

Chapter 18

WOMEN AS OWNERS AND COLLECTORS IN DE RICCI'S CENSUS OF MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE MANUSCRIPTS IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

TOBY BURROWS

IT IS A truism that nearly all the most-studied manuscript collectors of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are men—often memorialized in the form of personal libraries and named institutional collections. While this reflects the broad pattern of ownership, the nature of the commercial market, and the scale of collecting, there were nevertheless a significant number of women who owned and collected manuscripts during this period. Some evidence for this can be seen in the *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, which contains information about sixty-five women who were active between the 1920s and the 1950s. Sponsored by the Library of Congress and the American Council of Learned Societies and edited by Seymour de Ricci and William J. Wilson, the *Census* appeared in three volumes between 1935 and 1940.¹ After publishing a specimen entry in 1930, to a positive response, de Ricci sent out more than four thousand questionnaires to institutions and private collectors. The information in the *Census* is current for the early 1930s; Mrs. Edith Rockefeller McCormick's death in 1932 is recorded, for example.² As well as the questionnaires, de Ricci arranged to get manuscripts from more distant states sent to the Library of Congress for inspection. A *Supplement*, compiled by C. U. Faye and W. H. Bond, eventually appeared in 1962.³ The *Supplement* was the result of a circular sent to the original contributors in 1957, so that information is current as of the mid- to late 1950s; the compilers do not seem to have attempted to identify new private owners. Together, these volumes list about fifteen thousand items (codices and documents) dating from before ca. 1600.⁴ While the *Census* focuses on institutional collections, it also covers private collections.

In the preface to the *Census*, de Ricci sounds an apologetic note in justifying the inclusion of private collections:

¹ Seymour de Ricci, with the assistance of W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, 3 vols. (New York: Wilson, 1935–1940).

² de Ricci, *Census*, 1:616.

³ C. U. Faye and W. H. Bond, *Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York: Bibliographical Society of America, 1962).

⁴ Nigel Ramsay, "Towards a Universal Catalogue of Early Manuscripts: Seymour de Ricci's Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada," *Manuscript Studies* 1 (2016): 71–89.

May we add that, with solitary exceptions, this is practically a first attempt towards listing in any country the contents of private libraries? That we have done so at all, in the face of some adverse criticism, is because we feel that, in the United States and Canada, private ownership of early manuscripts is essentially a transitory feature of book-collecting. Nearly all valuable manuscripts in private hands are destined in the near future to become public property. Actually during the compilation of these lists, several important groups have been given or bequeathed to the public and it is no secret that many others are more or less formally promised to various institutions. We therefore felt fully justified in including in our work private holdings and we are deeply grateful to the numerous collectors who have generously allowed us to list their possessions.⁵

His reasoning—that we should document these private collections because they would end up in institutions—seems to play down the distinctive value and inherent interest of private collecting. In the case of women collectors, in fact, most of the collections described in the *Census* and the *Supplement* cannot be traced in institutions today: thirty-nine of fifty-eight collections were “untraced” in 2015.⁶ Nevertheless, the *Census* provides a fascinating—and possibly unique—window into private manuscript collecting in North America in the earlier and mid-twentieth century, particularly by women, who are largely unrepresented in the existing histories of manuscript collecting. These women can be studied as a group to show the varied social origins of owners and collectors, the different kinds of manuscripts they owned, and the processes by which they acquired them. Women were part of a network of gifts, exchange, and inheritance around medieval manuscripts, and not simply participants in a male-dominated commercial market. Kate Ozment describes her work on the book collectors of the Hroswitha Club as “a step forward in the process of recovering and making visible the ways that women collectors have participated in the study of rare books in the United States.”⁷ In a similar way, this essay aims to recover and make visible the role of women in collecting and owning medieval manuscripts.

Women as Owners

Fifty-four women are listed in the original *Census*, together with two cases where a woman is mentioned first in a pair: Dudrea Parker and her husband Sumner Parker, and Phyllis W. Goodhart and her father Howard L. Goodhart.⁸ For two further couples, the husband is listed first (John and Alice Garrett, and Mr. and Mrs. Percy S. Straus). There is

⁵ de Ricci, *Census*, 1:x.

⁶ Melissa Conway and Lisa Fagin Davis, “Directory of Collections in the United States and Canada with Pre-1600 Manuscript Holdings,” *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 109 (2015): 273–420.

⁷ Kate Ozment, *The Hroswitha Club and the Impact of Women Book Collectors* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023), 62.

⁸ For full details, see the Tables in the Appendix to this chapter.

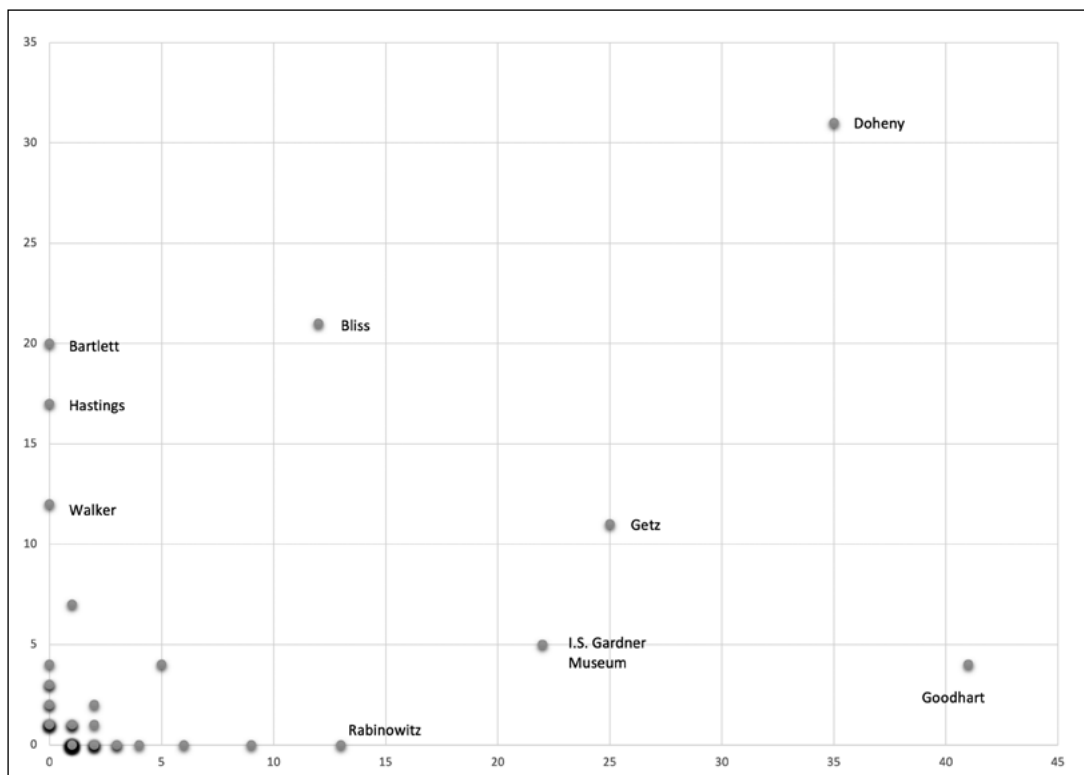


Figure 18.1 *Census* holdings of codices (horizontal) and documents or leaves (vertical). Diagram by author.

also the museum named after Isabella Stewart Gardner, while several other women are mentioned as custodians or previous owners of manuscripts, including Belle da Costa Greene and Phoebe Hearst.

The *Supplement* lists eleven women, as well as six couples with the husband named first; nine of these women and one of the couples (the Garretts) had previously appeared in the *Census*. Phyllis Goodhart was now married, and appeared jointly with her husband John Dozier Gordan. The other forty-four women named alone or first in the *Census*, as well as one couple with the woman named second, no longer appear. In total, then, across the two surveys, there are fifty-eight women as owners (on their own or named first) as well as seven couples with the women named second. This essay focuses mainly on these fifty-eight, especially in the figures given below.

On the whole, these women owned only a small number of codices and documents (including single leaves). The average holdings were 3.31 codices and 2.56 documents (excluding the Gardner Museum and the couples with the husband named first). The largest collections were those of Phyllis Goodhart Gordan (who had the most codices), Mrs. Estelle Doheny (who had the most items in total), Mrs. Milton E. Getz, Mrs. Hannah

Rabinowitz, and Miss Susan Bliss. Thirteen women owned documents or leaves only, ranging from a single item to twenty (Henrietta Bartlett), with an average of five.

Table 18.1 shows the numbers of women, while Table 18.2 shows the size of their collections, excluding the couples with the husband named first. The figures include the average numbers of codices and documents, as well as the ranges and the overall totals, which amount to 195 codices and 151 documents. Figure 18.1 shows the range of individual holdings, with codices on the horizontal axis and documents or leaves on the vertical axis.

Table 18.1: Number of women as owners in the *Census* and (*Supplement*), excluding institutions.

	Women	Couples (man first)
<i>Census</i>	56	2
<i>Supplement</i>	11 (2 new)	7 (5 new)
Total	58	7
Untraced collections	38	4

Table 18.2: Collection sizes in the *Census* and (*Supplement*), excluding couples and institutions.

	Codices	Documents / Leaves
Average	3.3	2.5
Range	0–41 (43)	0–31
Total	195	151

Figure 18.2 shows the locations of women in the *Census*. There is a clear concentration in the northeastern United States, with some around the Great Lakes and rather more in California. There are very few in the midwest or the southern states. It is possible that the numbers outside the northeast are somewhat understated, because of the methodology adopted by de Ricci and Wilson in having manuscripts from more distant locations sent to the Library of Congress, and asking local agents to send reports to the compilers, as was the case with the bookseller Alice Millard in Pasadena. Nevertheless, it seems unlikely that this approach had a significant effect on the pattern of geographical distribution, if only because the map also reflects the distribution of booksellers and antique dealers—and of wealth generally—in the United States in the early 1930s.

Acquiring Manuscripts

There are some interesting patterns in the ways by which the women acquired their manuscripts. Many women bought manuscripts from booksellers and agents, some British, but mostly North American and based primarily in the northeast. One of the collectors, Millard, was an active bookseller. The other main North American deal-



Figure 18.2. Geographical distribution of women listed as owners in the *Census*. Diagram by author.

ers were Dawson's (Los Angeles), Charles E. Goodspeed (Boston), A. S. W. Rosenbach (Philadelphia), Scribner (New York), and Wilfrid Voynich (New York and London). British suppliers included Maggs, Quaritch, Davis & Orioli, E. P. Goldschmidt, W. H. Robinson, and James Tregaskis, while European dealers included Leo S. Olschki in Florence and Jacques Rosenthal in Munich. In some cases, manuscripts appear to have been bought as souvenirs while travelling in Italy or France, such as the purchases by Miss Eva Matthews Sanford, of Oneonta, in Paris and Rome in 1931, and those of Dudrea Parker and her husband in Toulouse, the Hague, and Paris between 1927 and 1931.⁹

There is very little evidence of these women buying directly at auctions. Getz may have bought some manuscripts directly from the American Art Association or Anderson Galleries in New York, but is more likely to have acquired them via Dawson's. Goodhart seems to have had the most extensive network of dealers, as well as the largest collection of codices. In the *Census*, she and her father are reported as having bought from Cullum, Maggs, the Voynich estate, Brentano, Davis & Orioli, P. M. Barnard, Dobell, Goldschmidt, L. C. Harper, Dawson, and Quaritch, as well as at the William B. Gourley sale in 1936 and possibly at Sotheby's in 1934. Two manuscripts had been bought directly from Admont Abbey near Salzburg, Austria.¹⁰

Other methods of acquisition were also quite common. Several women inherited manuscripts from fathers or husbands. Relatively typical was Mrs. William Emerson

⁹ de Ricci, *Census*, 2:1855, 902.

¹⁰ de Ricci, *Census*, 2:1675–84, 2339–40.

(née Frances White) of Cambridge, Massachusetts, who was the daughter of “the great bibliophile” William Augustus White of Brooklyn.¹¹ All four of her manuscripts (two Books of Hours and two Offices of the Blessed Virgin Mary) had previously belonged to her father. She seems to have inherited two of these after his death in 1927, while one had been given to her in 1920 and another in 1900, when she was about thirty.¹² Her sister, Mrs. E. Allen Wood of Greenwich, is also mentioned as having inherited one of their father’s manuscripts, but is not otherwise listed in the *Census*. Their cousin, Annie van Sinderen, is noted as owning an Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary, but the entry for that manuscript describes it as being owned by her husband Adrian, along with three other manuscripts “inherited...from his father-in-law Alfred T. White, the brother of William Augustus White.”¹³ In at least one case, manuscripts passed from grandmother to grand-daughter; Mary Weld, aged 21 in 1922, inherited a Book of Hours and a *Vigiliae minores* which had been owned by her grandmother Mrs. William G. Weld (née Caroline Goddard) and had been on loan to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts since 1880.¹⁴

Gifts were also quite common, usually between friends and relatives but sometimes from more distant connections. Henrietta Bartlett of New Haven, bibliographer and Shakespeare scholar, owned a leaf from a choir book which had been given to her by the banker and collector Beverly Chew, whose library she catalogued.¹⁵ He gave another leaf from the same manuscript to Mrs. W. Lanman Bull of New York—probably Sara Worthington “Tasie” Bull, the widow of W. Lanman Bull Sr., rather than her daughter-in-law, Matilda Heppenheimer Bull.¹⁶ The late Miss Sarah Orne Jewett had owned a fifteenth-century French muster roll which had been given to her by Charles Eliot Norton for Christmas 1900.¹⁷ A note in Miss H. S. Wheeler’s entry records that “Mrs. William H. Brainerd has a very lovely illuminated leaf which Miss A. Lathrop gave her, I think, for a wedding present.” Miss Lathrop, of New York, appears to have given another leaf from this manuscript to Miss Constance Alexander, and to have been given the leaves herself by “her friend, Miss Lizette Fisher”—probably all alumnae of Wellesley College.¹⁸

There is a clear preference in the types of codices these women collected. Liturgical books predominated, especially Books of Hours, but also Graduals, Missals, Breviaries, Offices, Processionals, and Antiphonals. Bibles, theological and exegetical texts, litera-

11 de Ricci, *Census*, 1:1055–56.

12 The index card in the Grolier Club for one of the Office manuscripts includes a pencil note “Bought by Mrs Emerson” but there is no reason to believe this; the manuscript was clearly bought by her father at a Sotheby’s sale in 1892 (Grolier Club, W. A. White Card File, “Horae,” card 1). My thanks to Laura Cleaver for drawing this to my attention.

13 de Ricci, *Census*, 1:1056; 2: 1204–5.

14 de Ricci, *Census*, 1:962.

15 Kurt Zimmerman, “De Ricci and Bartlett’s 1921 Book Collector’s Guide: An Icon of the Golden Age,” *American Book Collecting* blog, June 29, 2016. www.bookcollectinghistory.com/2016/06/de-ricci-and-bartletts-1921-book.html, accessed October 12, 2023.

16 de Ricci, *Census*, 2:1668.

17 de Ricci, *Census*, 1:750.

18 de Ricci, *Census*, 1:1079.

ture, and historical texts were also owned, but relatively infrequently. Mrs. Edward L. (Estelle) Doheny's significant collection, as it stood in the mid-1930s, was fairly typical in its scope: three Books of Hours, two Bibles and the Epistles of St. Paul, a Missal, a Biblical commentary, Cassiodorus on the Song of Songs, the Speculum of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and a volume of Petrarch.¹⁹

The Goodhart collection was the most diverse and extensive, and largely ignored liturgical manuscripts in favour of classical literature (Cicero, Ovid, Statius, Lucan), patristic works (Augustine, Jerome, Gregory the Great, John Chrysostom), and a few medieval authors (such as Jacobus da Voragine).²⁰ Getz, on the other hand, had no fewer than fourteen Books of Hours, together with four Bibles, an Antiphonal, and several theological and exegetical works.²¹ Mrs. Morris Hawkes (née Eva Van Cortland Morris) was unusual in owning only a copy of a French chivalric romance, *Floriant et Florete*.²²

The documents in these collections tended to focus on royal and aristocratic autographs. Getz owned an album of sixteenth-century French royal autographs, Mrs. Edith Rockefeller McCormick of Chicago a letter of Catherine de' Medici, Ruth Granniss of New York (librarian of the Grolier Club 1906–1944) a letter of Charles VI, and Mrs. Charles C. (Kate) Bovey of Minneapolis four sixteenth-century French royal letters.²³ Susan Bliss of New York also owned an album of French royal autograph letters, as well as codices of marriage contracts, armories, and the statutes of the Order of the Garter; she and her mother, Mrs. George T. Bliss, had donated more than ninety items relating to Mary Queen of Scots to the Bibliothèque nationale de France in 1927.²⁴ Other documentary materials included a roll containing an inventory of Edward I's jewels, owned by Goodhart (and formerly by Thomas Phillipps); the 1440 French muster-roll owned by the late Miss Jewett; and thirty-nine Flemish charters and legal documents (seventeen earlier than 1600), owned by Mrs. Jean J. Hastings of Washington Grove.²⁵ There were also a sizeable number of individual leaves and initials from liturgical and theological manuscripts.

It is important to note that many women collected other types of materials, and that manuscripts were often not their main collecting interest. There were several serious art collectors among them as well as collectors of rare books, sometimes with a specific focus. Dudrea and Sumner Parker, in addition to their four Books of Hours, Antiphonary, and four French documents in the *Census*, collected books and objects relating to Edgar Allen Poe, and amassed a large collection of "tapestries, rugs, porcelain, paintings, and antique furniture," as well as a collection of eighteenth-century dolls' houses.²⁶

¹⁹ de Ricci, *Census*, 1:20–211; 2:2242–43.

²⁰ de Ricci, *Census*, 2:1675–84, 2339–40.

²¹ de Ricci, *Census*, 1:12–16.

²² de Ricci, *Census*, 2:1686.

²³ de Ricci, *Census*, 1:12–16, 616; 2:1685, 1140.

²⁴ de Ricci, *Census*, 2:1662–66.

²⁵ de Ricci, *Census*, 1:750, 904–45; 2:1684.

²⁶ de Ricci, *Census*, 1:902; Cloisters Castle, "The Cloisters: History," www.cloisterscastle.com/about/history, accessed May 12, 2023.

Mrs. Myrtle Crummer only had a single Book of Hours in the *Census*, but she and her husband Le Roy (professor of medicine at the University of Nebraska) put together an extensive collection of books and manuscripts on medical history (now at the University of Michigan), were acquaintances—and rivals—of Henry Wellcome, and also collected “Dickens and various later authors.”²⁷

Mary Hyde appears in the *Supplement* with her husband Donald, as joint owners of “the Hyde Collection.” They had sixty-two manuscripts, all but one of which had been bought in 1948 from Robert Borthwick Adam of Buffalo, consisting of mainly sixteenth-century autograph letters and documents.²⁸ These formed part of their Samuel Johnson collection, which is now the Hyde Collection at Harvard University, described as “the world’s finest private collection of 18th-century English literature.”²⁹ She later went on to form an Oscar Wilde collection, now in the British Library.

Belle Skinner, of Holyoke, focused on developing her collection of nearly ninety early musical instruments, complemented by a late fifteenth-century Gradual. This collection is now at Yale University.³⁰ The late Mrs. J. H. Poole (née Caroline Boeing) of Pasadena owned a fifteenth-century Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary which had once belonged to Charles Dyson Perrins, but her main interest was in collecting Native American baskets. More than 2,500 of these, together with various other artefacts, were donated in 1942 to the Southwest Museum of the American Indian in Los Angeles, now part of the Autry Museum of the American West.³¹ They were housed in a new wing of the museum named after her.

Overall, these women acquired their manuscripts through gifts and inheritance as much as from the commercial marketplace, where they bought mostly from dealers rather than at auctions. Male collectors tended to focus more on buying from auction houses. While the women owned a variety of different types of texts, they seemed to have greatly preferred liturgical books. Their interest in archival materials mostly involved royal and aristocratic documents, and they also acquired individual manuscript leaves and initials. Quite a few were collectors in a broader sense, encompassing rare books, art, and historical objects of various kinds. This paralleled the similarly broad interests of many of their male contemporaries.

²⁷ de Ricci, *Census* 1:19; Frances Larson, *An Infinity of Things: How Sir Henry Wellcome Collected the World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 134–36; “The Le Roy Crummer Collection,” Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, 2017; <https://exhibitions.kelsey.lsa.umich.edu/art-science-healing/collectors1.php>, accessed May 12, 2023.

²⁸ Faye and Bond, *Supplement*, 314–15.

²⁹ Bruce Redford, “Mary, Viscountess Eccles,” *The Guardian*, September 16, 2003, www.theguardian.com/news/2003/sep/16/guardianobituaries.obituaries, accessed May 12, 2023.

³⁰ de Ricci, *Census*, 1:1063; William Skinner, *The Belle Skinner Collection of Old Musical Instruments, Holyoke, Massachusetts: a Descriptive Catalogue* (Philadelphia: Beck Engraving, 1933); Susan E. Thompson, “The Belle Skinner Collection of Musical Instruments: Sixty Years at Yale,” *News, Yale School of Music*, March 11, 2021, <https://music.yale.edu/news/belle-skinner-collection-musical-instruments-sixty-years-yale>, accessed May 12, 2023.

³¹ Victoria Bernal, “Happy Birthday to the Adventurous Caroline Boeing Poole,” *The Autry Files*, September 15, 2020, <https://theautry.org/research/blog/happy-birthday-adventurous-caroline-boeing-poole>, accessed May 12, 2023.

Social Settings

The women who appear in the *Census* and its *Supplement* fall into four main social groups:

- The wealthy: the wives and daughters of industrialists who had made fortunes in mining, banking, oil, railroads, manufacturing, timber, shipping, and finance.
- Professionals: the wives and daughters of lawyers, architects, engineers, and doctors.
- Scholars: professors, teachers, and librarians, together with the wives and daughters of scholars.
- The remainder: who are hard to classify and came from a range of occupations and backgrounds.

There are nine women who have proved impossible to trace; these presumably were not from the wealthy or professional groups. Unsurprisingly, the largest group were the wives and daughters of wealthy industrialists. Their family money came from a wide range of industries, with banking, oil, and railroads the most common. They made up at least half of the traceable collectors. The group of wives and daughters of professionals was smaller; they were clearly less wealthy, but still socially quite significant. A significant group came from the world of education, scholarship, and academia—either as scholars and librarians in their own right, or as the wives and daughters of scholars. Finally, there was a relatively small group of women working as artists, writers, and similar occupations, sometimes with a husband who worked in business or one of the professions. They included a political activist, a bookseller, a government clerk/typist, and the wife of a railroad conductor.

Among the wealthiest of the wealthy collectors was Estelle Doheny, the second wife of Edward Doheny, who made a huge fortune in the oil industry but was eventually disgraced by the Teapot Dome bribery scandal. Initially a client of Millard's in the early 1930s, Doheny continued collecting after her husband's death in 1935, under the careful cultivation of Rosenbach, and by the 1950s owned about 7,000 books and 1,300 manuscripts. A major patron of the Catholic Church and a Papal Countess, she donated her collections to two religious institutions, which sold them off in 1987 and 2001.³² The 1987 sale realized a record \$38 million.³³

Another wealthy Californian collector—though less well-known or documented than Doheny—was Estelle Getz. She was the daughter of a successful Californian banker

32 Robert O. Schad, "The Estelle Doheny Collection," *The New Colophon* 3 (1950): 229–42; Margaret Leslie Davis, *Dark Side of Fortune: Triumph and Scandal in the Life of Oil Tycoon Edward L. Doheny* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Margaret Leslie Davis, *The Lost Gutenberg: The Astounding Story of One Book's Five-hundred-year Odyssey* (London: Atlantic Books, 2019).

33 *The Estelle Doheny Collection from St. Mary's of the Barrens, Perryville, Missouri: Fine Printed Books and Manuscripts, Friday, 14 December 2001* (New York: Christie's, 2001), 15.

and property developer, Kaspere Cohn, and wife of the banker Milton Getz, with a lavish Spanish-revival house in Beverly Hills frequented by the Hollywood set in the 1930s. Her collection, assembled mainly in the 1920s, included manuscripts previously owned by George D. Smith, William Morris, and Phillipps, and was dispersed in two sales in New York in 1936. Apart from three manuscripts bought by Otto Ege, it remains largely untraced. She also owned a sixteenth-century Aztec manuscript, which is now in the New York Public Library.³⁴

Susan Bliss had one of the largest collections among the women in the *Census*: twelve codices and twenty-one leaves and documents. She came from a very wealthy background: her father was a banker, while her mother was the daughter of a successful cotton merchant. She was a significant benefactor to Yale, Princeton, Harvard, and numerous other institutions, including the Metropolitan Museum—to which she donated in 1944 the “Welcome” window from her family’s New York house, featuring stained glass by John La Farge with a portrait of Susan herself. She also donated the library from the house (including the room itself) to Bowdoin College in Maine. The card catalogue of her rare book collection still survives, with about 18,000 entries.³⁵

Another large collection was that of Goodhart—initially assembled with her father Howard. By the time of the *Supplement* she was married to John Dozier Gordan, a Curator at the Library of Congress, and the contents of the collection had changed somewhat.³⁶ She collected across a wide variety of subjects, and bought from a range of dealers. She was a distinguished Renaissance scholar—the Renaissance Society of America has a prize named after her—but she also came from a very wealthy family, so she is perhaps the only one of these collectors who belongs in both the wealthy and scholarly groups. Her great-grandfather was one of the original Lehman brothers, and her uncle was Arthur Goodhart, Master of (and benefactor to) University College Oxford—the first American to become the master of an Oxford college. Phyllis was a significant benefactor to Bryn Mawr College, where her manuscript collection is now housed.³⁷

Phyllis Goodhart was a member of the Hrotswitha Club, formed in 1944 as an alternative to the Grolier Club, which did not admit women as members until 1976.³⁸ Ozment describes the Hrotswitha Club as “the most significant group of women book collectors in US history.”³⁹ Among its founder members were librarians and scholars from New York and New Jersey who feature in the *Census*. Ruth Granniss was the librarian

³⁴ de Ricci, *Census*, 1:12–16.

³⁵ “Susan Dwight Bliss (1882–1966), collector, philanthropist,” *Rare Book Collections @ Princeton* (blog), April 2, 2009, <https://blogs.princeton.edu/rarebooks/2009/04/susan-dwight-bliss-1882-1966-c/>, accessed May 12, 2023.

³⁶ de Ricci, *Census*, 2:1675–84, 2339–40; Faye and Bond, *Supplement*, 398–404.

³⁷ Patricia Labalme, “Phyllis Goodhart Gordan – A Memoir,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 47.1 (1994): 150–52.

³⁸ New York, Grolier Club, “Hrotswitha Club: Records and Publications, 1944–1999” (finding aid), www.grolierclub.org/default.aspx?p=v35ListDocument&ID=755370972&listid=11461&listitemid=122614&ssid=322536&dpageid=&listname=, accessed March 13, 2024.

³⁹ Ozment, *Hrotswitha Club*, 2.

of the Grolier Club. In the *Census*, she is listed as owning one French royal document, which had formerly belonged to Charles Eliot Norton (now untraced).⁴⁰ Her friend and fellow graduate of the Pratt Institute, Henrietta Bartlett, worked with de Ricci on his *Book Collector's Guide* of 1921—though without appearing as a co-author. Her collection amounted to twenty leaves and nine initials—mostly from liturgical manuscripts, and is now at Yale.⁴¹

Another founder member of the Hrotswitha Club was Eleanor Cross Marquand, the daughter of a New York banker and widow of the Princeton art historian Professor Allan Marquand, who had died in 1924. She owned a Book of Hours and an Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary, both inherited from him. Her own interest was in early botanical illustration and symbolism, and her collection of books and other materials on this subject is now in the New York Botanical Garden.⁴² Belle da Costa Greene was also a founder member of the Hrotswitha Club. Although not recorded as a collector in her own right, her work in documenting the holdings of the Morgan Library is acknowledged in the *Census*, with de Ricci praising her “unselfish and sympathetic cooperation extended over some fifteen years of common efforts towards more accuracy and fuller information.”⁴³

A significant number of other women belonged to the world of academia and scholarship, either in their own right or through their families, usually their father. Mrs. William B. Bowers (née Rosamond Forbes) was the daughter of the director of the Fogg Art Museum at Harvard, Professor Edward Waldo Forbes. She was an artist, and owned a Book of Hours given to her by her father, and an initial G from a manuscript of the Decretals.⁴⁴ Two sisters were the owners of Greek manuscripts bequeathed by their father: Mrs. Elizabeth Angel and Mrs. Clara Day St. John.⁴⁵ They were the daughters of Thomas Day Seymour, Professor of Greek at Yale, and alumnae of Bryn Mawr College. Elizabeth was married to the British sculptor John Angel, while Clara was the wife of Rev. Dr. George Clair St. John, headmaster of Choate School in Wallingford, Connecticut, from 1908 to 1947.⁴⁶

⁴⁰ de Ricci, *Census*, 2:1685; Mildred Abraham, “Ruth Shepard Granniss (1872–1954), Grolier Librarian, scholar, & lecturer,” *Gazette of the Grolier Club* n. s. 57 (2006): 24–49.

⁴¹ de Ricci, *Census*, 1:173; Kurt Zimmerman, “The Hunt for Early American Women Bibliographers,” *American Book Collecting* [blog], October 30, 2017, www.bookcollectinghistory.com/2017/10/the-hunt-for-early-american-women.html, accessed May 12, 2023.

⁴² de Ricci, *Census*, 2:1186; New York Botanic Garden, “Eleanor Cross Marquand Papers (PP),” www.nybg.org/library/finding_guide/archv/marquand_ppf.html, accessed May 12, 2023.

⁴³ de Ricci, *Census*, 2:1361–62.

⁴⁴ de Ricci, *Census*, 1:1054; Smithsonian Archives of American Art, “Oral history interview with Rosamond Forbes Pickhardt, 1995 Feb. 13,” www.aaa.si.edu/download_pdf_transcript/ajax?record_id=edanmdm-AAADCD_oh_215823, accessed May 12, 2023.

⁴⁵ de Ricci, *Census*, 1:178; 2:1652; Faye and Bond, *Supplement*, 387.

⁴⁶ Yale University Library, *Guide to the Seymour Family Papers*, Series IX and X. 1980. <https://hdl.handle.net/10079/fa/mssa.ms.0440>, accessed May 12, 2023.

Other women from the world of academia and scholarship included Miss Alpha L. Owens, owner of one document and two philosophical and theological codices.⁴⁷ After acquiring a PhD from Johns Hopkins University, she was a Professor of Modern Languages at Morris Harvey College in West Virginia from 1929 to 1947.⁴⁸ One of her codices is now at the University of Kansas; the others are untraced. The nine manuscripts owned by Mrs. William Alfred Quayle (Allie Hancock Davis) in the *Census* are also now in Kansas, at Baker University. Her father, Rev. Werter R. Davis was the first President of Baker University. She had been widowed three times; William Quayle, her third husband, had been President of Baker University in the 1890s and had originally acquired the manuscripts. They were all liturgical: three Books of Hours, two Breviaries (one formerly owned by Phillipps), two Rituals, one Diurnale, and one Missal—a somewhat surprising collection, perhaps, for a man who was a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church.⁴⁹

Outside the worlds of the wealthy and scholarly, a range of other women owned one or more medieval manuscripts. Among them was Mrs. Minerva L. Crane, the widow of newspaper editor Augustus Crane, who ran the *Elizabeth Daily Journal* in Elizabeth. She owned a two-volume genealogy of Pierre de Luxembourg, obtained in Florence in 1929.⁵⁰ Mrs. Maynard Ladd (Anna Coleman Watts) was a sculptor, educated in Paris and Rome, and married to a Boston physician. When he moved to France in 1917 as director of the Children's Bureau of the American Red Cross, she became involved in the facial reconstruction program there, creating new faces for mutilated soldiers out of galvanized copper, painted to match the skin tone. She was appointed Chevalier of the Légion d'Honneur in 1932. As well as owning a fifteenth-century Book of Hours, on loan to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, she wrote a novel, *Hieronymus Rides*, which was based on a medieval romance.⁵¹

Mrs. William Sherman (Flora) Walker was a political activist. The former wife of a Seattle businessman, she moved to Washington, DC, in the late 1920s and became a conservative lobbyist as chairman of the National Defense Committee of the Daughters of the American Revolution.⁵² Her collection consisted of twelve single leaves from nine

47 de Ricci, *Census*, 2:2194–95.

48 N. Kivilcim Yavuz, “Manuscript of the Month: A Manuscript, Wrapped in a Mystery, Inside an Enigma,” *Inside Spencer: the KSRL Blog*, April 1, 2020, <https://blogs.lib.ku.edu/spencer/manuscript-of-the-month-a-manuscript-wrapped-in-a-mystery-inside-an-enigma/>, accessed May 12, 2023.

49 de Ricci, *Census*, 1:726–27; “William Alfred Quayle,” in Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_Alfred_Quayle; Find a Grave, www.findagrave.com/memorial/142195203/allie-hancock-perry-_robbins-_quayle, accessed May 12, 2023.

50 de Ricci, *Census*, 2:1158.

51 de Ricci, *Census*, 1:954; Caroline Alexander, “Faces of War,” *Smithsonian Magazine* February 2007, www.smithsonianmag.com/arts-culture/faces-of-war-145799854/, accessed May 12, 2023.

52 Simon Wendt, “Defenders of Patriotism or Mothers of Fascism? The Daughters of the American Revolution, Antiradicalism, and Un-Americanism in the Interwar Period,” *Journal of American Studies* 47.4 (2013): 943–69; Kirsten Marie Delegard, *Battling Missi Bolsheviks: the Origins of Female Conservatism in the United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 97–100.

manuscripts of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, “containing fragments of liturgies with musical notation, canon law, sermons, etc., several removed from bindings.”⁵³ It is unclear how she acquired them, and they are now untraced.

Mrs. Jean J. Hastings, owned a collection of thirty-nine Flemish documents, seventeen of which were old enough to be listed in the *Census*. She described them as “a gift from the son of a former American consul in Belgium”—though his identity, and the circumstances involved, remain a mystery. She was a typist for the United States government—possibly in the office of Senator Robert D. Carey of Wyoming, since he arranged to have the documents lent to the Library of Congress for examination for the *Census*.⁵⁴ Her husband, who was a foreman for a road contractor, died in 1937 leaving her a widow with five young children. The Flemish documents are untraced.

Mrs. W. A. (Bird Gertrude Euans) Hawker, from Grand Rapids, owned a single leaf from an Antiphonal, which she said she had owned for “the last forty years.” It was large (51 × 35 cm) with a coat of arms featuring “a lion rampant gules” and the motto “a domino factum est istud,” and probably originated in a South German abbey.⁵⁵ She came from a farming family in Iowa and had completed four years of high school. Her husband, who was sixty-five in 1930, had been a conductor on the Pere Marquette Railroad in Michigan for at least thirty years, and was the son of a blacksmith.⁵⁶ Perhaps she had been given it as a wedding present, since she married in 1889? Or perhaps it was a family heirloom of some kind? It was clearly important to her, since she sent it to the Library of Congress for examination for the *Census*.

One of the most interesting women in the *Census* was Alice Millard (née Parsons), praised by de Ricci for her work in bringing manuscripts—and culture generally—to Southern California.⁵⁷ A teacher from a relatively modest background (her father worked in a butter factory), she married the Chicago rare book seller George M. Millard in 1901. They moved to California in 1914, where they set up George M. Millard Books. After his death in 1918 Alice carried on the business for nearly twenty years, while also expanding into antiques.⁵⁸ With clients including William Andrews Clark, Henry Huntington,

⁵³ de Ricci, *Census*, 1:507.

⁵⁴ de Ricci, *Census*, 1:904–5.

⁵⁵ de Ricci, *Census*, 2:1136.

⁵⁶ United States Federal Census 1930, Grand Rapids City, Ancestry.com, www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/6224/images/4608259_00353, accessed May 30, 2023.

⁵⁷ Michele V. Cloonan, “Alice Millard and the Gospel of Beauty and Taste,” in *Women in Print: Essays on the Print Culture of American Women from the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed. James P. Danky and Wayne A. Wiegand (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), 159–78.

⁵⁸ Margaret Leslie Davis, *The Lost Gutenberg: Obsession and Ruin in Pursuit of the World's Rarest Books* (London: Atlantic Books, 2020), 110–16; Robert Rosenthal, “Los Angeles & Chicago, Two Cities, Two Bibliophiles,” in *A Bibliophile's Los Angeles, Essays for the International Association of Bibliophiles on the Occasion of Its XIVth Congress* (Los Angeles: University of California, 1985), 3–27; Madison Lowery, “The curious case of George M. Millard Books,” Santa Barbara Trust for Historic Preservation, *Dispatches from the Presidio Neighborhood* [blog], March 27, 2015, <https://sbthp.wordpress.com/2015/03/27/the-curious-case-of-george-m-millard-books/>, accessed May 12, 2023.

and later Doheny, she was sufficiently successful to commission a house in Pasadena from Frank Lloyd Wright. Millard's private manuscript collection consisted of a Bible, a legal manuscript, and two liturgical leaves.⁵⁹ They are now in the Huntington Library, together with her papers and book collection.

These women mainly belonged to two worlds. Those from the wealthiest families, whether as wives or daughters, collected widely and acted as benefactors to museums, universities, and colleges. Those from the world of scholarship were academics and librarians, involved in curating and studying manuscripts and rare books. There was relatively little overlap between these two groups, with the important exception of the Hrotswitha Club, which provided the basis for a network where the scholarly and the wealthy could demonstrate their common interest in medieval studies. Outside these groups were a small number of other women, including artists, writers, and a bookseller, for whom the *Census* served as a kind of temporary, informal network.

Conclusion

Collecting and collections may simply be a reflection of the "magpie instinct" to bring together "shiny baubles," as the archivist Joan Schwartz recently suggested—in contrast with archives with their coherent purpose and gradual accretion over time.⁶⁰ However the women recorded in the *Census* seem to have found sufficient significance in their ownership of manuscripts and documents to go to the trouble of reporting them to a national stock-take, in which the very wealthy rubbed shoulders, metaphorically, with scholars, artists, typists, and wives of railroad conductors.

While the wealthy women and the wives of aspirational professionals liked to demonstrate their culture and taste (and wealth) through collecting, manuscripts were usually only one aspect of a broader program of collecting other kinds of artistic and cultural objects, building and decorating lavish houses, and participating in philanthropic activities. For the scholars and librarians, manuscripts reflected their intellectual and curatorial interests, as well as expressing their artistic and cultural leanings. But what are we to make of the other collectors who do not readily fit into these groups? What value and meaning did manuscripts hold for them? They seem to have been more likely to acquire fragments, single leaves, and documents, and to acquire manuscripts through gifts and inheritance. This phenomenon is not necessarily limited to women collectors; Sydney Cockerell, for example, constantly used gifts of manuscripts to enhance his friendships and social connections.⁶¹ However, in general, these women seem to have been less focused on auctions and competitive acquisitions than male collectors like Cockerell. For a significant number of these women, manuscripts (especially single leaves) often

⁵⁹ de Ricci, *Census*, 1:24–25.

⁶⁰ Joan Schwartz, "Between Analogue Photographs and their Digital Surrogates," Leverhulme Lecture, V&A Museum, London, October 27, 2022.

⁶¹ Christopher de Hamel, "Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts from the Library of Sir Sydney Cockerell (1867–1962)," *British Library Journal* 13 (1987): 186–210.

circulated in the context of social networking and family relationships. These kinds of relationships are also an essential part of the social meaning of manuscript collecting.

For all de Ricci's defensiveness about the inclusion of private collectors, the *Census* provides an important insight into the world of private manuscript ownership in the earlier twentieth century. Despite his prediction of the demise of private collecting, there are still many manuscripts, leaves, and documents in private hands. In the art world, there are several sites where private collectors can record and share information about their collections, including *Collecteurs* and *Artscapy*. A similar approach to documenting private owners could do much to help our understanding of the ownership of medieval and Renaissance manuscripts today. However the *Census* is of particular and enduring value in illuminating an often-neglected network within the world of manuscript collecting. The women and their manuscript collections recorded in the *Census* are an important corrective to male-dominated histories, providing glimpses of a different approach to the collecting and ownership of manuscripts.

APPENDIX

Table 18.3: Women Named as Owners in the *Census* and *Supplement*.

Name	Location	Codices	Single items	Census reference (all references are to the <i>Census</i> unless otherwise stated)	Conway-Davis
Angel, Elizabeth Day Seymour, Mrs.	New York	1	0	2:1652; <i>Supplement</i> , 387	76
Barney, Alice C., Mrs.	Washington, DC	1	0	1:489	25
Bartlett, Henrietta, Miss	New Haven	0	20	1:173-74	20
Bliss, Susan D., Miss	New York	12	21	2:1662-66	77
Boggs, Elizabeth, Miss	Beverly Hills	1	0	1:11	3
Bovey, Kate (Mrs. Charles C.)	Minneapolis	0	4	2:1140	56
Bowers, William B., Mrs.	Cambridge, MA	1	1	1:1054	50
Boyer, Blanche B., Prof.	South Hadley	1	0	1:1065	32, 55
Bull, W. Lanman, Mrs.	New York	0	1	2:1668	78
Clark, E. P. S., Mrs.	Boston	1	0	1:951	46
Crane, Minerva L., Mrs.	Elizabeth, NJ	1	0	2:1158	62
Crummer, Myrtle, Mrs.	Hollywood	1	0	1:19	4
Diman, Louise, Miss	Providence	1	0	2:2152	109
Doheny, Estelle, Mrs.	Los Angeles	35	31	1:20-21; 2:2242-43; <i>Supplement</i> , 9-15, 18	8
Dohrmann, A. B. C., Mrs.	San Francisco	3	0	1:31	13
Emerson, William, Mrs.	Cambridge, MA	4	0	1:1055-56; <i>Supplement</i> , 285	50
Garrison, Elisha E., Mrs.	Greenwich, CT	1	0	1:156	17
Getz, Milton E., Mrs.	New York	41	4	1:12-16; 2:2240-41; <i>Supplement</i> , 9	3
Goodhart, Phyllis W. (and Howard L. Goodhart)	New York	41	4	2:1675-84, 2339-40	79

Name	Location	Codices	Single items	Census reference (all references are to the <i>Census</i> unless otherwise stated)	Conway-Davis
Gordan, Phyllis Goodhart (and John Dozier Gordan Jr.)	New York	43	0	<i>Supplement</i> , 398–404	79
Granniss, Ruth Sheppard, Miss	New York	0	1	2:1685	79
Hastings, Jean J., Mrs.	Washington Grove, MD	0	17	1:904–5	44
Hawker, W. A., Mrs.	Grand Rapids	0	1	2:1136	56
Hawkes, Morris, Mrs.	New York	1	0	2:1686	79
Hellman, C. Doris (Mrs. Morton Pepper)	New York	1	0	<i>Supplement</i> , 405	79
Hooper, Alice Foster Perkins, Mrs.	Manchester by the Sea, MA	1	0	1:1063	51
Jewett, Sarah Orne, Miss	South Berwick, MN	0	2	1:750	41
Kyreakou, Ethel, Mrs.	Washington, DC	2	0	2:2275	25
Ladd, Maynard, Mrs.	Boston	1	0	1:954	47
Lambert, Elizabeth W., Mrs.	New York	2	0	2:1701	80
Lathrop, A., Miss	New York	1	0	2:1701	80
Mabury, Bella, Miss	Los Angeles	1	0	1:22	9
Marquand, Allan, Mrs.	Princeton	2	0	2:1186	65
McCormick, Edith Rockefeller, Mrs.	Chicago	1	1	1:616; <i>Supplement</i> , 165	32
Millard, George Madison, Mrs.	Pasadena	2	2	1:24, 2:2243	10
Nichols, Austin P., Mrs.	Haverhill, MA	1	0	1:1062	51
Noble, Eugene Allen, Mrs.	Providence	1	0	2:2154	109
Owens, Alpha Loretta, Miss	Barboursville, WV	2	1	2:2194–95	119
Parker, Dudrea, Mrs. (and Sumner Parker)	Brooklandville, MD	5	4	1:902	45

Name	Location	Codices	Single items	Census reference (all references are to the <i>Census</i> unless otherwise stated)	Conway-Davis
Pearson, Edward J., Mrs.	New York	6	0	2:1721	81
Pontius, Adele, Miss	Cincinnati	1	0	2:1927	91
Poole, John Hudson, Mrs.	Pasadena	1	0	1:25	11
Pratt, Vera H., Mrs.	New York	6	0	2:1809-10	81
Price, Christine, Miss	Berkeley	1	0	1:10	2
Quayle, William Alfred, Mrs.	Baldwin, KA	9	0	1:726-27, 2:2286	39
Rabinowitz, Hannah, Mrs. (and Louis Rabinowitz)	Sands Point, NY	13	0	<i>Supplement</i> , 412-14	86
Reynolds, J. C., Mrs.	Jacksonville	1	0	2:2277	27
St. John, Clara Day, Mrs.	Wallingford, CT	1	0	1:178; <i>Supplement</i> , 103	21
Sanford, Eva Matthews, Miss	Oneonta (Census); Sweet Briar, VA (Suppl.)	0	3	2:1855; <i>Supplement</i> , 525	117
Serpell, Althea, Miss	Norfolk, VA	1	7	2:2175-76	116
Sherwood, Merriam, Dr.	New York	0	1	2:1821	83
Skinner, Belle	Holyoke	1	0	1:1063	51
Taylor, G. Winship, Mrs.	Baltimore	1	0	2:2296	43
Thomas, Marie W.	Denver	3	0	1:153	16
Tinker, Edward Laroque, Mrs.	New York	0	1	2:1844	84
Walker, William Sherman, Mrs.	Washington, DC	0	12	1:507	26
Weld, Mary, Miss	Boston	2	0	1:962	47
Wheeler, H.S., Miss	Wellesley	0	2	1:1079	53
Witmer, Eleanor M., Miss.	New York	0	1	2:1854	84

Table 18.4: Couples with Husband Named First.

Name	Location	Census Reference	Conway-Davis
Foulet, Alfred and Margaret	Princeton	<i>Supplement</i> , 313	65
Garrett, John and Alice	Baltimore	1:862-64; <i>Supplement</i> , 200	43
Gutman, Mr. and Mrs. Nelson	Baltimore	<i>Supplement</i> , 200	43
Hyde, Mr. and Mrs. Donald	Somerville, NJ	<i>Supplement</i> , 314-15	66
Loomis, Dr. and Mrs. Roger S.	New York	<i>Supplement</i> , 405	81
Spitz, Joel and Maxine	Glencoe, IL	<i>Supplement</i> , 166-67	34
Straus, Mr. and Mrs. Percy S.	New York	2:1841	84

Table 18.5: Other Women Mentioned in the *Census*.

Name	Location	Census reference	Notes
Alexander, Miss Constance G.	Unknown	1:1079	Also has a Gradual leaf (see H. S. Wheeler)
Bliss, Mrs. George T.	New York	2:1662-66	She and Susan Bliss gave ninety-three manuscripts, books & relics of Mary Queen of Scots to the BnF in 1927
Brainerd, Mrs. William H.	[New York?]	1:1079	Also has a Gradual leaf given by Miss A. Lathrop (see H. S. Wheeler)
Greene, Belle da Costa	New York	2:1361-62	Thanked for her work on the Morgan Library entries
Hearst, Mrs. Phoebe A.	[Pleasanton], CA	1:3-7	Previous owner of nineteen manuscripts donated to University of California Berkeley (died in 1919)
Mathewson, Mrs. Gertrude H.	Berkeley	1:10	Previous owner of <i>Officium BVM</i> now owned by Christine Price
McCormick, Elizabeth Day	Chicago	<i>Supplement</i> , 165	Cousin of Edith Rockefeller McCormick; owned a Greek Apocalypse manuscript and bought a New Testament manuscript from Edith's estate in 1942
Naumberg, Mrs. Aaron	[Cambridge, MA?]	1:1051	Bequeathed <i>Officium BVM</i> to the Fogg Museum in 1930

Name	Location	Census reference	Notes
Van Sinderen, Mrs. A. [Annie]	Brooklyn	1:1056	Noted as owning one vol. of an <i>Officium BVM</i> , the other vol. of which was owned by Mrs Emerson—but this MS is later listed as owned by her husband Adrian (<i>Census</i> 2:1205), among four manuscripts “inherited...from his father-in-law Alfred T. White.”
Wood, Mrs. E. Allen	Greenwich, CT	1:1055–56	Sister of Mrs Emerson—owner of 1 leaf