

# The London Library and the Intelligentsia of Victorian London

HELEN O'NEILL

[I]t is clear that the existence of an intelligentsia is more often asserted than it is demonstrated, and more often assumed than it is explored.

*William Whyte*

THE DIPLOMAT, AUTHOR, AND LAWYER W. D. CHRISTIE articulated the founding principles of the Society of the London Library in a published letter to the Earl of Clarendon. Christie declared that the Library would play a role in the intellectual life of the nation by “guiding and lightening the labours of those who build up the nation’s wisdom and the nation’s fame” (32). Established in 1841 as a lending library for subscribing members nine years after the First Reform Act (1832), nearly a decade before the Public Libraries Act (1850), and more than a quarter century before the Second Reform Act (1867), the London Library provided a singular service in the metropolis offering books “in all departments of knowledge and in all languages” (Christie 34) to subscribing members that were not available from circulating libraries or for loan from the British Museum. Pre-dating the Science Museum, Natural History Museum, National Portrait Gallery, and Victoria and Albert Museum, the London Library remains a subscription lending library today. Its book collections acquired since 1841 by purchase, donation, and bequest number in excess of one million volumes, have not been subject to systematic stock weeding, and remain therefore a remarkably intact collection

used and shaped by its Victorian members. In 1841 the Library, capitalizing on advances in rail and post infrastructure, positioned itself as a national institution with international credentials: “The Library will contain books in all departments of literature and philosophy and in all languages. . . . [I]t will be worthy of the city and the nation” (Christie 32). Founded at the instigation of Thomas Carlyle, the Library’s governance structure, headed by the young, cosmopolitan Prince Albert, included aristocrats, scholars, social reformers, writers, and public intellectuals in its body. The Library’s rationale made a direct correlation between supporting writers and societal wellbeing: “The interests of authors are public rather than private interests . . . promoting the interests of authors, will necessarily promote the interests of literature and learning, and in promoting these interests, necessarily promote the greatest and best interests of mankind” (Christie 32).

Differentiated from the British Museum, where books could only be consulted during opening hours and from circulating libraries, which serviced popular tastes only, the London Library advertised the quality of its growing collections with the names (and reputations) of subscribing members throughout the era. The Library’s founding rationale, was published and made widely available from leading publishers and booksellers including Henry Hooper; Murray; Moxon; Chapman and Hall; Hatchards; and Smith, Elder, and Co.; and it established the basis for much that the Library would say about itself over the next 175 years.<sup>1</sup> The *Commonplace Book* of Robert Harrison (1857–83)—composed of anecdotes and recollections of his interactions with eminent members—was transcribed and published in the *Cornhill Magazine* 90 years after the Library’s founding.<sup>2</sup> This type of anecdotal record produced to coincide with institutional anniversaries is a feature of published writing about the Library that culminated in *Rude Words: a Discursive History of the London Library*, which marked the Library’s 150th anniversary.<sup>3</sup> Three twentieth-century pamphlets by Charles Hagberg Wright (Librarian,

<sup>1</sup> See Gillam (1960, 1967), Harrison (1907), and Nowell-Smith (1958, 1972).

<sup>2</sup> See Browne (1931).

<sup>3</sup> See Wells (1991).

1893–1940) cover the Library's early history and its progress between 1913 and 1940, with the final instalment published in 1841 to commemorate the Library's centenary.<sup>4</sup> Though little represented in scholarly discourse, William Baker covered the establishment, administration, first Librarian and early catalogs of the Library (1990, 1992); its early rules and regulations (1988); and he analyzed briefly the borrowings of Thomas Carlyle between 1841 and 1844 (1981).

During the Library's centenary, which fell during the London Blitz, committee member E. M. Forster—whose membership of the Library spanned 60 years, including 10 as a committee member (1938–48) and 9 as Vice President (1961–70)—wrote of the library's importance: "The London Library is not typically English, it is typically civilized. It is a symbol of civilisation" (313). The term "civilisation" resurfaces a decade later in T. S. Eliot's 1952 presidential address to the membership, in which he declared that should the Library not continue it would be a "disaster" to the world of letters stressing "the Library as itself performing a service to English civilisation" (n.p.). In 1959 Winston Churchill, Vice President of the Library (1949–65), wrote that "[t]he debt of those who have benefited from this famous institution is great. . . . The closing of this most worthy foundation would be a tragedy."<sup>5</sup> These claims about the importance of the Library, however, have never been tested. Descriptions of parts of the Library's collections exist,<sup>6</sup> and the role of the Library in the circulation of French fiction in Victorian London has also been considered.<sup>7</sup> Much published material on the Library is a hybrid mix of institutional history with collections and service promotion packaged for profile, marketing, or fundraising purposes and often undertaken by London Library presidents, librarians, committee members, or staff.<sup>8</sup> Douglas Matthews, Librarian (1980–93), noted the

<sup>4</sup> Wright published the first two pamphlets in 1922 and 1926.

<sup>5</sup> Winston Churchill to the London Library 12 November 1959 London Library Records, Autograph Letters, 2: 28.

<sup>6</sup> See Field (2013), Gregg (1984), Matthews (1973), and Phipps (2006).

<sup>7</sup> See Atkinson (2013).

<sup>8</sup> See Bell (1989, 1999), [Berlin] *Founders and Followers* (1992), Gascoigne (1983), Lynn (1992), and Macintyre (2006).

prevalence of testimonial evidence about the importance of the Library to writers' lives (qtd. in Grindea 61), a conviction that Isaiah Berlin (Vice President 1968–97) illustrated succinctly in another anniversary publication: “The Russian shelves at the London Library . . . can be said to have formed me.” Berlin went on to highlight the role of the Library as a meeting place for what he called in 1992, “the intelligentsia” (x).

A Christie's auction catalog provides evidence in support of Berlin's statement. In 1960 the literary community rallied to support the Library, which was facing a financial crisis after losing a three year legal battle with Westminster Council over its exemption from rates under the Scientific Societies Act (1843). The auction catalog records donations of literary manuscripts, rare books, and art given by Library members for a fundraising auction to keep the Library solvent. Those who donated material for auction included many writers: John Masefield, John Betjeman, H. E. Bates, Lawrence Durrell, Edmund Blunden, \*E. M. Forster,<sup>9</sup> \*T. S. Eliot, Robert Graves, Graham Greene, Aldous Huxley, Cecil Day Lewis, Compton Mackenzie, Somerset Maugham, J. B. Priestley, Edith Sitwell, Stephen Spender, James Strachey, and Evelyn Waugh all contributed. Some book donors—including Vanessa and Clive Bell, Basil Blackwell, Macmillan & Co., Pickering and Chatto, G. M. Trevelyan, and Leonard Woolf—had connections to the Library that stretched back to its Victorian roots. While almost wholly absent from scholarly discourse the Library is present in members' fictional output over three consecutive centuries appearing in works as disparate as *A Rose in June* (1874) by Margaret Oliphant to *Enduring Love* (1997) by Ian McEwan.<sup>10</sup> A further indication of the Library's national profile can be seen in the national and regional press coverage of its annual general meetings during the Victorian era;<sup>11</sup> in the outcry in the press in 1960 when Westminster Council removed its

<sup>9</sup> Throughout the essay, an asterisk before a name indicates the individual's life membership of the London Library.

<sup>10</sup> See O'Neill (2015).

<sup>11</sup> *The Times* regularly reported the Library's annual general meetings in addition to the appointment of presidents; calls for subscriptions to fund building works in 1896; the opening of newly constructed stacks and reading room in 1898 and the publication of its catalogs during the era.

exemption from rates;<sup>12</sup> and in twenty-first century reactions to a membership fee increase in 2007.<sup>13</sup>

To investigate claims about the significance of the Library to the Victorian intelligentsia I created a dataset of Victorian members by transcribing institutional membership records including Membership Registers 1841–1900; Membership Application Forms 1874–1900; Minutes of the Committee 1841–1900; member lists in London Library catalogs 1842, 1847, 1856, 1865, 1870, 1888, 1896, and data found in published rules and member lists. This process produced a dataset of 6800 members that was checked against the online edition of the *ODNB* to identify a first trawl of individuals deemed to have shaped British history and culture worldwide, resulting in a subset of 848 members (12.5%). The *ODNB* was selected for use for this purpose because it is the national record of individuals who have shaped British history and culture and as such offers the widest sieve through which to strain the membership data while offering the potential to make collective statements about those who shaped the Victorian era. Furthermore, the *DNB* is a Victorian creation. Entries from the editorship of Leslie

<sup>12</sup> For press reports and reactions to the removal of rates exemption in 1960, see “London Library Not A Closed Circle” (*Daily Telegraph*, 27 July 1957), “The London Library” (*Financial Times*, 12 Aug. 1857), “Advancing Letters or Amusing the Cultured” (*Manchester Gazette*, 23 Aug. 1959), “A Rate Demand To Ruin The London Library” (*Evening News*, 30 June 1958), “Rate Would Bring Ruin: £10,000 Plea by London Library” (*Daily Telegraph*, 1 July 1958), “London Library Faces Ruin Through Rates Call” (*Manchester Gazette*, 1 July 1958), “Debt to London Library” (*The Times*, 2 July 1958), “Fighting for Life” (*The Observer*, 8 July 1958), “London Library Loses Rating Appeal” (*The Times*, 30 July 1958), “London Library loses rating Appeal” (*The Bookseller*, 7 Nov. 1959: 872), “M.P.s Concern Over London Library” (*The Times*, 20 Nov. 1959), “BBC Gives £1000 to the London Library” (*Sunday Times*, 27 Dec. 1959), and “Art Sale to Help Pay the £20,000 Rate” (*Evening News*, 3 March 1960).

<sup>13</sup> For indicative reactions to the fee increase in 2007, see Paul Barker, et al., “The London Library” (*Times Literary Supplement*, 9 Nov. 2007: 6), Bamber Gascoigne, et al., “The London Library” (*TLS*, 23 Nov. 2007: 6), Richard Davenport-Hines, et al., “The London Library” (*TLS*, 16 Nov. 2007: 6), Susan Hill, Lee Langley, and Carolina Moorehead, “The London Library” (*TLS*, 30 Nov. 2007: 6), A. S. Byatt, “The London Library” (*TLS*, 14 Dec. 2007: 6), and David Herman, Nicholas Murray, and Christopher Hawtree, “The London Library” (*TLS*, 21 Dec. 2007: 6).

Stephen have been retained, which creates an enriched tool of historical specificity when considering Victorian intellectuals. The data has also been cross-referenced with the letters of Thomas Carlyle, a process that shows a high correlation with Carlyle's professional, personal, and familial circles. In short Carlyle wrote 2,343 letters to at least 100 people in the dataset, sending between 1 and 765 letters to each. *ODNB* dates and occupation descriptors are used throughout. Home addresses, provided as standard in *ODNB* entries, were invaluable for confirming the identity of individuals in the membership records where name, address, occupation and nominee information is recorded in many, though not all of the extant manuscript records. This sub group of members is also considered in relation to a dataset of Victorian book donors I collated from the Library's annual reports.<sup>14</sup> This wide, shallow methodological approach is designed to answer two questions: was membership of the Library widespread amongst the intelligentsia and constant throughout the era, and what relationship did this group have to the Library in terms of book donation and institutional governance. Did this group augment and enrich the Library's book collections and take part in its institutional life?

For William Whyte, defining Victorian intellectual goes beyond the familial associations identified by Noel Annan in his study. Whyte includes a much wider constituency of members generated by far reaching changes in economic, political, technological, and cultural life: "[T]here was indeed a group of Victorians that we can confidently call intellectuals. More than this . . . the intellectual was a product of the Victorian world: the consequences of changes in society, technology, discourse and culture" (520). This definition informs the following discussion. When the Library opened in 1841, 167 individuals were classed as writers on the census. By 1900 the number had risen to 11,060.<sup>15</sup> Whyte recognizes that the expansion in readers and writers, technological advances in printing technology, the growth of the education sector and of literacy rates, the increasing specialization and professionalization of

<sup>14</sup> London Library Records, Annual Reports to the Members, 1842–1952.

<sup>15</sup> See Whyte (2012), 522.

the disciplines during the era, the growth of the railway network and the transatlantic traffic in intellectual celebrities to North America—all had an impact on the growth of this group. For him, “The social, technological, educational, and economic structures of the Victorian world consequently created a space for intellectuals: a larger more sustainable space that had ever existed before” (523). My use of the term “intelligentsia” refers to an intellectual group whose growth was brought about and accelerated by technological, political, economic, and cultural drivers and who formed a network of interrelations through familial, professional, personal, and cultural ties.

Understanding the importance of this group to the Library is inhibited by some limitations in primary archival sources. The manuscript membership records for 1841 and for 1847 to 1856 are no longer extant. Further, there are no address, nominee, or occupation data in published lists of the first 500 members. There are also inevitably spoiled or indecipherable entries in extant manuscript records, so there is missing data; nonetheless, the bulk of the era is well covered. Individuals have only been included in the data where corroborating evidence has confirmed their identity, such as their address, occupation, signature, or relationship to a nominee. Close work on the membership records and contemporaneous marketing material has shown that individual membership covered “household” use: a key construct when analysing the records: “Any one member, subscribing to the London Library will be able to procure for a whole family a constant supply of good books . . . for joint family reading, or to assist some one member of the family in the prosecution of a particular study” (Christie 28). A Library notice from November 1890 demonstrates that “household” membership was consistent throughout the Victorian era and also highlights the extended and unrecorded use of the collections by friends of subscribing members: “The Committee having been informed that certain members are in the habit of allowing friends which are not subscribers to take out books in their name are compelled to remind them that the books are intended for the use of members and their households, and not for strangers who

contribute nothing to the support of the Library.”<sup>16</sup>

There is evidence that “household” use continued well into the twentieth century in newspaper reports about the resignation of Graham Greene, who canceled his membership in 1962 in protest that his secretary was stopped from browsing the stacks. *The Telegraph* (5 Nov.) reported, “In fact Mr Green has never been a member. The subscription taken out in 1943 was in the name of his wife.”<sup>17</sup> The concept of “household membership” is important because it includes within legitimate research parameters, library use by partners, spouses, or children in the household of the subscribing member. It explains for instance the absence of George Eliot in extant records until after the death of her partner G. H. Lewes (a member from 1845), even though she records her use of the Library in her Common Place book in 1859 while conducting research for *Mill on the Floss* (1860).<sup>18</sup> She appears in the membership records, however, in 1880 (after Lewes’s death) under her married name Mrs. M. A. E. Cross. It explains the application for membership of \*Virginia Woolf just four days after the death of her father, Leslie Stephen and the application of \*George Bernard Shaw on 12 September 1943, the day his wife (a life member from 1898) died.<sup>19</sup>

“Life” membership, as opposed to an annual subscription, was indicated in published lists of members with an asterisk. However it should not be assumed that life members necessarily made more serious or sustained use of the Library than annual subscribers. Published lists of Library members in 1896, 1905, and 1911 include the date each member joined and provides evidence that the overwhelming majority of members paid annually even after decades of membership.<sup>20</sup> Annual

<sup>16</sup> London Library Records: Notices.

<sup>17</sup> “Mr Greene’s Membership.” *Daily Telegraph*, 5 November 1962, 12.

<sup>18</sup> See Eliot, *Journals* 100, 105, and 109.

<sup>19</sup> Both Woolf and Shaw were life members. *London Library Membership Records* (1943) indicate that on his joining form, Shaw noted, “My wife, who was a life member died this morning. As I am in my 87th year I shall not survive her long.”

<sup>20</sup> *London Library Laws with an Introduction and a List of the Members*. London: Printed by the Women’s Printing Society Ltd, 1896, 1905 and 1911. In 1862 an annual subscription was £3 a year or £2 a year with an entrance fee of

subscribers in 1905 included (Edward) Frederick Leveson after 61 years of membership; Thomas Hay Sweet Estcott and Frederick Norgate after 40; William Blackwood, Charles Booth, Andrew Chatto, John Colam, John Collier, Andrew Lang and Frederick Pollock after 30; Mona Caird, Austin Dobson, Edmund Gosse, Sidney Webb and Emery Walker after 20 and Pearl Craigie, A. E. Houseman, John Lane and Graham Wallas after 10. Further, it should not be assumed that membership even for a finite period is necessarily insignificant. Bram Stoker for instance joined the Library in 1890 but disappears from membership records 7 years later. While his membership is short it coincides precisely with the period in which he began his research for *Dracula*.<sup>21</sup>

For almost the entire Victorian period the London Library was simply a town house filled with books until major construction works occurred between 1896 and 1898. Victorian members used the Library at close quarters in a very domestic setting. The Annual General Meeting of 1879 was reported in *The Times* (30 May) as taking place “at the house in St James’s Square” (5), a colloquialism also found in the Committee Minutes of the time. In the *Times* (6 Dec. 1898) Leslie Stephen refers to conditions in “the house” prior to the remodeling work. Books on German metaphysics were shelved “in the attics which had once been the servants’ bedrooms” and political economy was housed “down in the storage regions once intended for pantries and coal holes” (10). Reading rooms were provided in “the house” and an extant photograph shows tables (furnished with table cloths) for member use.<sup>22</sup> Harrison’s *Common Place Book* records informal interactions with members. The following conversation with John Chapman, proprietor of the *Westminster Review* about his editor (George Eliot), reveals the extent of the Library’s literary associations: “Miss Evans, the author of *Adam Bede* . . . possesses, says Dr. Chapman (of *West’ Review*), one of the most massive intellects of our time. Combe, the physiologist and

---

£6. Life membership in comparison was £26: a differential that remained constant throughout the era.

<sup>21</sup> See Eighteen-Bisang (2008) 4.

<sup>22</sup> London Library Records. Archive photograph album.

phrenologist told him (Chapman) that he had never seen a woman's head indicative of so much power, and very few men's heads" (Browne 746).

The Library Committee met monthly and gathered annually for meetings, at which they acted as nominees for family, friends, and professional contacts. Many responded to a call for donations to fund building works undertaken at the end of the century.<sup>23</sup> Leslie Stephen's speech at the opening of the new premises provides a sense of the opportunities for chance meetings amid the bustling atmosphere of the Library: "[T]he book exchange on the ground floor offers abundant room even for the rush of borrowers on a busy Saturday afternoon."<sup>24</sup> It is clear that there were opportunities for Victorian members to meet both formally and informally on library premises. Two of Carlyle's letters demonstrate use of the Library as a meeting point for intellectual exchange. On 5 April 1850, he wrote to Thomas Frankland Lewis: "I decide to send you the Paper. . . . It has lain here many weeks, waiting some chance of meeting you; and now I will leave it at the London Library to see whether it can there fall in with you" (*CLO*; *CL* 25: 60). Similarly, he wrote to John Forster on 6 March 1856: "I went one evg to the Athenaeum upon chance, another to the London Library Committee, with a view of trying to see you; but did not either time; therefore now write" (*CLO*; *CL* 31: 45).

The Library, which started life in rented rooms at 49 Pall Mall before moving to nearby St. James's Square in 1845, was geographically sited near other literary and intellectual clearing houses that were clustered around The Strand, an area populated by booksellers, publishers, newspaper and periodical offices.<sup>25</sup> The publisher Startridge Ellis had premises on New Bond Street; John Chapman and *The Westminster Review*, the Beetons, Chapman and Hall, *The Illustrated London News*, *The Morning Chronicle*, *The Times*, *The Economist* and *The Lancet* were all situated on The Strand; the Bentley brothers had premises on New Burlington Street; Andrew Chatto and John Camden Hotten were sited on

<sup>23</sup> Donors were listed by name in the London Library Committee Annual Report to the Subscribers 1898.

<sup>24</sup> Reported in "The London Library," *The Times*, Monday, 5 December 1898.

<sup>25</sup> See *The Post Office London Directory*. London: W. Kelly, 1841, 1851, 1898.

Piccadilly and John Murray had premises just off Piccadilly at 50 Albermarle Street. It is evident too that the Library was visited by international intellectuals. An extant page of "Foreign Visitors" at the back of a register of new members, records the 1873 visits of Edward and Ralph Waldo Emerson and Charles Eliot Norton. The visit of Senator Charles Sumner is recorded in Harrison's *Common Place Notebook* in 1857.

### Data Analysis

A macroscopic analysis of the data shows that membership of the Library, evaluated by date of joining, was statistically consistent across the era. The highest number (226) in the first decade, shown in Table 1, can be attributed to the initial intake of members when the Library was founded in 1841 and is balanced by the lowest figure (49) in the following decade. When the data is analyzed in segments of 19 years (Table 2), it is clear that the attraction of new members who are recognized in the *ODNB* remains constant throughout the era.

**Table 1:**  
**London Library members in *ODNB* by date of joining.**

Date of joining	Members in the <i>ODNB</i>	%
1841–1850	226	26.7
1851–1860	49	5.8
1861–1870	164	19.3
1871–1880	120	14.2
1881–1890	133	15.7
1891–1900	156	18.3
Total	848	100.0

**Table 2:**  
**London Library members in *ODNB* by date of joining**

Date of joining	Members in the <i>ODNB</i>	%
1841–1860	275	32.4
1861–1880	284	33.5
1881–1900	289	34.1
Total	848	100.0

Table 3 shows the gender divide in the data. 83 women account for just under 10% of the total with over 70% of female members

in the dataset joining between 1881 and 1900.

**Table 3:**  
**London Library members in *ODNB* by gender**

Gender	Members in the <i>ODNB</i>	%
Men	765	90.2
Women	83	9.8
Total	848	100.0

**Table 4:**  
**London Library female members in *ODNB* by date of joining**

Date of joining	Female Members in the <i>ODNB</i>	%
1841–1860	5	6.0
1861–1880	19	22.9
1881–1900	59	71.1
Total	83	100.0

The average (mean) age of joining the Library is 40.5, the age range is 70 (15–85); the median is 38 and the most commonly occurring age on joining is 28.

**Table 5:**  
**Average, median and mode of age when joining**

Mean (Average)	40.5
Median	38
Mode	28
Range	70
Total numbers	828

**Table 6:**  
**Frequency of occupation keywords from *ODNB* descriptors**

91 writer	11 dean	6 theorist	3 statistician
86 politician	11 antiquary	6 teacher	3 sociologist
81 historian	11 activist	6 prime	3 socialist
61 author	10 head	6 merchant	3 secretary
52 scholar	10 diplomatist	6 essayist	3 scientist
41 journalist	10 colonial	6 banker	3 reform
34 civil servant	10 college	5 wife	3 psychologist
30 novelist	10 campaigner	5 unitarian	3 psychiatrist
30 literary	9 surgeon	5 sculptor	3 proprietor

30 clergyman	9 philanthropist	5 numismatist	3 polemicist
29 publisher	9 engineer	5 newspaper	5 manager
27 church	9 economist	5 manager	3 patron
25 poet	9 barrister	5 geologist	3 parliamentary
25 painter	8 women	5 educational	3 orientalist
25 england	8 theologian	5 east	3 oriental
24 editor	8 public	5 company	3 official
22 officer	8 medical	5 bishop	3 naturalist
20 social	8 legal	5 advocate	3 museum
20 physician	8 governor	5 actor	3 military
20 lawyer	8 critic	4 shipowner	3 mathematician
19 judge	8 collector	4 science	3 leader
19 army	7 traveller	4 schoolmaster	3 industrialist
18 administrator	7 translator	4 printer	3 illustrator
16 india	7 theatre	4 positivist	3 geographer
16 biographer	7 roman	4 portrait	3 engraver
15 reformer	7 religious	4 naval	3 egyptologist
15 playwright	7 philologist	4 manufacturer	3 convert
13 political	7 jurist	4 librarian	3 controversialist
13 minister	7 journal	4 landscape	3 chief
13 art	7 headmaster	4 hostess	3 canterbury
12 classical	7 ecclesiastical	4 financier	3 businessman
12 architect	7 chemist	4 bookseller	3 book
11 rights	7 catholic	4 archivist	3 biblical
11 philosopher	7 artist	3 women's	3 arts
11 educationist	7 archaeologist	3 watercolour	3 anthropologist

Table 6 shows a breakdown of the frequency of words (occurring three times and above) that appear in the *ODNB* occupation descriptors presented in descending order. This approach was taken to analyze the occupational spread of the group as 53% of the individuals in the dataset were prominent in more than one field, which was indicated in the presence of the word “and” 446 times in the occupation descriptor data. Table 6 brings to light many of the professions from politics to medicine, which are new to discourse about the Library and are provided with a statistical weighting. Table 7 shows the frequency of occupational descriptors grouped by main sector headings. The following analysis concentrates not only on the occupations indicated by the keywords at the top of Table 6, but also on those that in combination illuminate particular sectors.

**Table 7:**  
**Frequency of occupation descriptors grouped by sector**

Writing and publishing	365
Politics	173
Religion	105
Scholarship	95
Science	80
Art	62
Theatre	28

An analysis of each sector demonstrates the relationship among members, book donations, and institutional governance. Biographical information presented without further reference is drawn from the *ODNB*. Data on book donations without further reference is drawn from book donation acknowledgements in the Library's Annual Reports.

### The Profession of Writing

The rapid expansion of publishing, the growth of the periodical press, the serialization of fiction and non-fiction, and the ascendancy of the novel are defining features of the Victorian literary marketplace, which responded vigorously to the diminution in the "taxes on knowledge" after the First Reform Act and to technological advances that made print quicker and cheaper to produce. The term "writer" occurs most frequently in the occupation descriptor data, 91 times. But, when combined with the related terms "author," "historian," "novelist," "journalist," "literary," "publisher," "poet," "editor," "biographer," "critic," "translator," "journal" and "essayist," the combined frequency score is 365—the most statistically significant sector of results in the data. The boom in print production led to a sharp increase in the numbers of employed writers. A Library notice dating from 1841–52 testifies to the meteoric rise in demand for the novel during this era: "The Members are reminded that this Library does not undertake to supply the various novels of the day, and that any attempt to do so would not be consistent with the objects for which the Library was instituted, or practicable at the rate of subscription charged to members."<sup>26</sup>

Just 7 months after opening the Library Committee agreed

<sup>26</sup> London Library Records: Notices.

“that for the present no more novels should be bought.”<sup>27</sup> The novelists shown in Table 8 include major and minor names in the genre.

**Table 8:**  
**Novelists and poets in the dataset**

William Allingham	George Gissing	Margaret Oliphant
Alfred Austin	Henry Rider Haggard	Gerald Massey
Hall Caine	Emily Lawless	George Meredith
Hilaire Belloc	William Ernest Henley	Rosa Caroline Praed
Mathilde Blind	A. E. Housman	Charles Reade
Rhoda Broughton	Mary Howitt	Marmion Savage
Edward Lytton Bulwer	William Howitt	Olive Schreiner
Hall Caine	Leigh Hunt	William Sharp
Joseph Conrad	Violet Hunt	Logan Pearsall Smith
Charles Dickens	Fergus Wright Hume	Bram Stoker
Austin Dobson	Charles Kingsley	*Alfred Lord Tennyson
Arthur Conan Doyle	Henry Kingsley	William M. Thackeray
George Eliot	Emily Lawless	*Mary Charlotte Yonge
John Galsworthy	Eliza Lynn Linton	

From Charles Dickens at the start of the era to Arthur Symons, whose work *The Symbolist Movement in Literature* (1900) impacted on early modernism, writers who shaped nineteenth-century fiction are present in the data and also can be found in book donor acknowledgements throughout the era. Arthur Conan Doyle appears in book donor lists in 1928; Austin Dobson in 1887, 1913, and 1922; Edmund Gosse 14 times between 1884 and 1928; Charlotte Yonge in 1864; Frederick Locker Lampson, William James Linton, Roden Noel, Henry Sewell Stokes and Alaric Alexander Watts are all similarly acknowledged. Books were posthumously donated by the wife of Austin Dobson in 1922 (the year after his death) and by Locker-Lampson's sons Godfrey and Oliver five times between 1922 and 1936. Individuals of influence within the literary sector are also found in the data including Octavian Blewitt, Secretary of the Royal Literary Fund (1839–84) and under-secretary for literary patronage for 45 years, and Edmund Gosse, committee member of the Royal Society of Literature,

<sup>27</sup> Minutes of the London Library Committee, 8 January 1842.

the Royal Literary Fund, the Nobel Prize, and the London Library (from 1888, Vice President 1923–27).

Publishers in the data shown in Tables 9 include major publishing dynasties such as John Murray and innovative publishers such as Orchard Beeton. Family firms were significant in the Victorian publishing world and the records clearly show Library membership passing from one generation to the next in the cases of Bentley, Blackwood, Chapman and Hall and Longman. William Longman for instance joined in 1864, his son \*Charles in 1887. Richard and George Bentley joined in 1858 and 1870 respectively. Nominee data shows that Richard was nominated by John Chapman, editor of the *Westminster Review* and George by the Irish journalist John Sheehan editor of *The Independent*. Versatile serial publishers Charles Knight, publisher of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (SDUK) and John William Parker, publisher of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) were instrumental players in the rise of publishing during the era and both feature in the data.

**Table 9:  
Publishers**

Samuel Orchard Beeton	James Hogg
*Ernest Bell	John Camden Hotten
Richard and George Bentley	Charles Knight SDUK
John and William Blackwood	William and Charles James Longman
John Lane [Bodley Head]	Alexander Macmillan
Edward Chapman [Chapman and Hall]	Algernon and Marshall Methuen
Andrew Chatto	Edward Moxon
William Collins	John Murray iii and John Murray Jr.
Archibald Constable	John William Parker [SPUK]
Arthur Doubleday	George Murray Smith [Smith, Elder & Co.]
Robert Hardwicke	Alexander Stuart Strahan [Strahan & Co.]
William Henry Heinemann	Charles Tilt

Significant periodical editors in the data shown in Table 10 include R. S. Rintoul, \*Meredith Townsend, and \*John St. Loe Strachey, the founder and successive editors of *The Spectator*; Walter

Bagehot, founder and editor of *The Economist*; George Smith, founder and publisher of the *Dictionary of National Biography* and his first two editors, \*Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee.

**Table 10:**  
**Periodical proprietors and editors**

William Allingham	Editor of <i>Fraser's Magazine</i>
Walter Bagehot	Founder and editor of <i>The Economist</i>
Thomas Ballantyne	Editor of <i>Manchester Examiner</i> , <i>The Leader</i> , <i>Illustrated London News</i> , <i>The Statesman</i> , and <i>St. James's Chronicle</i> .
John Chapman	Editor of <i>The Westminster Review</i>
Charles Dickens	Proprietor and editor of <i>Household Words</i>
Thomas Hay Sweet Escott	Editor of <i>The Fortnightly Review</i>
John Forster	Editor of <i>The Examiner</i>
Samuel Carter Hall	Editor of <i>The Art Journal</i>
Leigh Hunt	Editor of <i>The Leader</i>
G. H. Lewes	Editor of <i>The Leader</i>
John Gibson Lockhart	Editor of <i>The Quarterly Review</i>
John Stuart Mill	Editor of <i>The Westminster Review</i>
R. S. Rintoul	Founder and editor of <i>The Spectator</i>
*Leslie Stephen	Editor of the <i>Cornhill Magazine</i> and the <i>DNB</i>
*John St. Loe Strachey	Editor of <i>The Spectator</i>
Arthur Symons	Editor of <i>The Savoy</i>
William M. Thackeray	Editor of <i>The Cornhill Magazine</i>
*Henry Yates Thompson	Proprietor of <i>The Pall Mall Gazette</i>
*Meredith Townsend	Editor of <i>The Spectator</i>

The relationship between book donation and institutional affiliation is evident in this group of writers, publishers and editors. Donor-governors among them include Walter Bagehot, Thomas Spencer Baynes, John Forster, Sidney Lee, Henry Reeve, \*Leslie Stephen, \*John St. Loe Strachey, and Henry Yates Thompson. Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee appear in book donor acknowledgements in 1869, 1880, 1869, 1904, and 1926 respectively. St. Loe Strachey bequeathed books to the Library in 1928 and in 1949 his wife donated a further 200 books from his library. Dickens was a committee member 1846–47, Thackeray audited the Library's accounts 1848–49, Stephen was Library President 1892–1904; Henry Yates Thompson was a

prolific donor of rare books from 1895 onwards and a trustee for over 25 years; and John Stuart Mill, who occupied no position of governance at the Library, donated hundreds of volumes over 32 years of library membership.<sup>28</sup>

### In The Picture: Art and Illustration

The terms “art,” “artist,” “illustrator,” “sculptor,” “watercolour,” “arts,” “engraver,” and “painter” occur 62 times in the *ODNB* descriptor word frequency dataset. Evidence that the Victorian art world “was one of the most vibrant and successful in Britain’s history” can be seen in the number and status of artists, the demand for exhibitions, the expansion of the commercial art market, the explosion in black and white illustration, and the emergence of the specialist art press and new art forms such as photography (Inglis 585). These elements of the Victorian art world are represented by the individuals in Table 11. Until now, the involvement of this group in the Library has been overlooked.

**Table 11:**  
**Art and illustration**

*Julia Ady	Art historian
Duchess of Argyll [Princess Louise]	Sculptor
Aubrey Beardsley	Illustrator
William Boxall	Portrait painter and museum director
Edward Coley Burne-Jones	Painter
Frederick William Burton	Watercolour painter and art administrator
Julia Margaret Cameron	Photographer
Gertrude Elizabeth Campbell [Lady Colin Campbell]	Art critic and journalist
George Cattermole	Watercolour painter and illustrator
*Thomas James Cobden-Sanderson	Bookbinder and printer
Emilia Francis Dilke	Art historian
Charles Lock Eastlake	Painter and art administrator
Lady Eastlake	Journalist and writer on art
*Peter Henry Emerson	Photographer and writer

<sup>28</sup> See O’Neill (2016).

Luke Fildes	Illustrator and genre and portrait painter
Roger Eliot Fry	Art historian, critic, and painter
Ernest William Gimson	Craftsman and architect
Christiana Jane Herringham	Artist and copyist
Louise Jopling	Artist
Daniel Maclise	Painter
Violet Manners	Artist
Jane Morris	Embroiderer and artist's model
William Morris	Designer, author, and visionary socialist
Valentine Prinsep	Artist and writer
William Bell Scott	Poet and painter
Emery Walker	Process engraver and typographer
George Frederick Watts	Painter and sculptor
John William Waterhouse	Figure painter
Marie Terpigthea Zambaco	Artist's model and sculptor

Members in the dataset active in the fields of fine and applied arts include three successive National Gallery directors: Charles Lock Eastlake, William Boxall, and Frederick William Burton; the first woman member of the Royal Society of British Artists, Louise Jopling; a network of Pre-Raphaelite collaborators, including William Bell Scott, George Frederick Watts, Edward Coley Burne-Jones, John William Waterhouse, and William Morris; and two major Pre-Raphaelite models: Marie Terpigthea Zambaco and Jane Morris. Also present are the process engraver and typographer Emery Walker and the book-binder and printer \*Cobden-Sanderson, both of whom were involved in the last Burne-Jones, William Morris collaboration. The Kelmscott Chaucer was bound at the Doves Press by \*Cobden-Sanderson, a library member from 1869. The artist Valentine Prinsep; his father Henry Thoby Prinsep; his aunt, the photographer Julia Margaret Cameron; and his uncle, Leslie Stephen—all appear in the dataset. Valentine nominated George Frederick Watts, Frederic Leighton, Burne-Jones, and John William Waterhouse to membership. From the book illustrator George Cattermole at the start of the era to Aubrey Beardsley and Roger Eliot Fry at its end, fine and applied art is well represented in the membership lists.

The data also reveals a relationship between membership and the collections of the Library. Frederick William Burton

was a Library committee member (1875–1900); the painter and etcher Edwin Edwards, the wood engraver and poet James William Linton and the photographer \*Peter Henry Emerson appear 16 times in book donor acknowledgements between 1864 and 1899; Roger Eliot Fry appears in 1928, and between 1912 and 1917 \*Cobden-Sanderson presented over 40 Doves Press titles, dedicating them to the Library “as to an old friend from an old member, the printer.”<sup>29</sup>

### **Enter Stage Left: Actors, Playwrights and Theatre Managers**

The terms “actor,” “playwright,” and “theatre” occur 28 times in the frequency data. Significant names throughout the era are present in the data, including Henry Irving, the first actor to receive a knighthood, and his theatre manager at the Lyceum, Bram Stoker. Constance Wilde, who appears in membership records in 1894, is also worthy of note in light of household membership.

**Table 12:  
Actors, theatre manager and playwrights**

Isabel Bateman	Actor and theatre manager
Janey Sevilla Campbell [Lady Archibald Campbell]	Theatre producer
Henry Irving	Actor
Henry Arthur Jones	Playwright
Charles Lamb Kenney	Author and playwright
William Charles Macready	Actor and theatre manager
John Oxenford	Playwright and translator
Arthur Wing Pinero	Playwright
Charles Reade	Novelist and playwright
George Bernard Shaw	Playwright and polemicist
Bram Stoker	Novelist and theatre manager
Alfred Sutro	Playwright and translator
Tom Taylor	Playwright and comic writer
John Todhunter	Playwright and poet

Once again a pattern of participation in institutional governance and book donation is evident. Donor-governors

<sup>29</sup> This manuscript inscription dated 12 October 1909 appears on the flyleaf of William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*. Hammersmith: Doves Press, 1909.

among them include the dramatists Francis Albert Marshall, Pearl Craigie (using her male pseudonym John Oliver Hobbes) and \*William Bodham Donne, who resigned as Librarian of the London Library to become Examiner of Plays in the Chamberlain's Office. All donated books to the Library during their lifetimes and books were posthumously deposited by the families of Henry Irving in 1926 and 1939, Bram Stoker in 1937, and Charles Reade in 1916.

### **Education and Academia**

The expansion in posts for university lecturers and professors, the development of the school and education sector, and the increasing specialization and professionalization of the disciplines are defining features of Victorian intellectual life. The combined frequency scoring in Table 6 is 95 for the academic sector, including the terms "scholar," "educationist," "college," "teacher," "headmaster," "educational," and "schoolmaster." Members of this group include \*Sarah Macardie Amos (principal of Somerville College), \*Mary Anne Ewart, Richard Buckley Litchfield and F. D. Maurice (founders of the Working Men's College [WMC]), Emily Penrose (governor of Newnham College and Somerville College), and \*John Westlake (superintendent at the Working Women's College). Teachers in the data at the WMC include \*Burne-Jones, \*Mountstuart Grant-Duff, \*Frederic Harrison, George Holyoake, T. H. Huxley, \*John Lubbock, \*Godfrey and \*Vernon Lushington, William Morris, Frederick Pollock, Valentine Prinsep, J. R. Seeley, \*James Fitzjames Stephen, \*Leslie Stephen, Richard Chevenix Trench, and G. M. Trevelyan.

Prominent figures in the fields of history, economics, philosophy, religion, science, and medicine also participated in the institutional life of the Library as presidents, vice presidents, committee members, and donors. Historians form the third highest keyword frequency in Table 6. Thomas Carlyle, Henry Hallam, and Thomas Babington Macaulay were all founding and early Library committee members. Numerous professors of history at Oxford, Cambridge, and UCL, and the founders and presidents of the Historical Society and the Institute of Historical Research are present in the data, as well as \*John Richard Green and W. E. H. Lecky, who moved the focus of

history writing away from “great men” toward social, economic, and cultural factors. Lecky was a committee member (1875–98) and Vice President (1899–1903) and Green’s wife, the historian Alice Sophia Amelia Stopford, became the Library’s first female committee member in 1894. George Macaulay Trevelyan, President of the Historical Association and Regius Professor of Modern History at Trinity College, Cambridge, followed his father, the Liberal politician \*George Otto Trevelyan, and his great-uncle, the historian Thomas Babington Macaulay, into membership and served as Vice President (1953–60), while H. A. L. Fisher occupied a committee position (1918–30) and served as President (1930–1939). Thomas Carlyle, founder, committee member, and President (1870–81) donated books in 1860, 1862, and 1876; Hallam in 1864 and 1876; Lecky in 1878 and 1883; and Richard Copley Christie in 1897.

Economists and philosophers in the dataset include John Elliot Cairnes, \*Herman Merivale, \*John Stuart Mill, and the philosopher and sociologist Herbert Spencer. The dataset includes three successive professors of political economy at UCL: Cairnes, Leonard Henry Courtney, and \*William Stanley Jevons. The ethical philosophers \*Bernard Bosanquet, \*Hastings Rashdall, and Henry Sidgwick, and the jurists Frederick Pollock (founder and editor of the *Law Quarterly Review*, 1885–1919, and editor of the *Law Reports*, 1895–1935) and John Westlake (Professor of International Law at Cambridge, 1888–1908) are also present in the dataset. Herman Merivale was a Library committee member (1858–65); Herbert Spencer served on the Library committee (1874–94) and as Vice President (1897–1903); Bernard Bosanquet and Frederick Pollock were committee members (1909–13) and (1880–1936) respectively. Mill, Spencer, and Pollock all donated books to the Library. Spencer appears in book donor acknowledgments 7 times between 1864 and 1895; Pollock 15 times between 1880 and 1936, and Mill 10 times between 1841 and 1872.

Combining the terms “clergyman,” “church,” “dean,” “religious,” “ecclesiastical,” “catholic,” “Canterbury,” “convert” and “biblical” results in a frequency score of 105. Three Deans of Canterbury and the Deans of St. Pauls, Westminster, Lincoln, Norwich, and Wells are present in the dataset. Church

of England, Unitarian, Wesleyan, Catholic, and Jewish clerics and scholars are all represented and include \*Stanley Leathes, Professor of Hebrew at King's College, London and member of the Library committee (1875–98); Rabbi David Woolf Marks, Professor of Hebrew at UCL; \*Claude Montefiore, the founder of Liberal Judaism, who appears in book donor lists in 1900, 1910, 1924, and 1938; and Liturgical scholar \*Orby Shipley, who donated material to the Library 14 times between 1860 and 1911. Sanskrit scholar Fitzedward Hall joined the Library two years after taking up a chair in Sanskrit, Hindustani, and Indian jurisprudence at King's College in 1862. He appears in London Library donor lists in 1883 and 1898.

### Under the Microscope: Scientists and Medics

Scientific fields (indicated in Table 6 by the terms “physician,” “surgeon,” “medical,” “chemist,” “science,” “scientist,” “statistician,” “geologist,” “psychologist,” “psychiatrist,” “physiologist,” “naturalist,” “sociologist” and “anthropologist”) account for a combined occupation descriptor frequency score of 80 and is a user group almost wholly absent from discourse about the Library. Botany, chemistry, psychology, psychiatry, pharmacology, physical chemistry, surgery, vaccine development, dentistry, and experimental physics are fields represented by the medics and scientist present in the data. Table 13 indicates the range of scientific disciplines represented in the data.

**Table 13:**  
**Scientists and Medics**

Elizabeth Garrett Anderson	Physician
Alexander Bain	Founder of psychology
James Crichton Browne	Physician and psychiatrist
*Thomas Lauder Brunton	Physician and pharmacologist
John Charles Bucknill	Psychiatrist, co-founder and editor (1853-1862) of <i>The Asylum Journal</i>
*John Aitken Carlyle	Physician and writer
William Fairlie Clarke	Surgeon
William Kingdon Clifford	Mathematician and philosopher of science
*Henry Hugh Clutton	Surgeon
William White Cooper	Oculist

Thomas Copeland	Surgeon-extraordinary to Queen Victoria
*Charles Darwin	Naturalist, geologist, and originator of the theory of natural selection
*Erasmus Darwin	Physician and natural philosopher
*George Howard Darwin	Mathematician and geophysicist
*Leonard Darwin	Scientist and eugenicist
Alice Fisher	Nurse
*Francis Galton	Biostatistician, human geneticist, and eugenicist. Published the first scientific treatise on fingerprints in 1892
John Hall Gladstone	Founder of physical chemistry
Richard Dugard Grainger	Anatomist and physiologist
George Harley	Physician and physiological chemist
Arthur Henfrey	Botanist - Professor of Botany at King's College
Timothy Holmes	Surgeon
Jonathan Hutchinson	Surgeon and leading authority on ophthalmology, dermatology, neurology, and syphilis
*Bence Jones	Physician and chemist
Edward Ball Knobel	Chemist and astronomer
Henry Ludlum	Mineralogist
Henry Maudsley	Medical psychologist
Richard Quain	Anatomist and surgeon
Henry Wyldbald Rumsey	Medical practitioner and writer on sanitary reform
Edward Cator Seaton	Public health administrator
*Alfred Russel Wallace	Naturalist, evolutionary theorist, and social critic
Robert Bentley Todd	Physician and physiologist and first Dean of Kings College London
John Tomes	First president of the British Dental Association
Almroth Edward Wright	Medical scientist and innovator in vaccine development

Scientists also feature in institutional governance and book donation to the library, including James Alderson, senior physician at St. Mary's Hospital, Paddington, 1851–57, who served on the Library's committee for twenty years from 1860–80; William Fairlie Clarke (surgeon), who audited the Library's accounts in 1873–74; Thomas Henry Huxley,

biologist, who served on the Library committee, 1870–95; and Alfred Russel Wallace, naturalist, who was vice-president of the Library, 1903–13. The following appear in book acknowledgements: John Charles Bucknill (1860, 1877); Thomas Lauder Brunton (1896, 1913); John Aitken Carlyle (1860); Charles Darwin (1872); William Darwin (1910, 1913); John Hall Gladstone (1883, for a gift of 300 volumes); John Tomes (1896); Frederick Treves (1913, 1918, 1920, 1921); and Almroth Wright (1919, 1937).

### **Politicians, Political Activists, and Reformers**

A macroscopic examination of those involved in political activity in the dataset (indicated in Table 6 by the terms “politician,” “reformer,” “political,” “rights,” “activist,” “diplomatist,” “campaigner,” “prime [minister],” “parliamentary” and “reform”) reflects major developments in nineteenth-century British political history. This is another group that has been relatively neglected until now.

**Table 15:**  
**Politicians, Political Activists, and Reformers**

*Edward Strutt Abdy	Campaigner against slavery
*Arthur D. Acland	Politician and educational reformer
Sarah Maclardie Amos	Political activist
Arthur James Balfour	Prime minister and politician
Frances Balfour	Suffragist leader and churchwoman
Walter Besant	Campaigner for authors rights
*Helen Blackburn	Campaigner for women's rights
*Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon	Artist and women's activist
Charles Booth	Social researcher and reformer
Edwin Chadwick	Pioneer in public health reform
Gavin Brown Clark	Politician
Frances Power Cobbe	Writer and campaigner for women's rights
John Colam	Campaigner for animal welfare
Moncure D. Conway	Abolitionist
*George Drysdale	Freethinker and advocate of contraception
*Millicent Garrett Fawcett	Leader of the constitutional women's suffrage movement and author

Leonora Gerstenberg	Political activist and campaigner for women's rights
William Ewart Gladstone	Prime minister and author
Frederick Henry Goldsmid	Lawyer and Jewish communal leader
George Hamilton Gordon	Prime minister and scholar
Robert Cunninghame Graham	Traveler, author, and politician
Numa Edward Hartog	Campaigner for Jewish rights
Beatrice Harraden	Novelist and suffragist
Henry Mayers Hyndman	Socialist leader
Susan Lawrence	Politician
*John Stuart Mill	Philosopher, economist, and advocate of women's rights
William Morris	Designer, author, and visionary socialist
Frances Henrietta Müller	Women's rights activist and theologian
Lord Palmerston	Prime minister
*Richard Marsden Pankhurst	Barrister and political activist
Bessie Rayner Parkes	Campaigner for women's rights and journalist
*Earl of Rosebury	Prime minister and author
John Russell	Prime minister and author
William Whitworth Russell	Prison reformer
Hubert Llewellyn Smith	Social investigator
John Addington Symonds	Advocate of sexual reform.
Arnold Toynbee	Social reformer and political economist
Graham Wallas	Political psychologist and educationist
Beatrice Webb	Social reformer and diarist
Sidney Webb	Social reformer and politician

Women were singled out in the Library's founding statements for specific attention. From the beginning the rules stipulated that "[a]ll subscribers to the Library will have equal privileges" and that this policy "will most especially be a benefit to ladies who cultivate literature and learning to an extent which renders circulating libraries inadequate to their wants" (Christie 28, 31). A network of women at the heart of female political activity in the UK is present in the data. Perhaps the most notable name is \*Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon, leader of the Langham Place Circle, co-founder Girton College, and a key figure in the establishment of organized British feminism in the

1850s. Bodichon formed the first women's suffrage committee, which gathered signatures for petitions for the vote that \*John Stuart Mill presented to Parliament in 1866. Other Langham group members include Elizabeth Garrett Anderson (first female doctor to qualify in the U. K.), Frances Power Cobbe (a member of the London National Society for women's suffrage), Millicent Garrett Fawcett (Elizabeth's sister, and leader of the constitutional women's suffrage movement), \*Philippa Garrett Fawcett (Millicent's daughter, a mathematician), Beatrice Harraden (member of the Women's Social and Political Union, the Women's Freedom League, and the Women Writers' Suffrage League) and Bessie Rayner Parkes. Furthermore, Sarah Maclardie Amos, Frances Balfour, \*Helen Blackburn, \*Leonora Gerstenberg, and Frances Henrietta Müller were all active in the field of women's rights. \*Blackburn was Secretary of the National Women's Suffrage Society (1874-95); Balfour served on the Executive Committee of the National Union for Women's Suffrage Society (1897-1918); and Gerstenberg and Amos were executive members of the Central National Society for Women's Suffrage and the Women's Liberation Federation. The membership of \*Richard Marsden Pankhurst in 1886 is significant in light of "household" membership because his household included the suffragettes Emmeline, Christabel, and Sylvia Pankhurst.

Six Prime Ministers, as well as leading Liberal lights, the architects of the socialist movement in the UK, and a raft of reformers and activists on issues from author's rights to prison reform are present in the data. Before the Second Reform Bill (1867), two influential tracts supporting the extension of the suffrage and democratic government were published. Of the 22 contributors to *Essays on Reform* and *Questions for a Reformed Parliament*, 17 were London Library members and the Library's copy of the *Essays* was donated in 1868 by founding member and Liberal M.P. \*John Stuart Mill. \*Arthur D. Acland who repositioned Liberalism in the 1870s, Socialist leaders Henry Mayers Hyndman (founder of England's first official socialist party in 1881), and William Morris, who was active in the breakaway Socialist League founded in 1884, are present in the data. Gavin Brown Clark and Robert Cunninghame Graham, who took part in the establishment of the Scottish

Labour Party in 1888, are present, as are Beatrice and Sidney Webb, the founders of the Fabian Society, the London School of Economics (1895), and the *New Statesman* (1913).

Here, too, a direct relation among these members and the Library's collections is evident. Four-time Prime Minister William Gladstone, a founding member, was Vice President of the Library (1880–98); another Prime Minister, Arthur Balfour, also was its President (1904–29). \*Helen Blackburn appears in book donor acknowledgements five times between 1869 and 1901; Charles Booth donated material in 1887 (and his wife in 1952); John Colam donated books 6 times between 1896 and 1901; \*Millicent Fawcett appears in 1926 (three years before her death); Cunninghame Graham donated 500 books in 1936; the wife of Henry Mayers Hyndman appears in 1922 (the year after his death); Eliza Meteyard in 1863, 1864, and 1872; Lady Llewellyn Smith is acknowledged for books in 1947 and 1952; the manuscript of John Addington Symonds's *Memoirs* was bequeathed to the Library by his literary executor in 1926; Graham Wallas appears in 1924; and Beatrice Webb in 1937 and 1939.

This macroscopic analysis of the data shows that membership of and book donation to the London Library by the Victorian intelligentsia was widespread and sustained throughout the era. Christie's claim in 1841 that the Library would support writers who built up the "wisdom" and "fame" of the nation, however hyperbolic, is born out empirically by the membership data. The data shows the breadth of Library membership by the Victorian intelligentsia across literary, cultural, scientific, and political fields. When read macroscopically the membership records form a unique barometer of intellectual activity and societal change during Victoria's reign and reveals the Library as a vibrant, if little studied, intellect hub in Victorian London. Members and book circulation increased during the era. In 1841 the Library opened with 500 members and issued 14,834 books in its first year of lending. By 1900 it had a modest 2,725 members to whom it issued 117,723 books.<sup>30</sup> The Library's membership records capture relationships among members

<sup>30</sup> Data from the Reports of the Library Committee to the 1st Annual General Meeting in 1842 and the 59th Annual General Meeting in 1900.

through nominee data in unexpected and revealing ways. For example, Alfred Wallace was nominated to the Library by Archdeacon Sinclair, and Moncure D. Conway, the outspoken abolitionist from Virginia, by Carlyle, the scourge of the abolitionist cause. The membership records also underscore intellectual associations. Aubrey Beardsley and John Lane were introduced to the Library by Arthur Symons; the painter William Bell Scott, by the musicologist Franz Hüeffler, son-in-law of the Pre-Raphaelite painter Ford Madox Brown and father of the novelist Ford Madox Ford (a member from 1907); Emery Walker introduced both Jane Morris (whose name disappears from the published record replaced by that of her husband in 1885) and the playwright Henry Arthur Jones; Margaret Oliphant was nominated by her publisher John Blackwood; Bram Stoker by the best-selling novelist Hall Caine; Graham Wallas by Sidney Webb; and the craftsman Ernest William Gimson by the printer Cobden-Sanderson.

The records occasionally illuminate personal idiosyncrasies as well. In 1890 Henry Irving gave his occupation as “comedian,” in the same year that he sold his substantial library to replace his theater sets destroyed in a warehouse fire. Charles Dickens’s house Gads Hill Place, which the novelist purchased in 1856, appears in the records of the same year that he nominated its owner Eliza Lynn Linton for membership. The records tend to show that memberships could remain in families for generations, spiraling out to include friends, colleagues, and associates. The Darwin, Huxley, Macaulay, and Stephen families that Noel Annan discusses in his influential essay on the nineteenth-century “Intellectual Aristocracy”—families extending over four generations from the Clapham Sect to the Bloomsbury Circle—are strongly represented in the data.<sup>31</sup> When viewed in their totality the membership records reflect trends in British intellectual history. The sustained association between book donation, institutional governance and the intelligentsia shown here, makes the London Library an overlooked repository used and augmented by some of the most influential writers and thinkers of the nineteenth century.

<sup>31</sup> Noel Annan (1916–2000) was a member of the London Library and its President, 1980–96.

The data presented here forms part of a larger scholarly enterprise of narrow, deep case studies I am undertaking to investigate the use and impact of the Library's collections on key Victorian intellectuals/members by utilizing big data text mining techniques in the Digital Humanities. The first of these case studies on John Stuart Mill shows that his published works and public life were closely connected to his use and enrichment of the Library's collections.<sup>32</sup> To engage with the Victorian membership records of the London Library is to engage with British intellectual history during a defining epoch. In their totality they offer a unique lens through which to view intellectual life in Victorian London.

*London Library*

### Works Cited

- Annan, Noel. "The Intellectual Aristocracy." *Studies in Social History: A Tribute to G. M. Trevelyan*. Ed. J. H. Plumb. London: Longmans, Green, 1955. 241–87.
- Atkinson, Juliette. "The London Library and the Circulation of French Fiction in the 1840s." *Information and Culture: A Journal of History* 48.4 (2013): 391–418.
- Attar, Karen, ed. *Directory of Rare Books and Special Collections in the UK and Republic of Ireland*. London: Facet, 2016.
- Baker, William. "J. G. Cochrane and the London Library at Pall Mall." *Library History* 8 (1990): 171–79.
- . *The Early History of the London Library*. New York: Edwin Mellen Lewiston, 1992.
- . "The London Library Borrowings of Thomas Carlyle 1841–1844." *Library Review* 30.2 (1981): 89–95.
- . "The London Library: A Study of its Early Rules and Regulations." *Library Review* 37.2 (1988): 33–41.
- Bell, Alan. "Intellectual Oasis of the Capital: The London Library." *Country Life* (16 November 1978): 1610–12.
- . "The London Library." *Alexandria* 11.3 (1999): 181–90.
- . "Thomas Carlyle and the London Library." *TLS* (1981): 612.

<sup>32</sup> See O'Neill (2016).

- Berlin, Isaiah. Introduction. *Founders and Followers: Literary Lectures Given on the Occasion of the 150th Anniversary of the Founding of the London Library*. London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1992.
- Browne, D. G. "A Bundle of Dry Leaves." *Cornhill Magazine* (1931): 746–66.
- Carlyle, Thomas, and Jane Welsh Carlyle. *The Carlyle Letters Online [CLO]*. Ed. Brent E. Kinser. Duke University Press, 2007–16. <www.carlyleletters.org>.
- Christie, Mason, and Woods. "Catalogue of Valuable Books and Manuscripts Pictures and Drawings and Works of Art including some highly important 20th-Century Literary Manuscripts Sold on behalf of The London Library which will be sold at Auction on Wednesday June 22, 1960." London: Christie, Manson, and Woods, 1960.
- Christie, W. D. *An Explanation of the Scheme of the London Library on a Letter to the Earl of Clarendon*. London: Henry Hooper, 1841.
- Dictionary of National Biography*. Ed. Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee. 63 vols. London: Smith, Elder, 1885–1900.
- Eighteen-Bisang, Robert, and Elizabeth Miler. *Bram Stoker's Notes for Dracula*. Jefferson and London: McFarland, 2008.
- Eliot, George. *The Journals of George Eliot*. Ed. Margaret Harris and Judith Johnston. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998.
- Eliot, T. S. "A Presidential Address to Members of the London Library on the Occasion of His Assuming the Office of President of the Library. Delivered at the Annual General Meeting of the Members in the Reading Room, 22 July 1952." London: London Library, 1952. n.p.
- Essays on Reform*. London: Macmillan, 1867.
- Field, Clive D. "The Allan Library: A Victorian Methodist Odyssey." *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 89.2 (2012/13): 69–106.
- Flood, Gary. "The London Library: Portrait of a Lady." *Information Today* (April 2007): 46–47.
- Forster, E. M. *Two Cheers for Democracy*. London: Edward Arnold, 1951.
- Gascoigne, Bamber. "The Lure of the London Library." *Author* 2 (July 1983): 94.
- Gillam, Stanley. "Hagberg Wright and the London Library." *Library History* 1 (1967): 24–27.

- . “The London Library.” *The Library World* 61 (1960): 180–84.
- Glasgow, Eric. “The Story of the London Library.” *Library Review* 51.9 (2002): 474–77.
- Gregg, Karl C. *An Index to the Spanish Theatre Collection in the London Library*. Charlottesville: Biblioteca Siglo De Oro, 1984.
- Grindea, Miron, ed. *The London Library*. London: Boydell Press, 1977.
- Harrison, Frederic. *Carlyle and the London Library: An Account of its Foundation: Together with Unpublished Letters of Thomas Carlyle to W. D. Christie*. London: Chapman and Hall, 1907.
- Harrison, R. *Commonplace Book of Anecdotes and Personal Experiences 1857–1883* [MSS]. n.d.
- Heyck, Thomas William. “Myths and Meaning of Intellectuals in 20th Century British National Identity.” *Journal of British Studies* 37.2 (1998): 192–221.
- Inglis, Alison. “The Empire of Art.” Ed. Martin Hewitt. *The Victorian World*. London and New York: Routledge, 2012. 585–602.
- Lynn, Inez. “Modernising to Stay the Same: the London Library Refurbishment.” *Library and Information Update* 5.7–8 (July 2006): 27–30.
- Matthews, Douglas. “Hagberg Wright, the London Library and the Acquisition of Swedish Literature.” *Otium Et Negotium: Studies in Onomatology and Library Science Presented to Olof von Feilitzen*. Ed. Folke Sandgren. Stockholm: Nordsedt, 1973. 195–200.
- McIntyre, Tony. *The Library Book: An Architectural Journey through the London Library 1841–2006*. London: London Library, 2006.
- Nowell-Smith, Simon. “Carlyle and the London Library.” *English Libraries 1800–1850*. London: H. K. Lewis, 1958. 59–78.
- . “London Library Occasions.” *TLS* (February 1972): 187–88.
- Oldman, C. *English Libraries 1800–1850: Three Lectures Delivered at University College London by C. B. Oldman, W. A. Munford, and Simon Nowell-Smith*. London: H. K. Lewis, 1958.
- O’Neill, Helen. “John Stuart Mill and the London Library: a Victorian Book Legacy Revealed.” *Book History* 19 (2016): forthcoming.
- . “Telling Stories: the Novelisation of the London Library.” *The London Library Magazine* 26 (Spring 2015): 15.
- Parker, Derek. “A Symbol of Civilisation.” *Author* 102 (1991): 53–54.
- Phipps, Christopher. “The London Library.” *Art Libraries Journal* 31.1 (2006): 5–10.

- 
- Wells, John. *Rude Words: A Discursive History of the London Library*. London: Macmillan, 1991.
- Whyte, Wiliam. "The Intellectual Aristocracy Revisited." *Journal of Victorian Culture* 10.1 (2005): 15-45.
- . "The Antinomies of Sage Culture." *The Victorian World*. Ed. Martin Hewitt. London and New York: Routledge, 2015. 519-33.
- Wright, C. T. *The London Library: a Sketch of its History and Administration*. London: London Library, 1926.
- . *The London Library: a Survey 1913-1940 with a statement of its objects in commemoration of the opening of the Library May 3, 1841*. London: London Library, 1941.
- . *The Soul's Dispensary: the Early Years of the London Library*. London: Whitefriars Press, 1922.