William Morris, the Kelmscott Press *Chaucer*, and the Princeton University Library

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William Morris died in 1896 and the centenary of his death in 1996 was widely celebrated and acclaimed with conferences, symposia, workshops, publications, and Internet websites. Many libraries presented exhibitions of Morris’s Kelmscott Press publications.

The Kelmscott Press was Morris’s typographical adventure, the last challenge in the truly creative, fully lived, and profoundly successful career of this self-described decorator. Morris established the Press in January 1891 “with the hope of producing [books] which would have a definite claim to beauty, while at the same time…be easy to read and…not dazzle the eye, or trouble the intellect of the reader by eccentricity of form in the letters.”1 By the time the Press was dissolved in 1898, two years after Morris’s death, fifty-three works in sixty-three volumes had been produced, seventeen posthumously.

Morris’s principles for the Press underlie the entire design aesthetic for all Kelmscott books. They were derived from exemplars of medieval manuscripts and early printed books. These principles countered all he thought wrong with the Industrial Revolution, namely, that it reduced the individual craftsmanship of ancient times to soulless formulas for the machine production of consumer objects without beauty or an inherent aesthetic. Throughout his adult life it was his ambition and goal to change this. And the Kelmscott Press was his last great tilting crusade against the windmill of industrialism.

NB. This essay was completed in 2005 but remained unpublished until now. In 2011 a census of traceable copies of the Kelmscott *Chaucer* and their provenance histories was published.2 It corroborated most of my research on Princeton's copies of this important book. But I used it to update some of that earlier work as well. Since 2005 Google Books has digitized many more books and periodicals than were available then. This wealth of new information has added importantly to the depth and breadth of my essay. Many thanks to Stephen Ferguson, Curator of Rare Books, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library, for publishing it on his blog: Rare Books Collections @ Princeton (http://blogs.princeton.edu/rarebooks/) and to the RBSC for the use of nearly all the photos in this essay.
The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer (hereafter Chaucer, Works, or Kelmscott Chaucer) was the ultimate embodiment of everything in which Morris believed. He and his lifelong friend and collaborator Sir Edward Burne-Jones had discovered Chaucer, the Middle Ages, and the age of chivalry in the 1850s while together at Exeter College. This discovery deeply and profoundly influenced their interests and remained a dominant theme throughout their lives. It affected everything they designed and produced, including paintings and drawings, calligraphy, furniture design and decoration, leaded glass, tapestries, carpets and embroidery, wall coverings and draperies, printed and woven fabrics, and, finally, books.

The Chaucer was a massive and long-planned undertaking. Within six months of the Kelmscott Press’s establishment at No. 16, Upper Mall, Hammersmith, Morris spoke of printing an edition of Chaucer.

The Works was the fortieth book of the Press and the culmination of Morris’s experience producing the previous thirty-nine. The letters that he wrote during the period leading up to its publication confirm “that issuing the Chaucer was an event promising to define in a celebratory way both the history of the Press and the lifelong career of William Morris as artist.” He had experimented with and was sure of all aspects of book production, including paper, vellum, ink, impression, and layout. For example, he designed the watermarks used on the heavy and crisp papers hand-made for him in England. The deep black ink was custom-made for him in Germany. His Troy type, a blackletter-influenced face that he had designed for other Kelmscott books, was recut into a smaller version called Chaucer. Both types were used in the Works. Other than the 87 woodcut illustrations based on drawings by Burne-Jones, Morris designed all the other woodcuts used in the book, including the title page (Figure 1), page borders, illustration frames, initial letters and words, and printer’s device (above, at beginning of this essay). His pressmen printed the text on the paper and vellum exactly to his instructions. He wanted the ideal text-to-margin proportions discovered and practiced by medieval scribes and carried on by the early printers. These proportions were especially critical for the two-page opening. Morris designed as well four different hand-tooled pigskin bindings for the book but only one of these was ever produced in quantity, aside from the standard quarter Holland cloth spine and blue paper-covered boards issue.
The printing of the *Chaucer* began on 8 August 1894, following a series of trial pages. When completed on 8 May 1896, 425 copies had been printed on paper and thirteen on vellum. It was a thick massive book: a total of 564 pages in length, including endleaves and other blank pages. The size of its folio leaves were 425mm x 292mm (16.5” x 11.5”).

Paper copies in the standard binding of cloth spine and paper-covered boards cost £20. Vellum copies in the same binding cost 120 guineas, or £126. Forty-eight paper copies bound in full white pigskin by the Doves Bindery to a design by Morris cost an additional £13. (Figure 2.) The entire print run of the *Chaucer* was subscribed prior to its publication.
Undoubtedly, the Kelmscott *Chaucer* has received both adulation and condemnation since its publication in 1896. It is a work one loves or hates for the exquisite beauty or the stultifying excesses one perceives within it. In 1929 the Liverpool-based bookseller Henry Young succumbed to hyperbole to promote the sale of fourteen trial leaves from the book.

The edition of Chaucer’s Works printed at the Kelmscott Press is not only the finest piece of work William Morris ever issued, but it is the finest specimen of printing and engraving which ever issued from any Private Printing Press in the world. It is one of the few books which every enthusiastic collector will some day regard as a volume of unique importance and which every prominent public library will desire to possess. That demand has already forced the price of the complete work out of the reach of all but the wealthy.\(^6\)

Young’s last assertion leads one to wonder about the cost of the *Works* at its publication in relation to real wages of the time. In 1896 the exchange rate between the English pound and the American dollar was £1: $4.87. Based on this rate, the cost in US dollars of the paper and vellum editions of the *Chaucer* in the standard and pigskin bindings were:
It may be stated very generally that in 1896 the average yearly wage of non-agricultural workers in London, i.e. skilled workers, was about £89 5s, and in the US as a whole it was about $439. In both cases the Works in a standard binding would have accounted for slightly more than 22% of these workers’ yearly wages. It was a purchase well beyond a typical worker’s means, even if that worker had had any disposable income, and especially if Morris's socialism pointed to these workers as one audience for the productions of the Press. A reviewer of the Peterson Census (see footnote 1) disputed unaffordability as myth. Certainly it seems evident that only the rich could readily afford the Chaucer in 1896. Even for the person with a moderate or middle class income the book would have been a large investment. It was definitely a luxury item. As a socialist, Morris may have wanted, ideally, to produce his beautiful and artfully designed Kelmscott Press books for the common man. But, ironically, only the wealthy could afford to buy them, especially the Chaucer.

It seems that the bookseller Henry Young was correct about both value and audience. Whereas the paper edition of the Works in standard binding cost £20 in 1896, in 1929 Young wanted to sell his 14 trial leaves for £50. This price was in line with the time, however. The 1929 auction prices for the paper edition in the standard binding varied from £285 to £390 in Britain, an increase in value of more than 1000% from its publication price. In 1929 US auctions $1275 and $1650 were paid for paper copies, an increase on a par with that in Britain.

This upward trend in value has continued steadily. An August 2005 search on the International League of Antiquarian Booksellers website (URL: http://ilab.org/) revealed astonishing asking prices for the Chaucer. Four copies of the paper edition in standard bindings were offered at $65,000; $67,000; GBP 50,000; and GBP 54,000. Similarly, two copies of the paper edition in a Doves pigskin binding were listed by two different English booksellers at the same price: GBP 120,000. A paper edition in a very rare half pigskin and oak boards binding was listed at the same site in October 2004 at $125,000. These prices enforce the notion that the Works is a very collectible book, but only for the wealthy collector or institution.

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The Princeton University Library in rapid-fire succession and under fortunate circumstances acquired three copies of the Kelmscott Chaucer during 1952 and 1953. When the Scheide Library moved to Princeton six years later in 1959 a fourth copy of the book became available for research to student and scholar alike. The first copy to arrive appears to be the copy in the Graphic Arts Collection, but it is a bit of a mystery how and when it got there.

**Did Elmer Adler own a Chaucer?**
Gillett G. Griffin recalls handling a copy of the Kelmscott Chaucer in 1952. (Figure 3.) Griffin succeeded Elmer Adler (1884-1962), who was the first Curator of Prints and the Graphic Arts at Princeton (1940-1952). Adler sold his collection of 8000 books and 4000 prints to the University in 1948. Upon his retirement four years later the collection moved to Firestone Library from 36 University Place, where Adler held seminars on prints and rare books for undergraduates. This became the backbone of the new Graphic Arts Collection. Adler did not catalog his collection (as far as it is known) nor was an inventory compiled for the sale. Without written documentation to prove or disprove Adler’s ownership, Griffin still believes that the Works was one of the books he unpacked after the collections move to Firestone. If the book had been Adler’s, the mystery is compounded indeed because he did not sign it. This is something he did for most, if not all, of the books he owned.

Figure 3. Front Cover and Spine of the Kelmscott Chaucer in Blue Paper-Covered Boards and Half Holland Binding Executed by J. & J. Leighton. (from the Collection of Elmer Adler?) Graphic Arts Collection, Princeton University Library. (GAX) Oversize PR1850 1896f

There may be an oblique but provocative reference to the Chaucer in a 1940 Princeton Alumni Weekly article. Adler had settled into his first residence in Princeton, 40 Mercer Street, and set up his home and collection as a teaching laboratory for undergraduates. The author describes the house and the arrangement of Adler’s books, room by room. “The second of these upstairs rooms shelves books printed on famous English presses and privately printed American books. Among the British firms whose work is universally recognized for excellence, [is] the Kelmscott Press.”15 This may indeed refer specifically to the Works (and any other Kelmscott books Adler owned).16 If true, then Adler’s copy technically became part of the Library’s rare books
collections in 1948, after its sale to the University. (For related anecdotal information regarding Adler and the *Chaucer*, see Appendix 2.)

**Known Owners of the Graphic Arts Collection *Chaucer***

As interesting and frustrating as it is to speculate on Adler’s ownership or the arrival date of the Graphic Arts Collection copy of the *Chaucer*, the first two apparent owners of the book are certain. On the first leaf of the first quire of the textblock (marked a1) is this pencil inscription:

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E. Maude Parry
and
C Hubert H Parry
from
R. H and Evelyn Benson. July / 97
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Robert Henry Benson (1850-1929) was a banker and businessman by profession who made a fortune as senior partner in the London merchant bank Robert Benson and Co. He was a connoisseur and collector, and a familiar figure in London art circles. He was a trustee of the National Gallery, sat on the Board of the Tate Gallery, and was a member of the Burlington Fine Arts Club, for which he edited several catalogs. In association with his wife Evelyn (the second daughter of the book and art collector, Robert Stayner Holford), he established important art collections that were strong in early Italian Renaissance art and early Chinese porcelain.

Benson’s circle of friends and acquaintances included William Morris, and probably Edward Burne-Jones as well, as he collected art of the English School. In the months before Morris’s death Benson acted as intermediary between him and the Duke of Rutland. The Duke owned a Psalter that Morris saw at an exhibition and coveted immediately. The manuscript was “one of the great achievements of English Gothic illumination.” (Morris stepped up his acquisition of medieval manuscripts in months before his death.) The negotiations ultimately failed because the Duke wanted more to keep the Psalter than Morris could convince him to sell it. As Morris lay dying in September 1896, Benson brought several 13th century manuscripts to help him ease the weariness of his illness. These manuscripts came from the great library at Dorchester House, the Italian style palace built by his father-in-law (Holford) to house his art collections (specializing in Rembrandt etchings). One manuscript was a Psalter from Amiens and the other a “Bible Historieé et Vies des Saints.” This latter manuscript contained 156 folios with 1034 illustrations as well as numerous initial and marginal ornaments. Morris was fascinated with the Bible but so weak that he could not look at it for more than a few minutes at a time. He died on October 3, 1896.

Sir Charles Hubert Hastings Parry (1848-1918) was a composer, music historian, and Director of the Royal College of Music. His friendship with ‘Robin’ Benson (Benson’s nickname, as mentioned in two Parry biographies) was a long one. They both attended Eton (and played soccer there) and Oxford University (although at different colleges). Parry started a career as an underwriter at Lloyd’s of London, but quit eight years later to turn his attention full-time to music composition, history and education. Years later, while Parry was Director of the Royal College of Music, Benson was a member of its Council. Parry did not collect art but knew Burne-Jones and his circle, including Morris. He bought Morris-designed wallpaper to
decorate the home he had built on land purchased in 1879. One of Parry’s major interests outside of music was yatching. A measure of Parry’s deep friendship for and long association with Benson resulted in Parry dedicating his musical setting of John Keats’s poem ‘Bright Star’ to ‘Robin’ in January 1885.

It is not known when the Bensons acquired the Kelmscott Chaucer. If they were not pre-publication subscribers to it, then their acquisition would have happened within the first year after its issuance, considering its July 1897 presentation date. Neither has anything come down to tell us the reason for the gift to the Parrys. The friendship between Robert Benson and Charles Parry is well documented, but nothing is known about any personal relationship that may have developed between Parry’s wife Maude and Benson’s wife Evelyn. But surely it seems that an inscription that addresses first E. [Elizabeth] Maude Parry signals the occasion of a milestone, such as a birthday (not Sir Charles’s as he was born in February) or an anniversary (perhaps of the Parry’s wedding). This is something that we have yet to discover.

After Parry’s death in 1918, his estate passed on to his half brother, Ernest. Major Ernest Gambier-Parry died in 1936. We do not know when the Chaucer passed out of the Parry family household. Nor do we know whether there was one owner or more between the Parry family and Adler, assuming that it had been part of his collection. (For a physical description of the Adler/Graphic Arts Collection Chaucer, see Appendix 1.)

Alumni Connections bring the second Chaucer to Princeton?

In opposition to the lack of direct evidence for the path to Princeton of the Adler/Graphic Arts Collection copy of the Chaucer, the second copy’s arrival is well recorded. (Figure 4.) Written in pencil at the back of the book, on the verso of the last leaf of the textblock, is this legend: “Mrs. H. Howard Hagar April 9, 1952.” On this date the book was cataloged and officially became part of Princeton’s rare books collections. Mrs. H. Howard Hagar (née Josephine Page Seeler: 24 February 1910 - 27 January, 1960) presented it to the Library “in memory of her grandfather, James Laughlin, Jr. 1868, and of her mother, Martha Page Laughlin Seeler.” This modest statement does nothing to reveal the rich, long and deep relationship the Laughlin and Seeler families had with Princeton.
James Laughlin, Jr. (18 June 1847 - 19 October 1919), Hagar’s maternal grandfather, received his A.B. degree from the College of New Jersey in 1868 and an A.M. in 1871. He was a successful businessman and joined the iron and steel making businesses his father, James Laughlin, Sr., had started in Pittsburgh and Michigan. Laughlin Jr. was a Princeton University trustee from 1901-04. One year later, on June 8, 1905, during a trustees commencement meeting, “as president of the Olden Farm Association, [he] presented a deed for the ninety-three-acre Olden Farm, extending from the ridge of Prospect Avenue to Stony Brook on the east side of Washington Road. This farm became the site of athletic facilities and playing fields, faculty housing, and a center for mathematics, physics, and astrophysics.”26 Laughlin also provided funds to build the dormitory named after him: Laughlin Hall (commissioned in 1924; completed and occupied in 1925).

Mrs. Hagar’s father was Edgar Viguers Seeler (18 November 1867 - 28 October 1929), a well-known Philadelphia architect. He was commissioned to design the Cannon Club building in 1910 (completed in 1911), that still stands on Prospect Avenue. Seeler married Martha Page Laughlin (10 February 1871 - 23 January 1938), daughter of James Laughlin, Jr., in 1905. Perhaps his commission was the result of his father-in-law’s relationship to the University or to the Cannon Club organization.
Other of Mrs. Hagar’s Laughlin relatives attended Princeton. Her grand-uncle James Benn Laughlin, the son of her grandfather’s brother, entered in 1882 with the class of 1886 but left after two years. Henry Alexander Laughlin, the son of James Benn, and the second cousin of Hagar, received a B.Litt. in 1914. Near the end of a long and distinguished career with the publisher Houghton Mifflin, he was also a member and then president of the Board of Trustees of the Princeton University Press. The Press’s former printing plant in nearby Lawrenceville was named the Laughlin Building.27

Kudos from an Emeritus Princeton Professor about the Hagar Chaucer

Mrs. Hagar’s gift of the Chaucer was in the works well before its formal acquisition date in April 1952. Maurice Kelley, Acting Librarian at the time, wrote a letter of thanks to her about the book on 29 January 1952 that included a charming anecdote of its reception on campus.

Dear Mrs. Hagar:

In addition to this formal acknowledgment, I want to tell you of my visit to Professor T. M. Parrott in Lawrenceville last Thursday night.

Professor Parrott, now retired, taught some forty years in the Department of English in Princeton. During that time, he distributed his work equally between Elizabethan and Victorian literature. When I called on him, he was not feeling very well; to make conversation, I announced that Princeton now owned a Kelmscott Chaucer in a Dove’s Binding.

“Yes,” he replied, “I know all about it. Miss Hudson showed it to me when I was in the Rare Book room yesterday. You know, I would rather own that book than a First Folio of Shakespeare. The First Folio is very badly printed, and I can get anything that I want out of it in a Library. But the Kelmscott Chaucer is so beautifully printed that I can always get pleasure by opening up the book and looking at a couple of pages of it. Each page is a new adventure and a new thrill.”

Sincerely yours,

Maurice Kelley
Acting Librarian28

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The Hagars lived outside of Philadelphia in Ambler, Pennsylvania. Little is known about Mrs. Hagar’s husband, H[enry] Howard Hagar.29 However, several students with Hagar surnames attended Princeton in the early 20th century and another with that name graduated in 1991. Any relationship between these men and the Hagar family is unknown at this time.
Based on information in a 1901 issue of the *Daily Princetonian*, Martha Page Laughlin (later Seeler), daughter of James Laughlin, Jr., owned a copy of the *Chaucer* which was exhibited in the University Library that year, probably in the Treasure Room in the old Pyne Library. (See footnote 30.) It can be presumed with reasonable assurance that this copy was rebound in 1903 by the well-known English bookbinder Thomas James Cobden-Sanderson (based on his design of his personal copy of the book and now part of the Wormsley Library collection in England), and upon her death devolved to her daughter Josephine (Mrs. H. Howard Hagar). Its gift to Princeton is likely the result of the Laughlin family's historical connections to the University. We do not know how or when Laughlin may have acquired the book. (Laughlin was not on the Kelmscott Press mailing list.) There is no evidence in the book of earlier owners. Nor, based on the magnificence of its binding, do published historical auction and booksellers records list its public sale. The TJC-S-bound Hagar *Chaucer* was exhibited in the Firestone Library on at least two occasions. (The binding is described in Appendix 1).

**The Deceased Senator’s Wife Makes a Gift of the Third *Chaucer***

The third copy of the Kelmscott *Chaucer* to enter Princeton’s special collections arrived in August 1953. (Figure 5.) It was part of a large gift of about 350 books from the 15th-20th centuries, including 10 incunables. The *Princeton University Library Chronicle* notice about the gift described the *Chaucer* as the “most outstanding” example from a group of modern fine printing. “[I]t is undoubtedly William Morris’ greatest typographic masterpiece.” The donor was Edna M. Reed, wife of deceased alumnus and Senator David Aiken Reed (21 December 1880 – 10 February 1953).

![Figure 5. Front Cover and Spine of the Kelmscott *Chaucer* in Pigskin and Wooden Boards Binding Executed by J. & J. Leighton](image)
David Aiken Reed received his A.B. from Princeton in 1900. He was known affectionately to his classmates as “Divvy” Reed. He became a successful trial lawyer, defending corporations and public utilities. Yet he championed the enactment of Pennsylvania’s first workers compensation law (1915) as well as federal legislation benefiting disabled veterans of the First World War. Reed was a Senator from Pennsylvania from 1922-35. Princeton University awarded him an honorary LL.D. in 1925 and he was a Charter Trustee from 1930-1950.

Reed was a book collector, although this fact is overlooked by all but one of his several biographers. He was long interested in Princeton’s Library. The result of this interest was a series of gifts through the years. The following letter to Lawrence Thompson in 1940 shows both his interest and generosity.33

June 13, 1940

Mr. Lawrence Thompson,  
Princeton University,  
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Thompson:

My Epistolae Familiares – Jenson, Venice 1471, is at present in my house in Washington, so that I cannot bring or send it to you at the moment, but I will see that you have it not later than in October when I expect to go to Princeton for the Autumn Trustees’ meeting.

It is a good copy, although some of the pages have been washed. I have not collated it myself, but I believe it to be complete and undamaged. It is nicely bound. I shall be happy to give it to the University.

I also have a considerable number of other incunabula and Medieval manuscripts and, while I enjoy them, I believe that they would be better in the hands of Princeton. I can talk to you later about this, however.

Faithfully yours,

D. A. Reed34
Epistolae ad familiares did become part of the Library’s incunable collection and a notice about it appears in the February 1941 issue of the Princeton University Library Chronicle. Other gifts followed in 1945, 1947 and 1948. The last one before his sudden death occurred in 1951. It included 12 incunables, one 16th century book, and a 15th century manuscript antiphony.

It is not known when Reed acquired the Chaucer, but its earlier provenance is rich and interesting. The first owner was F. S. (Frederick Startridge) Ellis (1830-1901). Ellis was a bookseller and small-scale publisher and gained renown enough to be asked by book collector Henry Huth to edit the five-volume catalog of his library. He counted among his friends Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Sir Edward Burne-Jones, John Ruskin, and Algernon Charles Swinburne, who introduced Ellis to William Morris in 1864. Morris and Ellis became and remained close friends, and upon Morris’s death, Ellis became one of his executors. Retiring from business due to ill health in 1885, Ellis turned his remaining years to the literary life, editing and writing books. He enthusiastically supported the Kelmscott Press and edited a number of its productions for Morris, including the Works.

Ellis presented this (the Reed) copy of the Chaucer to his wife, Carolina Augusta Flora Ellis (née Moates). (He owned other copies of the book.) An undated inscription on the recto of the first flyleaf is attributed to Mrs. Ellis: “Caroline A. F. Ellis from her beloved husband, F. S. Ellis & bequeathed by her to her friend Ernest H. Coleridge & his heirs.” It is not known when Mrs. Ellis died.

Ernest Hartley Coleridge (1846-1920) was the son of the Rev. Derwent Coleridge (1800-1823), the second son of Samuel Taylor Coleridge. He edited his grandfather’s letters, notebooks and poems, as well as those of Lord Byron. Upon Ernest Hartley Coleridge’s death the Chaucer passed to his son, the Rev. Gerard Hartley Buchanan Coleridge (1882-1945). Nine years later, in 1929, the book was consigned for auction to Sotheby’s. Lot 461 sold on the third day of a four day sale in November for £440. It was purchased by the bookselling firm Maggs Bros.

I corresponded with Ed Maggs at Maggs Bros. about the purchase of the Chaucer. He graciously assisted me by checking the firm’s archives and replied: “Well, I’ve found the catalogue and it tells me that we did buy it for a client, but all I know is that he or she was known by the initial D alone. At that date it could just have been Mrs. [Estelle] Doheny, although apparently it’s a bit early for her.” I followed up with the suggestion that if David Aiken Reed had been a regular customer of Maggs Bros., the initial D could stand for David. Mr. Maggs responded in turn: “I should have taken it further, because I’d also thought about the possibility of it being a first name. It seems unlikely however [considering the English penchant to address others by their surnames]….”. He followed this with the thought that D may have stood for a go between: “American trade [bookseller] acting for Reed? Drake comes to mind, although I also think they were all manuscripts.” Without further information about Reed’s book buying habits and sources, Ed Maggs’s suggestion appears to be a dead end.

At present, then, the path of the Chaucer between its purchase by Maggs and its acquisition by Reed is rather unclear. There is one additional piece of evidence, however: an unidentified and undated clipping from a bookseller or auction catalog is laid into the book. (The price or estimate is clipped away as well.) It describes item or lot 203, the Chaucer. Its typography does
not match Maggs catalog typography from 1929 through 1938, nor does it match that from Quaritch catalogs in the period 1930-1933. And it is not similar to the 1929 Sotheby catalog typography. Considering the knowledge we do have of this book until November 1929, it seems clear that it was sold at least one more time and that the probable purchaser was David Aiken Reed, or a go-between acting in his stead.42 (For a physical description of the Reed Chaucer, see Appendix 1.)

A Fourth Chaucer Comes to Princeton University Library: The Scheide Copy

The William H. Scheide Library moved from its former home in Titusville, PA, to Princeton in 1959. It includes a Kelmscott Chaucer, which is the fourth copy housed within the Princeton University Library. (Figure 6.) There are three other Kelmscott Press books in Scheide’s collection.43

Figure 6. Front Cover and Spine of the Kelmscott Chaucer in Blue Boards and Half Holland Binding Executed by J. & J. Leighton. William H. Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey. (WHS) 14.6.1

John Hinsdale Scheide (1875-1942), William H. Scheide's grandfather, purchased the Chaucer in 1911 from the London bookselling firm Frank Hollings.44 One of the two most interesting and startling facts about this particular book is that the Scheide family has now owned it for than a century. The other is that by 1911 it already had had at least two previous owners. And this provenance is played out in the three Ex Libris found on the inside front cover.45 (Figure 7.) The motto on Scheide's Ex Libris is: Ye Shall Know the Truth and the Truth Shall Make You Free. (Figure 8.)
Figure 7. Inside Front Cover (Front Pastedown), Scheide Kelmscott *Chaucer*; Displaying the Stacked Ex Libris of Three Owners (top-bottom): Scheide; Cowan; Crampton.

Figure 8. Scheide Ex Libris.

The Scotsman James Cowan (1828-1907) owned the *Chaucer* prior to Scheide. His probable source for purchasing it is indicated by the bookseller’s ticket in the lower left hand corner of the front pastedown: Williams & Norgate./ Foreign Booksellers./ 20, South Frederick Street./ Edinburgh. Cowan's bookplate contains a coat of arms as well as a Latin motto: *Vires Et Fides / Jacobvs Cowan De Rosshall. Armigeri* (Strength and Faith. James Cowan of Rosshall. Esquire). (Figure 9.) He was a successful and wealthy businessman and head of Messrs. Cowan and Co., a
railway contracting firm. After his death, Cowan’s large estate (outside the city borders of Glasgow at the time) was turned into a public park, and the mansion on it eventually became a private hospital. The little biographical information available about him does not mention that he was a book collector. It may be fairly assumed that the Chaucer passed eventually into the stock of Frank Hollings and from there to Scheide.

Figure 9. ExLibris of James Cowan.

The owner of the Chaucer prior to Cowan was Englishman William Crampton (1843 - 10 December 1910). His large rectangular bookplate is centered on the front board pastedown, from which it may be presumed that he was the first owner (although an earlier owner cannot be discounted). A small amount of both biographical and bibliographical information about Crampton is available.
The name William Crampton was a very common in 19th century England but based on where his books were first auctioned, he appears to have been born in the county of York and lived much of his life in Sheffield. In 1867 he and his brother Willoughby (d.1897) established a business called Crampton Brothers, a tool manufacturing firm, which dissolved in July 1891. William Crampton carried on the firm under the same name, and later his son William James took it over. In 1882 the brothers registered a design for an adjustable nut wrench with the British patents office. The firm was in good standing locally and appears to have been profitable, which made Crampton wealthy and allowed him to collect and amass books and bindings over a long period of time.

There were four auctions of Crampton's books: 1899, 1900, 1901 and 1904, three local and one in London. The collection consisted of illuminated manuscripts, breviaries, printed books of hours, extra-illustrated books, early printed books, books printed on vellum, Vale Press books, and bindings by T. J. Cobden-Sanderson, Rivière, Zaehnsdorf, Guild of Women Binders, Bedford, among others. There were also many memoirs and sporting books and much literature and first editions (for example, of the Brownings, Thackeray and Dickens). It also included "a Nearly Complete Set of the Kelmscott Press Books, also Several Printed on Vellum," as described in the 1899 auction notice.

Catalogues of two of the auctions exist. There were 314 lots in 1901 and 468 lots in 1904. A comparison of these two catalogues shows some overlap of titles; items not sold in 1901 appeared again in 1904, which included new material. With regard to the Kelmscott Press, there

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**Figure 10. ExLibris of William Crampton.**
were fifteen books or ephemera in 1904, five of which were listed earlier in 1901. The *Chaucer* was not among the titles in either auction. It had been listed and sold earlier.

Crampton's *Chaucer* sold in 1899, during the first auction, for £45. (It may have been purchased by Williams & Northgate [mentioned earlier], which later sold it to James Cowan.) Twenty other of the Press's books, some in duplicate and in vellum, were also sold. *The Athenaeum* noted some time later, as "a matter of general regret," that higher prices might have been realized for Crampton had the auction venue been London rather than Sheffield. For example, in London Sotheby's sold a *Works* for £57 during the same month as Crampton's first auction: March 1899. (For a physical description of the Scheide *Chaucer*, see Appendix 1.)

**Crampton’s Ex Libris**

William Crampton’s bookplate (Figure 10), circa 1890s, is a design of its time. The standing figure of a woman in a forest is strongly Arts & Crafts in character, with an underlying and direct lineage to the Pre-Raphaelites. Its composition is reminiscent of and may be superficially compared to the graphic illustrations of Lucien Pissarro (1863-1944), proprietor of the Eragny Press (1894-1914), a well-known figure of the English private press movement of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The bookplate is signed in sans serif capital letters ELM, with the L larger (by about 4 [printer's] points) than the other two letters, both of which are of similar height. The larger L may indicate the initial letter of the artist’s surname and that the signature should be read EML rather than ELM. Reference sources for British and American bookplate artists of the period do not provide any matches for either of these letter combinations. A search of German bookplate artist reference sources uncovers matches for both letter sets. ELM may stand for Efraim Mose Lilien (1874-1925). ELM may be Eduard Lorenz Meyer (1856-1926). Both men worked in Germany in the same period, concentrated on graphic illustration, including bookplates, and are considered part of the Jugendstil/Art Nouveau movement. A number of examples of each artist’s bookplates are published. (Lilien designed an ex libris for Martin Breslauer, the Berlin bookseller, in 1899.) Unfortunately, neither Lilien nor Meyer signed their work in the same or a similar manner as the signature on the Crampton bookplate. And their styles are as different from each other as they are from that seen on the Crampton ex libris. Of course, either artist may have affected a style to suit the needs of an English client, Crampton, but this seems unlikely considering the strong and consistent individual styles of these artists. Also, available biographical information does not mention that either Lilien or Meyer worked in England or for English collectors.

* * *

Digging deep into the available but unique record for each Kelmscott *Chaucer* in the Princeton University Library has shone a light upon but not illuminated a complete path of ownership for any one of them (although the Scheide copy is very rich with owners over nearly its entire existence). These queries have produced many answers that lead to just as many questions. Each gap in provenance is a mystery that is a challenge waiting to be solved. A future bibliodetective should find ample reward in closing these gaps.


4 Peterson notes that extra sheets of the vellum issue (called "overs") had been printed (as "insurance against spoilage") and that these were put together to create to two additional copies for a total of 15. Peterson, *A Census*, 3-4.


6 Henry Young & Sons Ltd. *A Catalogue of Rare and Interesting Books* (Liverpool: April, 1929), item 547, page 40.

7 By 2001 the purchasing power of these 1896 pounds and dollars had risen exponentially: £20 in 1896 was worth £1,271.39 in 2001; $126 → $8,009.75; £13 → $826.40; $97.40 in 1896 was worth $1,958.69 in 2001; $613.62 → $12,339.74; $63.31 → $1,273.15. Online resource for these calculations: “How Much Is That?” Economic History Services, URL: [http://eh.net/hmit/](http://eh.net/hmit/) (last visited: 15 November 2012).

8 Arthur Trumble, editor, proprietor and commentator for the late nineteenth century US periodical *The Collector* corroborated the SUS cost of the *Chaucer* in his “Notes And Novelties” column. “William Morris is now putting through the Kelmscott Press a vellum edition of Chaucer which will cost its purchasers $600 per set—probably an unequalled price for a new book. All the 425 copies of the paper edition at $100 each have been subscribed for in advance.” *The Collector, A Current Record of Art, Bibliography, Antiquarianism, Etc.*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (15 December 1895), p. 55.


10 “An ignorant myth endures, that Kelmscott Press books were extravagant, luxurious, beyond the ordinary reach of book collectors…Even in 1896, plenty of people could have forked out £20 for the Chaucer. If they didn't have the wit to buy it on publication, that was because collectors follow trends and are deeply suspicious; but any notion that it was expensive is ridiculous.” Colin Franklin, “The Kelmscott Chaucer: A Census,” *The Book Collector*, 61 (2012), 134.

11 Again in two “Notes and Novelties” columns in *The Collector*, Arthur Trumble provided his readers with brief but piquant thoughts about both the cost of the *Chaucer* as well as Morris’s socialism. “[Morris’s Kelmscott *Chaucer*] is unquestionably the Chaucer—at least for those who can afford to pay for it.” *The Collector*, Vol. 7, no. 19 (September 15, 1896), p. 293. And: “William Morris left $225,000 of personal property accumulated from his application of art to industry rather than from his poetry. His manuscripts and copyrights are left to his executors for the purpose of carrying out certain trusts, and it is possible that the Kelmscott Press may be kept. There are no signs of socialism in the will, almost all the property being left to near relatives.” *The Collector*, Vol. 8, no. 6 (January 15, 1897), p. 87.

12 Another irony is that Morris lost money on the *Chaucer*. The total invested over the four years of its production was £7,217 11s. The total revenue was £7,129 10s. Peterson, *Kelmscott Press*, p. 253.

13 J. & J. Leighton was the binder for nearly all of the Kelmscott Press books. It is not recorded that the firm produced any half-pigskin and oak boards bindings to the less expensive design that Morris had conceived for the *Chaucer* (other than those planned for the T. J. Cobden-Sanderson’s Doves Bindery). However, several of these bindings exist and are attributed to Leighton. Oak Knoll Books offered one in October 2004 for $125,000. In its description, Oak Knoll asserted that other copies of the same binding are located at Florida State University and at Multnomah County Library in Portland, Oregon. There is no mention of the copy at Princeton, which I refer to as the Reed *Chaucer*. (Figure 5.)

14 Besides Princeton, other collections with four copies of the Kelmscott *Chaucer* include: the British Library (including one in vellum); Oxford University; the Pierpont Morgan Library (including one in vellum); and
University of California, Berkeley. Institutions with five copies are: Cambridge University (including one in vellum); Bridwell Library, Southern Methodist University (including one in vellum); and University of Texas, Austin (including one in vellum). Yale University has six copies (including one in vellum). Institutions with three copies are: Carnegie-Mellon University; Harvard University (including one in vellum); and Library of Congress (including one in vellum).


16 Only one Kelmscott Press book in Princeton’s collection is known definitively to have belonged to Adler because he signed it as his: John Ruskin. The Nature of Gothic, A Chapter of the Stones of Venice (London: George Allen, 1892). (It is the fourth book printed and published by the Press.)


20 In 1886, Parry, Benson and Burne-Jones all had homes on London’s Kensington Square. Parry’s father, Thomas Gambier Parry, followed a similar collecting path to Robert Stayner Holford, Benson's father-in-law, in that he collected Italian art.


22 In his Chaucer census Peterson provides four bits of information regarding Benson. First, Benson was on the Kelmscott Press's mailing list and surely must have received notice about the publication of the Chaucer (page 228). Parry was not on the list. Second, by the time Benson inquired about purchasing a copy, he was told that the entire edition had been subscribed, but was given sources where he might acquire a copy, probably through the London bookseller Bernard Quaritch (page 249). Third, by 1898 Benson had a complete collection of either all the Kelmscott Press books or all of Morris’s works (page 252). It is not known which collection Benson owned. Fourth, Benson family members appear to have owned four copies of the Chaucer (page 93). A recent and interesting discovery is the bookplate of Robert and Evelyn Benson (see below), found in a copy of a book in the Michael Sadleir Collection at UCLA. With the Benson family having owned four copies of the Chaucer, one of these must have contained the couple's bookplate, but perhaps removed by a subsequent owner.
23 Charles and Maude Parry were married in 1872. 1897 would have been their 25th anniversary year. The Benson’s gift of the Chaucer may have been in celebration of that important occasion.


25 It appears that Henry Howard Hagar was married three times. Josephine Page Seeler Hagar was his second wife.


27 Leitch, p. 389.

28 Letter, Maurice Kelley to Mrs. H. Howard Hagar, 29 January 1952, Princeton University Library Records, box 109, folder Acknowledgements/1948-1952, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library. Maurice Kelley was Acting Librarian in 1952 between the tenures of Julian Parks Boyd and William Shepard Dix. Miss [Julie] Hudson was Curator of Special Collections from 1944-1971.

29 Searches on Google indicate that Henry Howard Hagar (19 October 1911 - 21 June 1984) lived his entire life in Pennsylvania. He owned a business named Anchor-Link Products (one product of which was a 1950-patented collapsible backyard clothes dryer), was a member of Delta Phi Fraternity, the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia (junior member in 1930), and the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution (his ancestor being Jeremiah Kimball, 1735-1808).

30 Although the Hagar Chaucer is signed by Cobden-Sanderson in the usual manner - THE DOVES BINDERY / 19 C-S 03 - no documentation of this binding has been found.

31 The Kelmscott Chaucer has a long exhibition history at Princeton University Library (PUL). The first time (as far as is known) was in January 1901. It and at least three other Kelmscott Press (KP) books belonging to Martha Page Laughlin, the mother of Josephine Page Seeler Hagar (Mrs. H. Howard Hagar), were put on exhibit. Her copy of Note by William Morris on His Aims in Founding the Kelmscott Press was in a T. J. Cobden-Sanderson binding. These books had been placed on deposit in the library. The Chaucer may have been the one that was bound by Cobden-Sanderson in 1903, and given eventually to PUL in 1952. None of the other Laughlin KP titles appear to have come to Princeton, based on Library records. (Daily Princetonian, 25 [19 January 1901], 3.) The next known exhibit took place in the Treasure Room of the old Pyne Library in November 1926. The Chaucer and four other KP were exhibited. (Daily Princetonian, 51 [19 November 1926], 1.) The owners of these books are not mentioned but the Chaucer could have been Hagar’s rebound copy or the one owned by Junius S. Morgan, class of 1888, who lived in Princeton (which was given to the Pierpont Morgan Library in 1965). In March 1934 the Chaucer and other KP titles were again on display in the Treasure Room. This exhibit commemorated the 100th year anniversary of the birth of William Morris. All the material on display came from the collections of friends and alumni of the University. The Hagar copy or that from a local collector may have been in the exhibit. The next display of the Hagar Chaucer was as part of "Fine Bindings Gothic to Modern: European Handbound Books in the Princeton University Library," April-September 1978, curated by Jamie Shalleck (later Kampf), a designer binder and a Friend
of the Library. The Graphic Arts Collection Chaucer was exhibited from October-December 1990 as part of The Art of the English Book: From William Morris to Eric Gill.” This exhibit was co-curated by Rebecca Davison and Dale Roylance. The most recent exhibit of the Chaucer was the Hagar copy in "Hand Bookbindings: Plain and Simple to Grand and Glorius," curated by Scott Husby, November 2002 - April 2003.

33 Lawrence Thompson, Curator of Special Collections, Princeton University Library, 1937-1942.
34 Letter, David Aiken Reed to Lawrence Thompson, 13 June 1940, Princeton University Library Records, box 120, folder R, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.
37 The Huth library. A catalogue of the printed books, manuscripts, autograph letters, and engravings, collected by Henry Huth, with collations and bibliographical descriptions (London: Ellis and White, 1880). Five volumes.
38 The Chaucer is not the only Kelmscott Press book that E. H. Coleridge owned. F. S. Ellis presented him with a copy of The Poems of John Keats (Hammersmith: Kelmscott Press, 1894) on 13 December 1894. Ellis edited the text. This was the Press’s 24th book. 307 copies were printed. Finished 7 March, issued 8 May 1894. Peterson, Bibliography, p. 66.

Also in 1894, Ellis presented Coleridge with volume 1 only (it would appear from the gift date) of the three-volume edition of The Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley (Hammersmit: Kelmscott Press, 1894). The text was again edited by Ellis. This was the 29th book of the Press. 256 copies were printed. Volume 1 was issued 29 November 1894, and presumably given to Coleridge the following month. The remaining volumes of the edition were issued in March and November 1895. Peterson, Bibliography, p. 78.
40 Personal exchanges of email correspondence between the author and Ed Maggs on 4 December 2001.
41 The firm James F. Drake, Inc. issued a sale catalog [undated but ascribed to 1922] of a complete collection of Kelmscott Press books, all individually priced. The Chaucer was listed for $700, number 40, corresponding to its issuance by the Press. Of course, this catalog predates Coleridge’s consignment of the Reed Chaucer to Sotheby’s by eight years, but certainly, by this evidence, the ‘D’ that Ed Maggs referred to could be Drake, which undoubtedly sold books as well as manuscripts. James F. Drake, Inc. Kelmscott Press William Morris (New York: James F. Drake, Inc., [1922?]), item 40, page 10.
42 Author’s note: In hindsight I do not recall whether I compared the typography of the clipping with that of the 1922 Drake catalogue, or one from later in the decade.
43 The three other Scheide Kelmscott Press books are: Sydney C. Cockerell, editor. Laudes Beatae Mariae Virginis (Hammersmith: Kelmscott Press, 1896). This is the 42nd book of the Press. 260 copies printed. William Morris. The Story of Sigurd the Volsung and the Fall of the Niblungs (Hammersmith: Kelmscott Press, 1898). This is the 50th book of the Press. 166 copies printed. William Morris. A Note by William Morris on His Aims in Founding the Kelmscott Press Together with a Short Description of the Press by S. C. Cockerell, and an Annotated List of the Books Printed Thereat (Hammersmith: Kelmscott Press, 1898). This is the 53rd and last book of the Press. 537 copies printed.
44 Many thanks to Scheide Librarian Paul Needham for providing me with this information.
45 It should be noted that the Scheide copy of the Chaucer is the only one of the four at Princeton that contains owners ExLibris.
46 The order of the succession of owners is evident by the stacked array of ex libris positioned on the front pastedown of the Scheide Chaucer. (Figure 7.) Crampton’s bookplate is the largest, at 102mm tall x 80mm wide, and centered on the pastedown, the predominant position for the first owner (especially considering the folio format). Cowan’s circular engraved ex libris, at 59mm in diameter, is placed above, with the extreme bottom of it very slightly overlapping Crampton’s. (See Figure 10. This appears to confirm that Crampton ownership preceded that of Cowan.) Scheide’s octagonal bookplate is the smallest at 35mm tall x 31mm wide. It is positioned above Cowan’s. It is the case, however unlikely, that someone may have owned the Chaucer before Crampton but left no marks of ownership on it, particularly as it is not known when Crampton acquired the book. He was not on the Kelmscott Press mailing list.
47 The one line newspaper notice of Crampton's death on 10 December 1910 states his age at 67, which means his birth year was 1843. The Sheffield Daily Independent, 12 December 1910, 4.
William Crampton had been a partner with Issiah Styche in an earlier tool manufacturing firm in Sheffield called Crampton and Styche, which dissolved in October 1867.

The dates, titles, number of lots, consignees, and locations of, and references to the four auctions were:

49 March 1899, "A Portion of the Valuable Library of Mr. William Crampton," number of lots unknown, Sheffield, William Bush & Sons (The Athenaeum, 18 March 1899, page 323; and 1 April 1899, page 400)

25-30 November 1900, "A Further Portion of the Valuable Library of Mr. Wm. Crampton," number of lots unknown, Sheffield, William Bush & Sons (The Athenaeum, 10 November 1900, page 595)

22 May 1901, "The Choicer Portion of the Valuable Library of Mr. William Crampton." 314 lots, Sheffield, William Bush & Sons (The Athenaeum, 18 May 1901, page 614; and 30 November 1901, page 732)


52 "Bibliographical Literature." The Athenaeum, 30 November 1901, 732, column b.

53 "Sales." The Athenaeum, 1 April 1899, 399-400.

54 Compare the Crampton bookplate with the illustration by Lucian Pissarro below. The similarities are striking, but the Crampton plate was not drawn by Pissarro. Also, Pissarro signed his work differently (although not clearly visible in the drawing).

By the Lake (1891) by Lucien Pissarro. Crampton Ex Libris Drawn by ELM.