the Bodleian', criticizing the Jenner proposals; 'The Bodleian coins'; and the 24 'Propositions', which attacked the Curators.³⁷

Nicholson had regularly submitted a report to the Curators, but when on 21 November they resolved to discuss the Jenner proposals further, Nicholson terminated his reports in disgust: "I am not required to make one by the Statute nor have I been asked to make one by the Curators, and since the meeting of November 21, 1896, I see that all hope of fair treatment from a Board guided by Prof. Pelham and Prof. Bywater must be given up for ever, and that the only safety for the Librarian and the Library lies in the policy of giving them as few chances of attack as possible". At the meeting on 5 December Nicholson asked to attend throughout all Curators' meetings, unless a majority voted against; but the Curators declined, and Nicholson still had to leave if one Curator objected. Afterwards, Anson tackled Nicholson over the purchase of a manuscript without the consent of the Standing Committee; Nicholson denied that he had impeded the Curators by not informing them. Anson replied: "But the Curators are responsible to the University; and if inquiries of a perfectly natural and friendly character are met by cavillings, wrangles, and outbreaks of temper such as make the transaction of business difficult, if not impossible, I consider that the Curators are impeded in the exercise of their statutory duties".

L.R. Farnell was proctor in 1896 and recalled how the "astonishing self-assertion of the librarian beat down all resistance: Bywater was usually helpless with anger; even Pelham was almost useless... The only Curator who could really handle him was Sir William Anson, for he had the invaluable and deadly gift of always keeping his temper".³⁸

The repercussions of Nicholson's three pamphlets overshadowed the first months of 1897. Nicholson's tactics worked, for he won the battle for the coins and gained the rejection of the Jenner proposals. In January 1897 Madan dropped hints to T.W.J. Jackson about his private notes against the Librarian. Jackson took the bait, and Madan sent them to him; but he returned them unread - the time was not ripe for a public attack on Nicholson, who had just demonstrated how well he could retaliate.³⁹

In February 1897 Anson complained that Nicholson received every suggestion "as though it were designed for a personal offence". Nicholson strongly refuted this and detailed the Curators' interference, asserting that no professor would be so treated. He complained that the Curators drew wrong conclusions from their own investigations:

"... even now comparatively few men of culture are aware that librarianship is a highly technical profession, and one in which long experience is of immense value. If Mr. Madan and I, cycling down opposite hills, were to smash each other up, I think it very far from unlikely that the Curators would elect some fairly vigorous and popular don with a good knowledge of languages or some creditable speciality, but with absolutely not an hour's knowledge of librarianship". Anson sympathized but pointed out that at "our last two meetings we have had discussions of a somewhat heated character In each case when it is over you say that if you had fully understood what was contemplated you would have raised no opposition. I can't help thinking that if you had not assumed at starting that the proposals were hostile, no difficulty would have arisen."

He added: "But what you call 'Librarianship' is machinery - it is a means not an end. Here the Curators discharge the useful function of the political chief in a Government department. The department loves the machinery for its own sake, the outside force, whether it is a Curator or a President of the Board of Trade says 'cui bono'?" Anson was trying to put library matters into perspective, but Nicholson's point was that the Bodleian served not just the University and that therefore its administration was not purely a local matter to be decided upon by University academics.⁴⁰

The Auctarium dispute.

Madan became more depressed: "I really have not made my usual survey of the Library this year," he wrote in September 1897; "It seems no use. The Curators do nothing, and wont even resign. People seem to care nothing about the state of the Catalogue, thefts of books every year, injury to MSS., or the growing insanity of the Librarian. Which is discouraging." The chance for Nicholson to challenge the Curators came unexpectedly, because of 'shifting', forbidden since 1893. With the Ashmolean basement ready, Nicholson had (legitimately) moved there the dissertations from the Auctarium during April 1897. At the same time, H.A. Wilson was complaining about the state of the manuscripts in the exhibition-cases. In May the Curators authorized repairs to the Arts End floor, which meant temporarily locking away the exhibited manuscripts. But the locked cases in the Auctarium were full, and

Nicholson instructed an assistant to transfer several manuscripts elsewhere. On 6 June Nicholson found several dozen heavy manuscripts perched on a high shelf; afraid that they might fall, Nicholson put them on a table - and there they remained. On 11 June Nicholson reported to the Curators that the Ashmolean basement was almost arranged and that he was contemplating a re-arrangement of the Auctarium manuscripts.⁴¹

On 24 June Madan wrote to T.W.Jackson, as usual grumbling about the Library. He referred to the volumes left in the Auctarium, commenting that the Librarian had been moving manuscripts around, which would necessitate re-labelling (Madan was of course ignorant of the reasons for which Nicholson had moved them.). On Sunday 26 June Jackson dined with Wilson and casually mentioned the Auctarium; it looked as if Nicholson had begun his re-arrangement in defiance of the resolution against shifting. On the next day Jackson and Wilson satisfied themselves that their suspicions were correct and that hundreds of pressmarks would have to be changed; they went to the Vice-Chancellor, and on 30 June Jackson and two other members of the Standing Committee interrogated Nicholson. The Curators were unabashed by the revelation that the 'shifted' manuscripts had nothing whatsoever to do with any re-arrangement, but had been moved for safety reasons. Nicholson had formulated no definite plan, but he immediately declared that he would re-arrange the Auctarium regardless of the Curators; furthermore, he intended to unblock the windows.⁴²

The 'statutory positions'.

T.W.Jackson demanded that the Vice-Chancellor, J.R.Magrath, convene a special Curators' meeting: "whatever errors may have come in at other times, this occasion seems to me, - though I do not forget that one may be mistaken, - an important case, and exceptional as being one where evidence fortunately can be had, - and had before the work is done". Nicholson asked Madan if he had officially complained to the Curators about 'shifting'; Madan refused to reply until he had consulted T.W.Jackson, and then denied the charge. The Curators met on 23 July and were presented with Nicholson's 15-page pamphlet, 'The statutory positions of the Librarian and Curators of the Bodleian'. On the first page appeared the quotation from the Library Statute which formed the basis of Nicholson's arguments: "Bibliothecarius totius interioris administrationis curam habeat". Nicholson listed the Curators' duties and claimed that their only responsibilities, as regards librarianship matters, lay in the purchase of books and the shelf-classification (the latter, thought Nicholson, was only in the Statute because of Jowett.). "From beginning to end of the statute there isn't one word authorizing them either to order the Librarian

to do anything, or to prohibit or restrain him from doing anything; or directing or recommending the Librarian to follow their instructions or advice in a single point of his duties". The Curators could 'admonish' the Librarian, but he could only be dismissed by the Visitation Board, and then only for 'grave misconduct' or disobeying the Statute; disobeying the Curators was not an offence per se.⁴³

Nicholson argued that the prohibition on 'shifting' was illegal and he explained the events surrounding the alleged 'shifting' in the Auctarium, complaining of the way he was never consulted: "Any Curator who wanted to know why those books were there, and why the changes had been made on the wall behind, had only to ask the Librarian and he would have had an immediate and complete explanation. Instead of this, not a syllable is said to the Librarian till one morning the Janitor informs him that some Curators in the Auctarium would like to see him, and there he is questioned by 'all members in residence of the Standing Committee'. I wonder what the Curators would say if they heard of the Librarian of another great library being treated in this way". Nicholson supported his contention that the Auctarium manuscripts needed re-arranging and revealed his preliminary plan, emphasizing that no pressmarks would be changed (he only planned to move the manuscripts, but many Curators remembered his long-discarded plan to re-classify the whole Library; this basic misunderstanding was behind many of his critics' fears, including H.A. Wilson's.). He concluded that he had wanted to test his statutory rights in the highest court in the land, but since he had "carefully studied every passage in the statute which gives any power whatever to the Curators, I feel that the Librarian's rights are so perfectly clear that I can hardly anticipate being forced into an open conflict before the University and the world to defend them".⁴⁴

The Curators were doubtless relieved by Nicholson's last sentence but told him to defer any arranging, while H.Goudy, the Regius Professor of Civil Law, promised to move for a **Committee** to investigate the Librarian's statutory position. The Curators next met on 29 October 1898 when Goudy hinted that if they had insufficient control, they should strengthen their powers. The Vice-Chancellor refused to allow a Committee since, he said, the Curators had the necessary powers and, if the Librarian disobeyed, the Visitation Board would support the Curators. Nicholson argued this point, but the Vice-Chancellor was unmoved. This effectively ended the dispute over statutory rights, for both sides claimed victory. Nicholson said that his printed pamphlets on the subject had never been refuted, while the Curators were satisfied that the Visitation Board

could intervene if Nicholson exceeded his powers.⁴⁵ "So things are smoothed over", thought Madan. Nicholson prepared a list of allegedly unstatutory resolutions, beginning with Chandler's motion on exhibitions, and including those on the 'Summary Catalogue' and that of May 1898 allowing Madan to attend the St. Gallen Conference (Nicholson added that this proved the illegality of the 'Summary Catalogue', since only he could allot staff duties.). The last hostile resolution was that of 29 October 1898 on the Auctarium - but since Nicholson's list was drawn up on 28 October and Goudy's motion was withdrawn, Nicholson never issued this new pamphlet; he was merely ensuring that he had the means of launching a counter-attack.⁴⁶

As for the Auctarium re-arrangement, Nicholson's proposals were put to a Committee which deliberated for many months before generally approving them, except for unblocking windows. In March 1899 Nicholson again denied that the Curators could interfere and pointed out that their division of opinion over the windows proved that only one man could make such decisions and thus save months of discussions: "And library-work cannot be engineered on consistent lines by members of a continually changing Board - of whom a majority may lean one year in one direction and the next in the opposite direction. But the Librarian is not divided, and in 300 years his office has changed hands only 12 times - in the last 131 only 3 times. He not only has far longer and minuter experience on which to base his principles, but far longer time in which to carry them out".⁴⁷

R.L.Poole.

The death of Bartholomew Price caused another vacant Curatorship. The election was on 16 February 1899, but when Reginald Lane Poole was nominated, Nicholson announced that he "may have to take holidays" from 17 February. Ominous, thought Madan. Nicholson had never forgiven Poole for anonymously attacking him in the Oxford Magazine in 1887, and on 8 February Nicholson issued a remarkable pamphlet condemning Poole for his behaviour then. Not only that, he described how certain Curators tried to 'fetter' him and commented on his disillusionment with the Bodleian: "And I confess that before my election I supposed the Bodleian to be a well arranged, well catalogued, well organized library which wouldn't prevent me from employing my statutory holidays in certain literary projects congenial to me, that might after 10 or a dozen years enable me to pass from it into a sphere of wider social activity.

That was a dream which vanished as soon as I came to know the Bodleian.

Always undermanned as it had been, always undermonnéyéd, and almost always underroomed, its organization, fairly advanced at some points, was in most respects absolutely rudimentary or non-existent". With hostile Curators, he claimed, his work was being made impossible: "After 17 years of (I dare to say) devoted service to the University - years which have left me with a crippled heart and a fagged brain - I find that the infinitesimal group of men who in all singleness of conscience have already made so much of my life so wretched are still unreconciled, and that the new Curator proposed to be put over me for the next 10 years, in place of the kindly Master of Pembroke, is the one man in all Oxford who's given the strongest public evidence of his disapproval of me as a librarian". Although Poole had done nothing publicly against Nicholson since 1887, Nicholson triumphed. The neutral C. Plummer was elected, by 117 votes to Poole's 78.⁴⁸

Relations with Madan.

Nicholson's health failed in 1901-2, and although his relations with the Curators continued to be strained, there were fewer confrontations. How the Curators regarded his failing health will be seen in the last chapter. However, throughout Nicholson's librarianship his relations with Madan were what affected Library administration most of all, and these never improved. To Madan, Nicholson became the 'D.B.', or 'Diabolus Bibliothecae'.

Madan objected strongly to Nicholson's hours. Under the Statute, they were obliged to work for six hours per day while the Library was open "quantum fieri potest". But Nicholson would usually come in between 10:30 a.m. and 11 a.m. (from at least 1885 Madan regularly recorded Nicholson's arrival times) and work after the Old Library had closed. Madan was outraged that Nicholson did not work for the whole time that the Library was open (the Radcliffe Camera remained open until 10 p.m. but, according to Madan, the Statute did not apply there) and that he spent as long as thirty minutes at lunch. When Nicholson told a reader that "I am perfectly mad with overwork", Madan wondered why he did not come in earlier, but that would not necessarily have meant that Nicholson worked more, merely that he would be more liable to interruptions.⁴⁹

Nicholson openly worked on Sundays, which Madan felt was setting a bad example to the rest of the staff. On 26 December 1893, Madan heard from a porter that Nicholson had broken his keys while trying to enter the Camera on Christmas Day. While Nicholson certainly worked longer hours than necessary and had fewer holidays, Madan felt that the Statute

should be adhered to rigidly (Nicholson claimed that between 1882 and 1891, Madan took $384\frac{1}{4}$ days' holiday more than Nicholson; the calculation is somewhat misleading, because Nicholson added his hours of overtime to his annual holidays.). Madan did have a genuine grievance during Nicholson's illnesses in the 1900's, when the latter manipulated his working hours in a complicated fashion. (Incidentally, Nicholson did publish his normal hours of work in the 'Staff-Kalendar').⁵⁰

When the Librarian was on holiday, Madan conducted his 'Annual Survey' to discover any iniquities. In 1895 he found Nicholson's bound private papers in one of the rooms; written inside were 'MS. Nicholson' and 'for the Bodleian at my death.' "He must be contemplating suicide", thought Madan hopefully. As he catalogued the slightest misdemeanour, Madan convinced himself of Nicholson's insanity. In 1890 Nicholson's doctor allegedly told Farnell that Nicholson was going off his head with Bodleian worries: "I don't doubt it", commented Madan, "and have long thought that insanity was at the bottom of the man's vagaries."⁵¹ It would hardly be fair to accuse Nicholson of being mad (Madan's Bodleian notes reflect as much on his state of mind as on Nicholson's), but the truth is that Nicholson's obsession with work and the continued attacks on him did affect his heart and nerves. In 1902 and 1907 he broke down, but only after 1910 did he become mentally ill. The trouble was that Nicholson under-estimated his physical powers, while the Library never enjoyed sufficient resources to complete all his reforms, nor could he always convince the Curators. The underground bookstore took over 12 years from conception to completion, while the Picture Gallery was only heated after 20 years of argument. Nicholson worried incessantly and even on holiday would keep in touch with the Library.

Although he frequently criticized Nicholson for behaving like a detective, Madan himself missed nothing. In February 1894 he noted: "As I was washing my hands just now (about 2 p.m.) I saw the noble form of the Librn. come out of the Savile Room door and slink into the space under the Schools Tower.

Afterwards a few minutes later while looking out Woodward, J., above [at the Catalogue], I saw him come out from his hiding place and wheel a bicycle out of the South entrance to the Schools Quadrangle. So that is where he keeps a bicycle!

(The custom grew after this.) I don't object." When Nicholson wore white flannel trousers, Madan likened him to an out-of-work prize-fighter. And when the "Venerable" Lord Selborne visited the Bodleian to read a book and was moved to the Camera by Nicholson, Madan darkly observed that he died shortly afterwards. Even Nicholson's family were not excluded: "no one envies her her existence", he wrote of Nicholson's wife. Nicholson did act high-handedly in some

respects, especially over the 'Summary Catalogue' and his holidays, but he never attacked Madan personally before the Curators, nor did he attempt to discredit Madan. Madan continually carped about how little work Nicholson did, though Madan's voluminous memoranda must have consumed many of his own working hours.⁵²

This unhappy relationship seriously affected Library work, especially as the other staff and Curators could not remain neutral. Nicholson must share some blame for not taking his staff into his confidence and discussing future action with them, but it should not be forgotten that Madan deliberately abdicated all responsibility and refused to acknowledge Nicholson as a competent librarian. After Nicholson's death, Madan compiled his 'heads of offence'. After 30 years, Madan could find nothing good to say of Nicholson's administration. He accused him of discouraging donors, reducing the Catalogue to chaos, needless shifting of books, lack of organizing power, starving the manuscript department, deceiving the Curators, and many other faults. "All these are proved to the hilt in these 4012 slips", he wrote of his Bodleian notes. Inevitably, Madan had the last word; he lived 23 years longer and could prepare his own defence for posterity, while Nicholson, though he kept and annotated masses of papers, did not compile such a detailed diary of Bodleian events.⁵³

Nicholson spent his librarianship endeavouring to keep the Bodleian's bank balance out of the red. So narrow was the gap between income and expenditure that a credit-balance was often achieved only because of a previous surplus. In 1899 the Library's income was £46 less than expenditure, but the previous year's balance of £491 averted a deficit. Madan's published statistics show a deficit for 17 years out of 30, but his figures, misleadingly, do not take into account any balance carried forward.¹

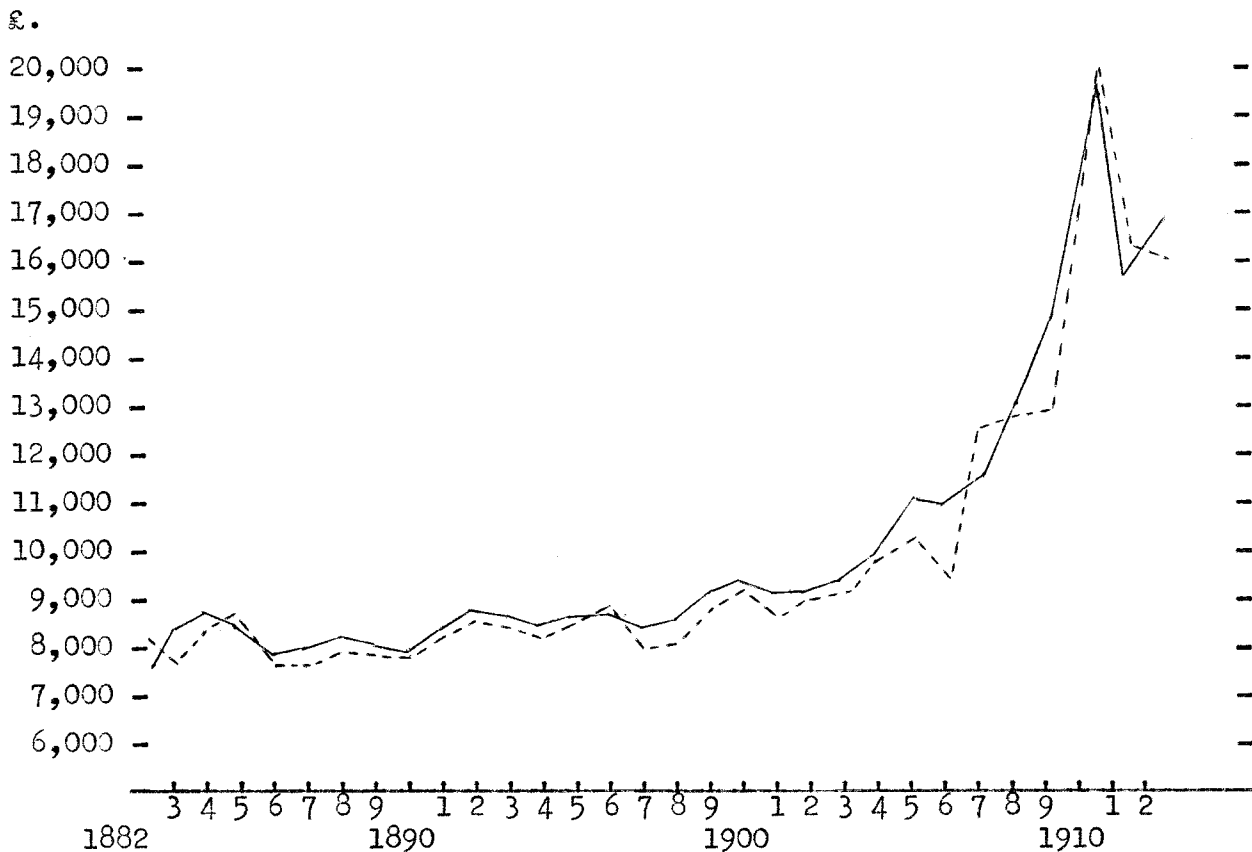
The Library had been underfinanced for years. Over half of its income came from regular University grants, and a further quarter from investments. In 1876 the permanent annual grant rose to £3,350 per annum, with a further £1,050 p.a. for temporary purposes, e.g. binding and cataloguing. Expenditure increased faster, and the 1877 University Commission recommended an extra £3,000 p.a., but stipulated that from 1882 £1,000 should come from All Souls and £300 from Merton. Thus the future looked brighter when Nicholson came - yet that £1,300 p.a. did not materialize for over 20 years, and in Nicholson's first month of office, H.S. Harper, the assistant in charge of accounts, overlooked the expiry of grants totalling £500. Nicholson's first year ended with a deficit of £475.13s.8d.²

Income.

Income could be divided into dividends, rents from estates, standing grants from the University, and special grants from University and Colleges for specific purposes. During the 1880's, income averaged £8,500 p.a. Until 1898, the basic University grant was supplemented by £315, mostly for the Radcliffe Camera, and special annual grants. These reached £750 in 1883 but were reduced to £500 from 1884 because of the expected income from All Souls and Merton. Interest from dividends (3% Consols) averaged £2,600 but declined to approximately £1,750 throughout the 1900's. This interest came from £30,000 in Consols given by the University in 1845. At various times stock was sold off, and the Bodleian had to be reimbursed by the University Chest. From 1898 the University paid a yearly 'augmentation' of £900 in lieu. Estates produced a regular income of about £500 p.a., but were gradually sold and the proceeds invested.³

Nicholson had no control over the fluctuating income from dividends and estates, partly caused by agricultural depression, but he could appeal to Colleges and individuals. His annual reports always

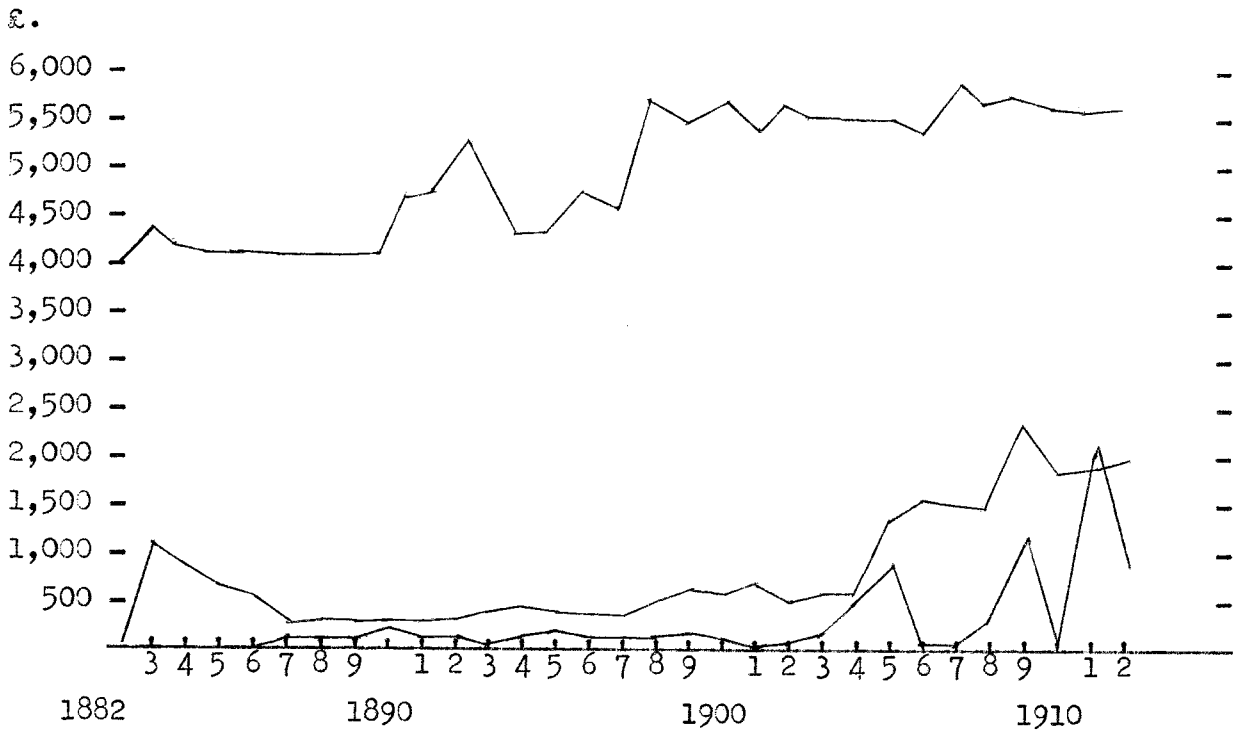
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE.



This graph shows:

- Total annual receipts (top line); and
- - - Total annual expenditure (bottom line).

INCOME FROM THE UNIVERSITY, THE COLLEGES, AND INDIVIDUALS.



This graph shows the total annual income from:

The University Chest and the Common University Fund (top line);
Individual Colleges for specific purposes (middle line); and
Donations from individuals (bottom line).

This graph excludes grants from the Oxford University Endowment Fund.

mentioned All Souls' inability to contribute; in 1899 the College gave £100, rising annually to £1,000 in 1906. Merton paid about £290 p.a.

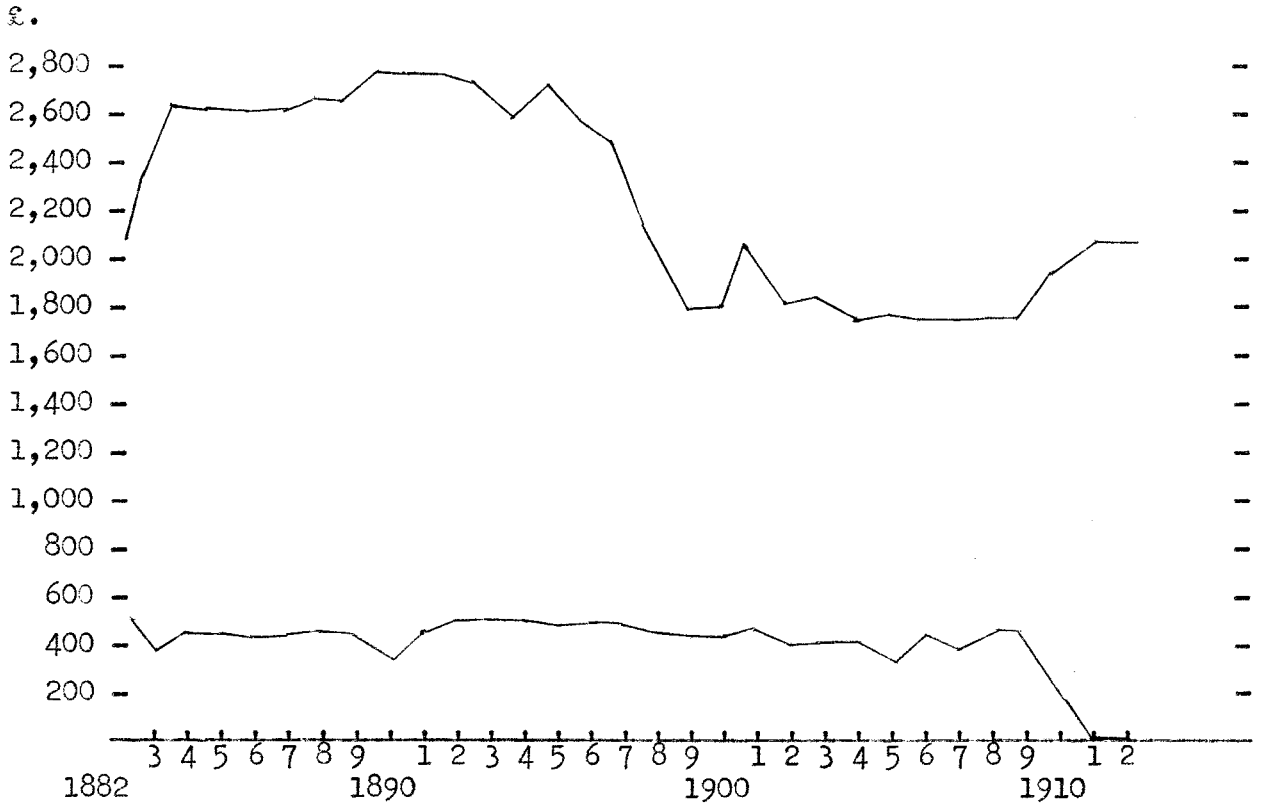
Increasingly, money had to be sought from the University through the Chest, and from the Colleges through the Common University Fund, usually for shelving, binding, and cataloguing arrears. Grants from the Chest required the assent of the Bodleian Curators, the Chest's Curators, Hebdomadal Council, and Convocation, but many of Nicholson's schemes were doubted and opposed. In 1891 the Delegates of the Common University Fund agreed to pay £250 for cataloguing and hand-listing, but for one year instead of three, as requested. According to Ince, several Delegates "have evidently a lurking suspicion that this £250 is to be expended partly on the subject catalogue"; yet the suspicion was unwarranted. When Nicholson sought its renewal in February 1892, a Bodleian Curators' Committee investigated how the previous grant had been spent. No misappropriation was found, and the grant was repeated.⁴

Two years later Nicholson applied to the Common University Fund for £100 to catalogue arrears and £200 to bind maps. The former was only carried by the casting vote of J.R. Magrath, the Vice-Chancellor, who promptly withdrew the second application and warned Nicholson not to expect any more money from that source for a long time. Nicholson eventually secured the grants in 1895, and the Fund continued to give sums for arrears.⁵

By 1890 the gap between income and expenditure had become so narrow, and arrears of work so pressing, that Nicholson applied for the University's special annual grant of £500 to be restored to its former £750. He showed how the Bodleian's income had fallen by £650 in the last six years; but the Curators only asked for the usual £500.⁶

This sum barely offset the decrease in dividends and interest, and in 1896, for the first time, the Library had a small deficit (£23.3s.6d.). Not until 1899 did income ever exceed £9,000, and it continued to increase thanks to grants from colleges and individuals for specified purposes. But expenditure kept pace, and 1904 and 1907 saw deficits on the general fund of £660.14s.9½d. and £1,602.17s.1½d respectively, the latter due mainly to binding and heating equipment. Even so, the 1904 deficit was alleviated by trust funds (e.g. for the repair of pictures, and A. Beit's donation for colonial books) and obliterated by Vernon Watney's gift of £500; similarly, the 1907 deficit was made good by the late arrival of grants for the Upper Reading Room.

INCOME FROM DIVIDENDS AND ESTATES.



This graph shows total annual income from:

- Dividends and interest (top line); and
- Rents from estates (bottom line).

This problem of late grants was in Nicholson's mind when he applied in October 1908 for an extra £500 p.a. from the Trustees of the Oxford University Endowment Fund. He claimed that small grants cost a similar amount to administer, and required separate accounts - the Beit donation, for instance, paid for the purchase of books, but not for their selection, cataloguing, classification, and binding. The Trustees sympathized, and the Bodleian was given £500 p.a. for 8 years, of which half was for catalogue revision.⁷

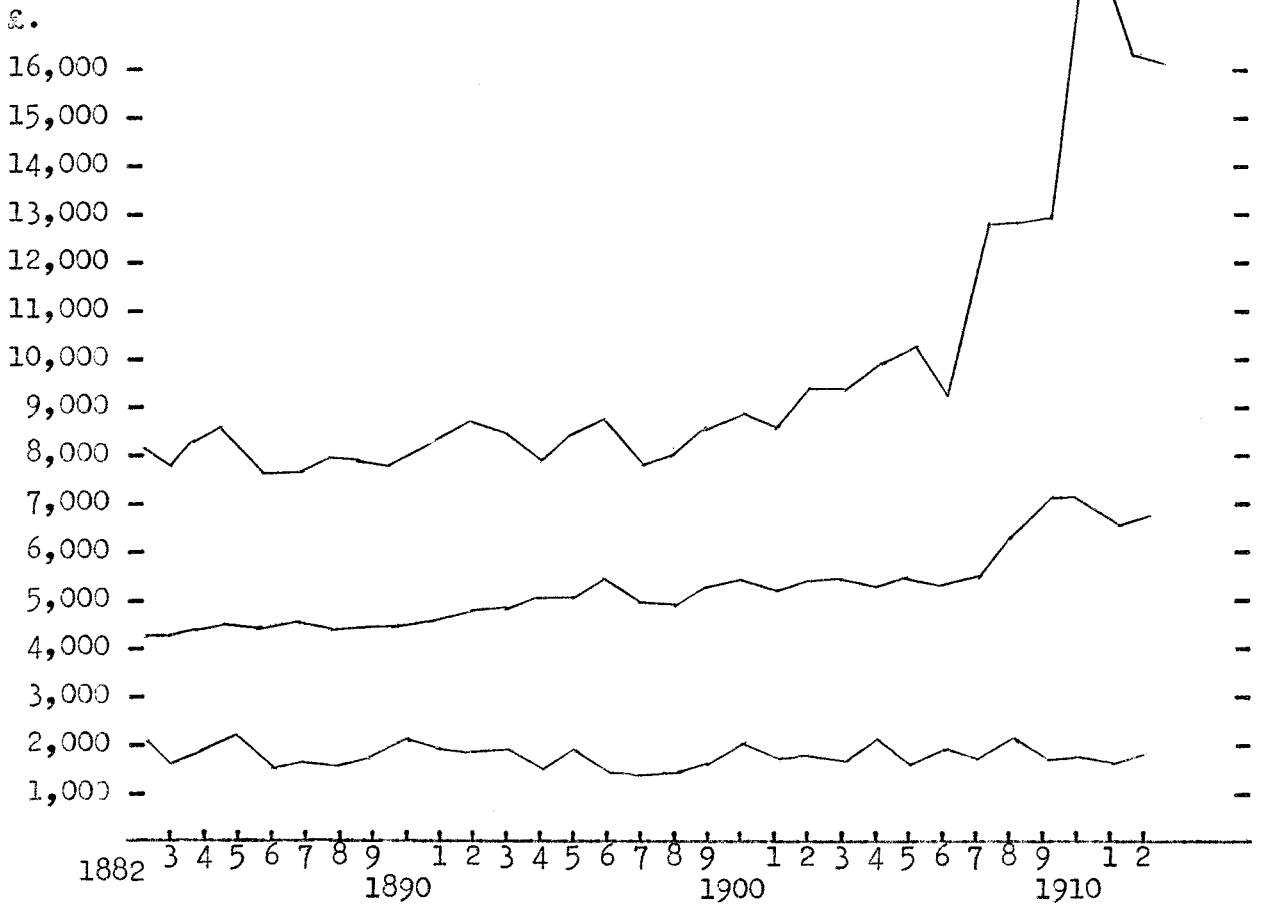
Although the Library's income increased from £7,999.8s.11d. in 1887 to £13,324.16s.9½d. in 1907, expenditure in the same period climbed from £7,645.15s. to £12,675.12s.1d. For the increase only resulted from grants for specific charges, not from increased endowments. The latter was Nicholson's goal, and his major financial achievement was in publicizing the Library's poverty. The first individual donation came in 1887 when All Souls was unable to contribute at all, and an anonymous member of that College gave £100 for old books. It was an open secret that the donor was the Warden himself, Sir William Anson, and the gift continued annually until 1900.⁸

Only after publication of the 'Needs of the University' in 1902 did people realize that the Bodleian was poorer than commonly thought, and so began a steady trickle of donations, including £100 from T.A. Brassey in 1903 for British colonial books, £500 from A. Beit and J. Wernher in 1904 for the same, and £500 for general purposes in 1905 from Vernon Watney. Sir John Fischer Williams, under the pseudonym 'Ex-Prize-Fellow', gave £1,000 in ten annual instalments from 1909 for foreign books; and Lord Rosebery provided £1,000 in 1909. Two unexpected bequests were revealed in 1910 - £2,000 from Reginald Cardwell, and £5,000 from Patrick Murphy of Newry; neither had any connection with the Bodleian.⁹

Expenditure.

If Nicholson had comparatively little influence over sources of income, he had far more over expenditure. Expenditure was broken down into: staff, fittings and house expenses, warming and lighting, printing and stationery, purchases, and binding. He was constantly attacked for extravagance on binding and stationery, while the largest expense, staff, accounted for 55%-60% of the budget. In 1886 Nicholson claimed that though annual staff costs had increased by £1,137 in five years, £337 of this was caused by the Curators raising the salaries of staff already in the Library in 1882. Nicholson had doubled the staff by appointing cheap boy labour. With temporary staff

EXPENDITURE ON STAFF AND PURCHASES.



This graph shows:

- Total annual expenditure (top line);
- Total annual expenditure on staff (middle line);
- Total annual expenditure on purchases, including printed books, manuscripts and coins (bottom line).

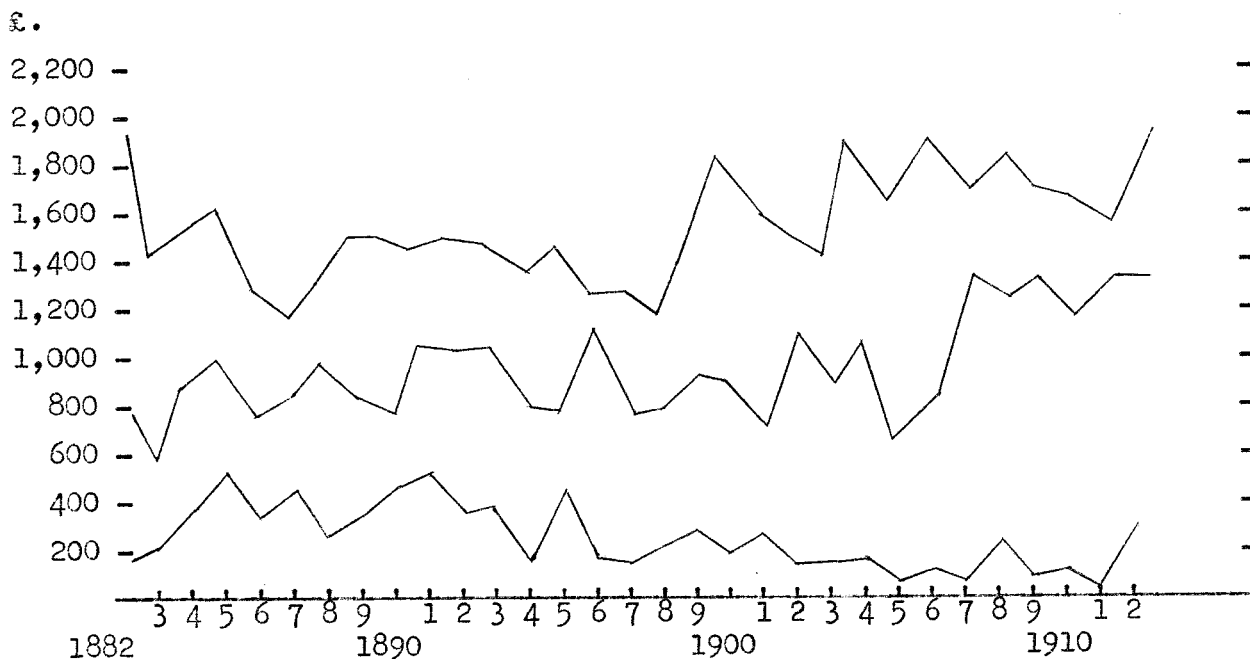
for cataloguing, far more work was done, and more cheaply, than was possible by the permanent staff. In 1885 35,395 catalogue slips were transcribed, compared to 9,547 in 1882. Special assistants were dismissed when the work was finished or money ran out.¹⁰

Pensions were a further problem. Nicholson qualified for £500 p.a. on retiring after 30 years' service, but as this would come from Library funds he intended to defer retirement as late as possible. He strongly opposed Macray's application for a pension in 1903 (after 63 years' service) and convinced the Curators. (Macray eventually retired in 1905 with a pension of £150 p.a. shared equally by the Bodleian, the Chest, and Magdalen College). Neubauer received £250 p.a. from 1900 until his death in 1907.¹¹

Binding charges were always undesirably heavy, varying annually from £700 to £1,050, often two-thirds of the amount spent on printed books, because Nicholson would bind many pamphlets, dissertations, and fragments separately. For several months in 1886 binding was stopped to save money, and again in 1901 and 1904 - but such measures only created future arrears. Printing and stationery costs soared because Nicholson liked printed forms and post-cards for every conceivable administrative purpose. His aim was efficiency, but unfortunately at the expense of economy.

As for books and manuscripts, enough was never spent on them. In any single year, Nicholson never exceeded the £1,943.2s.4d. spent in 1882. When Henry Pelham became President of Trinity College in 1898, the College reduced his salary (he was also Camden Professor of Ancient History) and donated £150 p.a. to the Bodleian. By Pelham's death in 1907, many manuscripts and incunabula had been bought, including the Bower MS., the York Gradual, and £100 of Sanskrit manuscripts. It brought disadvantages too - because Nicholson's book-buying methods were distrusted, the grant could only be used with the authority of the Standing Committee of Curators. Other Colleges gave small grants, especially for catalogue revision, and the Clarendon Press gave money for publishing catalogues, including the 'Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts.'¹² On manuscripts he never spent more than £500 in a year, and in the 1900's only twice paid over £200. This was his great failing - he pressed ahead with grandiose schemes, always assuming that second-hand books could be bought more cheaply later, and that manuscripts would return to the market. The increased sums for printed books during the 1900's (while expenditure on manuscripts was decreasing) was due mainly to Beit and Brassey.

EXPENDITURE ON PURCHASES AND BINDING.



This graph shows total annual expenditure on:

- Printed books (top line);
- Binding (middle line); and
- Manuscripts (bottom line).

Regular readers were horrified at the expanding administrative machinery, while purchases declined. The Curators exercised little direct control over expenditure, but when Nicholson forgot to apply for the renewal of a £250 grant in 1886, they appointed a Finance Committee. It had few powers - merely verifying accounts before the Curators' statutory meetings - but was the first serious attempt to limit the Librarian's financial authority.¹³

Nicholson was developing a rather haphazard way of purchasing books and manuscripts. Madan complained that he would buy worthless manuscripts as "a kind of spec" in case they turned out to be valuable, and then bid high prices for relatively useless manuscripts. Nevertheless Nicholson's 'speculations' did have one happy result - the St. Margaret's Gospel Book, bought for £6. Nicholson even kept 'rare' postage stamps:

"I have certain stamps of a S. American republic with an insurgent government surcharge which will some day perhaps fetch good prices for the benefit of the library."¹⁴

Public criticism.

During the lending dispute of 1887 an anonymous critic in the Oxford Magazine took the opportunity of attacking the Curators and the Librarian. He pointed out that the Library had an income of £7,600 but spent less than £1,000 on books and manuscripts, while £209 for 'house-expenses' and £93 for stationery was excessive (but the anonymous writer excluded the All Souls' grant of £300 for old printed books). Nicholson (and Madan) knew the critic to be Reginald Lane Poole, a reader. Nicholson challenged his assailant to reveal himself, but another correspondent showed that though the proportion spent on books was fluctuating at about 20% of total expenditure, it was not decreasing as heavily as implied.¹⁵

Nicholson never forgave Poole, and waited many years to take his revenge.¹⁶ Poole rightly pointed out areas where Nicholson overspent, but underestimated Nicholson's desire for work to be done well and permanently - e.g. cheap bindings soon wore out, and the detailed cataloguing was to prevent work from having to be repeated. This does not excuse Nicholson's extravagances, but he saw the Library's income as unlikely to increase, and wanted to utilize it in the most lasting way. He frowned on donations requiring much money for their upkeep.

Nicholson's discouragement of potential donors, however well meant, only upset their feelings. As Birkbeck Hill told Madan when he brought some autographs and was told to offer them to the Librarian: "He never seems to receive such things as though one were trying to do the Library any good turn. A splash of cold water is what one usually gets."¹⁷ In June 1888 the 'Memorial' to the Curators urged a reduction in binding, staff, and cataloguing expenses, and an increase in book purchases. A Curators' Committee reported that all possible economies were in hand, and that arrears must not accumulate. The 'Memorialists' renewed their attack in January 1890 but no useful result appeared, and binding and cataloguing became very sensitive issues.¹⁸

The Standing Committee.

The crisis over whether the Curators had any faith in the Librarian came to a head in June 1892 when Henry Pelham suggested a Standing Committee. Nicholson had not minded the Finance Committee, but he saw the new body as a threat to his independence. He launched several spirited protests, but the Curators approved the Committee by 5 votes to 4. The Committee's duties were to inspect staff diaries, sign cheques, and receive statements on petty cash and any extraordinary expenses. No expenditure of over £20 for a printed book or £30 for a manuscript was allowed without the Curators' consent.¹⁹

The reference to signing cheques resulted from an incident in 1891. Nicholson held it as a point of honour that the annual accounts should be ready for inspection on 1 January. He would pay outstanding bills from his own pocket and write himself a cheque from the Library. As was customary, a Curator's counter-signature was needed, but Bartholomew Price, to whom Nicholson first applied, refused without seeing the bills. Nicholson, too impatient to wait, sent the cheque to Ince, who signed without question. When Price found out, he thought Nicholson was trying to suppress something, and Nicholson's opponents saw fresh proof of his financial maladroitness, especially as Nicholson had not told Ince of Price's refusal. Nicholson was not trying to cover up anything, but his zeal outran his discretion.²⁰

As for 'extraordinary expenditure', Nicholson denied the implication of past recklessness, by claiming that in ten years he had only bought seven printed books for more than £20 each and only two volumes of manuscripts for over £30 each (the Anglo-Saxon charters and the Fairfax papers). Rare books could be bought at very low prices.²¹ Nicholson's appeals proved fruitless, and the Standing Committee has been a feature ever since; it soon interested itself in matters other than finance, such

as staffing. In December 1896 a disagreement between Nicholson and Anson, a Curator since 1894, over the purchase of a manuscript for £6.10s. without prior approval, led to Anson's proposal that the Standing Committee should report on any matter of expenditure to which the Librarian might wish to draw their attention; this was agreed by the Curators on 19 June 1897. Nicholson now had to be even more cautious.

In 1895 the Manuscript Reserve Fund was abolished. The Curators had decided in 1882 that £400 p.a. should be spent on manuscripts, but this figure varied from £140 to over £500. Madan always complained that Nicholson starved the manuscripts, but the Fund did not exist - each year an imaginary balance was carried forward. Nicholson argued that if he had spent the whole allowance, there would be a virtually continuous deficit on the general fund. By the end of 1894 the Manuscript Fund balance had reached £361, while the general fund balance stood at £271. Nicholson wanted this for binding maps, but this was impossible if £361 had to be carried forward for manuscripts. So the Curators resolved that £350 should be the normal annual expenditure, but the unspent balance would not be carried forward.²²

		£
Expenditure on manuscripts:	1882	191
(summary)	1885	457
	1890	472
	1895	428
	1900	186
	1905	67
	1910	112
	1911	41

Throughout the late 1890's, diminishing ⁿⁱdividends and interest (from £2,693.6s.11d. in 1895 to £1,764.11s.4d. in 1900), caused partly by losses after the reinvestment of certain stocks, threatened a deficit. Economies were enforced in August 1901 when Nicholson suspended many extra staff, reduced second-hand purchases, and delayed binding and shelving.

With a deficit of over £660 on the general fund in 1904, Nicholson applied in February 1905 to pay this off with the remainder of the Trinity College and other grants. The Standing Committee decided that economies should be made on staff, who had cost over £5,000 in 1904. Special work was reduced, if not stopped, at least until Neubauer's pension ended.²³

The tragedy of Nicholson's administration was that after his health deteriorated in 1907, he was incapable of controlling the more complex finances, yet believed he was still master. Heating, lighting and

shelving costs naturally increased with the Library's extensions, and in October 1910 Nicholson requested that the Curators apply to the Oxford University Endowment Fund for a further £750 p.a. He increased this figure to £1,000 on seeing the annual accounts. But the Standing Committee could make no firm recommendations; the Librarian was too ill to provide estimates of future expenditure.

They did find that all current expenses had increased, especially staff (from £6,285 in 1908 to £7,030 in 1909). For 1910 only £500 had been promised for catalogue revision, yet this actually cost £1,020.4s.1¹/₂d. Half of Cardwell's bequest of £2,000 was put into the Library's current account to offset serious financial difficulties, instead of being invested.²⁴

Throughout 1911 Nicholson rarely attended the Library, and Strickland Gibson looked after the accounts. The Curators appealed for help from the Hebdomadal Council, who found that the Library's regular income was £650 less than the normal expenditure, and recommended that the Library receive an extra £800 p.a. They insisted on firmer controls, and large donations were to be treated as capital, not income. Meanwhile, in June 1911 catalogue revision was only saved by Brassey's guarantee of £250, made while the revision staff were under threat of dismissal. Yet more committees met, but no firm economies were suggested before Nicholson's death. Ever afterwards, a Bodleian Committee found it impossible to reduce expenditure on staff and maintenance, and endorsed the need for an extra £700-£800 to increase purchases.²⁵

'Oxford's Poverty'.

Although the University provided such a large proportion of the Bodleian's funds, additional grants were received as a favour, not as a right. Good public relations, as Jowett realized, were essential if University members (and individual donors) were to feel satisfaction for their money: "My reason or one of my reasons," he wrote to Nicholson, "for desiring to make the Bodleian popular is the difficulty otherwise of getting the money necessary for its support." As University funds proved insufficient, Nicholson moved towards outright public appeals.²⁶

The impetus came, unexpectedly, from the death of Jowett in 1893. Balliol College appealed for endowment funds, and in the Daily News of 2nd October 1894 Philip Lyttleton Gell claimed that "what Balliol really needs - like some other Colleges in these days of reduced interest and agricultural depression - is a Pious Founder, able and willing to repeat in England the splendid munificence of American millionaires towards the Universities of the West."

Seizing his opportunity, Nicholson stormed in with a "magnificent indiscretion" to call attention to 'Oxford's poverty', and that of the Bodleian in particular.²⁷ He catalogued many woes, comparing their annual income of under £9,000 to the £65,000 which the British Museum received for the same purposes, and dwelling on All Souls' inability to pay their statutory £1,000 p.a.: "For the annual dusting of our books we have to import Proctors' servants (old soldiers, ex-watermen, etc.), because we have not hands enough of our own for the work. In former generations we were even worse manned than we are at present: sometimes, perhaps, owing to the poverty of the University, sometimes, I fear, from the ignorance of some who ought to have been zealous to supply them; and so immense arrears of cataloguing of manuscripts, printed books, music, maps, and prints have come down to us, to be wearily toiled at year after year because we are too few to work them off with reasonable speed."

£250 was needed for binding 20,000 maps, he continued, £600 for heating the Picture Gallery, £2,000 to "repair most of the barbarities" committed on the building, and so on: "Perhaps there is a certain feeling that it is undignified in a great University to beg, even for great objects. I have not the least doubt that even a letter written, like this, by a single official solely on his own responsibility will be censured by some. And I sympathize with such feelings. But there is one consideration which stands in my mind even before that of corporate or official dignity - it is the consideration of our means for doing good work which it was our mission to do, and which no one but ourselves can do."

Nicholson reprinted his letter and sent it to Gladstone and Lord Rosebery, among others. Gladstone replied sympathetically, but the total of Nicholson's efforts was nil. In December 1896 Nicholson decided on a re-issue and approached Gladstone for permission to quote the latter's encouraging letter of 1894. Gladstone had paid several visits to the Bodleian and once gave a long talk in the Bodleian on a book which interested him, "with as much earnestness as if he had been introducing an important measure in the House."²⁸

Gladstone replied that "In a case such as that of the Bodleian, I would put in use all the 'cheek' that I possess, and make a strong application to one man who if he gives at all may give a sum worth having." The name of the "one man" was never made public, but it is no surprise to find it was Andrew Carnegie, the American steel millionaire, who had donated large sums to Liberal Party funds.

In 1890 Gladstone had favourably reviewed Carnegie's famous essay on 'The Gospel of Wealth', in which fellow-millionaires were urged to donate funds to institutions for the public good, especially libraries.²⁹

Nicholson sent Gladstone a mass of statistical tables, adding:

"I should be only too glad to give him any further information he desired, and if he wished to have it viva voce I should be happy to go to him even in America."³⁰ Gladstone lost no time in approaching Carnegie: "Now, valuable and important as are the Local Libraries with which your connection is deservedly so famous, they are and must be mainly libraries of recreation. The Bodleian is eminently a Library of study and research, in an University which quickens & extends every year its store of intellectual life."

Carnegie was no lover of English (as opposed to Scottish) institutions, and was more interested in administering one million pounds sterling promised to Pittsburgh: "How little one knows of the real facts by cursory visits. The grand Bodleian Library impressed me as the result of untold wealth; it is so great; so much of a national institution, that I cannot but believe that you have only to make an appeal to the rich of England to meet with a surprising response."

Gladstone hastily assured Carnegie that he was not expecting as large a benefaction as for Pittsburgh, but "I remembered that the great ocean has small bays creeks and inlets, and I took it for granted that over and above or in conjunction with this mighty banquet there must of necessity be crumbs falling from your table." Gladstone later repeated his appeal, but Carnegie would not budge: "... we have all been trained to look upon Oxford & Cambridge as endowed 'beyond the dreams of avarice.'³¹

Nicholson tried William Astor and another millionaire, but both flatly refused. In 1897 the Drapers' Company gave £15,000 to the University for a new Radcliffe Science Library. As a newspaper confounded the Radcliffe Library with the Radcliffe Camera, Nicholson pointed out that the Bodleian was not the beneficiary. (Madan's opinion was that "Probably it would have come to us, if the Librn. had been a decent animal.")³²

Nicholson's statement was publicized in connection with a proposed memorial to Gladstone and led to Nicholson's pamphlet, 'Mr. Gladstone and the Bodleian.' In this he recounted Gladstone's interest and their unsuccessful approaches to millionaires. Nicholson reprinted his 'Oxford's poverty' letter and provided a historical sketch and comparative tables to show how badly off was the Bodleian. For 1894 Nicholson showed that the British Museum's income was £71,513.15s.11d., while the Bodleian had spent on the same items £7,951.19s.4d. What could be better, wrote

Nicholson, than a new Bodleian building, to be called the 'Gladstone'? Part of the Picture Gallery could be fitted up as the 'Gladstone' Reading Room, a worthy complement to 'Duke Humfrey'. But to no avail.³³

Carnegie was not completely given up, and in 1901 indirect approaches were made through a well-wisher, J. Foster-Howe. However much Madan deplored Nicholson's public appeals, he himself approached Carnegie in 1913, but Carnegie's reply gave no cause for hope: "One day Mr. Gladstone askt [*sic*] me if I would not giv [*sic*] £9000 to rebind certain books, but I told him that I had not sufficient presumption to do so. He seemed surprised, but I think I convinced him that the scholars and especially the wealthy men of Britain would resent the then young Scotch-American's presumption."³⁴

Cambridge University Library was equally poor. Its income in 1898 was £5,927, while expenditure was £6,708; by 1912 income had only increased to £7,887, and expenditure to £7,945.

The Tercentenary.

The Tercentenary of the opening of the Bodleian Library on 8th Nov. 1602 seemed the perfect opportunity to capture public attention. Why then was it such a great disaster both for the Bodleian and personally for Nicholson? For the appeal for funds was received with embarrassment rather than enthusiasm, and the attempt to extract funds, as Madan says, from Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, who received the degree of D.C.L., failed completely.³⁵

This anniversary had never been far from Nicholson's mind, and he had told J.Y.W. MacAlister that he would not accept the Presidency of the Library Association until 1902. But times changed. MacAlister had resigned as Secretary, and when his successor approached Nicholson on the subject, Nicholson immediately put him off, claiming insuperable difficulties. When at the end of 1901 Nicholson's health failed, he had to take a minor rôle in the Tercentenary preparations, and his convalescence in Germany further reduced his influence. The first positive action had been taken in 1899 by Ingram Bywater, who set out his idea to Sir William Anson: "If we decide on a Tercentenary, it would be a good moment for an appeal to old members of the University and others interested in the maintenance and well-being of Bodley. They might be asked to subscribe - either to an endowment-fund to increase its annual revenue; or to a building-fund, for the extension of the buildings ..."³⁶

The Curators consulted the Hebdomadal Council, and a Joint Committee was set up to appeal to the Colleges for money to cover expenses.

Invitations were to be issued to representatives of all leading British and foreign libraries, Universities, and literary societies. In 1901, a Delegacy of 12, including Nicholson, Bywater, and R.L. Poole, took over and, with Nicholson too ill to work, A.E. Cowley, the Junior Sublibrarian, became Secretary.³⁷

Nicholson's main task was supervising a memorial volume, the handsome 'Pietas Oxoniensis', mostly written by Macray and Cowley, while Madan compiled a list of Bodleian catalogues. Copies were strictly rationed to guests and favoured institutions; Nicholson failed to persuade the Curators to allow a reprint.³⁸ The opportunities for publicity were not wasted. Nicholson was besieged by requests from journals for information, and he ensured that the financial situation was not ignored. In this respect, T.H. Warren's article in the Times Literary Supplement was probably the best. MacAlister offered to devote a whole issue of the Library to the Bodleian, but Nicholson refused to break his silence in library journals.³⁹

The celebrations were to take place on 8th and 9th October, a month earlier than the real anniversary so that the Colleges, their undergraduates on vacation, could accommodate the 360 or so invited guests. Arrangements were smoothly carried out, but with one notable exception - at no time did anyone consider what part the Bodleian itself, the whole raison d'être of the Tercentenary, was to play.

On Wednesday 8th October a glittering reception was held in the new Ashmolean and University Galleries. Guests were full academic dress, and nearly 900 were said to be present. The main attraction was a display by A.J. Evans of his findings at Knossos - a fantastic collection, but totally irrelevant to the Bodleian.⁴⁰

For the following day a meeting of Congregation was arranged in the Sheldonian Theatre. Chaos reigned as congratulatory addresses and honorary degrees were bestowed haphazardly, while the whole proceedings were in Latin. The recipients of degrees included J.W. Clark, Francis Jenkinson, Ugo Balzani, Henri Omont, S.G. de Vries of Leiden, and G.F. Warner. There was one omission - Nicholson himself. "Dr. A.J. Butler", wrote Madan, "asked me yesterday 'Was the Librarian offended at having no degree given him?'" This may explain something, for no honour was done him. At the degree-giving he sat on a camp-stool in the Area! At the dinner only that weak Dr. Ince paid any compliment to him at all. No one else mentioned him."

Madan describes what happened next: "After the Degrees a large number of persons came up according to the programme to the Library,

but found nothing done for them - no historical exhibition, not a single MS. specially put out, and no plan for taking them round! This was incredibly bad, but worse remains. The Librarian in fact had made no preparation whatever, and calmly bolted off to lunch at the usual time. Not a word did he at any time vouchsafe to myself or Gibson ... about any special arrangements for either the day or the day before! I myself had been invited to lunch by a Curator [T.W. Jackson] and went off at 1:15, knowing that Gibson was left there as well as the Librarian."⁴¹

The Times was equally taken aback: "It was sublime, this Olympian indifference to an occasion unique in the annals of that institution. The world rushes on, it pushes and fusses and fidgets; Oxford alone remains calm and retains a majestic serenity even when it descends among the throng and invites the world to share its dignified festivities."⁴²

The guests had found Nicholson attending to his daily correspondence, refusing to show anyone around and without having prepared any special exhibitions. "But there is something odd about the Librarian's conduct," continued Madan, "which suggests mental softness or something. He can organize in his own way: but this time he did nothing of any kind, except oiling the woodwork and arranging the smaller pictures in a would-be chronological order! He neither did anything nor spoke a single word to Gibson or myself about special arrangements of presence or absence."⁴³

The Librarian indignantly denied negligence, claiming that no-one had known whether the degree-ceremony would finish in time before lunch: "I sat at my place where I cd. best be consulted, and was busy with the visitors almost all the time"; and as to opening the Bodleian only to guests: "to celebrate the opening of the Library by closing it to ordinary readers is a bright idea - and how cd. the visitors have been allowed to read?"⁴⁴

It would be unprofitable to blame any one party for the bad impressions which were made. Nicholson wanted to show the Library in its everyday condition - he was trying to attract funds to revive his flagging Library, not to vaunt its treasures (which would have required extra display cases). The strangest rôle was that of the Curators, who at no time issued special instructions. Madan repudiated Bywater's suggestion that he was equally to blame for deserting the Library at lunchtime. Madan had his own ideas on the celebrations (holding it in the summer of 1903, closing the Library, conducted tours, etc.), but he refused to co-operate and give his views to Nicholson.⁴⁵

But the Tercentenary was not yet over; in the evening a dinner was held in Christ Church. All the speeches were lengthy, most inaudible, and everyone agreed they were awful, especially that of the American Ambassador to Germany ("Perhaps it was to show us what Oxford will be like when, thanks to Cecil Rhodes, the graduates will be chiefly American", wrote J.E.C. Bodley). Edward Maunde Thompson told how he had once desired the post of Bodley's Librarian - but Nicholson was furious that Thompson uttered "not a syllable of personal commendation, nor one word on behalf of the wretched financial necessities of the Library - with which he was perfectly well acquainted. A half-jocose self-regarding speech in which a great opportunity for generosity was deliberately passed over."⁴⁶

Ince, on the other hand, unashamedly appealed to his audience to add their names to the roll of benefactors, while Nicholson's theme was that the Library was 'undermanned and undermonied', and if the Bodleian needed £ $\frac{1}{2}$ m., he said, he erred on the side of modesty. Nicholson was not at his best; barely audible, hesitant; Madan said he "prosed on, on and off the point, until actually mock-applause drowned the last part. People couldn't and wouldn't hear him, and he closed in confusion."⁴⁷ Proof that Nicholson had given some prior thought to the Tercentenary is incidentally shown by a scheme which he had of recording the speeches onto a phonograph. Unfortunately this had to be dropped when Edison-Bell told him the recordings could only be made in their studios.⁴⁸

The reviews of the celebrations were lukewarm, and nearly all criticized the lack of arrangements; the need for money was barely alluded to. For Madan, the episode was a chapter in his indictment of the Librarian, though others might wonder why Madan failed in his capacity as second-in-command. The Tercentenary Committee reported a balance of £103.2s.4d., and Convocation agreed that this be used to repair paintings in the Bodleian Picture Gallery.⁴⁹

The Oxford University Endowment Fund.

Moves had been under way to aid the University, and in February 1902 the Vice Chancellor, D.B. Monro, sought details from all University institutions and officers of their wants. Only after 'Statements of the needs of the University' were published in December 1902 could a future policy be worked out. Characteristically, Nicholson and the Curators delivered separate reports, disagreeing over the priority of each need. Nicholson's four most important wants were Fire-proof shutters, warming of the Picture Gallery, gradual increase of staff, and additional storage. The Curators' first priority was storage,

then staff, completion of the Catalogue, and increased funds for purchases, while Madan desired revision and printing of the Catalogue first, then more purchases and staff.⁵⁰

Critics were not far to be found. The Modern History Board, in a statement later suppressed, claimed that the "most serious obstacle to the prosecution of historical research in Oxford is the state of the Bodleian Library." Extra funds, they continued, were urgently needed for foreign books and periodicals, preferably chosen by specialists.⁵¹ Their strictures were not without foundation, and these complaints reached the ear of the wealthy Thomas Brassey, who in 1903 gave £100 for purchasing British Colonial literature, followed in 1904 by money from A. Beit and J. Wernher. 1905 saw a major need met, when G.H. Pope gave £400 for installing the electric light in the Radcliffe Camera (though of course this increased maintenance costs).

Though not the American millionaire Nicholson hoped for, T.A. Brassey, later 2nd Earl Brassey, had the means to realize three of Nicholson's greatest dreams: the Upper Reading Room, the underground bookstore, and revision of the Catalogue. The idea of endowing the University, and the Bodleian in particular, had started with Brassey's old tutor, A.L. Smith. 1904 saw Brassey's successful appeal for £50,000 for Balliol. Then in 1906 he drafted a circular (with help from Sir William Osler, the Vice-Chancellor, Anson, and others), 'The needs of Oxford University', which called for £250,000. He drew attention to the University's finances (a deficit in 1903 of £5,991.11s.1d., and a balance in 1905 of only £5.17s.6d.), and said that the Bodleian needed £50,000, of which £20,000 would be for books. An Oxford University Endowment Fund was set up, and Trustees were appointed.⁵²

The Fund was taken over by Lord Curzon, the new Chancellor, and the Vice-Chancellor, T.H. Warren, who launched their appeal in the Times of 2nd May 1907 by inviting interested persons to a public meeting in London. Thomas Case, President of Corpus Christi, in a letter to the Times, doubted whether all the 'needs' were really desirable, but Nicholson pleaded again the poverty of the Bodleian:

"I once pointed out that the gift of half a million would only raise the income of this library - the second largest in the Empire, the sixth largest in the world - to that of Manchester free libraries, or to one-third that of the library departments of the British Museum in Bloomsbury. Yet it is only a quarter of a million which is at present being solicited for the entire needs of the University, and if that sum were obtained the University's total income - as distinct from those

of the colleges - would still be far below the total income of the Bloomsbury institution!"

He continued: "I have sometimes thought that, if 'Ex Oriente lux', we might find 'Ex Occidente lucrum', and have imagined that some day the Chancellor might receive such a letter as this ...", and he proceeded to draft a form of letter for American millionaires to use in endowing the University.⁵³ Madan was incensed by Nicholson's 'shamelessness', but after the public meeting Curzon had received promises of £60,000 (including £10,000 each from Brassey and Astor). The Trustees had already approved £2,000 for the Upper Reading Room, and Nicholson was told to "go ahead".⁵⁴

The sudden rise in donations proved an embarrassment to Nicholson. For years he had been making himself ill with anxiety over Library work, and the more money that was received, the more work Nicholson set himself. In December 1909, despite a crisis over the bookstore, Brassey was still determined to pay for everything, but, as he told Anson, "one wants to see the money well spent at the Bodleian & with a clearly defined policy." Yet this was impossible during Nicholson's illness.⁵⁵

Brassey died in 1919; "had he lived," said A.L. Smith, "he would have been a second Founder to the Bodleian, ranking next to Sir Thomas Bodley himself." In fact he gave £10,892, and his benefactions, which vindicated Nicholson's appeals, deserve to be itemised:

	£	
1903	100	for British Colonial works
1908	200	Catalogue revision and modern history
"	2,074	Upper Reading Room
1913-20	3,000	Catalogue revision
1914	218	for rolling bookstacks
1920	5,000	bequest
"	300	gift via Endowment Fund

Altogether, the Oxford University Endowment Fund gave £24,000.⁵⁶

After Nicholson's death, Madan set about reducing the Library's expenditure. Binding was cut and detailed cataloguing reduced, while the War meant fewer foreign purchases. A Committee on Economies had to admit that few genuine savings were feasible. Madan now launched an appeal, though only £1,400 was raised before the War. The Curators investigated the finances in 1913-14, but found no evidence of reckless or improper expenditure following Nicholson's administration. Indeed,

the tables had turned, for when a Finance Committee in 1915 proposed to throw out 'rubbish' (i.e. ephemera) collected by Nicholson, Madan sprang to his defence. Similarly, when Madan recommended that binding, purchases, and cataloguing would have to be reduced, he made it quite clear to the Curators what Nicholson had always maintained - that such reductions only created future arrears.⁵⁷

If Nicholson was not a successful financial administrator, he was not entirely to blame. The Bodleian was in a financial strait-jacket, and Nicholson had to identify those areas where money could be spent most profitably. He was not oblivious to criticism, and could exercise stringent, if reluctant, economies. His major success was in complaining so frequently about the University's parsimony as to encourage individual donors, especially Brassey. The Tercentenary fiasco, though it helped Nicholson's appeals indirectly, is more important for showing his state of health after his first serious breakdown. Nicholson's great failure was in not realizing his declining power to organize and consequent inability from 1910 onwards to keep an adequate check on expenditure.

Nicholson was a born general, and his Bodleian 'Staff-Kalendar' shows his skill in deploying his troops and ensuring that their duties and behaviour accorded with his own wishes. But Nicholson's first problem was to build up an efficient staff.

He entered the Bodleian in 1882 to find a staff of 18: himself, two Sublibrarians, two janitors, and a variety of Assistants aged from 30 to 60, of whom only Macray was a graduate (and he only worked three days per week). The Assistants were dull and plodding, headed by H.S. Harper, "capable of inconceivable vanity" according to Madan, and W.H. Allnutt, "not bright or responsive to a call to energy." The quality of their work did not greatly improve. Nicholson had to galvanize life and new blood into his inadequate staff to accomplish the increased work which he demanded, and it is some measure of his achievement that in 1911 there were 56 members of staff, of whom 17 were temporary and 13 were boys.¹

The Sublibrarians.

Nicholson generally left the Sublibrarians to their own work. Adolf Neubauer, the Senior, was in charge of the Oriental department, but his eyesight and mental capability declined during the 1890's. "Thurland and I remember how he used to go fast asleep in the Oriental room", recalled Madan. "He was very cosmopolitan and very capable, but had a hard nature, & hated Nicholson." Nicholson attempted to remove Neubauer in 1895 when he found that, though Neubauer had been preparing the second volume of the Hebrew catalogue for seven years, only one manuscript had been catalogued.² In December 1895 A.E. Cowley was appointed as Neubauer's Assistant, and on Neubauer's retirement in December 1899 he became Junior Sublibrarian, while Madan became Senior Sublibrarian. After 1890, Madan's work was entirely concerned with the cataloguing of manuscripts.

Neubauer's salary only reached £500 because his friends wished to compensate him for missing the Librarianship, while Madan received the statutory maximum of £400 per annum from 1883 until 1908, when it rose to £500.³ This was a sore point during the Librarian's illnesses. "I need hardly record," wrote Madan after Nicholson's first serious illness, "that the Curators did not think my work as acting Librarian for 2 months as deserving of any recognition. We are unprofitable servants."⁴

A long-standing grievance between Nicholson and Madan was the question of annual holidays. Both were entitled by statute to

70 days, increased to 79 in 1890.⁵ Nicholson always took from the end of July to the beginning of September, when his children were on vacation. But Madan too had children, and because two of the three senior officers must always be in the Bodleian, he could not take holidays while Nicholson was away. In March 1890 Nicholson decided to go away during Easter. Madan, whose philosophy was ruled by precedence, protested at the short notice, but Nicholson was adamant:

"The Librarian ought to have first choice of holidays not merely as a matter of official precedence," he told Madan, "but because he has to go through incalculably more wear and tear than a Sublibrarian, and because during at least 7 months in the year pressure from which a Sublibrarian is entirely free makes holidays almost impossible to the Librarian...."

Madan reluctantly gave way, but commented: "I regard him as hardly accountable for his actions." Nicholson advised Madan to look at the Absence Book more often, and on 19 Dec. 1890 Madan found that Nicholson had already reserved ten weeks' holidays in 1891. In 1898 Nicholson even thought of giving up 30 days of his leave, but Madan told him he would oppose such a move, presumably on the grounds of precedent.⁶

The solution was to change the statutes, but a compromise was difficult. Nicholson wanted the power to nominate a graduate Assistant (i.e. G.W. Wheeler, the only M.A. Assistant) to act as temporary Sublibrarian during the absence of two Senior officers. Cowley was not yet on the permanent staff and so ineligible, though in 1896 Madan gleefully reported that Cowley had once been in charge while the Librarian attended a meeting: "So 4-5 Cowley was alone, in charge of the Library - a very important point, if there ever comes any denial of his right to be so from the lunatic."⁷

Madan favoured a Superintendent of the Radcliffe Camera, with power to act as Sublibrarian. Nicholson too had wanted this, but the Curators had turned it down - Nicholson told this to Madan, but he merely thought Nicholson was unwilling to listen to suggestions from others.⁸ The position of Superintendent was eventually created in December 1900 - but naturally Madan opposed the post, saying that the salary (£165) was insufficient and that no duties were specified. Wheeler was the first Superintendent. In March 1901 Nicholson was allowed to nominate any suitable M.A. Assistant to be a temporary Sublibrarian, though some Curators regretted that Nicholson should be given extra powers.⁹

The Assistants.

Both Nicholson and Madan realized that well-qualified Assistants would only be recruited if prospects were good; but whereas Nicholson blamed the financial situation for losing good Assistants, Madan always blamed the Librarian. It is true that Nicholson turned down E.G. Duff and C.E. Sayle for permanent work, but the Assistants' statutory maximum salary remained £200 per annum. Nicholson employed new staff during lean times only if they offered special qualifications - especially in Oriental languages. On the other hand, he would never encourage staff to stay against their best interests, and in this way spread his influence to other libraries.¹⁰

Nicholson solved part of his staff problems by recruiting extra staff for temporary work, and boys for routine fetching and carrying, and simple cataloguing. This relieved the permanent Assistants, but they still had to supervise the boys. In 1885 Nicholson requested two more Assistants, and with the opening of the Camera Gallery, a Superintendent for the whole Camera was suggested. The Curators decided that the finances would not warrant this, though they agreed that the best boy be promoted Assistant at £60 per annum. Nicholson insisted that any such Assistant must have passed Responsions.¹¹

In 1895 Nicholson reported that the salaries of the 11 Assistants ranged from £60 per annum (Strickland Gibson, just appointed) to £200 (Macray, Parker, and Timberlake) and that none had any likelihood of advancement. According to H.A. Wilson, Nicholson thought salaries would be unlikely to rise until Macray resigned, but Wilson added that it was "Difficult to get anything out of him beyond clouds of disconnected figures, and defences of himself." Nicholson knew the Curators were hostile to increasing the staff, especially the boys.¹²

The lack of prospects encouraged Nicholson to give overtime, though this was not always to their benefit. H.J. Shuffrey broke down in 1888 under the strain, and when F.S. Lewis left, Nicholson wrote: "I have felt that at one time, when you were doing your best to help me with that deluge of dissertations, I was wont to ask too much of you. Forgive me, and believe me that I did not mean to 'overwork a willing horse', but that my fault lay in not realizing the strain I was putting on you."¹³

Nicholson expected his staff to work as hard as he. He was not dictatorial, but, being a man of principle, refused to overlook minor transgressions. He made it clear if he thought an Assistant was not working satisfactorily, as in 1894 with Knowles, who replaced books on

the shelves. Knowles resigned, believing the Librarian had a grudge against him, and told Madan that Nicholson "wouldn't hurt an insect but likes to crush a man." This was partly true in that Nicholson expected all work to be carried out according to his way.¹⁴

Nicholson's attitude is best shown in the affair of W.H. Allnutt. Nicholson had long suspected Allnutt of shirking duties, and when Knowles' job had been shared amongst the other staff, Allnutt had protested that it was 'infra dig'.¹⁵ The climax came on 8th July 1896 when Allnutt was missed from the Camera. Nicholson caught him on his return from a local tavern and ordered him to resign. Allnutt explained that he "went on into the Town and partook of what is practically a medicine ordered me by my doctor, Mr. Symonds, under whose treatment I have been, with considerable benefit, for the past twelve months. I then returned to the Library, was immediately seized upon by the Librarian, severely cross-questioned and eventually threatened with summary dismissal."

Nicholson refused to allow Allnutt to withdraw his resignation. Madan thought Nicholson's action cruel and heartless, but Nicholson believed that the "cessation of a payment of £200 a year to an idle man will be a great gain to the Library, and I see no sign that it is a cause of regret to the staff." So ended 32 years of service.¹⁶

Timberlake had often cut his hours of duty and falsified his work diaries. Finally, in 1905, Nicholson timed Timberlake's arrivals and departures for a month. "It may be said," Nicholson told the Curators, "that he is entitled to 3 minutes grace each time he comes in or goes out, for ascending or descending the stairs, hanging up his coat, &c... I do not allow that. Six hours work means six hours work, interrupted only by such necessities as that of washing the hands." The Curators preferred to transfer him to the extra staff at 1/4d per hour. Madan's private opinion was that a detective as chief librarian was undesirable - though he himself had been noting Nicholson's times for two decades.¹⁷

With the publication of 'Statements of the needs of the University' in December 1902, the opportunity to plead for more staff was not lost. The Curators modestly desired a third Sublibrarian and two or three additional Assistants, but Nicholson wanted more, and lamented the pressure on the existing staff:

"The most valuable of the younger assistants, on whom the Librarian specially relies for help, are in a continual state of overdrive, which they may be too young as yet to feel the effects of, but which must be rapidly using up their reserves. As to the Librarian, after

very serious and long-lasting affections of health ['a few colds and chills' was Madan's sarcastic comment] beginning in his 1st, and 8th, years of office, he broke down in his 20th, and has still much further recovery to make."¹⁸

Nicholson desired a third Sublibrarian for Oriental cataloguing; three Assistant Sublibrarians - for cataloguing Greek papyri and manuscripts, and Chinese and Japanese books; and five new Assistants for such work as correcting W.H. Turner's calendar of charters (described by Nicholson as "a laughing-stock"), superintending journals, and arranging maps and coins. Above all were needed trained cataloguers of mediæval manuscripts.¹⁹

Nicholson accurately pin-pointed where the existing staff was weak, but would not admit that, for instance, the treatment of coins or charters or papyri was anything less than essential. They were arrears, and current work was more pressing. Nicholson tried to make himself a jack-of-all-trades and expected a correspondingly all-embracing staff.

Nicholson unhesitatingly warned that "the funds of the library allow us no younger men to train, and for such catalogues of our manuscripts as there ought to be the world must wait to a period which may apparently be centuries hence."²⁰ Shrewdly he realized that the future lay with recruiting more well-educated boys and women - cheap labour, but capable of being moulded to Nicholson's specifications. In 1904 Magdalen College promised £500 over two years, which Nicholson used to employ graduates at 1/6d per hour for cataloguing mainly Oriental manuscripts. For this he was fortunate to find exceptional graduates such as T. Gambier Parry and E.O. Winstedt, but many others were unsuited or unwilling to be permanent Assistants. When, in 1905-6, Macray retired, C.J. Purnell resigned, and G. Parker died, Nicholson had difficulty both in replacing them and finding graduates for Oriental work.²¹

The Extra Staff.

The use of temporary extra staff was Nicholson's main method of tackling non-essential work beyond the competence of the normal staff. £350 was paid to Edward Edwards in 1882-3 for his work on the Carte Papers, but this sum was exceptionally large. Most extra staff worked for a few weeks each year, earning from 1/6d to 2/6d per hour. In June 1882 Nicholson employed assistants to sort catalogue slips and classify for the subject catalogue, though he only accepted Oxford graduates or undergraduates. He believed that librarians, even assistants, should have a University education, a view opposed by his

contemporaries, such as Henry Bradshaw, who believed that readers would be shy of assistants in cap and gown.²²

The special work depended on the availability of staff and finance. Some catalogues took decades to compile - Dr. Ethé, who had been cataloguing the Persian manuscripts since 1871, disappeared for ten years and had still not finished in 1914, while money ran out for Winternitz' Catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts in 1897. E.G. Duff catalogued early printed books, and was succeeded by R.G.C. Proctor thanks to a Common University Fund grant for arrears. Small sums were paid to C.W.C. Oman for arranging coins.²³

Nicholson exercised total control over them, (the 'Librarian's private army') and this probably induced Pelham to demand a termly (amended to 'annual') report on the special assistants. The first, in February 1895, noted 18 such staff, of whom five offered their services gratuitously. Throughout the 1890's, the extra staff cost from £20 to £160 per annum, far less than the salary of a permanent Assistant.²⁴

From 1908 T.A. Brassey guaranteed funds for catalogue revisers, but they were liable to dismissal if funds diminished. This uncertainty obviously meant a high turnover rate, and inconvenience was caused by Gibson having to train fresh staff. Despite this, large amounts of cataloguing were possible, without which the printed catalogue of 1920 would have been further delayed.

The employment of women.

Nicholson vigorously supported women's rights, and one of his last major achievements was their permanent acceptance in the Bodleian. Women had long worked in American libraries, but in Britain opinion agreed with Robert Harrison, who told the Library Association that women had no place in library management. Nicholson was not so blinkered; in 1897 he told a group of American librarians that if, in 100 years' time, he was told of the appointment of a female Bodley's Librarian, he would reply: "I am sure she will amply justify her appointment."²⁵

Women readers had been tolerated in the Bodleian since 1874. Throughout the 1880's several of George Parker's daughters transcribed catalogue slips, as, at various times, did Nicholson's daughters. During the 1890's several ladies, who had all taken degree courses, calendared charters and listed early books. Nicholson instituted a scheme of 'library pupils', but ran into trouble with the Curators. They allowed an American, Mary Petherbridge, later organizer of the Library Bureau, and Charles Stainer to be unpaid 'voluntary assistants' for one year. Nicholson devoted much time to Miss Petherbridge, whom Neubauer called the 'turtledove'; Madan often found them "billing and cooing".²⁶

In May 1895 the Curators objected to another pupil, Lillian Yates, and Nicholson had to cancel her appointment and send away Stainer. The Curators eventually allowed Miss Yates, but refused him leave to take on Edith Guest.²⁷ Defiantly, Nicholson admitted Miss Guest as his private pupil to compile a handlist of Gough manuscripts, inside which he noted that the "paper and binding of her work, which I give to the Library, were paid for by me."²⁸ In 1898 the Curators, on a division, accepted Miss Ross as a 'pupil', but pressure of other work meant that Nicholson soon had to drop this idea.²⁹

In 1907, faced with a dearth of male Assistants prepared to work at the low rates of pay, Nicholson recruited two female cataloguers at 1/- to 1/6d. per hour, and by 1910 their number had increased to 7. They all, Nicholson insisted, had to know French, German and Latin, and Greek accents. The best cataloguer was Frances Underhill, and on 7 May 1910 Nicholson recommended her to the Curators to be a permanent Assistant at £145 per annum. He expected prejudiced opposition and was not disappointed; Oxford still denied degrees to women, though they could take the examinations. As Nicholson explained, since the Civil Service and military, clerical, and legal professions were closed to them, librarianship was one of the few open fields. No other national library had thought of employing female assistants. "It is my own persistence," Nicholson told the Curators, "in raising and maintaining the standard of the staff's scholarship and ability that makes any difficulty at all, and I feel that I am entitled to all the support the Curators can give me."³⁰

The Curators referred the matter to the inevitable Committee. "My fears were well grounded", Nicholson wrote to Sir William Osler. "No one actually opposed the nomination on its merits, and [Gilbert] Murray did all he could. But Wilson questioned the power of the Curators to appoint a woman - because the statute only says ministri: to which I answered that a Latin masculine plural notoriously included the feminine. It was suggested that the Curators might obtain a decree - but I object to a decree giving power to do what we have already the right to do. And it was questioned whether I should have stipulated with Miss Underhill that she should resign on marriage. If I had not done so, it would infallibly have been urged that the liability of women to bear children would make it impossible for them to fulfil fully and regularly the duties of Assistants!"³¹

The Committee took the unusual step of interviewing the senior staff. Madan of course opposed any innovation not sanctioned by Sir Thomas Bodley,

and he and Cowley protested against this "contemplated departure from tradition." Naturally Nicholson could not allow his subordinates to issue a report without returning their fire. Madan and Cowley contended that women could never do certain duties - such as ascending ladders, delivering messages to men's colleges, or controlling Bodleian boys (which Nicholson denied). Above all, they said, women could not enter certain parts of the Library, a reason which baffled Nicholson unless it was connected with the presence of male staff, "but even then I should say that under the conditions of social communication which have been universally acquiesced in this country for many years past - say from the adoption of the bicycle for women - such an objection would have no appreciable force." Madan revived the case of one of G. Parker's daughters who had received an unexpected proposition from a male reader in Duke Humfrey; but as this had happened in 1888, no one thought much of Madan's fears of a recurrence.³²

The Curators deferred matters until after the Long Vacation, much to Madan's relief, who grumbled: "It is I am sorry to say a put-up job between the Librn. and the V.C. [T.H. Warren]. The former states that the Library cant wait till October for a new assistant!! This is moonshine, of course. Cowley & I can carry it on, and the Librn. is away Aug 15 - Oct 8 (closed Oct. 1-8). The V.C. goes out of office in Oct., and so consents to rush it through with only 40 hours notice!" On 29 October 1910 Nicholson's nomination was approved by 5 votes to 4. The Curators opposed were W.H. Hutton, H.A. Wilson, H. Goudy, and Sir William Anson. Under Madan, Miss Underhill succeeded Gibson as Superintendent of catalogue revision.³³

The boys.

Nicholson's most contentious reform was the introduction of boys. Their use was not new - four Assistants, including Macray, had entered the Bodleian at the ages of 14 to 16 - but Nicholson had employed boys at the London Institution and was impressed by their potential and cheapness. Nicholson announced his plan in December 1882, and the Curators agreed to recruit six at 10/- per week. Discipline was strict, and transgressors were summarily dealt with. For tearing crests off letters, for instance, Gribble was sacked because "the possibility of employing boys at all in the Bodleian depends on the certainty felt by them that every act of the kind will be followed by dismissal."³⁴

Two classes of boys were established - the lower grade did mechanical jobs such as pasting, while the upper class, or under-assistants, dealt with readers' orders, and catalogued and handlisted Copyright

accessions, foliated manuscripts, and performed other duties. Progression to the higher grade depended on a knowledge of Latin and French, and the best under-assistants could be promoted to Assistants at £60 per annum. A strict code of rules was enforced, which in 1904 occupied 15 pages of the 'Staff-Kalendar'. Behaviour was generally good, but as their number increased (to 14 in 1911), Nicholson could no longer control them as firmly as desirable, and Madan simply refused to.

Nicholson's strong discipline was taken to extreme lengths in certain cases. When the brother of a boy, S.C. Cole, was convicted of stealing books from Balliol, Nicholson had no hesitation in dismissing the innocent Bodleian boy, but did his best to find him another job. Nicholson strongly believed in hereditary evil, as he told a magistrate when C.A. Player was imprisoned for stealing books. Nicholson had known that Player's father was an embezzler, but had accepted Player's honest face. But even Player acknowledged that he had "received exceptional kindnesses and consideration from you in the past."³⁵ Another boy was dismissed after "dangerous attacks of constipation". He also suffered from a heart complaint, and Nicholson paid for him to see a doctor and taught him the exercises which he himself used.³⁶

One of Nicholson's difficulties was in keeping a sense of proportion. After a Bodleian boy had been drowned in the Cherwell, Nicholson insisted that all the boys should swim: a reasonable precaution, but in the case of Bayliss he refused to promote him unless he could swim. The Curators had already agreed to raise him to £1 per week. "This is insanity coupled with injustice", stormed Madan. "The Librn. has no right to couple such a condition with the increase of salary."

Nicholson had told Bayliss he was unsuited for library work and was encouraging him to find another job. Madan prepared a petition against alleged invasion of privacy, but Bywater advised caution, and a week later Nicholson agreed to pay Bayliss one guinea per week if his work was satisfactory. "Very good," thought Madan; "the fits of insanity are only temporary at present: but he has not acknowledged that he has no right to affix such conditions." Another Bodleian boy, R.A.C. Heslop, drowned in July 1890.³⁷

Nicholson was genuinely concerned with his boys' welfare, even if people did laugh at his instructions to keep a spare pair of boots (but not shoes) in case of rain. When a promising boy, Palmer, died in 1888, Nicholson instituted the annual Walter Palmer Prize for the best boy of the year. The winner could choose two guineas' worth of books, provided they were Liddell and Scott's 'Greek lexicon' and Lewis and Short's 'Latin dictionary': Nicholson never forgot his aim

of encouraging the boys to study for an University degree.³⁸ Nor did he forget that they were entitled to the same courtesy they should show to readers: if a reader forgets to fill out an order-slip, then tell him to, said Nicholson; and if a reader talks out loud to no-one in particular while standing at the Catalogue (a reference to the noisy habits of Professor J.E. Thorold Rogers), then ignore him till he does things properly.³⁹

Nicholson's basic idea was to make the Bodleian a training-ground. "I have been meditating the details of a regular system of education for the boys, which I shall start as soon as possible," he wrote to Madan, while on holiday in 1883.⁴⁰ He began to teach them all kinds of elementary subjects after the Bodleian was shut and even on closed days. His system "enabled him to cultivate in the under-assistants sympathy with many kinds of knowledge, strict regard for accuracy and method, and courage to attack the most difficult kinds of work; it gave him a more accurate gauge of their individual capacities, and of their characters; and it helped them, he hopes, to feel that there was a common bond of personal sympathy and official duty amongst themselves and between each and him." Nevertheless, pressure of work forced him to abandon the scheme, and the boys spent their free hours working overtime instead.⁴¹

The whole idea of boy-labour was not without its critics. In November 1885 Nicholson appealed to the Curators for more boys, and reported on the success of the system, and on the arrears being dealt with. The irrepressible Henry Chandler strongly disapproved. The Library might be "undermanned", he said, but "it is considerably overboyed." Chandler believed that the Library should be run by scholars for scholars, and he deplored that Nicholson "turns himself for I know not how many hours into a schoolmaster." The system must soon collapse, he was convinced: "We want a system which will work with the average librarian; we do not want a system which can only be worked, if at all, by an altogether exceptional man." The Curators decided not to interfere, and two more boys were approved.⁴²

The bitterest critic was inevitably Madan, who chronicled their shortcomings and then blamed Nicholson. "The boys are left in the public rooms (but with no orders not to leave them, as I judge from meeting them elsewhere) after the Library is closed at 3 p.m., when the Librarian is for instance in the Coin Room: Allnutt & Parker have no instructions to look after them. I emphatically declare that they are in general not properly looked after." Of course the boys misbehaved

if not under surveillance, but Nicholson punished persistent offenders. Madan refused to interfere - the system was bad in his opinion, and it was no good complaining of individual cases.⁴³

Some misdeeds were serious, as when a boy accidentally left an incunabulum (Douce 96) in a bucket of water for two days;⁴⁴ but the Wallingford deed affair nearly provoked a crisis. This Bodleian deed had been 'borrowed' from a pile of uncalendared documents by the lavatory. Investigations revealed that other boys occasionally borrowed books, especially from the Camera where Nicholson's supervision was not so strict. Madan blamed the Librarian for tempting the boys by leaving uncatalogued material around, and by allowing unhindered access to the Library's private rooms. No official comment was made by the Curators. One year later, when questions were asked in Convocation about the state of the Library, they expressed full satisfaction in the system of boys and acknowledged only this one serious case of misconduct. Bywater dissented and hinted darkly at other serious breaches of discipline.⁴⁵

The most serious misdemeanour concerned the theft by Herbert Dann of 37 Mather tracts and other books, discovered at the Visitation of November 1891. Following Mowat's criticism of the number of unverified volumes, the theft of books worth £100 came at a particularly embarrassing moment. The police circulated a list, but Nicholson refused to let it be known that the books had been stolen from the Bodleian. Henry N. Stevens sent one Mather tract 'on approval'; it was not a stolen copy, so Nicholson returned it without explanation. After a visit from a detective, Stevens accused Nicholson of gross discourtesy in not admitting that the Bodleian had lost books: "Unless you can offer us a satisfactory explanation or apology," he wrote to Nicholson, "we propose to consult with some prominent members of the trade and make this scandal public at the same time asking in some literary organ how it is that books can be stolen from Bodley's over so long a period without their loss being discovered owing no doubt to the laxity of supervision of the party or parties responsible whoever they may be."

Nicholson immediately threatened counter-action, and Stevens apologized but would conduct no more business with the Bodleian until 1912. The correspondence was only kept out of the Bookseller by the intervention of Richard Garnett.⁴⁶

Meanwhile, Nicholson suspected Dann, dismissed in April for unpunctuality, and sent an anonymous letter telling him he had been found out. Nicholson recovered the books, but Dann himself was

believed to be bound for Australia. Nicholson spent three days at London docks, much to Madan's fury. "Damn tried", he grumbled. "The Librn. seems to be playing the part of the Satanic Detective in London to try and catch him."⁴⁷ Once again Madan blamed Nicholson for allowing books to be accessible: "... it will be a shame if the boy and his family are ruined because the Librn. places temptations in the boys' way." Dann was caught and sentenced to one month's imprisonment. Nicholson tightened the regulations and introduced a new form of guarantee to be signed by the boys' parents. He offered to stand surety of £1,000 for the boys collectively, but this the Curators declined.⁴⁸

The Dann affair encouraged W.H. Hutton to explore further iniquities, and on 1 April 1892 Madan showed him round the Library, pointing out uncatalogued books. Hutton inspected 16 Zola's and found them well-thumbed, yet only three had been ordered by readers. In his printed report he criticized Nicholson for keeping such books in an accessible place. In addition, uncatalogued and unstamped books were near the lavatory, an obvious temptation. Nicholson explained that he left such minor arrears there for the boys to tackle if they had nothing better to do and so that they could constantly see what work was left. As for the Zola's, he doubted whether the boys read them, though he did suspect the Camera Assistants.⁴⁹

Hutton's report supplemented the investigations of a Curators' Committee into the boys. Their decisions were delayed until October, by which time Nicholson had countered with several papers, giving a full account of how successful and cheap the system had been and how arrears were building up because he could not replace two boys until the Curators agreed. He detailed the arrears, which hardly impressed Madan: "Of course a man who cannot organize easily falls into arrears, and gladly complains of lack of boys. The point is that the boys are not looked after well enough. There are plenty in number, but undisciplined."⁵⁰

The Curators were divided, and at a meeting on 29 October, opposing motions were defeated. The Mowat, A. Clark, and Bywater faction had resolved to make a public attack on the Librarian, but this failed. At the next meeting, the minimum age limit of the boys was set at 14, and the Librarian was asked to secure a clearer division of labour.⁵¹ In 1898 the Curators allowed two 13-year-old boys to be employed, as also in 1900. In 1908 they agreed to pay 12/- per week to those boys who could translate easy French and Latin on sight.⁵²

No further attempts were made to 'reform' the system. Madan would do nothing to improve defects, but merely continued his niggling complaints. The boy system worked well enough until Nicholson's illnesses, when he refused to allow Madan to replace boys and could not enforce discipline. Some assistants disliked the boys, but the work on arrears and catalogue revision would not have been possible if the Assistants had not been relieved of routine fetching and cataloguing.⁵³

The 'Staff-Kalendar'.

Nicholson's staff-administration is best remembered for the 'Staff-Kalendar' and its Supplements, issued annually from 1902. This pocket-sized diary was really a manual to remind staff of their duties, but was also sent to other libraries, becoming the first code of practice published by any major library. The 'Kalendar' listed the most important weekly and monthly duties, from winding the clocks on Monday morning to sweeping the flues on Saturday. The 'Regulations relating to boys' appeared in 1904, and from 1905 more rules were published in a 'Supplement' which had expanded to 221 pages by 1912. Indeed, Nicholson hoped it would one day be 'as large as Kelly's London Directory.'⁵⁴

Many people derided the detailed regulations, yet they represented over 20 years' experience in the second largest library in the country, and Nicholson knew well that efficiency depended on careful adherence to administrative minutiae. A good example is the table of 'Saturday sunsets at Oxford' - this listed the times of 'nominal sunset', after which staff would risk damaging their eyesight, and the extra staff could not expect payment; it also aided those who cycled.

The 'Staff-Kalendar' and Supplements served in addition as a Readers' Guide, which Nicholson had long intended but never achieved. For other libraries, its chief importance lay in the cataloguing rules, especially the detailed scheme for the Laudian Greek manuscripts.

The manual is a fascinating study of Nicholson's mind and brings out all his foibles, heightened by the typography. This is most obvious in his insistent warnings against the danger of fire. While the underground store was being built in 1910, he produced a special Appendix, listing more fire-regulations which he hoped would prevent catastrophe in other libraries. These included instructions to watchmen to commit assault in the Librarian's name, if necessary. And there were regulations for controlling draughts in Duke Humfrey, 'Correct' handwriting, and the Bodleian pronunciation of Latin.

The 'Staff-Kalendar' was usually compiled under pressure, often while Nicholson was ostensibly on holiday, but from 1910 S. Gibson took over. In a pathetic 'Personal' note in the 1911 'Kalendar', Nicholson appealed for assistance to relieve himself of a heavy workload, adding that the Library could not yet afford his pension of £500 per annum.

Madan disapproved of the style of the 'Staff-Kalendar' - and more especially the expense (the 1908 edition cost over £65) - and in 1913 issued a larger-sized Staff Manual incorporating a 'Calendar' [sic] but without Nicholson's excessive detail.⁵⁵

The most surprising aspect of the staff system was that it worked, despite the conflict between Nicholson and Madan, which inevitably divided the loyalties of the other staff. Madan conceded that Nicholson had a genuine ability to select the most suitable recruits, but whereas Madan kept aloof, Nicholson always interested himself in their activities, though his enthusiasm occasionally made him interfere too far.

Nicholson expected hard work, and sitting as he did in the middle of Arts End, his presence was a constant goad. At the same time, his accessibility encouraged the staff to regard him not as a distant deity, but as someone always available to lend assistance. Only in his last years did his grip fail, but by then he had several disciples, such as S. Gibson and R.H. Hill. The inspiration behind the 'Staff-Kalendar' was that everyone knew their duties and could perform them without fuss.

Inability to delegate his own duties proved to be Nicholson's great failing. Madan exacerbated the situation with his carping criticisms, while lack of money meant the staff were always insufficient to relieve the pressure on Nicholson. Nevertheless, the 'Staff-Kalendar' will remain as proof of Nicholson's administrative capabilities.

Chapter 8.THE EXTENSION OF ACCOMMODATION.

Nicholson's librarianship saw the gradual strengthening of the Bodleian's grip over its own buildings and those adjacent. On his election, the Old Schools, the ground-floor rooms around the Bodleian Quadrangle, were mainly unoccupied, while the Bodleian's books were kept in the first-floor rooms or in the Camera basement. The top floor was a Picture Gallery, though some books were kept there. Manuscripts and mainly old books were read in Duke Humfrey and the Selden End, while modern books were consulted in the Radcliffe Camera reading-room. There were no workrooms - the staff worked in the Arts End, where the Catalogue was, or in the Camera reading-room. Manuscripts and incunabula were stored chiefly in the Auctarium, while many donation-collections were kept in named rooms - e.g. Douce, Malone, Gough.¹ The great problem was where to accommodate accessions, for the first-floor rooms were in a discreditable condition.

The Old Schools.

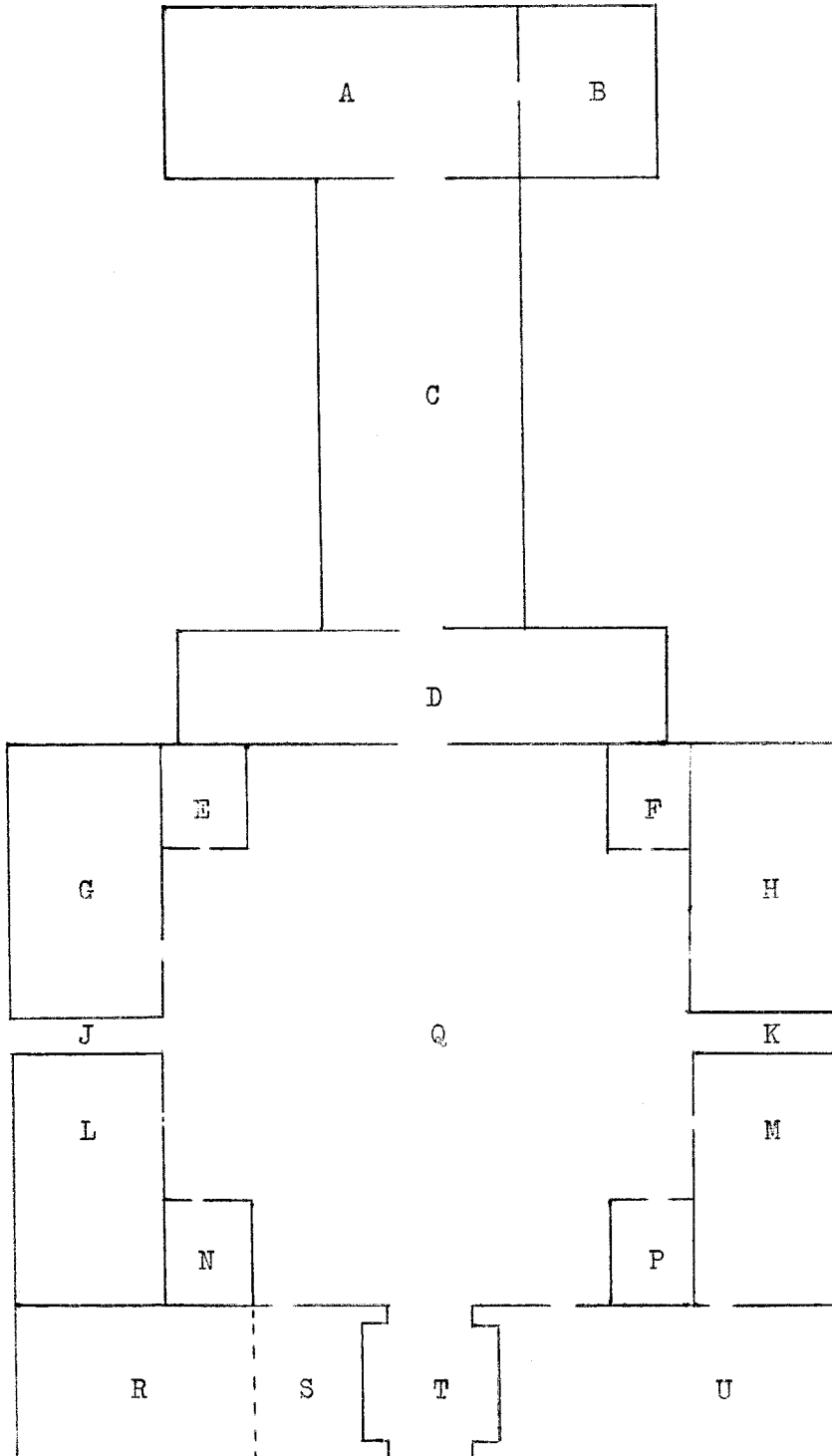
In Coxe's time a decision had been taken to build a new Examination Schools building and leave the five existing Schools for the Bodleian. Coxe had intended to convert these into departmental reading-rooms. Nicholson, influenced by Jowett, enthusiastically followed, planning to re-classify the whole Library of about 450,000 volumes, as he had done at the London Institution.

His report of 3 March 1883 on re-distribution included plans for each room and anticipated expansion to other University buildings. The Curators never discussed his report: not all were of Jowett's persuasion. The vast amount of book-shifting entailed did not appeal to them. Indeed, when in June 1884 Nicholson submitted modest plans for shelving the Philosophy and Music Schools, he emphasized that they were unconnected with ideas he was 'supposed to entertain' about re-classification. In 1889 he "repented in dust and ashes" many of his previous views, appreciating the impracticability of re-arranging such a huge library and the undesirability of scattering the great donation-collections. And he understood the economic difficulties - the Library could not afford extra staff to supervise separate reading-rooms, and the number of readers would not justify their provision. His idea of departments was advanced, but he preferred a new general reading-room.²

THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY IN NICHOLSON'S TIME.

Plan of ground floor. (not to scale)

North →



For key, see following page.

THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY IN NICHOLSON'S TIME.

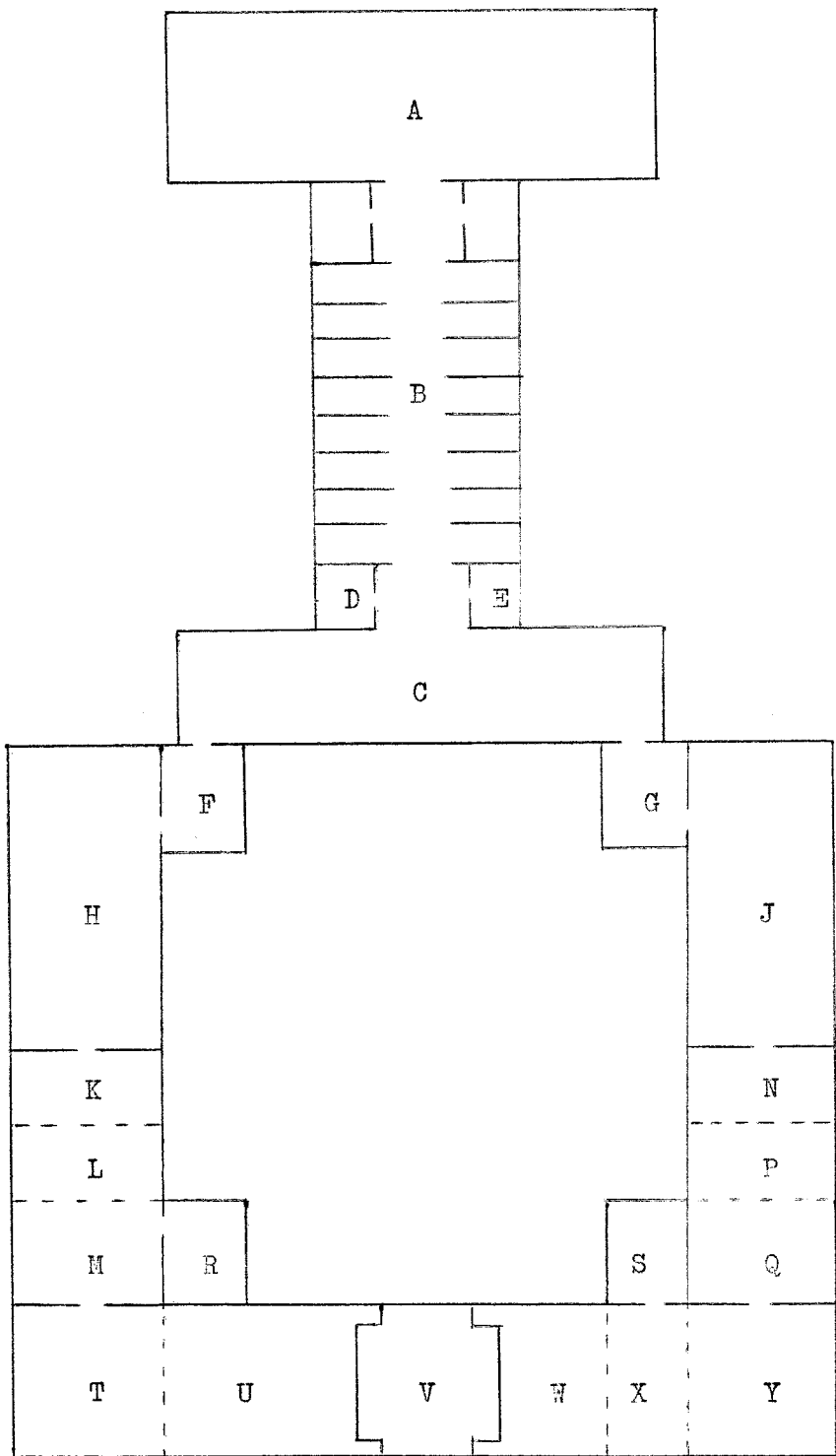
Key to plan of ground floor on preceding page.

- A Convocation House.
- B Apodyterium.
- C Divinity School.
- D Proscholium.
- E Public staircase.
- F Back staircase.
- G Natural Philosophy School; later the Hope Room, where was kept
the Hope Collection of Engraved Portraits.
- H Moral Philosophy School; later the Arundel Marble Room, and
subsequently the Map Room.
- J Passageway leading to the Radcliffe Camera.
- K Passageway leading to the Clarendon Quadrangle, the Clarendon
Building, and the Sheldonian Theatre.
- L Music School.
- M History School, or Old School; used for foreign periodicals.
- N Savile Room, where the subject-catalogue slips were subsequently kept.
- P Readers' lavatory.
- Q Schools, or Bodleian, Quadrangle.
- R,S Logic School; R was also known as the Meerman Room.
- T Gateway under the Tower, leading to Cattle Street.
- U Metaphysics School; also known as the Writing School, and
subsequently the Law Room.

THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY IN NICHOLSON'S TIME.

Plan of first floor. (not to scale)

North →



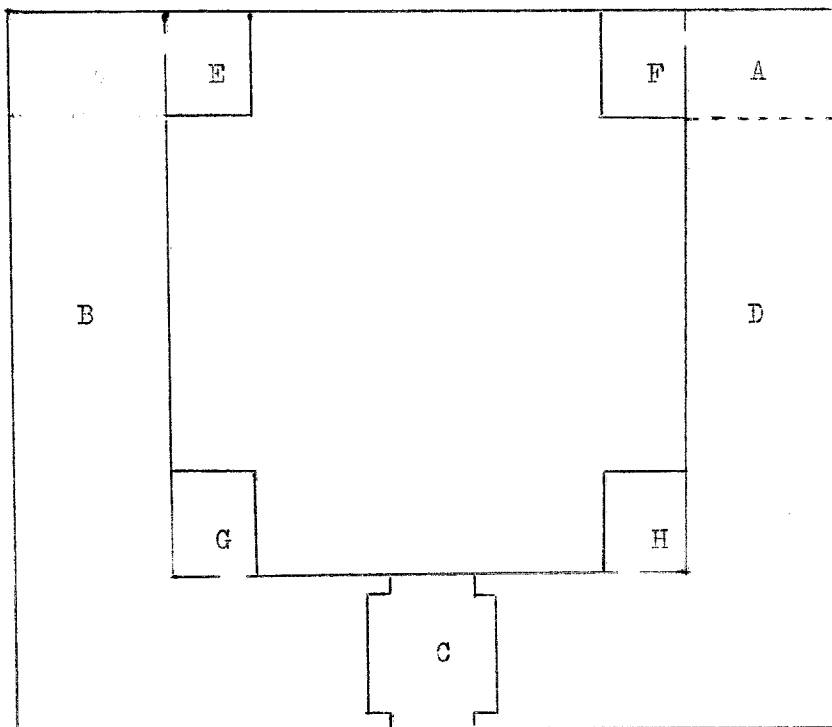
For key, see following page.

THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY IN NICHOLSON'S TIME.Key to plan of first floor on preceding page.

- A,B,C The Old Library, divided into:
- A Selden End;
- B Duke Humfrey's Library, showing positions of the stalls;
- C Arts End, in which were kept the catalogue and many
 exhibition-cases; Nicholson's table was in the centre,
 facing the Selden End.
- D F.Madan's study.
- E E.W.B.Nicholson's study.
- F Public staircase.
- G Back staircase.
- H Auctarium, used chiefly for storing collections of manuscripts.
- J Gough Room, used for storing topographical books and manuscripts.
- K,I,M Rhetoric School, used for storing manuscripts and incunabula;
 divided into:
- K 'Q' Room;
- L Bodley Room;
- M Rawlinson Room.
- N,P,Q Languages School, divided into:
- N Gough annexe;
- P Bible Room;
- Q Hope Periodicals Room, subsequently the Oriental Printed Room.
- R Wood and Ashmole Room.
- S Malone Room, used as Hebrew annexe.
- T,U Douce Room; U was formerly the Spanish Room, later the Bible Room.
- V Mason Room.
- W,X,Y Geometry School, divided into:
- W Sanskrit Room;
- X Oriental Manuscripts Room;
- Y Hebrew Room.

THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY IN NICHOLSON'S TIME.Plan of second floor. (not to scale)

North →

Key.

A,B,C,D Picture Gallery.

A This section became a Photographic Room in 1891, until 1907.

C Tower Room; above this room are the two rooms containing the University Archives.

D This section was converted into the Upper Reading Room in 1907.

E Public staircase.

F Back staircase.

G Coin Room.

H St. Amand Room, or Librarian's Upper Study (though not used by Nicholson as such).

The storage of books was more urgent than accommodation for readers. The Writing School was the first ground-floor room to be furnished. Nicholson installed wooden cases and five transverse bookcases which reached the ceiling: a fortunate decision, for it later transpired that these cases had prevented the first floor from collapsing. Storing books was not straightforward: there was no artificial light, and many windows were blocked up. Cases had to be positioned near windows, but not, Nicholson insisted, where they would spoil the aesthetic effect. The fittings were crowded, and only two transverse cases were allowed in each of the other Schools.³ The Law books were transferred to the Writing School but never properly arranged, and no readers admitted, which was one reason for the rift between Madan and Nicholson. Nicholson could never finish one scheme completely before turning to another, and the complexities of devising a law classification meant that arrears accumulated.⁴

Nicholson estimated that a quarter-of-a-mile of shelving was needed every eight years. The Natural Philosophy and Music Schools were tackled next, but since the Music School Library was transferred to the latter, and the Hope Collection of Engraved Portraits from the Camera gallery to the former, space was still wanting. In 1887 the Arundel Marbles were moved from the Moral Philosophy School, which became the Map Room.⁵

An architect drew up plans in 1890 for the Old School, though Nicholson had his own ideas. The Curators insisted on fixed cases to support the upper floors, with an iron gallery and adjustable shelves. The fittings were intended to contain the equivalent of about 60,000 octavos, and thousands of unhandlisted periodicals which had overflowed from other rooms were brought in, along with geography and travel. The appearance of the room afterwards was unpleasant, and Nicholson used it as an example of what happened when his own plans were not followed.⁶

The Sheldonian.

Many accessions went to the Camera basement, where shelves were continually raised. In 1884 the Curators of the Sheldonian Theatre allowed the Library to use their basement, though no books were moved there before 1887 because of the need to take precautions against damp. In 1889 Chandler declared that their occupation was illegal. A decree was proposed to regularize the transfer, but opposition was threatened by 'The Club'. They criticized the Sheldonian Curators for acting ultra vires in 1884 and urged the Bodleian Curators to draw up a proper

plan of extension. Madan himself drafted part of 'The Club's' privately printed leaflet attacking the Bodleian. Nicholson counter-claimed that the Bodleian had no room for books displaced from the Sheldonian, and that extension could be deferred for a decade if the Sheldonian was used. In the event, the decree was passed unanimously.⁷

Rolling bookcases.

Every year new bookcases were erected or extended to ceilings.⁸ An economic system was the use of moveable cases. The British Museum experimented successfully in 1887 with cases suspended from existing iron girders. Nicholson developed his own variation in the Camera basement, where 'tram-lines' were laid for 76 dwarf cases. Less successful was his plan for a circular railway, because the wheels on the cases were the wrong size.⁹

Gladstone designed another system, and moveable cases on rails became a feature in the Bodleian.¹⁰ Nicholson was unenthusiastic about the British Museum's method: "Of course", he wrote to Richard Garnett in 1895, "your hanging press system is inapplicable here without an amount of reconstruction &c. which puts it out of the question in our very high and broad rooms, but there are people here who will not be satisfied without full information as to what your system is, and who wouldn't take my word for it." Many of the British Museum's hanging cases were later removed because of structural deficiencies in the Iron Library.¹¹

Shifting.

The disadvantage of altering shelving and fitting up new rooms was that thousands of books had to be shifted. Nicholson recalled the state of the Library in 1882:

"In the Gough Room many hundreds of books were lying on top of the old map-cases for want of shelves. "This I deny", added Madan. In the first periodical room I found Mr. Madan and Mr. Harper putting the books in double rows on the shelves because there was no room for them in single rows.

"I know nothing of this," interjected Madan; "I never put books up."

In the Hebrew room," continued Nicholson, "and I think in one or more of the other Oriental rooms, books were lying in large numbers on the floor. In the Douce room were piled thousands of unbound Ordnance-maps, and thousands of unbound pieces of music were piled on the floor of the Camera gallery. On May 5 the Curators formally inspected the Bodleian, and as we passed through the room next to the Gough room, Dr. Liddell remarked 'Well, Mr. Nicholson, you've got an Augean stable'."¹²

The stables could only be cleared gradually, as the cost of fitting up the ground-floor Schools meant that work was spread over eight years. Books were moved into them, and often moved out again. The Curators disliked shifting, especially as they thought it was connected with the subject catalogue and involved changes of press-marks (which was not so). Shifting was also caused by current accessions spilling over in the first-floor rooms.¹³

Shifting was synonymous with the Gough collection of topographical books, and its additions. Nicholson re-arranged their order several times, eventually separating books by size rather than county; all non-topographical books were temporarily removed. Madan especially condemned the order of the books on Devon: Gough MSS.; Gough printed books; exceptional sizes; Gough Additions Devon 8°, 4°, 16°; G. Fol. A, B, C, D; G.A. Dev. a, b, c; G.A. Fol. Dev. A, B, C, D; G. Maps; Top.MSS. Dev. a, b, c, d, e, f, g; charters without seals; charters with seals; deeds in boxes. Considering the complex classification of topographical books which Nicholson inherited (and rightly did not alter because the old system was ingrained in Library practice, though amendments were tried), the order is no worse than any other order. To Madan, it was too much: "I have given up giving advice, as about the Gough Room I was told that it was very discouraging to be constantly advised: and it is an invidious task for a subordinate." What upset Madan was that Nicholson would change his mind about the re-arrangement of books after it had been carried out.¹⁴

In 1888 Madan found the "Old School is in the fearful state I described last year, still same rents in ceiling & floor, same higgledy piggedly on shelves," while the Douce and Malone rooms were spoiled by Indian reports. "The Camera was too awful to describe." Nicholson announced that the Oriental Manuscripts Room and most of the Music and Bible rooms had been finally arranged, though more arranging was necessary elsewhere.¹⁵

In 1889 Nicholson found that the Gough Room was almost full; he re-arranged it totally and requested cases to house an extra 15,000 octavos and so keep all British topography within one room. Nicholson wanted the cases to support the upper floor, but the Curators could not decide whether to retain the Gough Room as a pleasant, well-lit room, or whether the whole should be packed with cases. The Curators, led by Howat, feared that future shifting and more cases might still be necessary. They rejected Nicholson's plans on the grounds that his proposed cases would destroy the room's character, and that potentially dangerous ladders would be needed.¹⁶

The room next to the Gough Room was cleared in 1891 and became available for topographical additions, causing another re-arrangement. Unfortunately insufficient space was left in the Gough Room for growth, and more books were moved. A climax was reached in March 1892 when Nicholson applied for a grant for new shelves and cases. The Curators were not pleased to find some of the work already done, and considered some shelving too elaborate and too high for safety; they thought that any new moveable cases in the Camera should be according to a pre-arranged plan - "!!! as if it had not been so carried out from the start", thought Nicholson.¹⁷

Meanwhile, Mowat moved "that a Committee be appointed to inquire into and report on the shifting which has been going on for some time in the library and the reasons which have led to it." Nicholson's response was a lengthy defence of his conduct in which he accused Mowat of wanting to 'fetter' him. Nicholson admitted that several rooms had been re-arranged more than once, but "I beg you to consider that in the period of 10 years of which I am speaking the library has increased by over 100,000 volumes, and that, although I have always had space somewhere or other, I have never had the money to put up the necessary shelving when it was wanted, and so have been continually driven against my will to make temporary arrangements which involved future alteration

And I am prepared to show that in all shifting of books for many years past I have been guided by the desire ... to have the library arranged not merely in 'an orderly and appropriate arrangement' but also 'in such a manner as to secure the least possible disturbance in the future'."

Madan was outraged: "This general statement is, to judge by results, absolutely untrue, except on the hypothesis that the Librn. is insane."

Nicholson accounted for recent re-arrangements, though Madan was not satisfied. Finally Nicholson defied the Curators to interfere:

"If for my pains in this direction (as for much other pains), I were to be rewarded by one of those investigations which are either held, or proposed to be held, over me about once in every four months, then I should be inclined to hope that at the next vacancy in the librarianship someone would be kind enough to tell any librarian who might be a candidate, that what he would be applauded for in London, Berlin, or Harvard he is liable to be court-martialed for in Oxford; that for the most elementary principle of librarianship he may have to fight to the death; and that no sacrifice of time, happiness, and health, no amount of demonstrable work done and demonstrable progress effected, will avail him against the never-ending antagonism or mistrust of some of those to

whom he ought to have been able to look for the largest sympathy and the heartiest help."¹⁸

The Curators decided that the Librarian should determine which rooms would be shifted. Nicholson reported that most of the first floor would need only sporadic changes, and that most of the closed collections, i.e. the great donations of the past, would be here. On the other hand, the storerooms containing current accessions would be subject to occasional shifting, such as the entire Camera, most ground-floor rooms, and the Sheldonian basement. As for future accessions, Nicholson confidently anticipated using the Ashmolean. The Curators agreed to minor arrangements, but on 4 February 1893 resolved, on Pelham's motion, that no further shifting take place without their consent.¹⁹

Three months later, Nicholson sought a grant to erect cases in the Logic School for the Pipe Office duplicates, which would allow more space elsewhere, and a grant of £200 was requested from the University.²⁰ The Bodleian now occupied all the rooms surrounding the Bodleian Quadrangle, except for the two Archives rooms (which Nicholson had failed to obtain²¹), and was creeping into the nearby University buildings. But no amount of moveable cases, extra shelving, or shifting could disguise the fact that a large new storeroom was needed.

The Ashmolean Museum.

Many plans had been made for the Ashmolean, including using it as a reading-room, while Madan favoured it as an official residence for Bodley's Librarian.²² The Keeper of the Ashmolean, Arthur Evans, intended a new museum near the existing University Galleries, and on 31 May 1892 Hebdomadal Council proposed a decree authorizing the new Ashmolean and recognizing the Bodleian's claim to the old building.²³

In March 1895 the Bodleian Extension Committee recommended that part of the Ashmolean be fitted up to take various Bodleian collections as well as the Hope Collection of Engraved Portraits so that the existing Hope Room (i.e. the Natural Philosophy School), could be used for books. The Hebdomadal Council decided only to allow the Bodleian to take over the basement, but agreed that the Hope Collection should be on the top floor - though not under Bodleian control.²⁴

Nicholson objected to the Committee's decision, because he had not been consulted, and to the Council's resolution, because the Hope Curators had not been consulted. He felt the scheme was being pushed through by certain individuals (Pelham, for instance, was both a Bodleian Curator and on the Hebdomadal Council). He complained to Convocation where the decree concerning the transfer of the Hope Collection was defeated,

while the proposal that the Bodleian should take over the basement was carried.²⁵

The Curators would not authorize the fitting-up until they knew whether the basement would have to support the other floors, which would be necessary if the whole Ashmolean was to be a bookstore; on 27 April 1896 Hebdomadal Council declined to move Convocation on the matter. Instead, Council set up its own Committee on Bodleian Extension to find alternative means of dealing with the books - such as reducing accessions - but their findings will be dealt with later.²⁶ Nicholson printed a strong attack, accusing them of going back on their word.

As a Visitor of both the Ashmolean and the University Galleries, Nicholson was trying to prevent the statues known as the Chantrey casts from being transferred from the Galleries to the Old Ashmolean, which would have taken up valuable space for books. His argument was that the terms of the donation prevented their removal, and that Council was acting illegally. Nicholson won the vote on the Chantrey casts by 77 to 33, but Council refused to honour its promise over the Ashmolean.²⁷

Nicholson soon moved books into the basement, beginning with dissertations and closed collections from the Camera, i.e. printed books arranged by Coxe's classification scheme. "The Librarian's idea," wrote Madan, "if he can be called a Librn. and if his idea can be called an idea, was to get all the Old Numbers ... into the Ashmn., and leave all his new nos. ... in the Camera, thus separating subjects as widely as possible!!" ²⁸

The Ashmolean came to be occupied by the English Dictionary staff. The basement was still used by the Bodleian, despite the Friends of the Ashmolean, who in 1928 complained that "the annexation of the ground floor [i.e. the basement] by Mr. Nicholson for book storage doubtless encouraged him in that policy of great accumulation from which we are now suffering." The books were removed to the New Bodleian in 1940.²⁹

The opening of the Ashmolean basement meant renewed shifting, especially in the Auctarium, and this led to his greatest confrontation with the Curators, as described in Chapter 5. These events serve to show that the resolution on shifting of 1893 was enforced, and that Nicholson's work was under constant supervision.³⁰

Further expansion.

Reluctantly, the Bodleian in 1904 expanded into the cellars of the New Examination Schools in the High Street. Nicholson was against its use because of the distance and lack of supervision, but the space was needed for an estimated 280,000 books, using rolling cases.³¹ However the need for a permanent store was still paramount.

Nicholson always preferred to have the whole Bodleian in one building (his last recorded words were "Don't let them break up the Library"), and in March 1882 he wrote to Madan: "The only really worthy reading-room that I conceive possible is the schools-quad roofed over with flat glass roof carried across the extreme top. Next to that I think the Divinity School plus the Ashmolean might do, but I feel sure that it would be very unsafe to take the Divinity School alone without at least ensuring the future annexation of the Ashmolean."³²

The Old Schools, Sheldonian, and Ashmolean postponed a long-term solution, but when in 1894 Nicholson again urged the conversion of part of the Picture Gallery into a reading-room, the Curators set up a Committee on Bodleian Extension. They re-considered previous schemes, and Nicholson himself produced a controversial set of plans. Apart from the Ashmolean, he wanted to store 48,000 books in the former University Library in St. Mary's and in the old Convocation House below, which horrified Madan: "Macray is so weak-backed as to approve of the Old Convn. house if novels are not there. (Not only its distance, but its associations are utterly agst. such a use: it is the cradle of the University.)" The Picture Gallery, thought Nicholson, could accommodate readers and 70,000 books, with a further 30,000 in transverse cases in the rooms underneath. His great dream was a building in the Clarendon Quadrangle for 1,200,000 volumes, for which he designed a frontage to harmonize with the existing buildings.³³

His grandiose schemes were not considered, and he himself thought better of them. In his pamphlet of 1910, 'Can we not save architecture in Oxford?', he pours scorn on eccentric ideas for extending the Bodleian - though he conveniently omitted that he originated several of them. The Extension Committee decided that all available basements should be used before new buildings were erected. Their recommendation on diminishing accessions was taken up by the Hebdomadal Council's Committee on Bodleian Extension, which led to the row with Nicholson in 1896 briefly referred to previously.³⁴

The Jenner Report.

The most irksome action of the Council's Extension Committee was their invitation to a British Museum assistant, Henry Jenner, to report on possible Bodleian expansion. Nicholson wondered what Sir Edward Maunde Thompson would think if the Treasury suddenly invited a Bodleian assistant to investigate the British Museum. The choice of Jenner probably arose from Madan's evidence to the Council's Committee. Madan had already formed his views on extension: "I say the question is dead.

The new system of moveable cases provides room for the next 100 years. But the Curators know nothing of it."³⁵ Jenner severely criticized the cramped conditions and lack of light in the existing rooms, and designed a combination of fixed and sliding cases to provide more concentrated shelving. His most controversial recommendation was that accessions be reduced, but the Bodleian's Extension Committee decided eventually that no real reduction was possible.³⁶

The Hebdomadal Council forwarded Jenner's proposals to the Bodleian, but Nicholson refused to comment on the grounds that only Bodleian Curators were entitled to plan Bodleian extension. He poured scorn on Jenner's British Museum cases, which needed girders, and pointed out that the proposed sliding cases (i.e. on rails) for the Gough Room were similar to those already used in the Camera basement. Worst of all, to Nicholson, Jenner's plan would involve cases in front of windows. "The effect would be intolerable; and the proposal to perpetrate this atrocity on the finest public building of James I's reign reminds one of what was done in the case of the Old School in 1890. Then too the idea was to pack books as tight as they would go; then too it was a British Museum architect who was to plan the fitting up."

As for reducing accessions, "Mr. Jenner, I believe, is not a University man, and may be excused for not knowing how great a variety of 'current literature' is consulted in the Bodleian."³⁷

The Curators deferred further consideration on extension, at least until the Ashmolean basement had been fitted up.³⁸ The failure to obtain the whole Ashmolean meant that serious thought was given to a new building.

The underground bookstore.

Nicholson himself suggested an underground chamber, and on 10 June 1899 the Bodleian Curators re-constituted the Extension Committee. Borings showed the best site to be between the Bodleian and the Camera, where the water-level was 19'. A store here would be connected to the Camera and used for current accessions which would have gone to the Camera basement (estimated at about 15,000 octavos per annum). Readers could order books until 10 p.m. Edmund Woodthorpe devised a plan to accommodate 1,032,000 books in iron rolling cases. Nicholson expected the store to last 70 years, when a chamber on the south side of the Camera could be constructed. Unfortunately, the University Chest did not share Nicholson's optimism, mainly because of the estimated cost - £10,000; the plan was shelved, to Madan's satisfaction: "The document shows the Librarian's eccentricities in combination with the Curators' incompetence."³⁹ Cambridge University Library was having similar space problems, and in 1901 its expansion plans were defeated.⁴⁰

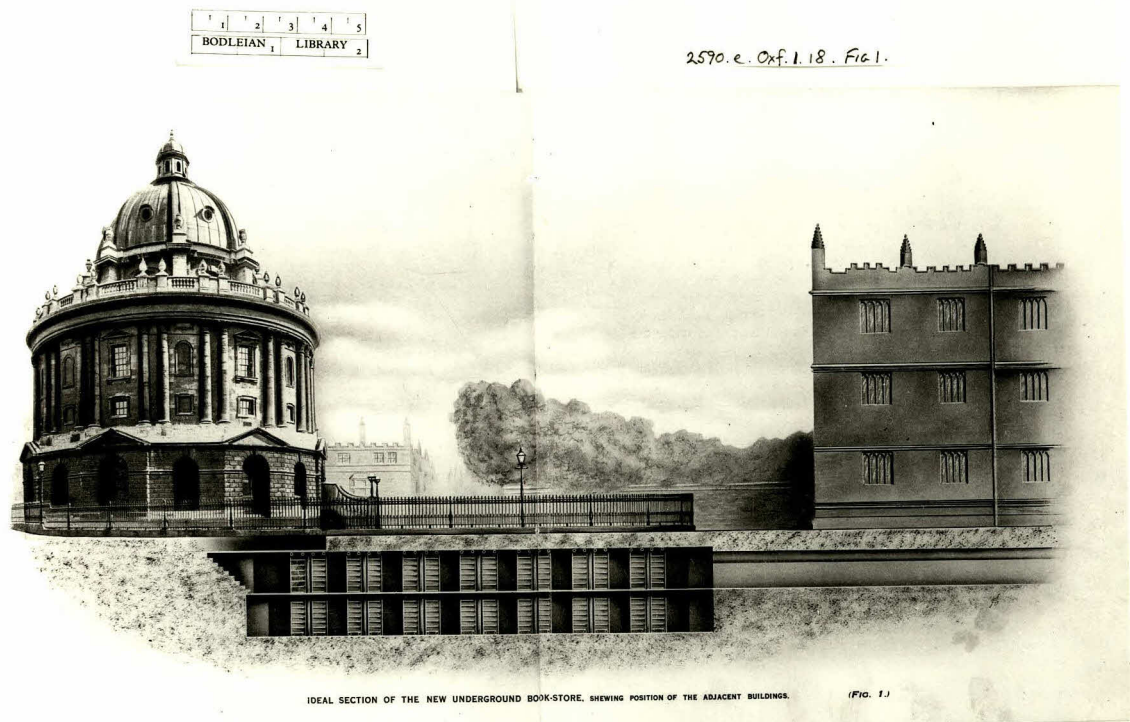
In 1907 the establishment of the Oxford University Endowment Fund made the prospects suddenly brighter, and after reports from a new architect, Rutland Saunders, the Fund guaranteed £10,000.⁴¹ The next hurdle was the consent of the Radcliffe Trustees, who leased the Camera site to the University. After a tortuous correspondence, terms were submitted to Convocation in June 1909. Opposition was threatened but in his pamphlet, 'The crisis of Bodleian history', Nicholson related the sorry state of the existing storerooms and urged the underground store as the most logical step. The terms were agreed by 119 votes to 28.⁴²

Nicholson, impatient at the formalities, tried to have the work started before his holidays. A stumbling-block was the heating - the old Camera boiler had to be removed first, and Nicholson wanted the local firm of Haden's to start work at once. However, because of dissatisfaction with their previous work, the newly-formed Underground Bookstore Committee preferred to find another firm, meaning more delays, to Nicholson's anguish.⁴³

Excavations began on 7 September 1909, though the lease was not sealed until February 1910. Fresh problems soon blew up. Nicholson had determined to fit rolling cases for $1\frac{1}{2}$ million books. To his fury, the representative of an American iron works called on the Curators, urging fixed cases. These would cost about £8,000 at once for 950,000 volumes, compared to perhaps £18,000 for sliding cases (to be erected over several years). The architect was converted, as were A.L. Smith and Thomas Brassey, but Nicholson said the architect's opinion was not asked for. Several Curators tried to have the matter discussed, and Nicholson accused them of acting ultra vires, since his plans had already been approved. He sagely added that the architect would receive a larger fee if fixed cases were ordered together.⁴⁴

A.L. Smith had taken up the question, and Nicholson threatened to publish the whole affair unless he desisted. In a draft letter to Lord Balfour of Burleigh, the chairman of the Oxford University Endowment Fund Trustees, which was not sent, Nicholson explained that "X. [i.e. A.L. Smith] is an admirable man in many ways and a good friend to the Bodleian - but he is not a Librarian and does not appear to realize the disadvantage and inconvenience of working secretly for what he thinks right without consulting the man whose profession it is to know. ..." ⁴⁵

Brassey was equally concerned about Nicholson's plan to use the chamber only for current accessions, to be furnished as required, and he expressed his doubts to Anson. Nicholson brusquely demanded an explanation from Brassey of his attitude, and threatened to publish their



THE BODLEIAN UNDERGROUND BOOKSTORE.

This cross-section shows the position of the underground bookstore between the Radcliffe Camera (left) and the Old Library (right), and also shows the intended arrangement of the rolling bookcases. The higher tier of cases was suspended from girders, while the lower tier was to run on rails; in the event, the lower tier comprised entirely of fixed cases, and only the upper cases were moveable.

From W. Lucy and Co. Ltd., 'The new underground bookstore at the Bodleian Library, Oxford' [1912].

correspondence. Brassev eventually conceded that Nicholson was probably right, and the Curators later agreed that rolling cases should be used, with a few fixed cases for maps, and that growing sections from the Bodleian, Camera, and Sheldonian would be moved there.⁴⁶ The original plans were thus affirmed - viz. two floors of rolling iron cases, the upper suspended from girders and the lower running on rails, with an intermediate iron deck (though in the event no rolling cases were installed on the lower floor).

The work progressed, but not smoothly; the Librarian blamed the architect for dilatoriness, and the architect blamed the contractors. During 1911 Saunders disappeared abroad, bankrupt, and a new architect was appointed. The bookstore was finally opened in November 1912. Nicholson never saw it in use, but it ranks as his greatest monument: the first specially-constructed underground bookstore ever made, showing the successful application of rolling bookcases. Poor ventilation and close packing of books caused damp, but it has been improved and is still used. However, fresh storage space was needed after 25 years. Contrary to Nicholson's and Madan's expectations, no more underground chambers were made (though their construction is still feasible); but the erection of the New Bodleian, with an estimated capacity of 5 million volumes, meant that Nicholson's plans for subject reading-rooms could be realized, and that storage was provided on a central site.⁴⁷

Readers.

Accommodation for readers was as important as for books, if not so pressing. Most congestion occurred in the Radcliffe Camera. The gas lighting and ventilation were poor, and complaints about noise were frequent. Sir Richard Burton declared that "the so-called 'Camera' is a most odious institution, a Purgatory to readers. It is damp in the wet season from October to May; stuffy during the summer heats and a cave of Eolus in windy weather: In this building lights, forbidden by the Bodleian, are allowed; it opens at 10 a.m. and closes at 10 p.m., and the sooner it reverts to its original office of a book-depôt the better."⁴⁸

There was seating for 50-60 readers, and the increased use resulted from the ever-rising numbers of students and the presence of the new 'Select Library' of reference books. Nicholson pin-pointed another cause: "The present generation of lady readers at the Camera appear to read at least as high a class of literature as the men, and owing to their unwillingness to seat themselves at any but the two desks specially reserved for them, they suffer even more than men from the want of additional accommodation."

Reluctantly in 1884 Nicholson restricted admission to Honours students only,

though Madan blamed Nicholson's policy of "indiscriminate admission up to this time."⁴⁹ At Cambridge University Library, a charge was levied on non-University readers to ease the crowding.⁵⁰

Nicholson planned in 1884 to convert the Camera Gallery into a reading-room for about 30 readers, but the Radcliffe Trustees were responsible for the fabric. Although the Radcliffe Librarian, H.V. Acland, was sympathetic, the Trustees did not agree to share costs until 1887. The Gallery was opened in 1889. Madan condemned the dimly-lit Gallery as offering the perfect location for fraud: "Yet I cannot point out so obvious a consideration to the Librn.: he must see all this."⁵¹

The absence of artificial light in the Bodleian building was a severe handicap. The British Museum had introduced the electric light in 1879, though satisfactory improvements were not made until 1893. Cambridge University Library was lit electrically in 1898.⁵² Nicholson had urged the use of electricity in 1885 and earlier, though Madan considered it 'not urgent'; but in 1900, when Madan suggested it for the Bodleian, Nicholson described it as "totally unsafe" and in 1909 said it should be vetoed in the main building for the present.⁵³ Estimates for lighting the Camera, however, were made in 1885, and in 1892 a detailed proposal was advanced by one of the proctors. After long consideration, the plan was dropped because of the installation costs - about £400, including the basement.⁵⁴

The electric light was finally installed in the Camera in 1905 after George Pope offered the money. Nicholson was doubtful, because of the running costs - about £130 per annum compared to gas at £90 per annum - and because of the Library's deficit.⁵⁵ The electric light was extended to the Ashmolean and New Schools basements, but never to the Sheldonian basement, and only in 1929 were the Bodleian reading-rooms lit. Nicholson once thought of lighting Duke Humfrey by lamps placed outside the windows, as advocated by Edward Edwards.⁵⁶

Conditions for readers were very different in Duke Humfrey and the Selden End. Though hours were restricted, readers had far more space - in 1882 only 14 readers were seen at a time, though this rose to 25 by 1887.⁵⁷ Reginald Lane Poole, however, in his anonymous criticisms of 1887, attacked the "persistent and noisy aggression of the machinery of the Library upon the space hitherto appropriated to students." Nicholson showed that he had not reduced readers' accommodation, though one stall was used temporarily for cataloguing Dravidian manuscripts.⁵⁸ Madan, of course, complained that the arrangements had been better under Coxe. Readers could keep over 100 books on their desks, and reserve

their places. This caused resentment, and Nicholson stopped both privileges, which caused more resentment. When Edwin Hatch complained in 1889 after being moved from his desk, Nicholson replied that "the entire reserved-desk system is absolutely vicious, and there are no 'indispensable facilities' which would be lost by its gradual abolition." Hatch complained to the Curators but died a few days later. However, a Committee was set up to investigate readers' accommodation.⁵⁹

The Committee - A. Clark, Mowat, and Bywater, all opposed to Nicholson - made modest proposals for accommodating 16 more readers and recommended that a committee should select the reference books. The Committee did not interview Nicholson, and he responded angrily. He reported that up to 46 people could be seated in Duke Humfrey and the Selden End, and that the largest number of readers seen had been 29 - congestion came from books (up to 70) reserved for absent readers, and over which Nicholson would take no action. As for increasing the number of readers at each desk, Nicholson replied: "It is extremely unpleasant not to be able to raise one's head without looking another reader in the face, and all the desks made by us at the Bodleian or the Camera have been constructed with a view to avoid that unpleasantness." The suggestion that Curators should select the reference books was treated by Nicholson with uncharacteristically restrained disbelief; this proposal was dropped, though the others were accepted.⁶⁰

The Upper Reading Room.

Nicholson consistently wanted the Picture Gallery for a general reading-room, as in Sir Thomas Bodley's will. It already contained about 50,000 books, but was unheated: estimates for heating were drawn up in 1887-8, but the cost, over £500, was prohibitive. Plans were rejected in 1894-5 despite G.F. Watts' warnings on the state of the pictures.⁶¹ In 1900 Nicholson sought advice from experts, remarking that the temperature ranged from 28° to 32° - but a Curators' Committee believed that pictures were damaged by heat rather than cold, and they considered Nicholson's proposed reading-room as premature.

"The Committee," complained Nicholson, "gave the Librarian no notice of the meeting at which this report was considered, and he knew nothing of its tenor till it was given him for printing, and that despite the fact that there is a standing resolution of the Board inviting him to attend all committees. But from the first I never had the least hope of this Committee, its convener and guiding spirit being Prof. Bywater, who has opposed every attempt of mine to get the gallery warmed."⁶²

In the 'Statements of the needs of the University', the Curators

wavered over a new reading-room, but Nicholson did not restrain himself, though he probably over-emphasized the number of readers (up to 41), for Madan rightly observed that 70 could be accommodated.⁶³

T.A. Brassey's generosity in 1906 overcame the Curators' doubts, and Nicholson repeated his arguments, including the need for another workroom. Working in the Arts End, he maintained, made the staff short-sighted and deaf, and he himself suffered from pharyngitis: "I feel sure the Curators will agree that neither I nor the youngest boy on the staff ought to be kept in this state of torture when there exists the simple remedy of providing an alternative work-room."⁶⁴

In the new room Nicholson could transfer the Catalogue from the Arts End, provide larger desks, and form a collection of learned periodicals. The cost of fittings was estimated at £735, but an extra £1,000 would be needed for heating, unblocking windows, and erecting transverse cases in the Gough Room below.⁶⁵

Certain Curators doubted whether they had power to alter the Picture Gallery, but Counsel's opinion was favourable. Madan lobbied against the changes, unsuccessfully, but Nicholson was only allowed to move the Catalogue experimentally. Nicholson's health had suffered seriously during the year, but even while recuperating during the Long Vacation he issued a stream of instructions to Strickland Gibson - even inkwells were sent to Scotland for Nicholson's inspection.⁶⁶

The Upper Reading Room opened on 8 October 1907. The critics still carped: C. Plummer resigned as a Curator to "make it quite clear to the University that I am not responsible for the alterations"; W.D. Macray too deplored the changes. Madan gloated over teething-troubles - the slow book-service, opportunities for theft, and the few readers. "Solitudinem facit," thought Madan; "bibliothecam appellat." But time justified Nicholson.⁶⁷

The heating equipment.

Unfortunately, there was one unsatisfactory aspect - the heating-system. Heating had caused trouble before: the Rector of Exeter often complained about smoke from the Bodleian boiler (near the Ashmolean), and the Camera boiler was unreliable. In February 1907 both broke down, and for some time neither reading-room was heated. However, an independent system was planned for the Upper Reading Room. Its failure was caused by Haden's bad workmanship and by its inadequate design.⁶⁸

By December 1907, pipes were leaking and readers in the Upper Reading Room were sitting in overcoats. More radiators were demanded, but the

existing boiler could not cope. Throughout January 1908 Nicholson was involved in an acrimonious correspondence with Haden's. He accused them of filling in trenches without authorization (in fact ordered by the University Chest), and brushed aside excuses. Nicholson could not tolerate the failings of others.

In July, leaks were found in the Oriental Manuscripts Room, and Nicholson demanded that Haden's supply zinc trays, free. Nicholson sent threatening telegrams, holding them responsible for any damage to the books: "I absolutely refuse to take yours [i.e. trays] except you wire by return that you will make and put them in at your sole cost. This is my absolute last word." Peace reigned during Nicholson's holidays, but October brought fresh trouble - there was no tray in the Savile Room. Nicholson demanded that Haden's supply it and telegraph at once. Haden's replied: "We carry out work to the extent of £100,000 a year, and your method of dealing with us - we must say - is absolutely the exception. Were it not for our big connection in Oxford, we should not put up with it in any shape or form." Nicholson graciously decided that Haden's were not responsible for the Savile Room tray.⁶⁹

In 1909, after fires in the flue, the Camera boiler was replaced by one also intended to serve the underground bookstore. During the work a timber beam was found in contact with the flue, and had long been a potential fire risk. By 1912 the heating-system was considered adequate, if not entirely successful.⁷⁰

One of Nicholson's 'fads' was ventilation and maintaining the rooms at a steady temperature - never above 60° F. In 1910 he padlocked several windows to prevent readers from causing cross-draughts, and in that year's Appendix to the 'Staff-Kalendar' he gave details of which casements could be open simultaneously.⁷¹

Fire-precautions.

A more serious preoccupation was fire. Artificial light was banned, and several readers were expelled for failing to comply. "At present," wrote Nicholson in 1902, "for want of fire-proof shutters to the Bodleian building, I live in a state of intermittent anxiety. On November 1-9, and on all days of popular rejoicing, whether national or local, two watchmen have to be employed to patrol the outside of the Bodleian building, as a makeshift protection against bonfires, fireworks, and torchlight processions. Any drunken rowdy who might choose to hurl a lighted piece of wood in his hand through one of the ground-floor windows has the Bodleian at his mercy."⁷²

In 1885 an architect advised on fire-proofing, but the cost would

have exceeded £2,000. The Curators did seek a grant for shutters, but Convocation defeated the plan by 63 votes to 13.⁷³

Nicholson was fanatical about fireworks. The heads of nearby colleges never considered the danger as serious as did Nicholson, but in 1900 Boer War celebrations led to a large bonfire outside the Indian Institute. Hebdomadal Council again declined to apply for a grant for shutters, even when Nicholson sent them an unexploded rocket.⁷⁴ During Nicholson's time, there was never a fire-proof room available for manuscripts and rare books.

Nicholson's complex fire-regulations occupied 28 pages of the 1912 'Staff-Kalendar', and many concerned the fire-alarm, installed in 1907. A Committee chose the 'Expansion-Pneumatic' alarm because it required pressurized tubes instead of wires. Nicholson did not approve of the choice, as he told Madan when the alarm went wrong, and Cowley probably felt likewise as he raced down the High Street at 3.30 a.m. "I most sincerely commiserate you", wrote Nicholson, on holiday, to Cowley. "It's lucky your heart is all right ...

If I am ever so summoned, I fear it would be bad policy for me to run the distance - even from the Bodleian point of view. But my bicycle-lamp is always kept in order for instant lighting, and I may be relied on to appear dressed in a nightshirt and a bunch of keys." False alarms became frequent, and the system was later removed.⁷⁵

In a fit of apprehension, the Committee on fire-alarms removed the telephone wires in 1906, along with an electric bell, only to replace them in February 1908.⁷⁶ Nicholson had suggested a 'phone between the Camera and the Bodleian in 1882, but the installation cost, £50, was too high. In 1894 the installation was offered at an annual rental of £5, with no other costs, and was accepted.⁷⁷

The lavatories.

Nicholson was always concerned to improve facilities, however minor. He enjoyed designing small items of furniture, and before he came into residence was ordering umbrella stands, pen holders, and the like.⁷⁸ An undesirable inconvenience was the dearth of lavatories - apart from one staff toilet, there was one in the Quadrangle for readers, and one each for staff and readers in the Camera, but none for women; there were only five wash-basins. T.G. Jackson drew up plans in 1883, but the Hebdomadal Council was opposed.⁷⁹

Incredibly, no action was taken for 24 years. In 1896 Madan was complaining about the staff facilities: "No one but the present madman would have the only urinal for members of the staff in the Bodleian proper, on the public staircase, only partly screened off, and with no ventilation."⁸⁰

Nicholson raised the question again in 1907, and William Osler, the Regius Professor of Medicine, pressed the Curators. But even after a plumber had condemned the existing arrangements, the Curators could not agree. At length, lavatories at the Camera were opened on 10 April 1911, with separate staircases for men and women (though with no hot water). New staff lavatories were opened in 1914.⁸¹

The Bodleian exterior.

The exterior of the Library was not ignored by Nicholson. He was only stopped from turfing the Quadrangle and planting creepers when Chandler pointed out that Sir Thomas Bodley had neglected to make provision in his statutes for gardening.⁸² Most exterior work needed the consent of the University Chest, and Nicholson severely criticized their lack of architectural sympathy. An instance was the carving of portrait-heads on the corbels in the Schools Quadrangle. T.G. Jackson sent his carver to Oxford in 1900; but the Chest had neglected to forewarn Nicholson:

"I should have thought," he wrote, "that on such a point it would have been only commonly courteous to consult the executive head of the library, more especially as it was on his personal initiative that the work was at last being completed. But my anxiety is not to claim consideration or courtesy, but simply to prevent unpardonable architectural inconsistency."

The Chest had decided that several portraits should be of people who could not have appeared on the original corbels of Bodley's time, including Laud, Selden, and Clarendon. The work, however, went ahead.⁸³

Nicholson's most famous clash with the Chest concerned the Proscholium, the area below the Arts End. In 1902 the Chest installed bicycle-stands for women students. Nicholson and the Bodleian Curators protested, but the Vice-Chancellor, D.B. Monro, supported the Chest. Nicholson accused the Vice-Chancellor of exceeding his powers, and claimed that no-one could usurp the Librarian's jurisdiction except Convocation or the High Court. Nicholson waited until a new Vice-Chancellor was appointed, W.W. Merry, and on 8 October 1904 Nicholson threw the bicycles out; but they returned, and Nicholson threw them out again.⁸⁴

After long negotiations, the Chest resolved to ask Convocation to approve the cycle-stands but not decide on the question of jurisdiction. Nicholson issued his pamphlet, 'Pro Bodleio!!!', in which he attacked the Chest.

Edwin Cannan, the economist, accused Nicholson of empire-building, and pleaded on behalf of the poorer readers: "They live far off, and they are not affluent enough to dine at Boffin's or to make their midday

meal one of secondary importance. They cannot afford to have their machines ruined by rain, nor to risk the diseases which come from riding on wet saddles." At Convocation, Nicholson defeated the Chest by 136 votes to 55. The Chest also aggravated Nicholson when they repaired a pinnacle without first telling him. He wrote to Cowley: "They make me feel like 'Judge Phinn' in Col. Hay's ballad 'The mystery of Gilgal' (not the Palestinian G.):-

He went for his 'leven-inch bowie-knife:
 'I tries to foller a Christian life;
 But I'll carve a slice of liver or two,
 My bloomin shrub, with you'. " 85

The windows.

Nicholson's lengthiest campaign was the unblocking of windows to give more light to the storerooms and improve the exterior, though the Curators did not always approve because of the loss of shelving. Nicholson particularly wanted to re-open two windows in the Selden End and threatened to haunt the room until they were (but they never have been).⁸⁶

Nicholson had unblocked 15 windows by 1898, though the Curators had only given permission for the first. When he proposed to open five windows in the Auctarium, the Curators objected, but Nicholson maintained that only he could permit this work; however, unblocking was suspended.⁸⁷ The worst room was the Picture Gallery, where 11 windows were blocked. These had to be opened when the Upper Reading Room came into existence, though in 1910 the Curators objected when two more windows were opened there:

"I refused to admit that I hadn't the right," Nicholson wrote to Osler. "I said I'd unblocked dozens of windows without the Board challenging my action - and I denied that a wooden screen or even a brick wall put up at back of a window are part of the fabric. Anson said if I did it again without leave he should take action, but I stood to my guns and refused to compromise my freedom."

Only in 1922 were two of the largest windows unblocked according to Nicholson's wishes, and no-one now denies that the unblocked windows have greatly improved the Bodleian.⁸⁸

Despite his frequent clashes with Curators and others, Nicholson was consistent in wanting the best for both readers and books in the Bodleian. The Upper Reading Room and underground bookstore are monuments to his persistence, though achieved at the expense of his health. The tragedy of his librarianship was that his subordinates and Curators all desired the same ends but disagreed on the means to those ends.

At the 1877 Conference of Librarians, W.E.A. Axon quoted Carlyle on the need for a catalogue of the British Museum: "A library is not worth anything without a catalogue - it is a Polyphemus without any eye in its head." These were sentiments which Nicholson heartily endorsed. At the Bodleian, the maintenance of the catalogues was an even more pressing concern than at the London Institution.¹

Under Coxe, the printed catalogue of 1843, and its 1851 supplement, had been superseded by the guard-book system of pasted slips. Finished in 1878, this author catalogue consisted of 723 folio volumes. Three slips were transcribed per entry - one for the Bodleian catalogue, one for a duplicate copy in the Camera, and the third for a subject catalogue. As Nicholson realized, the catalogue needed immediate revision. Headings were based ultimately on the 1674 catalogue - many, especially place-names, were in Latin; I and J, and U and V, were interfiled; and there were confusing form-headings such as 'Grammatica', 'Poesis', etc. The cataloguing rules were abridged from Panizzi's British Museum code, but only one copy was in the whole Bodleian.²

The cataloguing code.

Nicholson had compiled his 'Compendious cataloguing-rules' by October 1882, following the L.A.U.K. rules, virtually word-for-word, though with a few amendments.³ He added rules on size-notation, grammar, and abbreviations. Size-notation had stirred the greatest passions in the Library Association, but now Nicholson could follow his own scheme. He circulated a draft proposal, with an alternative by Madan, to L.A. members, making it clear which scheme he preferred - his own. Nicholson's notation used the old forms, '8^o', 'fol.', etc., with modifying phrases such as 'la.', 'sm.', 'obl.', and depended firstly on watermarks and secondly on the gatherings: e.g. a book measuring 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ " by 13" on unwatermarked folio leaves gathered in eights was represented by "(eights) obl. 4^o". Madan's scheme had a similar notation, but measurements differed (e.g. Nicholson's atlas folios were over 28", but Madan's were over 22"), and Madan only referred to watermarks in early printed books.

Madan of course condemned Nicholson's plan: "I call it very clumsy and troublesome, and in so far as it neglects gathering where there is no sign, wrong." The flaw in Nicholson's scheme was that modern books were treated similarly to the old; the height in inches was all that was required.⁴

Nicholson's cataloguing rules were introduced for post-1882 books with no attempt to make pre-1882 entries conform. Thus both Latin and Anglicized forms of the same place were found; noblemen were entered under title instead of family-name (with cross-references); and anonymous works were entered under the first word (unless an article) of the title, instead of under a keyword. Nicholson himself later admitted that the catalogue was 'chaos', with its two systems, but he really had little choice. The solution was to revise the old headings, but there was never sufficient money nor staff.⁵

The cataloguing process involved 23 steps, including classifying, handlisting, entering on the Bodleian and Camera accessions-lists, and transcribing and pasting slips. Nicholson kept the cataloguers at high pressure, and proudly reported that 35,395 slips had been transcribed in 1885, compared to 8,653 in 1880. But Nicholson increased the workload by unnecessarily detailed cataloguing of collectaneous volumes, e.g. the 33 volumes of G.H. Pertz's 'Monumenta Germaniæ historica' produced 1,180 separate slips. The analytical indexing of learned journals and 'Festschriften' was often criticized, but Nicholson was working in an era when their bibliographical control was negligible.⁶

Nicholson defended detailed cataloguing: "To make the literary value of a work the criterion as to the fulness with which it should be catalogued is not merely to set up an impracticable test but to create arrears of cataloguing for the future. Every generation of librarians is more particular in its cataloguing: and, when the books which are now thought little of come to be valued on account of their age, posterity will not be content with incomplete cataloguing but will require the work to be done over again."⁷

Arrears.

Before Nicholson's arrival, Madan had warned him of the arrears, especially of dissertations. Almost immediately Nicholson found about 170 uncatalogued books in the Douce collection, as well as 1,000 almanacs and 646 Douce chapbooks. He ordered the cataloguing of music (for the first time), dissertations (which Coxe had deliberately ignored, and the supply of which Nicholson increased), charters, coins, prints, maps, playing-cards, the Daxtons etc.; progress was duly recorded in his report for 1882-7. All this was in addition to cataloguing current accessions and manuscripts. He attempted too much together, and current work soon went into arrears.⁸

Nicholson defended the inclusion of thousands of dissertations in the catalogue on the ground that they could not ignore what they had

asked other universities to send. Similarly, he believed that the Library was obliged to catalogue all Copyright accessions to ensure that Parliament continued this privilege. But many books remained uncatalogued and, more seriously, unhandlisted. The handlists were the means of verifying the Library's contents, and each accession had to be entered on one before cataloguing, which Madan considered "the very first requisite" to detect thefts.

"What I cannot forgive," wrote Madan in February 1885, "is (1) the whole Law-room unreferenced, (2) the two systems in the Catalogue...., (3) >10,000 uncatalogued treatises (Latin orations, dissertations etc.) (4) final arrangement of Gough room, (5) absence of handlists for some of the collections. While these faults are uncorrected (the Librn. having been here 3 years!) I cannot argue with him or deal with him as a competent librarian."⁹

Nicholson was well-aware of these deficiencies, and though he looked forward to vanquishing all arrears, he insisted on extensive cataloguing (even corset-lists were included) so that work would not have to be repeated. Madan continued to find errors. In 1889 he noted that the Bodleian's own printed catalogue of dissertations was not catalogued - yet he refused to tell Nicholson. Madan taxed Nicholson with moving reference books without altering handlists to show their new positions. "If you make it your business to find out errors of this kind, you will doubtless find plenty," replied Nicholson. Madan took this as an admission of guilt, and reported the conversation to Mowat.¹⁰

Before the Visitation on 8 November 1890, Madan showed Mowat a list of questions aimed at seeing if the Librarian could deny that there were over fifty unhandlisted incunabula and over 10,000 unhandlisted and uncatalogued books (mainly dissertations and Indian reports). Nicholson reported that a large number of the less valuable printed books were without handlists. Mowat successfully moved an amendment to the Statute, that the Curators should demand an exact list of missing or damaged books, and should personally inspect the Library to ensure that the Statute was obeyed. A Committee on Arrears listed unhandlisted collections, according to relative urgency. They approached the University for a grant for three years to tackle the most pressing arrears, while the Librarian was asked to present a six-monthly progress report.¹¹

Thousands of handlisting and hundreds of cataloguing arrears were now being disposed of each year. At the same time approximately 20,000 slips were transcribed for the author catalogue each year, rising to over 40,000 in 1911.

Increased cataloguing meant arrears of slips awaiting pasting. This led to demands to decrease the cataloguing. H.A. Wilson wanted to exclude cross-references until later, and he urged the Cambridge system, i.e. dividing accessions according to whether they were more or less important, and relegating the latter to an abbreviated catalogue. Nicholson considered a new Statute was necessary to compel him to start a secondary catalogue; "there was no use in provoking rows", thought Wilson.¹²

During the 1890's, Nicholson began his appeals for benefactions. "Our catalogue of printed books is to a large extent so obsolete and complicated in its method of arrangement," he claimed, "and at the same time so incomplete, that it would take several persons' work for some years to bring it abreast of the times; but that work cannot even be begun." In 1899 a committee decided that extinguishing arrears was more important.¹³

In the 'Statements of the needs of the University' in 1902, the Curators emphasized the need to re-construct the catalogue on a uniform scale. Nicholson agreed, but while Madan blamed the Librarian for not revising the catalogue, Nicholson saw that a large body of trained temporary staff would be needed, as well as permanent staff to catalogue Oriental and mediæval manuscripts.

"We are almost at our wits' end to accommodate the general catalogue of printed books", wrote Nicholson. "To suggest printing it is no present remedy. With the present staff or present income it can never be printed."¹⁴

Printing the Catalogue.

As far back as 1882, Nicholson had suggested printing. Writing in 1907 to Horace Hart, Controller of the University Press, Nicholson recalled his plan: "Before what a Japanese would call the ever memorable inception of your augustness's heaven-inspired control, I, an enthusiastic young gallant of 33, conceived the idea of substituting print for the carbonic multiplying process used in the Bodleian catalogue.

My objects were superior clearness and economy of space.

My method was for us to instal a small plant in what is now the photographic room, and for the Press to supply a compositor to do the work.

I abandoned the idea because, after 3 experiments in composition made by the Press on their own premises, I found it impossible to produce printed slips at anything approaching the cost or the rapidity of the carbonic slips."¹⁵

The Curators decided against the idea; however, by the 1900's Madan was advocating the use of print, and the Curators favoured it in their 'Statements'. But Nicholson considered catalogue revision as far more urgent and, to Madan's annoyance, would only consider printing if "given the funds."¹⁶ In August 1906 A.L. Smith approached Madan, who estimated printing costs at £1,000 per annum for 10-15 years. On 1 December Pelham moved that a committee consider the feasibility of printing. T.A. Brassey promised funds and persuaded several colleges to contribute annual grants. Nicholson lost no time in compiling estimates.

"Of one thing I am quite certain," he wrote to G.K. Fortescue of the British Museum, " - that if we were willing - as I should not be - to print our catalogue as it stands (with all its inconsistencies, pedantries, puerilities, insufficiencies, and blunders) and thereby make ourselves the laughing-stock of our profession, we could not even do that for less than about £24,000.... But I won't do a scamped piece of work, and I don't want to paralyse the other work of the library (which includes great inherited arrears of cataloguing) by undertaking a gigantic task with totally insufficient staff and funds." Fortescue believed the British Museum had paid about £90,000 over 20 years on printing its Catalogue. Nicholson thought that the Bodleian would have to spend at least £50,000.¹⁷

Catalogue revision.

By April 1907, the Bodleian catalogue itself had grown to 793 volumes, and the Camera copy to 935.¹⁸

As soon as the first grant was assured, Nicholson began separating I and J, and U and V. Madan thought Nicholson's behaviour audacious, since the Curators had not finally agreed. Although both Nicholson and Madan wanted a printed catalogue, they disagreed on a fundamental point - Nicholson wanted to publish it, while Madan only wished it printed for use in the Library. As usual bitterness was caused by the two senior librarians disagreeing over means to the same end.

In May 1907 Nicholson was allowed to engage extra staff to revise the catalogue under Strickland Gibson. During the first year, I and J, and U and V, were tackled, and English place-names substituted for Latin (e.g. 'Copenhagen' instead of 'Hafrica'); 37,051 slips were altered for £58.16.1½d. plus £51.16s. for re-binding. Nicholson next planned to collate the catalogue with that of the British Museum, revise headings of anonymous works, and distinguish authors entered in more than one place. Madan, however, urged that quarterly accessions lists be printed first.¹⁹

The excitement of revision seriously affected Nicholson's health. When Brassey had first mentioned a new catalogue, Nicholson replied "that if a new catalogue were undertaken before the staff of the library had been adequately increased 'you'll either kill the Librarian or drive him out of office'." He continued:

"On Ap. 4, 1907 I fell unconscious in the street in an epileptic faint (I never had a touch of epilepsy in my life before). That was the direct result of the question of the catalogue being pushed in the Easter Vac. without giving the Librarian time to rest a little after 3 or 4 months of incessant overstrain. And at the very moment when the attack seized me I was thinking what I should say to the Catalogue Committee if they pressed me beyond my powers!

On June 12, 1907 I had a second like attack in the street. I just escaped unconsciousness by lying down on the side of the pavement coram populo - but all the strength seemed to go out of me as if I were paralysed."

During his convalescence, Nicholson insisted on revising the cataloguing rules. Throughout the early months of 1908 Nicholson's worries continued. Revision of form headings was proceeding, but the Curators had still not agreed to print the catalogue, and the supply of grants (approximately £650 per annum) was erratic. He poured out his troubles to Brassey and insisted that ha rassment (though much was self-imposed), must stop.²⁰

Nicholson planned to issue the catalogue as each letter was ready - he expected 'A' to appear by 1914, and the style would conform with the British Museum's, with symbols to show early printed books and which books were not in the British Museum or Cambridge. He wanted a running number by each entry to "furnish us with the means of producing at any subsequent time in the smallest possible space the greatest printed subject-index the world has ever seen."

Nicholson was implacably opposed to printing accessions-lists, then cutting them up and pasting them into the catalogue. "The Librarian is the sole authority to whom the Statute gives any direction or control either of cataloguing or of the staff, and to carry out Mr. Madan's suggested plan it would be necessary either to change the Statute or at least to obtain a decree of Convocation overriding the Librarian's arbitrium in this particular case." Objections were raised to the cataloguing of periodicals, which Nicholson promised not to extend, while T.W. Jackson wondered whether the Bodleian was ethically right to use the British Museum's catalogue for collation purposes. However,



THE BODLEIAN CATALOGUE REVISION STAFF.

The original photograph was taken by F.C. Wellstood in July 1910 near Cassington, Oxon.. Strickland Gibson is at the far left, reclining on the grass.

From Bodleian Library papers, 'The printing of the Catalogue, May 1909 - 1911'.

revision proceeded, and Brassey promised to increase the Library's income for catalogue revision to £1,000 per annum.²¹

More extra staff was recruited, and their training depended increasingly on Gibson, who was not allowed to delegate work; their duties were laid out in the 'Staff-Kalendar'. By November 1910, 36,874 slips had been pasted into the catalogue, and 1,705 anonymous authors had been identified.²²

Nicholson could not maintain supervision during his illnesses, nor adequately control the finances. In June 1911 staff were only spared dismissal by the intervention of Brassey. On Nicholson's death, over £3,500 had been spent, but collation with the British Museum catalogue had not reached 'D' and revision of personal name headings was only in 'F'. Madan started a new system and later claimed that satisfactory revision only dated from 1912; as encouragement, Brassey donated £3,000²³.

Madan revived his idea of printing lists of accessions, which appeared in the new Bodleian Quarterly Record from 1914. In 1915 he instituted a 'Survey', which concentrated on anonymous works and subject headings. Even the 'Survey' proved too slow, and for post-1920 accessions, a completely new catalogue was started, using printed slips; to have printed the old catalogue would have cost about £75,000.²⁴

The 'Transcribed catalogue' of Coxe and Nicholson was thus 'closed', having defeated all attempts at revision. The result is what Nicholson himself would have deplored: two separate catalogues, constructed on different principles - which of course is for what Madan continually blamed Nicholson. But Nicholson's 1882 rules and attempted revision showed his concern that the Bodleian should have a creditable catalogue, and insufficient finance and staff are more to blame for the catalogue's deficiencies than Nicholson's elaborations.

Arrears were not forgotten during the revision, but in 1915 Madan ended the cataloguing of certain classes, including children's books, tracts, and scientific and legal dissertations. In addition, few periodicals were indexed.²⁵

Incunabula.

Nicholson found that many incunabula had never reached the main catalogue. "You will like to know", he wrote to Henny Bradshaw in 1882, "that I have directed the immediate cataloguing of all our uncatalogued fragmenta typographica. Probably also such of them as are bound up together will be rebound separately. I have also in contemplation the bringing together of all our incunabula in such arrangement as will be most instructive to the student of the history of printing"²⁶

The re-arrangement never took place, but in 1886-8 E.G. Duff, an undergraduate, offered to catalogue Bodleian incunabula. Duff had reached the letter 'J' when he left in 1888, and had been listing pre-1640 English books not in the British Museum.²⁷

Duff's work was continued in 1891 by another talented undergraduate, R.G.C. Proctor. When Proctor left in 1893, he had completed Duff's incunabula index, continued the pre-1640 catalogue, and compiled a list of fifteenth-century printers. Duff had at first been unimpressed by Proctor: "He ought to do good work", he wrote to Francis Jenkinson, "only he wants shaking up a bit, he is too much Madan's style."²⁸

Nicholson tried to publish Proctor's list of printers, but was overruled by a committee of Bywater and Andrew Clark. However, Nicholson did not take kindly to Proctor's proposal that Kegan Paul issue a short-title index to the incunabula. The entries would be far too much abbreviated, and of course would have prevented Nicholson himself from publishing a detailed catalogue: "I am very much annoyed at the prospect of this mutilated thing being published in direct opposition to the entreaties of the Librarian who had the work done", he wrote to Duff, who agreed, considering the proposal "a piece of great impertinence. The work was originally started on your suggestion, and paid for out of the library funds and it seems preposterous that a man who was paid to work at it, and who of course without your explicit permission had no right even to make copies of the slips for his own use, should skim the cream off the top of his own work & that of his predecessor and offer it to a London publisher." So permission was refused, but the Delegates of the Press also doubted whether they could afford to publish a detailed catalogue.²⁹

Proctor was persuaded to compile an 'Index to the early printed books in the British Museum', including Bodleian books. Once again he was afraid Nicholson would intervene, as he wrote to Jenkinson: "I know that any intimation to N. that I was going to print it would only mean that he would refuse to let me do it point blank. So it must be done behind his back. Of course he will do all he can to make things unpleasant for me, but can he go beyond threats? If not, I don't care." Jenkinson advised him to proceed, and it is not improbable that Nicholson was relieved when Proctor's magnum opus was published in 1898-9, filling a large gap in the Bodleian's catalogues; it listed 4,762 Bodleian incunabula, including 1,551 not in the British Museum.³⁰

The classification scheme.

One of Nicholson's most lasting, though unpublished, reforms was his classification scheme for printed books. Fixed-press notation had been used in the Bodleian until the nineteenth century. In 1861 Coxe inaugurated a scheme for arranging modern books in the newly-acquired Radcliffe Camera, subsequently known as the Camera Classification. This was extended in 1864 to contain 73 classes and coincided with the introduction of the transcribed author catalogue of printed books for which a spare slip was produced for a proposed subject catalogue.

Coxe's scheme was too broad for Nicholson's belief in "minute classification to the utmost degree short of confusion", and Nicholson expanded it to over 6,000 subdivisions, using a decimal notation without the decimal point: e.g. 30261, 'etymological dictionaries', was a subdivision of 302, which in Coxe's scheme was the only number for 'English philology'. Nicholson added a letter (a-g) denoting size (a = over 20", g = less than 5", etc.), followed by a running number. The size-division letters caused some confusion with Coxe's letters, but are still in use (though certain material was treated differently, as will be seen).³¹

"You will like to know", he wrote to Melvil Dewey, "that I have since 1884 made the current shelf-classification of this library more minute than that of any other in this country, I suppose. It was much more primitive even than that of the B.M. but now it consists of at least 6000 sections, which are of course always slowly increasing - and Law, Numismatics, and Oriental languages and literatures have still to be properly subdivided.

I felt unable to break with the meaning of the old nos.
But the system is only meant for an ad interim one."³²

Nicholson stoutly defended his belief in classification:

"I believe that the feeling of all English-speaking librarians of any intellectual vigour and zeal for library-work is the same as my own, namely that 'a library ought not to be merely a warehouse for supplying particular works when they are wanted; it ought to be a machine for coordinating the literature of all subjects so as to guide and help the readers of all subjects'."³³

One disadvantage was that lengthy numbers could result in popular classes - thus on 11 March 1905 Madan noted that a new novel was pressmarked 256.e.13656. When in 1892 Nicholson asked advice on referencing library catalogues, Madan hesitated: "My system of referencing is so different from his that I have to assume a good deal

before I can set myself to his plane. I mean that with millions as ref. marks I cant say anything as to what to advise: if it was done more simply I might be able to. In fact, I object so much to his system of reference that I begin to doubt if it is an advantage to ref. them in that style at all, as opposed to having a handlist of them (without reff.), revised every year, and waiting for better times."

Madan also disliked notations involving fractions, which Nicholson developed for bibliography and certain other subjects; e.g. a catalogue of Latin manuscripts in Prague was referenced at $\frac{259021.d.}{\text{Prague } 1^a \frac{1}{1}}$.

"This is higher mathematics, not sanity."³⁴

Inevitably not everyone agreed with the order of subjects in the classification scheme, as when H.A. Wilson complained to Wickham Legg after finding the Westminster Assembly's Directory under 'Other reformed service books - episcopal', with Knox's 'Book of common order':

"This even the Diabolus Bibliothecae, when I showed it him, admitted to be 'very bad'." And Proctor recorded that Legg was "very amusing about the Diabolus Bibliothecae (Old Nic[h]olson) & his classification of the Immaculate Conception under Obstetrics - Abnormal forms of generation & of rifles cannons etc. under Zoology among fossils. Somebody suggested it was because of the flint locks." Henceforward Nicholson was known to Madan as the 'D.B.'.³⁵

Special classification schemes.

Nicholson devised separate classification schemes for subjects kept in the Bodleian itself, such as music, Oriental literature, and numismatics (for the last, merely a number representing place and period, preceded by 'Num.'), while topographical books and drama continued as Gough Adds. and Malone Adds. respectively. For incunabula, most of which were kept in the Auctarium and lettered 'Auct.', Proctor drew up an arrangement by country, subdivided chronologically by place, i.e. according to the order in which printing was started in each town.

Thus Anwykll's 'Compendium totius grammaticae' was referenced Inc.e.E2. $\frac{1483}{1}$, where 'Inc.' = incunabula; 'e' = the size; E2 = Oxford, i.e. the second place in England (E) to adopt printing; and $\frac{1483}{1}$ =

the first book to be printed (in Oxford) in 1483. The disadvantage was that size preceded place, but it was a creditable attempt to adapt the latest theories of bibliography. Unfortunately Nicholson forgot to ask Proctor for a scheme for England, which had to be added later: "But what

can be thought of the insanity or criminal haste which in a most elaborate scheme for incunabula omits England 'accidentally'?" stormed Madan.³⁶

More contentious was the law classification. Nicholson prepared a complicated scheme in 1894; thus C.R. Tyser on marine insurance was referenced L.Eng.C.28.e.. But W. Ince complained to the Vice Chancellor Insurance 1

in 1896 that the scheme as "framed by the librarian is not, as I understand from him, based upon any knowledge of Law, any consultation with the librarians or any examination of existing Law Libraries. He has designed it after a perusal of Holland's Jurisprudence, an admirable book, but not written so Dr. Holland assures me, as a scheme for the arrangement of a Law Library."

Ince objected to the way each division was treated: thus 'Criminal Law' was divided alphabetically, viz. 'Abduction', 'Arson', 'Assault', etc., and each section was subdivided into: history, biography, treatises, reports, etc.. But what did 'Abduction: biographies' mean? "Is it a Classified Newgate Calendar or is it appropriated to persons who have given their lives to the theory rather than the practise of Abduction?" Although Nicholson temporarily suspended the scheme, it was in use until the Law Library was built in the 1960's.³⁷

The subject catalogue

The classification scheme provided a key to the subject catalogue. This had been started by Coxe in 1878, using the spare slips from the author catalogue. A controversial undertaking, it was opposed by Mark Pattison and Bywater as vigorously as it was supported by Jowett.

Nicholson had no doubts about the subject catalogue and he employed temporary Extra Staff to sort the slips; about 150,000 slips were arranged into 52 subjects during 1882. Until the classification scheme was developed, however, the final form of the subject catalogue was impossible to see, and only certain classes specially requested by readers were subdivided further. The task was immense, and at least 10,000 slips had to be incorporated each year for current accessions. Nicholson found that re-arrangement of the rooms and maintenance of the author catalogue were more important, and gradually the Extra Staff was reduced until in 1886 only one supernumary assistant was employed; Nicholson revised the headings himself.³⁸

In his first flush of enthusiasm, Nicholson inaugurated in 1883 an interesting experiment which foreshadowed modern 'current awareness' services. For Bodleian readers only, he offered to send lists of new

books in the reader's field, and to scholars in general he promised to sort out catalogue slips for subject bibliographies. An American visitor waxed enthusiastically over the idea: "Such attentions are so incredible that in reading of them, many will be affected to tears. Our appreciation of favors depends very much on what we expect. In a Broadway street-car, one is grateful for clean straw." R.A. Peddie recalled "my first visit to Bodley at the beginning of my career and my hesitating request to Nicholson for help in a bibliography I was then at work on. The reply came at once, 'Mr. Peddie, the whole of the slips relating to that subject will be on your table in half an hour', and they were!" Nicholson was overwhelmed with requests, often covering large subject areas. Reluctantly he ended this service in 1889, though he re-organized the lists of current accessions into 12 subject divisions, displayed in the Bodleian and Camera.³⁹

Henry Chandler.

The 'information-card system' proved the utility of the subject catalogue, but the latter was threatened by internal forces. When in November 1885 Nicholson applied for an increase of staff, H.W. Chandler condemned much of the increased work, especially the subject catalogue, which he described as a "millstone ... round the librarian's neck." Chandler scorned attempts to ease the lot of the researcher, though he conceded that a limited subject index might be feasible: "This might, perhaps, assist the toddling babes of literature, but the men do not want it, and I contend that only the men ought to be admitted to such a library as the Bodleian." Most Curators deplored Chandler's vehemence, but Bywater successfully moved for a report on the state of the subject catalogue.⁴⁰

Nicholson had by now realized the enormity of the task, and in July 1886 he reported how the Extra Staff had been reduced to one and that the revision of slips had been suspended; for once, Nicholson preferred a less active rôle: "And I cannot, by offering any pledge on the subject, voluntarily add to the constant pressure and pretty nearly constant harass which are inseparable from the duties which the librarian of the Bodleian has to fulfil." He estimated that he must revise slips at the rate of 200 per day, and even if he delayed starting until 1890, it could not be finished before 1911. Bywater secured a committee on the subject, which sat throughout 1888. Nicholson's belief in the utility of the subject catalogue remained unshaken, and he continued to place his faith in the needs of future scholars.

Nicholson believed that his classification scheme was not detailed

enough; the more subdivisions, the less the user was distracted by irrelevant material. The committee found in favour of the subject catalogue, not only because they were reluctant to see ten years' work wasted, but also because they saw the catalogue could be used as each small section was compiled, though Bywater dissented. The Curators endorsed the committee's report on 25 October 1888 by 5 votes to 4, but Chandler immediately published 'Some observations on the Bodleian classed catalogue'.⁴¹

Chandler's memorandum coincided with the consideration by the Curators of a 'Memorial' urging economies, but Nicholson confidently assured them that the subject catalogue would be ready within three years. A campaign soon built up against Nicholson. One writer, almost certainly Neubauer, commented after Ecclesiastes: "One classifier passeth away, and another classifier cometh, but the classed catalogue abideth for ever."⁴²

The regular classifier was G.J. Burch, who, on leaving in 1890, reported having classified about 97% of all the slips, except law and theology, and arranged them in about 120 boxes - these slips were of course transcribed slips, and no attempt was made to re-classify older books. In 1890, when Convocation discussed the 'Questions' attacking the Library administration, Henry Nettleship mistakenly claimed that Nicholson was relabelling books in order to re-classify the whole Library. He was doing no such thing, but many critics remembered his former desire to re-arrange the Library, and saw the subject catalogue as a means of effecting this.⁴³

Nicholson dared not spend money on special staff, nor had he time to revise the thousands of slips. Its annual progress was mentioned for the last time in the 1900 Annual Report. The slips were never pasted into volumes, but kept loose in packets, despite Madan's fear of theft. After Nicholson's death, the slips were quietly forgotten, a sad end to a well-intentioned scheme. Nevertheless, the British Museum's subject indexes helped fill this bibliographical gap, especially those by Peddie.⁴⁴

Henry Jenner.

During the 1890's, attention reverted to the classification scheme, particularly when Henry Jenner recommended reducing the elaborate classification. This view was based on the belief that the more subject divisions, the more shelf space had to be left vacant for additions, but ignored the point that a room can only contain a certain number of books; the suggestion that Copyright accessions be reduced

and that less valuable books remain uncatalogued, was attractive to a committee of Curators.⁴⁵

The Curators thought the Bodleian might adopt the Cambridge system, though not approved by Nicholson ("Cambridge uses a short-title system, which I don't think accurate."). Henry Bradshaw's principle had been that the real catalogues were the shelf-lists. At Cambridge, accessions were divided into General or Lower books - only the former appeared in the catalogue, while the latter were indexed briefly and stored 'to await better times'. On the other hand, Cambridge used fixed notation until 1900, causing vast problems (which the Bodleian did not share) when books were shifted.⁴⁶

The Cambridge system, though, meant three catalogues on different systems. The Curators looked indulgently at the less complicated British Museum classification, as "it would seem that the simpler method saves time, space, and labour, and might enable Bodley's Librarian to devote himself more seriously than he does at present to the selection of books for purchase, and other matters of more importance to the Library." Anson followed this by writing to Nicholson: "Shelf-classification is not an end in itself. It may lead to waste of time, or of space, or to injury to books by shifting, especially where they are carried through open spaces. These things are a balance of convenience. Don't therefore think that the end of the world is at hand because we question some of your methods: and don't be so sceptical as to our motives."⁴⁷

The 'Propositions'.

Nicholson had mounted a rearguard action on an unprecedented scale - in December 1896 he sent to over 100 librarians throughout the world a circular attacking the Curators and seeking the recipients' views on 24 questions, or 'Propositions'. Fifteen were on the value of shelf-classification and subject handlists, culminating with the opinion that the Bodleian would be moving in the opposite direction to current thinking if it was denied that a library's shelves should be a systematic guide to knowledge. Nicholson also sought support for collecting all kinds of literature under the Copyright Acts, cataloguing everything fully, and that the Curators were wrong to exclude him from their meetings.

The 'Propositions' were no more than a public attack on the Curators and the Hebdomadal Council, and their importance lies in revealing to what lengths Nicholson would go to defend his independence of action. He quoted the Statute to show that he alone was responsible for classification. The answers are not so significant, as few librarians

would disagree with Nicholson's principles in theory, while few understood the special circumstances. About 85% answered the questions on classification and cataloguing in Nicholson's favour, and almost 95% agreed with him about committee interference. But only 20 British librarians replied, and others refused.⁴⁸

Richard Garnett was suspicious of the 6,000 subdivisions of Nicholson's classification, but Nicholson defended himself by comparison to other schemes:

"It is customary to regard Dewey as the ne plus ultra of minute classification - his scheme being a 10,000 one - and to look on it as a Yankee notion. The Royal Library at Berlin has long been miles ahead of Dewey in minuteness - indeed, while we recognize size-division at all (and I hope none of us would want to discard that), I don't see how it is possible to go beyond Berlin. They have a classed catalogue, and a shelf-arrangement corresponding with it, in which each new book is inserted in what seems to be its logical place (subject to a division into sizes). This is done by the use of interpolated numbers....

I myself had adopted a similar system in 1882 for the select students' library which I formed at the Camera, and have kept it up ever since: so that I know it is perfectly workable. I have also used the same system of interpolated numbers for inserting new coins in their right places in the coin-collection."⁴⁹

The committee of Curators finally admitted that shelf-classification did not adversely affect the space on the shelves, and agreed that any simplification would produce problems with the subject catalogue. After communicating with the other deposit libraries they decided it was impossible to diminish accessions significantly, and nothing came of Jenner's proposals - except for the increased ill-feeling between Librarian and Curators.⁵⁰

The classification of manuscripts.

Nicholson did not neglect the classification of manuscripts. He first introduced his size-divisions (a-g) into the topographical manuscripts in 1884. In 1887, as part of his desire to re-arrange the Library, he planned to subdivide accessions according to subject. Madan was unimpressed ("The original draft I have and it is too absurd for criticism."), and advice was sought from E.M. Thompson (when asked why he had not asked advice elsewhere, Nicholson told Madan he found it best not to consult those who would disagree). At the British Museum, most acquisitions were put into 'Additional MSS.' with no attempt at classification.

Eventually Nicholson produced a scheme which even Madan pronounced as not bad though unnecessary (Madan was needlessly afraid he would have to alter all the MSS.Add. A-E which he had catalogued). English, Latin and Greek manuscripts were divided according to language, then subject, size, and running number, i.e. MSS. Eng. bibl., liturg., th[eology], hist., poet[ry], and misc.; Greek and Latin were divided into: bibl., liturg., th., class[ics], and misc. No other language was subdivided except by size - i.e. all French manuscripts were in 'MSS. Fr.', etc. Readers could now see handlists of new accessions corresponding to language and approximate subject area.

One disadvantage was the inexact terminology: 'MSS. Eng. hist.' were historical documents in English but not necessarily about England; confusion arose between 'theological' and 'liturgical' manuscripts. Madan's justifiable grievance was that Nicholson could re-reference old accessions into the new scheme. This was obviously consistent with Nicholson's desire to re-arrange the Library, but caused annoyance.

During the 1880's Nicholson instituted MSS. Mus[ic], Num[ismatics], Maps, and Autogr[aphs], and Eng. lang. in 1897; while Latin hist. and Eng. lett[ers] were added in the 1920's. Nicholson divided all Oriental manuscripts alphabetically in order of language (e.g. MSS. Aethiopic, Arabic, American, etc.), followed by size-division but with no separate classes.⁵¹

The catalogues of manuscripts.

Macray's catalogue of Digby manuscripts was published in 1883, and he turned straightaway to the Rawlinson D manuscripts. Madan had entered the Bodleian with no palaeographical experience, but his work in cataloguing accessions provided the expertise needed for the 'Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts'. None of this work was published, however, except for a four-page supplement to Coxe's Laudian Greek catalogue.

From the 1840's, most Bodleian catalogues were compiled on the 'quarto' system, which meant detailed descriptions of each manuscript, with a full index. Typical were Coxe's catalogues of the Greek, Laud and Canonici collections. In 1881, at William Stubbs' suggestion, Madan had reported on the manuscript collections, which gave Madan a valuable insight into the Library's contents and showed which collections had not been handlisted, catalogued, and/or indexed.⁵²

Under Coxe, Madan had been cataloguing fully MSS. Bodley, but he stopped before Nicholson arrived, and turned to a catalogue of additional Greek manuscripts. Over the next eight years Madan's work was varied, partly because of his other duties (e.g. second-hand purchases,

revising catalogue slips for printed books), and because of indecision over which manuscripts should be tackled first. Before the 'Summary Catalogue', he had worked on no less than 13 catalogues. In 1884 he began re-cataloguing manuscripts in the Old Catalogue of 1697, but after four months turned to MSS. Add. A-E. Nicholson explained that the "Additional MSS." were the chief current series of accessions, and every library should deal with its current work before attacking arrears: otherwise it not only creates fresh arrears but can never tell whether it is gaining or losing ground on the work it has to do." Madan also tackled Greek and Latin manuscripts and from 1885 adopted what he called the 'descriptive handlist' method, or briefer entries. The new classification scheme involved starting fresh catalogues. Although the Clarendon Press had agreed to publish the catalogue of Additional MSS., they were overtaken by events. Simultaneously Madan was compiling indexes on slips to his catalogues; these finally passed to the Librarian in September 1890, when Madan made it clear he could not recommend their amalgamation because of the different systems involved - Nicholson naturally wanted as few indexes as possible.⁵³

The 'Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts.'

Dissatisfaction with the number of uncatalogued manuscripts and the slow rate of cataloguing soon spread amongst the readers. Several manuscripts were discovered in the Bodleian, such as the Terence 'Codex Durnelmensis' and the Eusebius Chronicle of Jerome; W. Skeat was uncovering unknown early English poems. Madan's solution was an abbreviated catalogue on the lines of H. Omont's 'Inventaires Sommaires', and in 1889 he approached 'friendly' Curators. He ignored Nicholson, and it is worth noting that Madan's part was not discovered by Nicholson until 1895.

The suggestion of a 'Summary catalogue' was passed on to the Junior Proctor, A. Clark; the Curators discussed the proposal on 25 January 1890. Clark eventually published a 58-page 'letter', 'The cataloguing of manuscripts in the Bodleian Library', which Nicholson later claimed he never read ("yes - I only glanced at it - I had no need to read it."). Clark claimed there were 11,000 (amended to 9,000) uncatalogued manuscripts; as for catalogued manuscripts, the bemused reader had to search at least 18 printed and 20 manuscript catalogues, involving 16 printed and 12 manuscript indexes. Clark's arguments were re-inforced by a Memorial, headed by William Stubbs, and initiated by T.W. Jackson.⁵⁴

Opinions differed as to how quickly a summary catalogue could be completed. Madan calculated he took $3\frac{1}{4}$ hours to catalogue a manuscript

fully, but that on the proposed system he would only take 25 minutes, or 15 minutes for each of the 9,000 or so manuscripts already described in the 1697 Catalogue. Madan estimated the whole work could be completed in 6 years, Nicholson thought 33 years.

The basic disagreement was over the style and scope of cataloguing. Nicholson believed that cataloguing should "supply the wants of the non-resident scholar: and aid him by every means to identify or differentiate the particular MS.: the student of palaeography, of illuminations, of music, of bindings, of the history of libraries, will all demand different details: the staff desire information on the history and characteristics of each MS."; while Madan believed in giving "the minimum help which a scholar has a right to demand: by supplying a Student who has not as yet handled the volume with brief but precise information as to what he may expect to find."

Nicholson urged that the quarto system continue, arguing that the cataloguing would have to be done again if a summary was started. Nicholson's alternative was to publish Madan's list of collections and his catalogues, and to approach the University for a grant for additional cataloguers; by these means Nicholson hoped all manuscripts would be catalogued fully by 1902. Neubauer and Macray supported Nicholson.

The Curators asked for examples of cataloguing, and Madan wrote a brief description (less than half-a-page) of MS. Bodl. 264, the 'Romance of Alexander', which only merited a two-line entry in the 1697 Catalogue. Nicholson responded with a $3\frac{1}{2}$ page description of the same manuscript which included everything that was known or could be deduced, and provided 51 index-entries to Madan's 19. He also pointed out Madan's omission that the manuscript contained the travels of Marco Polo.⁵⁵

Craster was unfair to say that Nicholson "was constitutionally averse to the acceptance of proposals that he had not himself originated." More accurately, he opposed ideas emanating from particular quarters; he himself would never have originated an idea so hostile to his own principles. The Curators were divided, and Max Müller claimed to prefer a library where discoveries could still be made. "With these wild and ignorant statements flying about, what is to be done?" wondered Madan; "I can't show that I know what goes on at a Curators' Meeting: and yet their public opinion is being moulded by these hideous arguments!" The tide was turning against Nicholson. "But", wrote Nicholson, "a particular person, who has since stated the fact to me himself, won over the late Master of Balliol in an afternoon walk, and from that time I had

no chance." A committee was established to consider all the arguments.

Madan's estimate was now that he would take seven years, at a cost of £1,550. "There was no qualifying condition", wrote Nicholson, "no saving hint of a doubt. The whole estimate was perfectly precise and self-confident" Nicholson opposed for all the right reasons, but in this case necessity had to override perfection. As a last ploy, Nicholson determined to amalgamate all the catalogue indexes and handlists to provide a general inventory of the collections. But on 7 June 1890 the Curators agreed that all Western manuscripts not in the Quarto catalogues be henceforth catalogued according to the summary system, that Madan be released from other work, and that manuscripts be catalogued according to collections in chronological order of acquisition; cross-references were to be provided for manuscripts in the Quarto catalogues. Nicholson was not invited to attend the meetings of the Committee nor of the Curators. The last six months had been perhaps the toughest of Nicholson's career; at the end of June, Nicholson was absent with 'palpitations of the heart'.⁵⁶

Progress of the 'Summary Catalogue'.

The arguments were not yet over. Nicholson regarded the whole project as illegal, while Madan held himself responsible only to the Curators. As Madan's work progressed, Nicholson did his best to impose his control. The Curators recommended a classed catalogue of manuscripts, for use in the Library only. Nicholson opposed this on the grounds that the index to the Summary Catalogue should provide an adequate subject catalogue. But if the idea was approved, he wanted to do the work himself: "It would not be a matter of cataloguing MSS. at all, but a matter of classifying and arranging titles - which is a special line of my own, and in which my experience is, I suppose, almost indefinitely larger than that of anyone else in Bodley." If, he added, another member of staff was to compile it, then he would feel deprived of his statutory duties. The Curators dropped the proposal.⁵⁷

Madan started with manuscripts acquired since the 1697 Old Catalogue, and allotted to each a running number to overcome the problem of re-referencing. A boy spent half his time arranging manuscripts though Madan regarded foliation as arrears (and therefore the Librarian's responsibility). In June 1891 the Delegates of the Press agreed to publish the Catalogue, anticipating three volumes and a separate index (later amended to six volumes). The first sheets were soon on the reference shelves.⁵⁸

By March 1892 Madan had catalogued 980 manuscripts (though he should

have done 1,620 according to his estimate) and provided cross-references for 3,322 manuscripts already catalogued. Madan frequently complained about unhandlisted manuscripts, which made it difficult to know whether each collection was complete. Such were the Rawlinson J manuscripts which Madan refused to tell Nicholson of, until one day Nicholson discovered them; Madan, in Mowat's presence, blamed Nicholson, adding that if Nicholson held himself responsible for the handlists, Madan would assume that all manuscripts were handlisted. Nicholson discovered some of Madan's notes which listed uncatalogued manuscripts and blamed Nicholson. Madan asserted that his notes could only be seen by Curators or Nicholson's successor, and defended his refusal to report unhandlisted collections by saying he had never been asked.⁵⁹

In October 1893 Madan found some unfoliated Clarendon State Papers, and, on the basis that the Curators required Madan to give the number of leaves in each manuscript, he wrote to Nicholson: "I must ask you to take immediate steps to enable me to do so. Another reason for expedition is that the contents of the volumes, in several cases, can never be verified as complete until the suggested steps are taken." Nicholson answered that Madan should have anticipated this, adding: "And for a Sub-Librarian to write to the Librarian, 'I must ask you to take immediate steps' is a kind of phraseology which, while it would not under any circumstances suggest a consciousness of the relations which should exist between the two officers, is, under the circumstances of this case so specially unsuited that I suggest to you the propriety of altering it." Madan was unmoved and replied with a list of the collections he would be dealing with in future, adding: "Sweetman [his assistant] is responsible for the report on the need of foliation."⁶⁰

Nicholson's insertions.

The longest-running dispute concerned Nicholson's editorial control. He wanted to see Madan's 'copy', but Madan refused; he asked to see the proofs, but Madan refused. Instead, Nicholson saw the final revise, but Madan refused to look at it after Nicholson, and so Nicholson sent it to the Press himself. Nicholson liked to make corrections and additions, which Madan would not tolerate. This led to the most notorious feature of the Catalogue: the insertion of additional material, followed by Nicholson's initials, within square brackets. Nicholson explained how this arose:

"On May 10, 1893, I pointed out to him [i.e. Madan] that 'four English songs' in no. 15161 were poems by Charles, Duke of Orleans, and that consequently the date he had assigned to the MS. of them

(I think it was 'about 1400') was impossibly early. He thereon corrected the date to 'about 1430-40'. As regards the authorship, he said I could insert it with my initials appended. I suggested that he could state it himself, without my initials, and he replied: 'Thank you: d'you suppose I'm going to wear your plumes?' "

Madan said he would accept corrections but not additions (because "I have a profound distrust of the Librarian's judgement, especially in literary matters ..."). "This is what comes of letting him think that he can count on the support of Curators against his chief", mused Nicholson. Unfortunately Nicholson often added large, contentious notes to Madan's descriptions, while more appeared in 'Addenda and corrigenda'.

Madan correctly argued that the scope of the Catalogue should exclude such essays; he fought Nicholson bitterly over manuscripts about which Nicholson held mistaken ideas, including the notorious Adamnan manuscript, which Madan refused to discuss, "for I am sorry to say that my work does not allow me the same leisure for the subject which you appear to possess"⁶¹

In May 1894 the Curators agreed that Madan index non-Oriental papyri briefly. Nicholson wanted Madan to quote the descriptions in the handlists (i.e. written by Nicholson), but Madan claimed these were unworthy of the Library.⁶² On 9 January 1895, Madan found that "The wretched man has got Gibson to re-reference all D'Orville." Nicholson had altered in the final proofs, while Madan was on holiday, the pressmarks of all 618 D'Orville manuscripts, e.g. Madan's "Now MS. Auct. X.l.l.l." had been changed to " Now MS. D'Orville 1 (= Auct.X.l.l.l.)". A stormy Curators' meeting ensued on 11 May, from which Nicholson was ejected. Nicholson accused Madan of complaining to the Curators, which Madan denied - though he had told a Curator, T.W. Jackson.⁶³

Nicholson continued to alter pressmarks in the proofs: Gough missals, and the Bowyer and Mendham manuscripts were changed, as were 'Browne Willis' to 'Willis', 'MSS. Oxf. Archd. Papers' to 'MSS. Oxf. Archd.papers', 'Berks.' to 'Berks', 'Top. Oxf.' to 'Top. Oxon', and so on. But Nicholson did not have a monopoly on perversity, and Madan deliberately confused 'MSS. Top. Oxf.' and 'MSS. Top. Oxon' because, he claimed, Nicholson was "hopeless/ly inconsistent himself!... Now he has chosen Top. Oxon apparently, which is Latin, and like Salop for Shropshire: and certainly wrong." Each man could be equally obstinate.⁶⁴

The first volume appeared in 1895, actually numbered volume 3, and covering collections acquired from 1697 to 1800; volume 4, for collections received in 1801-50, was published in 1897. Their reception was

favourable, but Nicholson's notes were severely questioned in the Athenæum (an anonymous review attributed by Nicholson to Reginald Lane Poole), and by G.F. Warner of the British Museum in the English Historical Review, one of whose editors was Poole. As Nicholson had just caused Poole's defeat over a vacant Bodleian Curatorship, Nicholson, perhaps unjustly, suspected hidden motives. Nicholson took the attacks as a personal affront, and defended himself for being an amateur student ("Life is short, palæography and its attendant studies long - and like other studies they have their stumbling-blocks and pitfalls even for the wary"), adding: "It is easier to misunderstand such small pains than to appreciate them." Warner was the most censorious critic: "Surely something is amiss when want of harmony between colleagues is thus openly advertised; and whoever is to blame, it is to be hoped that the remaining four volumes will be free from so objectionable an element."⁶⁵ But Nicholson continued his 'short stories', as C. Cannan called them.⁶⁶

Madan's progress was increasingly falling behind his estimates. In January 1903 Madan presented his customary report, and estimated that the work would require eight volumes; he also wanted guidance from the Summary Catalogue Committee in treating twentieth-century accessions. Nicholson was livid; he had always regarded both Catalogue and Committee as illegal, and wanted a more detailed cataloguing system re-introduced. Nicholson had for years suspected that Madan would try to change the plan of the Catalogue - Madan wanted two separate indexes, one for manuscripts in the re-catalogued 1697 Catalogue (which Madan had not yet begun), and another for accessions between 1697 and 1900; in addition, Madan wanted the 'Summary' system extended to future accessions. But the original plan was for six volumes with one index, and no decision had been made for the future.

When Madan presented his report in 1903, Nicholson prepared a bitter attack on Madan: "... And I have firmly resolved that the existing arrangement shall not be upset, and that if the Board try to override my statutory rights in a matter of this kind I will print a statement of the history of the Summary Catalogue & send it to the Delegates of the Press, requesting them not to allow the agreement to be departed from. If the Press were to be deaf to this appeal, I should instantly place the entire case of the Librarian's statutory rights before King's counsel of the highest eminence, and should be prepared to maintain them to the last extremity." Nicholson drafted three memoranda against Madan, and provided extracts from the Statutes to show that only he could direct cataloguing; he then gave a detailed history of the

Catalogue, complaining bitterly of his treatment from A. Clark and his supporters in 1890: "Had the Librarian had no statutory position whatever, or had he been as indifferent to the cataloguing of MSS. as he had been anxious to promote and improve it, he could hardly have been more completely ignored." Nicholson, for the first time in print, condemned Madan's attitude. In particular, Nicholson was adamantly against more than one index: "I must be excused for adding that this is a point on which I cannot admit that any one else has as good an opportunity of judging as myself. The Index to the Summary Catalogue is kept in drawers in my table: I hardly ever see Mr. Madan use it - certainly not nearly so often as I have to do so myself."

As for continuing the summary system, "to suppose that knowing (as I now do) my statutory rights, I could agree to this humiliation being continued to the end of my life, would be to suppose me unfit to hold the office of Bodley's Librarian"; and he concluded that from his own work on the manuscripts, the Curators "will be able to judge whether there is anyone in the Bodleian whose knowledge of MSS. is greater or whose ideals higher."

Nicholson expected T.W. Jackson to move the Curators to support Madan, but to his amazement this did not happen. Instead, they agreed that a separate index to the whole catalogue be printed afterwards. So Nicholson decided not to issue his tirade against Madan, but it remains in print to show how deeply passions were stirred over what should have been a simple affair.⁶⁷

Volumes 5 (collections, 1851-1890, and miscellaneous accessions, 1695-1890) and 6 part I (accessions, 1890-1904) were published on 16 February 1906, and for the first time all the Library's manuscripts had been described somewhere in print. Madan was dissatisfied - this achievement was ignored in the 1905 Annual Report (published in May 1906), which Madan thought a deliberate snub. By the end of 1905 Madan had catalogued over 12,000 manuscripts and dealt with over 14,000 others by cross-references. He now began to recatalogue the 9,000 manuscripts in the 1697 Old Catalogue. Relations were as cool as ever; when Nicholson requested evidence for the provenance of a manuscript, Madan replied: "My only reason for including MS. Laud Misc. 336 among the books from the Jesuits' College at Würzburg is that it occurs in every list of the Würzburg books which exists, except (apparently) your own."⁶⁸

With Madan's appointment as Librarian, Craster took over the 'Summary Catalogue', and the first part of the revised Old Catalogue (volume 2) was published in 1922; but volume 2, part II, did not appear

until 1937. Volume 6, part II, containing accessions of 1905-1915, was issued in 1924. By 1922 the Press had made an estimated loss on the whole Catalogue, excluding volume 6, of about £1,750. In 1928 R.W. Chapman, Secretary to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, wanted to scrap the rest, but they were committed, if reluctantly, to a volume 1. In the event, volumes 1 and 7, containing an historical introduction and the index, respectively, were not published until 1953.⁶⁹

In retrospect the 'Summary Catalogue' vindicates both Madan and Nicholson. Its publication proved its feasibility, yet it took 63 years, and no catalogues have been published of post-1915 accessions (except of certain collections). Nicholson rightly observed that the cataloguing ought to be done again on a more detailed scale - but it never will be, and the descriptions are adequate for most scholars; in fact, descriptions in later volumes of the Catalogue were fuller than originally intended. On the other hand, modern accessions are probably indexed more fully than they would have been in the 'Summary Catalogue'. A great disadvantage was the long wait for the published index, but the slips were always available in the Library.⁷⁰

Miscellaneous catalogues of manuscripts.

The Bodleian was always glad of outside help in cataloguing, especially if offered gratuitously. Coxe had employed Edward Edwards to compile a Calendar of the Carte Papers at the Library's expense. Hard feelings were caused when Nicholson terminated Edwards' employment at the beginning of 1883, but the work had been completed. Unfortunately Edwards' work proved unsatisfactory, and W. Stubbs and C.W. Boase recommended the Curators against publication.⁷¹

In 1886 C.E. Doble began to index the Ballard letters, while in 1888 Nicholson started a list of pre-1550 dated Western manuscripts. Several grants were received for calendaring charters, for which Nicholson compiled detailed cataloguing slips. More work was started than completed. After the catalogue of Rawlinson D manuscripts, Macray returned to the Calendar of Clarendon State Papers, of which three volumes had been issued; but in 1903 the Press decided that its bulk precluded publication, and the Calendar remained in manuscript for many years.⁷²

Intending to have the Irish manuscripts catalogued, Nicholson in 1893 sought advice on employing the British Museum's cataloguer, S.H. O'Grady. E.M. Thompson's opinion was unequivocal: "... if you see a mad bull (even an Irish bull) coming, get over the hedge and let him go by with your blessing. At all events don't wish him into your china shop." B.P. Grenfell described about 275 Greek papyri in 1898-9,

following Nicholson's complex rules.⁷³

Nicholson's most ambitious project was to re-catalogue the Laudian Greek manuscripts. Every item of interest was to be described minutely, including measurements, pin-pricks, the various scribes' hands, and so on. As an example of detail, Nicholson said that ink (e.g. in illuminations) should not be referred to as 'red' if it could be called 'vermilion' or 'carmine' or 'holly-red'; and Nicholson claimed to have clarified the dating of MS. Bodley 775 from the frequency of hyphens. The main purpose of such detail was to establish provenance. The completed, published Catalogue would "be accompanied with photographic reproductions of handwritings, of stamped bindings, and of watermarks." Work was begun by Kirsopp Lake, but his appointment to Leiden ended the cataloguing little more than half way through. In 1906 Nicholson did envisage a similar Catalogue of the Laudian Latin manuscripts, but pressure of other work impeded progress. Both Nicholson's and Lake's researches were subsequently incorporated into revised reprints of Coxe's original Quarto Catalogues.⁷⁴

The Oriental catalogues.

Catalogues of Oriental manuscripts were not neglected by Nicholson, who approached them with enthusiasm if not deep knowledge. He once began learning Armenian to correct the proofs of the Armenian Catalogue; as usual Nicholson had to supervise everything personally. Unfortunately the Bodleian had to rely on outside assistance which often proved unreliable.⁷⁵

Carl Hermann Ethé was cataloguer of the Persian manuscripts, as well as Arabic, Turkish and Hindustani, but his professorship at Aberystwyth left him little time. Part I of the Persian Catalogue was hurriedly issued in 1889, with many incorrect pressmarks and a transliteration system based on orthography, not pronunciation. More sections were printed in 1893-8, but nothing further was heard of Ethé until 1908. Nicholson wanted the Catalogue entrusted to someone else, but Ethé insisted on continuing the indexes. Unfortunately Ethé's work was too detailed and confusing, and his subject index never passed 'B'.⁷⁶

Nicholson employed Sukias Baronian of Manchester for the catalogue of Armenian manuscripts, and again problems arose, as when Baronian sent extracts in 1886: "I beg for it anticipately your indulgence", he wrote to Nicholson; "I know my english is awfully bad; I shall be glad if it would be not so much difform as to put you in impossibility to make out what I mean to say.". In 1891 Baronian refused to continue after a row, but he eventually did, despite grumblings from the Press

over the price of corrections. He died in 1903, and the Armenian Catalogue was not published until 1918.⁷⁷

Neubauer's catalogue of the Hebrew manuscripts was published in 1886 and described 2,602 manuscripts, with facsimiles. The cataloguing was of a high standard, but included nine indexes and separate sequences for 'Latest acquisitions', 'Omitted MSS.', 'Appendix', indexes to the Appendix, 'Additional extracts and notes', etc. Neubauer began a second volume, but when his health failed, Cowley took over the task, including the listing of about 2,675 Geniza fragments, and the volume was issued in 1906.⁷⁸

Nicholson's detailed schemes were probably a reaction after being defeated over the 'Summary Catalogue'. He still indulged in moving manuscripts from one collection to another, as can be seen in the official copies of many catalogues, (Madan referred to Nicholson's pressmarks as "E.W.B.N.'s hoof-marks".)⁷⁹

Moriz Winternitz had begun a catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts in 1896, but the money had run out in 1897, and he had returned abroad. A grant was secured in 1900, as, luckily, were the services of a gifted undergraduate, A.B. Keith. The Sanskrit Catalogue, volume 2, appeared in 1905, and an appendix to Aufrecht's 1864 catalogue, also by Keith, in 1909. The catalogue included a palaeographical index of pre-1500 manuscripts, but there was only one general index with different type and symbols to identify scribes, authors, owners, donors, etc. There were errors; the index omitted important owners, while Cowley, who revised the proofs, was not very confident of Keith.⁸⁰ Nicholson defended the detailed cataloguing against any critics: "Let me assure them that what they may regard as trivialities have not been inserted without sufficient reason."

A.B. Keith also compiled the Prākṛit Catalogue, published in 1911. Meanwhile, in 1905 Nicholson had had the Malay manuscripts catalogued by R. Greentree. There were only 12 items, and Nicholson justified publication on the grounds that no more such manuscripts might be acquired for centuries, and that a qualified cataloguer was equally rare. In fact Greentree was sacked, when funds ran out, and the descriptions were not revised and printed until 1910, and the index in 1911. Nicholson claimed this Catalogue marked a new departure because of the attention paid to watermarks.⁸¹

Whatever was said about Nicholson's elaborate cataloguing, his theories were generally correct. But Nicholson placed desirability and

practicability before economy, and the scale of his cataloguing often hindered progress. He is to be commended for setting an example and for utilizing the specialized knowledge of available scholars. Nicholson never received any glory for his catalogues, but the Hebrew Catalogue helped to earn Cowley the degree of D.Litt.

Various catalogues remain in manuscript, such as H. Hyvernat's Catalogue of Clarendon Press Coptic manuscripts, and G.U. Pope's Dravidian catalogue. D.S. Margoliouth began a new catalogue of Arabic manuscripts in 1892, but made little headway.⁸² A music catalogue was begun in 1882, for which Nicholson provided a classification scheme, but the slips were never laid down in volumes. Certain Douce playing-cards were catalogued, and Nicholson insisted on full cataloguing for other non-book material. A handkerchief was entered in the author catalogue of printed books as:

"Handkerchief. Arch. Bodl.C. inf. III.2.
 [Handkerchief containing German mottoes, coloured
 pictures of churches, flowers &c. with border of cows
 & milkmen.] [Switzerland, c.1898?] (one) obl. atl.fol.
 German mottoes."

Sadly, this and other handkerchiefs were 'eliminated' in 1944.⁸³

The coins and prints.

W.S.W. Vaux had listed over 15,000 coins for Coxe, but Nicholson found thousands more completely unarranged. Helped by C.W.C. Oman, Nicholson re-arranged all the coins, and planned to publish skeleton-catalogues of each class, with facsimiles, similar to the British Museum's catalogues. Stanley Lane-Poole did produce a catalogue of the Mohammadan coins in 1888, though a further 100 coins had to be inserted at the proof stage. Lane-Poole was paid 13s.9d. per day, though he ruefully commented that the British Museum would have paid three guineas. Certain other Indian coins were catalogued by outside experts.⁸⁴ Meanwhile, Oman had been preparing a brief catalogue of the Anglo-Saxon coins, and proofs were printed in 1894-5. Then Nicholson decided on a detailed catalogue and began to compile it himself. The Delegates of the Clarendon Press were not so enthusiastic and although Nicholson offered to pay the extra costs himself, no more catalogues appeared. The Bodleian Curators always grudged the time Nicholson spent with the coins.⁸⁵

The Bodleian housed the Hope Collection of approximately 200,000 engraved prints. In 1896 Nicholson offered himself as Keeper of the

collection so that the Bodleian could take over its administration and compile a catalogue. Nicholson suggested a system invented by himself, a 'moveable-slip' catalogue, in which cards were inserted in slits in the leaves of a book. However, Nicholson's bid failed. In 1911 Rachael Lane Poole compiled a catalogue of Bodleian portraits, though Nicholson insisted on checking the proofs himself.⁸⁶

Compared to the British Museum, the Bodleian's output of catalogues was slim. The Bodleian could never afford to employ experts except at low rates, while there was a feeling that certain materials, such as coins, were best entered in interleaved British Museum catalogues. Nevertheless, Nicholson's strong belief in detailed cataloguing produced some fine volumes of Oriental catalogues, while, ironically, the 'Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts' has proved the virtues of abbreviated catalogues. But Nicholson's most substantial contributions in this field must remain his cataloguing code and classification scheme for printed books.

Whatever administrative problems Nicholson encountered, one consideration was overriding - to increase, and improve, the Library's contents. Accessions to a national library can be divided into two categories - those that come more or less automatically, and those that do not. The former arrive under the Copyright Act, while the latter comprises purchases, donations, and exchanges. The annual reports show Nicholson's success in securing material of all kinds, though the Bodleian's system of compiling statistics differed from those of comparable libraries, which renders interpretation unsatisfactory.

A stock-count in 1885 revealed 406,159 printed books, 26,318 manuscripts, the equivalent of about 4,000 volumes of unbound matter, and an unknown number of maps. The figures refer to volumes and do not represent the number of individual items or title-pages. A calculation made in 1915 showed that the Library contained the equivalent of 1,009,206 octavos. Nicholson's annual statistics show that accessions of 'items' rose from 36,232 (of which 25,499 came under the Copyright Act) in 1883 to 82,704 (57,209 under Copyright) in 1912. An item was considered to be anything printed, from a single sheet to an elephant folio. The figures may be misleading, but show the rate of increase and Nicholson's determination to acquire everything possible. A calculation in 1901 demonstrated the annual increase to be about 13,000 volumes, which represented about 17,000 octavos. Cambridge University Library adopted Nicholson's statistical methods in 1900, revealing their accessions were approximately three-quarters of the Bodleian's.¹

The Copyright Acts.

Sir Thomas Bodley's most valuable legacy was his agreement with the Stationers' Company in 1611 entitling the Bodleian to claim a copy of every book published in the Kingdom. By Nicholson's time, the libraries of the British Museum, Cambridge University, the Faculty of Advocates in Edinburgh, and Trinity College, Dublin, enjoyed the right of legal deposit, and shared an enforcement agent, G.W. Eccles. The 1842 Copyright Act was irksome to publishers, who resented having to provide five free copies of each book (though they would send out dozens for review), but who, if accused of failing to comply, would claim that they were saving the libraries from overcrowding.²

Numerous unsuccessful attempts were made to change the law and abolish this privilege. The Incorporated Society of Authors proposed a Bill in 1886 and 1890. Nicholson proffered evidence, but declined to allow any other member of staff to express an opinion, in case their views damaged

the Library's interests. In 1898 Lord Herschell moved a Bill to reduce the twelve-months period within which the libraries could claim a book, but Nicholson urged that a book ought to be claimable for as long as it was in print. The Bill failed, as did another in 1900.³

A more serious attempt to abolish the copyright privileges was made in 1910-11. The new Bill sought to reduce the claim period to three months and to make the Board of Trade the sole arbiters of which books the libraries should select. The twelve-months claim period was conceded in July 1911, but in November Sir William Anson discovered that Lord Gorell was to press for book selection by the Board of Trade. Nicholson was too ill to do more than repeat his 1898 evidence and dictate a memorandum to Gibson, while Madan would do nothing officially - though he was preparing to blame Nicholson if the Bodleian lost its privileges.

Henry Tedder, for the Library Association, unsuccessfully urged a compulsory listing of all new publications. The onus of defending the libraries fell on Francis Jenkinson, who was in close touch with Anson. The obnoxious clause was defeated. The publishers continued their pressure, but, thanks mainly to Lord Curzon, the national libraries' privileges remained secure under the 1911 Act.⁴

Legal deposit.

Publishers' hostility meant that administration of the Copyright law was occasionally difficult. The other libraries' curators were usually unwilling to prosecute, but, when roused, frequently threatened prosecution (Bernard Quaritch once accused the British Museum Trustees of acting like mediæval blackmailers). Nicholson employed printed postcards and letters to demand the Library's rights: "This is the regular course", he told the Curators, "and the publisher always complies when he finds the Library will not be trifled with." Some people were angered, and Madan, when Acting Librarian, would add a note that perhaps the Bodleian was mistaken in pursuing a claim. If Nicholson was unsuccessful, the University Solicitors would take action; all claims succeeded unless there was a genuine excuse, such as a late claim.⁵

Nicholson claimed everything, from Christmas cards to multi-volume encyclopædias (but not newspapers, for lack of space, nor colonial books because of the difficulties involved), and he argued that the present generation could not pass judgment. A constant bone of contention was the question of foreign books with a British publisher's name on the title-page. The libraries claimed these, despite the publishers' protests that they were merely agents.⁶

The most reluctant English distributor of American books was

T. Fisher Unwin, to whom Nicholson wrote in 1910: "I fervently hoped that we should have no more trouble in the matter of claims made upon you." Unwin offered to give up his business if only to thwart Nicholson's claims. The Clarendon Press objected to sending reprints of school-books, Bibles, and the like, but Nicholson insisted that they were valuable for their corrections of previous errors. P.L. Gell conceded, adding: "I only trust that no scholar may ever be found so idle as to waste his time on collating successive editions of this nature!".⁷

Privately-printed books.

Nicholson maintained that any book which was published, by whatever means, was claimable, but the libraries' custom was only to claim privately-printed books if advertized as available to anyone. The difficulty lay in distinguishing between the latter and books which were produced for a limited number of advance subscribers; in this case, the books were not regarded as 'published' provided that no copies subsequently became available. To save arguments, the other libraries often subscribed for books in advance, but Nicholson would fight and usually win, since few author-cum-publishers could afford a test case.

The most cunning evasion was by the Victoria County History, whose editors promised to destroy all volumes not subscribed for in advance. In his dealings with individual authors, Nicholson was tenacious and often impatient. On the subject of subscription books, Nicholson drafted a letter to one author in 1908, saying that "the point has not been decided by a court of law for the simple reason that no lawyer has been found incompetent enough to..."; but Nicholson thought better of it and deleted the sentence.⁸

In 1888 Nicholson wrote to Edward Bond, Principal Librarian of the British Museum, beginning: "I never like to write to you about anything until I am in extremis, because I know how fearfully over-correspondented you must be, but I feel that I ought not longer to put off communicating with you with reference to our common privileges under the Copyright Act."

Nicholson wanted the British Museum to join with them in seeking a legal opinion on subscription books, but Bond brusquely refused. G. Bullen, the Keeper of Printed Books, had warned Bond against associating with the Universities "in any way." A new Copyright Bill was planned, but the publishers' ire was directed more towards the 'privileged' Universities. The British Museum did not wish to have its own privileges jeopardized in Parliament, especially as it did not have to claim normally-published books. No legal opinion was ever

taken, since the libraries could never agree to mount a test case for compulsory deposit of privately-printed books.⁹

Purchases and policy.

Many books had of course to be purchased - old books not in the Library, foreign books, and manuscripts. Nicholson began enthusiastically; within six weeks of his appointment, he had bought £28 worth of books from Quaritch and had ordered £71 on approval, including the 'Buch der Liebe'. He naturally wanted books with an Oxford connection, and Madan circulated a list of desiderata. Macray criticized the list as "very hastily compiled & ill-considered Many fictitious books, and some not printed at Oxford are included, from every mistaken description & date met with in booksellers' Catalogues being copied. Some also of those supposed to be wanting were really in the Library." Madan later claimed the list "was issued against my will by the Librarian. It was hastily compiled, but could do no harm. The non-existent books would not be supplied...." About 200 books were secured.¹⁰

Nicholson's enthusiasm was soon blunted by the Library's financial state, and he cut back new purchases. Although the Library's income increased from about £7,000 in 1882 to £11,000 in 1912, while total expenditure increased from about £8,000 to almost £11,000, the amount spent on all purchases was only £50 more in 1912 than in 1882. (£2,184 compared to £2,134). During the intervening years this amount actually declined to £1,390 in 1897. Even then, only the amount spent on printed books increased, while the money for manuscripts decreased further.¹¹

Nicholson's policy was not deliberately one of attrition, but he preferred to spend money on administration, recognizing the importance of efficient organization. Against manuscripts in an 1885 sale catalogue, Nicholson wrote: "Decided not to bid, we being too much crowded with cataloguing at present." Nicholson clung to an optimistic belief that most books and manuscripts would return to the market at low prices. "I am a very hardened sceptic (ab experientia) in the matter of unique books", he wrote to W.E.A. Axon, "and consider that in nearly all cases other copies will one day turn up. The collector cannot wait for that 'some day', but the library can."¹²

During the early 1880's, Nicholson was more liberal, though Madan would accuse him of paying wild prices, such as £4 at Leipzig in 1886 for a 17-volume Cicero, or £2.14s. for a 1478 'Ars moriendi' because it

had a red border. Yet in the same year, Nicholson refused to pay £180 for a Sarum Antiphoner, offered through Francis Jenkinson. Nicholson was adamant: "I have not time to go into the why of the matter, nor od. I hope to make it clear to anyone who was not thoroughly acquainted with our work and our wants; I must content myself with saying that in the present and prospective state of our finances it is simply and absolutely impossible that we should buy the Antiphoner." Faced with a possible deficit, Nicholson told Madan on 12 January 1887 not to purchase second-hand books. He later said he was "open to consider" rare books, but preferred to buy a few valuable ones, rather than cheaper books which, Nicholson felt, could be picked up at any time.¹³

This policy exasperated Madan who in March 1889 complained to Bywater; eventually Nicholson agreed to relax his rules. When in 1894 R. Hooper offered two different editions of a rare cookery book, Nicholson replied: "I am so confident of a number of other copies of these editions turning up in course of time that there is no likelihood of my giving any great price for your copies." To Madan, Hooper confided: "I am afraid his confidence in copies turning up is a very Micawber one." Books were of course bought, as can be seen from the annual reports, but finances were uncertain, and money for most rare book acquisitions came from Sir William Anson and Trinity College.¹⁴

Purchase of manuscripts.

With manuscripts Nicholson was even more hesitant, and soon became quite dogmatic in his dealings. To a person who offered an incomplete tenth-century Greek manuscript of the Gospels, Nicholson replied that the work was "most uncritical and most uninteresting to a critic.... As regards its date, any one conversant with Greek palaeography will tell you the instant he opens the book that it cannot be 10th cent. It is 12th cent., and was probably written within 15 years one side or other of the year 1175." Nicholson's offer was refused. Madan accused Nicholson of 'starving' the manuscript department, but Nicholson's hand was forced by lack of money and increasing cataloguing arrears. In the 1902 'Statements of the needs of the University', Nicholson wrote: "There is no reason why the library, already so rich in Incunabula and unique printed books, should give fabulous sums to outbid the combination of ignorance and wealth which at present governs their sale-prices.

But manuscripts do occasionally come into the market which are so important that one would be glad to offer a price even unreasonably high in order to secure them. At present I cannot conscientiously do this, because the funds at my disposal are never more than adequate, and the British Museum almost invariably carries away the prize from me."¹⁵

The Bodleian's usual agent was Quaritch, to whom Nicholson would send printed postcards with bids for auctions. Madan was scandalized that the Bodleian should conduct its affairs so publicly, but with more justification criticized Nicholson's bids as too low. In 1906, for instance, the Bodleian only secured three lots from at least 50 at a sale at Christie's. Nicholson bid from 15/- to 3 guineas, but the lots fetched from £1 to £26, the latter price for a document for which Nicholson offered 2 guineas. At a Phillipps sale on 23 March 1895, Quaritch secured for the Bodleian 14 out of 36 lots, while another 14 were bought by Quaritch himself, who then offered them to Nicholson, adding 10% commission. The most notorious transaction of this kind concerned the Crawford Anglo-Saxon charters, for which Nicholson bid £200 in 1891. Quaritch purchased them for himself for £210, and Nicholson had to pay 210 guineas for the Bodleian. Madan often criticized Nicholson for paying exorbitant prices for special manuscripts.¹⁶

During his American lecture tours, G. Birkbeck Hill told how Nicholson had bid a paltry sum, unsuccessfully, for a document relating to Blackstone's 'Commentaries', and had then blamed American collectors for pushing up the prices of autographs. Nicholson overlooked a one-leaf manuscript by John Selden, sold for 1/- in 1898, and later bought by Madan; he donated it to the Library in 1921, writing: "The Bodleian did not mark the lot, or bid for it, at the sale. The Life was not regarded as autograph, or of any value, naturally." But when Nicholson paid 16/6d. for a letter by Browne Willis, Madan described it as worthless. Occasionally Nicholson would have to pay more for a manuscript which had been sold cheaply a few years previously - for instance in 1901 he paid £112.15s. for a York Gradual which (minus two fly-leaves) had fetched £41 in 1896. Nicholson claimed that the manuscript had been wrongly described in the 1896 auction catalogue, and this is certainly credible, for that is how Nicholson had purchased the St. Margaret Gospel Book so cheaply in 1887.¹⁷

Relations with benefactors.

After Madan began the 'Summary Catalogue' in 1890, he no longer marked sale catalogues. If he was offered books, he would tell the

potential donor or vendor to write direct to the Librarian. When Nicholson once asked Madan's advice about the value of some manuscripts, Madan refused, on the ground that he could not presume to know their value to the Library. Madan often bought for himself Oxford books rejected by Nicholson, and donated many to the Library after his retirement.¹⁸

Nicholson's attitude was not as contradictory as might be supposed: he was more aware of the Library's finances. Unfortunately purchases suffered during his last years - he ignored foreign books in 1910-11, and several important sales. He would often argue the merits of particular editions. A book relating to Samuel Johnson was only bought (for 4/6d.) after a tussle over its genuineness. "Now," thought Madan, "he doubtless says to himself 'Observe how corrigible, humble and pliable I am', whereas he is incorrigible, conceited and obstinate." Nicholson would not be forced into paying for or accepting books simply because they were not already in the Bodleian.¹⁹

Albeit unconsciously, Nicholson annoyed several benefactors. H.A. Pottinger had given or sold 159 volumes to the Library, when in February 1884 he offered a five-volume Oxford 1805 Bible. "Of this the Librn. said 'This is the kind of book we expect to pick up for a shilling a volume some day - '. The Librn. tells me he meant to go on, 'but as you take so much trouble about us, I'll give you what you want for it': but Pottinger broke out with a denunciation of the Librarian's ignorance and conceit, and wound up by saying he would no longer help us 'while you are in the Library.' The Librn. smilingly asked me when Pottinger was gone whether he was liable to such outbreaks. The book itself turned out afterwards to be in the Library but uncatalogued." Pottinger never gave another volume. Madan warned Nicholson that Sir George Duckett was "an easily offended person", but when the latter donated a Bible with manuscript notes by his father, Nicholson exclaimed that the handwriting could not be Duckett's father's. The book eventually reached the Library, but Duckett was understandably aggrieved at Nicholson's imputation of "either incompetency on the part of my Father, or want of Veracity on my own I also may be presumed to know his handwriting."²⁰

Because he disliked the Librarian, H.W. Chandler reputedly changed his will so that his Aristotelian Library passed to Pembroke College. Similarly J.E. Thorold Rogers advised the Earl of Chichester to give the Pelham papers to the British Museum. S.G. Perceval disliked Nicholson for dragging his feet, (according to Nicholson, Perceval

"used to be continually giving us or offering to give us what was either rubbish or next door to rubbish."): "The ordinary Curators & Librarians of the present day are mechanical, soulless beings - who relegate thanks to printed forms", wrote Perceval to Madan, who replied: "I must not venture on a criticism of Librarians in England, such as you are able to indulge in, or I might be regarded as libellous or disloyal!"²¹

In 1907 Nicholson rejected the correspondence of William Fowler of Winterton, offered on condition that it remained unopened for a specified period (though recently printed privately). "To accept masses of documents which cannot be dealt with till a distant time", explained Nicholson, "causes much embarrassment as regards storage, and sometimes as regards safe custody, while the time and labour entailed in ultimately arranging, foliating, and cataloguing them, and the heavy cost of properly guarding and binding them are practically prohibitive except when the collection is believed to be of very special importance." Two such collections were already in the Library - the journals of Sir Frederic Madden, and the papers of Mark Pattison, received in 1873 and 1884 and to be opened in 1920 and 1910 respectively - but Nicholson dreaded the inconvenience they would cause when they became available.²² In 1893-4 Nicholson received from Lady Shelley papers and relics of her father-in-law, the poet. This was an instance of one benefaction provoking many, for the Bodleian has since received many related gifts.²³

Specific accessions.

Despite all these examples, Nicholson acquired many printed books and manuscripts each year. Early printed books received special attention: 94 incunabula were added in 1886 alone. D.B. Monro's Homeric collection was received in 1905. Many governments donated official publications. The purchase of modern foreign books, especially from the Colonies, considerably increased, thanks to regular grants from Alfred Beit, J. Wernerher, T.A. Brassey, and Sir John Fischer Williams.²⁴

The most notable accessions of Western manuscripts have been mentioned above, and others included a John Capgrave manuscript which had belonged to Duke Humfrey, Palladius' poem on husbandry, the Fairfax papers, Icelandic manuscripts, and the New College deeds. Nicholson acquired many liturgical manuscripts, and his prize was an eleventh-century Latin Gospel book, bought as a 'speculation' for £6, which turned out to have belonged to St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland, and

had been wrongly ascribed in the sale catalogue to the fourteenth century.²⁵

Although Nicholson offended several regular benefactors, there were others less easily upset, such as Charles Oman, G.J. Chester, Andrew Clark, and many more. For about 25 years E.S. Dodgson donated or sold hundreds of Basque works. Dodgson was an embarrassment; on one occasion he threatened to sue Parker's, the Oxford booksellers, for 3/-, with Nicholson as a witness. On another, he accused Nicholson of losing several Basque almanacs. Nicholson tried to dissuade Dodgson, claiming that it was too much trouble to buy single books or accept parcels from private individuals. Over-enthusiastic benefactors posed as large a threat to his peace of mind as insufficient funds.²⁶

The Shakespeare First Folio.

The most famous accession was the Shakespeare First Folio which had originally come to the Bodleian in or about 1623, but had been discarded as 'superfluous'. Yet its re-purchase was almost jeopardized by the now usual lack of co-operation between Madan and Nicholson. This copy came into the possession of the Turbutt family. On 23 January 1905 Gladwyn Turbutt was showing the book to Madan when Strickland Gibson recognized its Oxford binding. Not a word was spoken to Nicholson; he saw nothing of the book until after Gibson had unveiled it to the Bibliographical Society, and a report had appeared in the Times.²⁷ Both Madan and Nicholson (acting independently) asked W.G. Turbutt to consider its purchase by the Bodleian, but Turbutt saw the book as an heirloom. Throughout the transaction Turbutt could not understand why he had to write separately to Madan and Nicholson.

Magazine articles provoked interest. Unfortunately the publicity reached America, and in October 1905 Turbutt was offered £3,000 by Sotheran and Co., acting on behalf of an unidentified client, only revealed years later as Henry Clay Folger. Folger held an obsessive desire to own a whole library of Shakespeare. £3,000 was an unprecedented sum, and Turbutt gave Nicholson a month to make an offer, but extended the deadline to the end of March 1906. Nicholson approached the Curators, who decreed against a public appeal, but allowed Nicholson and individual Curators to act on their own responsibility. In fact the Vice-Chancellor, W. Merry, opposed the whole scheme throughout. While Sir William Osler tackled wealthy American friends, Nicholson prepared a private appeal.²⁸

The response was slow; Osler was "miserably unsuccessful", and

on 29 December Nicholson wrote to A.H. Sayce: "As yet we haven't got quite £670, and my main hope all along has been the benevolent millionaire, if for us any such person exists. Meanwhile I shall begin circularizing 5000 more members of Convocation."²⁹

The Curators allowed a public statement, and in the Times of 12 March 1906 appeared Nicholson's 'Appeal to Oxford men'. The appeal coincided with the purchase by the National Gallery of the Rokeby 'Venus', and the large sums demanded for these works of art excited considerable comment. According to Nicholson, the cruellest "gibe of fortune" was that the publicity derived from the Library's own staff and records. This implicit criticism of Madan impelled the latter to appeal to A.J. Evans to defend him: "It is my experience, and surely yours, that it is not good policy for an Institution to buy a valuable thing cheaply by withholding information."³⁰

By 29 March, £400 was still needed. Then Osler received a telegram from Lord Strathcona, who had been made an Hon. D.C.L. at the Bodleian Tercentenary: "Will send you cheque 500 pounds tomorrow Thursday." Nicholson at once wrote to Osler: "My dear Osler, You deserve a statue in the Bodleian quadrangle." Nicholson was beside himself with joy, but not so Madan, who had been shocked by the high price; when Andrew Clark had asked him what he thought was the "market-value of a good copy", Madan had replied: "£1500".³¹

The book was handed over on Saturday 7 April to Nicholson, who had not realized that Madan had kept the book in the Library for the previous 14 months. Shortly afterwards, Madan found the book in the Archive F cupboard, its binding rubbing against the wood. Madan loudly complained; "Isn't that making it a fetish?", replied Nicholson. Nicholson subsequently asked Madan not to be so "shocked" in public, but Madan merely regretted that Nicholson did not appreciate such small details. Folger had not yet given up, but Nicholson refused negotiations, as Folger's agent reported back: "He [i.e. Nicholson] said that the Bodleian had determined to have the book six months before our offer, and that had other subscriptions failed he had resolved to guarantee any necessary amount himself out of his private pocket."³²

Nicholson printed a list of subscribers, but of more interest is Madan's list of non-subscribers, including the Chancellor; Vice-Chancellor, Proctors, and 6 other Bodleian Curators; 12 Heads of Houses and a large number of professors. Madan thought that Nicholson was noble to give £10 after receiving £23,000 in salary, but Nicholson

actually spent over £80 on circulars and postage. Madan complained to H.A. Wilson that Nicholson had deliberately omitted to refer in the annual reports to Gibson's part. T.W. Jackson was unimpressed by Gibson's identification, though he deplored Nicholson's attitude: "The said specialist [i.e. Gibson], by the way, may have learned from the silence a lesson as to the Libns. intolerance of merit other than his own", he wrote to Wilson. However, the Shakespeare cost the Bodleian not one penny, and was secured only by the perseverance of Nicholson and Osler.³³

Deposited collections.

During Nicholson's time, several important collections were deposited, including the mathematical library of Sir Henry Savile in 1883. In 1885 the Music School Library's 880 manuscripts were incorporated with the Bodleian's music collections. In the same year was deposited a collection of autographs formed by the late Duke of Albany; further portfolios were given in 1890 and 1913.³⁴ The Clarendon Press loaned 154 manuscripts and 206 printed books in 1885, mostly Coptic manuscripts and classical texts; the Radcliffe Trustees in 1893 sent 766 non-scientific books. The Keeper of the Indian Institute proposed to deposit their manuscripts in 1909, provided that the Bodleian transferred its Copyright printed books on Indian subjects. Nicholson would only agree to the loan of Bodleian books (the Radcliffe Science Library enjoyed a similar arrangement), but no satisfactory arrangements could be made until 1926 when the Bodleian took over the whole Institute.³⁵

The foreign scholar in Oxford often faced difficulties in consulting manuscripts in college libraries. Nicholson implemented a system whereby college manuscripts could be loaned to the Bodleian for limited periods, and tried to persuade colleges to deposit their manuscripts permanently. University College had proposed such a deposit in 1881, and their 193 manuscripts arrived in 1882, subject to one week's notice of withdrawal. Jesus College followed in 1886, despite criticism from Reginald Lane Poole, who argued that the Bodleian was a fire-risk. He favoured allowing Bodley's Librarian duplicate keys to college safes, or that college porters could deal with loans to the Bodleian. He was most concerned about damage caused by Library staff: "It was the keeper of the Fitzwilliam Museum who some years ago lost a portfolio of invaluable prints belonging to it. It was our own University Librarian who last year broke off and lost a fragment - a very small one indeed, but still a fragment - of an already too fragmentary papyrus. It was the bursar, not the porter, of New College who disposed of some

barrow-loads of his College archives, thinking, I suppose, that copies were more interesting."

Nicholson congratulated Poole for his generosity in allowing him duplicate keys despite his comments on the relative fitness of college porters and Bodley's Librarian. No further college deposited manuscripts until Hertford in 1890, followed by Brasenose, Lincoln (both in 1892), and New College (1907). In later years Nicholson refused to allow individual manuscripts to be deposited temporarily because of the time and trouble involved.³⁶

Duplicates and dissertations.

Duplicates were occasionally sold off. The Bodleian would not dispose of gifts, but were books received under the Copyright Act 'gifts'? Such were the six volumes of Walton's 'Polyglot Bible', sold by Nicholson in 1888. Nicholson conceded that they were gifts and bought back the volumes; but he denied that books delivered after the 1662 Copyright Act could be construed as 'gifts'. The Curators had allowed Nicholson to sell certain duplicates in 1884, but amended this so that he needed the prior approval of nine Curators.³⁷

Duplicates had been sold for years, as Francis Jenkinson wrote to Madan in 1888: "I have been solacing myself by reading a priced catalogue of Bodleian duplicates (1865?): there have been Vandals before Agamemnon". Madan discovered many "shameful" instances when Coxe had disposed of donations and had bound other copies in their place. Nevertheless, the Bodleian benefitted from British Museum duplicates, receiving 350 volumes in 1889, 400 in 1901, and almost 3,000 in 1914. Not all duplicates were worth receiving, like the 119 sacks of Public Record Office Pipe Office rolls in 1891. The Bodleian had to pay 5/- per week for at least two years for the hire of the sacks, which occupied valuable space. The rolls were returned in 1939 for destruction.³⁸

A fruitful system of exchanges began in December 1882 when Nicholson invited continental universities to send copies of academic dissertations. A flood of material resulted, which proved embarrassing because of the cataloguing arrears - 3,000 dissertations per annum were received by 1888, and 77 institutions were co-operating by 1904.³⁹

Oriental literature.

Nicholson was fascinated by out-of-the-way subjects, and Oriental topics were no exception. An important cache of Hebrew manuscripts was found in the Geniza, or lumber-room, of a Cairo synagogue, including a fragment of the lost Hebrew text of the Book of Ecclesiasticus.

G.J. Chester and A.H. Sayce supervised the recovery of many manuscripts, despite official harassment and uncomfortable conditions. More fragments were uncovered in 1895, and Sayce assured Nicholson over the mode of purchase: "Your fears about their ownership I found to be unfounded; but the difficulty is that as soon as any money is paid to the old Rabbi & his colleagues they immediately get dead drunk upon it, & nothing can be done with them until their funds are exhausted. I fancy that the Rabbis pocket one half the cash, & hand over only the other half to the community." ⁴⁰

The Library purchased 463 Sanskrit manuscripts from E. Hultzsch in 1887 for £200, and the Weber fragments from A.F.R. Hoernle in 1902 for £100. Hoernle offered more Sanskrit manuscripts in 1905, but Nicholson hesitated because of uncertainty over a grant, and the collection went to Tübingen. In 1908, 91 volumes of Sanskrit manuscripts were deposited by the Administrators of the Max Müller Memorial Fund. Sir Chandra Shum Shere, Prime Minister of Nepal, donated 6,330 Sanskrit manuscripts in 1909. Sir John Wardrop began to donate his Georgian books and manuscripts in 1910. ⁴¹

Unusual acquisitions included a Burmese manuscript on palm-leaves, Tibetan blockbooks, mandiac rolls, ostraca, and the fifth-century Bower Sanskrit manuscript - the last-named bought for £50 by Nicholson after a 'passing call' to Quaritch. ⁴² Nicholson maintained that the Bodleian should collect all kinds of documents, not excepting cuneiform tablets. In 1908 Cowley was offered 293 tablets and seal-cylinders, though he suspected their provenance. Nicholson, on sick leave, was cautious in such dealings:

"When were the tablets originally stolen?" he asked Cowley. "Is Gejou personally clean-handed in the matter? If not, I wouldn't buy them (except to restore them to their rightful owner) even though they included the autograph originals of the tables of Sinai. If necessary, please catechise Gejou, and let him clearly understand that if any of the people supplying him come by their goods dishonestly it's no good offering them to me." The tablets were bought for £60. T.W. Jackson donated 155 Sumerian tablets of the Ur dynasty in 1911. ⁴³

Greek papyri were of particular interest to Nicholson, and 1888 saw the Library's first major acquisition, ten sheets containing Homer's 'Iliad', book two. Flinders Petrie provided more papyri through G.J. Chester and B.P. Grenfell. An important purchase in 1894 contained the revenue laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus; Nicholson himself published part of an Homeric lexicon ascribed to Apollonius. ⁴⁴

Unsuccessful negotiations.

The Library did suffer disappointments when promised, or half-promised, gifts failed to materialize, or when negotiations broke down. Examples include Sir F.A. Gore Ouseley's music library in St. Michael's College, Tenbury Wells, and the cartographic collection of Sir Herbert Fordham, whom Madan cultivated. Many proffered books were too expensive, such as the manuscripts of William Morris' works, or certain Aztec hieroglyphic records, while some collections had impossible conditions: in 1909 Nicholson was offered a library provided that the Bodleian paid over £500 to enable the donor to catalogue it and have it transported - from St. Petersburg.⁴⁵

In about 1885 Nicholson tried to take over the University Archives, chiefly to secure the rooms for the Bodleian's donation-collections, but the Curators decided not to press the unwilling Keeper of the Archives. At the next vacancy, in 1908, Nicholson urged that custody of the Archives be invested in the Librarian and Sublibrarians. Madan presented his own proposals, dwelling on the appropriateness of the existing rooms. R.L. Poole was elected in 1909 but lacked the technical qualifications which Nicholson insisted were necessary.⁴⁶

The Curators were anxious that Nicholson did not spend extravagant sums. In 1891 Quaritch had for sale at £180 an important manuscript of Cicero's 'De Amicitia'. The time was unfortunate, for the Library had recently spent over £200 on the Anglo-Saxon charters. A.C. Clark, the classical scholar, submitted a memorandum to the Curators urging its purchase, but they declined. Nicholson's advice was seemingly neither sought nor given, and he only discovered Clark's plea from "a copy of your letter which was found lying about after the meeting...". The manuscript has since disappeared.⁴⁷

The Thame churchwardens' accounts.

Sad to relate, there were occasions when the Curators forced Nicholson to return manuscripts, although Nicholson indignantly refused to return Copyright books if requested by their publishers (e.g. because they were later judged to be libellous, or, as happened with several Ordnance Survey maps, misprinted).⁴⁸ The classic instance was the Thame churchwardens' account-book for 1442 to 1524, purchased in 1891 from the Rev. Dr. F.G. Lee, and referenced as MS. Top. Oxon. d.28. In 1902 the book was claimed by the Buckinghamshire Architectural and Archaeological Society, who maintained that Lee had only borrowed the manuscript. Nicholson responded that their claim was rather late, and added subsequently:

"There are many manuscripts in every great library which have been lost by carelessness to their original owners, but which have been bought by those libraries bona fide. Probably the volume should be in the possession of the parish authorities of Thame, but in any case as bought by us it contained no evidence of having ever belonged to your Society."

The Society persisted, and during an involved correspondence throughout 1903 Nicholson strove to clear Lee of the implication of dishonesty. Then a strange thing happened. On 13 June 1903 the Curators decided that the manuscript should be restored if the Vice-Chancellor thought fit, and that a decree to this effect should be introduced in Convocation before the vacation. The decree was passed, but stated that the Curators were satisfied that the manuscript belonged to the Society - whereas in reality they had expressed no such opinion, though the Regius Professor of Civil Law thought that the Bodleian had no legal title. Nicholson was convalescing, and Madan 'restored' the manuscript to the Society. On his return Nicholson continued the correspondence in order to vindicate Dr. Lee, but his letters were eventually ignored. The manuscript was deposited in the Bodleian in 1955, and is now MS.D.D.Par.Thame.c.5. In 1884 the Curators had refused to return a Lichfield Capitular Act Book because of the precedent that would be set and this now belongs to that category of Bodleian books which will only be 'restored' over dead bodies.⁴⁹

Another case involved E.S. Dodgson. In 1908 Ingram Bywater's wife died, and with undue haste Dodgson offered a collection of letters written to him by her. Nicholson referenced the volume as MS.Eng. misc.e.50 and later claimed that he only glanced at a few pages. But Bywater complained, and Nicholson locked up the volume. The Vice-Chancellor, T.H. Warren, warned Nicholson that the Curators would interrogate him about his policy of crowding the Library's shelves with valueless material. Nicholson argued that such correspondence must be of future historical interest, and he refused to return the book unless Bywater objected for personal reasons. T.W. Jackson objected on his behalf, and Nicholson reluctantly returned the letters to their donor. The volume seemingly re-entered the Bodleian, for in 1928 Craster, now Keeper of Western Manuscripts, asked Bywater's executors for their wishes about the letters. They decided the volume must not remain in the Library; Cowley, Bodley's Librarian, agreed and requested that the volume be destroyed.⁵⁰

The Shakespeare Press.

Occasionally books never arrived, as in 1891, when Nicholson subscribed to a de luxe edition of 'Hamlet' published by the Shakespeare Society of New York. Publication was promised again in 1898, but nothing happened; in 1906 a slightly different volume was advertized by the New York Shakespeare Society. In each case the printer was the Shakespeare Press of New Jersey. Nicholson complained in the Athenæum about the delay in publication and the non-return of his money. Unfortunately Nicholson then accused the Society of fraud and doubted the existence of the Society, its printers, staff and President, J. Appleton Morgan, (though G.K. Fortescue had referred Nicholson to 'Who's Who in America'). The editor of the Athenæum knew of Morgan, but Nicholson's letter was printed while he was on holiday.

In the resulting hornets' nest, the Shakespeare Press asked for Nicholson's receipt, which he sent but was returned with comments suggesting that Nicholson was a liar. Meanwhile T.W. Koch, the Michigan University Librarian, told Nicholson that other librarians had had similar trouble. Nicholson communicated the progress of his claim to the Athenæum, though the editor warned him about libel. The Shakespeare Press wrote to Koch that "the man Nicholson will be arrested for malicious libel if he ventures within the jurisdiction of a United States court." At the same time they urged the President of Michigan University to sack Koch, "a meddler and gratuitous libeller", who "claims to be" University Librarian. The Library Journal dubbed the affair, the 'Comedy of Terrors'. The contentious 'Hamlet' never arrived. In 1913 the Shakespeare Press advertized Appleton Morgan's autobiography, but the Bodleian seems not to have subscribed.⁵¹

The Althorp Caxtons and the Phillipps manuscripts.

Although Nicholson was criticized for not buying enough, another aspect is shown by his determined, but finally unsuccessful, negotiations to acquire large portions of two notable collections, the Althorp Caxtons and the Phillipps manuscripts. Earl Spencer had told Edward Maunde Thompson privately in 1891 of his desire to sell his 57 Caxtons to an English library, and Thompson proposed a joint offer from the British Museum, Bodleian, and Cambridge University Library. The Curators sought a grant of £2,500, but the Hebdomadal Council unanimously declined, and Cambridge dropped out; the whole collection was later bought for the John Rylands Library.⁵²

Bandinel and Coxe had negotiated for years to acquire the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps, but his impossible conditions had thwarted

their hopes. The Library passed to the Fenwicks, and Nicholson made approaches as early as August 1882. In 1888 he submitted lists of desirable manuscripts to T.F.R. Fenwick; he rejected the Bodleian's offer to buy £1,000s' worth of selected manuscripts, nor would he send the collection's printed catalogue because "we never part with a copy except to large libraries."⁵³

In March 1889 the Curators asked Nicholson to contact E.M. Thompson concerning a joint offer. Francis Jenkinson agreed to co-operate, and the libraries hoped to produce £20,000 over two years. Nicholson busily compiled lists of manuscripts to be valued by Madan. Nicholson had initially argued that the Bodleian staff was competent to carry out the selections, but the Hebdomadal Council insisted on seeking expert advice; the Curators formed their own Committee "to assist" the Librarian, but this was amended, on Bywater's motion, "to act in conjunction with" the Librarian.⁵⁴

Fenwick was only interested in the money - immediately, and only offered selected manuscripts, excluding romances and illuminated manuscripts. In May 1890 Fenwick arranged for a personal inspection. Nicholson politely invited Madan to go to Cheltenham, but the latter declined because of "my social engagements", adding:

"There is nothing in your letter to show that you are making this enquiry of me at the suggestion or on behalf of the Committee or the Curators respectively, and I treat it therefore as a private question from yourself. It is hardly necessary to add that I have no objection whatever to going down to Cheltenham on behalf of the Library, and shall be most anxious to meet the wishes of the Committee and Curators in this matter when I know them." The Curators invited Madan to go, and he accepted. Madan's absence was not deducted from his holidays, and Nicholson later included the Curators' motion amongst his list of unstatutory resolutions.⁵⁵

The libraries, however, rejected Fenwick's terms and decided to act independently, but Fenwick brushed them off. On 12 May 1891 Thompson wrote to Nicholson: "The Phillipps Library is a dead horse. We have entirely broken off. Prices impossible."⁵⁶

Ephemeral literature.

Nicholson's proud boast was that he accepted anything printed, and he eagerly advertized for (and claimed under the Copyright Act) Christmas cards, valentines, menus, play bills, bus tickets, and other seeming trivia - though a rich haul for future social historians. The Bodleian still has the paper bag in which Nicholson carried home

his buns from Boffin's. He formed series of 'scrapbooks', and bound together advertizements; similarly he bound book wrappers into their respective books, and collected blank diaries, blotting books, commercial prospectuses, and corset-lists.⁵⁷

He started in 1884 a collection of signed authors' photographs, but the idea lapsed. In February 1892 E.G. Duff sent Francis Jenkinson "the latest Oxford fad", a press-cutting asking Oxford undergraduates to supply Nicholson with personal information which might interest future generations. Nicholson sent circulars to University clubs and parish clergy, inviting photographs, reports, minute-books etc. The Oxford Magazine could not resist poking fun at Nicholson's zeal:

"I have noticed for years, you'll allow me to say
That nothing in Oxford is likely to pay
Unless 'tis a little bit out-of-the-way;
For our life is so blasé and jaded!
My forerunners did what they could, as you know,
Making catalogue-entries by millions or so,
Encouraging science and knowledge to grow;
But I don't do the stale things that they did!
On the contrary I, with no shadow of doubt,
Shall include all the things that they went and left out,
In my New Curiosity Shop!"⁵⁸

The source of so much criticism was that Nicholson insisted on binding and cataloguing all ephemera fully. Nicholson rarely indulged in self-justification; he knew he was right to collect his generation's 'waste-paper' for future historians.⁵⁹

Madan acknowledged that "Mr. Nicholson ... was the first to introduce modern methods, and was also the first to realize the importance of paying some attention to minor literature; and in that respect I am glad to call myself his disciple. He endeavoured also to increase the value of what we possess by fully cataloguing it." In 1915 the Curators made a determined attempt to oust the 'rubbish', encouraged by R.L.Poole. "Just consider", wrote one anonymous critic; "The Curators of the Bodleian include five Regius Professors, and it must have 'Girlie of the Gaiety'. They include five distinguished Modern Historians (two of whom really are very often in the library), and it must have 'Happy Times and Happy Rhymes', printed in Bavaria." Madan's argument was that the Bodleian was a library of deposit, "the super-Dreadnoughts of the literary world". Madan dissuaded the Curators from wholesale dispersal by offering economies in cataloguing and binding.⁶⁰

After the building of the New Bodleian in the 1930's, the Curators decided to throw out 'rubbish' altogether. So began the 'elimination' of the 1940's, during which many of Nicholson's scrapbooks disappeared. But Strickland Gibson directed much material to John Johnson, the University Printer. Then in 1968 the Curators accepted Johnson's collection - and much of Nicholson's 'rubbish' returned to their original home, to be preserved in better conditions than formerly.⁶¹

The coins-collection.

L.R. Farnell claimed that Nicholson "loved playing with the coins, and could learn all that there was in numismatics from a handbook in a week. And he entrusted one of his young boys ... with the task of arranging them, and tried to train him in the numismatic science. I obtained admittance to the sacred chamber where the coins were kept and heard the master rebuking the pupil: 'Why is this coin among the Roman Emperors? Haven't I told you that every Roman Emperor has a stiff neck?'" Certainly Nicholson was attached to them and was fortunate in having the expertise of W.S.W. Vaux, Charles Oman, and Charles Stainer, the son of Sir John Stainer.

Unfortunately the Statute laid down that no-one, not even a Curator, could enter the Coin Room unless the Librarian or a Sublibrarian was present, and this restricted work. Madan maintained that Nicholson spent too much time there, though Nicholson often brought coin trays down to his study. Occasionally a disaster would occur, and Madan would hear a shout of "Mr. Stainer!", "then a fine scene on the floor, like scarabæi moving about. Finally calm, at present." On 24 May 1898 Madan noted: "Yesterday I heard him say to young Stainer - 'I want an undisturbed time in the Coin Room.' An hour or two [later] he was down again, fiddling about, like Nero, and assuming an air of disquietude; and at last said in a loud tone just opposite my study, 'I feel like a hunted animal.'

The absurd thing is that noone is hunting him - except the Author of Evil."⁶²

A count in November 1884 revealed 50,417 coins, of which 22,677 had been arranged, and 19,771 described in 48 different catalogues. Vaux had catalogued about 15,000 coins, but had rarely entered the Coin Room, and did not realize the extent of the collection. Nicholson began to arrange the coins geographically and chronologically, and planned catalogues. Little was spent, since Nicholson preferred to wait until a numismatic assistant could be afforded; over £50 was spent on English gold coins in 1886, but only 3/- in 1887. Donations included over 2,000 Chinese coins and medals in 1903.⁶³

After Oman had arranged the Roman Republican coins, Nicholson

received one Christmas a new book on the subject, which persuaded him to re-arrange all the coins differently himself. Nicholson's re-arrangement meant incorporating the donation-collections into a classified sequence, which angered H.W. Chandler, who claimed that Nicholson was destroying collections and thus discouraging future gifts. In fact, wherever possible Nicholson noted each donor's name on a slip under each coin. Chandler had harsh words for those who favoured classification in the 'interests of science', "... a cant phrase, which conceals, or attempts to conceal, an enormous amount of ignorance and imposture."⁶⁴

In 1886 Nicholson drafted a new Statute to confirm his authority over the coins, allow exhibitions (which Chandler thought "an excellent plan for informing thieves where gold and silver may be easily obtained") and the sale of duplicates, and ensure accessibility. However, it was defeated in Convocation. Few people used the coins, but Nicholson wanted to promote lectures in numismatics by Oman; however, finance was not forthcoming.⁶⁵

Like Nicholson, A.J. Evans was a 'new broom' when he became Keeper of the Ashmolean in 1884, and shared Nicholson's taste for battle. Evans, a close friend of Madan, believed that the coins belonged in his Museum, though Nicholson maintained that the proper repository for 'historical documents' of all kinds was the Bodleian. In 1884 Evans deplored Nicholson's proposed exhibitions and urged the Ashmolean Visitors to appropriate the Bodleian's coins. However, the status quo was preserved. As a sop, Nicholson offered duplicates, but these were rejected. Chandler alleged that articles mysteriously disappeared from the Ashmolean and thus he opposed the coins' transfer, especially "when we reflect on the miserable fate of the mouldy old dodo, and remember that history has a tendency to repeat itself...."⁶⁶

By 1896 Evans had changed his mind over exhibiting coins - but Nicholson had done likewise, and only wanted to display duplicates. In June, Pelham moved that the Curators consider transferring the coins.⁶⁷ A Committee (whose report was not considered until February 1897) argued that the Ashmolean was safer, that donors' wishes would be better safeguarded, and that "coins require a very special kind of knowledge in their custodians; and that, if Library officials have to be chosen for knowledge of coins as well as books, the result must often be the selection of one who is not specially distinguished in either department." As Anson wrote to Pelham, they had "a librarian at Bodley with a mischievous universality of interests."

Nicholson enquired how they considered him to be lacking in specialist knowledge: "They declined to answer the question, but one of them said 'I didn't pose as a numismatist' when I was elected. I replied that I didn't pose as anything, that I knew very little about coins, and very little about palæography - I might have added very little about incunabula - but that I had made myself competent to be a keeper of MSS., a keeper of coins, and I might have added a keeper of incunabula." Finally, Nicholson called for a numismatic assistant, "so long as my own authority was superior over him as over all other members of the staff."⁶⁸

The Curators decided against action. On 10 February 1897 Nicholson placed a show-case in the Selden End, and the Curators demanded its removal. Nicholson insisted on his statutory rights, but when the Curators promised to sponsor a decree allowing exhibitions, he apologized; but he added that he was prepared to take the matter before the University Counsel in case there was "an attempt to fetter the Librarian's action by altering the Curators' words" - i.e. by making the Curators, not the Librarian, responsible for exhibitions. The Curators took legal advice, which was that only the Librarian had power to exhibit coins, but that no coin could be removed from the Coin Room for exhibition. In the interests of security, Nicholson and the Curators accepted this interpretation.⁶⁹

The transfer of the 65,000 or so coins did not become feasible until Nicholson's death. The Heberden Coin Room was opened in 1922, and a Reader in Numismatics subsequently appointed.⁷⁰

The pictures.

Nicholson had also to contend with portraits and other 'objets d'art'. Many came to be deposited in the University Galleries or the Ashmolean, and Nicholson was an ex officio Curator of the Galleries and Visitor of the Ashmolean. The Bodleian's collection of prints included those given by Gough, Montagu, Sutherland, and Douce. Nicholson planned catalogues and devised elaborate cataloguing forms.⁷¹ In 1895 C. Stainer arranged the Rawlinson copperplates, though Nicholson was criticized for putting them in unskilled hands.⁷²

The largest number of prints were the 200,000 or so engraved portraits in the Hope Collection, deposited in the Camera Gallery, but administered by its own Keeper and Curators. In 1884 Nicholson applied to take over the collection in order to incorporate the Bodleian's prints and make them more accessible. Although the Keeper was agreeable, the Hope Curators were not, though in 1888 the collection was moved to

the Old Philosophy School. The collection was only open four hours per day.

In 1896 the Keeper resigned, and Nicholson made another effort to become Hope Keeper. He offered to increase the opening hours, compile a single alphabetical catalogue, and employ boy assistants: "Nay," he added, "I am able to get admirable work done by Bachelors and Masters at rates of remuneration which I should blush to state in print." But the Hope Curators elected T.W. Jackson, a Bodleian Curator, and in 1921 decided to transfer the collection to the Ashmolean.⁷³

The 1912 Catalogue of Bodleian portraits listed 325, mostly hung in the unheated Picture Gallery. The pictures were obviously deteriorating, and in 1892 G.F. Watts expressed concern at the cracked state of his own portrait of Dean Stanley.⁷⁴

The Curators, encouraged by T.W. Jackson, decided in 1902 to ask for an annual grant of £100 for three years to repair pictures. Supported by L. Cust, Director of the National Portrait Gallery, they opposed heating, arguing that damage was not caused by cold. Nicholson countered that "it would be putting the cart before the horse to restore the pictures before we warmed the Picture-gallery;" then, he added, the larger pictures "should be hung in chronological order instead of in their present chaos."

A Pictures Committee drew up lists which showed that 131 pictures needed urgent repair, while 92 were less urgent. The estimated cost was over £1,000, and they appealed successfully to the University. The Gallery was heated in 1907 when the North Wing was converted into a reading-room. This angered Plummer, who resigned from the Committee because "I could not have brought myself to ask for subscriptions to a mutilated Picture Gallery."⁷⁵ In 1910 many pictures were transferred to the New Examination Schools.⁷⁶

Nicholson was happy to see miscellaneous antiquities transferred to the Ashmolean (479 items were handed over in 1887, including Guy Fawkes' lantern and Queen Elizabeth I's gloves), but when the latter requested the restoration of a drawing of John Aubrey, Nicholson demurred, on the grounds that the original transfer was final. However, a compromise decree was approved.⁷⁷

The Bodleian possessed a variety of plaster casts, including the Laöcoon in the Camera Gallery, which were eventually removed, and in 1887 the Arundel marbles departed for the Ashmolean, leaving the Moral Philosophy School available as a map room.⁷⁸

Nicholson's acquisitions policy can be summed up as all-embracing, but hampered by financial considerations and by the variety of accessions. The keynote to his stock selection lies in his insistence on choosing everything himself, and to this extent he might be regarded as autocratic. Madan ceased to suggest purchases because Nicholson ignored him. Neubauer advised on foreign books and Oriental manuscripts, but was rapidly becoming incapable. Selection was left to Nicholson, which meant that the Curators kept a careful watch on expenses. Nicholson was not himself responsible for the insufficient funds, but his frequent complaints led to individuals donating money for purchases in specified fields. He was himself of 'jackdaw' tendencies, for which the Bodleian is much the richer.

A library exists to serve its users, whose needs can hardly be overlooked. The Bodleian, like Cambridge, had to cater for both scholars and, increasingly, undergraduates. Unlike Cambridge, free access was not allowed, except to the most needed reference and textbooks. Nicholson had told the 1880 Library Association Conference that Cambridge University Library and the Bodleian should be opened as free reference libraries, but he modified this view when he realized the problems involved in administering the Bodleian merely for existing readers. He hoped to build up the Bodleian as (in R. Garnett's words), "a reserve library of general English literature as a precaution against any calamity that might befall the British Museum."¹

Admissions and readers.

Undergraduates used the Radcliffe Camera, but the pressure of readers soon provoked a crisis, and in 1884 Nicholson restricted admissions to honours students only. He still permitted non-University readers, if they had a special subject of study, since his purpose was not to deny the Bodleian's resources to genuine researchers. Admission was for life, and in May 1885 Bywater unsuccessfully tried to impose a time-limit on non-academic readers' tickets. Undergraduate restrictions were lifted in July 1888.² Non-academic readers had first to produce "litteras commendatitias a probato aliquo viro"; British Museum tickets were not acceptable, nor were recommendations signed by women - because the Statute specified "viro". As for admitting ladies, Nicholson told Madan to use his discretion, but Madan preferred to follow what he thought Nicholson would have done, and so avoid accepting responsibility.³

Nicholson assured the Curators that suspicious readers were carefully watched (though if Madan saw a manuscript being mishandled, he would rage against Nicholson), and readers were summarily banned for smoking, possessing matches, marking books, and being drunk. Foreigners ("like the blue-bottle whom I also hate", wrote Cowley) abounded during summer, and the most persistent were known as the 'fiends' (and included "a few unhung criminals", according to Madan).⁴

Good relations with readers were imperative, but on arrival in 1882 Nicholson unwittingly caused resentment because he was the antithesis of the late 'gentlemanly' Coxe. He refused to allow F.J. Furnivall to work in the Library during the Easter closed period, and banned readers from private rooms. In November 1882 an anonymous correspondent (believed to be T.H. Ward) grumbled in the Manchester

Guardian that Nicholson "certainly does not understand how to manage a University library." When pressed, Nicholson's assailant listed allegedly intolerable rules, which Nicholson claimed were neither unreasonable nor illiberal.⁵

As regards keeping books at desks, Nicholson once noted in 1882 that E.S. Ffoulkes had 128 volumes, Robinson Ellis had 112, and Edwin Hatch was keeping 73. Hatch was particularly angry at "the promulgation of rules which cut at the root and reputation which the Bodleian has so long enjoyed of being the most convenient Library in Europe for serious students, & which - to speak for myself individually - practically bring my many years of reading there to an end." Nicholson refused to reserve desks for new readers, and when Hatch complained to the Curators in 1889, they refused to intervene. In 1907 Nicholson proposed to limit readers to 30 books each.⁶

W.C. Hazlitt compared Nicholson unfavourably to Coxe: "... I cannot avoid the feeling that I should have experienced greater consideration from Sir Thomas Bodley than it pleased Mr. Nicholson on a particular occasion to pay me, where the application for help was of a perfectly legitimate and very modest nature. The Rev. [sic] F. Madan is personally most obliging.... After all, I hope that Mr. Nicholson, as he grows older, will grow wiser. At present, he must be regarded as a novice." Nevertheless, Nicholson's correspondence shows that he took great pains to help enquirers; he was only impatient with those who, he believed, could help themselves. He would answer queries himself (he never had a secretary until his illnesses), but frequently told his correspondents he was hard-pressed.⁷

Nicholson was temperamentally ill-suited to deal with obstreperous readers. A mentally-deranged reader was Thomas Austin, who in 1888 made improper advances to one of George Parker's daughters. Austin worked for the Early English Text Society and for the Oxford English Dictionary and had a persecution complex. Before finally leaving Oxford he made persistent complaints: "Dr. Neubauer is the leader of everything", he wrote; "and the reader in the bay next to myself; who behaved in a most blackguardly way to me. I ought to have knocked him down. There is of course nothing the matter with my mind...." Despite Madan's protests, Nicholson refused to provide separate tables for ladies.⁸

Lady readers were an annoyance to their male counterparts. The Camera was likened to a women's waiting-room, and there were complaints of rustling skirts and boas. More complaints were made about the Camera staff. One was wondered if the 'Silence' notice applied to readers or staff.⁹

3



THE READING-ROOM.

BODLEIAN I LIBRARY 2

2590 d. Oxf. 1. 14. P. 3

E.W.B.NICHOLSON IN THE ARTS END.

This drawing, made by F.G.Kitton in 1885, shows the Arts End, looking south. E.W.B.Nicholson can be seen at his table, facing Duke Humfrey's Library and the Selden End.

Published as an illustration to an anonymous article (actually by Falconer Madan): 'The Bodleian Library at Oxford', Cassell's Family Magazine, May 1886.

Under Coxe, books could be brought in a few minutes, but as the number of readers increased and the Bodleian extended itself to other buildings, the service slowed down. Readers would leave order-slips in a tray and ring a bell; the nearest boy would fetch the book, but there was often a shortage of boys if Nicholson wanted them for cataloguing or shifting. Orders had to be registered, and the entries cancelled when the book was returned. Particularly affected by delays were the Dictionary staff, "whose demands tax us so heavily." They examined thousands of novels, most of which were moved to the New Examination Schools basement in 1904. In 1907 one of their workers, F.R. Ray, claimed that six books had taken from 1 hr. 25 mins. to 4 hrs. 45 mins. to arrive, and that one was found on the Librarian's table (Nicholson countered that it had not been on his side of the table). The Curators set up a Committee in May 1908 to consider the book-supply. "About time", thought Madan; "Now, will they ask my testimony? As to remedies I shall have to say that while that personality is there, I see no hope of remedy." Madan thought the boys were wrongly deployed, but no great changes were effected.¹⁰

Days and hours.

One area in which Nicholson tried to improve the readers' lot concerned opening hours and closed days. In 1882 Nicholson suggested that the Statute was too rigid in specifying that the whole Library must close for 26 days per annum (in addition to Sundays). The Curators decided that this need not apply to the Camera, which was not part of the Library when the Statute was drafted. From 1888, the Bodleian and Camera were closed for 19 and 13 days respectively, but on only 6 days simultaneously.¹¹

The Camera, having artificial lighting, was open from 10 a.m. to 10 p.m., but the Bodleian itself opened from 9 a.m. to 3 or 4 p.m., depending on the season. Bodleian readers could have their books transferred to the Camera for the evening, and in 1889 a Bodleian room was available on certain closed days for manuscripts and rare books; but this involved the staff in extra work. The opening hours were better than in other national libraries; the British Museum opened until 8 p.m., changed to 7 p.m. in 1904. Cambridge opened for about one hour per day less than the Bodleian, and lacked the equivalent of the Camera. The Bodleian Curators would not agree to extend summer hours, since extra hours meant additional staff.¹²

Nicholson's gradual reforms met constant opposition. In 1897 he announced that the Old Library would open after the Visitation on 8 November, instead of remaining closed, though Madan objected for

reasons of principle and 290 years' precedence. In 1900 Nicholson suggested later closing hours. The Standing Committee argued that readers would not be benefitted, that the staff's work would be hindered by spending more time with readers, and that the Sublibrarians would need extra holidays. At a Curators' meeting, later summer hours (with which Madan agreed) were rejected by 9 votes to 2.

"So for the second time was defeated a proposal which would have added largely to the facilities of scholars", wrote Nicholson, "would have saved the library labour, would have given no one a minute's extra work or called on anyone for a minute's longer attendance, and would not have cost one farthing of money.

It's enough to take all heart out of a man whose got a heart to take out - which a good many people don't seem to have."¹³

Nicholson repeated his efforts in 1909. Again, Madan (and Cowley) opposed, on the grounds that there was no public demand and that the Bodleian was already too generous. "Pray remember", wrote Madan, "that the Librarian has for years not come to the Library on the average till about 11 a.m. I will venture to affirm that the clamourers (if any) for afternoon opening are not those who take the trouble to come at 9 a.m." The Curators agreed. It was not until the electric light was installed in 1930, that the Old Library opened from 9 a.m. to 7 p.m.¹⁴

Readers' guides.

A desirable need was a guide for readers and visitors; Madan frequently thought Nicholson remiss in not supplying one. In fact Nicholson was keen, but would do nothing until everything else was in order. He made drafts for a handbook, but the only concrete results were contained in the 'Staff-Kalendar', which first appeared in May 1902. Madan produced a 'Manual for readers and visitors' in October 1912. Nicholson was not opposed to the idea: he merely thought there were more important calls on his time - and he wanted to do it himself.¹⁵

This gap was partly filled by Andrew Clark's 'Bodleian guide', published in 1906. Nicholson knew nothing of the book until the Clarendon Press requested illustrations. Nicholson was very adept at starting things if he thought other people might forestall him, and he told Clark that he too was preparing a guide. Clark protested that his was only "for the tripper". "What I too contemplated was a guide 'for the tripper'", replied Nicholson, " - in addition to a separate guide for the reader, part of which I have written." Clark sent him the proofs, and Nicholson corrected many errors. Clark accepted many corrections but resisted certain of Nicholson's opinions: Clark

originally referred to the new Radcliffe Science Library as a "fine range of buildings", but Nicholson suggested: "the worst specimen of architecture that even Jackson's Oxford can show"; Clark settled for: "large range of buildings." Clark claimed that the Camera was not worth visiting, except for the view from the 'battlements', but Nicholson retorted that the janitor's earnings would be damaged. The 'Guide' contained no acknowledgement to Nicholson, who angrily returned his complimentary copy to the Press.¹⁶

Nicholson had suggested to Madan in 1882 the printing of a monthly bulletin of notable additions if Catalogue slips were printed, but the Curators considered the cost too high; instead, Nicholson displayed three accessions lists. With the demise of his information-card system in 1889, he increased the number of lists to 12, arranged according to broad subject divisions. Madan favoured printing accessions lists as a preliminary step to printing the Catalogue, but Nicholson was immovably opposed because of the expense. The Curators sanctioned the printing of the accessions in 1913, and Sir William Osler offered money for a Bodleian journal. In 1914 appeared the Bodleian Quarterly Record, which included news and articles about the Bodleian and lists of important accessions.¹⁷

To compile his statistics of accessions, Nicholson devised elaborate printed entry-sheets. To Melvil Dewey he wrote: "You will see that I am already a blancophil (blancomaniac?), but some day I shall have many more, for I find their aid in organization and their economy of time incalculable." Almost 400 different kinds of printed forms, etc., are listed in the 'Staff-Kalendar', including different forms for cataloguing a variety of materials, for asking the Copyright Agent for reports, sending bids to Quaritch, returning unwanted books. One card read: "... desires to express ... deep sympathy with ... in ... bereavement." The form of thanks for donations began: "I beg you to accept the best thanks of the Curators of the Bodleian, and my own, for ..."; but in July 1905 Nicholson changed it to: "I beg you to accept my sincere thanks for ...". Nicholson was always anxious to reduce his enormous correspondence.¹⁸

The 'Select' Library and verification.

The most important reform was the establishment in 1882 in the Radcliffe Camera of the 'Select' Library of 7-8,000 open access reference and text-books and periodicals. Nicholson chose every book himself, but increasing thefts affected his liberal attitudes. The core of the problem was verification - every Bodleian book had to be counted each year and losses reported to the Curators at the statutory Visitation.

In Coxe's time, the Visitation was a formality ("Bodley Visitation, as usual a farce", he wrote in 1879), but Nicholson's Curators were more vigilant, and instituted a second inspection - the Perlustration in May.¹⁹

Madan maintained that if Nicholson verified all books every year, thefts would be quickly detected; but only handlisted books could be 'counted', and the handlists were woefully incomplete - for which Nicholson was again blamed. The 1891 counting revealed the theft of the Mather tracts by Dann, but it took the shifting of the fiction to show that 120 unpressmarked novels had apparently been stolen by a former janitor.²⁰

At the Visitation in 1890, Mowat, prompted by Madan, forced Nicholson to admit that handlists were lacking for many of the less valuable books, though he had recently finished handlisting over 5,000 manuscripts and printed books.²¹ Again, in 1891 Mowat claimed that the Gough collection had been overlooked, yet reported by the Librarian as verified. A report in 1895 revealed approximately 90,000 unhandlisted volumes, mostly periodicals and government reports, plus most maps; grants were found to improve the situation.²²

Thefts continued from the 'Select' Library (uncounted from 1889 to January 1894, when 73 books were missing), and Madan blamed inadequate supervision. In 1893 an undergraduate was punished for removing books, and in 1894 a Depredations Committee recommended that books be put under lock and key.²³ By January 1898, 156 books had been stolen, and Nicholson suddenly locked up the whole of the 'Select'. There was an outcry, but Nicholson was now adamant that his prime duty was preservation, and that the 'Select' Library was not mainly for reference or browsing: "Well", he wrote, "the object of the select library was not to make the Camera a literary lounge where you could stroll round and pick out any book with a hazy title 'to see what it was about': it was to put before students the books that would help them."²⁴

Madan thought that the 'Select' should never have been locked up: "It is a miserable confession of incompetence. The Librn. can manage the Curators, but not the Library. The Curators can manage neither the Librn. nor the Library." "Delenda est Carthago", he mused. Nicholson was unmoved by a petition, organized by H.A.L. Fisher, but by 1902 5,500 books had returned to the open shelves. Nevertheless, losses continued, and many open-access books were locked up in 1904. The following figures show the total number of handlisted (i.e. verifiable) Bodleian books missing at the Visitation of the relevant year:

	<u>1895</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>1905</u>	<u>1910</u>
Manuscripts	12	15	16	14
Printed books	921	938	1,008	1,212

By 1910 there were still approximately 93,000 unhandlisted, and therefore uncountable, volumes.²⁵

The lending question.

Accessibility was the main issue behind the lending controversy of 1887. Sir Thomas Bodley had forbidden lending, but the Statute of 1856 had omitted this clause, and a new clause empowering the Curators to make loans was added in 1873. Manuscripts were not only lent abroad, but a 'borrowers' list' grew up, allowing privileged M.A.'s to take books home. Nicholson continued the practice, seeking permission to send books abroad, but using his discretion with University members. Between January 1883 and June 1886, 139 manuscripts were lent to individuals, and only one (lent before 1882) had been lost (by Professor Edward Palmer).²⁶

Nicholson supported the principle of lending and had said in Birmingham in 1882: "I call it [i.e. the Bodleian] a free public library ... because, if a trusty Birmingham worker wanted the loan of a manuscript for three months it would be lent to the Central Free Library for his use." But when in 1886 Nicholson asked the Curators for specific guidelines, the controversy began. Nicholson drafted complex regulations to establish an official borrowers' list. However, when H.W. Chandler inspected the 1873 clause permitting loans, he felt, he said, as if he had cut himself shaving: "There was just the same mixed feeling of surprise, disgust, and perhaps the muttered malediction." The clause stated: "Liceat Curatoribus, sicut mos fuit, libros impressos et manuscriptos scientiæ causa viris doctis sive Academicis sive externis mutuari." What the drafters should have written was commodare, i.e. 'to lend', instead of mutuari, 'to borrow', which made no sense.²⁷

Chandler argued that lending should be prohibited to save valuable books from damage. Then Sir Richard Burton entered the fray; he was editing the 'Arabian Nights', and he requested that a manuscript be loaned to the India Office Library, promising not to print the racy parts. The Curators refused. Burton published his abortive correspondence, and demanded that the Curators expedited their loans procedure. J. Ogle subsequently drew attention to Nicholson's Birmingham speech and his reference to loans to artisans. When in January 1887 Chandler, hoping to prevent the "Evil Genius of the Bodleian" from pushing forward a new loans statute, published his memoranda, the affair became a public scandal.²⁸

The newspapers were generally critical of the Curators. The Times leader-writer, (Sir) James Thursfield, a friend of Madan, wrote: "How

they can have floundered into such a morass of illegality and impolicy it almost passes the wit of man to conceive." Another friend, Sir Frederick Pollock, wrote two Latin skits, while Punch compared the Bodleian to Mudies' circulating libraries. Nicholson denied that lending was promiscuous or damaging, and was supported by Max Müller, who argued that "the argus eyes of the present librarian are sufficient security for the present", and by Robinson Ellis, who accused Chandler of wanting to stifle research.²⁹

Chandler had already made clear his views on research in Oxford: "As far as my experience extends, the very notion of work as opposed to fidgetty pottering, is not possessed by 50 men in the place." As for loans to foreign libraries: "... between ourselves," he wrote to W. Anson, "I have heard it said by one who ought to know that MSS. returned from abroad not unfrequently smell strongly of tobacco." An anonymous writer in the Oxford Magazine believed that lending, if allowed, would depend not on the discretion of the Curators (as stated by Nicholson), but of the Librarian, "and as to the judgment of the Librarian there are, as Aristotle would say, different opinions." The author was Reginald Lane Poole.³⁰

The Curators decided to introduce a decree allowing loans, and this unleashed a storm of fly-sheets. Madan delighted in seeing the Librarian attacked for his 'modern' ideas of librarianship. He opposed lending as being against all Bodleian traditions (which it was before 1856), and saw it as part of the battle between the 'research scholars', in the mould of Pattison, and the 'popularizers', following Jowett (and Nicholson). The most serious argument was that books lent were not on the shelves - where readers should expect them; 'accessibility' had different meanings for the pro- and anti- lending factions.³¹ At Convocation on 10 May 1887, Ince attacked Chandler; Jowett argued for lending, but Sir Frederick Pollock believed that the Curators had broken faith with previous benefactors. Professors Tylor and Legge argued for loans to University institutions, while Nicholson claimed that no readers had complained of inconvenience. Further discussion was adjourned.³²

On 31 May the debate centred on an amendment to prohibit loans except with the permission of Convocation. E.A. Freeman spoke for lending, arguing that 'a book was not an idol, but a tool'. Nicholson, amidst heckling, delivered the longest Convocation speech for years, defending himself against possible misconstructions. The climax was Madan's speech; for the first time he was publicly opposing Nicholson, though he carefully confined himself to experience "gained before the election of the present

Librarian." He detailed instances of inconvenience and appealed to the University as guardians of their treasures. Lending was "happily rejected by 106 to 60", as Macray recorded, unless allowed by Convocation. E.B. Tylor's amendment to allow loans to University institutions was defeated, 60-56. Next term, Evelyn Abbott, a crippled Fellow of Balliol, asked Convocation for permission to borrow - which was refused by 41-38.³³

Lending to University institutions inside Oxford.

In 1888 an attempt was made to allow 15 University Keepers and Professors to borrow. Madan mounted the offensive with a 32-page pamphlet in which he rehearsed all the arguments against lending. At Congregation on 8 May 1888, Nicholson accused Madan's pamphlet of being full of prejudices and claimed that only four people would borrow. Tylor commented adversely on the Bodleian's modern books, provoking an angry response from Nicholson. But Madan again won the day with his arguments that the Bodleian was a library of deposit, and that even loans to University institutions were a step towards dispersal. The proposal was defeated by 126-37.³⁴

Sir Thomas Bodley's precepts were upheld, but lending was not totally abolished, for Convocation subsequently approved loans to many foreign libraries. (In the year ending 31 July 1975, 1,415 printed books and 756 manuscripts were lent). In return, many foreign libraries loaned manuscripts to the Bodleian. Loans to individuals ended. As for Burton, Chandler arranged for the manuscript to be photographed. Burton published his text unexpurgated and printed a critical appendix, 'Ineptiae Bodleianæ'.³⁵

When in 1887 Nicholson sought the return of scientific books and periodicals loaned to the Radcliffe Science Library in the University Museum, the Radcliffe Librarian, H.W. Acland (also a Bodleian Curator) refused. Nicholson had no objection to loaning scientific books, but felt that the new lending decree should be observed. In 1897 Anson moved that scientific treatises and periodicals be transferred to the Museum, subject to recall. Nicholson objected, suggesting that books be sent on the same conditions as to the Camera (i.e. as requested by readers, subject to the Librarian's discretion), and that non-scientific periodicals in the Museum be returned. The Curators decided against changing the present arrangements, whereby scientific books were deposited in the Museum but could be transferred back to the Camera.³⁶

The exhibition-cases and palæographical lectures.

As part of his desire to make the stock more accessible, Nicholson in 1884 increased the number of show-cases. "And actually", complained Madan, "he put the most precious autographs in the S. window at the Arts end where the sun streams in, unless Charles [Coppock, the janitor] remembers to pull the blinds down each day and on Sat. for Sunday." The ensuing 'war against exhibits' lasted 15 years. Nicholson wanted to display the choicest treasures, but forced too many into confined spaces. Valuable manuscripts were placed on top of each other, and leaves were even turned back on themselves. The exhibitions had a serious purpose - not merely to divert visitors but to instruct students in palæography. In 1885 a Committee discussed possible palæographical lectures. W. Ince approached W.M. Lindsay, only to find that Nicholson had made a private arrangement allowing Lindsay to lecture in a Bodleian room, using Bodleian manuscripts. Despite Nicholson's protestations ("I was so guiltless in intention"), the Curators refused by 4 votes to 3 to allow Lindsay to proceed.³⁷

The episode coincided with H.W. Chandler's growing determination to prevent exhibitions of manuscripts. "I met Prof. Chandler, a new Curator," wrote Madan in February 1885, "walking through the private rooms (a most welcome sight), and he simply said that he couldn't imagine any one making a donation to the Library considering the carelessness with which the collections especially the MS. were treated." Chandler himself wrote: "On May 19th, 1885, a Curator came into my room and said, 'I was walking through the Bodleian looking for --- when I saw a sight which made me sick.' 'You may see many such sights there', said I; 'what was it?' 'I saw a bevy of women with an illuminated manuscript, and they were turning over the leaves, all looking at it'."³⁸

Chandler, supported by Bywater, had already failed, by 5-4, to persuade the Curators to prevent exhibitions. With hindsight, Nicholson acknowledged this as the first occasion when the Curators had discussed what Nicholson believed to be an unstatutory motion; only he could authorize exhibitions, he claimed. In the following year, his proposals to exhibit coins were defeated.³⁹ In 1885 Nicholson allowed Robinson Ellis to display a volume of the Herculanean facsimiles at his lectures, but when Ellis' students collated manuscripts in 1886, Chandler objected that "a part of the Bodleian was used as a class-room on the sole responsibility of the Librarian." A majority of Curators decided to take no action.⁴⁰

A grant made organized palaeographical instruction possible, and E. Maunde Thompson delivered six lectures in 1887, using lantern slides. With Thompson's advice, Nicholson prepared what was intended as a permanent palaeographical exhibition in the Selden End, but it ran into trouble.⁴¹ In 1889 a Committee of Curators had, without consulting Nicholson, made recommendations about increasing accommodation for readers, including replacing the Selden End show-cases with a table for eight persons. Nicholson eventually fitted the cases into the Arts End. When Max Müller innocently queried their position in October 1890, Nicholson retorted: "All through the last year I have been harassed by Messrs. Bywater and Mowat about the exhibits. I thought I had at last got rid of them by withdrawing the autographs from the South Window. Can you not imagine what a trouble it is to me to find the entire subject raised de novo by a friendly Curator at the beginning of a new Academical year? I do not know whether you are aware that I have serious heart-disease - much more serious than was supposed by my Oxford doctors last term - and that I am ordered to avoid overwork and worry as much as possible. If I can do this I am told I may yet live to be an old man; if not there may be a vacancy at the Bodleian before very long." Max Müller diplomatically withdrew his query.⁴²

Meanwhile, in 1890 Madan became the first University lecturer in Mediaeval Palaeography. Madan recorded many examples of over-crowding in the show-cases. He believed that facsimiles should be displayed, not the best manuscripts, a view shared by A.W. Pollard, who suggested co-operative exhibitions. In 1895 Bywater told Madan he would like the case of illuminated manuscripts replaced by a table for dubious readers, and in 1897 occurred the controversy which prevented exhibitions of coins.⁴³

Damage to books.

In 1898 H.A. Wilson became concerned that manuscripts such as the Ormulum, the Rushworth Gospels, and the Caedmon were being rubbed and overlaid. "Wilson spoke to the beast yesterday about the binding of MS. Hatton 30 (Dunstan)", wrote Madan; "Think of a Curator having to keep the Librarian from further injuring a precious MS." G.F. Warner had told Madan in March of a visit to the Bodleian: "I found the Panjandrum very civil, but he certainly does not handle his Mss. as if he loved them!" A committee was opposed by Nicholson on the grounds that his statutory rights would be infringed. Bywater's opinion was that exhibitions had never been sanctioned, and had been brought together to illustrate 'illegal' lectures by E. Maunde Thompson. Nicholson removed over 30 manuscripts to prevent overcrowding: "But there is no

reason in the world why an ordinary MS. should not have another put over it with a sheet of paper between. The weight does no harm, and may do positive good in smoothing crinkled vellum." Nicholson had interlocked manuscripts so that as many of the 'interesting' parts as possible were visible.⁴⁴

Sad to relate, books were also endangered by some of the Library's repair methods. The Bodleian had no suitably qualified staff (apart from the services of A. Maltby, the binder); Nicholson did much of the work himself, usually in public view. Several papyri fragments are known to have disappeared, and Nicholson was often heavy-handed with manuscripts. He was keen to 'restore' books, as when he returned a Douce print to the Mentz Canon in 1886. Mowat and E.G. Duff subsequently discovered Nicholson attacking the Mentz Psalter with a knife, in an effort to remove some printed tags. Mowat complained to the Curators, who took no action, while Nicholson claimed that he had "an almost foolish devotion to 15th century books" and that his restorations to the Mentz Canon showed that "I have some title to say that I know what I am about and to be trusted accordingly." A few days later, Nicholson poked his finger through a print in a Missal, which he had vowed to remove "by hook or by crook."⁴⁵

The Zend affair.

Serious instances of damage concerned the Zend manuscripts. The Bodleian received an early manuscript (MS.Zend c.1) of the Yasna in 1889 from Dr. Jamaspji Minocheherji, the Parsi High Priest at Bombay, through Rev. Dr. L.H. Mills. A facsimile was published in 1893; other Zend manuscripts were donated, and Mills defended the choice of the Bodleian by claiming that he was the only scholar in the world who could study the manuscripts satisfactorily. Mills was an excitable person and did not get on with Nicholson. Unfortunately Nicholson ignored his advice on the suitable treatment of these manuscripts, whose physical condition was poor.⁴⁶

MS.Zend e.1 arrived in 1890, comprising one volume and over 200 fragments. Nicholson refused to put all the fragments between glass, much to Mills' agitation, but overlaid the leaves with transparent repair paper. The paper turned out not to be so transparent, "and in consequence, it was very hard to read some of the leaves when the work was finished." In fact some pages were totally illegible. Mills loudly complained, but Nicholson, with righteous indignation, blamed the binder's assistant for using either too thick paste or too thick paper.⁴⁷

The inevitable Committee authorized an experiment to remove the repair paper - which failed. However, Mills refused to criticize Nicholson before the Curators: "My position seems really amusing. I have the MS. injured, and have now been arraigned by you for making the disturbance, while I have deeply offended highly placed persons by showing a reluctance to testify against your procedure." Nicholson claimed that the donor would have applauded his actions. In May 1891 the Curators decided, by 4-3, that the 'repairs' had been necessary and that no blame attached to Nicholson.⁴⁸

Papyri.

The accident to the Zend manuscript revived fears over the papyri. Nicholson had devoted much time to separating fragments given by G. Chester and A.H. Sayce in 1888. He dipped them in cold water, which caused some writing to disappear, as reported to Mowat in March 1891. In the same month Nicholson promised to deal with 13 boxes of papyri fragments. In Nicholson's absence, the Curators resolved that he must not touch any more. Nicholson angrily declared that he was being deprived of part of his statutory duties, and that he had nothing to hide about his methods. He wrote later: "I cannot say whether Mr. Chester or Prof. Sayce recommended water as a way of separating the fragments, but I can say positively that they did not disrecommend it, and that they suggested no other means of separating them." The resolution was rescinded in June 1891.⁴⁹

In 1894 B.P. Grenfell donated a fragment of Ezekiel (MS.Gr.bib.d.4(P)) which Nicholson dipped into water - and several letters disappeared, though they had been recorded. Similarly, the ink ran on another fragment. "I knew at once what would happen", wrote Nicholson; "I knew that Mr. Grenfell would instantly tell someone, and that the someone, if he was not himself a Curator, would carry the information to one - and that the result would be a motion at the Visitation for a Committee. Mr. Grenfell justified my expectations of him: he went that very day to Prof. Pelham.

.... On the morning of the Visitation ... I said to the Vice-Chancellor 'Mr. Vice-Chancellor, may I ask something before any more Curators come in? I live the life of a hunted animal, always dreading attack when I'm not being attacked. If any motion should be made for the appointment of a committee of investigation, I should be glad to be allowed to give reasons why such a Committee should not be appointed'. And the Vice-Chancellor kindly undertook that this should be so."⁵⁰

Nicholson had already contacted F.G. Kenyon at the British Museum, and had learned that they separated fragments using steam. Despite Nicholson's assurances, the Curators, on Pelham's motion, ordered a suspension of work on the papyri. A Committee recommended that the papyri be examined and mounted by a 'skilled person'. Nicholson argued that the reference to a 'skilled person' implied that the Librarian was unfit and was being deprived of part of his statutory duties. He accused Pelham of belonging to that clique determined to limit Nicholson's powers; the fear of being 'fettered' made Nicholson overlook his own failings.⁵¹

The Curators accepted the Committee's recommendations, but added that any 'skilled person' should act "in conjunction with the Librarian." An uneasy peace settled during 1895; then Bywater moved that the resolution relating to a 'skilled person' be enforced, but in February 1896 Nicholson requested that Kenyon be invited to investigate. Kenyon reported that most of the Library's 1,027 Greek papyri fragments were useless, except as specimens; none needed special care, which vindicated Nicholson's contention that he could deal with papyri. Nicholson produced his own report which virtually congratulated Kenyon on agreeing with him. He suggested that Grenfell compile a catalogue, which was done. Nicholson gladly accepted Kenyon's advice, which he himself had sought, but in the same year rejected advice on accommodation from Henry Jenner - whom Nicholson had not invited.⁵²

The St. Gallen Conference.

Nicholson continued with his transparent repair paper. In 1897 Father (later Cardinal) Ehrle, Prefect of the Vatican Library, visited the Bodleian and was struck by the 'deplorably deteriorated' state (vehemently denied by Nicholson) of MS.Heb.e.62 (Ecclesiasticus), overlaid with repair paper in 1896. Ehrle proposed a conference in St. Gallen, Switzerland, to discuss methods of safeguarding manuscripts, and he invited Madan to represent the Bodleian. The Curators agreed, but Nicholson denied that they could direct Madan to do anything. They decided that Nicholson could go; to Nicholson this proved that the 'Summary Catalogue' was illegal, since the Curators now implicitly admitted that they could not decree Madan's work.⁵³ At the conference Nicholson defended his methods and doubted Ehrle's assertion that corrosion was continuing in old manuscripts. (Incidentally, most of Nicholson's 24-page report of the conference was printed before he left for St. Gallen.)⁵⁴

The conference produced no consensus, and Nicholson retained transparent paper. Hindsight reveals his repairs as incompletely

successful, since most treated leaves have yellowed and become brittle. Nicholson listed treated manuscripts, and his methods have been examined elsewhere. An unsuccessful repair was MS. Bodl. 319 where, as A.S. Napier pointed out, "some letters have partially disappeared or been twisted round."⁵⁵

Nicholson was encouraged to use other repair methods, but was too hasty with his experiments. He tried celluloid until he discovered it was highly inflammable. He moved on to chemicals to revive faded ink, and, using tannin, obliterated half-a-page of writing in MS. D'Orville 189 (fol. 182[^]), which "result was beyond any precedent in my knowledge." He was more fortunate with the Eusebius Chronicle before photographing by the Press. But H.A. Wilson was concerned about the pink tinge and brown stains caused by the solution, and after experiments conducted by several Oxford chemists, Nicholson agreed to use hydrosulpheret of ammonia (as employed at the British Museum).⁵⁶

Nicholson continued to conduct repairs, confident of his superior knowledge. In 1909 a reader, F.R. Martin, complained of damage to an illuminated manuscript; Nicholson discovered "a quite harmless mould well known to me", caused by damp, which he wiped off. "I began to tell Mr. Madan the facts," he continued, "and he at once reminded me that Dr. Martin was 'the greatest authority in the world' on these pictures. I asked whether he would like to see the pictures and satisfy himself whether the greatest authority in the world knew more about them than their own custodian, but he declined the offer, saying the important thing was that I thought they were in a safe condition (or words to that effect). To which I replied 'Absolutely.' "⁵⁷

Binding.

Just as Nicholson's methods of repairing books were criticized, so were his binding practices. He estimated that 30-40,000 unbound items were received each year. Nicholson substituted half-morocco for half-calf, for durability, replaced leather by cloth, and introduced his favourite buckram for heavy volumes. Criticism revolved around the increasing expenditure, which rose from £766 in 1882 to £1,328 in 1911, or approximately two-thirds the annual amount spent on purchases.⁵⁸

Nicholson bound more than hitherto - maps and music, for instance, ignored by Coxe - and preferred to bind pamphlets and dissertations separately, spending £86.12s.9d. on binding dissertations in 1887. Pamphlets were bound between cheap boards with vellum backs - but volumes had sometimes to be padded with blank leaves, often more than the pamphlet itself, to make room for title and pressmark. Before

binding, pamphlets were placed in cardboard boxes, though Nicholson later used buckram covers with strings inside. (At Cambridge, pamphlets were bound together annually, regardless of subject.)⁵⁹

Although the 1888 'Memorial' urged economies in binding, public criticism did not come until the Convocation debate of 28 January 1890. Henry Nettleship claimed that the proportion of money spent on binding to purchases was higher in the Bodleian (1-2) than in the British Museum (1-3). Nicholson denied this, but it later transpired that Nettleship was right. Nicholson vigorously argued that the cost 'per ton' of binding books was less than under Coxe.⁶⁰

Between 1891 and 1896, the Common University Fund provided £1,000 for binding Ordnance maps (Francis Jenkinson claimed that 20,000 maps could be accommodated in cabinets for £190, but Nicholson believed in ensuring preservation and insisted on full buckram.) Because of the high costs, the 465 Hultzsch Sanskrit manuscripts, acquired in 1887, were not completely bound until 1900, while on several occasions Nicholson suspended binding until money was guaranteed.⁶¹ After Nicholson's death, Madan reversed his policy by introducing cheap cases for loose periodicals and dissertations, and by using brown paper and string, which helped to reduce the binding bill to £646 in 1918.⁶²

Photography.

Photography provided one of the best and cheapest methods of making the contents of any library widely known. Until 1891 Bodleian books had to be sent to the University Press for photography, though Nicholson had approached Horace Hart about erecting a dark-room in the Bodleian in 1886.⁶³

Madan's interest in photography had been stimulated by a paper by R. Garnett. Meanwhile Chandler, following the battles over exhibiting manuscripts and loaning books, had concluded that photography was the best solution to both problems, and he erected his own photographic laboratory in his College rooms. The Curators appointed a Photographic Committee, which included Chandler who issued a 'Memorandum' in May 1889. Typically he lambasted the Curators for their timidity, but provided specifications for a photographic department. Chandler's suicide cut discussion short. In November 1890 a re-appointed Committee reported favourably on using the Binders' Room in the Picture Gallery for photography, provided that dry plates were used and that developing was done elsewhere; the proposals were adopted, and Cambridge followed their lead, also in 1891.⁶⁴

Prices were moderate, and the cheaper rotary-bromide process became

available in 1905; Bodleian staff had always to be in attendance. In 1901 Nicholson proposed that the staff should learn to use (or misuse, according to Madan) a 'Library Kodak', but this seems to have come to nothing.⁶⁵

Facsimiles.

Before Nicholson's time, the only complete Bodleian manuscript to be reproduced had been the 'Chanson de Roland'. Nicholson planned cheap facsimiles, without annotations or transcripts, and approached the Delegates of the Clarendon Press in January 1884 about beginning with the Cædmon manuscript.

Nicholson's progress has been detailed elsewhere, but can be summarized. Nicholson wanted the best reproduction process - collotype - but the cost made the Delegates prefer photolithography. The Secretary of the Press, P. Lyttleton Gell, had other ideas - in 1887 he proposed an 'Oxford Facsimile Society', with Nicholson as Honorary Secretary. Nicholson was furious, partly because "I do not think it would be fair to me that my own initiative and my own work should be hidden under the name of a Society"; he wanted sole control. The Delegates withdrew because of insufficient demand for the Cædmon.⁶⁶ Instead, Nicholson published through Quaritch cheap photolithographs of four early-printed texts, under the title 'Bodleian Facsimile Series', which were fairly well received. Nicholson was dissatisfied with their quality, but had proved the feasibility of cheap reprints, and urged R. Garnett to follow his example.⁶⁷

Nicholson still wished to reproduce manuscripts, as palaeographical specimens - but Madan too had a plan. Madan and several friends thought of issuing a portfolio of photographs as examples of cheap photography. "On Monday the 13th of October [1890] our preparations were finished", wrote Madan, "and two of us asked the Librarian for leave to photograph. It then turned out that the Librarian had in his mind a scheme of his own for photography, with a different purpose altogether, and he subsequently wrote to the Delegates of the Press about it. Our own plan has not advanced beyond this point." Nicholson wrote on the same day to Gell about an 'Oxford Palaeographical Series'. He intended to issue facsimiles of individual leaves in fascimiles on related subjects with examples from every Bodleian manuscript, "but at least one specimen will be given of every MS. (excluding separate papyrus fragments and ostraka) which was written before the year 1000."⁶⁸

When Gell suggested that Nicholson's facsimiles should be annotated by 'experts', Nicholson was again enraged: "... I cd. not agree to any

plan which would deprive me of the general advisership for the Bodleian series or would imply that I was incapable to select and describe MSS." The Delegates of the Press deliberated but never decided. Madan did produce some facsimiles, but only for his palæographical students.⁶⁹

Whenever Nicholson thought of a good idea, he had to put it into practice first, even if he had no time to think through every step. When E.G. Duff suggested in January 1891 that the Bodleian publish facsimiles of early printed English prints, Nicholson was delighted - provided that he wrote the descriptions: "But I must get out my two printed facsimiles first... And I must not undertake too much at once, seeing what infinitesimal leisure I get for unofficial work of any kind." When Duff offered to do the work himself, Nicholson declined, explaining that "as I have virtually done all the work required and only need time to put it into shape I must keep it in my own hands." Of course Nicholson will never do it, thought Madan, and he never found time.⁷⁰

Nicholson planned many more facsimiles, including palæographical supplements to the Oriental catalogues, but found neither time nor finances, except for the collotypes in his 'Early Bodleian music' series.⁷¹ In 1901 the Curators allowed Nicholson to sell photographs of the Bodleian, and Nicholson added photographs taken from three selected manuscripts. Again, he intended to issue annotated facsimiles taken from all the Library's manuscripts, and hoped to add collotypes of bindings, ornamentation, etc. He appealed for support from palæographical students, but it was not forthcoming. So Nicholson's scheme merely foreshadowed modern picture post-cards, but he certainly deserves credit for attempting to exploit the contents of the Library in his care.⁷²

Annual reports.

Nicholson presented annual reports to the Curators, but initially none were published. In 1885 he asked to compile a cumulative report, but in the meantime contributed 16 columns to the Oxford Review, a useful medium for explaining recent Library events. Nicholson's first published report appeared in December 1888, and its 66 pages provided an exceptionally detailed account of his administration. For the first time, Nicholson's achievements were publicly broadcast to his critics; "I think it will stop much babble", wrote F. York Powell. Henceforward reports were published annually.⁷³ "It breathes of life, wealth, & activity", wrote J.T. Clark of the Advocates' Library about the 1889 Report, which serves as a reminder that the other national libraries (except the British Museum) were in a worse plight. The reports were supplemented from 1914 by the more informal Bodleian Quarterly Record.⁷⁴

The strain of so many years of intense work coupled with almost constant battles was taking its toll, and on 19 November 1901 Nicholson suffered a nervous breakdown. His health had been poor even in 1882 because of insomnia and eye-pains, and his unflagging work, worry, and lack of holidays had not improved matters. The 'incessant whirl of overpressure' was a frequent complaint, as he would soon tell readers, both personally and in correspondence.¹

In 1889 he was told to go riding to combat insomnia: "Nick is no better, but not much worse", Madan wrote to E.G. Duff; "He has been ordered horse exercise, and is the sight of the town! But many things cannot be written down." As has been seen, 1889 and the beginning of 1890 were particularly aggravating times, and his health was being seriously undermined. "I managed to get a fresh chill yesterday afternoon and came home very ill", he wrote to Neubauer on 2 February 1890; "I also managed to strain myself, and get a violent attack of lumbago." April was spent in Devon, and he arrived back in Oxford just before his mother died. The following two months saw more troubles, with the exhibition-cases, the 'Summary Catalogue', and Nicholson's pamphlet on his 'increasing exclusion', and on 25 June he was laid up with palpitations of the heart. August found Nicholson in Austria, from where he wrote to Neubauer: "On reaching London I went with my doctor's approval to an eminent London physician. He told me that I not only had muscular disease of the heart, which my Oxford doctors recently discovered, but that I had a valvular mischief in it as well - which they had not discovered. But he told me that I am not liable to sudden death and that if I do as I am told the disease needs never kill me at all." Nicholson soon developed into a hypochondriac.²

After his breakdown in 1901, Nicholson was away for two months. He wrote to Madan: "He [i.e. his doctor] tells me that I have had a nervous breakdown, that in some people it is the nerves of the heart which give way, instead of the brain; that I am recovering quickly ...". In fact Nicholson was absent for another four months during 1902. He passed June and July in Bad Nauheim, a spa which specialized in treating sufferers of neurotic afflictions by mineral baths and special exercises developed by Dr. Theodor Schott.³ Nevertheless Nicholson insisted on taking Bodleian work ("for here I have the leisure, & when I get back I shall have none"), and he drew up a list of photographic reproductions, plans for Camera baskets, and his report for the Vice-Chancellor's

'Statements of the needs of the University'. Nicholson returned to Bad Nauheim in 1903.⁴ Although confrontations with the Curators were less frequent, Nicholson was fully prepared to fight for his rights, and in 1903 drafted his severe, though unissued, attack on Madan and the 'Summary Catalogue'. His sleep continued to suffer and the slightest ailments upset him. His hours of work were also becoming irregular, though he just managed his six hours by counting Sundays.⁵

Increasing illness.

In March 1907 A.L. Smith was elected a Curator in place of the late H. Pelham, after defeating Oman by 155 votes to 35. Later in the year, W.H. Hutton replaced C. Plummer; Oman withdrew from the latter contest.⁶ Smith was a friend of T.A. Brassey, and although the latter's donations provided the means of satisfying many Bodleian needs, they only added to Nicholson's labours. Nicholson had his own ideas for catalogue revision, the underground bookstore, and the Picture Gallery, and insisted on arranging everything personally, if only to thwart opposing ideas. But he collapsed in the street on 4 April 1907: "the machine has been driven too hard for the last 5 months", he wrote to Madan, who thought he was shamming and replied that he would "endeavour" to manage in Nicholson's absence. Another attack occurred on 12 June 1907, as he told Brassey in the following year: "Fortunately I have had no further attack, but from the middle of last summer [i.e. 1907] I have been subject to the trouble called 'Cheyne-Stokes respiration'. It is generally so serious a symptom that when I told my London doctor ... last Sunday he said 'Most of the people I know with Cheyne-Stokes respiration are dead'. My Oxford doctors (Gray & Osler) are agreed that with me it is of mainly nervous origin, and has no organic root ... All this is simply the result of overdrive, and it wasn't till my so-called holiday last year that the complaint became set. That 'holiday' was an almost unbroken round of Bodleian work...".⁷

In 1908 his condition worsened. "On Mar. 25", he wrote to Brassey, "the innervation of my heart suddenly gave way, I was attacked by dropsy, and my heart didn't fully recover for 5 weeks.

For weeks and weeks past I have been every day, and sometimes twice a day, to my doctor. And that is the reward an athlete, and still a physically strong man, gets for 26 years hard service to the Bodleian". This last attack was blamed on the pressure involved in producing the Annual Report, and Nicholson was becoming increasingly neurotic. At midnight on 25 March he addressed a pathetic letter to Sir William Osler:

"Forgive me, but I am in a terrible fright. My sleep has been to pieces partly with overwork, partly with nervous dyspnoea, partly with a cough in the trachea. To cure the last I have been stopping 2 days at home, and to get sleep I have been sleeping part of the night out of bed in a chair, which prevents me from coughing.... On going to bed, however, I find both legs enormously swollen up to the knee

If I go to bed I shan't get a wink of sleep - I am so fearful of its being a sudden dropsical attack needing to be dealt with at once Is there any one who can come to me, do you think? ...

Once more forgive a panic-stricken man." Draughts became a fixation, and for his holidays Nicholson was almost fanatical about finding a hotel free from consumptives, with a plentiful supply of liquor, and near a doctor.⁸

The Curators were urging him to delegate responsibilities, but he probably distrusted their motives. Another relapse occurred in January 1909, but he was soon back at work. At 2 p.m. on 4 February Madan saw him working on the Laudian manuscripts: "How can he possibly say he is overworked?" wondered Madan. "If he were, he would put aside this mere pastime. The fact is, he has killed all the courteous correspondence of old time, and sits desolate in the midst of a ruined institution". The end of 1909 saw a crisis in the underground bookstore, and Nicholson gradually declined until, on 14 August 1910, he wrote to Cowley: "Just after being certified for the most heroic efforts, my heart has a 3rd time suddenly given way to prolonged bad sleep & spasmodic nervous dyspnoea, and I have got very slight dropsy below the knees....

Of course the American salesman business of the 3 winter months is the beginning of it all - leaving me almost played out. I did hope that the end of the summer term would have brought rest, but the Curators would not finish the Miss Underhill business, and they would go on with 'days and hours' instead of waiting till the beginning of next term." To Gibson he wrote in September: "It is important for me to sit for the rest of my life as little as possible in chairs (or on seats) which press the calf of the leg or under the knee. I shall have to relegate to the picture-gallery the faked splendour I have hitherto occupied, and the question is whether we have any chairs which would exactly suit me (1) in narrowness of seat from back to front, (2) in narrowness of edge of seat, (3) in having no cross-bars in front". Gibson was instructed to make all necessary investigations.⁹

Nicholson's illness stemmed from nervous causes, but he refused to admit that his work was being affected. He could not see that Library work was suffering because he could not give necessary orders; Madan, of course, would take no responsibility for directing the staff. Nicholson's hours were becoming more erratic and he would often not appear until the afternoon. Although he improved physically, he was weakening mentally. During 1910, Madan calculated that Nicholson had $73\frac{2}{3}$ days' holiday, and $77\frac{1}{2}$ days' illness. In November Osler wrote to J.S. Billings of New York Public Library: "You will be sorry to hear that that unique character, Bodley's Librarian, is very seriously ill. I wish you could take hold of the place for a year, with Mr. Carnegie's purse behind you"; but that was a pipe-dream.¹⁰

During early 1911 Nicholson had pleurisy but managed some work; he was trying to revise 'Summary Catalogue' proofs, but most of his time was spent at home: "lying in bed with nothing to do or think about, drawing his £1000 a year", thought Madan. S. Gibson was a regular visitor, taking Nicholson's orders. Nicholson planned to work until February 1912, when he could receive a full pension of £500 per annum after 30 years' service; but this would come from the Library's funds, and Nicholson had always said that he would delay retirement as long as possible. The Curators thought in March of applying for a decree permitting early retirement. After the Perilustration in May, they met secretly to consider the legal situation: "While we were discussing it in walked Nicholson, who had evidently had rumours of the meeting", wrote Osler; "It was a very awkward position, but Heberden [the Vice-Chancellor] told him plainly that he did not think his presence necessary." Nicholson, however, "assured the Curators that he had not the slightest intention of resigning".¹¹

Nicholson did improve (and, to show he was back on form, threatened to expose Madan's behaviour towards him to the University), and the Curators did not press him to retire. However, he had developed a plethora of nervous habits. He would fumble with his keys, jump up and down in his chair, and on 29 May 1911 Madan (pen and watch always at the ready) noted that he took $9\frac{3}{4}$ minutes to go through the entrance to the back staircase, and a further $7\frac{3}{4}$ minutes to climb the stairs to the Arts End. He had difficulty in opening doors because of 'resistances' (curiously, Dr. Schott's exercises involved movements of the arms and legs against resistance). In August W.P. Ellis, a Bodleian reader and retired doctor, wrote to Madan that "my wife who was on the top of a tramcar saw him running round a heap of dead leaves on the

Banbury Rd. near the parks; my wife saw him leave his fetish three times and return to repeat his performance to the admiration of a number of onlookers and was still at his performance when lost to view".¹²

The investigating committee.

After seven weeks in Wales, Nicholson returned for the wedding of his daughter, May, on 18 October 1911. His improvement did not last long for though he survived the Visitation, Madan found him at dusk on the same day turning over a piece of paper and mumbling; an hour later he was 'shuffling' home. The Curators decided to set up a Committee to investigate the Librarian's fitness, though Nicholson, when told by the Vice-Chancellor (C.B. Heberden, Principal of Brasenose), replied that "of those who will be immediately affected by the investigation, none, I fancy, will be found to suffer less from it than

Yours very truly

E.W.B. Nicholson".¹³

The Curators gathered evidence at the end of November and beginning of December. Madan testified as to the lengths of Nicholson's illnesses and the number of days he had worked for six hours (he had been absent for 163 days in 1911 by then), and he told how Nicholson was ignoring his work and had only been in the Camera twice since July 1910. Although the 'Staff-Kalendar' showed the staff what their duties were, it also showed what duties Nicholson was neglecting. Cowley agreed that Nicholson had no knowledge of the finances, did not supervise the staff, had ignored foreign purchases, and had made no plans for the underground chamber. Gibson, too, reported that Nicholson did nothing about catalogue revision, and Gibson himself drafted most reports, including the annual report. The Curators decided that "the present administration of Bodley's Library is in some important respects brought to a standstill by the Librarian's incapacity to attend to his duties.... It appears further that whether present or absent the Librarian is unable to attend to the duties of his office The Committee feel bound to report that in their opinion the Curators would be found wanting in their duty to the University if they did not take such steps as would bring about the resignation or the removal of the Librarian."¹⁴

Leave of absence.

Meanwhile, Nicholson was barely capable of half-an-hour's work, mostly correcting proofs of his book on Latin musical manuscripts. He arrived for the Standing Committee on 24 November, but went off to sleep in Duke Humfrey's Library until Mrs. Nicholson took him home. On

30 November Madan and R.H. Hill witnessed a remarkable scene as Nicholson passed a half-hour in ducking his head around his waste-paper basket. He had little sleep at night, unless drugged, and Hill was detailed to look out books on self-hypnotism. The Curators decided in December to offer him one year's leave of absence on full pay to recover his health. This was intolerable to Madan, who resolved that if he was asked to take charge temporarily, he would refuse; Madan would not be Acting Librarian if it meant continuing Nicholson's system of administration.¹⁵

Nicholson had deluded himself that he was working, and on 8 January 1912 wrote to the Vice-Chancellor that "in view of the amount of important work in a transitional state which needed my direction or control, and in view also of my full ability to give such direction and control, I would not avail myself of their offer, but would merely ask for indulgence if at present I was to slacken my standard of attendance when necessary". At the same time Nicholson wrote to the Times that he was not resigning. Heberden protested, but Nicholson replied that "I ... must challenge production of evidence that the Library is suffering greatly (or at all) in consequence of my ill health". Osler recorded his own impressions of Nicholson's state: "He is full of obsessive fancies, tics & tricks - chiefly arithmo-mania of the worst kind. To see his vagaries is to pronounce him insane but he is clear enough in other ways, and if it comes to a fight he will raise an awful row....His heart has kept very well and he has had no dropsy for months but he looks badly - face & hands often as blue as indigo".¹⁶

On 3 February 1912 the Curators told Nicholson that he had two weeks in which to accept their offer of leave or else be reported to the Visitation Board. A fortnight later he agreed, provided that he could return to the Library after twelve months and could offer advice in the meantime. The Curators decided to seek a special Convocation decree and met on 21 and 27 February; these meetings were unique in being probably the only occasions when the Curators deliberately suppressed the minutes. Madan could not comprehend the Curators' action: "They give the Librn. a year's holiday and £1000, with such conditions as to return as the Librn. likes to propose, apparently! And they think they can cram onto me all the responsibility, with no free hand to reform!

It is all bad."

The last weeks.

By now Nicholson was suffering hallucinations. He was afraid of having his throat cut or being poisoned; he distrusted his nurse, kept

seeing tombstones in his room, and believed that the 'spirits' were chasing him. The worst incident occurred on 28 February: "Imagining that he was being thwarted," wrote Madan, "he got out of the dining room window into the road with a pen-knife and in his night-shirt about 5-6 p.m. (daylight). It took 3 or 4 neighbours to get him in again. He made a second attempt later, to get out of his bedroom window and was found by Steedman [his doctor] who was sent for, hanging half out of the window. He asked for his pen-knife.

.... Much of the night he was dictating imaginary 'Minutes' (really Agenda) for Bodleian Meetings, and, also foliating a volume (up to fol. 144, Gibson says)."¹⁷

Convocation discussed on Tuesday 12 March the decree to allow Nicholson one year's absence on full pay. The only dissentient was Sir Arthur Evans, who had not forgotten the Bodleian coins, and who criticized the Curators for not having sent Nicholson to the Visitatorial Board months ago. The decree was passed without a vote. On Sunday 17 March 1912 at about 5:30 p.m., Nicholson died. He was buried on 20 March in the same grave as his mother. Their tombstone, chosen by Nicholson, is a large Celtic cross and is the most prominent monument in Holywell Cemetery.¹⁸

Obituaries and estate.

Madan's first task was to engage a press-cutting agency, and he had Nicholson's obituaries bound together, annotating them with comments such as "Stuff!" and "This is bad". The obituaries were a mixture of praise and censure, and the Times produced the classic statement on Nicholson's appointment: "Oxford was full of ideals, mostly unrealizable, and in accordance with the new order of things the Bodleian Library must be brought up to date. The new librarian was therefore selected as being a man of modern methods, a man of energy, who would re-organize an old institution to meet what were believed to be new requirements. But Oxford, while impatient for reform, is always impatient of reformers, and it was only in the face of strong opposition that Nicholson was able to carry out his views." Madan's ire was roused by a letter in the Oxford Times from Miss Louise Guiney (whom he dismissed as "an American Roman Catholic versifier"), who objected to the comments made in the local newspapers on Nicholson's appearance and his 'whims and oddities': "Surely", she wrote, "something of Mr. Nicholson's is far more memorable than the 'straw hat worn all the year round', and that is his thirst after justice worn for quite the same period; and 'curiously prominent' as may have been 'the string of his eyeglass', conspicuous beyond that diverting asset was his honourable singleness of heart". She subsequently

wrote to Strickland Gibson: "... it is astonishing to me to hear such remarks about him as I have lately heard from several North Oxford quarters, and I could but do my best to thwart them. I can't bear it, this stupidity which finds petty faults in so large-souled a man."¹⁹

There was a deficiency on Nicholson's estate of £384.5s., while his widow was left with a mere £190 per annum from his insurance. The Curators proposed a pension for her of £100 per annum, but this was negatived by the Hebdomadal Council, while H. Asquith regretted that Nicholson's work did not entitle her to a Civil List pension. An appeal raised £582.15s.10d., of which £100 came from Brassey.²⁰ Most of Nicholson's books came to the Library, and many private papers - though Madan exacted his revenge over the latter. Whereas Nicholson had wanted them to be known as 'MSS. Nicholson', Madan referenced them into the ordinary Bodleian classification scheme - Nicholson's scheme, which Madan had so severely criticized. (Yet only two days after Nicholson's death, Madan opened the Mark Pattison box and subsequently had the contents referenced as 'MSS. Pattison'.)²¹

The new Statute.

Madan was elected Bodley's Librarian on 1 June 1912. Sir William Anson and H.A. Wilson had already begun to prepare a new Bodleian Statute, in English. The main new provisions were that Bodley's Librarian could retire after 15 years, and that he must retire at the age of 65 unless Convocation decreed otherwise. The Statute also confirmed the Vice-Chancellor's right to 'admonish' the Librarian (and withhold his pension), while physical or mental infirmity was specified as a reason for allowing the Curators to ask the Visitatorial Board to remove him. The Statute stated that the Librarian had charge of administration, but under the general control of the Curators; it also ensured that all finances were controlled by the Curators, though the Librarian could spend at his discretion, provided that he was so authorized by the Curators and gave full accounts.²²

On his retirement in 1919, Madan claimed that the most important aspect of his administration was transferring the centre of power from the Librarian to the Curators. Their number was increased to 15 in 1913, while in 1914 two new elected Curators were, ironically, Reginald Lane Poole and Sir Charles Oman. Madan now had the opportunity of reversing Nicholson's policies and enacting reforms he had grumbled about for over 25 years. He soon reduced cataloguing and binding, and urged a rise in the Sublibrarians' salaries, the provision of cycle stands, strict verification ("We have lost books: but I know the secret of not losing, i.e. stamping"), exhibitions of less valuable manuscripts, the printing

of accessions, and the transfer of the coins. Madan was of course on far better terms with the Curators than Nicholson ever was, and even invited them to do literary work in the Library to help them understand the Bodleian's work. Nevertheless, Madan remained aware of the possibilities of Curatorial interference and of "conflict between professional knowledge and ordinary common sense. The Professional Librarian maintains the above position, while he acknowledges the right of the Educated or Eminent Man to exist, for though the E.M. knows little of the principles and technique of librarianship, he is on other grounds a corrective to eccentricity and faddism".²³

Epilogue.

E.W.B. Nicholson never wanted to become a librarian, but libraries proved the ideal outlet for his undoubted organizational and innovatory talents. Nicholson was industrious, persevering, and obstinate; he could be autocratic and occasionally dictatorial, but always wanted to advance the organizations he served in what he believed to be the best ways. That Nicholson was brusque was denied by his friend, J.Y.W. MacAlister. Rather, Nicholson had no time for trivialities ("The courtesies of life make life intolerable!" he once said) and hated unnecessary interruptions. He tended to ignore opposition, but tolerated his critics and never maliciously attacked them, as they did him. "They call me a first-class fighting man", he told A.E. Cowley, "but you can't think how I hate it."²⁴

Nicholson's enthusiasm and imagination were unbounded; he had so many ideas but rarely the patience to complete one job at a time. Falconer Madan thought that Nicholson should have been a newspaper-editor, ready to grasp and summarize essential details in the shortest possible time - his often pungent reports to the Bodleian Curators support this view. Although he enjoyed cycling, rowing, and fell-racing, and bathed regularly at Parson's Pleasure, his health was never particularly good. His early years were marred by deaf fits, and his work in London, latterly with few holidays, led to his arrival in Oxford with neuralgic eye-pains and ruined sleep. His nervous temperament and addiction to unnecessary labours damaged his heart.²⁵

Nicholson adopted eccentricities which made him notorious throughout Oxford. Dark-coloured clothes were the norm, but he liked bright colours: a blue shirt with canary-yellow tie, a claret-coloured velvet waistcoat, and a light grey flannel suit; all these were worn under his tattered M.A. gown, only replaced when the Curators complained about the rent up the back. In winter he wore a felt hat, but in summer donned

a straw boater with a ragged Trinity ribbon, to which was attached his monocle.²⁶ The latter was because of Nicholson's most prominent defect: he had a cast in one eye. Falconer Madan recorded a typically unkind anecdote: "The Librn. collided (on a cycle) with a British workman. Both were deposited in the mud. Neither made any attempt to rise. Then began abuse. Nick. 'Confound your eyes, why don't you look where you are going?' B.W. (scoring) 'D-n your eyes! Why don't you go where you are looking!!' Nicholson has a most vile squint, and one eye as big as a teapot, like the Cyclops". Even Sir William Osler once referred to "E.W.B. Cyclops".²⁷

There was a marked strain of pedantry and a pretence to omniscience in Nicholson's behaviour, especially obvious in his writings on classical and Celtic subjects - or rather Keltic, because he pronounced and spelt the hard 'C' as 'K'. He vigorously rolled his 'r's, as in 'iron', and instructed his Bodleian boys on the correct (i.e. his) pronunciation of Latin. He certainly had a sense of humour and enjoyed the German Punch, Fliegende Blätter, while he loved making up limericks:

"In a fruiterer's shop at Kingussie
 There's a charming young person named Lucy.
 Her lips are as red
 As her cherries, it's said
 And considered remarkably juicy." ²⁸

Nicholson was an agnostic, though he attended Church on Christmas Day and Good Friday. 'Prove all things', he wrote inside a daughter's Bible. Brought up to be orthodox, Nicholson had doubts after reading Bishop Colenso, and appealed to A.P. Stanley for advice, who replied that "I do not consider that there is any exact mode of stating these questions, which I can hope to be satisfactory to all inquirers; though it may be sufficient for all practical purposes."²⁹ In politics Nicholson inclined towards the Liberal side, and W.E. Gladstone was always welcomed in the Bodleian. Nicholson supported women's rights and opposed vivisection, but tried to mix humane feelings with realism.

Despite Madan's frequent condemnations, many of Nicholson's Bodleian achievements have proved lasting and beneficial. Nicholson's most obvious memorials are the underground bookstore and its rolling bookcases, the Upper Reading Room, the Camera Gallery, and the unblocked windows, as well as the Camera 'Select' Library. The present cataloguing code and classification schemes may not be as comprehensive as Nicholson would have wished, but they owe most to him. Beneath the

surface, his encouragement of the boys, Extra Staff, and women proved far-seeing, and his 'Staff-Kalendar' has its present-day equivalent. He vigorously enforced the Copyright laws, but the major defect of Nicholson's administration was that the Library grew faster than its resources. Most of Nicholson's dreams have been realized in one form or another; his great failing was that he wanted to achieve everything himself. But it would be no exaggeration to say that his 30 years as Bodley's Librarian were the most energetic since the Library's foundation, and would have been even more significant had it not been for his uncompromising personality and his unfortunate tendency to provoke hostility rather than to encourage co-operation. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that Falconer Madan was mainly responsible for the breakdown in their relations. These degenerated so quickly that communication between the two librarians was soon almost exclusively by written notes, though they worked within a few paces of each other.

As for the Library Association, Nicholson provided the foundation of an organization which has lasted 100 years. Yet, as with so many of his schemes, Nicholson never had the patience to follow through what he himself had initiated, and it was left to others to build on his original achievements while he searched for fresh peaks to conquer.

From his earliest years, Nicholson was brought up in an environment where he was the centre of attraction. He never knew his father and so did not benefit from paternal discipline. At school and college he developed an exaggerated sense of his own importance, and he learnt to express his own opinions forcibly, regardless of others. He was solely responsible for the day-to-day running of the London Institution and was accustomed to gaining his own way. He always believed he was right, and although many of his views on librarianship were far-seeing and sensible, he never had the patience and tact needed to convince his colleagues, whether in the Library Association or the Bodleian.

Strickland Gibson wrote that Nicholson "was no committee man, was impatient of discussion, unconciliatory, incapable of meeting opponents halfway, and, it may be added, never shirked but welcomed individual responsibility". Cowley considered that Nicholson was "before all things an idealist, and his ideal was one library, one catalogue, and one librarian who should be the focus of all knowledge".³⁰

Unfortunately, in his last years Nicholson did not realize that his grip was failing. Routine duties could be carried out in accordance with the 'Staff-Kalendar', but he was incapable of making new decisions, though still believed he was in control. Others did not share Nicholson's confidence in his own abilities, and this source of friction marred his career. Even so, few would deny that Nicholson's achievements rank him as one of the major figures in librarianship at the beginning of this century.

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All manuscripts cited are in the Bodleian Library, unless otherwise stated.

Abbreviations of books cited.

- Craster Sir Edmund Craster, 'History of the Bodleian Library, 1845 - 1945' (1952).
- ICL Trans. E.B.Nicholson and H.R.Tedder, eds., 'Transactions and proceedings of the conference of librarians held in London October, 1877' (1878).
- Kelly T.Kelly, 'A history of public libraries in Great Britain, 1845 - 1965' (1973); a revised edition (1977) was published after these references had been prepared.
- Munford W.A.Munford, 'A history of the Library Association, 1877 - 1977' (1976).

Abbreviations of locations.

- AR Bodleian Library, annual reports - published annually from May 1889 as a supplement to the Oxford University Gazette.
- BL British Library, Reference Division.
- BL,PBA British Library, Department of Printed Books: Archives.
- CACT Bodleian Library, Curators' Acta.
- CAG Bodleian Library, Curators' Agenda.
- CP Bodleian Library, Curators' papers; i.e. reports to the Curators, filed amongst the Curators' minutes.
- CPLC Cambridge Public Library, Cambridgeshire collection.
- CUL Cambridge University Library.
- LAM Minutes - books of Council, monthly, and committee meetings of the Library Association, kept in Library Association Headquarters.
- LP Bodleian Library papers; i.e. volumes kept in the Bodleian's archives.
- LP Corresp. Bodleian Library correspondence; kept in stack.
- Madan + date, e.g. Madan, 7 Feb. 1891 F.Madan's Bodleian notes; i.e. Madan's notes bound into three locked volumes and kept in the Madan Chest (see below).
- Madan Chest + year refers to envelopes in the Madan Chest, which is kept amongst the Bodleian's archives.
- MFLAM Metropolitan Free Libraries Association minutes - book, kept in Library Association Headquarters.
- MPLA Manchester Public Library, Archives Department.

Abbreviations of periodicals.

<u>ALJ</u>	American Library Journal.
<u>BLR</u>	Bodleian Library Record.
<u>BQR</u>	Bodleian Quarterly Record.
<u>JLI</u>	Journal of the London Institution.
<u>LAR</u>	Library Association Record.
<u>LA Trans.</u>	Transactions and proceedings of the 1st.- annual meeting of the Library Association of the United Kingdom, 1878 - .
<u>LC</u>	Library Chronicle.
<u>LJ</u>	Library Journal.
<u>LR</u>	Library Review.
<u>MG</u>	Manchester Guardian.
<u>MN</u>	Monthly Notes of the Library Association of the United Kingdom.
<u>OC</u>	Oxford Chronicle.
<u>OJ</u>	Oxford Journal.
<u>OM</u>	Oxford Magazine.
<u>OR</u>	Oxford Review.
<u>OT</u>	Oxford Times.
<u>OUG</u>	Oxford University Gazette.

- 1 For general articles, see: H.R.Tedder, 'E.W.B.Nicholson (Bodley's Librarian, 1882-1912): in memoriam', LAR, 16(3)Mar.1914, 95-108; S.Gibson, 'E.W.B.Nicholson (1849-1912): some impressions', LAR, 51(5) May 1949, 137-143; W.A.Munford, 'Nicholson and the Bodleian', LR, 18, Autumn 1962, 507-512; K.A.Manley, 'Edward Williams Byron Nicholson', Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science, vol.19(1976), 485-494.
- 2 See Dictionary of National Biography for Admiral Sir T.Williams; MS.Eng.misc.b.17, copy of Admiral Sir T.Williams' will; MS.Eng.misc. b.14, verses by E.Nicholson.
- 3 MS.Eng.misc.d.50 contains Nicholson family trees; MS.Eng.misc.b.16 contains papers relating to the Nicholson family.
- 4 cf. MS.Eng.misc.c.80, 'The sorrows of a song-writer' (n.d.), for comments by Nicholson on his mother; MS.Eng.misc.f.23 contains miscellaneous family papers; MS.Eng.misc.c.54, letters to E.Nicholson; MS.Eng.misc.d.49, letters from E.Nicholson to his wife, 1843-9; MS.Eng. misc.c.55, papers relating to E.Nicholson's death.
- 5 [E.H.Nicholson] 'A widow's plea for a Court of Requests in Jersey' [1852]- copy in Bodleian Law Library; cf. D.Wainwright, 'Liverpool Gentlemen: a history of the Liverpool College' (1960); MS.Eng.misc. c.80, Nicholson to his mother, 11 Sep.1859; LP 'Bodleian "Old Boys"', draft from Nicholson to F.Leslie, 24 Apr.1909, for reference to Liverpool College; cf. MS.Eng.misc.d.51, for Nicholson's essays for school prizes.
- 6 MS.Eng.misc.c.80 contains a few notes concerning Tonbridge School; cf. [G.C.M.Smith] 'In memoriam the Rev. James Ind Welldon' (1897); cf. MS.Eng.misc.c.83, catalogue of Nicholson's library, ca.1862; E.B. Nicholson and E.S.Saxton, 'Catalogue of Tonbridge School Library' (1866); E.B.Nicholson and L.T.Lochee, 'Appendix to the Catalogue of Tonbridge School Library' (1867).
- 7 Nicholson's marked copies of The Tonbridgian are in the Bodleian; D.C.Somervell, 'A history of Tonbridge School' (1947), 82-83; The Tonbridgian, June/July 1867-May 1868, for 'Foundationers' privileges'.
- 8 cf. J.S.Cotton, 'In memoriam Franklin Richards' (1905); G.Richards, 'Memories of a misspent youth, 1872-1896' (1932), for references to F.T.Richards; F.E.Weatherly, 'Piano and gown: recollections' (1926); MS.Eng.misc.d.78, J.Murray to Nicholson, 9 June 1902; cf. E.Clodd,

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'Grant Allen' (1900), for references to Nicholson.

- 9 MS.Eng.misc.c.80, Nicholson to his mother, Oct.1868?; cf. MSS.Eng. misc.d.53-54 and MSS.Eng.misc.e.68-73, for Nicholson's undergraduate notebooks.
- 10 Oxford University Calendar contains details of Nicholson's degrees and prizes; Nicholson's marked copies of the Oxford University Magazine and Review and 'College rhymes' are in the Bodleian; MS.Top.Oxon.d.120, correspondence relating to the Oxford University Magazine and Review; MS.Eng.misc.d.52, Nicholson's compositions for University prizes; MS. Eng.misc.c.63, draft from Nicholson to W.Rogers (1879?; filed ca. July 1882).
- 11 J.M.Walker, 'The history of the Oxford University Chess Club' [1885]; E.B.Nicholson, 'The University Chess Club', Oxford Undergraduates' Journal, 4 May 1870; The Chess Players' Quarterly Chronicle, 2, 1870, passim, for references to the Oxford University Chess Club; [E.B. Nicholson] 'Oxford University Chess Club: the late match with the Cambridge Staunton Club', Oxford Undergraduates' Journal, 1 Feb.1872; Illustrated London News, 5 Apr.1873.
- 12 MSS.Top.Oxon.c.179-181, Nicholson's papers relating to the Oxford Union; 'Philodikaios', 'A letter to the members of the Oxford Union' (1868); cf. 'D' [i.e. E.B.Nicholson], 'Intellectual self-help at Oxford. Part 1, The Union Society', Oxford University Magazine and Review, (2)Dec.1869, 173-184; E.B.Nicholson, 'The Oxford Union', Macmillan's Magazine, 28, Oct.1873, 567-576; E.B.Nicholson, 'A night in the Oxford Union', London Society, 24, Nov.1873, 449-459; Proceedings of the Oxford Union Society, 28 Nov.1867 - and passim for references to other speeches by Nicholson; MS.Eng,misc.c.82, fols.16-34, draft speeches by Nicholson.
- 13 MS.Top.Oxon.c.180, including Nicholson's report on the Library; Oxford Undergraduates' Journal, 6 June and 17 Oct. 1872, for voting for Union officers; 'Catalogue of the Library of the Oxford Union Society with an index of subjects' (6th. edn., 1875).
- 14 MS.Top.Oxon.c.180, Nicholson's correspondence on the Union; see Bodleian scrapbook, G.A.Oxon.a.29, for various Union committees' reports; cf. OC, 22 Mar.1912, Nicholson's obituary; for references to the Union, see: J.G.S.MacNeill, 'What I have seen and heard' (1925), 91-101; J.P.Alderson, 'Mr. Asquith' (1905), 16-21, for T.H.Warren on the Union; H.A.Morraha, 'The Oxford Union, 1823-1923' (1923), 234-252 on banquet.

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- 15 MS.Top.Oxon.d.121 and MS.Top.Oxon.f.32 relate to the Rookery School; JLI, Sep.1872, 89, and ibid, Jan.1873,2; MS.Eng.misc.c.63, Nicholson's papers relating to the London Institution, including his application.
- 16 cf. K.A.Manley, 'E.B.Nicholson and the London Institution', Journal of Librarianship, 5(1)Jan.1973, 52-77, and the references therein; R.W. Frazer, 'Notes on the history of the London Institution' (1905); for progress, see the JLI.
- 17 ICL Trans., 176 and Appendix XII, 206-207, on the reservation-card; JLI, Apr.1874-Apr.1875, for progress.
- 18 See Bodleian scrapbook, G.A.London.c.40, for lecture-lists, etc.; H.S. Solly, 'The life of Henry Morley, LL.D' (1898), 291-293, including appreciation by Nicholson; MS.Eng.lett.d.62, Nicholson to Sayce, 21 Apr. 1875; Ruskin's lectures were published in his: 'Deucalion' (1879, 1880, and 1883); cf. E.B.Nicholson, 'The London Institution and Mr. Ruskin's lecture', Monetary Gazette, 1 Mar.1876, 52.
- 19 Times, 17 Nov.1875, for letter by Nicholson, and ibid, 2 Mar.1877; JLI, Dec.1875, Dec.1877, and Apr.1878, for revival; cf. 'Selected notices of lectures delivered at the London Institution during the winter of 1876-7' (1877); MS.Eng.misc.d.57, Mrs. Nicholson's shares.
- 20 JLI, Apr.1876 and Apr.1877, for progress; the figures are taken from the annual reports, published in the JLI.
- 21 JLI, Nov.1878, 16-17; G.Parr, 'The card-ledger', LA Trans., 1879, 73-75; cf. Bodleian scrapbook, 25896.d.8, for the card-ledger.
- 22 MS.Eng.misc.b.15, various family certificates; MS.Eng.misc.c.80, Nicholson to his mother, 18 Oct.1879.
- 23 JLI, Nov.1878, 2-13, and ibid, Apr.1879,1; cf. ibid, Dec.1877,3, on Circulating Library.
- 24 MS.Eng.misc.f.25, Reference Library fund; JLI, Apr.1880, 1-2, and 3-5 and 10, Nicholson's report on the Reference Library; Guildhall Library, MS. 3076, reports of monthly meetings of Board of Management, 1880, passim, for Reference Library; JLI, Apr.1881, 1-2; the most valuable of the Institution's books were entered on the 'Committee Room shelflist', now in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies.
- 25 MS.Eng.misc.d.56, Nicholson's testimonials; MS.Eng.misc.c.63, correspondence about porters, Sep.-Oct.1880, and draft from Nicholson to W.Rogers (1879?; filed as if July 1882); Guildhall Library, MS. 3076, reports of monthly meetings of Board of Management, 20 Sep. and 13 Oct. 1880.
- 26 MS.Eng.misc.c.63, correspondence on London Institution succession, Feb.1882 and ff.; LAR, 12(1)Jan.1910, 30-31, obituary of E.M.Borrajo;

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MN, 3(4)Apr.1882, 58; LP, 'Nicholson: correspondence & notes, 1882-1912', Nicholson to Madan, 31 Mar. and 4 Apr.1882.

- 27 MS.Eng.misc.c.63, Nicholson's correspondence, Apr.1882- ; MS.Eng. misc.c.64, Nicholson's index to shelf-arrangement; 'Rough author-catalogue of the permanent stock of the Circulating Library, upon 22 March, 1880' (1880); 'Supplement to the Rough author-catalogue of the permanent stock of the Circulating Library, London Institution September, 1882' (1882); for later history of the London Institution Library, see: A.Lodge, 'The history of the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies', in: W.L.Saunders, ed., 'University and research library studies' (International series of monographs in library and information science, vol.8) (1968), 84-110.

Chapter 2.THE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

- 1 Munford, chap. 2, provides the background to the events of 1876-7; cf. Kelly, Appendices III and IV, for details of adoptions.
- 2 Academy, 18 Mar.1876, for anonymous letter by F.Max Müller, reprinted in Times, s.d., and Publishers' Weekly, 22 Apr.1876; cf. ICL Trans., 160, letter from Max Müller to Nicholson; E.G.Holley, 'Raking the historic coals' (1967), deals with the events prior to the 1876 Conference; cf. R.R.Bowker, 'Seed time and harvest: the story of the A.L.A.', LJ, 51(18) 15 Oct.1926, 880-886; S.S.Green, 'The public library movement in the United States, 1853-1893' (1913), 1-23, on the 1853 and 1876 conferences; W.L.Williamson, 'William Frederick Poole and the modern library movement' (1973), 92-100; J.W.Beswick, 'The work of Frederick Leyboldt' (1942).
- 3 G.Dawe, 'Melvil Dewey' (1932), 13-14 and ff..
- 4 C.Madeley, 'L.M.D.: the story of a club', LAR, 22(7)July 1920, 221-228; MS.Eng.misc.d.4, T.Heath to Nicholson, 8 May 1877; E.B.Nicholson, 'The Philadelphia Conference of Librarians', Academy, 27 Jan.1877, and Times, s.d.; MS.Eng.misc.d.4, letters from Jones, Coxe, Malet, Bradshaw, and Clark to Nicholson; cf. LP Corresp. 2/9, Nicholson to Coxe, 1 Feb. 1877; MS.Eng.misc.d.5, Malet to Nicholson, 3 Aug.1877; Times, 16 Feb. 1877, for letter by Nicholson, reprinted in: Munford, 19-20.
- 5 Athenaeum, 24 Feb. and 31 Mar.1877, for letters by Yates, and ibid, 3 Mar.1877, for Nicholson's reply; cf. Munford, 20-22; cf. E.A.Savage, 'Edward Edwards and the Library Association', Library World, 54(2) Feb. 1953, 132-136, and ibid, 54(3)Mar.1953, 151-153, and: W.A.Munford,

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- 'Idol in the wood', ibid? 54(4) Apr. 1953, 167-168.
- 6 For letters to Nicholson relating to the 1877 Conference, see: MSS.Eng.misc.d.4-5; MS.Eng.misc.d.55 comprises the minutes-book of the Organizing Committee; cf. ALJ, 1(8)Apr.1877, 304-305, for report of Organizing Committee's first meeting.
- 7 cf. H.R.Tedder, 'In memoriam: Ernest Chester Thomas', Library, 4(39) Mar.1892, 73-80; R.J.Busby, 'Henry Richard Tedder, F.S.A., 1850-1924' (Fellowship of the Library Association thesis, 1974), but this should be treated with some caution; H.R.Tedder, 'E.W.B.Nicholson (Bodley's Librarian, 1882-1912): in memoriam', LAR, 16(3)Mar.1914, 95-108, cf. p.98 for quote; e.g. E.A.Savage, 'A librarian's memories' (1952), 129-131, and 157-158, on Tedder.
- 8 MPLA, 'Letters ['in', to Chief Librarian]', vol.50, Radford to Crestadoro, 18 Apr.1877, and Cowell to Crestadoro, 21 Apr.1877.
- 9 Information concerning Radford from letter to the author from the City of Westminster Archives Dept., 2 Dec.1975.
- 10 ALJ, 1(9)May 1877, 325-326, and ibid, 1(11) July 1877, 397-401, for Nicholson's circulars; see also: ibid, 1(10) June 1877, 378-379, and 1(12)Aug.1877, 433-434; cf. P.Cowell, 'Thoughts on the London Conference', LJ, 3(2)Apr.1878, 68; MS.Eng.misc.d.4, including letters from Dewey to Nicholson; cf. B.Gambee, 'The great junket: American participation in the Conference of Librarians, London, 1877', Journal of Library History, 2(1)Jan.1967, 9-44.
- 11 MS.Eng.misc.d.55, Organizing Committee minutes, 23 and 30 July 1877; CUL, Henry Bradshaw papers, Box 2, Nicholson to Bradshaw, 1 and 8 Feb. and 27 and 30 July 1877; MS.Eng.misc.d.4, Bradshaw to Nicholson, 13 Feb. and 28 July 1877; CUL, MS.Add.2592(E)(481), draft from Bradshaw to Nicholson, 28 July 1877; CUL, MS.Add.4568(1 and 2), Bradshaw's diaries, July-Oct.1877.
- 12 Athenaeum, 28 Apr., 5 and 19 May, 2,23, and 30 June, 18 Aug., 8,22, and 29 Sep.1877; Publishers' Circular, 1 May 1877; Daily Telegraph, 31 July 1877.
- 13 cf. ICL Trans.; the conference papers were also printed in: LJ, 2(3/4)Nov./Dec.1877, 99-219, and the proceedings in: ibid, 2(5/6) Jan./Feb.1878, 245-290; MS.Eng.misc.d.5, Quaritch to Nicholson, 5 May 1877, and W.Stebbing to Nicholson, 10 Sep. [1877]; cf. Times, 2-6 Oct.1877; for a bibliography, see: LJ, 2(3/4)Nov./Dec.1877, 224-227, and ibid, 2(5/6)Jan./Feb.1878, 299-301.
- 14 For contributions by Nicholson, see: ICL Trans., 142 (British Museum classed catalogue), 151 (shelving and binding), 161 (index to

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- literature), 165-166(classification), 169(British Museum age-limit), 176 and Appendix XII (reservation-cards), 177-178(salaries); cf. LA Trans., 1878, 91, for Harrison.
- 15 ICL Trans., 179-181, including Constitution; MS.Eng.misc.d.4, Dewey to Nicholson, 20 Aug.1877; circular relating to Nicholson Testimonial Fund (4 Dec.1877) is in the British Library.
- 16 MS.Eng.misc.c.67, correspondence between Nicholson, Tedder, and Stevens, 17 May-11 July 1878; cf. LJ, 2(3/4)Nov./Dec.1877, 230, and ibid, 2(5/6)Jan./Feb.1878, 291.
- 17 LAM, 19 Feb.1878 and ff.; LJ, 3(4)June 1878, 153-154, and: Munford, 35-36, for Nicholson's resignation; LA Trans., 1878, 142.
- 18 LP Transcripts of H.O.Coxe's diary, 30 Sep.1878; cf. 'Letters and journals of W.Stanley Jevons', ed. by his wife (1886), 390-391; MS.Eng. misc.c.80, Nicholson to Mrs. E.Nicholson, 29 Sep.1879; W.H.K.Wright, 'The Library Association, 1877-1897: a retrospect, Part I', Library, 10(116)Aug.1898, 197-207, especially p.205.
- 19 LA Trans., 1879, 106-108; MN, 1(9)Sep.1880, 65; LA Trans., 1880, 126-127, and 131-133; cf. Academy, 16 Oct.1880; LA Trans., 1881, 79; ibid, 1882, 224.
- 20 CUL, MS.Add.2592, draft from Bradshaw to Thomas, 30 Sep.1880; CUL, MS.Add.6420 (100-106), 'Proceedings of Committee for the Reception of the Library Association, 1882'; CPLC, VF.C.77.3, papers relating to the L.A.U.K. Annual Meeting, 1882; cf. CUL, H.Bradshaw papers, Box 6, Thomas to Bradshaw, 12 Apr.1881 and May-Aug.1882; MN, 2(5)May 1881, 37, and ibid, 2(6)June 1881, 45; LAM, 1 and 22 Apr., and 18 May 1881.
- 21 G.W.Prothero, 'A memoir of Henry Bradshaw' (1888), 257, and 288-292; cf. MS.Eng.misc.c.67, fol.262, draft obituary of Bradshaw by Nicholson; CUL, Henry Bradshaw papers, Box 6, Nicholson to Bradshaw, 3~~4~~ Aug.1882.
- 22 LJ, 37(5)May 1912, 234, obituary of Nicholson; cf. LJ, 11(11)Nov. 1886, 438, for the Cambridge photograph.
- 23 H.R.Tedder, 'The Library Association at Liverpool', Academy, 22 Sep.1883.
- 24 MS.Eng.misc.c.67, fols.118-134, papers by Nicholson relating to finances; Treasurer's reports were published in the transactions of each conference.
- 25 LA Trans., 1881, 73-74, and 81-82 for amended Constitution; LAM, 4 Nov.1881.
- 26 LAM, 25 Nov.1881; cf. MS.Eng.misc.c.67, fols.170-173, draft from Nicholson to Bradshaw?, [3 Dec.1881?].

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- 27 LAM, 2 Dec.1881; ~~MS~~ MN, 2(12)Dec.1881, 97-99, for report of Journal Committee, and ibid, 3(1)Jan.1882,1, for Nicholson's resignation; MS.Eng.misc.c.67, fols.170-173, draft from Nicholson to Bradshaw? [3 Dec.1881?].
- 28 LA Trans., 1882, 96-97, Treasurer's report, and 102-103, Auditors' report; for proposed amendments to Constitution, see advance programme (5 Aug.1882) for 1882 Annual Meeting - copy in Bodleian, Library Association scrapbook, 2589.b.1.
- 29 E.B.Nicholson, 'The finances of the Library Association' (25 Aug. 1882); LA Trans., 1882, 204-205, and 222-224.
- 30 LA Trans., 1882, 223; MN, 4(8/9)Aug./Sep.1883, 107; LA Trans., 1883, 4 and 164; ibid, 1884,4; and ibid, 1885,5; MS.Eng.misc.c.67, draft from Nicholson to Thomas, 20 May 1883 (this letter has been wrongly bound with another to Thomas).
- 31 LA Trans., 1884,1,5-7, for Treasurer's report, and 137, and 147-148, for discussion; Library, 1(11)Nov.1889, 395.
- 32 LA Trans., 1885,1-4,8-9,23-24, and 33-34; for annual reports of the L.A.U.K. Council, including balance-sheets, 1888-1890, see copies in Bodleian scrapbook, 2589.b.1; MS.Eng.misc.c.67, MacAlister to Nicholson, 29 Oct.1888, and L.A.U.K. circulars on the finances (2 and 22 Nov.1888); LAM, 28 Sep.1888-13 May 1889, for finances.
- 33 H.R.Tedder, 'E.W.B.Nicholson (Bodley's Librarian, 1882-1912): in memoriam', LAR, 16(3)Mar.1914,101; MS.Eng.lett.e.121, Tedder to Nicholson, 11 May 1886; cf. MS.Eng.misc.c.67, for letters to Nicholson from Tedder, Thomas, and MacAlister; other letters from Tedder will be found throughout Bodleian Library papers.
- 34 MS.Eng.misc.c.67, MacAlister to Nicholson, 24 June 1889 and ff.; cf. L.S.Godbolt, 'Sir John Young Walker MacAlister (1856-1925)' (Fellowship of the Library Association thesis, 1975); Library, 7(82) Oct.1895,336, for Nicholson's election as Vice-President; cf. LAR, 1(10)Oct.1899, 621 and 664; ibid, 2(10)Oct.1900, 517; and ibid, 3(10) Oct.1901, 452-453 and 501, for references to Vice-Presidents; Bodleian scrapbook, 2589.b.3, papers on the Second International Conference; 'Visit of Americans to Oxford', OC, 31 July 1897, including Nicholson's speech.
- 35 LP Corresp. 4/5, MacAlister to Nicholson, 1 and 13 June 1892; MS.Eng. misc.c.67, Tedder to Nicholson, 22 Dec.1897; See Bodleian scrapbooks, 2589.b.1*/1-2, for papers relating to the controversies of 1899-1901; cf. L.S.Godbolt, op.cit., 275-339.

- 36 R.Roberts, 'Relation of public libraries to the present system of education', LAR, 9(1)Jan.1907,1-14, especially p.11; Nicholson's reply is in ibid, 9(3)Mar.1907, 163-164; for other letters by Nicholson, see: LAR, 5(5)May 1903, 259, and ibid, 6(4)Apr.1904, 228.
- 37 LP 'L.A.U.K. Meeting, 1914, Vol.I, 1913-1914', Jast to Madan, 24 Sep. 1912; H.R.Tedder, 'E.W.B.Nicholson (Bodley's Librarian, 1882-1912): in memoriam', LAR, 16(3)Mar.1914, 95-108; cf. ibid, 15(12)Dec.1913, 630-633, for discussion on Tedder's paper.

Chapter 3.THE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION COMMITTEES AND THE METROPOLITAN FREE LIBRARIES ASSOCIATION.

- 1 LAR, 15(12)Dec.1913,633, for remark by Tedder; MS.Eng.misc.c.67, draft from Nicholson to Thomas, n.d. (ca. June 1883) - this letter is wrongly bound with another to Thomas.
- 2 E.B.Nicholson, 'On buckram as a binding-material', ICL Trans., 124-126, and 168-169 for discussion - reprinted in: LJ, 2(3/4)Nov./Dec.1877, 207-209; cf. F.P.Hathaway, 'Bindings for a public library', LJ, 4(7/8) July/Aug.1879, 248-249.
- 3 E.B.Nicholson, 'Buckram: a palinode', LA Trans., 1880, 117-119, and 138; E.B.Nicholson, 'The use of buckram, linoleum, and crétonne for binding', MN, 1(11)Nov.1880, 81-84 - reprinted in: LJ, 5(11/12)Nov./Dec.1880, 304-305.
- 4 For A.L.A. condensed rules (based on Cutter's), see: LJ, 3(1)Mar.1878, 12-13; E.B.Nicholson, 'The Philadelphia Conference of Librarians', Academy, 27 Jan.1877; cf. JLI, (31)3 Dec.1877,5; LAM, 6 Dec.1878; LJ, 3(10)Dec.1878, 368.
- 5 See: LAM, 1879-1881, passim, for meetings of C.T.E.; for first set of cataloguing rules, and discussion, see: LA Trans., 1879, 8-10 and 103.
- 6 H.Bradshaw, 'A word on size-notation as distinguished from form-notation', LA Trans., 1882, Appendix III, 238-240; a circular by the L.A.U.K. (24 May 1879) describing the three size-notation schemes was printed in: Athenæum, 31 May 1879, and LJ, 4(6)June 1879, 199-200; 'Report of the Committee on Size Notation', LA Trans., 1879, 11-13, and 103-104 for discussion; cf. C.Madeley, 'The "Demy" book-scale', LA Trans.? 1878, 82-84, and 133-134 for discussion; cf. LAM, 1879, passim, for meetings of the C.S.N..
- 7 LAM, 12 Sep.1879 and 3 Dec.1880; LA Trans., 1880, 5-8,126,135-136, and 174-178, Appendix IV; ibid, 1881,6,76-77, and 83-84, Appendix II;

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- cf. 'Report on size notation', MN, 3(8)Aug.1882, 130-133; 'Report on size notation', LA Trans., 1882, 98-101, and 221 for discussion; 'Report on illustrations to the Cataloguing Rules', ibid, 1883,8.
- 8 E.B.Nicholson, 'Compendious cataloguing-rules for the author-catalogue of the Bodleian Library', MN, 4(1)Jan.1883, 5-9, and ibid, 4(2)Feb.1883, 31-33, showing variants with the L.A.U.K.'s code - reprinted in: LJ, 8(9/10)Sep./Oct.1883,298-301; 'Size-notation at the Bodleian', LC, 1(9/10)Nov./Dec.1884, 191-193; LA Trans., 1883,175, on size-notation progress; final version of L.A.U.K.'s cataloguing code printed in: LC, 2(2)Feb.1885,25-28; Library, 4(37)Jan.1892,31; ibid, 4(38)Feb.1892,69-72, and ibid, 4(41)May 1892, 147-151 and 166, for comments on size-notation.
- 9 LA Trans., 1882, 220.
- 10 ICL Trans., 161-164,181,and 199-206, Appendix XI, 'New edition of Poole's Index'; W.L.Williamson, 'William Frederick Poole and the modern library movement', (1973), 110; LJ, 4(4)Apr.1879, 124-125, for reference to J.B.Bailey; cf. LAM, 18 July 1879.
- 11 cf. W.E.A.Axon, 'The Universal catalogue of printed books', Academy, 26 Apr.1879; J.A.Cross, 'Notes of a proposal to make a universal index to literature' [1875]; cf. E.B.Nicholson, 'The Philadelphia Conference of Librarians', Academy, 27 Jan.1877; C.Walford, 'A new General catalogue of English literature', ICL Trans.,101-103, and 187, Appendix III; J.A. Cross, 'A universal index of subjects', ibid, 104-107, and 161-164 for discussion.
- 12 Daily Telegraph, 31 July 1877, editorial; [R.Harrison], 'The Conference of Librarians', Athenæum, 13 Oct.1877, and see succeeding correspondence; H.B.Wheatley, 'An Index Society', Academy, 3 Nov.1877; H.B.Wheatley, 'What is an index?' (1878; rev.edn.1902) - reviewed by Nicholson in Academy, 21 Sep.1878.
- 13 LAM, 1 Mar.,5 Apr.,3 May, and 7 June 1878; LJ, 3(3)May 1878, 115-116, and ibid, 3(4)June 1878,154,for discussions.
- 14 Journal of the Society of Arts, 25 Jan.,15 and 22 Feb.,23 Aug., 30 Aug., and 6 Sep. 1878.
- 15 'Report of the Society of Arts on a printed catalogue of the British Museum', LJ, 4(5)May 1879,158-159; LAM, 5 July and 6 Sep.1878; LJ, 3(5)July 1878,188, and ibid, 3(6)Aug.1878, 225-226, for correspondence with the British Museum.
- 16 'Preliminary report of the Committee on a General Catalogue of English Literature', LA Trans., 1878,8-9; C.Walford, 'Some practical points in the preparation of a General Catalogue of English Literature', ibid,

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- 54-64; W.E.A.Axon, 'Is a printed catalogue of the British Museum practicable?', ibid, 65-67, and 129-131 for discussion; 'Further report of the Committee on a General Catalogue of English Literature', ibid, 1879, 6-7, and 104-106 for discussion; 'Further report of the Committee on a General Catalogue of English Literature', ibid, 1880, 9, and 139 for discussion; R.Garnett, 'The printing of the British Museum Catalogue', ibid, 1882, 120-128, and 206-208 for discussion.
- 17 H.R.Tedder, 'The catalogue of English Literature scheme', Library, 8(92)Aug.1896, 325-334; for discussion, see: ibid, 7(77)May 1895, 165; LP Corresp. 4/5, draft memorandum from Nicholson to the Royal Society, 28-29 June 1898.
- 18 ICL Trans., 146, for Coxe; LA Trans., 1878, 137, for Nicholson; ibid, 1880, 130-131; LAM, 15 Oct.1880, 21 Jan., 18 Feb., 15 Jul., and 11 Aug. 1881; MN, 2(8)Aug.1881, 62-64, for Committee report.
- 19 'Report of the Committee on the training of library assistants', LA Trans., 1881, 7-8, and 77 for discussion; LAM, 7 Oct.1881; H.R.Tedder, 'Librarianship as a profession', LA Trans., 1882, 163-172, and 216-218 for discussion; ibid, 1883, 175-176; ibid, 1884, 4 and 147; ibid, 1885, 4; Kelly, 103-104; Munford deals at length with professional education (see its index for details).
- 20 LP Corresp. 4/5, MacAlister to Nicholson, 20 Dec.1892; Bodleian scrapbook, 2589.b.1*/1, letter from MacAlister to Nicholson, 10 Feb.1893.
- 21 Bodleian scrapbook, 2589.b.1., for circular sent to L.A.U.K. Councillors (28 Aug.1880), including comment by W.F.Poole; LAM, 20 June, 18 July, 7 Nov., and 5 Dec.1879; LA Trans., 1879, 2-3 and 108; cf. J.W.Beswick, 'The work of Frederick Leypoldt' (1942), 51-56, for the LJ; LA Trans., 1880, 134; cf. CUL, H.Bradshaw papers, Box 6, Thomas to Bradshaw, 15 Nov.1882.
- 22 LAM, 4 and 25 Nov. and 2 Dec.1881, 6 Jan., 3 Feb., and 7 July 1882; MN, 2(12)Dec.1881, 97-99, and ibid, 3(11)Nov.1882, 186.
- 23 New York Public Library, R.R.Bowker papers, Tedder to Bowker, 19 Nov. 1886, on Dewey; for the Library, see: L.S.Godbolt, 'Sir John Young Walker MacAlister (1856-1925)' (Fellowship of the Library Association thesis, 1975); Bodleian scrapbook, 2589.b.1, letters from MacAlister to Madan, Nov.1888-July 1889; MS.Eng.misc.c.67, MacAlister to Nicholson, 30 Jan.1892, 2 Sep. and 2 Oct.1895, 7, 14, and 16 July 1896.
- 24 Athenæum, 18 Aug.1877; MS.Eng.misc.c.66, for lithographed circulars relating to metropolitan libraries [1877]; ICL Trans., 181; see: Kelly, index, for references to 'Public libraries: legislation'; cf. G.F.

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- Chambers, 'A digest of the law relating to public libraries and museums' (2nd.edn., 1879), for the legislative situation.
- 25 For references to London, see: T.Greenwood, 'Public libraries' (4th. edn., 1891), 291 ff.; MFLAM, 5 Dec.1877; Times, 6 Dec.1877; Islington Gazette, 12,14,17, and 21 Dec.1877.
- 26 E.B.Nicholson, 'Library extension in London', LJ, 3(1)Mar.1878,21-24; cf. ibid, 3(2)Apr.1878,81; MFLAM, 1 and 20 Feb.,20 Mar., and 9 Apr.1878; LA Trans., 1878,13; R.Hadden, ed., 'Reminiscences of William Rogers' (1888), 223.
- 27 Hackney and Kingsland Gazette, 8 Apr.,1 and 24 May 1878; Borough of Hackney Express, 25 May 1878; LA Trans., 1879,25, for Mundella; for various broadsheets, see: MS.Eng.misc.c.66 (ca. May-June 1878).
- 28 J.de K.Williams, 'Capital letters, illuminated to my life' (1895), 35-40; cf. Hackney and Kingsland Gazette, 27 and 31 May, 5 and 7 June 1878; The Borough of Hackney Standard, 1,8, and 15 June 1878, including letters by Nicholson; Eastern Argus and Borough of Hackney Liberal, 8 June 1878.
- 29 Hackney and Kingsland Gazette, 19 June 1878; Borough of Hackney Express, 22 June 1878; The Borough of Hackney Standard, 22 June 1878; East London Observer, 22 June 1878.
- 30 LA Trans., 1878,14, for Nicholson's report; Borough of Hackney Express, 29 June 1878; Eastern Argus and Borough of Hackney Liberal, 29 June 1878; cf. Hackney and Kingsland Gazette, 21 and 28 June and 12 July 1878.
- 31 The Kensington News, 1,8,22, and 29 June, 6,18, and 20 July 1878, including letters by Nicholson; The West London Observer, 6 and 20 Apr., 18 May,1,15, and 29 June, and 6 and 13 July 1878, including letters by Nicholson; LA Trans., 1878, 14.
- 32 East London Observer, 27 Apr.,18 May,1 June,30 Nov.,7 and 14 Dec.1878; East End News, 26 Apr. and 21 May 1878; [H.O.Barnett], 'Canon Barnett' (1918), II,1-8 and ff..
- 33 See: Kelly, for adoptions; 'Report from the Secretary of the Metropolitan Free Libraries Committee', LA Trans., 1878, 13-15, and 134-135 for discussion.
- 34 MFLAM, 12 Dec.1878,4 Mar.,3 and 29 Apr.,27 May, 18 June, and 18 Nov. 1879; LJ, 4(1)Jan.1879,15-16, for report by Nicholson; ibid, 4(4)Apr. 1879,128; ibid, 4(5)May 1879,157-158, for report by the M.F.L.A. on its plans; see Bodleian scrapbook, 2589.b.2, for printed papers relating to the M.F.L.A.; LA Trans., 1879, 3-4.
- 35 E.B.Nicholson, 'The consolidation and amendment of the Public Libraries

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- Acts for England', LA Trans., 1879,21-27, and 93-95 and 108 for discussions; Nicholson's annotated copy is in: MS.Eng.misc.c.66, fols. 136-139; LAM, 10 Oct.1879.
- 36 LJ, 5(7/8)July/Aug.1880,211-212, for report of M.F.L.A. annual meeting; MFLAM, 16 July 1880; copies of the M.F.L.A.'s Bill are in: MS.Eng.misc.c.66, fols.203-241.
- 37 LA Trans., 1880,2-3, and 124-125; MN, 1(10)Oct.1880,74; MS.Eng.misc.c.66, correspondence between Nicholson, Mundella, and Lubbock, May-Nov.1880; MFLAM, 16 July and 15 Dec. 1880.
- 38 LAM, 25 Nov.1880; MS.Eng.misc.c.66, for various circulars (29 Nov. 1880); Bodleian scrapbook, 2589.b.1, including Overall and Welch's circular (29 Nov.1880); MFLAM, 15 Dec.1880; LA Trans., 1881, 75.
- 39 LAM, 3 and 17 Dec.1880; MFLAM, 15 Dec.1880; cf. MS.Eng.misc.c.66, for circular by Thomas and Welch (22 Dec.1880).
- 40 LAM, 7 and 21 Jan.,4 Feb.,4,18, and 22 Mar.1881; MS.Eng.misc.c.66, Lubbock to Nicholson, 13 Jan.1881, and letters from provincial librarians, Feb.-Mar. 1881.
- 41 cf. MPLA, 'Letters in to Chief Librarian', vol.57, Nicholson to Sutton, 21.Jan.1881; MG, 28 Feb. 1881, for letter by Nicholson; cf. Kelly, 319 and n.4, for Mundella; 'Notes on the Free Libraries Bill', MN, 2(3)Mar.1881, 24-28.
- 42 MG, Feb.-Mar. 1881, passim; MS.Eng.misc.c.66, Cowell to Nicholson, 28 Feb.1881; MPLA, 'C.W.Sutton correspondence: Free Libraries Bill, 1881', Cowell to Sutton, n.d. (ca. Feb.1881), and related correspondence.
- 43 CPLC, C.01.C.77.4, cf. Mullins to Pink, 9 Mar.1881, and related papers; MPLA, 'Letters out', Jan.1879-Sept.1884', Sutton to Pink, 7 Mar. 1881, and Sutton to Cowell, 1 Mar.1881; MPLA, 'C.W.Sutton correspondence: Free Libraries Bill, 1881', Pink to Sutton, 9 Mar.1881, and Baker to Slagg, 28 Feb. 1881.
- 44 LAM, 4 Mar.1881; MN, 2(3)Mar.1881,21-24; MS.Eng.misc.c.66, for circular from L.A.U.K. Council (5 Mar.1881), related press-cuttings, and Sutton to Nicholson, 14 Mar.1881; MG, 11 Mar.1881, for circular by Baker; MPLA, 'C.W.Sutton correspondence: Free Libraries Bill, 1881', Nicholson to Baker, 12 Mar.1881, and Thomas to Baker, 15 Mar.1881; MPLA, 'Letters out', Jan.1879-Sept.1884', Sutton to Thomas, 16 Mar.1881.
- 45 MPLA, 'C.W.Sutton correspondence: Free Libraries Bill, 1881', proceedings of Manchester conference, 17 Mar.1881; 'Conference on the Free Libraries Bill', MG, 18 Mar.1881; MS.Eng.misc.c.66, for draft letters from Nicholson to Baker, Mar.1881, and Mullins to Nicholson, 18 Mar. 1881.

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- 46 LAM, 18 and 22 Mar. and 1 Apr.1881; MN, 2(5)Apr.1881, 29-30, including letter by Lubbock; MG, 14 Apr. and 20 Sep.1881; MPLA, 'C.W. Sutton correspondence: Free Libraries Bill, 1881', for correspondence relating to September Manchester conference, etc.; Manchester Examiner and Times, 20 Sep. 1881.
- 47 MN, 2(8)Aug.1881,62; CPLC, letters to J.Pink, Cowell to Pink, 23 Aug. 1881.
- 48 LA Trans., 1881,3, and 72 and 74 for discussion; MFLAM, 14 Oct. 1881.
- 49 MPLA, 'C.W.Sutton correspondence: Free Libraries Bill, 1881', correspondence between Baker and various M.P.s; MN, 3(3)Mar.1882, 37-38, on the Manchester Bill's 'blocking'.
- 50 Copies of both Bills are in the Library Association Library (referenced VsEv) and in MS.Eng.misc.c.66; cf. MPLA, 'C.W.Sutton correspondence: Free Libraries Bill, 1881', for Baker's correspondence, 1882-3; MN, 4(8/9)Aug./Sep.1883,105; 'A new Public Libraries Bill', LC, 1(4)June 1884, 94-95; LA Trans., 1882, 224; Kelly, 110-112, on legislation.
- 51 cf. W.W.Howe, 'History of library associations', LAR, 12(2)Feb.1910, 57-64, including references to other library organizations; cf. C. Madeley, 'L.M.D.: the story of a club' LAR, 22(7)July 1920, 221-228; cf. Society of Public Librarians, 'Report of the inaugural address' (by J.Frowde) (1895), for comments on the L.A.U.K.'s founders; for references to other library organizations, see: Munford, passim.
- 52 LP Corresp. 4/5, MacAlister to Nicholson, 1 and 13 June 1892; cf. LP Corresp. 4/2, Copinger to Nicholson, 24 May 1892.
- 53 MFLAM, 16 Mar.,8 Aug.,14 Oct.1881, and 22 Dec.1882 - copies of the annual reports are tipped in, and are also in: MS.Eng.misc.c.66; W.S. Jevons, 'The rationale of free public libraries', Contemporary Review, 39(3)Mar.1881,385-402 (especially pp.396-397); Times, 23 Dec.1882.
- 54 MFLAM, 12 Jan.1883, including copy of 'Third annual report of the M.F.L.A., 1882'; MN, 4(2)Feb.1883, 34-35; ibid, 4(12)Dec.1883,165-166.
- 55 cf. T.Greenwood, 'Free public libraries' (1886; 2nd.edn., 1887), revised as: 'Public libraries' (3rd.edn., 1890; 4th.edn.,1891; rev. 4th.edn., 1894).

Chapter 4.

LITERARY WORK AND UNIVERSITY AFFAIRS.

- 1 World, 14 Nov.1877, review of 'The Christ-Child'; the extent of Nicholson's published work can best be judged from the entries in the Bodleian's Catalogue of printed books; most of Nicholson's periodical articles are bound in his 'Printed adversaria' in the Bodleian, referenced at 2590.c.Oxford 1.8.
- 2 P.Henderson, ed., 'The letters of William Morris to his family and friends' (1950), 24-25, for Morris to Nicholson - part of this letter was printed in Nicholson's review of 'Mr. Weatherly's Poems', Dark Blue, Apr.1871, 255-256 (Nicholson's copy in his 'Printed adversaria'; see note 1, above.); MS.Eng.lang.c.7, Nicholson's verse primer, including reference to Morris; information concerning 'The earthly Paradise' derived from a letter by Nicholson in the possession of Dr.B.Lawn, to whom the author is extremely grateful; MS.Eng.poet.c.12 and MS.Eng.poet. e.23 contain manuscripts of many of Nicholson's poems; see also The Tonbridgian, 'Collegerhymes', and the Oxford University Magazine and Review for Nicholson's published poems - Nicholson's marked copies in the Bodleian; MS.Eng.poet.c.13 and MS.Eng.poet.d.21, 'The Christ-Child', with Nicholson's notes; MS.Eng.misc.d.75 includes publisher's accounts of 'The Christ-Child'.
- 3 E.B.Nicholson, 'The man with two souls', Belgravia, 47(185)Mar.1882, 64-78; MS.Eng.misc.c.57, papers relating to 'The man with two souls'; MS.Eng.misc.c.81, notes on 'The angel of Eblis'; MSS.Eng.misc.c.61-62, 'French and English'; copies of the play are in the Bodleian, referenced at Malone Adds.109.e.368-9; cf. 'Van Drusen' [i.e. Nicholson], 'His first play', The Author, 9(5)Oct.1898, 117-118.
- 4 MS.Eng.misc.c.80, reference to 'Hecuba' on scrap of paper, 10 Aug.1861; MS.Eng.misc.b.18, Nicholson's correspondence on Homer; MS.Eng.misc.c.74, correspondence on Greek topics; MS.Gr.class.e.97, Nicholson's memoranda for linguistic analysis of Homer; E.B.Nicholson, 'New Homeric researches, vol.1: On supposed metrical mimicry in the Homeric poems' (1882); Nicholson's comment on Paley taken from his copy of Paley's 'Theocritus' (1863), 93, now in the Bodleian; MS.Eng.lett.d.63, Nicholson to Sayce, [9 June?] and 5 Aug. 1879.
- 5 MSS.Eng.bibl.a.1-4, drafts of Nicholson's commentaries; MS.Eng.bibl. c.4 and MS.Eng.bibl.d.7, papers relating to 'Hebrews'; MS.Eng.bibl.b.1. papers concerning 'Matthew'; MS.Eng.bibl.d.8, papers concerning 'Our new New Testament'; MS.Eng.misc.d.75 contains publishing accounts of

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'Matthew' and 'Hebrews'.

- 6 MS.Eng.misc.c.77 and MSS.Eng.misc.d.63-66, for Mandeville; cf. E.B. Nicholson, 'Sir John Mandeville, the English Herodotus', JLI, Apr.1873, 41-52; E.B.Nicholson, 'Mandeville's Travels', Academy, 11 Nov.1876; cf. J.W.Bennett, 'The rediscovery of Sir John Mandeville' (1954); MS.Eng. poet.c.15, Nicholson's papers on Gower.
- 7 MSS.Eng.lang.c.5-6, Nicholson's lectures; the Bodleian contains several scrapbooks relating to the English Spelling Reform Association, including: 'Report of a public meeting held at the Society of Arts ... 29th. January, 1880'.
- 8 B.A.Booth, ed., 'The letters of Anthony Trollope' (1951), 254; MS.Eng. misc.d.78, fols.6-7, draft from Nicholson' referring to Fraser's Magazine, n.d.; Yale University Library, letter from Ruskin to Nicholson, 25 Aug. 1880.
- 9 MS.Eng.misc.c.69, papers on The Age; MS.Eng.lett.e.121 includes letters from potential contributors.
- 10 MS.Eng.misc.c.79 and MS.Eng.misc.d.73, papers relating to 'The rights of an animal'; MS.Top.Oxon.c.182, the vivisection question, 1883-5; printed documents on the same subject are in a Bodleian scrapbook, 1516. d.4; MS.Bryce 7, Freeman to Bryce, 3 Feb.1884; W.R.W.Stephens, 'The life and letters of Edward A.Freeman' (1895), II,275-277; J.B.Atlay, 'Sir Henry Wentworth Acland, Bart.' (1903), 420-430; Sir C.Oman, 'Memories of Victorian Oxford' (1941), 236-238; H.W.Acland and J.Ruskin, 'The Oxford Museum' (1893), xv-xviii.
- 11 MS.Top.Oxon.c.182, draft from Nicholson to Grose (ca. Mar.1885); MS.Top.Oxon.d.114, Nicholson's papers on University reform.
- 12 MS.Top.Oxon.d.116, Nicholson's papers on the Merton professorship; MS.Top.Oxon.d. 18, the 'Local League'; OT, 12 Aug.1949, for Oxford Preservation Trust; MS.Top.Oxon.d.119, the Slade professorship, 1910, including letters and proofs of 'Can we not save architecture in Oxford?'.
 13 LP Corresp. 4/4, draft from Nicholson to James, 10 Dec.1898; Madan, 18 Sep.1896 and 6 Sep,1897; E.W.B.Nicholson, 'The sons of Edmund Ironside: St. Osgitha', Athenæum, 28 Aug.1897; for Nicholson's views on MS.Douce 296, see description in : 'Summary Catalogue of Western manuscripts', vol.4, and also corrections in Appendices to vols. 4 and 5; LP 'Correspondence relating to Novalesa Troper (MS.Douce 222)', Madan to Bannister, 17 July 1899.
- 14 C.Hoeing, 'The Codex Dunelmensis of Terence', American Journal of Archaeology, N.S.4(3)1900, 310-338 (especially pp.320-328); Madan,

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- 15 See 'Summary catalogue' and its appendices for Nicholson's descriptions, and corrections, of MSS.Douce 222 and 366; LP Corresp. 6/1 contains many letters from Cockerell to Nicholson; S.C.Cockerell, 'The Ormesby psalter, MS.Douce 366', in: 'Two East Anglian psalters at the Bodleian Library, Oxford' (1926), 1-38; see H.M.Bannister's liturgical correspondence in the Bodleian for letters from Nicholson; LP 'Correspondence relating to Novalesa Troper (MS.Douce 222)', including C.Cipolla to Bannister, 10 Oct.1899, and Madan to Bannister, 17 July 1899; LP 'Papers relating to the Summary Catalogue of MSS., 1897-1927', note by Madan, 9 Jan.1899.
- 16 H.M.Bannister, 'Signs in kalendarial tables', in: 'Mélanges offerts à M.Emile Chatelain' (1910), 141-149.
- 17 MS.Eng.misc.a.5, MS.Eng.misc.c.58, and MSS.Eng.misc.e.59-60, for 'Golspie'.
- 18 J.Rhys, 'The inscriptions and language of the Northern Picts', Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 26,1892,263-351; cf. J.Rhys, 'A revised account of the inscriptions of the Northern Picts', ibid, 3rd.Ser.8, 1898,324-398; E.W.B.Nicholson, 'The North-Pictish inscriptions', Academy, 11 Nov.1893, 6 and 27 Jan.,31 Mar.,28 Apr.,and 9 June 1894, and 31 Aug. and 7 Sep.1895 - copies of Nicholson's articles are in his 'Printed adversaria' (see note 1, above).
- 19 MS.Eng.misc.d.68, Allen to Nicholson, 5 Dec.1893; MS.Eng.misc.d.69, draft letter by Nicholson, 11 Dec.1896; Nicholson's correspondence on Celtic topics is in MSS.Eng.misc.c.70-73 and MSS.Eng.misc.d.67-72; Bodleian scrapbook, G.A.Scotland.b.6, contains photographs of the Pictish stones, and rubbings are in MS.Top.Scotland.a.2; for modern opinions, see: J.Morris, 'The age of Arthur' (1973), 186-199; I.Henderson, 'The Picts' (1967); K.H.Jackson, 'The Pictish language', in: F.T.Wainwright, ed., 'The problem of the Picts' (1955), 129-166; E.MacNeill, 'The language of the Picts', Yorkshire Celtic Studies, 2, 1938/9, 3-45; cf. R.A.S.Macalister, 'The inscriptions and language of the Picts', in: J.Ryan, ed., 'Essays and studies presented to Professor Eoin MacNeill' (1940), 184-226.
- 20 E.W.B.Nicholson, 'An unknown work of St. Adamnan', Academy, 10 Mar. 1894; E.W.B.Nicholson, 'The supposed work of St. Adamnan', ibid, 17 Mar. 1894; Madan, 10-17 Mar. 1894.
- 21 For articles on the Baginbun stone, see: Academy, 22 and 29 Sep., 6,13,and 20 Oct.1894, and 12 Jan. and 13 July 1895 - copies in Nicholson's 'Printed adversaria' (see note 1, above).

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- 22 E.W.B.Nicholson, 'Le mot gaélique aite', Revue Celtique, 17(2/3) Avr./Juill.1896, 290-293, and ibid, 17(4)Oct.1896, 432-433; ibid, 25(3) Juill.1904, 350-353, review of 'Keltic researches' - quoted by Nicholson on back cover of his 'Vinisius to Nigra' (1904).
- 23 MS.Töp.Walesa.a.2, Nicholson's rubbings of Welsh inscriptions; E.W.B.Nicholson, 'The last Llywelyn's tombstone', Times, 1 June 1909; MS.Eng.misc.c.70 and MS.Eng.misc.d.72, Nicholson's correspondence on Welsh and other inscriptions; MS.Eng.misc.d.71, on the Bath tablet; R.G.Collingwood and R.P.Wright, 'The Roman inscriptions of Britain', vol.1 (1965), 739; B.Cunliffe, 'Roman Bath' (1969), 65-66.
- 24 E.W.B.Nicholson, 'St. Patrick's birthplace', Academy, 11 May 1895; cf. ibid, 25 May, 1 and 8 June, and 13, 20, and 27 July 1895; cf. R.P.C. Hanson, 'Saint Patrick' (1968), 113.
- 25 Copies of Nicholson's writings on Arthurian topics are in his 'Printed adversaria' (see note 1, above); Nicholson's correspondence on the subjects are in: MSS.Eng.misc.c.70-74; Nicholson's earliest writings are: 'King Arthur in Gildas', Academy, 12 Oct.1895; 'Gildas vindicatus', ibid, 2 Nov.1895; 'Mons Badonicus and Geoffrey of Monmouth', ibid, 14 Mar. and 11 Apr.1896; 'Excalibur', ibid, 16 Jan.1897; and 'An alleged error of Venerable Bede's', Athenaeum, 19 June and 10 July 1897.
- 26 MS.Eng.lett.d.68, Nicholson to Sayce, 29 Dec.1905; Nicholson's principal Celtic articles are: 'The origin of the "Hibernian" collection of canons', Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie, 3(1)1899, 99-103; 'Filius Urbagen', ibid, 104-111; 'The ruin of history', Celtic Review, 2(8)Apr.1906, 369-380; 'The Vandals in Wessex and the Battle of Deorham', Y Cymmrodor, 19, 1906, 5-17; 'Remarks on "The date of the first settlement of the Saxons in Britain"', Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie, 6(2)1908, 439-453; 'The dynasty of Cunedag and the Harleian genealogies', Y Cymmrodor, 21, 1908, 63-104; 'The battle of Raith and its song-cycle', Celtic Review, 6(23)Jan.1910, 214-236; 'Gormund and Isembard', Y Cymmrodor, 22, 1910, 150-159; 'The Annales Cambriae and their so-called "Exordium"', Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie, 8(1)1910, 121-150; and, 'A postscript to "The Battle of Raith": The origins of Bernicia and Lindsey', Celtic Review, 7(25)Feb.1911, 81-88.
- 27 For recent general surveys, see: J.Morris, 'The age of Arthur' (1973); L.Alcock, 'Arthur's Britain' (1971); for other articles, see lists in: W.Bonser, 'An Anglo-Saxon and Celtic bibliography (450-1087)' (1957).
- 28 MSS.Eng.misc.d.74-75, accounts with Kegan Paul; MS.Eng.misc.e.59, draft from Nicholson to D.Douglas, 7 June 1897, on 'Golspie'.

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- 29 MS.Eng.poet.c.12, G.Richards to Nicholson, 7 and 12 Mar. and 6 July 1900, on prosody book; MS.Eng.misc.d.58, B.Price to Nicholson, 28 Jan. 1884, on 'Primer of librarianship'; MS.Eng.misc.e.79, remains of Nicholson's handbook on librarianship; cf. AR(1898), 496-497, on Bodley's letters; Nicholson's initial re-arrangement of Bodley's letters is in a Bodleian book, referenced at 2590.b.Oxford 1.1; MS.Eng.misc.c.78 and MS.Eng.misc.d.76, papers on Angus M'Diarmid.
- 30 Nicholson's published songs are: 'Waiting for you' (1897), 'Four melodies' [1898], and 'The red dragon' [1898] - words of the latter printed in: Daily News, 4 Mar.1898; the manuscripts of these songs are in: MS.Mus.c.43; MSS.Eng.misc.e.63-65, for Nicholson's correspondence on his songs; cf. MS.Eng.misc.c.80, 'The sorrows of a song-writer', n.d., note by Nicholson on his mother (filed near end).
- 31 MS.Eng.misc.e.64, draft letter by Nicholson on his songs, ca. Sep. 1908; MS.Eng.misc.e.65, Nicholson's correspondence with Tedder and Weatherly, July 1909; MS.Eng.misc.c.68, Nicholson's correspondence on biscuits, free newspapers, ironclads, and Punch cartoons; B.A.Booth, ed., 'The letters of Anthony Trollope' (1951), 254.

Chapter 5.

NICHOLSON'S APPOINTMENT AND RELATIONS
WITH F.MADAN AND THE CURATORS.

- 1 Times, 6,7, and 17 Feb.1882; LJ, 7(6)June 1882,106; CUL, H.Bradshaw papers, Box 6, Nicholson to Bradshaw, 11 Feb.1882.
- 2 Craster, passim, for references to Coxe and Jowett; LP F.Madan 'Coxe's last days and my first days, 1877-91', Coxe to Madan, [13 July 1880]; cf. J.Sparrow, 'Mark Pattison and the idea of a University' (1967); cf. MS.Bywater 61, Pattison to Bywater, 25 July 1881; L.R.Farnell, 'An Oxonian looks back' (1934), 107.
- 3 LP 'H.O.Coxe's diary', 26 Nov.1872, 8 Oct., and 15-25 Nov.1879, 31 Mar., 19 Apr., and 23 June 1880; LP 'The vacant Sub-librarianship, 1879-80'; MS.Bywater 60, Bywater to J.Rolleston, 21 Nov.1879; cf. W.W.Jackson, 'Ingram Bywater' (1917); MS.Don.d.22, F.Madan, 'On vacating the office of Bodley's Librarian', including references to his appointment.
- 4 Madan Chest 1880-Feb.1882, contains press-cuttings, etc., relating to Nicholson's election; cf. F.Jenkinson, ed., 'Eleven letters from Henry Bradshaw to S.W.Lawley', in: 'Fasciculus Ioanni Willis Clark dicatus' (1909), 115-134; MN, 2(11)Nov.1881,91; MS.Pattison 118, Mrs. Pattison to

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- E.Smith, 26 Nov.1881, for reference to Max Müller; MS.Pattison 133, Pattison's diary, 4 Feb.1882.
- 5 LP 'The 1882 election to the Bodleian Librarianship'; MS.Acland d.73, Ruskin to Acland, 9 Feb,1882; CUL, MS.Add.4602, draft from Bradshaw to Tedder, 8 Feb.1882; cf. G.W.Prothero, 'A memoir of Henry Bradshaw' (1888), 257.
- 6 Oxford University Herald, 11 Feb.1882 - Macray's annotated copy in Madan Chest 1880-Feb.1882; OUG, 21 Feb.1882; Oxford and Cambridge Undergraduates Journal, 23 Feb. 1882.
- 7 MS.Add.B.116, J.R.Bloxam to Gen. Rigaud, 11 Feb.1882, with reference to E.M.Thompson; CUL, MS.Add.2592, Neubauer to Bradshaw, 8 Mar.1882; Madan Chest 1880-Feb.1882, contains draft petition relating to Neubauer; CACT, 4 Mar.,27 May,9 June,and 6 Nov.1882, and 31 Oct.1885; OUG, 19 Feb. 1884; MS.Pattison 133, Pattison's diary, 18 Feb.1882; Sir W.Hayter, 'Spooner' (1977),74; cf. W.R.Ward, 'Victorian Oxford' (1965), 310ff., for University Commission; cf. W.W.Jackson, 'Ingram Bywater' (1917), for references to University history at this period.
- 8 See Oxford University Calendar for annual lists of Curators; L.R.Farnell, 'An Oxonian looks back' (1934), 117 and 272.
- 9 cf. Brasenose College Library, 'Notes and two memoranda by Mr. F.Madan on the financial history of B.N.C. Library'; F.Madan, ed., 'Records of The Club at Oxford, 1790-1917' (1917),89, note on Madan; MS.Don.d.22, F.Madan, 'On vacating the office of Bodley's Librarian', including references to his early career; Madan, 21 July 1886; cf. F.Madan, 'Oxford books' (3 vols.; 1895,1912,and 1931); e.g. LP 'Madaniana', Madan to Nicholson, 24,27,and 30 Mar.1882, for references to lavatories; LP F.Madan, 'Bodleian notes, 1881-92'.
- 10 cf. F.Madan, 'The Madan family, and Maddens in Ireland and England' (1933); the Madan Chest, with Madan's Bodleian notes, is amongst the Bodleian Library's archives.
- 11 Madan, 16 Mar. - 21 July 1884.
- 12 CP E.W.B.Nicholson, 'The statutory positions of the Librarian and Curators of the Bodleian' (21 July 1898), 15.
- 13 CP E.W.B.Nicholson, untitled pamphlet on R.L.Poole (8 Feb.1899),3.
- 14 OUG, 11 Nov.1884; Madan Chest 1888 contains notes by Nicholson of hostile motions; cf. H.W.Chandler, 'Remarks on the practice and policy of lending Bodleian printed books and manuscripts' (15 Jan.1887), iv; Madan, 9 June 1887.
- 15 Madan, 2,6 May 1885.

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- 16 Madan, 2,5,9 June,18,27 Nov.,1 Dec.1888; CACT, 9 June and 1 Dec.1888.
- 17 Madan Chest 1888, for draft from Nicholson to Chandler, 24 Nov.1888; Madan, 3 Dec.1888; CACT, 9 Mar. 1889.
- 18 Madan, 30,31 Oct.,5 Nov.,1 Dec.1888; L.R.Farnell, 'An Oxonian looks back' (1934), 270-285, on 'The Club';L.R.Farnell, 'Academic politics', in: O.H.Ball, ed., 'Sidney Ball' (1923),189-201; various papers relating to 'The Club' are in Bodleian scrapbooks, Firth b.36 (fol.185), G.A.Oxon.b.147, and G.A.Oxon.4^o.599.
- 19 LP 'Curatoria; 1884-93', contains presscuttings relating to Chandler; UG, 18 June 1889; cf. Madan, 26 Nov.1889; CP E.W.B.Nicholson, 'A list of resolutions, recommendations, and motions ... without statutory sanction...' (28 Oct.1898) - copy in Madan Chest 1898.
- 20 LP 'The "Memorial" and "Questions", 1888-90'; Madan, 15,29 Nov.1889, 20,29 Jan.1890; OM, 29 Jan.1890; Times, 29 Jan.1890; LP F.Madan, 'Management of the Bodleian. Convocation debate 28 Jan.1890, &c.'.
- 21 Madan, 15 Nov.1889; LP 'The "Memorial" and "Questions", 1888-90'.
- 22 CACT, 29 Oct.1887; CP E.B.Nicholson, 'On the increasing exclusion of the Bodleian Librarian from the meetings of the Curators' (3 May 1890).
- 23 Library, 1(1)Jan.1889,25-26, for review of Nicholson's report - Madan's copy in Madan Chest 1889; MS.Eng.misc.d.78,fol.12, draft from Nicholson to MacAlister, n.d.; cf. Bodleian scrapbook, 2589.b.1, MacAlister to Madan, 13 July 1889.
- 24 'Theophrastus Junior', 'Of Librarians I and II', Library, 1(1)Jan. 1889,24, and 1(3)Mar.1889,107-108; ibid, 1(2)Feb.1889,73; MS.Eng.misc. d.78,fols.13-15, draft from Nicholson to MacAlister, n.d..
- 25 E.G.Duff, 'A new English XV century printer', Library, 1(3)Mar.1889, 102-105; Madan, 1 Mar.1889; CUL, MS.Add.7610, Madan to Duff, 1 Mar.1889.
- 26 'The Bodleian Library', Library, 2(16)Apr.1890, 159-160 - copy in Madan Chest 1890; 'Parleyings with certain people. 1.Bodley's Librarian', The new rattle,1(2)23 May 1890 - Madan's and Nicholson's copies in Madan Chest 1890; cf. CUL, MS.Add.6463, Duff to F.Jenkinson, 5 June 1890.
- 27 MS.Eng.misc.c.67, MacAlister to Nicholson, 6,7,and 25 May 1891; LP 'Madaniana', Madan to Nicholson, 22 May 1891.
- 28 OM, 18 May 1892; Madan, 19 May 1892; LP 'Madaniana', correspondence between Nicholson and Madan, 18-29 May 1892.
- 29 OM, 25 May 1892; cf. MS.Add.B.116, J.R.Bloxam to Gen. Rigaud, 11 Feb. 1882, with reference to E.M.Thompson; LP 'Madaniana', correspondence between Nicholson and Madan, 18-29 May 1892.
- 30 Madan, 6 July 1884.

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- 31 UG, 3 Nov.1891 and 9 Mar.1892; Madan, 29 Oct.1891, 15 Feb.,4 Mar. 1892; Madan Chest 1892, for letter from Nicholson to Oman, 21 Feb.1892, draft circular by Nicholson (27 Feb.1892), and draft speech about Pelham (n.d.); MS.Eng.lett.e.121,fol.198, Oman to Nicholson [ca. Feb. 1892].
- 32 Madan, 30 Mar.1892; CP E.W.B.Nicholson, 'A letter to the Bodleian Curators from Bodley's Librarian, on the adjourned motion of Mr. Mowat, "that a Committee be appointed to inquire into and report on the shifting..." (6 May 1892), 5.
- 33 CAG, 11 June 1892; CP E.W.B.Nicholson, untitled printed letter on the Standing Committee (25 Oct.1892) - copy in Madan Chest 1892; CP E.W.B.Nicholson, 'The regulations for the new Standing Committee' (1 Dec.1892); Madan, 31 Oct.,17,21 Nov.1892; CACT, 15 Nov.,3 and 10 Dec. 1892.
- 34 AR (1894), 412; Madan, 31 Jan.,10 Mar.,4 June 1894; CACT, 3 Mar. and 5 May 1894.
- 35 OT, 11 Aug.1894; LP 'Curatoria, 1894- ', including papers relating to Mowat and Oman, Aug.-Oct.1894; UG, 13 Nov.1894; cf. LP H.A.Wilson, 'Memoranda' (2 vols.); CP E.W.B.Nicholson, 'Protest by the Librarian against the recommendations of the Papyri Committee, Nov.1894' (30 Nov. 1894), 10-11.
- 36 LP 'Papers relating to the Summary Catalogue of MSS. resolved on in 1890-97', correspondence between Nicholson, Madan, and W.Ince, 10-12 May 1895; Madan, 26 Oct. 1895.
- 37 Madan, 21 Nov.,7 Dec.1896; cf. LP 'E.W.B.Nicholson's letter to librarians, with the answers', for the 'Propositions'.
- 38 LP 'Librarian's reports to Curators' meetings, 1882-1890', note by Nicholson on back of report for 30 Oct.1896; CAG and CACT, 5 Dec.1896; LP 'Curatoria, 1894- ', correspondence between Nicholson and Anson, 5-7 Dec.1896; L.R.Farnell, 'An Oxonian looks back' (1934), 273.
- 39 Madan, 11 Jan. 1897.
- 40 Madan Chest 1897, including correspondence between Nicholson and Anson, [20]-22 Feb.1897; LP 'Council and the Jenner report, 1896', Anson to Nicholson, 23 Feb. 1897.
- 41 Madan, 11 Sep. 1897; CACT, 11 Mar.1893, 7 May and 11 June 1898.
- 42 Madan, 24 June 1898; LP H.A.Wilson, 'Memoranda II', 26 June 1898.
- 43 LP 'The Auctarium Wing re-arrangement, 1898- ', including Jackson's memoranda; Madan Chest 1898, including correspondence relating to Jackson and the Auctarium, July 1898; Madan, 23-25 July 1898;

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- CP E.W.B.Nicholson, 'The statutory positions of the Librarian and Curators of the Bodleian' (21 July 1898), 1-5.
- 44 CP E.W.B.Nicholson, 'The statutory positions of the Librarian and Curators of the Bodleian' (21 July 1898); LP H.A.Wilson, 'Memoranda II', 23 and 26 July 1898.
- 45 CACT, 23 July and 29 Oct. 1898; LP H.A.Wilson, 'Memoranda II', 29 Oct. 1898.
- 46 Madan, 9 Nov.1898; CP E.W.B.Nicholson, 'A list of resolutions, recommendations, and motions passed or proposed by Bodleian Curators between 1885 and 1898 which the Librarian maintains to be without statutory sanction and to contravene rights conferred on him by statute' (28 Oct. 1898) - copy in Madan Chest 1898.
- 47 CACT, 11 Mar., 6 May, and 28 Oct. 1899; CP 'Questions suggested for the consideration of the Librarian with a view to the further statement which he has undertaken to make to the Committee - with the Librarian's answers' (7 Feb.1899); CP 'Librarian's general statement' [ca. Feb. 1899]; CP 'Report of the Committee on proposed changes in the Auctarium and adjoining rooms' (6 Mar.1899); CP 'Observations submitted by the Librarian on the Report of the Special Committee of Oct.29' (10 Mar.1899); CP 'Interim report of Auctarium Committee' (9 June 1899).
- 48 AR (1898), 497; Madan, 10,14,16 Feb., 2 Mar.1899; LP 'The Curatorial election of 16th. Feb. 1899-', for Nicholson's papers, including his untitled printed pamphlet on Poole (8 Feb.1899); LP 'R.L.Poole proposed as Curator of the Bodleian', for Madan's papers; OUG, 21 Feb. 1899.
- 49 e.g. Madan, 29 Oct.1887, 21 Jan.1888, 18,25 June 1889, 22 Oct.1892, 9 Mar.1908; LP F.Madan, 'Bodleian notes, 1881-92', and LP F.Madan, 'Bodleian diary, 1893-1907', contain references to Nicholson's times.
- 50 Madan, 5,9 July 1888, 3 Jan.1894, 6 Oct.1902, 20 Oct.1906, etc.; LP 'Madaniana', Nicholson to Madan, 14 July 1892, including note on Madan's holidays.
- 51 LP F.Madan, 'Survey of the rooms' (4 vols.); Madan, 19 Mar.1890, 4 Sep. 1895.
- 52 Madan, 9 Feb.1894, 27 Mar.1895, 25 July 1900, 11 June 1908, 16 June 1911.
- 53 Madan, 7 Apr. 1912.

Chapter 6.FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION.

- 1 F.Madan, 'Annals of the Bodleian Library, 1882-1918, Part IV', BQR, 2(21)Apr.1919, 229-234.
- 2 Craster, 49-51; 'The Bodleian Library in 1882-7' (1888), 54.
- 3 e.g. OUG, 17 Mar.1885, 6 June 1893, 5 Apr.1898; Craster, 159.
- 4 LP 'Special grants from the University, 1883- ', Ince to Nicholson, 7 May 1891; CACT, 20 Feb.1892; CAG, 26 Mar.1892.
- 5 LP 'Special grants from the University, 1883- ', Magrath to Nicholson, 31 Jan.1894.
- 6 CAG, 29 Nov.1890; CP 'Memorandum from Bodley's Librarian in support of his application that steps be taken by the Curators to obtain the renewal, from the beginning of 1891, of the extra annual University grants on the scale of £750 per annum formerly customary' [Jan.1891].
- 7 CAG, 24 Oct.1908; CP E.W.B.Nicholson, 'Statement in support of application for a grant of £500...' (23 Oct.1908); CACT, 28 Nov.1908.
- 8 LP 'The money-donations from a member of All Souls, 1887-90', and '1891- '.
- 9 LP 'Miscellaneous money-donations, 1902- ', Watney to Nicholson, 3 June 1905; LP 'An Ex-Prize Fellow's donation, 1909- '.
- 10 LP 'Papers in answer to criticisms on the cost of staff and of binding, 1886', Nicholson to Vice-Chancellor, 28 May 1886; 'The Bodleian Library in 1882-7' (1888), 23-24.
- 11 CAG, 13 June 1903; CP 'Remarks by the Librarian on the application for a pension' (10 June 1903); OUG, 20 June 1905.
- 12 OUG, 22 Feb.1898; LP 'Payments from arrears grants, 1891- ', memo., 21 June 1898-21 June 1905; LP 'Special grants from Trinity College, 1898- '; CACT, 7 May 1898; cf. AR (1896)511, and (1904)599.
- 13 CAG, 22 May 1886; CACT, 19 June 1886.
- 14 Madan, 13 May, 21 July 1887 - but see Nicholson's comments in: 'Bodleian notes XIV', OR, 7 Dec.1887; Madan Chest 1897, memo. from Nicholson to Madan, ca.1897.
- 15 OM, 11, 18, 25 May and 1 June 1887.
- 16 cf. LP 'The Curatorial election of 16th. Feb.1899', for Nicholson's attack on Poole.
- 17 Madan, 19 Dec.1887.
- 18 CP Report of 'Memorial' Committee presented to the Curators on 1 Dec. 1888.
- 19 CACT, 15 Nov. and 3 Dec.1892; Madan, 31 Oct., 17, 21 Nov.1892; CP 'Committee on duties of Standing Committee' (28 Nov.1892).

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- 20 CP Untitled printed letter by Nicholson on the signing of cheques (2 Dec.1892).
- 21 CP E.W.B.Nicholson, 'The regulations for the new Standing Committee' (1 Dec.1892), 3.
- 22 CACT, 6 May 1882 and 11 May 1895; CAG, 9 Mar.1895.
- 23 AR (1901)509; CAG, 4 Feb.1905; CP 'Special report of the Standing Committee' (10 Mar.1905).
- 24 CP E.W.B.Nicholson, 'Statement in support... [of extra grant]' (25 Oct. 1910); CP 'Report by the Standing Committee on the financial position of the Library' (25 Nov.1910); CAG, 4 Feb. and 11 Mar.1911; CP 'Further report by the Standing Committee on the financial position of the Library' [Mar.1911]; CACT, 11 Mar.1911.
- 25 Hebdomadal Council, 'Report of Committee on the Bodleian Library finances' (24 June 1911); LP 'Brassey correspondence', Nicholson to Brassey, 18 and 29 May 1911, and Brassey to Nicholson, 5 June 1911; CP 'Report of Committee on economies' (14 Nov.1912) - copy in Madan Chest 1912.
- 26 MS.Autogr.d.11, fol.45, Jovett to Nicholson, 28 July 1882.
- 27 Editorial, Daily News, 6 Oct.1894; Nicholson's article on 'Oxford's poverty' appeared in the same issue.
- 28 E.W.B.Nicholson, 'Mr. Gladstone and the Bodleian; Oxford's poverty; Bodley and the Bodleian, 1598-1898' (1898), 8-11.
- 29 Ibid, 13 - original correspondence is in MS.Top.Oxon.d.115; A.Carnegie, 'The Gospel of wealth' (1900; repr.1962); W.E.Gladstone, 'Mr. Carnegie's "Gospel of wealth"', Nineteenth Century, Nov.1890, 677-693; cf. J.F. Wall, 'Andrew Carnegie' (1970), 806-827.
- 30 BL, Add.MS.44524, Nicholson to Gladstone, 31 Dec.1896.
- 31 BL, Add.MS.44525, Gladstone to Carnegie, 4 Jan.and 22 Feb.1897, Carnegie to Gladstone, 3 Feb.1897; BL, Add.MS.44522, Carnegie to Gladstone, 10 June 1897.
- 32 OUG, 9 June 1897; Madan, 14 June 1897.
- 33 E.W.B.Nicholson, 'Mr. Gladstone and the Bodleian;...' (1898), 15.
- 34 LP 'J.Foster-Howe correspondence, 1901-2'; LP 'Correspondence with A.Carnegie', Carnegie to Madan, 7 May 1913.
- 35 LP F.Madan, 'Duties as Sub-librarian, 1882-1911', note, 10 Oct.1902.
- 36 cf. LP Corresp. 4/5, MacAlister to Nicholson, 13 June 1892; MS.Tercent.c.1, F.Pacy to Nicholson, 9 Feb. and 4 Mar.1901, Rywater to Anson, 10 May 1899.
- 37 cf. MS.Tercent.d.6, Tercentenary Committee minutes.

- 38 cf. MSS.Tercent.c.6-7, drafts of 'Pietas Oxoniensis'; CACT, 1 Nov.1902.
- 39 'The Bodleian Tercentenary', Times Literary Supplement, 3 Oct.1902; MS.Tercent.c.1, Warren to Nicholson, 26 Sep.1902, MacAlister to Nicholson, 24 Sep.1902.
- 40 Times, 9 Oct.1902.
- 41 LP F.Madan, 'Duties as Sub-librarian, 1882-1911', notes, 10 and 13 Oct.1902.
- 42 Times, 10 Oct.1902; this paragraph was attributed by Madan to A. Shadwell, cousin of Dr. C.L.Shadwell of Oriel.
- 43 LP F.Madan, 'Duties as Sub-librarian, 1882-1911', note, 11 Oct.1902.
- 44 MS.Tercent.c.2, Nicholson's annotated copy of Times report, 10 Oct. 1902.
- 45 Madan, 11 Nov.1902; LP F.Madan, 'Duties as Sub-librarian, 1882-1911', copy of letter from Madan to Wilson, 2 Oct.1902, and report, 24 Nov.1902.
- 46 LP Corresp. 8/26, Bodley to Madan, 22 Nov.1902; see also note 44.
- 47 For reports of speeches, see: OT, 11 Oct.1902; LP F.Madan, 'Duties as Sub-librarian, 1882-1911', note, 10 Oct.1902.
- 48 MS.Tercent.c.5, Edison-Bell Ltd. to Nicholson, 27 Sep.1902.
- 49 cf. Tercent.b.9 and MS.Tercent.c.2 for press-cuttings; OUG, 6 Apr. and 9 June 1903.
- 50 'Statements of the needs of the University' (1902), including reports by the Bodleian Curators (pp.120-129) and Bodley's Librarian (pp.129-153); for Madan's comments, see his copy in Madan Chest 1902.
- 51 Proof-sheets of Modern History Board report in Madan Chest 1902.
- 52 F.Partridge, 'T.A.B.: a memoir of Thomas Allnutt, Second Earl of Brassey' (1921), 132-140; [M.F.Smith], 'Arthur Lionel Smith' (1928), 259; for 'The needs of Oxford University' and other papers, see MS.Top.Oxon. c.236, fols.67-81.
- 53 Times, 6 and 13 May 1907.
- 54 Madan, 14 May 1907; Times, 17 May 1907, editorial; H.Cushing, 'The life of Sir William Osler' (1925), II, 90-93; LP 'The Brassey donations, 1903- ', Brassey to Nicholson, 18 Nov. [1906].
- 55 LP 'Brassey correspondence', Brassey to Anson, 13 Dec.1909.
- 56 [A.L.Smith], 'Thomas Allnutt, Earl Brassey: address...' (1919), 5; LP 'Brassey correspondence', note at end of volume.
- 57 F.Madan, 'Annals of the Bodleian Library, 1882-1918, Part II', BCR, 2(19)Oct.1918, 176; LP 'Committee of Curators on Bodleian finance, 1915', including: F.Madan, 'Memorandum for a Committee of Curators on Bodleian Finance' (21 Apr.1915).

Chapter 7.THE INCREASE OF STAFF.

- 1 LP F.Madan, 'Bodleian notes, 1882', Madan to Nicholson, 10 Apr.1882; AR(1911)775.
- 2 LP 'Adolf Neubauer, 1832-1907', notes by Madan, 9 Apr.1907; JP 'Neubaueriana, 1878-1899', draft from Nicholson to S.R.Driver, 6 May 1895.
- 3 Madan Chest 1882, copy of petition to Vice-Chancellor: Curators' minutes-book, letter from E.Turner to Nicholson, 21 Jan.1884; OUG, 19 Feb. 1884; CACT, 27 Jan.1883 and 7 Mar.1908.
- 4 Madan, 31 Jan.1902; cf. Madan Chest 1904, drafts from Madan to H.A. Wilson, 28 and 30 Nov.1904; Madan, 27 Jan.1908.
- 5 OUG, 4 Mar.1890.
- 6 Madan, 26-28 Mar.1890, including letter from Nicholson to Madan, and 7 May 1898.
- 7 Madan, 2 May 1896.
- 8 For report of Committee on hours, see: CACT, 26 Oct.1889; CP E.W.B. Nicholson, 'Alterations in the Bodleian statute suggested by the Librarian to the Curators' (3 Feb.1898); CACT, 7 May 1898; Madan, 11 May 1898.
- 9 CACT, 1 Dec.1900 and 9 Mar.1901; Madan Chest 1900, for: CP E.W.B. Nicholson, 'Superintendence at the Radcliffe Camera' (13 Dec.1900), with MS. note by Madan; cf. correspondence in: LP 'Days and hours', especially Feb.-Apr.1901.
- 10 cf. CUL, MS.Add.6463, Madan to F.Jenkinson, 10 Jan.1888; Madan, 14 Jan.1889, 1 Dec.1900, 24 Apr.1903; CP E.W.B.Nicholson, 'On Messrs. Kebby and Hutt's proposed salary of £90' (30 Nov.1892).
- 11 CP 'Librarian's application for an increase of staff' (5 Nov.1885); CACT, 7 Nov.1885 and 26 Oct.1889.
- 12 CP E.W.B.Nicholson, 'Assistants etc. on the regular Bodleian staff, their salaries and prospects...' (14 Feb.1895); LP H.A.Wilson, 'Memoranda I', 4 Feb.1895.
- 13 Madan, 13 Mar., 21 Apr.1888; LP 'Papers relating to Mr. F.S.Lewis, Assistant, 1883-', draft from Nicholson to Lewis, 11 Dec.1888; cf. Madan, 10 Apr.1889.
- 14 Madan, 16,21 June 1894.
- 15 Madan, 16 June 1894.
- 16 LP 'W.H.Allnutt's resignation, 1896',; Madan, 9-11 and 23 July 1896.
- 17 CP E.W.B.Nicholson, 'In the matter of an Assistant' (11 May 1905); CACT, 20 May 1905; Madan, 3 and 12 Apr.1905.
- 18 'Statements of the needs of the University' (1902), 125 and 139-140 - Madan's copy in Madan Chest 1902.

- 19 Ibid, 140-147.
- 20 Ibid, 146.
- 21 LP 'Donations from Magdalen College, 1904-1907'.
- 22 cf. 'The Bodleian Library in 1882-7' (1888), 60; LP 'Papers relating to special classifiers, 1882- ' ; LA Trans., 1882, 217-218.
- 23 See annual reports for details of the special staff.
- 24 Craster, 161; CACT, 1 Dec.1894 and 9 Mar.1895; CP 'Special assistants employed in the Bodleian ' [ca. Feb.1895].
- 25 LJ, 5 (1)Jan.1880, 13-14; 'Visit of Americans to Oxford', OC, 31 July 1897.
- 26 CAG and CACT, 27 Oct.1894; Madan, 15,29 Oct.,22-23 Nov.1894.
- 27 CACT, 11 May and 15 June 1895, 15 May 1897; Madan, 13 May 1895; for Miss Yates, see: Madan, 23 Sep.,25 Oct.1895.
- 28 Madan, 16 May 1897; LP Handlist 140 (formerly 92*); cf. Madan, 31 May, 1898, 10 July 1899.
- 29 CACT, 3 Dec.1898; cf. Madan, 23,31 Jan.,16 Feb.,2 Mar.1899.
- 30 CAG, 7 May and 11 June 1910; CP E.W.B.Nicholson, untitled memorandum on Miss Underhill (29 June 1910); CP E.W.B.Nicholson, 'The nomination of Miss Underhill' [ca. Oct.1910].
- 31 CACT, 11 June 1910; LP W.D.Macray, 'Annals of the Bodleian Library' (1868) - Sir William Osler's copy: tipped-in letter from Nicholson to Osler, 7 May 1910.
- 32 LP 'Employment of women assistants in libraries, 1910'.
- 33 Madan, 30 June,1 July,29 Oct.1910.
- 34 LP 'Librarian's reports to Curators' meetings, 1882-90', drafts of letter from Nicholson to Vice-Chancellor (E.Jowett), 2 Dec.1882; CACT, 2 Dec.1882; LP 'Communications from the librarian to the rest of the staff, 1887- ', 31 Jan.1901.
- 35 LP 'Termination of S.C.Cole's engagement, 1899'; LP 'Papers on the Player thefts'; OR, 6 Nov.1906.
- 36 LP 'Bodleian "Old boys"', S.Chance to Nicholson, 5 Nov.1905, with note by Nicholson.
- 37 Madan, 11 June-1 Aug.1888, passim; OJ, 26 July 1890.
- 38 Madan Chest 1900, printed letter on boys' boots (1 Jan.1901); LP 'Communications from the librarian to the rest of the staff, 1887- ', 16 June 1890 and 7 Apr.1891; 'Staff-Kalendar' (1912), Supplement, 34.
- 39 LP 'Communications from the librarian to the rest of the staff, 1887- ', 21 Nov.1888; Madan, 26 Nov.1888.
- 40 LP 'Nicholson: correspondence & notes, 1882-1912', Nicholson to Madan, 10 Aug.1883.

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- 41 'The Bodleian Library in 1882-7' (1888), 23; cf. S.Gibson, 'E.W.B. Nicholson (1849-1912): some impressions', IAR, 51(5)May 1949, 141.
- 42 CP 'Librarian's application for an increase of staff' (5 Nov.1885); CP H.V.Chandler, 'Memorandum' (10 Nov.1885); CACT, 14 Nov.1885.
- 43 Madan, 16 Nov.1884, 10 Apr.1891.
- 44 Madan, 13 Mar.1888 and ca. 29 Nov.1888 for letter from F.G.Duff to Madan, n.d..
- 45 Madan, 15 Nov.-5 Dec.1888, passim; LP 'Communications from the librarian to the rest of staff, 1887- ', 21 Nov.1888; CP 'Questions addressed to the Curators of the Bodleian Library...' (27 Jan.1890); CP I.Bywater, untitled printed memorandum (28 Jan.-27 Feb.1890); cf. LP 'The "Memorial" and "Questions", 1888-90'.
- 46 LP 'Discovery & punishment of Dann's thefts, 1891-92', correspondence of Nicholson and H.N.Stevens, 22-24 Feb.1892; Madan Chest 1891, including letter from Stevens to Madan, 23 May 1900; LP Corresp. 7/5, Stevens to Madan, 19 July 1912.
- 47 LP F.Madan, 'Bodleian notes, 1881-92', Mar.1892; Madan, 27 Feb., 1 Mar.1892.
- 48 LP 'Discovery & punishment of Dann's thefts, 1891-92', passim: AR(1891)473; OR, 8 Mar.1892.
- 49 CP Printed reports by Hutton and Nicholson relating to the Zola's (8 Apr.1892); Madan, 1-5 Apr.1892.
- 50 CP 'Report of committee appointed to consider the age, duties, and number of the boys employed in the Library...' (10 June 1892); CAG and CACT, 23 June 1892; CP 'Letter from the Librarian relating to the suggestions of the Committee on boys' (11 June, or.28 Oct.,1892); CP 'Additional memorandum by the Librarian' (26 Oct.1892) - Madan's annotated copy in Madan Chest 1892.
- 51 CACT, 29 Oct. and 15 Nov.1892; Madan, 31 Oct., 17 Nov.1892.
- 52 CAG and CACT, 29 Oct.1898 and 7 Mar.1908; CACT, 10 Mar.1900.
- 53 Madan, 27 Mar., 19 Oct.1911.
- 54 Comment by S.Gibson, quoted in: H.R.Tedder, 'E.W.B.Nicholson (Bodley's Librarian, 1882-1912): in memoriam', IAR, 16(3)Mar.1914, 106.
- 55 Madan, 9 Jan.1909; cf. 4 Jan.1907, 14 Apr.1909, 28 July 1910.

Chapter 8.THE EXTENSION OF ACCOMMODATION.

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- 6 LP 'Fitting up of the Old School and Sheldonian Basement, 1889-'; CP J.Osborne Smith, 'Report upon fittings' (10 Feb.1890); CP 'Remarks by the Librarian on Mr. J.Osborn[e] Smith's Report' (28 Feb.1890); CACT, 8 Mar.1890; CAG, 10 May 1890; CP E.W.B.Nicholson, 'The Hebdomadal Council and the Bodleian' (19 Nov.1896),9.
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- 10 F.E.Gladstone, 'On books and the housing of them', Nineteenth Century, 27(157)Mar.1890, 384-396; E.W.B.Nicholson, 'Mr. Gladstone and the Bodleian; Oxford's poverty...; Bodley and the Bodleian, 1598-1898' (1898), 9-11; cf. W.Lucy and Co., 'The library problem' [1904].
- 11 BL,PBA, 'Letters, etc.', Nicholson to Garnett, 5 Mar.1895; A.Esdaile, 'The British Museum Library' (1946), 117-124, 164-167; E.Miller, 'That

noble cabinet: a history of the British Museum' (1973), 274.

- 12 CP 'A letter to the Bodleian Curators from Bodley's Librarian, on the adjourned motion of Mr. Nowat, "that a Committee be appointed to inquire into and report on the shifting which has been going on for some time in the library and the reasons which have led to it"' (6 May 1892), 3 - Madan's annotated copy in: LP F.Madan, 'Survey of the rooms, 1880-92'.
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- 14 Madan, 16 Mar.1884, 2 May 1885, 19 Jan., 25 Feb.1887. 10 Jan., 2 June 1888, 16 Apr.1889.
- 15 Madan, 10 Jan.1888; LP F.Madan, 'Survey of the rooms, 1880-92', 31 July 1888; 'The Bodleian Library in 1882-7' (1888), 37.
- 16 LP 'E.B.Nicholson's defeated plans for the Gough Room, 1889-90'; CP Report of Committee on grant for fittings (29 Nov.1889); CAG, 26 Oct. 1889 and 1 Feb.1890; CACT, 30 Nov.1889 and 8 Mar.1890.
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- 19 CACT, 11 June and 3 Dec.1892; CP 'Librarian's replies to questions put by a Committee of Curators' (12 July 1892) - Madan's annotated copy in: LP F.Madan, 'Survey of the rooms, 1880-92'; CP 'Report of the Committee on Arrangement, ...' (26 Nov.1892); cf. Madan, 19 Mar.1892.
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- 32 Craster: see index for references to extension schemes; A.E.Cowley, 'The recent history of the Bodleian Library', LAR, 23(10)Oct.1921,324; LP 'Nicholson: correspondence & notes, 1882-1912', Nicholson to Madan, 16 Mar.1882.
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- 34 CP 'Committee on the extension of Bodleian Library' (1 Mar.1895); CACT, 9 Mar.1895; CAG, 21 Nov.1896.
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- 38 CP 'Report of Special Committee appointed Nov.21, 1896' (n.d.); CACT, 13 Mar.1897.
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- 87 LP 'The Auctarium Wing re-arrangement, 1898- ' , Nicholson to T.W. Jackson, 7 July 1898; CP 'Questions suggested for the consideration of the Librarian with a view to the further statement which he has undertaken to make to the Committee - with the Librarian's answers' (7 Feb.1899); CP 'Report of the Committee on proposed changes in the Auctarium and adjoining rooms' (6 Mar.1899); CP F.W.B.Nicholson, 'Observations submitted by the Librarian on the Report of the Special Committee of Oct.29' (10 Mar.1899).

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Chapter 9.

CATALOGUING AND CLASSIFICATION.

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- 3 'Compendious cataloguing-rules for the author-catalogue of the Bodleian Library' (1882) - printed in: MN, 4(1)Jan.1883,5-9, and 4(2) Feb.1883, 31-33, showing variations with the L.A.U.K. code; reprinted in: LJ, 8(9/10)Sep./Oct.1883, 298-301; Library Association Yearbook, 1893, 57-64; and as Library Association Series no.5 (1893), with the British Museum and L.A.U.K. codes; cf. LP 'Cataloguing rules and questions connected with the catalogue, 1880-3'.
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- 9 'The Bodleian Library in 1882-7' (1888), 26-27; Madan, 8,19 Feb.1885.
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- 13 E.W.B.Nicholson, 'Mr. Gladstone and the Bodleian...' (1898),25;
CP 'Interim report of Auctarium Committee' (9 June 1899); CP 'Memorandum on arrears' (31 May 1899).
- 14 'Statements of the needs of the University' (1902), 125-127, 131-132, 139-148; Madan, e.g.24 Aug.1900, 17 Mar.1902.
- 15 Bodleian Library, John Johnson Collection, boxfile 'Libraries 2', Nicholson to Hart, 18 Jan.1907.
- 16 LP 'Specimens and estimates of proposed printing for the Catalogue of printed books'; CAG, 2 Dec.1882; CACT, 27 Jan.1883; 'Statements of the needs of the University' (1902), 127, 147-148 - Madan's copy in Madan Chest 1902.
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- 20 LP 'Brassey correspondence', Nicholson to Brassey, 27 June 1908.
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- 22 LP 'The printing of the Catalogue, May 1909-1911'; AR(1909)639; for instructions relating to catalogue revision, see,e.g.: LP 'Formulary'; LP 'Revision of P.B. Catalogue: alterations in place-name headings, 1907- '.
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- 26 'The Bodleian Library in 1882-7' (1888),27; CUL, Henry Bradshaw papers, Box 6, Nicholson to Bradshaw, 3 Aug.1882.
- 27 'The Bodleian Library in 1882-7' (1888), 29.
- 28 For an appreciation of Proctor by Nicholson, see: A.W.Pollard, 'Robert Proctor', Library, 2nd.Ser.5(17)Jan.1904,12-14 - reprinted in: R.Proctor, 'Bibliographical essays' (1905), xix-xx; AR(1893)449; CUL, MS.Add.6463, Duff to Jenkinson, 13 Dec.1891.
- 29 CACT, 2 Dec.1893, 3 Mar.1894; Proctor's 'The printers of the fifteenth century' is MS.Eng.misc.e.14 (= R.6.241), and his 'Notes of early printed fragments in the Bodleian Library' is MS.Top.Oxon.e.234 (= R.6.240); LP 'Proposed publication of abridged incunabula-catalogue, 1893-4', including Duff to Nicholson, 28 Jan.1894, and P.L.Gell to Nicholson, 29 Jan.1894; Henry E.Huntington Library, E.G.Duff collection, Nicholson to Duff, 27 Jan.1894.
- 30 R.G.C.Proctor, 'An index to the early printed books in the British Museum' (2 vols., 1898-1899, and Vol.3, Part I, 1903); CUL, MS.Add. 6463, Proctor to Jenkinson, 18 and 21 Aug.1897.
- 31 Craster, 54-57, 164-165; H.R.Purnell, 'The development of notation in classification', Library Assistant, 8(157)Feb.1911, 25-34, and 8(158)Mar.1911, 44-50; G.W.Wheeler, 'Bodleian press-marks in relation to classification', BQR, 1(10)July 1916, 280-292, and 1(11)Oct.1916, 311-322.
- 32 Columbia University Library, M.Dewey collection, Nicholson to Dewey, 20 Mar.1888.
- 33 CP 'Some considerations respectfully offered by the Librarian to the Subject-catalogue Committee in reference to matters discussed at their last meeting' (14 Jan.1888), 3-4.
- 34 Madan, 6,7 Dec.1892, ca. Mar./Apr.1906.
- 35 Madan, 19 Feb.1897; BL, Add.MS.50190, R.G.C.Proctor's diary, 9 Jan. 1899; for references to 'D.B.', see especially Madan's index to his Bodleian notes.
- 36 'The Bodleian Library in 1882-7' (1888), 33; LP R.G.C.Proctor, 'Rough draft of classification of incunabula'; Madan, 25,26,30 Apr.1892.
- 37 Madan, 21 June 1894, 7 Dec.1896; Madan Chest 1896, copy of letter from Ince to Vice-Chancellor, 3 Dec.1896; CACT, 5 Dec.1896.

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- 38 Craster, 57-60; E.B.Nicholson, 'An offer to bibliographers', Academy, 8 Sep.1883; 'The Bodleian Library in 1882-7' (1888), 31-32.
- 39 E.B.Nicholson, 'An offer to bibliographers', Academy, 8 Sep.1883, and MN, 4(10)Oct.1883,131-132; LP 'The information card-system, 1883-9'; LP 'Applicants for lists of books on special subjects, 1882-90'; Wendell Prime, 'Books in Oxford', New York Observer, 13 Mar.1884 - copy in Madan Chest 1884; letter by Peddie in: LAR, 42(4)Apr.1940, 125.
- 40 CP 'Librarian's application for an increase of staff' (5 Nov.1885); CP H.W.Chandler, 'Memorandum' (10 Nov.1885),3-4; CP H.W.Chandler, 'Memorandum on the subject catalogue' (1 Dec.1885) - reprinted in his 'Some observations on the Bodleian classed catalogue' (1888), 6-14; CACT, 19 June 1886.
- 41 CP 'Librarian's report on the subject-catalogue' (pr.25 Sep.1886); CACT, 18 June 1887; LP 'Subject-catalogue: the special committee of 1887-8'; LP 'E.B.Nicholson's reports &c. on the Subject-Catalogue, 1886-8'; LP 'Extracts on classification made in the winter of 1887'; CP 'Some considerations respectfully offered by the Librarian to the Subject-catalogue Committee in reference to matters discussed at their last meeting' (14 Jan.1888); CP 'A general statement of the Librarian's views as to the continuance or non-continuance of the subject-catalogue' (14 Jan.1888); CP 'Report of the Classed Catalogue Committee' (26 Apr. 1888); CP I.Bywater, 'Classed Catalogue' (17 May 1888); CACT, 25 Oct.1888.
- 42 H.W.Chandler, 'Some observations on the Bodleian classed catalogue' (1888); cf. LP E.B.Nicholson, 'Different states of "A protest by Bodley's Librarian"'; CP Report on the Memorial of 9 June, with comments by the Librarian (ca.Nov.1888); E.B.Nicholson, 'The Subject-Catalogue' (ca. Dec. 1888); cf. OM, 14,21, and 28 Nov.1888; Madan, 18-19 Nov.1888; anonymous article on Hallé classed catalogue, Athenaeum, 10 Nov.1888 - copy in Madan Chest 1888.
- 43 For Burch's progress, see: LP 'Subject-catalogue: Classifiers' reports, 1879-90'; LP 'Classifiers Note Book'; Times, 29 Jan.1890; OM, 29 Jan.,5,12,19,and 26 Feb.1890, for correspondence between Nicholson, H.Nettlehip, and others on the 'Personalities debate'.
- 44 Madan, 22 Aug.1893, 5 Jan.1904; LP 'Storage of Subject-Catalogue and cataloguing slips in the H.'.
- 45 CP H.Jenner, untitled report to a Committee of the Hebdomadal Council (22 May 1896); CACT, 21 Nov.1896; CP E.W.B.Nicholson, 'The Hebdomadal Council and the Bodleian' (19 Nov.1896),10-11; CP 'Report of Special Committee' (ca. Mar.1897).

- 46 LP Corresp. 4/5, draft evidence by Nicholson to the Royal Society, 28-29 June 1898; H.Bradshaw, 'Some account of the organization of the Cambridge University Library', LA Trans., 1882, Appendix I, 229-237; H.G.Aldis, 'A brief outline of the organization and methods of the Cambridge University Library', LAR, 7(12)Dec.1905, 625-636.
- 47 LP 'Council and the Jenner report, 1896', including Report of Subcommittee (n.d.) in Anson's hand, and letter from Anson to Nicholson, 23 Feb.1897.
- 48 LP 'E.W.B.Nicholson's 1896 letter to librarians, with the answers', including Nicholson's 'Propositions' (18 Dec.1896) with explanatory printed letter.
- 49 BL,PBA, 'Letters, etc.', copy of letter from Garnett to Nicholson, 31 Dec.1896, and Nicholson to Garnett, 3 Jan.1897; cf. ICL Trans., Appendix IV, 188-193.
- 50 CP Further report of the Special Committee (17 June 1897); CACT, 19 June 1897.
- 51 'A summary catalogue of Western manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford', vol.1: R.W.Hunt, 'Historical introduction and conspectus of shelf-marks' (1953), xliii - xlvi; LP 'Papers relating to classification of the MSS., 1887'; Madan, 27 Jan.,28,29 Mar.,6,7 Apr.,10,13,14 June, 27 Aug.1887, 24 May,3 Dec.1888, 28 June 1897.
- 52 Craster, 91-98; LP 'Report on Bodleian MS. collections, 1881, & Papers, 1878-84'; CP F.Madan, 'Bodleian MSS.: list showing which have catalogues, handlists, or indexes' (Jan.1881) - revised and reprinted as 'A report on the MS. collections in the Bodleian Library' (July 1881).
- 53 For Madan's progress, see: LP F.Madan, 'Bodleian notes, 1881-92', and LP F.Madan, 'Duties as Sublibrarian, 1882-1911'; Madan's unfinished catalogues of MSS. (Bodley) Adds. are on the Duke Humfrey reference shelves; [A.Clark], 'The cataloguing of MSS. in the Bodleian Library' (1890),11-13; CP E.W.B.Nicholson, untitled printed letter on the 'Summary catalogue' (May 1903),1-2 - copy in Madan Chest 1903; LP 'Letters from Clarendon Press on printing Bodleian catalogues &c., 1882-96', P.L.Gell to Nicholson, 1 Nov.1884.
- 54 [A.Clark], 'The cataloguing of MSS. in the Bodleian Library' (9 Apr. 1890); 'A summary catalogue of Western manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford', vol.1: R.W.Hunt, 'Historical introduction and conspectus of shelf-marks' (1953), lvii - lx; Madan, 26 Nov.1889, 27,28 Jan.,31 Mar.1890, 27 Oct.1894; LP 'Papers relating to the Summary Catalogue of MSS. resolved on in 1890-97', including T.W.Jackson's 'Memorial' (20 Feb.1890) , and letter from Madan to Nicholson, 16 Feb.

1894, with comment by Nicholson.

- 55 LP 'The Summary Catalogue of Bodleian MSS., 1890-'; CP 'Abstracts of the answers returned to the questions proposed to the staff of the Bodleian Library by the Committee of the Curators appointed to consider the best mode of cataloguing the MSS.' (28 May 1890; repr. with additions, 6 June 1890); LP 'Observations offered to the Bodleian Curators by the Librarian on the proposal for a "summary" catalogue of MSS.' (7 Mar.1890); CP 'Further observations offered to the Bodleian Curators by the Librarian on the proposal for a "summary" catalogue of MSS.' (8 May 1890); Madan, 1 Apr., 9 May 1890; LP 'Papers relating to the Summary Catalogue of MSS. resolved on in 1890-97', including Madan to Nicholson, 22 Feb.1890, and Nicholson's 'correction' to Madan's cataloguing.
- 56 Craster, 206; Madan, 28 Jan.1890; LP 'Papers relating to the Summary Catalogue of MSS. resolved on in 1890-97', Nicholson to Jowett, 23 May 1890; CP E.W.B.Nicholson, untitled printed letter on the 'Summary Catalogue' (May 1903), 4-5; CACT, 10 May, 7 June 1890; CP Report of Catalogue Committee (3 June 1890); LP F.Madan, 'Bodleian notes, 1881-92', 25 June 1890.
- 57 CP 'A list of resolutions, recommendations, and motions ... which the Librarian maintains to be without statutory sanction...' (28 Oct. 1898); LP 'Papers relating to the Summary Catalogue of MSS. resolved on in 1890-97', including Madan to Mowat, 23 Oct.1890; CP Report of Summary Catalogue Committee (1 Nov.1890; amended and repr. 8 Nov.1890); CP 'Considerations respectfully offered to the Summary Catalogue Committee by the Librarian on the proposal for a Second or Classed Catalogue of MSS.' (6 Nov.1890); CACT, 29 Nov.1890.
- 58 LP F.Madan, 'Duties as Sublibrarian, 1882-1911', for Madan's reports on progress to the Curators; LP 'Papers relating to the Summary Catalogue of MSS. resolved on in 1890-97'; LP 'Letters from Clarendon Press on printing Bodleian catalogues &c., 1882-96', correspondence with P.L. Gell, May-June 1891; CACT, 31 Oct.1891.
- 59 LP 'Papers relating to the Summary Catalogue of MSS. resolved on in 1890-97', Madan to A.Clark, 21 Mar.1892; Madan, 8, 9, 15 Feb., 3-5 Dec.1892.
- 60 LP 'Papers relating to the Summary Catalogue of MSS. resolved on in 1890-97', for correspondence between Nicholson and Madan, especially 3 Nov.1892, Jan.1893, 23 Oct., 11 Dec.1893; Madan, 18 Mar.1892, 24 Oct., 9 Dec.1893.
- 61 CP E.W.B.Nicholson, untitled printed letter on the 'Summary Catalogue' (May 1903), 7 - copy in Madan Chest 1903; Madan, 4 May 1894, 27 Oct.1897; LP 'Papers relating to the Summary Catalogue of MSS. resolved on in

- 1890-97', including notes by Madan, 30 Jan.1892 and 10 May 1893, and correspondence with Nicholson, 16 Feb.,30 Apr.,1 May 1894; cf. E.W.B. Nicholson, 'An unknown work of Saint Adaman', Academy, 10 Mar.1894, and correction in ibid, 17 Mar.1894.
- 62 LP 'Papers relating to the Summary Catalogue of MSS. resolved on in 1890-97', correspondence and notes, May-June 1894; CACT, 9 June 1894; Madan, 11 June 1894.
- 63 Madan, 9,14 Jan.,13 May 1895; LP 'Papers relating to the Summary Catalogue of MSS. resolved on in 1890-97', correspondence, 10-12 May 1895; CACT, 11 May 1895.
- 64 cf. LP 'Summary Catalogue of Western MSS.: sheets of vol[]s]. 4[-6] sent for revise by E.W.B.Nicholson' (3 vols.); Madan, 5 Feb.1894; LP 'Papers relating to the Summary Catalogue of MSS. resolved on in 1890-97', Nicholson to Madan, 1 May 1894, with comment by Madan.
- 65 Madan, 18 May 1898, 24 Apr.,4 May 1899; Athenaeum, 1,22, and 29 Apr. 1899, and correspondence in Nicholson's 'Printed adversaria' (Bodleian scrapbook, 2590.c.Oxf.1.8); English Historical Review, 14(54)Apr.1899, 394-396; Madan Chest 1899, letter from G.F.Warner to Nicholson, 2 May 1899.
- 66 cf. Madan, 18 Sep.1896, 26 May,30 July, 27 Oct.,17 Dec.1897; LP 'Letters on Clarendon Press on printing Bodleian catalogues &c., 1897- ', C.Cannan to Nicholson, 30 Oct.-13 Nov.1901.
- 67 LP 'Papers relating to the Summary Catalogue of MSS., 1897-1927', including Madan's reports, and correspondence between Nicholson and Ince, 27 Feb.-8 Mar.1903; cf. Madan, 11 May 1898, 6 Jan.1899; LP 'Summary Catalogue of Western MSS.: sheets of vol.4 sent for revise by E.W.B. Nicholson', preface; CP 'Librarian's statement in connexion with the last half-yearly report of the progress of the Summary Catalogue' (6 May 1903); CP 'Extracts from the Bodleian Statute relating to the duties and rights of Bodley's Librarian as regards the cataloguing of MSS.' (6 May 1903); CP E.W.B.Nicholson, untitled and unfinished printed letter to the Curators on the "Summary catalogue" (May 1903) - copies of latter three pamphlets in Madan Chest 1903; CACT, 9 May, 31 Oct.1903.
- 68 LP F.Madan, 'Duties as Sublibrarian, 1882-1911' - envelope for 1905 includes correspondence with H.A.Wilson, 26-28 May 1906; LP 'Papers relating to the Summary Catalogue of MSS., 1897-1927', including Madan to Nicholson, 22 Feb.1911.
- 69 'A summary catalogue of Western manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford', vol.1: R.W.Hunt, 'Historical introduction and conspectus of shelf-marks' (1953), lxiii - lxv; LP 'Papers relating to the Summary

- Catalogue of MSS., 1897-1927', R.W.Chapman to Craster, 13 Oct.1922, and 3 Jan.1928.
- 70 viz. H.O.Coxe, 'Recensio codicum Graecorum' (Quarto catalogue I, 1853; repr. 1969 with the Greek MSS. from Coxe's 'Codices Graeci et Latini Canonici', Quarto catalogue III, 1854); H.O.Coxe, 'Catalogus codicum mancriptorum Laudianorum' (Quarto catalogue II, 1858; repr.1973); A.Hackman, 'Codices Thomae Tanneri' (Quarto catalogue IV, 1859; repr. 1966); Macray's Digby Catalogue (Quarto catalogue IX, 1883) is in course of revision.
- 71 LP 'Mr. Edwards' work on his Calendar of the Carte Papers, 1877-83'; LP 'Papers relating to the proposed publication of Edwards' Calendar of the Carte Papers, 1886-8'; CACT, 28 Jan.1888; Craster, 99-100; Edwards' slips were bound as MSS. Carte Calendar 1-75, and are kept in the Arts End.
- 72 LP 'Papers relating to Doble's Calendar of the Ballard letters, 1886-'; Doble's Calendar is kept in Duke Humfrey; E.W.B.Nicholson, 'A first attempt towards a list of dated Western MSS. before 1550 in the Bodleian (charters and rolls not included)' (MS.; kept in Duke Humfrey); LP 'Payments from arrears grants, 1891- ', 8 June 1895, for charters; 'Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers': vol.1 ed. by O.Ogle and W.H. Bliss (1872), vols.2 and 3 ed. by W.D.Macray (1869, 1876), vols.4 and 5 ed. by F.J.Routledge (1932, 1970); LP 'Letters from Clarendon Press on printing Bodleian catalogues &c., 1897- ', C.Cannan to Nicholson, 23 Nov.1903 and 2 Feb.1905.
- 73 LP 'Cataloguing of Irish MSS., 1893- '; B.P.Grenfell's MS. catalogue of Greek papyri is in Duke Humfrey; Nicholson's rules for 'kalendaring' were printed in the 'Staff-Kalendar' (1905-1912).
- 74 For Nicholson's cataloguing scheme, see: 'Staff-Kalendar' (1912), 80-88; CACT, 6 Dec.1902; LP 'The new catalogue of Greek MSS., 1902- '; the MS. catalogues of the Laudian Greek manuscripts are kept in Duke Humfrey; 'A summary catalogue of Western manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford', vol.2, part I, 14-19; cf. Quarto catalogue I: H.O.Coxe, 'Greek manuscripts (repr.1969), and Quarto Catalogue II: H.O.Coxe, 'Laudian manuscripts' (repr.1973, with preface by R.W.Hunt.).
- 75 Madan, 28 Jan.1887; for Oriental acquisitions and catalogues, see: Craster, 210-221.
- 76 LP 'Papers relating to the Catalogue of Persian MSS., &c., 1869- '; LP 'Papers relating to the Catalogue of additional Arabic MSS., 1891- '; LP H.Ethé, 'Catalogue of Turkish MSS. (proof sheets)'; 'Catalogue of Persian, Turkish, Hindûstanî, and Pushtû manuscripts in the Bodleian

- Library': vol.1 - E.Sachau and H.Ethé, 'The Persian manuscripts' (Quarto catalogue XIII, 1889); vol.2 - H.Ethé, 'Turkish, Hindûstanî, Pushtû and additional Persian manuscripts' (1930); vol.3 - A.F.L.Beeston, 'Additional Persian manuscripts' (1954).
- 77 LP 'Papers relating to Baronian's Catalogue of the Armenian MSS., 1882- ' (3 vols.), including Baronian to Nicholson, 17 Nov.1886; S.Baronian and F.C.Conybeare, 'Catalogue of the Armenian manuscripts in the Bodleian Library ' (Quarto catalogue XIV, 1918).
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- 79 Madan, 21 Aug.1891, 15 Jul.1899.
- 80 LP 'Papers relating to Vol.2 of the Sanskrit MSS. Catalogue, 1896-1906'; CACT, 15 May 1897; E.W.B.Nicholson, 'Mr. Gladstone and the Bodleian' (1898), 41-42; LP 'Cowleiana', Cowley to Nicholson, 8 Aug.1905; 'Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in the Bodleian Library: appendix to vol.1 by A.B.Keith (1909), vol.2 by M.Winternitz and A.B.Keith, with preface by E.W.B.Nicholson (1905).
- 81 LP 'Copy, proof-sheets &c. of Catalogue of Prākṛit MSS.'; A.B.Keith, 'Catalogue of Prākṛit manuscripts in the Bodleian Library', with preface by E.W.B.Nicholson (1911); LP 'Cat. of Malay MSS.. Copy without facsimiles'; LP 'Cat. of Malay MSS. - copy, proofs, correspondence'; R.Greentree and E.W.B.Nicholson, 'Catalogue of Malay manuscripts and manuscripts relating to the Malay language in the Bodleian Library' (1911); LP 'Donations from Magdalen College, 1904-1907', correspondence between Nicholson and Greentree, 5-6 Apr.1905.
- 82 LP 'Papers relating to Hyvernat's cataloguing of MSS., 1887- ' ; H.Hyvernat, 'Catalogue of the Clarendon Press Sahidic fragments deposited [sic] in the Bodleian Library' (MS.); G.U.Pope, 'Catalogue of Tamil MSS.' (MS.) - these last two catalogues are in the Oriental Reading Room; cf. 'The Bodleian Library in 1882-7' (1888), 25-26; F.Madan, 'Annals of the Bodleian Library, 1882-1918, Part II', BQR, 2(19)Oct.1918, 172.
- 83 'The Bodleian Library in 1882-7' (1888), 30-31,33; 'Statements of the needs of the University' (1902), 132; LP 'Cataloguing absurdities and blunders', for handkerchief slip; for handkerchief's fate, see: LP Handlist 17.
- 84 LP 'Papers relating to Vaux's work on the coins, 1871-84'; LP 'E.B.Nicholson's reports on the coins, 1884- ' ; 'The Bodleian Library in 1882-7' (1888), 42-46; S.Lane-Poole, 'Catalogue of the Mohammadan coins

- preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford' (1888), with 'Index of donations and purchases' by E.B.Nicholson; LP 'Letters relating to S.Lane-Poole's Catalogue of the Mohammadan coins, 1885-8'; cf. V.A.Smith, 'The coinage of the early or Imperial Gupta dynasty of Northern India', Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, NS 21(1) Jan.1889, 1-158.
- 85 LP 'Papers relating to Oman's Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon coins'; LP 'Letters from Clarendon Press on printing Bodleian catalogues &c., 1882-96', correspondence between P.L.Gell and Nicholson, Mar.1894-Sep.1896; MS. catalogues of Bodleian coins are now in the Ashmolean.
- 86 'The Keepership of the Hope Collection of Engravings: application of E.W.B.Nicholson' (23 Sep.1896) - Nicholson's copy in Madan Chest 1896; LP 'Papers relating to the pictures, 1904-11', correspondence with Rachael Lane Poole, 1911; Rachael Lane Poole, 'Catalogue of portraits in the possession of the University, Colleges, City, and County of Oxford', vol.1 (Oxford Historical Society vol.57, 1912) - the Bodleian portion of this catalogue was also issued separately, and subsequently reprinted as 'Catalogue of portraits exhibited in the reading room & gallery of the Bodleian Library' (1920).

Chapter 10.ACQUISITIONS POLICY.

- 1 'The Bodleian Library in 1882-7: a report from the Librarian' (1888), 3-4, 10; Craster, 172-173; for annual totals of accessions, see: BQR, 2(21) Apr.1919, 231, and annual reports; LP 'Increase of Library in 1898-9 (1900-1)'; cf. annual reports of Cambridge University Library.
- 2 For a brief introduction to the legal deposit privilege, see: D.Davinson, 'Academic and legal deposit libraries' (2nd.edn., 1969), chap.1.
- 3 LP 'Copyright correspondence, 1726-1912', including Nicholson's evidence, 23 May 1890; LP 'Letters about new Copyright-Bills, 1890 & 1898 & 1910-11'; Times, 12 July 1898, for Nicholson's evidence; Library, 10(117) Sep.1898, 260.
- 4 LP 'Letters about new Copyright-Bills, 1890 & 1898 & 1910-11', passim; Times, 13 Nov.-5 Dec.1911, for various reports and letters; LP F.Madan, 'Dubies as Sublibrarian, 1882-1911', memoranda, 16 Nov.1911; cf. CUL, MS.Add.6463, Anson to Jenkinson, 16 Nov.1911; cf. CUL, MS.Add.7434, F.Jenkinson's diary, 13-18 Nov.1911, and passim; AR(1911)773.
- 5 LP 'Copyright correspondence, 1726-1912', including printed letter by B.Quaritch, 11 Feb.1889; LP 'Copyright-agent's reports, 1903-1921' (2 vols); LP 'Correspondence arising from Copyright-agent's reports, 1902-1921'

- (3 vols.); CAG, 19 June 1897; LP 'Recalcitrant publishers, 1889, threatened by Messrs. Morrell'.
- 6 cf. 'The privileged libraries and American books', Publishers' Circular, 1 Apr.1889.
- 7 LP 'Correspondence arising from Copyright-Agent's reports, July 1910-1921', draft from Nicholson to Unwin, 11 July 1910, and reply, 15 July 1910; LP 'Relations with Clarendon Press', P.L.Gell to Nicholson, 21 Mar.1895.
- 8 cf. the many volumes of Library Papers relating to 'Recalcitrant publishers'; LP 'The Victoria County History, 1900-'; CACT, 1 Nov.1902; LP 'Correspondence arising from Copyright-agent's reports, 1906-Mar.1910', draft from Nicholson to H.J.Elwes, 24 July 1908.
- 9 British Museum, Director's Office, 'Original papers, 1886-1891', Nicholson to Bond, 20 Feb.1888; British Museum, Director's Office, 'Letterbook, 1888', Bond to Nicholson, 26 Feb.1888; BL,PBA, 'Minutes, reports, letters, etc.', report to E.Bond, 24 Feb.1888.
- 10 LP 'Nicholson: correspondence & notes, 1882-1912', March 1882, for letters from Nicholson to Madan concerning purchases; LP 'Librarian's reports to Curators' meetings, 1882-1890; 'Librarian's report, 21 Oct.1882, on the work done in the Vacation' (MS.); CP [F.Madan], 'Rough list of works known or supposed to have been published at Oxford, but not in the Bodleian library up to July 1882' - annotated copy in Madan Chest 1882.
- 11 For financial summary, see: BQR, 2(21)Apr.1919,230; for expenditure on manuscripts, see: LP 'Committee of Curators on Bodleian finance, 1915', note by P.S.Allen, 6 May 1915.
- 12 Madan, 2 Dec.1889, referring to J.A.Giles Sale catalogue (referenced at 2591.d.1, 29 Jan.1885); letter to Axon quoted in: R.Walmsley, 'Dr. Axon - Manchester bookman', Manchester Review, 10, Sum./Aut. 1964, 149-150; cf. E.B.Nicholson, 'Bodleian notes IV', OR, 27 Jan.1886.
- 13 For examples of 'wild prices', see: Madan, 2 Sep.,28 Oct.1886, 13 May, 21 July, 3 Aug.1887; CUL, MS.Add.6463, Madan to Jenkinson, 5 July 1886, and Nicholson to Jenkinson, 24 July 1886; Madan, 12 Jan., 2 Mar.1887.
- 14 Madan, 1,2,5,7 Mar.,5 June,18,28 Oct.,15 Nov.1889, 21 Jan.,1 Mar.1890, including correspondence with Bywater; LP Corresp. 5/2, Hooper to Nicholson, 26 Jan.1894; Madan, 27-31 Jan.1894, including Nicholson's letter to Hooper; cf. LP 'Books purchased with donations made by a member of All Souls, 1888-92', and, LP 'Special grants from Trinity College, 1898- 8.
- 15 LP Corresp. 5/3, draft from Nicholson to unidentified correspondent, 30 Oct.1898; Madan, 11 Aug.1897, 10 Dec.1906; 'Statements of the needs of the University' (1902), 149-150.

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- 16 LP 'Miscellanea relating to Clarendon Papers', including Nicholson's bids, 1906; LP 'The Phillipps Collection of MSS., 1893 to - ', correspondence with Quaritch, Mar.1895; LP 'Purchase of the Anglo-Saxon charters, 1891', correspondence with Quaritch, Mar.1891; Madan, 5 June, 20 Dec.1893.
- 17 Madan, 7 June 1898; G.Birkbeck Hill, 'Talks about autographs' (1896), 11-12; LP Corresp. 8/17, Perceval to Madan, 16 Mar.1899, and draft reply by Madan, 21 Mar.1899, on Selden MS.; S.Seld.c.23, J.Selden's one-leaf autobiography, with note by Madan; Madan, 16 Nov.1906; LP Corresp. 5/4, correspondence on York Gradual, Oct.1901; AR(1901)506.
- 18 e.g. CUL, MS.Add.6330, Madan to S.G.Perceval, 27 Mar.1899; Madan, 9 Mar.1894.
- 19 LP 'Nicholson: correspondence & notes, 1882-1912', Cowley's evidence against the Librarian, 24 Nov.1911; LP 'An Ex-Prize Fellow's donation, 1909- ', cf. gap in foreign purchases, 1911; Madan, 26 Apr.1887, 26 May 1904, 16 Feb.1907, 4,25 Feb.1908.
- 20 Madan, 19 Feb.1885; Worcester College, Oxford, MS.235, notes by Madan on Pottinger; LP 'Madaniana', Madan to Nicholson, 1 Jan.1885 [sic - probably 1886]; Madan, 6 May 1887; LP Corresp. 8/3, Duckett to Madan, 10 Oct. [1889]; Duckett's letters to Nicholson are bound into his offending donation, referenced at: N.T.Eng.1799.f.1.
- 21 Madan, 6 Dec.1887, 27 May 1889; LP Corresp. 12, Nicholson to Neubauer, 11 Apr.1890; LP Corresp. 8/17, Perceval to Madan, 16 Mar.1899; CUL, MS.Add.6330, Madan to Perceval, 21 Mar.1899.
- 22 LP 'Nicholson: correspondence & notes, 1882-1912', Nicholson to J.Fowler, 13 Nov.1907.
- 23 CACT; 11 June 1892; CP E.W.B.Nicholson, 'The Shelley Collection' (June 1892); Times, 21 May 1894, and 22 June 1898; LP 'The Shelley collection, 1893-June 1923' (2 vols.); LP 'Papers relating to additional Shelley MSS. and relics'; cf. R.H.Hill, ed., 'The Shelley correspondence in the Bodleian Library' (1926).
- 24 'The Bodleian Library in 1882-7' (1888), 6-7,20; Craster, 175-178,182; cf. LP 'The Brassey donations, 1903- '; AR(1904)595-596; LP 'An Ex-Prize Fellow's donation, 1909- '; CP E.W.B.Nicholson, 'Purchases under the Beit donation' (1 Feb.1907).
- 25 Craster, 197-199; AR(1897)466; E.B.Nicholson, 'Bodleian notes XIV', OR, 7 Dec.1887; F.Madan, 'The Evangelistarium of St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland', Academy, 6 Aug.1887; cf. W.Forbes-Leith, 'The Gospel-Book of St. Margaret' (1896).
- 26 LP 'Letters from E.S.Dodgson' (3 vols.), e.g. correspondence of

- Feb.1904; LP Corresp. 4/2, correspondence between Nicholson and Dodgson, July 1897.
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Chapter 11.

ADMINISTRATION.

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- 5 LP 'Complaints against E.B.Nicholson, 1886- ', Furnivall to Nicholson, 6-17 Apr.1882; 'Changes at Oxford', MG, 30 Nov.,6,11, and 18 Dec.1882 - see Madan Chest 1882 for Nicholson's copy and his notices to readers.
- 6 LP 'Reservation of seats and books, 1882-1941'; LP 'Complaints against E.B.Nicholson, 1886- ', Hatch to Nicholson, 3 July 1882 and Oct.1889; CAG and CACT, 26 Oct.1889; Madan, 26,28 Oct.,11 Nov.1889, 20 Mar.1907.
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- 11 'The Bodleian Library in 1882-7' (1888),39; CACT, 4 Nov. and 2 Dec.1882, 26 May 1883; MN, 4(1)Jan.1883,11, notice about the Camera; CAG, 3 Mar., 9 June, and 27 Oct.1888, and 11 May and 26 Oct.1889; AR(1889)410; LAR, 5(5)May 1903,259, for letter by Nicholson; Bodleian Library, 'Staff-Kalendar' (1912), 194.
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- 16 LP 'Proofs of Rev. Dr. And. Clark's Bodleian guide, with E.W.B. Nicholson's notes, 1906'.
- 17 LP 'Nicholson: correspondence & notes, 1882-1912', Nicholson to Madan, 16 Mar.1882; MN, 3(8)Aug.1882,136, notice by Nicholson; LP 'The information card-system, 1883-9', printed circular by Nicholson (16 Feb. 1889); LP 'The printing of the Catalogue, 1906-Apr.1909', including: CP E.W.B.Nicholson, 'On a suggested separate printing of the accessions' (15 Feb.1909); LP 'Printing of the Catalogue, 1912- ', specimen accessions-lists, 1913; H.Cushing, 'The life of Sir William Osler' (1925), II, 388-389; Craster, 317.
- 18 CP 'Librarian's report for 1883 to the Curators' (31 Jan.1884),4; Columbia University Library, Nicholson to Dewey, 20 Mar.1888; Bodleian Library, 'Staff-Kalendar' (1912),167-181, 'Index of Library-forms';

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- 19 'The Bodleian Library in 1882-7' (1888), 39; LP 'Formation of the Select Library at the Camera, 1882-3'; Madan, 29 Apr., 7 May, 6 Nov. 1890, 3, 5 June 1893; cf. Bodleian Library, 'Staff-Kalendar' (1912), 69-70, 'Rules for "counting"'; LP 'H.O.Coxe's diary (transcripts)', 8 Nov. 1879; CACT, 9 June 1888.
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- 22 CACT, 5 Dec. 1891; Madan, 7 Dec. 1891, 9 Nov. 1893; CP 'Return of unhandlisted arrears' (1 Feb. 1895); CP Report of 'counting' for Visitation (28 Nov. 1895); CACT, 15 June 1895; CP 'List of all unhandlisted volumes known to be missing in Nov. 1895' (23 Jan. 1896).
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- 24 For various letters on the 'Select' Library, see: OM, 26 Jan., 2 Feb., 19 and 26 Oct., 2, 9, 16, 23, and 30 Nov., and 7 Dec. 1898 - copies of other articles are in Madan Chest 1898; Madan, 8 Jan. 1898; cf. LP 'Replacement of missing Select books at the Camera, 1896- '.
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- 27 20th./21st. Annual reports of the Free Libraries Committee, Borough of Birmingham, on the years 1881 and 1882 (1883), 61-63, for speech by Nicholson - his MS. draft is in Madan Chest 1884; CACT, 15 May, 19 June, 30 Oct., and 25 Nov. 1886, and 29 Jan., 7 Feb., and 5 Mar. 1887; CP 'Report of Lending Committee' (17 June 1886, rev. 8 July 1886); CP untitled report of Lending Committee (29 Jan. 1887); LP 'E.B. Nicholson's suggestions

- for rules with regard to loans..., 1886'; LP 'Form of bond for Bodleian loans and letters relating to it, 1887'; CP H.W.Chandler, 'On book-lending as practised at the Bodleian Library' (27 July 1886), 22; 'The Bodleian Library in 1882-7' (1888), 47-49.
- 28 CP H.W.Chandler, 'On lending Bodleian books and MSS.' (10 June 1886); CP H.W.Chandler, 'On book-lending as practised at the Bodleian Library' (27 July 1886, issued 13 Oct.1886) - both memoranda were published with additions as: 'Remarks on the practice and policy of lending Bodleian printed books and MSS.' (1887); Sir R.F.Burton, 'The loan of MSS. from the Bodleian Library', Academy, 13 Nov.1886; Sir R.F.Burton, 'Supplemental nights to the Book of the Thousand Nights and a night', IV (1887), viii-ix, 355-362, Appendix A, 'Ineptiæ Bodleianæ'; Academy, 20 Nov.1886, for letter by J.Ogle; Madan Chest 1887, for letter from Chandler to Anson, 16 Jan.1887.
- 29 Many press-cuttings are in the Madan Chest 1887, and in: LP 'Bodleian lending' (Madan's collection); cf. Times, 25 Jan.1887, editorial; Saturday Review, 15 Jan.1887, and OM, 18 May 1887, for skits attributed to Sir F.Pollock; 'Classic ad-vice', Punch, 7 May 1887; cf. F.Madan, 'Bodleian lending to special persons in University institutions' (1888), 30-32, Appendix C, for bibliography of the controversy; Times, 6 May 1887, letter by 'F.M.M.' (i.e. F.Max Müller); R.Ellis, 'The lending of MSS. from the Bodleian', Academy, 26 Feb.1887; cf. ibid, 5 Mar.1887, for reply by H.W.Chandler.
- 30 CP H.W.Chandler, 'On lending Bodleian books and MSS.' (10 June 1886), 8; Madan Chest 1887, for letter from Chandler to Anson, 6 Feb.1887; 'Three criticisms on the Bodleian statute', OM, 4 May 1887 - for other letters and articles, see: ibid, 26 Jan., 9, 16, and 23 Feb., and 2 and 9 Mar.1887.
- 31 CACT, 25 Nov.1886; Madan Chest 1887 contains copies of the proposed 'Bodleian Statute' (1 Mar.1887); F.Madan, 'Bodleian lending to special persons in University institutions' (1888), 22-23; many fly-sheets are contained in a volume of 'Bodleian pamphlets, etc., 1887-90', kept by R.L.Poole, and referenced 2590.e.Oxf.1.52.
- 32 OR, 11 May 1887; Times, 11 May 1887; LP 'Bodleian lending' (Madan's collection), for Madan's MS. notes on the speeches; cf. OUG, 24 May 1887, for amendments to proposed statute.
- 33 cf. Madan Chest 1887 for various fly-sheets; LP 'Bodleian lending' (Madan's collection), including Madan's MS. notes on the debates; Times, 1 June 1887; OUG, 14 June 1887, decree; H.W.Chandler, 'Decree number four of November 22nd' (21 Nov.1887); OUG, 15 Nov.1887; Times, 24 Nov.1887.

- 34 CACT, 28 Jan.1888; H.W.Chandler, 'The Bodleian Statute' (14 Feb./1888); H.W.Chandler, 'The Bodleian statute' (1 May 1888); F.Madan, 'Bodleian lending to special persons in University institutions' (1888); 'Philobiblon' [i.e. F.Madan], 'Bodleian lending to professors in institutions', OM, 15 Feb.1888 - Madan's copy in Madan Chest 1888; OR, 9 May 1888; OM, 2 and 9 May 1888; Times, 9 and 15 Feb., 9 May 1888; LP 'Bodleian lending' (Madan's collection), including Madan's MS. notes on the debates.
- 35 Loans to foreign libraries were discussed at virtually every Curators' meeting (see Acta); cf. LP 'Papers relating to borrowings, 1888-1920' (7 vols.); Sir R.F.Burton, 'Supplemental nights to the Book of the Thousand Nights and a night', IV (1887),viii-ix, 355-366, Appendix A, 'Ineptiae Bodleianæ'.
- 36 CAG and CACT, 6 Feb.,13 Mar.,and 15 May 1897, including proposed regulations for temporary deposits in the Radcliffe Library; Madan Chest 1897, for letter from Nicholson to Anson, 10 Feb.1897.
- 37 CP 'Librarian's report for 1884 to the Curators' (30 Jan.1885); Madan, 6 July 1884, 28 Apr.1885; LP 'The Lindsay's lectures incident, 1885'; CACT, 21 Apr.1885; LP 'The war against exhibits, 1885- ', note by Nicholson, 21 Apr.1885.
- 38 Madan, 8 Feb.1885; CP H.W.Chandler, 'On lending Bodleian books and MSS.' (10 June 1886), 17-18.
- 39 CACT, 2 May 1885; Madan Chest 1888, for rough note by Nicholson of 'unstatutory' motions; CP H.W.Chandler, 'The exhibition of Bodleian books' (6 Oct.1886),3; Madan, 6 May 1885; CP E.W.B.Nicholson, 'The statutory positions of the Librarian and Curators of the Bodleian' (21 July 1898),15; CP E.W.B.Nicholson, 'The Bodleian coins' (3 Dec.1896),6.
- 40 Madan, 28 Apr.1885; LP 'Complaints against E.B.Nicholson, 1886- ', correspondence with Chandler, 5-15 June 1886; CP H.W.Chandler, 'The exhibition of Bodleian books' (6 Oct.1886); CACT, 19 June 1886; cf. R.Ellis, 'The lending of MSS. from the Bodleian', Academy, 26 Feb.1887, and ibid, 5 Mar.1887, for Chandler's reply.
- 41 CACT, 4 Dec.1886, 5 Mar.1887; LP 'E.Maunde Thompson's Latin palaeographical lectures, 1887'; 'The Bodleian Library in 1882-7' (1888), 40-41; Craster,202; E.B.Nicholson, 'Bodleian notes XII', OR, 8 June 1887; E.W.B.Nicholson, 'A brief conspectus of the cases in the Bodleian arranged to illustrate the history of Latin and West European book-hands' (1890).
- 42 CP Report of Committee on accommodation in the Selden End (15 Nov.1889); CP 'Remarks by the Librarian on the recommendations of the Committee appointed to consider the accommodation for readers in the Selden end' (29 Nov.1889); CAG and CACT, 8 Mar. and 14 June 1890; LP 'The war against

- exhibits, 1885- ', correspondence, 1890.
- 43 OUG, 17 Jan.1890, announcement concerning Madan; Madan, 23 Mar.,30 Apr., 28 May, 2 Aug.,1 Nov.1887, 15 June 1889, 10 Dec.1892; A.W.Pollard, 'On the exhibition of facsimiles of rare books in public libraries', Library, 5(58)Oct.1893,260-264; Madan, 23 Feb.1895; CACT, 20 Feb.1897.
- 44 LP H.A.Wilson, 'Memoranda II', 28 May-13 June 1898; Madan, 5 Mar.1898, for letter from Warner, and 4 June 1898; CACT, 11 June 1898; LP 'The war against exhibits, 1885- ', draft from Nicholson to Wilson, 11 June 1898; CP E.W.B.Nicholson, 'Bodleian Library' [in reply to Wilson] (28 Oct. 1898).
- 45 OM, 5 May 1886, letter by Nicholson, referring to: E.B.Nicholson, 'The Fayoum papyri in the Bodleian Library', Athenæum, 17 Oct.1885; Madan, 11 Sep.1886, 15,16,18,22, and 24 Feb.,3,7, and 8 Mar.1887; LP 'Complaints against E.B.Nicholson, 1886- ', Mowat to Nicholson, 15 Feb.1887, and draft reply by Nicholson; CACT, 5 Mar.1887.
- 46 AR(1889)406; L.H.Mills, ed., 'The ancient manuscripts of the Yasna' (1893); L.H.Mills, 'On the Zend MSS. recently presented to the Bodleian Library, and on other Zend matters', Transactions of the ninth International Congress of Orientalists...1892, II, 515-527.
- 47 LP 'The Parsi High Priest's Zend MSS., 1889- ', especially correspondence of 1890; Madan, 18 June,30 July,26 Sep.,27 Oct.1890; CP 'Protest by the Librarian against the recommendations of the Papyri Committee, Nov. 1894' (30 Nov.1894), 6n..
- 48 LP 'The Parsi High Priest's Zend MSS., 1889- ', including correspondence between Mills and Nicholson; CP 'Report of Committee on the Yasna MS.' (25 Nov.1890); CACT, 31 Jan.,7 Mar., and 2 May 1891; Madan, 11 Nov.,29 Dec.1890,31 Mar.,15 Apr.,4 May 1891.
- 49 CP 'Librarian's report for 1888 to the Curators' (31 Jan.1889); Madan, 30 Apr.,18 May 1888,16 Mar.1891; CACT, 7 Mar. and 2 May 1891; CAG and CACT, 6 June 1891; CP 'Protest by the Librarian against the recommendations of the Papyri Committee, Nov.1894' (30 Nov.1894), 3-5.
- 50 LP 'Protest by the Librarian against the recommendations of the Papyri Committee, Nov.1894',5-7; Madan, 2,3,5 Nov.1894, 1 Mar.1897.
- 51 LP 'The papyri affair of 1894', including correspondence with Kenyon; CACT, 8 Nov. and 1 Dec.1894; CP Report of Papyri Committee (8 Nov.1894); CP 'Protest by the Librarian against the recommendations of the Papyri Committee, Nov.1894' (30 Nov.1894); Madan, 9 Nov.,10 Dec.1894.
- 52 CACT, 1 Dec.1894, 30 Nov.1895; LP H.A.Wilson, 'Memoranda I', 30 Oct. 1895; LP 'The papyri affair of 1894', correspondence, 1895-6; CAG and CACT, 8 Feb. and 13 June 1896; CP F.G.Kenyon, 'Report on the papyri in the

- Bodleian Library' (22 May 1896); CP 'Librarian's report on the Bodleian papyri' (11 June 1896); B.P.Grenfell, 'Catalogue of Greek papyri' (MS.; compiled 1898-9) - kept on Bodleian open shelves.
- 53 LP Corresp. 8/8, Ehrle to Madan, 1 Sep.1897; Madan, 3 Sep.1897; for two photographs of the 'Ecclesiasticus' MS., see; MS.Facs.c.22, fols.5-6; MS.Bywater 59, Ehrle to Bywater, 8 and 25 May, and 2 June 1898; CACT, 21 May 1898; LP H.A.Wilson, 'Memoranda II', 21 May 1898; CP 'A list of resolutions, recommendations, and motions... which the Librarian maintains to be without statutory sanction...' (28 Oct.1898), 21 May 1898 - copy in Madan Chest 1898; cf. Madan, 13 Oct.1898, 3 Jan.1899, 22 Dec.1902.
- 54 LP 'The St. Gallen Conference, 1898'; CP 'Report by Bodley's Librarian to the Curators of the Bodleian Library, on the Conference held at St. Gallen, Sept.30 and Oct.1, 1898, upon the preservation and repair of old MSS.' (22 Dec.1898).
- 55 D.G.Vaisey, 'E.W.B.Nicholson and the St. Gall Conference, 1898', BQR, 9(2)Mar.1974, 101-113; cf. Madan, 6 Dec.1897, 24 Feb.1906.
- 56 LP 'Protection and revival of MSS., 1899-'; Madan, 21 July, 16 Aug., 18 Oct., 2 Nov.1899; cf. end of MS.D'Orville 189, for note by Nicholson - a letter by F.C.Conybeare, disagreeing with Nicholson's note, is bound into one of the Bodleian's official copies of the 'Summary Catalogue'.
- 57 LP 'Madaniana', notes, 17 Apr.1909.
- 58 'The Bodleian Library in 1882-7' (1888), 62-63; MN, 3(8)Aug.1882, 136, note by Nicholson; LP 'Nicholson: correspondence & notes, 1882-1912', Nicholson to Madan, 20 Feb., 4 and 6 Mar.1882; cf. Bodleian Library, 'Staff-Kalendar' (1912), 122-123, 'Regulations for binding, Part 1'; BQR, 2(21)Apr.1919, 231, for tables showing expenditure.
- 59 'The Bodleian Library in 1882-7' (1888), 35-36; LP 'Papers in answer to criticisms on the cost of staff & of binding, 1886'; cf. Madan, 21 Sep., 15 Dec.1887, 9 Feb.1888; LP 'Papers relating to binding, 1865-1905', including note on dissertations; Madan, 7 May 1890, 16 Mar., 19 May 1892, 13 Mar., 7 Sep.1893; AR(1890)446; cf. LAR, 5(5)May 1903, 259, for letter by Nicholson; cf. H.Bradshaw, 'Some account of the organization of the Cambridge University Library', LA Trans., 1882, Appendix I, 229-237.
- 60 LP 'Papers relating to binding, 1865-1905'; CACT, 1 Dec.1888, including report on the 'Memorial'; Madan, 1 Dec.1888; Times, 29 Jan.1890, report of Convocation debate; LP 'Management of the Bodleian. Convocation debate 28 Jan.1890, &c.' (Madan's collection); CP I.Bywater, untitled paper relating to the Convocation debate (27 Feb.1890); E.B.Nicholson, 'A P.S. to the "Personalities' debate"', OH, 5 Feb.1890.
- 61 CACT, 7 Mar. and 6 June 1891, 20 Feb.1892; AR(1888)437, (1891)473,

- and (1893)450; LP 'Payments from arrears grants, 1891- ', including notes on binding grants, 1891-1896; LP 'Papers relating to binding, 1865-1905', Jenkinson to Nicholson, 14 Mar.1895; Madan, 21 Sep.1887, 17 Feb., 28 July 1888, 8 May 1896, 30 May 1899 (for Hultzsch MSS.); AR(1900)564; Madan, 22 June 1886, 12 Nov.1897; AR(1901)509.
- 62 LP F.Madan, 'Jottings and annals of the Bodleian Library from March 18, 1912 to April 14, 1919', May 1912; F.Madan, 'Bodleian binding', OM, 19 Feb.1915; cf. BQR, 2(21)Apr.1919,231, for financial tables.
- 63 LP 'The photographic establishment, 1889-1934', Hart to Nicholson, 25 June 1886.
- 64 R.Garnett, 'Essays in librarianship and bibliography' (1899), 234-252, for 'Photography in public libraries'; CACT, 2 Feb.1889, 29 Nov.1891; CP H.W.Chandler, 'Memorandum on photography at the Bodleian Library' (12 Apr.1889); CP 'Report of the Committee on photographing MSS., etc., in the Library' (27 Nov.1890); AR(1890)447.
- 65 cf. Library, 3(30)June 1891,245; Bodleian Library, 'Staff-Kalendar' (1912),203-211, 'Photographing'; LP F.Madan, 'Photographing at the Bodleian', including price-lists, 1891- ; LP 'The photographic establishment, 1889-1934'; Madan, 17 July 1901.
- 66 E.Stengel, ed., 'Photographische Wiedergabe der HS.Digby 23 [i.e. the 'Chanson de Roland']' (1878); for full details, see: K.A.Manley, 'E.W.B.Nicholson and the Bodleian Facsimile Series', BLR,9(5) June 1977, 279-291 ; 'Orders of the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, 1881-1892', 22 Feb. and 31 Oct.1884, 22 Oct. and 5 Nov.1886, 2 Dec.1887, and 29 Nov. 1889 - this volumes kept at the Clarendon Press, Walton St., Oxford, and consulted by kind permission of the Secretary to the Delegates; MS.Eng. misc.d.58, documents relating to the 'Bodleian Facsimile Series', 1890-2.
- 67 The 'Bodleian Facsimile Series' comprised: W.Caxton, 'Ars moriendi' (1891), 'Ordine della solennissima processione...' (1891), W.Caxton, 'Advertisement' (1892), and, C.Columbus, 'Epistola de insulis nouiter repertis' (1892; rev.edn.1893); cf. Library, 4(39)Mar.1892,98-99, and ibid., 5(53-55)Jan./Feb./Mar.1893,63-64; BL,PBA, 'Letters, etc.', Nicholson to Garnett, 23 Feb.1899.
- 68 LP F.Madan, 'Photographing at the Bodleian'; MS.Eng.misc.d.79, papers relating to 'Oxford Palaeographical Society'; LP 'Sale of photographs, 1900- ', for draft prospectus of 'Bodleian Palaeographical Series'.
- 69 'Orders of the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, 1881-1892', 14 Nov. and 17 Dec.1890, and 23 Jan.1891; MS.Eng.misc.d.79, draft from Nicholson to Gell, 28 Oct.1890; Madan's facsimiles are referenced 257.b.25.
- 70 MS.Eng.misc.d.58, Duff to Nicholson, 1 and 4 Jan.1891; Henry E.

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- 71 M.Winternitz and A.B.Keith, 'Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in the Bodleian Library', II (1905), preface by E.W.B.Nicholson, vi; Sir J. Stainer, ed., 'Sacred and secular songs' (Early Bodleian music series), I (1901), with introduction by E.W.B.Nicholson; E.W.B.Nicholson, 'Introduction to the study of some of the oldest Latin musical manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford' (1913).
- 72 CACT, 2 Dec.1899, 9 Mar.1901, 1 Feb.1902; CAG, 2 Feb.1901; AR(1901)508; E.W.B.Nicholson, 'A 1st. list of photographic reproductions to be purchased at or from the Bodleian Library, Oxford' (1902) - reviewed in: LAR, 4(8/9)Aug./Sep.1902,418; Bodleian Library, 'Staff-Kalendar' (1912), 212-217; cf. Madan, 3 Apr.1901; LP 'Sale of photographs, 1900-'; LP 'Stock-book of facsimiles, 1901- '.
- 73 LP 'E.B.Nicholson's Annual reports to the Curators, 1882-7'; CACT, 31 Oct.1885, 1 Dec.1888; E.B.Nicholson, 'Bodleian notes I-XVI' - Bodleian collected copy is referenced 2590.d.Oxf.1.10; 'The Bodleian Library in 1882-7: a report from the Librarian' (1888); LP 'Select letters &c. relating to "The Bodleian Library in 1882-7"', Powell to Nicholson, 7 Dec. 1888; annual reports for 1888 onwards are published as supplements to the OUG in May of each year - copies on Bodleian open shelves.
- 74 LP 'Letters about new Copyright-Bills, 1890 & 1898 & 1910-11', J.T. Clark to Nicholson [ca. 24 May 1890].

Chapter 12.

NICHOLSON'S ILLNESS, AND EPILOGUE.

- 1 cf. LP 'Madaniana', Madan to Nicholson, 19 Nov.-28 Dec.1901; cf. MS. Eng.lett.e.121, F.Y.Powell to Nicholson, [27?] May 1883; e.g. LP 'The wooden types, 1869-86', D.Parsons to Nicholson, 28 Mar.1886, with reference to 'overpressure'.
- 2 CUL, MS.Add.7610, Madan to Duff, 18 Oct.1889; Madan, 18 Oct.1889, 27 Mar. 1890, 14,21 Oct.1892; LP Corresp. 12, Nicholson to Neubauer, 2 Feb. and 23 Aug.1890; LP F.Madan, 'Bodleian notes, 1881-92', 25 June 1892; cf. LP 'The war against exhibits, 1885- ', draft from Nicholson to Max Muller [ca. Oct.1890].
- 3 LP 'Nicholson: correspondence & notes, 1882-1912', Nicholson to Madan, 30 Nov., and 2 and 28 Dec.1901; Madan, 31 Jan.1902; CACT, 31 May 1902; cf. J.Groedel, 'Bad-Nauheim: its springs and their uses' (2nd.edn., 1899); W.B.Thorne, 'The Schott methods of the treatment of chronic diseases of the heart' (4th.edn., 1902) - Bodleian has Nicholson's annotated copy.

- 4 cf. MS.Eng.misc.c.84, for Nicholson's hotel-bills; LP Corresp. 13/3, Nicholson to Cowley, 2 July 1902; LP 'Sale of photographs, 1900- ', Nicholson to Gibson, 10,17, and 24 June 1902; LP Corresp. 5/4, Nicholson to Gibson, 14 July 1902.
- 5 LP E.W.B.Nicholson, untitled pamphlet on the 'Summary Catalogue' (May 1903) - copy in Madan Chest, 1903; e.g. MS.Eng.lett.d.67, Nicholson to Sayce, 3 Aug.1904; eg. Madan, 12 Sep.,6 Oct.1902, 22 Oct.,10 Dec.1906.
- 6 OUG, 12 Mar. and 7 Nov.1907; LP Corresp. 7/12, Oman to Nicholson, 19 Oct. [1907].
- 7 Madan, 5 Apr.1907; LP 'Madaniana', Madan to Nicholson, 5 Apr.1907; LP 'Brassey correspondence', draft from Nicholson to Brassey, 27 June 1908.
- 8 LP 'Brassey correspondence', draft from Nicholson to Brassey, 27 June 1908; LP 'Nicholson: correspondence & notes, 1882-1912', Nicholson to Madan, 24 Mar.1908; LP W.D.Macray, 'Annals of the Bodleian Library' (1868) - Sir W.Osler's copy;- contains letter from Nicholson to Osler, 25 Mar.1908; cf. Madan, 11 June 1908; MS.Eng.misc.c.85, fol.52, A.Falconer to Nicholson, 26 Aug.1908, on hotels.
- 9 Madan, 2,4 Feb.1909; LP Corresp. 13/14, Nicholson to Cowley, 14 Aug. 1910; LP Corresp. 6/9, Nicholson to Gibson, 2 Sep.1910.
- 10 Madan, 6 Apr.,23 June, 18 Oct.,23 Dec.1910; letter from Osler to Billings, 10 Nov.1910 - letter discovered by Dr. M.Cummings in New York Public Library and communicated via Dr. A.H.T.Robb-Smith, to whom the author is extremely grateful.
- 11 Madan, 20 Jan.,18 Feb.,10,22 Mar.,7 Apr.,8,15 May 1911; LP Corresp. 13/15, Nicholson to Cowley, 1 Jan.1911; LP W.D.Macray, 'Annals of the Bodleian Library' (1868) - Sir W.Osler's copy contains notes by Osler relating to Nicholson, May 1911.
- 12 CACT, 17 June 1911; Madan, 17 Apr.,26,29 May,15,16,23 June 1911; LP 'Nicholson: correspondence & notes, 1882-1912', Ellis to Madan, 22 Aug.1911.
- 13 Madan, 13,18,21 Oct.,8,9,11,17,19 Nov.1911; LP 'E.W.B.Nicholson: papers, 1910-13', draft from Nicholson to Heberden, 25 Nov.1911.
- 14 LP 'E.W.B.Nicholson: papers, 1910-13', papers relating to investigation of Nicholson, Nov.-Dec.1911; LP 'Nicholson: correspondence & notes, 1882-1912', note on Cowley's evidence, 24 Nov.1911.
- 15 Madan, 25,27,29,30 Nov.,7,9,27 Dec.1911; LP 'E.W.B.Nicholson: papers, 1910-13', book-list by Hill, Dec.1911.
- 16 LP 'E.W.B.Nicholson: papers, 1910-13', correspondence between Nicholson and Heberden, 8-24 Jan.1912; Times, 22 Jan.1912; LP 'Bodleian "Staff-Kalendar", 1912' (Sir W.Osler's copy) - note by Osler on p.3.

- 17 LP 'E.W.B.Nicholson: papers, 1910-13', correspondence, 3 Feb.-4 Mar. 1912; Madan, 5,9,27 and 28 Feb., 1,4 Mar.1912.
- 18 Guardian, 15 Mar.1912; OUG, 13 Mar.1912; Madan, 15,18 Mar.1912; Times, 21 Mar.1912; Craster,244 - but the dates given are wrong.
- 19 Nicholson's obituaries are bound in Bodleian scrapbook, 2590.d.Oxf.1.12; Times, 18 Mar.1912; L.I.Guiney, 'The late Mr. E.W.B.Nicholson', OT, 30 Mar. 1912; G.Guiney, ed., 'Letters of Louise Imogen Guiney' (1926), II,184, for letter to Gibson.
- 20 LP 'E.W.B.Nicholson: papers, 1910-13', F.Akenhead to Madan, 23 Oct. 1912, and C.B.Heberden to Madan, 27 May 1913; CACT, 11 and 25 May 1912; 'The Nicholson fund' (18 Dec.1913) - copy in: LP W.D.Macray, 'Annals of the Bodleian Library' (1868) - Sir W.Osler's copy.
- 21 LP 'Nicholson bequest' (3 vols.), for lists of Nicholson's books, manuscripts, etc.; LP F.Madan, 'Jottings and annals of the Bodleian Library from March 18, 1912 to April 14, 1919', 19 Mar.1912.
- 22 CACT, 25 May and 1 June 1912; Bodleian Library, 'Staff Manual' (1914), 34-42, for the new Library Statute.
- 23 H.Cushing, 'The life of Sir William Osler' (1925),II,638-639; OUG, 19 Nov.1913, 19 Feb. and 18 Nov.1914; cf. LP F.Madan, 'Jottings and annals of the Bodleian Library from March 18, 1912 to April 14, 1919'; LP 'Report on Library, Oct.1912'; Madan Chest 1912 includes drafts of new Statute and various reports on the state of the Library; LP 'Committee of Curators on Bodleian finance, 1915', including: F.Madan, 'Memorandum for a Committee of Curators on Bodleian Finance' (MS.; 21 Apr.1915).
- 24 LAR, 16(2)Feb.1914, 91-92, for letter by MacAlister; S.Gibson, op.cit., 140; A.E.Cowley, 'The recent history of the Bodleian Library', LAR, 23(10)Oct.1921, 320.
- 25 LAR, 15(12)Dec.1913,631, for comment by Madan; H.R.Tedder, 'E.W.B. Nicholson (Bodley's Librarian, 1882-1912): in memoriam', LAR, 16(3)Mar. 1914,95-108; cf. M.Hankey, 'Edwards Williams Byron Nicholson, the Bodleian Librarian 1882-1912', The Lady, 16 Apr.1970,714-715, and 726; Madan, 20 July 1906; cf. MS.Eng.misc.c.80, Nicholson's application for life-insurance (ca. 1876) contains references to his health; MS.Eng.lett. e.121, F.York Powell to Nicholson, ca. 27 May 1883; LP 'Nicholson: correspondence & notes, 1882-1912', Nicholson to Madan, 6 Apr.1882.
- 26 LP 'Nicholsoniana', comments by M.Akenhead (Nicholson's daughter), ca. Aug.1948; Craster, 153; Madan, 9 Nov.1909; cf. OC, 22 Mar.1912, for Nicholson's obituary.
- 27 Madan, 15 Nov.1897; H.Cushing, 'The life of Sir William Osler' (1925) II, 265.

- 28 cf. MS.Eng.lang.c.5, Nicholson's lectures on pronunciation and spelling; S.Gibson, 'E.W.B.Nicholson (1849-1912): some impressions', LAR, 51(5) May 1949, 141; M.Hankey, 'Edward Williams Byron Nicholson, the Bodleian Librarian 1882-1912', The Lady, 16 Apr.1970, 714-715, and 726; LP 'Nicholsoniana', M.Hankey to Gibson, 11 Aug. [1948], for limerick; cf. Sir D.Hunter-Blair, 'A new medley of memories' (1922), 103-104.
- 29 M.Hankey, op.cit.; LP 'Nicholsoniana', M.Akenhead to Gibson, 14 Aug. 1948; MS.Eng.misc.c.80, draft from Nicholson to A.P.Stanley, [1874?]; MS.Eng.lett.e.121, Stanley to Nicholson, 14 Apr.1874?.
- 30 S.Gibson, 'E.W.B.Nicholson (1849-1912): some impressions', LAR, 51(5) May 1949, 139; A.E.Cowley, 'The recent history of the Bodleian Library', LAR, 23(10) Oct.1921, 324.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

This bibliography lists the principal sources used during the preparation of this thesis. Full details of all works consulted will be found in the References.

A. PRIMARY SOURCES. (a) MANUSCRIPTS.Bodleian Library.

The most important sources of information are the Bodleian Library's own archives. However, because the number of Bodleian records studied is so large (approximately 1,000 volumes), a list of them has been excluded from this Bibliography. Instead, full citations will be found in their proper context amongst the References.

Bodleian Library, Department of Western Manuscripts.(i) Nicholson papers.

All of the following manuscripts relate to various aspects of E.W.B.Nicholson's life and work ('Summary Catalogue' numbers, where they exist, have been added in brackets):

MSS. Eng. bibl. a. 1-4. (36056-9)	Biblical commentaries.
MSS. Eng. bibl. b. 1, c. 4, d. 7-8, and e. 1. (36060-4)	Biblical commentaries.
MSS. Eng. lang. c. 5-6. (36065-6)	Lectures on pronunciation and spelling.
MS. Eng. lang. c. 7. (36067)	Verse primer.
MS. Eng. lett. e. 121.	Letters to Nicholson.
MSS. Eng. misc. a. 4-5. (36070)	Notes on 'Rights of an animal' and 'Golspie'.
MSS. Eng. misc. b. 14-17. (36071-4)	Family papers.
MS. Eng. misc. b. 18. (36075)	Homeric researches.
MSS. Eng. misc. c. 54-55. (36076-7)	Papers relating to Nicholson's father.
MS. Eng. misc. c. 56. (36078)	Lecture on Bret Harte.
MS. Eng. misc. c. 57. (36079)	Drafts of stories.
MS. Eng. misc. c. 58. (36080)	Essays for 'Golspie'.
MSS. Eng. misc. c. 59-60. (36081-2)	School and University essays.
MSS. Eng. misc. c. 61-62. (36083-4)	Draft of play.
MSS. Eng. misc. c. 63-64. (36085-6)	London Institution papers.
MS. Eng. misc. c. 66. (36087)	Metropolitan Free Libraries Association papers.

- MS. Eng. misc. c. 67. (36088)
 MSS. Eng. misc. c. 68-69. (36089-90)
 MSS. Eng. misc. c. 70-78. (36091-8)
- MS. Eng. misc. c. 79. (36099)
 MSS. Eng. misc. c. 80-83. (36100-3)
 MSS. Eng. misc. c. 84-85. (36104-5)
 MSS. Eng. misc. d. 4-6. (29786-8)
- MSS. Eng. misc. d. 49-50. (36106-7)
 MSS. Eng. misc. d. 51-54. (36108-11)
 MS. Eng. misc. d. 55. (36112)
- MS. Eng. misc. d. 56. (36113)
 MS. Eng. misc. d. 57. (36114)
 MSS. Eng. misc. d. 58-61. (36115-8)
 MSS. Eng. misc. d. 63-77. (36120-34)
- MS. Eng. misc. d. 78. (36135)
 MS. Eng. misc. d. 79. (36136)
 MS. Eng. misc. e. 56. (36137)
 MSS. Eng. misc. e. 57-66. (36138-47)
 MSS. Eng. misc. e. 67-73. (36148-54)
- MS. Eng. misc. e. 79.
- MSS. Eng. misc. f. 23-26. (36155-8)
 MSS. Eng. poet. b. 2, and c. 12-15.
 (36160-4)
 MSS. Eng. poet. d. 21, and e. 23. (36165-6)
 MSS. Gr. class. e. 97-98. (36169-70)
 MS. Lat. misc. d. 35. (36171)
 MS. Mus. c. 43. (36172)
 MS. Top. Oxon. c. 178. (after 36177)
 MSS. Top. Oxon. c. 179-181. (36178-80)
 MS. Top. Oxon. c. 182. (36181)
 MS. Top. Oxon. d. 18. (30107)
- Library Association papers.
 Miscellaneous correspondence.
 Correspondence on Celtic,
 classical, and literary
 topics.
 Vivisection.
 Juvenalia.
 Hotel - bills.
 International Conference of
 Librarians.
 Family papers.
 School and University notes.
 Organizing Committee of
 International Conference
 of Librarians.
 Testimonials.
 London Institution shares.
 'Bodleian Facsimile Series'.
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 Celtic and literary topics.
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 Oxford Palaeographical Series.
 'Bodleian Facsimile Series'.
 Correspondence on literary,
 musical, and general topics.
 School essays and University
 notebooks.
 Unfinished 'Primer of
 Librarianship'?
 Miscellaneous notes.
 Verses.
Verses.
 Notes on Iliad and Aristotle.
 Latin notebook.
 Songs.
 Papers on Slade Professorship.
 Oxford Union Society papers.
 Vivisection in Oxford.
 The 'Local League'.

MS. Top. Oxon. d. 114. (36182)	University reform.
MS. Top. Oxon. d. 115. (36183)	W.E.Gladstone and the Bodleian.
MSS. Top. Oxon. d. 116-119. (36184-7)	Papers on Slade and Merton Professorships.
MS. Top. Oxon. d. 120. (36188)	<u>Oxford University Magazine and Review.</u>
MSS. Top. Oxon. d. 121, and f. 32. (36189-90)	Rookery School.
MSS. Top. Oxon. f. 34-35.	Notes on Bodleian manuscripts.
MS. Top. Scotland. a. 2. (36191)	Rubbings of inscriptions.
MS. Top. Wales. a. 2. (32763)	Rubbings of inscriptions.

(ii) Other manuscripts.

MS. Autogr. d. 11. (36018)	Letters to Bodleian officials.
MS. Don. d. 22.	Speeches by F.Madan.
MSS. Eng. lett. d. 62-70.	A.H.Sayce correspondence.
MS. Pattison 133.	M.Pattison's diary, 1882.
MSS. Tercent. c. 1-7, and e. 1. (33147-53 and 33155)	Bodleian Tercentenary papers.

Bodleian Library, Department of Printed Books.

(i) The Bodleian contains a large number of books (mostly contemporary) originally owned by E.W.B.Nicholson. Lists of the 'Nicholson bequest' are amongst Bodleian Library papers.

(ii) Scrapbooks (i.e. volumes whose contents are partly manuscript and partly printed).

G.A. London. c. 40.	London Institution papers.
G.A. Oxon. 4 ^o . 599.	Papers relating to 'The Club'.
G.A. Oxon. a. 29.	Oxford Union Society papers.
G.A. Oxon. b. 147.	Papers relating to 'The Club'.
G.A. Scotland. b. 6.	Nicholson's photographs of Pictish stones.
Tercent. b. 9.	Bodleian Tercentenary: press - cuttings.
1516. d. 4.	Vivisection in Oxford.
2589. b. 1, and b. 1*/1-2.	Library Association papers.
2589. b. 2.	Metropolitan Free Libraries Association papers.
2589. b. 3.	Papers on Second International Conference of Librarians, 1897.

2590. c. Oxf. 1. 8. E.W.B.Nicholson's 'Printed Adversaria'.
 2590. d. Oxf. 1. 10. E.W.B.Nicholson's 'Bodleian
 notes I - XVI'.
 2590. d. Oxf. 1. 12. E.W.B.Nicholson's obituaries.
 2590. e. Oxf. 1. 52. Bodleian pamphlets, 1887-1890
 (kept by R.L.Poole).

Brasenose College, Oxford.

'Notes and two memoranda by Mr. F.Medan on the financial history of B.N.C. Library'.

British Library, Department of Manuscripts.

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 Add. MS. 50190. R.G.C.Proctor's diary.

British Library, Department of Printed Books; Archives.

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 'Letters, etc.', 1882-1912.

British Museum, Director's Office.

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Cambridge Public Library, Cambridgeshire Collection.

- C.01.C.77.4. Cambridge Public Library scrapbook.
 VF.C.77.3. L.A.U.K. Annual meeting, 1882: papers.

Cambridge University Library, Department of Manuscripts.

Henry Bradshaw papers.

- MS. Add. 2592. H.Bradshaw's correspondence.
 MS. Add. 4568. H.Bradshaw's diaries.
 MS. Add. 4602. Draft letters by H.Bradshaw.
 MS. Add. 6330. F.Medan's letters to S.G.Perceval.
 MS. Add. 6420. Library Association meeting, 1882.
 MS. Add. 6463. F.Jenkinson's correspondence.
 MS. Add. 7434. F.Jenkinson's diary.
 MS. Add. 7610. E.G.Duff's correspondence.

Clarendon Press, Oxford.

'Orders of the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, 1881 - 1892'.

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H.Dewey papers.

Guildhall Library, London.

MS. 3076.

London Institution: reports of
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E.G.Duff papers.

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Library Association of the United Kingdom: minutes - books, 1878 - 1888.

Metropolitan Free Libraries Association: minutes - book, 1878 - 1883.

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