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Article abstract

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Exemplars: Medieval Manuscripts in Montreal and the McGill University Library Collection of Books of Hours

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The Books of Hours held by the McGill University Library were mostly acquired as exemplars of medieval books for the Library Museum begun by the university librarian, Dr. Gerhard R. Lomer, in 1920. This study documents their acquisitions in the context of the acquisition of other materials for the Library Museum until 1947, when Lomer retired. It examines the context in which the Library Museum was created: the precedent set by the King's Library at the British Museum, the Book Production Gallery of the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the John Rylands Library in Manchester. In particular, the parallel with the Museum at the Art Association of Montreal established by F. Cleveland Morgan is noted. It also discusses three earlier Montreal collections that included Books of Hours: the Montreal Caxton Exhibition of 1877 and the private collections of Gerald E. Hart and J. B. Learmont. Finally, this study proposes that the Library Museum should be seen as a history of the book museum, one that traces book culture across time and civilizations.

Prof. Gerhard R. Lomer, conservateur de la Bibliothèque de l'Université McGill, a commencé à acquérir en 1920 la plupart des Livres d'heures conservés à la Bibliothèque comme exemples de livres médiévaux pour le Musée de la Bibliothèque. Ce travail rend compte de l'acquisition des livres d'heures dans le contexte de l'acquisition d'autres types de documents pour le Musée de la Bibliothèque, jusqu'à la retraite de Lomer en 1947. Par ailleurs, ce travail examine le contexte de la création du Musée comprenant : le précédent établi par la bibliothèque du Roi au Musée Britannique; la Galerie portant sur l'histoire du livre du Musée Victoria et Albert; ainsi que la bibliothèque John Rylands à Manchester. On note le parallèle proposé par F. Cleveland Morgan avec le Musée de l'Association d'art de Montréal. Ce travail présente aussi trois collections antérieures comprenant de Livres d'heures; l'Exposition Caxton de Montréal en 1877; et les collections privées de Gerald E. Hart et J.B. Learmont. Enfin, ce travail laisse entendre que l'on doit considérer le Musée de la Bibliothèque comme une histoire des musées du livre et qui retrace la culture du livre à travers différentes périodes et civilisations.

Introduction

When Seymour de Ricci visited McGill University in 1932, he found in the museum of the university library a collection of manuscript codices, single leaves, cuttings, and documents that were to provide 178 entries in his

Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada.¹ Of these, numbers 1 to 5 were Greek manuscripts, four codices and one single leaf, and numbers 154 to 177 were generally legal documents, but the remaining material was from medieval codices. In addition to these holdings, de Ricci recorded those of the Osler Library for the History of Medicine, which provided thirty-one entries in the *Census*,² and the McCord Museum of Canadian History which provided eighteen pre-1600 documents.³ Other Montreal manuscripts recorded in the *Census* were a twelfth-century copy of Genesis owned by W. W. Francis, the nephew of Sir William Osler,⁴ and a Rule of St. Benedict (ca. 1455) that had belonged to St. Peter's Monastery in Erfert and then to John Travers Lewis (1825–1901), Bishop of Ontario, which was on deposit at McGill.⁵ Finally, F. Cleveland Morgan was recorded as having six single leaves, two in Greek, and a miniature of the three Marys at the tomb (De Ricci, 2233).

The McGill Library holdings were of recent origin, having been acquired starting in the early 1920s by the new university librarian, Dr. Gerhard R. Lomer. In 1932, the collection contained twenty-four single leaves from Books of Hours for eleven entries in the *Census* and five codices of Books of Hours identified either as Horae or as Officium B.V. Mariae.⁶

1. Seymour de Ricci with W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1935), 2203–22.

2. De Ricci, 2222–29.

3. De Ricci, 2230–31.

4. De Ricci, 2231.

5. De Ricci, 2232. See also Richard Virr, "The Library of John Travers Lewis, Bishop of Ontario" and "Lewis Appendix," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 50.1 (2008–12): 47–57 and 58–65. The current location of this manuscript is unknown.

6. De Ricci, 2211–13. In the *Census*, these appear as numbers 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, and 110. In the late 1980s, the manuscript collection was reorganized and the current numbering system for medieval manuscripts used by Rare Books and Special Collections was instituted. It is based on the numbers in the *Census*. However, numbers 1 to 5 in the *Census* and numbers 154 to 177 have been given to new material as have a few other numbers for items in the *Census* not located in the 1970s. In particular, the in-house numbers DR. 99a, DR 99b, and DR 108a were abolished and these manuscripts became MSS 155, 156, and 154. During the late 1980s and early 1990s, Leszek Wysocki did some preliminary descriptions of some of the manuscripts, and then Dionysios Hatzopoulos provided detailed descriptions for most of the medieval manuscripts in the

There were other holdings of medieval manuscripts in Montreal collections that de Ricci did not see, and most likely neither he, Lomer, nor Morgan knew of their existence. There was an undated French manuscript of a Latin New Testament at the Collège de Montréal, which was exhibited in the Caxton exhibition in 1877. There was also a manuscript of Cicero's *De finibus bonorum et malorum*, Italian, ca. 1460, at the École normale Jacques-Cartier. The École normale was established in 1857, and the Cicero manuscript was one of the first books to appear in its catalogue. It had been acquired for the school by its director (1857–1901), well-known Montreal bibliophile the Abbé Hospice-Anthelme Verreau.⁷ The École des Beaux-Arts, established in 1922, also had a number of medieval manuscripts, although the dates of acquisition are not clear. However, intuition and experience suggest earlier rather than later dates for the acquisition of these manuscripts, and thus the possibility that de Ricci would have included them if he had known of them. These manuscripts, now held at the Université du Québec à Montréal, include a French portable Bible, dated after 1230,⁸ and two Books of Hours. The first of these is Flemish, with a Sarum calendar and dated to the end of the fourteenth or early fifteenth century.⁹ The second Book of Hours is French from Rouen and is dated 1470–75. It is now known as the *Pellegrin de Remicourt Hours*.¹⁰ If other collections had had manuscripts, including the libraries of the Jesuits and of the Sulpicians, they were missed by de Ricci.¹¹

collection. Their descriptions are available in the manuscript research files in Rare Books and Special Collections.

7. Benjamin Victor, Brenda Dunn-Lardeau, and Solange Lemaitre-Provost, "Un manuscrit humanistique du *De finibus* de Cicéron dans les collections des Livres rares de l'UQAM," *Memini. Travaux et documents* 15 (2011): 59–64. For Verreau, see page 62.

8. Benjamin Victor, "Une Bible portative du XIII^e siècle dans les collections de l'UQAM," *Memini. Travaux et documents* 15 (2011): 23–38.

9. Ariane Bergeron-Foote, "Entre Flandre, Angleterre et Italie, un livre d'Heures résolument européen dans les Collections spéciales de la Bibliothèque des Arts de l'UQAM," *Memini. Travaux et documents* 15 (2011): 39–58.

10. Brenda Dunn-Lardeau, "Les enluminures et les bordures du livre d'Heures de *Pellegrin de Remicourt*," *Le Livre médiéval et humaniste dans les Collections de l'UQAM, Collection Figura* 15 (2006): 13–38, and Ariane Bergeron-Foote, "Personnaliser un livre d'Heures: l'exemple du livre de raison de Pierre *Pellegrin*, seigneur de Remicourt et son épouse Madeleine Symier (1478–1500)," *Memini. Travaux et documents* 15 (2011): 65–72.

11. See J. Biron's article in this issue on two Books of Hours held by the Jesuits.

This study has a two-fold purpose: first, to make a contribution towards the history of the McGill Library Museum, and, second, to document the acquisition of Books of Hours—codices, single leaves, and cuttings—for the museum. This acquisition history is a part of a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) funded project towards the creation of a catalogue raisonné of Books of Hours in Quebec collections.¹² In addition to the Books of Hours, this study pays some attention to the acquisition of other medieval manuscripts, of Arabic, Persian, and other non-Western manuscripts, and of other materials including early printed books and Babylonian tablets—all this to help re-create the context in which the Books of Hours were originally acquired. I argue that the McGill Library Museum was conceived by Lomer in the Arts and Crafts Movement tradition as it was interpreted at the South Kensington Museum, now the Victoria and Albert. There, the exhibits consisted of exemplars, items chosen to show particular features of their creation or origin, and this was the case with the collection of Books of Hours and other manuscripts at McGill. The South Kensington Museum had its origins in the Great Exhibition of 1851 and was dedicated to “the specialized students at the School of Design; manufacturers or members of the manufacturing population who it was felt needed to know about design; and members of the public who it was felt needed to learn about the principles of design so they could become rational consumers.”¹³ The distinction between a museum and a gallery has largely disappeared in the twenty-first century, but it is fundamental to understanding what the idea of a “museum” was about. A gallery was for the hanging of art and the displaying of sculpture; a museum was for the exhibition of exemplars. It was the educational mission of the South Kensington Museum that Lomer embraced and that was embodied in the Library Museum. The holdings of the McGill Library Museum were never intended to create an in-depth collection of medieval manuscripts, or Books of Hours, or anything else; the holdings were exemplars displayed for the purposes of instruction. In understanding what this meant, it will be useful to begin this study by an exploration of the “pre-history” of medieval manuscripts in Montreal, including the Caxton Exhibition of 1877 and two

12. For the names of the team members and associates, see the introduction by Brenda Dunn-Lardeau.

13. Christopher Frayling, *Henry Cole and the Chamber of Horrors: The Curious Origins of the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: V&A Publishing, 2010), 23.

private collections. These demonstrate the reviving interest in medieval and Renaissance books and art in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and will provide a helpful background for understanding what happened in the 1920s under Lomer. Furthermore, some consideration of the “Museum” at the Art Association of Montreal and the activities of its founder F. Cleveland Morgan will provide additional background for the formation of the McGill collection.

The Caxton celebration of 1877

In 1877, the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal, which included many of the leading Montreal collectors and historians, organized a Caxton exhibition to celebrate the four-hundredth anniversary of the first printing in English. The Montreal celebration was one of a number around the English-speaking world, the most notable being in London.¹⁴ The inspiration for the exhibition appears to have come from the Montreal insurance agent and book collector Gerald E. Hart. He was the chief organizer and was able to use his contacts in the United States to arrange for the loan of some of the books, including a copy of the 42-line Bible belonging to Hammond Turnbull of Hartford, Connecticut.¹⁵

Although a celebration of the beginnings of English printing, the Montreal exhibition also included some manuscripts.¹⁶ The first section of the *Condensed Catalogue*¹⁷ listed sixteen items ranging from a “thin roll of Egyptian Papyrus” to a palm leaf, followed by a Koran, a Coptic Gospel of St. John, and various Latin manuscripts, including a Latin New Testament dated 1250 lent by R. W. Mercer of Cincinnati; the fifteenth-century Lorenzo Valla *Elegantiarum* lent by the University of Toronto; and capitals from a Missal dated to the sixteenth century lent by Hart. There was also an illuminated manuscript identified as a

14. Richard Virr, “Behold This Treasury of Glorious Things: The Montreal Caxton Exhibition of 1877,” *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada* 30.2 (1992): 7–20.

15. Virr, “Behold This Treasury,” 13.

16. Virr, “Behold This Treasury,” 13–14.

17. *Condensed Catalogue of Manuscripts, Books and Engravings on Exhibition at the Caxton celebration: held under the auspices of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal at the Mechanics’ Hall, on the 26th, 27th, 28th and 29th June 1877, in commemoration of the 400th anniversary of the introduction of printing into England* [Montreal, 1877]. There were two editions of the catalogue but only one includes a list of the lenders.

Breviary from Liège, 1501, lent by Thomas C. Brainerd of Montreal. Towards the end of the *Catalogue* was listed an illuminated New Testament, presumably in Latin, lent by the College de Montréal.¹⁸ There were also three manuscript Books of Hours in the exhibition. One, dated 1412, was in Latin and Dutch and lent by James S. Grinnell of Greenfield, Massachusetts,¹⁹ while two others were lent by Thomas Irwin of Oswego, New York. One of these was not described, but the other was attributed to a Flemish scribe and was said to have belonged to Henry VIII and to have come from the collection of Guglielmo Libri.²⁰ In addition to the manuscript Books of Hours there were also two printed Books of Hours in the exhibition. The first was printed by Gilles Hardouin in Paris and dated 1516.²¹ By 1877, this volume had been in Quebec for more than half a century, having been acquired sometime in the early 1800s by the Quebec City merchant John Christopher Reiffenstein (ca. 1779–1840).²² It was one of three items in the exhibition that he had owned along with a Benedictional dated to the thirteenth century, but actually late fifteenth century made for the Bishop of Amiens, and a “Missal on vellum” dated fifteenth century but actually a stencilled Office of the Dead dated 1746. All three items were in the possession of the Montreal insurance agent G. F. C. Smith (1835–1912).²³ The second printed Book of Hours on vellum was dated Paris 1523 in the catalogue and was lent by the Montreal barrister F. S. Lyman (1844–1909).²⁴

The Caxton exhibition provided the first opportunity for the Montreal public to see examples of medieval manuscripts. While the number of manuscripts was limited and the information provided in the catalogue about

18. *Condensed Catalogue*, 78.

19. *Condensed Catalogue*, 1, item 12.

20. *Condensed Catalogue*, 61.

21. *Condensed Catalogue*, 2, item 181/2. See Brenda Dunn-Lardeau and Richard Virr, “La redécouverte d’un exemplaire des Heures enluminées de 1516 imprimées par Gilles Hardouin,” *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (2014): 144–70.

22. Dunn-Lardeau and Virr, 189.

23. These were items 2 and 3 in the *Condensed Catalogue*. See Dunn-Lardeau and Virr, 157–60, *passim*.

24. *Condensed Catalogue*, 3, item 66. The current location of this Book of Hours is unknown. Lyman’s books were sold at auction and there was a catalogue: *Catalogue of Books and Pictures Belonging to Estate Late F. S. Lyman, Esq: To Be Sold by Public Auction, by Order of the Executors at the Undersigneds Salesrooms Montreal, on Thursday, Friday and Saturday Evenings, 16th, 17th And 18th December, 1909* Walter M. Kearns, Auctioneer.

them was minimal and frequently the product of wishful thinking, it still brought manuscripts to the notice of the curious and of the serious student.²⁵ It is difficult to say what, if any, effect the Caxton celebration may have had on any one individual, but certainly one of the organizers became a collector in a significant way.

Gerald E. Hart

Gerald Ephraim Hart was born in 1842 in Montreal, where he was educated. He was a descendent of Aaron Hart of Trois-Rivières, and worked in insurance for many years. He formed a number of collections, primarily in numismatics and autographs. He was an early member of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal, the organization sponsoring the Caxton exhibition, and was a founder with W. D. Lighthall (1857–1954) of the Montreal-based Society of Historical Studies. He was the author of a number of studies including *The Fall of New France* (1888) and *The Quebec Act of 1774* (1891). By 1912, he was living in New York City. He died in 1936.

Although Hart had only capitals from a missal to exhibit in 1877, by the time of the sale of his library by C. F. Libbie & Co. in Boston, in April 1890, he had collected a significant number of medieval manuscripts, including Books of Hours.²⁶ The sale catalogue lists twenty-three medieval manuscripts, lots 1515 to 1538, followed by an almost equal number of Canadian and other historical documents.²⁷ There is no evidence as to where or how he may have acquired them. Among the medieval manuscripts were six Books of Hours and a Horae. There were also two miniatures, lot 1537, dated to the thirteenth century from a choir book—one of a scene from the life of a saint and the

25. There was extensive coverage of the exhibition and associated activities in the press. See Virr, “Behold This Treasury,” 9–10.

26. Gerald E. Hart, *Catalogue of the library, manuscripts, autograph letters, maps and prints forming the collection of Gerald E. Hart, Esq., of Montreal: [...] comprising rare Americana, scarce black letter books, illuminated MSS., rare French belles lettres [...] books from provenances illustres and bound by master binders, early Canadian imprints [...] autograph letters of the sovereigns of France and England [...]* (Boston: C. F. Libbie, Jr., printer, 1890).

27. Scott Gwara has been working on the holdings of medieval manuscripts in nineteenth-century Canada, including the after-life of Hart’s manuscripts.

other of Christ's commission to St. Peter. They sold for \$15.50.²⁸ These may be the same initials that Hart exhibited at the Caxton celebration, but if so, they have been significantly re-dated; they are the only initials to appear in the sale catalogue.

The Books of Hours were given quite detailed descriptions in the sale catalogue, though these contained much conjecture. The first Book of Hours, lot 1515, is described as "Heures de la Reine Marguerite de Navarre," on 125 vellum leaves and containing thirteen large and five small miniatures, three of the latter for the gospel pericopes. As well, there were "seventeen exquisitely illuminated borders" with hundreds of illuminated initials. The work was ascribed to "Gilles Debreene" and contained the Queen's motto and legend "Spes mea Deus" and "Suffixe Toi." The morocco binding was by Clovis Eve and was covered with golden daisies. It sold for \$825.²⁹ The second Book of Hours in the sale, lot 1516, is described as being French of the fourteenth century on seventy vellum leaves with thirteen full-page and five small miniatures, and "exquisitely illuminated borders to every page and hundreds of illuminated letters, all heightened with gold on a PURPLE GROUND." The miniatures were supported by the heads of angels with extended wings, and the Crucifixion was supported by the effaced arms of the original owner. The binding was contemporary stamped calf. This manuscript sold for \$201.³⁰

The next Book of Hours in the sale, lot 1517, was a fourteenth-century manuscript that included English saints in the calendar: Edward, King of England [the Confessor], St. Althelertia, St. Dunstan, St. Etheldred, St. Armulph, St. Osibald [*sic*], and St. Wilfride, among others. A manuscript of 107 leaves, it appears to have had only two miniatures as initials, both of the Virgin and

28. One copy of the sale catalogue held by Rare Books and Special Collections is priced, although the purchaser's names are not indicated.

29. The miniatures are St. John at Patmos, Pentecost, Annunciation to the Virgin, Visitation of Elizabeth, Adoration of Joseph and Mary [the Nativity], Annunciation to the Shepherds, Adoration of the Magi, Presentation in the Temple, Slaughter of the Innocents, Assumption of the Virgin, David and another [Goliath?]; the small miniatures are St. Luke, St. Matthew, St. Mark, the Virgin, and Descent from the Cross.

30. The large miniatures are Annunciation, Mary and Elizabeth, Adoration of Joseph and Mary [the Nativity], Annunciation to the Shepherds, Adoration of the Magi, Circumcision, Slaughter of the Innocents, Assumption of Mary, David sending the letter [?], Christ carrying the Cross, Descent of the Holy Ghost, Lazarus, Crucifixion; the small miniatures are St. Mary Magdalene, St. Katherine, St. Margueite [*sic*], St. Barbara, and St. Lawrence "with his typical gridiron."

Child, with the first having a black escutcheon. The volume had had “hard usage” and sold for \$42.50.

This rather poor manuscript was followed by a more elaborate example of a Book of Hours dated to the fourteenth/fifteenth centuries and on 164 leaves, lot 1518. It contained twelve large miniatures (although thirteen are listed), and a number of leaves with prayers in French by a later hand. At the beginning of the volume there are entries for births and deaths and the names Segault and Arthault among others. The binding was contemporary stamped leather, and the manuscript sold for \$240.³¹

The penultimate Book of Hours, lot 1519, was dated to 1350 and contained twenty-one miniatures. It was elaborately decorated with illuminated borders, and was “a valuable and rare example of the best French school of illumination.” The binding was contemporary calf said to be in the “Maioli manner.” This manuscript sold for \$105. This Book of Hours is now MS 6 in Special Collections, Syracuse University Library. It has Hart’s bookplate. A description of the manuscript is available on the library website.³² There it is described as having 258 leaves and as being French from 1480 to 1500. Although the Syracuse record does not give the lot number from the sale, the list of miniatures in the sale catalogue and on the website agree, confirming this identification.³³

31. The miniatures are Annunciation, Elizabeth and Mary, Adoration of Joseph and Mary [the Nativity], Annunciation to the Shepherds, Adoration of the Magi, Presentation in the Temple, Flight into Egypt, Assumption of the Virgin, David (prefixed to Psalms and Litany), Crucifixion, Pentecost, Burial Service, and Madonna and Child.

32. The Syracuse Library description, accessed on 29 January 2016, <http://library.syr.edu/find/scrc/collections/diglib/medieval/manuscript6.php>.

33. The miniatures in this Book of Hours are recorded in the two lists (sale catalogue / Syracuse): St. John with Eagle / St. John the Evangelist on the Island of Patmos; Annunciation / Annunciation to the Virgin Mary; Mary and Elizabeth / the Visitation of the Virgin Mary to St. Elizabeth; Betrayal / the Kiss of Judas; Pentecost / Pentecost; Adoration by Joseph and Mary / the Nativity; Christ Scourged / the Flagellation or Scourging of Christ; Annunciation to Shepherds / the Annunciation to the Shepherds; Christ bearing the Cross / the Carrying of the Cross; Adoration of the Magi / the Adoration of the Magi; Christ nailed to the Cross / the Nailing to the Cross; Slaughter of the Innocents / the Massacre of the Innocents and the Flight into Egypt; Crucifixion / the Crucifixion; Presentation in the Temple / the Presentation in the Temple; Descent from the Cross / the Lamentation or Pieta; Assumption of the Virgin / the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin Mary; Entombment / the Entombment; David slaying Goliath / David about to Slay Goliath; Christ raising Lazarus / the Raising of Lazarus; Priest adoring Christ from whose side blood is spurting / Celebration of the Mass by the Pope; St. Veronica with face of Christ / Veronica Showing the Face of Jesus on her Veil.

The final Book of Hours in the Hart sale, lot 1520, was a French one of 148 vellum leaves dated to the fifteenth century; it had no miniatures but did have illuminated initials and floriated borders. It was missing two leaves from the calendar and the first leaves of the gospel pericopes. It was bound in old russia and it sold for \$27.50.³⁴

The Horae, lot 1523, poses a small problem; it was listed as a Horae but described as a Missal. In any case, it was Flemish of the fifteenth century with 170 leaves with thirty-four illuminated initials, and was missing one leaf of the calendar. It sold for \$23.

In addition to these manuscript Books of Hours, Hart owned two printed ones. The first, lot 1123, was described as of the use of Le Mans and dated 1500: “acheuees Lan Mil cinq cēs le XXV, jour Dapuril pour Symon Vostre.” It was on vellum with seventeen full page cuts, a series of the Dance of Death, and hundreds of vignettes in borders. It had the mark and name of Phillipe Pigouchet, and sold for \$41. The second printed Book of Hours, lot 1124, was of the use of Reims, and had the colophon of Guillaume Godard. It was printed at Paris by Guillaume Anabat. The woodcuts were uncoloured and the book was dated ca. 1520. It sold for \$51.

The Hart collection of Books of Hours was probably a fairly typical collection for the period with examples of both deluxe manuscripts and fairly ordinary ones. It would not seem that his collecting particularly favoured manuscripts or indeed Books of Hours; rather, it was an eclectic collection that included significant Canadian holdings. Indeed, the sale was considered important enough for the Board of Governors of McGill University to vote a special grant of \$1,000 for the library to spend at the sale. However, McGill did not buy any of the Books of Hours or other medieval manuscripts.

Joseph Bowles Learmont

The other Montrealer who needs to be considered in this “pre-history” is Joseph Bowles Learmont (1839–1914). A businessman noted for his successful leadership of the hardware wholesalers Caverhill, Learmont and Company, he

34. The main catalogue description says “Horae”; the secondary description says “Missal.” The same confusion appears in lot 1523 and suggests that the catalogue was produced without much attention to the accuracy of the descriptions.

was also noted for his philanthropy, his essays on folklore and Canadian First Nations, and his book collection.³⁵

Learmont's library was sold in four sales at Anderson Galleries in New York in 1917 and 1918.³⁶ His books included an important collection of Bibles, for which he was well known, and a collection of editions of John Bunyan's *Pilgrim Progress*. His collection included incunables, Americana and Canadiana, autographs, and much else. It included manuscripts; some thirty-nine lots appear in the March and April 1917 sales (1284, 1297), with a straggler in the 1918 January sale (1325). The manuscripts were of all kinds and in a multitude of languages: medieval Latin, Persian, Armenian, French, Dutch, Hebrew, Arabic, Pali, and Coptic. Among these lots were five Horae and Officium of the B.V. Mariae; there were also two single leaves.

At the first session of the sale on the 5th and 6th of March 1917, lot 383 was a Book of Hours described as French of the fifteenth century with 134 leaves. It had large and small initials on each page, but it was missing leaves and had no miniatures. In a sixteenth-century binding of brown morocco, it sold for \$67.50.³⁷

The following lot, 384, was also a Book of Hours. It was from northeast France and dated to the mid-fifteenth century. It had 121 leaves and five large miniatures including the Crucifixion, the Virgin and Child, and the Last Judgment. The binding was stamped calf in the fifteenth-century French manner inserted with six miniature portraits covered with glass. This lot sold for \$137.50.

The next Book of Hours in the sale was lot 387. It was of the use of Paris and had 232 leaves. There were fourteen large miniatures. The description in the sale catalogue is worth quoting in full:

387. Horæ Beatæ Mariæ Virginis ad usum Ecclesiae Parisiensis cum Calendario. Manuscript on vellum written in Gothic characters, red and

35. William H. Atherton, *Montreal, 1535–1914* (Montreal: S. J. Clarke, 1914), 3:218, 222; and Henry J. Morgan, *The Canadian Men and Women of the Time: A Handbook of Canadian Biography of Living Characters* (Toronto: Briggs, 1912), 546.

36. Anderson Galleries, Inc., *Catalogue of the Famous Library of the Late J.B. Learmont of Montreal, Canada* (New York: Anderson Galleries, 1917–18), sales 1284, 1297, 1324 and 1325.

37. Prices given here for most of the Learmont Books of Hours are those recorded in *American Book Prices Current* (New York: Robert H. Dodd, 1917), vol. 23, 974–78.

black with the Calendar in gold, blue and red. 232 leaves (81/4 x 51/2 inches). Ornamented with fourteen fine large miniatures heightened with gold, surrounded by beautiful borders composed of leaves, flowers, fruits, etc.; also painted in gold and colors, hundreds of large and small illuminated initials, and each page accompanied by a lateral decoration similar to that surrounding the miniatures. 4to, old red straight-grain morocco, silver clasps, gilt edges. Sæc. XV.

A very fine manuscript with the miniatures in very good condition a[nd] with very wide margins. The manuscript was executed in the North of France in the second half of the XVth Century and evidently for the use of the Diocese of Paris, as shown by the Anthem at Matins and the Capitulum at Lauds. The Calendar has in gold the Saints Leu and Giles, Denis, Marcel and Martin. The Litany invokes Ivo; this shows that the Horæ must have been written for some person connected with Brittany. The miniatures, which are well designed and carefully colored, may be placed above the average work of the kind done in the North of France. They represent: 1. The Annunciation; 2. The Meeting of the Virgin with St. Elizabeth; 3. The Nativity; 4. Annunciation of the birth of Jesus to the Shepherds; 5. Presentation to the temple; 6. Flight into Egypt; 7. God blessing the Virgin; 8. Descent of the Holy Ghost; 9. A Burial; 10. Virgin with the Child among four angels in adoration; 11. God seated on a throne and holding on his knees the body of Jesus; 12. The Resurrection; 13. St. Christopher with the Infant Jesus on his shoulder; 14. St. Genovefa, a lady kneeling before her, probably the one for whom the manuscript was executed.³⁸

This Book of Hours sold for \$700, the highest price made by any of the five in the sale.

The following lot, 388, was also a Book of Hours, French, and dated to 1541. It had eighty-four leaves and eleven miniatures. The borders were particularly commented on as being in “the best style of the French Renaissance.” The binding was old blue morocco, and the first and last fly leaves had displays of the arms of the La Rochechouart family. The manuscript sold for \$110.

38. Sale 1284, lot 387.

Finally, lot 390 was an *Officium*, of Roman use with 174 leaves from the early sixteenth century. It had illuminated initials including one of the Virgin and Child, but no miniatures. Its selling price was not recorded.

At the April 1917 sale, two leaves from Books of Hours were sold: lots 1090 and 1091. The first was recorded as Flemish, late fifteenth century with a miniature of All Saints. It sold for \$21.50. The second leaf was described as being from northeast France of the late fifteenth century. It had a small miniature of the martyrdom of St. Sebastian and sold for \$22.50. Finally, lot 291 in the March 1917 sale was a Book of Hours printed in Paris by Pigouchet, with the almanac for 1503–20. It was on vellum and had illuminated initials; its selling price is not recorded.³⁹

Learmont's collection of Books of Hours was rather less impressive than that of Hart from twenty-five years earlier, but still one suspects that it was a fairly typical collection of examples of the genre held in a much larger book collection for which the primary focus was not medieval manuscripts. In fact, they were exemplars.

This, then, is a brief review of the "pre-history" of medieval manuscript collections, and in particular of Books of Hours, in Montreal before the 1920s. However, before turning to the McGill Collection, there is one other matter that needs attention, and this is F. Cleveland Morgan and his "Museum" at the Art Association of Montreal.

The Museum of the Art Association of Montreal and F. Cleveland Morgan

The Art Association of Montreal, now the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, was founded in 1860 by the Rt. Rev. Francis Fulford, the first Anglican Bishop of Montreal. In its early years, its collection was largely comprised of paintings and sculptures donated by Montreal's private collectors. However, in 1909, the bequest of William and Agnes Learmont (J. B. Learmont's brother) included the first examples of decorative arts added to the collection.⁴⁰ That this was

39. This book of Hours is described as having come from the Brayton Ives library. The collation given is as follows: 9[sic]8, aa8, c8, d6, e-i8, A-B8, C4.

40. Norma Morgan, "F. Cleveland Morgan and the Decorative Arts Collection in the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts" (MA thesis, Concordia University, Montreal, 1985), 7n2. Morgan's thesis only deals with Cleveland Morgan's activities at the Art Association and later at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts; she does not discuss his involvement with other organizations.

the case is surprising given the importance that the Arts and Crafts Movement had for the Art Association and other Montreal and Canadian organizations. Indeed, the Art Association held an exhibition of the works of Walter Crane (1845–1915), the English painter and illustrator, in 1892, only a year after the founding of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society in England.⁴¹ In 1905, Percy Nobbs, the newly arrived professor of architecture at McGill University, called for the establishment of a permanent design exhibition in a lecture before the Art Association.⁴² And it would seem that discussion of the possibility of such an exhibition had taken place in the Art Association, but when its new building on Sherbrooke Street was opened in December 1912, there was no mention of “Industrial Galleries.” However, the subject came up again at the annual meeting of the Association in 1916, and this time the supporters of the project were successful. The “Museum” opened in December 1916 with F. Cleveland Morgan as director of the Decorative Arts Committee.⁴³ He was to remain in charge of the collection until his death in 1962.⁴⁴ The “Museum” occupied the room to the left of the entrance to the Art Association building and had a sign designating it as such over the door.⁴⁵

The original purpose of the “Museum” reflected the aims of the Arts and Crafts Movement’s philosophy by creating an Industrial Gallery with a collection of examples for designers and craftsmen”; however, “a different philosophy gradually emerged, [...] one of acquiring works that would demonstrate the history of art and the evolution of design in different civilizations.”⁴⁶ This changing philosophy was embraced by Morgan and would have an influence beyond the “Museum” of the Art Association.

Frederick Cleveland Morgan was born in Montreal on 1 December 1881, the son of James Morgan, Jr. (1846–1933)—chairman of the family business, Henry Morgan and Company, the Montreal department store—and of Anna Elizabeth Lyman (1848–1929).⁴⁷ He was educated first at home and then in

41. Norma Morgan, 7–10.

42. Norma Morgan, 10–11.

43. Norma Morgan, 11–13.

44. Norma Morgan, 15.

45. Norma Morgan, 6.

46. Norma Morgan, 6.

47. Norma Morgan, 16.

England, entering Trinity College, Cambridge in 1900. He received a BA in 1903 and returned to Montreal where he earned an MA in Zoology from McGill University in 1904. Although he had hoped for a career in science, the early loss of an eye led him to join the family business where he would work until he retired in 1952.⁴⁸

Morgan's collecting passion appeared early, and he and his brothers formed large natural history collections while still boys.⁴⁹ His interest in the decorative arts, while not new (visits to art museums were a family activity), blossomed on his return to Montreal in 1904, and although he was to pursue a business career, his real interest was in the decorative arts collection at the Art Association. His activities as curator of the "Museum" have been described in these terms:

Not only did he make almost all the purchases during that period [1916–62] but many of the works that were catalogued as being donated by others were in fact purchased by Morgan. Invoices and correspondence in the files of the museum [MMFA] demonstrate that when several articles were purchased from a dealer by Morgan, one might be purchased from the general funds raised by Morgan, another might be paid for by a specific donor and yet another by Morgan himself.⁵⁰

That Morgan knew his way through galleries and with dealers is clear in the way that he built the decorative arts collection at the Art Association. This experience and expertise were to be of importance for the McGill Library Museum, with which he was to become closely associated.

The McGill Collection, Gerhard Lomer, and the Library Museum

Gerhard R. Lomer was named university librarian in 1920 in succession to the first librarian, Charles Gould, who had died in office in 1919. It was under Gould's leadership that the McGill Library had gone from a small college library of some 35,000 volumes to the largest academic library in Canada, with some

48. Norma Morgan, 18.

49. Norma Morgan, 20.

50. Norma Morgan, 3. See also the description of his activities on p. 73.

180,000 volumes in its various libraries.⁵¹ Under Lomer's leadership, the McGill Library was to dramatically develop its collections in a number of directions.

Lomer was born in Montreal in 1882 and received his BA (1903) and MA (1904) in philosophy from McGill. He earned his PhD in education from Columbia University, in New York City, in 1910,⁵² and taught first at the University of Wisconsin and then at McGill before assuming the position of university librarian. During these years, he had written a number of books and had served as editor of two major publishing series.⁵³

Lomer's tenure as university librarian falls into three distinct periods: the prosperous and expansionist 1920s that ended with the Great Depression and the sudden death of McGill's principal, Sir Arthur Curry, in 1933; the difficult 1930s with limited funds and the chancellorship of Sir Edward Beatty, chairman of the Canadian Pacific Railway, who ran the university from his office in Windsor Station; and the austerity of the Second World War and the centralizing principalship of F. Cyril James. It was during the 1920s that Lomer was to be most effective as a collection builder with the development of major collections, including the Blacker and Wood natural history collections and the Blackader architecture collection. The acquisition of exemplars for the museum ran parallel to the general program of acquisitions for the main library collection and these special collections.

In 1920, McGill launched a financial campaign to mark its centenary the following year. A series of booklets was prepared, outlining the campaign's objectives. One booklet was dedicated to the McGill Library and was signed by Lomer. For him, the library was at a crossroads; it could either advance or stagnate. A new stack wing was needed to house new collections: in particular, the Blackader architecture collection and the Norma Shearer Wood ornithology collection. As well, an exhibition room was essential for the "public display of old manuscripts, early printing, rare bindings, and other library treasures."⁵⁴

It was the exhibition room that was to play an important part in Lomer's promotion of the library and its holdings. In his article, "The Development of

51. Peter F. McNally, "Scholar Librarians: Gould, Lomer and Pennington [sic]," *Fontanus* 1 (1991): 97.

52. The title of his doctoral thesis was "The Concept of Method." It dealt with the history of philosophy and hermeneutics.

53. McNally, 98.

54. Gerhard Lomer, *The Library of McGill* (1920), 4.

the Redpath Library,” published in the alumni magazine *McGill News* in June 1922, he provides a brief history of the library’s collection, and then describes recent developments. He writes as follows:

Perhaps the most significant development of the Library in the past two years is indicated by the installation of three special libraries and by the opening of a Library Museum. The former provides for architecture, zoology, and ornithology special and exhaustive reference collections arranged with a view to their practical use by residents of Montreal, and will be conducted in much the same way as the important reference collections in American university libraries. The Museum, though necessarily restricted in accommodation, will nevertheless be modelled on the exhibits in the King’s Library of the British Museum, in the Book Production Gallery of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, and in the John Rylands Library at Manchester, all of which have been studied with a special view to adapting their methods to this University.⁵⁵

Lomer, too, adopted the philosophy that Morgan, a member of the university’s General Museum Committee, had realized at the Museum of the Art Association; the Library Museum would present all aspects of the book across centuries and civilizations. The museum was located on the top floor of the new addition to the library. It fulfilled the hope of the Centennial Campaign, and the comparison with the aims of the “Museum” at the Art Association of Montreal is relevant and pertinent.

The materials acquired for the Library Museum would today be rare book collection items, but in Lomer’s time there was no separate rare book unit within the McGill Library; this did not happen until 1965. Most books in the library were housed in closed stacks, museum items included, although these would have been kept separately from the general collection. Books had to be requested and brought to the reader, and rare materials would have been consulted under special conditions. However, many of these materials were to be found in the cataloguing backlog, and thus for all practical purposes

55. Gerhard Lomer, “The Development of the Redpath Library,” *McGill News* (June 1922), 5.

inaccessible, so the museum was an important means of publicizing the library's holdings.⁵⁶

Lomer's correspondence files as university librarian provide strong evidence for the close relationship between the McGill Library and the Art Association; Lomer and Morgan are in regular contact exchanging information. In some instances, the library is acting as an agent for the Art Association in the acquisition of books.⁵⁷ From other correspondence, it is clear that Morgan was acting as the intermediary between the library and various dealers.⁵⁸ Lomer had spent the summer of 1925 in England and on 28 September he wrote to Morgan, "I am back again at the Library and shall be delighted to see you if you can find it convenient to drop in some day this week. I would like to tell you about some of the Summer's purchases and talk over the Museum cases with you."⁵⁹ While Lomer was away, Morgan wrote on his behalf to arrange for the visit of L. S. Bull of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, to the McGill collections in August.⁶⁰ In 1927, there is an exchange of items and a contribution to the purchase of a thirteenth-century Persian miniature.⁶¹ In 1928, there is mention of the return of items lent for a library exhibition and the possible purchase of Greek manuscripts.⁶² In the following year, there is again correspondence on the lending of materials for library exhibitions.⁶³ The relation and interaction between the library and the Art Association and between Lomer and Morgan were obviously very close indeed.

The Library Museum would soon have ample materials to display. Acquisitions were funded by monies primarily from three sources: the Morgan

56. Richard Pennington, Lomer's successor, in a letter of 17 April 1994 to Dr. Eric Ormsby, director of libraries, wrote: "In the old days books that presented cataloguing problems—in Greek, for example—or were considered not suitable for inclusion in the Library where [sic] shelved in a small room at the top of the tower and forgotten. I checked this collection one day and removed all that were worth processing [...]." Rare Books and Special Collections, Subject Files, Pindar.

57. See for example the file "Art Association" for 1922; University Archives, RG40, C. 16/01776.

58. See the files "Morgan" for 1923 and 1924; University Archives, RG40, C. 17/01923 and 01951.

59. See the file "Morgan" for 1925; University Archives, RG40, C. 18/01969.

60. Copy of letter dated 30 June 1925, in the file "Morgan" for 1925; University Archives, RG40, C. 18/01969.

61. See the file "Morgan" for 1927; University Archives, RG40, C. 18/02005.

62. See the file "Morgan" for 1928; University Archives, RG40, C. 18/02017.

63. See the file "Morgan" for 1929; University Archives, RG40, C. 18/02032.

Fund, the Sir Thomas and Lady Roddick Fund, and the General Book Fund. Later in the 1930s, there would be a Friends of the Library Fund that received donations for the use of the library. The Morgan Fund was comprised of monies given by Henry Morgan and Company, and members of the Morgan family including F. Cleveland Morgan.⁶⁴ The Roddick Fund was an endowment established after the death of Sir Thomas in 1923.⁶⁵ Income from the fund was used for many of the acquisitions for the Museum. Lady Roddick regularly contributed other monies for special acquisitions as did other members of the Redpath family. Sir Thomas (1846–1923), born in Harbour Grace, Newfoundland, was an eminent surgeon who had been dean of medicine at McGill. He married Amy Redpath (1868–1954) as his second wife in 1906. She was the daughter of Ada Mills and John James Redpath, the son of John Redpath (1796–1869), businessman and owner of the Redpath Sugar refinery in Montreal. Amy was a poet and a member of the Canadian Authors Association. In her later years she became greatly interested in the condition and future of the First Nations and developed a particular rapport with the people at Caughnawaga, now the Kahnawake Mohawk Territory.

In 1932, Cyril Fox, director of the National Museum of Wales, was invited to survey the museums at McGill, comment on their current conditions, and make recommendations about their organization and future development. His survey covered sixteen museums, and the report ran to thirty-nine pages. Of the Library Museum he wrote:

The cases are well designed, the material set out in a logical and attractive manner with informative and interesting labels. [...] [I]t is the emphasis laid on the Book as the vehicle of history, and on the methods employed through three millennia in order to perpetuate man's thought and action, which makes the whole exhibit greater than any of its parts. It is an excellent example of up-to-date Museum technique.⁶⁶

64. See the letter from F. Cleveland Morgan to Gerhard Lomer of 13 December 1920 in the file "Morgan Fund," University Archives, RG40, C. 16/01734.

65. See the letter from Lady Roddick to Gerhard Lomer of 15 October 1924 in the file "Lady Roddick," University Archives, RG40, C. 17/01952.

66. Cyril Fox, *A Survey of McGill University Museums* (Montreal: McGill University, 1932), 20.

He noted that more oriental manuscripts would add to the significance of the museum and that the space was too small and inconvenient of access. Finally, he noted with surprise that “these important developments [...] [that] make the University a living and vital education force [were] ‘dependent almost entirely upon donations of material and money’ and that no funds are provided from University sources.”⁶⁷ How true this was, we have just seen.

Acquisitions 1920–1933

Lomer wasted little time in beginning his program of collection development and of acquiring materials for the Library Museum. The library order books record his activities. The McGill University Library used order books to track its acquisitions; once acquired, items would then be accessioned in the Accession Registers and catalogued. The order book volumes are composed of tissue paper leaves to which the text of dampened letters was transferred.⁶⁸ The order books record orders sent to publishers, and booksellers by letter or telegram, and orders placed in person by the university librarian upon reception of the material. The volumes are arranged chronologically with each order receiving an order number. The McGill series of order books begins in 1894 and runs through 1946. These are held in Rare Books and Special Collections, McGill University Library as are the Accession Registers for the same period. These order books provide the basis for much of this study as they document the daily acquisition activities. Understandably, the descriptions of items ordered are usually very brief, and it is these that provide the dating and descriptions for the various manuscripts mentioned here, although these may now be known to be erroneous or inaccurate. Attributions and dating resulting from modern research, when appropriate, will be found in the notes.

In the early years, Lomer used booksellers primarily in the United Kingdom, but later added booksellers in Europe and the United States. Although correspondence was the normal way for orders to be placed, Lomer also made a number of trips to England and to the United States and dealt directly with booksellers in their shops.

67. Fox, 21.

68. Letter copying books were introduced in the 1890s.

The beginnings of the program of acquisitions for the Library Museum can be seen shortly after Lomer became university librarian, in the order by cable on 11 of February 1921 of a miniature of St. Ursula, MS 192, from James Tregaskis in London for £28.⁶⁹ At the same time and from the same bookseller, a copy of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Aldus 1499) was acquired as well as another incunable.⁷⁰ Later in the year, Lomer was in England, and Tregaskis's shop was obviously the object of a visit. He acquired an *Officium* for £18, MS 101, paid for from the Morgan Fund, and a *Horae* at £7.10.0 paid for from the General Book Fund. This latter was a Book of Hours, 1504, printed by Pigouchet for Simon Vostre.⁷¹ He also acquired from Tregaskis four manuscript fragments, all from the same album, of "Cursor Mundi" (MS 141) at £4, "L'image du monde" (MS 144) at £8, "Le Chevalier au Cygne" (MS 145) at £16, and "Roman de la rose" (MS 146) at £8. To complete these purchases, a fifteenth-century copy of Petrus de Riga's "Aurora", MS 140, was acquired from the same dealer for £29.⁷² These were all paid by the Morgan Fund. A second printed Book of Hours was also acquired at this time. Published by Simon Vostre, ca. 1507, for the use of Autun, it was acquired from Reginald Atkinson for £9.⁷³ This visit to England also produced from Maggs Brothers one fifteenth-century illuminated miniature and five small miniatures, otherwise unidentified.⁷⁴ Lomer also visited the shop of Reginald Atkinson and ordered a long list of materials including three medieval manuscripts, a collection of illuminated fragments,

69. Order Book, 26 Nov. 1920 – 4 Nov. 1921, 165, order no. 33207, 27 June 1921; Tregaskis catalogue 836, item 145.

70. The Aldine was \$1,150.00, order no 33208; the second incunabula, order no 33209, was *Antonius and Bindo de Senis Rampigollis, Aurea Biblia, sive Repertorium aureum Bibliorum* [Cologne: Ludwig von Renchen, about 1487]. Goff R18.

71. These were items 321, and 443 or perhaps 448 (?) in catalogue 842; the catalogue number is illegible for the second item in the order book. Order Book, 26 Nov. 1920 – 4 Nov. 1921, 381, order no. 1899, 27 June 1921. The shelf mark for this Book of Hours is CUCA R66h 1504. The almanac is for 1502–20. The *Officium* was order no. 1896.

72. Order Book, 26 Nov. 1920 – 4 Nov. 1921, 393, order nos. 2036 and 2037. The "Aurora" was item 385 in Tregaskis Catalogue 837.

73. Not found in the order book, but the Accession Register gives an invoice date of 13 September 1921 and a reception date of 18 November 1921. It was paid for by J. R. Redpath. The shelf mark is: CUCA R66h 1507. See Sarah Cameron-Pesant's article about the 1507 Book of Hours in this issue.

74. Order Book, 26 Nov. 1920 – 4 Nov. 1921, 434, order nos. 3035 and 3036. The fifteenth-century miniature cost £10.0.0, and the five small miniatures £3.3.0.

and a Persian manuscript. Among the medieval manuscripts was MS 100, a Dutch Book of Hours that had belonged to the monastery of St. Mary of Sion in Cologne in the 1700s. The manuscript cost £20 and was paid for by Alice Redpath.⁷⁵ These materials were received in the library on 13 September 1921.

However, as Lomer reported in the December 1921 number of *McGill News*, what he was really doing during his time in England was acquiring materials for the new Blacker zoology library. The gift of \$40,000 (including an endowment of \$10,000) from Robert R. and Nellie Canfield Blacker meant that there were funds for specific acquisitions, and this fact only facilitated the acquisition of materials for the Museum. He reported that he and Dr. Casey A. Wood⁷⁶

spent the greater part of the summer in England purchasing books for this special library. Every possible source of material was made use of and items were obtained from small booksellers in English provinces as well as from specialists in scientific literature in London and on the Continent. Special attention was paid to the condition of the books and as a result many of them are splendid examples of modern bookbinding.⁷⁷

It is worth noting that this was the occasion for the acquisition of William Morris's copy of Pliny the Elder's *Historia Naturalis*, printed by Jensen in Venice in 1472. Lomer concludes his report by quoting an English expert that "So far as Great Britain is concerned, McGill University Library in its departments of general zoology and ornithology, is inferior only to the British Museum." And finally, he thanks the Morgan Fund and the Sir Thomas and Lady Roddick Fund for their support of the acquisitions of examples of early printing, binding, and

75. Order Book, 5 Nov. 1921 – 10 Oct. 1922, p. 2, order no. 3372. The de Ricci entries reads: "Belonged ca. 1700 to the monastery of S. Maria in Sion in Cologne. – Tregaskis, Cat. 538, no. 407 (also no. 427 in a cat.). – Obtained from R. Atkinson (given by Miss Alice Redpath)."

76. Casey A. Wood (1856–1942) was the person behind the establishment of both the Wood and Blacker Libraries at McGill and the author of *An Introduction to the Literature of Vertebrate Zoology: Based Chiefly on the Titles in the Blacker Library of Zoology, the Emma Shearer Wood Library of Ornithology, the Bibliotheca Osleriana and Other Libraries of McGill University, Montreal* (London: Oxford University Press, 1931).

77. Gerhard Lomer, "New Treasures for the Library," *McGill News* (December 1921), 32.

illuminated manuscripts.⁷⁸ It was also at this time that the library was acquiring a significant number of Persian manuscripts. In March of 1921, the library acquired from a New York dealer a thirteenth-century Persian miniature depicting the death of Alexander for \$1,500.⁷⁹ Morgan was involved in this acquisition, but his role is unclear. The order letter to the dealer concludes with the sentence, “The other page will be returned to you in a few days through Mr. Cleveland Morgan.”⁸⁰ This acquisition was paid for by the Morgan Fund.

In 1922 Lomer did not visit England, and although the variety of materials acquired for the library and the museum continued to be numerous, there was an important acquisition. Dr. Casey A. Wood gave to the library, on 13 October 1922, MS 109, a miniature (80 x 60 mm) Flemish Book of Hours.

The following year, 1923, would be dramatically different. In that summer, Lomer was again in England buying materials for the library. The library order books record the reception of items ordered by Lomer in London from both Atkinson and Maggs. The material purchased from Atkinson arrived on the 15th of October and seems to have been ordered on the 18th of September. The forty-seven items purchased cover a wide variety of areas and subjects including autograph letters, early editions of English literature, an edition of William Blake’s illustrations for the Book of Job (1902), and examples of bindings including one by Samuel Mearne (1624–1683) at £10. What is of particular interest are the Indian and Persian manuscripts, including a Koran; there are some twenty entries in the list for these. However, the list also includes two Books of Hours, one described then as French but more probably Flemish, now MS 97,⁸¹ £22, paid by the Sir William Dawson fund, and one of Sarum use, now MS 98, £60, paid for by Sir Thomas and Lady Roddick.

The items Lomer bought from Maggs appear on four pages of the order book for some eighty-three items, including literature, works on Napoleon, and bibliography among others, for a total of £210.17.6.⁸² They arrived on the 15th of November. It is the last nineteen items that are of interest here; unfortunately,

78. Lomer, “New Treasures for the Library,” 33.

79. The dealer was Dikran G. Kelekian. This leaf is now MS Persian 5. Order Book, 26 Nov. 1920 – 4 Nov. 1921, 218 order no. 33775.

80. Order Book, 26 Nov. 1920 – 4 Nov. 1921, 218.

81. The Flemish attribution has been provided by Brenda Dunn-Lardeau.

82. Order Book, 18 July 1923 – 22 May 1924, 152–55.

the descriptions are so brief that it is not always possible to be absolutely certain which item in the collections now corresponds to the order book entry. This Maggs series begins with a fifteenth-century Italian miniature of David at £5.0.0 (unidentified in the McGill collection as it now exists) paid for by Sir Thomas and Lady Roddick, as are the following three items: a small black frame, apparently not charged, and a seventeenth-century Indian landscape at £2.2.0; an eighteenth-century miniature portrait of Shah Jahan at £10.10.0, and a fifteenth-century Italian capital "S" at £6.6.0, probably MS 84, but possibly MS 88. A complete Hebrew Pentateuch at £20 was paid for by the Maccabean Circle, a McGill student group. This is possibly Hebrew MS 6.⁸³ A Virgin and Child from a fifteenth-century Italian antiphonal was acquired at £3.3.0, probably MS 34, and a fifteenth-century French Adoration of the Magi also at £3.3.0, MS 95, both paid for by the Roddicks. This is followed by a fifteenth-century miniature of Two Apostles at £2.2.0, the Roddicks again, probably MS 66. Then come two miniatures of the fifteenth century from the same manuscript, now MS 96: one of the Visitation, £3.3.0, and the other of the Presentation in the Temple, £5.5.0, also the Roddicks.

The next item demonstrates the close involvement of Morgan with library acquisitions. A further fifteenth-century miniature from the same manuscript as McGill, MS 96 was acquired from Maggs: a French Coronation of the Virgin at £3.3.0, paid for by the Roddicks. However, in the *de Ricci Census*, it appears as no. 5 in the collection of Morgan.⁸⁴ Clearly there has been an exchange of materials between Morgan and the library, but there is no additional information available.

Also from Maggs came four leaves of John Lydgate's translation of the Fall of Princes, English, mid-fifteenth century, MS 143, at £9.9.0, again the Roddicks. The next item is presumably a fifteenth-century Italian manuscript leaf (no details are provided) again paid for by the Roddicks at 10/6. Sir Thomas and Lady Roddick also provided the funds, at £1.1.0 and £2.2.0, for a fifteenth-century initial "S" and an initial "I", possibly MSS 68 and 37. The General Book Fund provided £5.5.0 for the Vita S. Gilenii, a French manuscript of the

83. There are two Pentateuch scrolls in the collection; one acquired from Maggs in 1923 and one acquired from Dawson's Book Shop, Los Angeles in 1941. One is said to be Iraqi from ca. 1600 but for the other there is no information. Which is which has not been determined.

84. This miniature is now Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Accession 1962.1354, the gift of F. Cleveland Morgan.

thirteenth or fourteenth century, MS 118.⁸⁵ And finally, the Roddicks again provided the funds for three specimen leaves of fifteenth-century illuminations, MSS 104 and 107,⁸⁶ at £1.11.6, and for an illuminated initial “S” at £10, possibly MS 32. It is almost certain that the single leaf from an Italian Officium, MS 110, was also acquired at this time. Although the entry in the de Ricci Census reads “Obtained in 1933 from Maggs, Cat. 437 (1923), no 1163,” there are no recorded purchases of manuscripts from Maggs in 1933.⁸⁷

These wide-ranging acquisitions are typical of Lomer’s activities in the early 1920s; he was building his museum as quickly as possible and he had significant funds at his disposal to do so. He spent a total of £93.16.0, or almost half of the funds spent at Maggs on this occasion, for late medieval manuscripts.⁸⁸

After 1923, while acquisitions continued apace, the focus on medieval manuscripts as exemplars began to shift to other kinds of material. For example, in April 1924, six Persian manuscripts and three Persian miniatures along with an Arabic inscription were acquired from H. Khan Monif in New York City where Lomer had been visiting.⁸⁹ In the same month, three collections of “Oriental Calligraphy,” but more specifically Arabic, were acquired from Mrs. Reginald Atkinson in London. In the same order, 1,200 visiting cards (1816–32) were acquired, as was “An Interesting Collection” of twenty children’s books.⁹⁰

In 1925, Lomer was again in England, and while this visit resulted in the acquisition of much interesting material, there does not appear to be anything relevant to medieval manuscripts among it. The year 1926 presents much the same picture, except that the gift of a single leaf of a late fifteenth-century French Book of Hours was received from Philip Turner, professor of architecture at McGill, MS 108.

85. Leszek Wysocki and Richard Virr, “A Remnant of a Gislenian Anthology,” *Fontanus* 1 (1988): 118–130.

86. Order Book, 18 July 1923 – 22 May 1924, 155, order no. 14345.

87. Order Book, 18 July 1923 – 22 May 1924, 155, order no. 14341. It cost 10/6.

88. Order Book, 18 July 1923 – 22 May 1924, 155, order nos. 14330–14346.

89. Order Book, 18 July 1923 – 22 May 1924, 416, order nos. 17256–17265.

90. Order Book, 18 July 1923 – 22 May 1924, 394, order nos. 16832–16834, and 16830.

The acquisition of a group of medieval miniatures from Maggs in 1927 sheds further light on the relationship between Lomer and Morgan in acquiring materials for the library. On 14 September, Lomer wrote to Maggs:

With reference to the Miniatures sent us on approval during May 1927 at the request of Mr. Cleveland Morgan, we now beg to inform you that these are being kept by us and your invoice of May 13th amounting to [£]66/7/11 will be passed for payment by our Bursar in the near future.⁹¹

The miniatures were MS 102, seven small ones, five of King David, one of the Annunciation, and one of a monk praying for a departing soul, all probably from a breviary at £31.10; MS 31, a miniature of the Virgin and Child at £31; and a miniature of the three Marys at the tomb, also at £31.⁹² This latter is listed as no. 3 in the collection of Morgan in the de Ricci *Census*, and is now in the collection of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.

In 1927 a new source of medieval manuscripts was found. For the first time, an order was placed with Foliophiles in New York City for a selection of medieval and other manuscript leaves.⁹³ Also in that year, a fourteenth-century initial was acquired from Leo S. Olschki in Florence.⁹⁴ In 1929, Foliophiles provided a leaf from a Book of Hours (not identified) along with six other, primarily missal, leaves, at the cost of \$79.20 after a 10 percent discount. The following year, Foliophiles provided two leaves from Books of Hours, both with small miniatures: the first at \$5.00 and the second at \$10.00; probably MS 193. The year 1929 also saw the acquisition of a Spanish prayer book of the sixteenth century, MS 152, from Foliophiles. In fact, this was a volume of rules for the “Hermanos de las Sanctas Obras de misericordia de San Lucar de Barrameda.”⁹⁵

91. Order Book, 4 May 1927 – 24 Nov. 1927, 272.

92. Order Book, 4 May 1927 – 24 Nov. 1927, 272, order nos. 34951, 34952, and 34953.

93. Order Book, 5 Jan. 1926 – 27 Oct. 1926, 148, order nos. 31611–31632; 254, order no. 32160 for a series of missal leaves. Manuscript leaves acquired from Foliophiles are very difficult to identify; the entry in the order book has minimal information and provenance information has not been kept with the leaf.

94. Order Book, 4 May 1927 – 24 Nov. 1927, 133. Order number: “34241 [...] Illumin [...] Initial of MS XIV Lire 750 [in red replacing 100].”

95. De Ricci, 152, McGill, MSG 298.

In 1930, the name of Erik von Scherling (1907–56) from Leyden in Holland appears in the order books for the first time. He was to supply much interesting material to the library in the coming years. In an order from May 1930, eight singles leaves, three bifolia, and a group of fragments were acquired; the order had included nine other items but these were unavailable, having been sold. All this material was from medieval manuscripts.⁹⁶ In early 1933, twenty-five items were ordered from von Scherling's *Rotulas*, October 1932 (Vol. 2, 3/4). These included a wide variety of materials from European manuscripts and a Greek ostrakon dated to the fourth or fifth century, a Greek papyrus leaf dated to the sixth century, and a Babylonian tablet, ca. 2250 BCE. Among the manuscripts was a bifolium from a Book of Hours described as French of the late fifteenth century, MS 106. There was also MS 99, which contains part of the Litany.⁹⁷ In addition, there were a number of other vellum manuscripts, some of which were illuminated; these have not been identified in the collection. There were also a number of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century manuscript codices.⁹⁸

MS 103 and 105 were acquired sometime in this period, but no information on their acquisition has been discovered. MS 103 has three leaves with a Calendar leaf (October), a miniature of Christ before Pilate, and Memoriae of the Saints, and MS 105 has two leaves with small miniatures of St. Benedict and Sts. John and Paul, and Sts. Stephen and Lawrence. The five leaves are from the same manuscript.

Acquisitions 1934–1947

In the years following de Ricci's visit in 1932, the pattern of acquisitions is similar to that in the years just preceding his visit; Persian and other non-Western manuscripts were being purchased, including two Ethiopian ones in 1938.⁹⁹

96. Order Book, 4 April 1930 – 13 Nov. 1930, 105–07, order nos. 48144, 48146–48148, 48150, 48152, 48156, 48160–48192.

97. This bifolium is probably from Hainaut, according to Helena Kogen. Order Book, 18 May 1932 – 28 April 1933, 793, order no. 60800, 2 March 1933.

98. Order Book, 18 May 1932 – 12 April 1933, 791–94, order nos. 60782–60812.

99. Order Book 14 Jan 1935 – 9 Nov 1935, 936, order no. 71250, a Persian manuscript from Dobell. Order Book 8 Sept 1937 – 8 Sept 1938, 7223A, order no. 81311, twenty-four Persian and Indo-Persian manuscript leaves from H. Khan Monif. Order Book, 9 Sept. 1938 – 10 Sept. 1939, 296, order no. 83485; two Ethiopian manuscripts (MSS 4 and 5) from Heeramaneek Galleries, New York, "(per F.C. Morgan)."

Of more possible direct interest is the bound manuscript on vellum acquired from Miss M. L. Aylwin (of Montreal?) on 18 June 1938. Unfortunately, there is not sufficient information to identify this manuscript; it might have been a Canadian manuscript and not medieval at all.¹⁰⁰

The year 1939 saw at least two acquisitions of interest here: an early fourteenth-century French psalter leaf, otherwise undescribed and not identified, from Maggs in London, and a thirteenth-century Italian manuscript of Pope Gregory's *Homilies* (MS 4) from the Dawson's Book Shop in Los Angeles.¹⁰¹ Dawson's became the principle source for medieval manuscripts during the war years, although the dealer G. H. Last in Bromley was the source of an initial "A" acquired in 1940.¹⁰² In the same year, Dawson's supplied a series of leaves from psalters, breviaries, hymnals, and office books—none of which has been identified—and a leaf from a manuscript of Peter Lombard, MS 191.¹⁰³ Perhaps more interestingly, in 1941 Dawson's was the source for a leaf from a fifteenth-century French Book of Hours, described as "tiny" (measuring $2\frac{7}{8}$ " x $3\frac{7}{8}$ " [98 x 72 mm]). This single manuscript leaf is MS 198.¹⁰⁴ Later in the year, two leaves from another miniature late-fifteenth-century Book of Hours were acquired from Dawson's. These are MS 189, with a miniature of the Raising of Lazarus, and cost \$36.50.¹⁰⁵ The following year saw the addition of a leaf from a Flemish Gospel Book, MS 190.¹⁰⁶

Morgan dealt extensively with the Heeramaneeck Galleries for the Art Association Museum. See, Appendix H in Morgan, 181–86.

100. Order Book 9 Sept. 1938 – 10 Sept. 1938, 296, order no. 83485. The cost, \$25.00, was paid by Lady Roddick.

101. Order Book, 9 Sept. 1938 – 10 Sept. 1939, 416, order no. 83929 (Maggs) and Order Book, 10 Oct. 1939 – 15 Jan 1941, 44, order no. 86396 (Dawson's).

102. Order Book, 10 Oct. 1939 – 15 Jan 1941, 270, order no. 87296.

103. Order Book, 10 Oct. 1939 – 15 Jan 1941, 618, order no. 88728.

104. Order Book, 15 Jan. 1941 – 6 Feb. 1942, 117, order no. 90421. The cost was \$2.00 and paid for by the Friends of the Library Fund. This order also included a vellum leaf from a French printed Book of Hours, otherwise unidentified. MS 198 is probably from the Southern Netherlands according to Brenda Dunn-Lardeau.

105. Order Book, 15 Jan. 1941 – 6 Feb. 1942, 641, order no. 92203. In *Canada Collects the Middle Ages / Le moyen âge aux travers des collections canadiennes* (Regina: Norman MacKenzie Art Gallery, 1986), this is entry no. 87; no McGill location is given.

106. Orientalia, New York, supplied the Carthusian manuscript, Order Book, 15 Jan. 1941 – 6 Feb. 1942, 847, order no. 92952; Philip C. Duschnes, New York was the source of the missal leaf, Order Book,

In 1945, the last year of the war, Dawson's provided a fifteenth-century bifolium with a miniature of the Crucifixion and an illuminated initial. As well, there was a miniature with an angel playing the lute and the text of the Kyrie; neither of these has been identified.¹⁰⁷ Dawson's may have also supplied MS 187, two Flemish leaves of the fifteenth century, one of the Flagellation and the other only text. Other than the acquisition date of 1945, no other acquisition information has been discovered.¹⁰⁸

In the same year, Henry Morgan and Company, Montreal, was the probable source for MS 199, described in the Order Book as a "miniature."¹⁰⁹ However, during these same years the eclectic nature of the acquisition program continued, and in 1946 the library acquired a Quipu, a Peruvian knot record for the Museum from the New York dealer Julius Carlebach selected by Morgan when he had been in the city.¹¹⁰

What should now be clear is that medieval manuscripts in general and Books of Hours in particular were only one aspect of the much larger McGill Library Museum program of acquisitions. And, it is worth noting that the most significant acquisitions of Books of Hours occurred in the early 1920s.

Later acquisitions

In 1947, Lomer retired and was replaced as university librarian by Richard Pennington. This change in administration brought with it a change in the focus of collection development and the eventual closure of the Library Museum. No longer were materials acquired for their interest as exemplars; other criteria came into play. After 1947, only one medieval manuscript codex was purchased, the fourteenth-century Bernardi Silvestris, *De mundi universitate*,

15 Jan. 1941 – 6 Feb. 1942, 904, order no. 93177; and the Flemish gospel leaf came from Dawson's, Order Book, 7 Feb. 1942 – 19 Feb. 1943, 670, order no. 95642.

107. Order Book, 28 Jan. 1944 – 27 March 1945, 831, order nos. 102476 and 102477; 25 Jan 1945.

108. In Elizabeth Leesti, *Les manuscrits liturgiques du Moyen Âge / Liturgical Manuscripts of the Middle Ages* (Montreal: Musées des beaux-arts de Montréal / Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, ca. 1987), this entry no. 23 with a McGill location "Framed 46."

109. Order Book, 27 March 1945 – 15 March 1946, 511, order no. 104894. It was paid for by Lady Roddick.

110. Order Book, 27 March 1945 – 15 March 1946, 978, order no. 106186.

MS 1.¹¹¹ However, in 1954 the library acquired a single leaf from the *Heures de Notre-Dame de Pierre Gringore* (1475? – 1538?) printed by Jehan Petit in 1525. The leaf depicts the Mocking of Christ, and the iconography is unusual.¹¹² In 1961, a late fifteenth-century Franco-Flemish Book of Hours was given to the library by Mrs. Duncan Hodgson; this is MS 158. It is disbound and lacking numerous leaves. In September 1969, a number of leaves from Books of Hours were purchased from the Montreal book collector Norman H. Friedman: MS 149, two leaves, of St. Barbara and the Virgin and Child, French, second half of the fifteenth century; MS 153, two leaves, probably Flemish from the second half of the fifteenth century, with elaborated initials in gold,¹¹³ and a French leaf from the late fifteenth century, MS 163.¹¹⁴ This group of leaves cost \$350.

In the 1970s, three Books of Hours were given to the library. In 1972, Catherine Rhodes Tudor-Hart bequeathed a Book of Hours to the library, MS 155. This late Franco-Flemish manuscript had been given to her in 1908 at Pontefract, Yorkshire. As well, two single leaves were included in the bequest. MS 164 is a small miniature of the Nativity, and MS 165 is a single French leaf—from the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century—of the Adoration of the Magi.¹¹⁵ The Rhodes were a Yorkshire-Quebec family with a house, Cataraqui, just outside Quebec City. Catherine had married the artist Percyval Tudor-Hart in 1935. He was a descendent of the eighteenth-century Aaron Hart of Trois Rivières, Québec. In 1975, Mme Madeleine Perrault bequeathed a Burgundian late fifteenth-century Book of Hours to McGill,

111. Acquired from W. H. Schab, New York, cat. no. 87, 1948. Previously owned by Martini booksellers, in Lugano, where A. Vernet, secrétaire de l'École des Chartes, saw and examined it in 1935 (Vernet's letter of February 27, 1950 in the research file for this manuscript).

112. Print Collection, European print 80 no. 309. Acquired from the Mansfield Book Mart, Montreal, 22 March 1954, \$10. This leaf is the subject of a forthcoming article by Brenda Dunn-Lardeau, "Le très curieux 'Christ aux outrages' des *Heures de Notre-Dame de Pierre Gringore*: transposition d'une tragédie personnelle," in *Comico e tragico nella vita del Rinascimento*, ed. Luisa Secchi Tarugi, Istituto di Studi Umanistici Franco Petrarca, 17–19 July 2014 (Florence: Franco Cesati, 2016) (in press).

113. According to Ariane Bergeron, these leaves are from a Psalter-Breviary and are Dutch rather than Flemish.

114. According to Helena Kogen this leaf is actually from the second third of the fifteenth century.

115. According to Brenda Dunn-Lardeau, a date of ca. 1500 is more probable given the discovery of comparable miniatures dating from around 1500.

MS 154.¹¹⁶ And finally, in 1977, Charles Fox, professor of mathematics at McGill, left the library a Book of Hours, MS 156, said at the time to be Burgundian, but in fact of eastern French origin.¹¹⁷ As well, a number of single leaves from Books of Hours, or other works, with miniatures, have been received as gifts. Morgan presented the library with a German leaf dated ca. 1200, showing the arrest of Christ on the recto and Christ before Pontius Pilate on the verso, MS 161. In 1969, Miss Katharine McLennan donated another German leaf, dated ca. 1550, showing St. Helena and the Invention of the Cross, MS 162. This was to celebrate the opening of the McLennan Library Building. Since then, only a few single leaves from medieval manuscripts have been added to the library's holdings; these have all been gifts in the 2000s. It should be noted, however, that the Hardouin 1516 Book of Hours from the Caxton Exhibition of 1877 was acquired by McGill in 2006.

Conclusion

The medieval manuscripts held by the McGill University Library in Rare Books and Special Collections are a fairly typical example of an institutional collection assembled over almost a century. Its origins are generally poorly documented: indeed, it is surprising that it has been possible to recover so much information on the acquisition of the Books of Hours in the McGill collection, although the origins of many of the single leaves and clipped initials remain undiscovered.

It is also important to remember, as this study documents, that the acquisition of medieval manuscripts was part of a larger program of acquisitions that included manuscripts from other traditions, and it is particularly worth noting the number of Islamic manuscripts that were being acquired. But it was not only manuscripts that were being acquired; incunabula and other

116. MS 154 was, in fact, a donation in the names of l'Honorable et de Madame Joseph Edward Perrault. This was referred to as MS 108a in Elizabeth Leesti, *Les manuscrits liturgiques*, where it is entry no. 31.

117. The Fox Book of Hours has some interesting nineteenth-century provenance. On the first front fly leaf appears the following note: "Bought by J. Parker on 17th Dec. 1834, from Mr Hearn, 81 Strand. Purchased by him in 1829 with many other books from a monastery at Lausanne and supposed to be of the 14th century, but I think it is of much later date." On the verso of the third front fly leaf is written: "J. Parker. Blodwel Vicarage nr Oswestry, Salop." His initials "J. P." appear on fol. 13v, 167r and 171r. See Helena Kogen's article in this issue for a discussion of the origin of this Book of Hours. Fox also gave a Book of Hours to what is now Concordia University, Montreal.

early printed books, autograph letters, and calling cards were among the vast body of materials added to the library collections during Lomer's university librarianship.

Much of the medieval manuscript collection was acquired in a period when the selling of single leaves was a common practice and the clipping of initials had a long history.¹¹⁸ Both Foliophiles and Dawson's Book Shop, among others, provided collections of leaves, and the McGill order books record their acquisition and also record unsuccessful attempts to do so. Nevertheless, actually identifying the origin of specific leaves is frequently impossible. None of the McGill leaves seems to have come from Otto Ege, for instance, although he was active at much the same time as the library was acquiring sets of leaves.¹¹⁹

The thesis of this study has been that the collection of medieval manuscripts generally, and the Books of Hours in particular, was formed not to develop research collections but to provide exemplars for the Library Museum. Influenced especially by the model of the King's Library of the British Museum, the book production gallery of the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the John Rylands Library, Lomer brought together a body of material that illustrated the "book" in all its aspects, across time and civilizations. It was, in essence, a teaching collection—as Cyril Fox recognized in his 1932 survey of McGill museums. Furthermore, it is clear that Lomer worked closely with Morgan and the "Museum" at the Art Association of Montreal. It is also significant that two museums with such similar ideals were created in the space of four years in two institutions whose membership was so closely intertwined.

But it is equally clear that, at least as far as the Books of Hours are concerned, Lomer was following in the steps of earlier collectors—those who participated in the Caxton Exhibition of 1877—and of Gerald E. Hart and

118. John Ruskin is said to have recorded in his diary that he had spent an exhausting Sunday afternoon clipping initials from a Missal. See also Margaret Rickert, *The Reconstructed Carmelite Missal* (London: Faber and Faber, 1952), for an interesting discussion of the practice.

119. Scott Gwara, *Otto Ege's Manuscripts: A Study of Ege's Manuscript Collections, Portfolios, and Retail Trade: With a Comprehensive Handlist of Manuscripts Collected or Sold* (Cayce, SC: De Brailles Publishing, 2013). Single leaves have been discussed both positively and negatively by modern manuscript scholars. For a positive approach, see Dominique Cordellier, "Note sur la formation de la collection," in *Les enluminures du Louvre* (Paris: Éditions Hazan, 2011), 11–19. For a more negative approach, see Didier Méhu, "Les livres d'heures manuscrits conservés dans les collections publiques du Québec," *Memini. Travaux et Documents* 17 (2013): sec. 7–8.

J. B. Learmont. In all three cases, the Books of Hours were exemplars, and not the focus of the collection.

Furthermore, it is important to bear in mind that the Library Museum, despite the monies spent on it, was not the principal library collection; the 1920s were the years that saw the creation of both the Blacker-Wood natural history collection and the Blackader architecture collection with very active acquisitions programs. These were also the years that saw the additions of the Osler Library and the Gest Chinese Library (now at Princeton¹²⁰) to the McGill Library.

The McGill collection of Books of Hours was assembled quickly in the early 1920s. The acquisition of most of the codices, single leaves, and cuttings has been accounted for in this study. It is perhaps ironic that in the 1960s and 1970s, the number of Books of Hours held by the Library almost doubled through bequests.

Finally, what is truly remarkable about the McGill Library Museum is that, although it was conceived in the terms of the late nineteenth-century Arts and Crafts Movement as a “museum” of exemplars, it can now, almost a century later, be seen as a history of the book museum, or even perhaps, as a communications museum. Dismantled in the late 1940s or early 1950s, the museum lives on in the manuscripts and other objects now held in Rare Books and Special Collections. With the Library Museum defunct, its exemplars have been transformed into materials for research; it is probably equally timely that the museum should begin to be studied for itself. It was an extraordinary undertaking at the time, and one that has received little or no attention since. This study of the acquisition of Books of Hours begins to address this. However, the history of the McGill Library Museum, and of library museums in general, is still to be written.

120. Macy Zheng, “Principal Sir Arthur Currie and the Department of Chinese Studies at McGill,” *Fontanus* 13 (2013): 69–80.