

ENRIQUETA AUGUSTINA RYLANDS (1843–1908), FOUNDER OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY*

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She was a woman of commanding ability, strong-minded and noble-hearted, whom you could not know without esteem, nor esteem without affection.

Charles Silvester Horne, 'A Personal Tribute', *The Christian World*, 6 February 1908.

Books have their own destiny, and the peculiar destiny of most seems to be decay and destruction. Armour against such a fate has been forged by the forethought of a few rare individuals, including a notable contingent of women. Such persons have endowed libraries in order to preserve for the future the best that has been known and said in the world. One such library gave to Manchester an institution of world status, in a country where endowed libraries were few in number in comparison to Scotland or to the USA. The library commemorated a local merchant, whose commercial capacity was equalled only by his modesty. John Rylands himself would never have presumed to found a library, on the pattern of American millionaires, in order to ensure his own immortality. The idea of a memorial library originated in the mind of his widow. As a whole and in its constituent parts the John Rylands Library was the sole creation of Mrs Rylands herself. More is known about John Rylands than about his widow because he was a leading businessman and governor of a vast industrial empire which became a joint-stock company in 1873. For her part Mrs Rylands guarded her privacy jealously and was known personally to very few people, being even more unassuming than her husband. She kept no diary and instructed her executors to destroy her papers. The great difficulty in piecing together the story of her life lies then in the comparative absence of sources. The earliest surviving document relating to her is her marriage certificate of 1875; her earliest surviving letter dates from 1888. Most of the obituaries of 1908 are as uninformative as she herself could have wished. Fortunately, four well-informed tributes survive in the memorial address by C.S. Horne (1865–1914)¹ and in the obituary notices by Walter Hockett (1862–

* My thanks are due to Miss Glenise Matheson, Dr J.C.G. Binfield and Dr C.D. Field for their most helpful comments.

¹ *Christian World*, 6 February 1908; *British Congregationalist*, 13 February 1908.

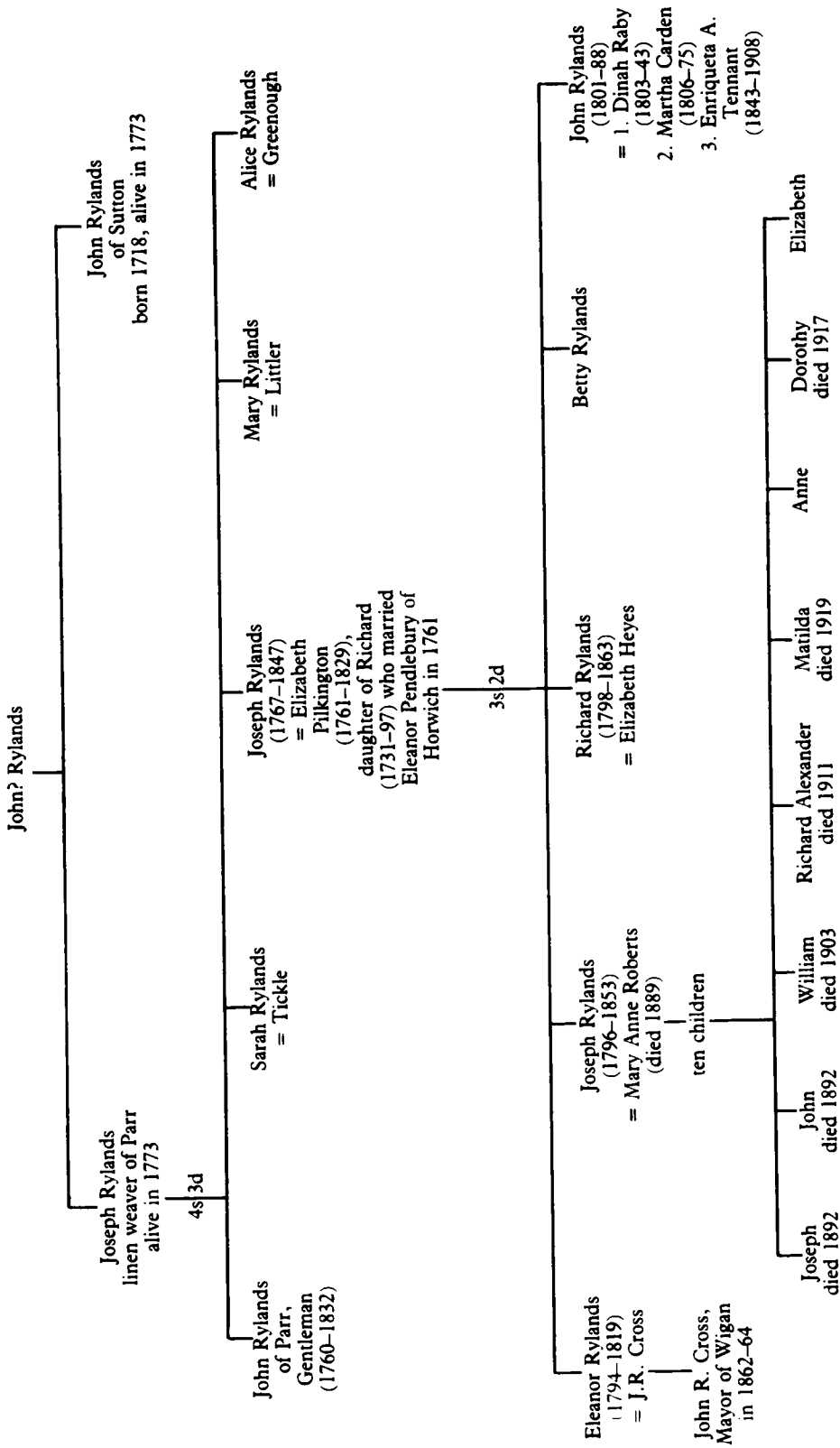
1947), by A.S. Peake (1865–1929) and by Henry Guppy (1861–1948).²

In the life of Mrs Rylands the histories of four families, those of Forbes, Tennant, Rylands and Pilkington, become intertwined. In her greatest achievement the roles of two other families, the Spencers and the Lindsays, assume importance as conservators of the books and manuscripts whose preservation for the future was ensured by Mrs Rylands. Those six families embody in their lives part of the history of Britain and reflect the changing sources of wealth developed within the country. The Tennants were a leading family of Leeds, a younger branch of which attained prosperity through participation in transatlantic shipping and trade. The Forbeses were emigrant Scottish Catholics and Tories who developed the Indian trade of Spanish Florida and the sugar trade of Spanish Cuba. The Rylandses and the Pilkingtons were old Lancashire families who rose to new heights of prosperity through the manufacture of cotton and glass. The Spencers had become wealthy through sheepbreeding in the fifteenth century while the Lindsays later prospered on the basis of coal-mining in the Wigan field. John Spencer became a grazier in South Warwickshire and the founder of the wealth of the Spencer family: he bought Althorp in Northamptonshire in 1508 and died in 1522. His family produced bibliophiles in the persons of the third earl of Sunderland (1674–1722) and the second earl Spencer (1758–1834), a founder of the Roxburghe Club in 1812. The Lindsays were one of the oldest families of Scottish nobles and acquired the Haigh estate in 1780. They produced bibliophiles in the persons of the twenty-fifth earl of Crawford (1812–80) and the twenty-sixth earl (1847–1913), and became important clients of the bookseller Bernard Quaritch (1813–99), who had established his business in 1847. Part of the wealth these families created was transformed into books, especially during the great age of the private library built up by members of the aristocracy. Those books passed into other hands as the balance tilted away from private libraries towards public libraries, especially under the influence of the long depression in the level of agricultural rents, 1873–96. It was the Spencer library and the Crawford manuscripts which were to form the heart of the John Rylands Library.

John Rylands (1801–88) was a merchant manufacturer of Manchester, who developed a profound interest in education. He had become a partner in the firm of Rylands & Sons, established in 1819 by his father, Joseph Rylands, with his three sons. The firm engaged first in the manufacture and trade in linen goods but moved into cotton from 1830 and abandoned linen manufacture in 1854. Of the four original partners the most remarkable was undoubtedly the youngest son John,

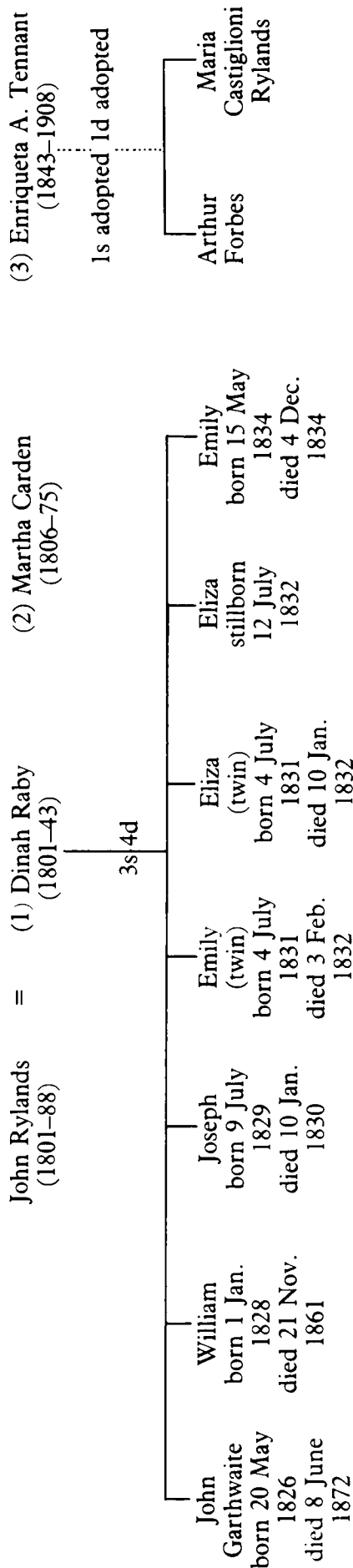
² *Lancashire Congregational Year Book*, 1908, 102–3; *British Weekly*, 13 February 1908; 'In Memoriam, Mrs Enriqueta Augustina Rylands', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, i:6 (October 1908), 351–9

Pedigree 1
The Rylands Family of St Helens and Manchester



Source: Wills of John Rylands (d.1832), Joseph Rylands (d.1847), Joseph Rylands of Hull (d.1853), Richard Rylands (d.1863), J.G. Rylands (d.1872), John Rylands (d.1888), Mary Ann Rylands (d.1889), Joseph Rylands (d.1892), Enriqueta A. Rylands (d.1908), and R.A. Rylands (d.1911).

Pedigree 2
The Family of John Rylands



Source: Deeds of Joseph Rylands (1767-1847) in the Wigan Record Office, Leigh, D DX E1.
Box 128 14, statutory declaration by John Rylands, as to issue, 12 November 1855.

who had been born when his mother was aged forty. Elizabeth Pilkington (1761–1829) also had two talented nephews in Richard Pilkington (1795–1869) and William Pilkington (1800–72) who together with their brother-in-law, Peter Greenall, established the glass-making firm of Pilkington Brothers in St Helens in 1826. She seems to have contributed more than the father to moulding the character of her youngest son. Her death in 1829 plunged John Rylands into a crisis, which was resolved only by his admission in 1830 to John Birt's Baptist Chapel in York Street, Manchester.

John's two brothers, Joseph and Richard, retired from the firm in 1836: only one of the two seems to have shared the mercantile capacity displayed by John. Joseph Rylands (1796–1853) shifted his interests from Lancashire to Yorkshire. He established the Hull Flax and Cotton Mill Company in 1836 and built a five-storeyed mill to spin cotton yarn for export to Baltic markets. He secured raw cotton from his brother, Richard, who had established himself as a cotton broker in Liverpool. Under his management the Hull Flax and Cotton Mill Company became the first successful joint-stock company within the English cotton industry. Joseph Rylands became one of the most enterprising men in Hull, built up a shipping fleet and introduced the import of sugar and tobacco to the port.³ After his death in 1853 his eldest son, Joseph Rylands, inherited his shares, forming 10 per cent of the capital of the company, and his position as managing director. The Cotton Famine, however, dealt a severe blow to the firm which wound up its operations in June 1868. Joseph Rylands then became an employee of Rylands & Sons in Liverpool, handling the coal mined in the firm's Wigan collieries.

The rapid expansion of the firm of Rylands & Sons between 1830 and 1860 was remarkable and reflected the considerable abilities of John Rylands. Those abilities were fully deployed from 1843, when John became the sole partner on the retirement of his father, but remained concealed beneath a wholly deceptive exterior.⁴ In the 1860s his firm became the largest in the cotton industry and the heir to the primacy enjoyed in succession by Arkwright, Peel and Horrocks. The achievement of John Rylands may be measured by various criteria, by the immense size attained by the firm, by his skill in providing for the management of its many and varied departments, by the reputation of its products, by its consistent financial success, by the size of the fortune accumulated by John Rylands and by the difficulty experienced in finding a successor to him. His estate was the largest left by

³ *Eastern Counties Herald*, 2 June 1853, a reference for which I am indebted to Mr R.M. Brown of the University of Hull.

⁴ 'Portrait of John Rylands, Esq. presented to Mrs Rylands, by Managers of Departments and Commercial Travellers connected with the house of Rylands & Sons: Manchester, March 1869.' The portrait may be seen on the ground floor of the Main University Library: its history between the years 1875 and 1972 has its own distinctive interest.

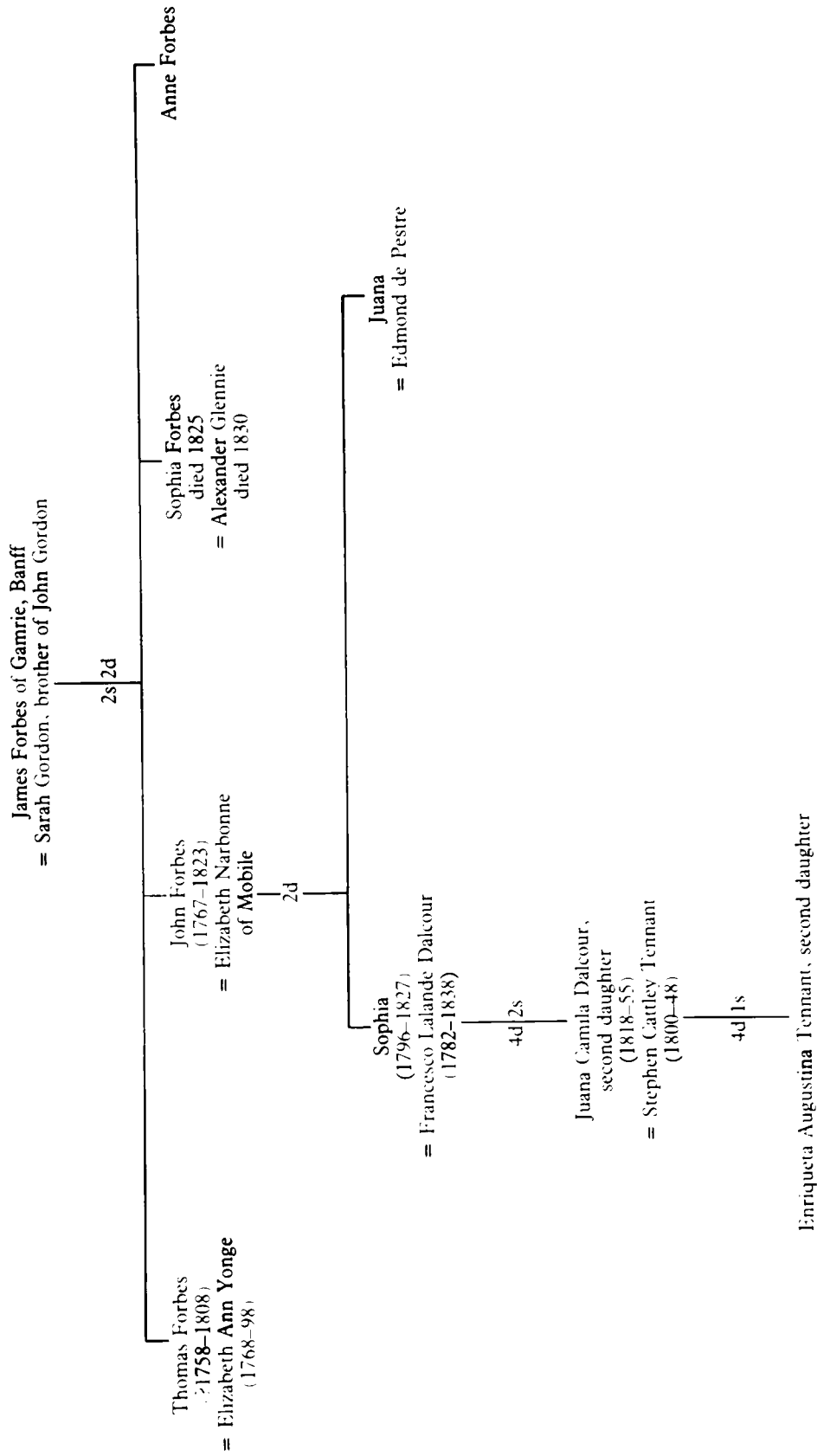
any cotton manufacturer as well as the first Manchester fortune to surpass a million pounds: it totalled £2,574,922 while his father left £30,000 in 1847, his elder brothers, Joseph and Richard, left respectively £90,000 in 1853 and £5,000 in 1863, and while his nephew Joseph Rylands Junior left only £276 in 1892. John Rylands was married three times, firstly in 1825 to Dinah Raby (1803–44), and secondly in 1848 to the widow Martha Carden (1806–75), on both occasions in Anglican churches. After the second marriage he bought the Longford Hall estate in Stretford, four miles to the southwest of Manchester, in 1855 and built Longford Hall in Italianate style, making his home there from 1857. The third wife was to be Enriqueta Augustina Tennant, whose mother was a descendant of a mercantile branch of the Forbes family.

John Forbes (1767–1823) enjoyed two careers, first as an Indian trader on the Spanish-American frontier and then as a sugar planter in Cuba.⁵ Born in Gamrie, Banff, he left Scotland for Spanish Florida in 1784 in order to join his elder brother Thomas in the firm of Panton, Leslie & Co., which had been established for the trade on the Spanish-Indian frontier. The principals of the firm were Scottish Tories who had remained loyal to Britain during the American War of Independence. After the war they preferred to carry on business under the Spanish flag rather than under the sovereignty of the new United States, building up the Indian nations as a buffer between the USA and Spain and establishing a near-monopoly of the Indian trade of Florida. Forbes rose in status from chief clerk in 1788 to partner in 1792 and became principal partner from 1801, restyling the firm from 1803 John Forbes & Co. He earned the trust of his partners and was named as the executor in the wills of three of them. Increasingly the firm's trade was restricted by American encroachment after 1795, and its Indian trade declined in relative importance after 1804. In compensation for debts incurred by the Indians Forbes was ceded two immense tracts of land in Florida, totalling 1.427 million acres in 1804–11 and 1.275 million acres in 1818.⁶ Those grants made him the largest landowner in the province and inspired him to devise plans for the colonization and settlement of the land, which were never executed. Forbes retired from business in 1817 and sold the first land-grant, which was upheld by the US Supreme Court in 1835, to two merchants of Savannah, while the second grant was nullified in 1830. From Florida, ceded in 1819 by Spain to the USA after the invasion of 1818, 'Don John Forbes' migrated south to Spanish Cuba. There he became a merchant in Matanzas and acquired a one-third share in a sugar plantation, la Reunion Deseada, on the Canimar

⁵ W.S. Coker and T.D. Watson, *Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands: Panton, Leslie & Company and John Forbes & Company, 1783–1847* (Pensacola: University Presses of Florida, 1986).

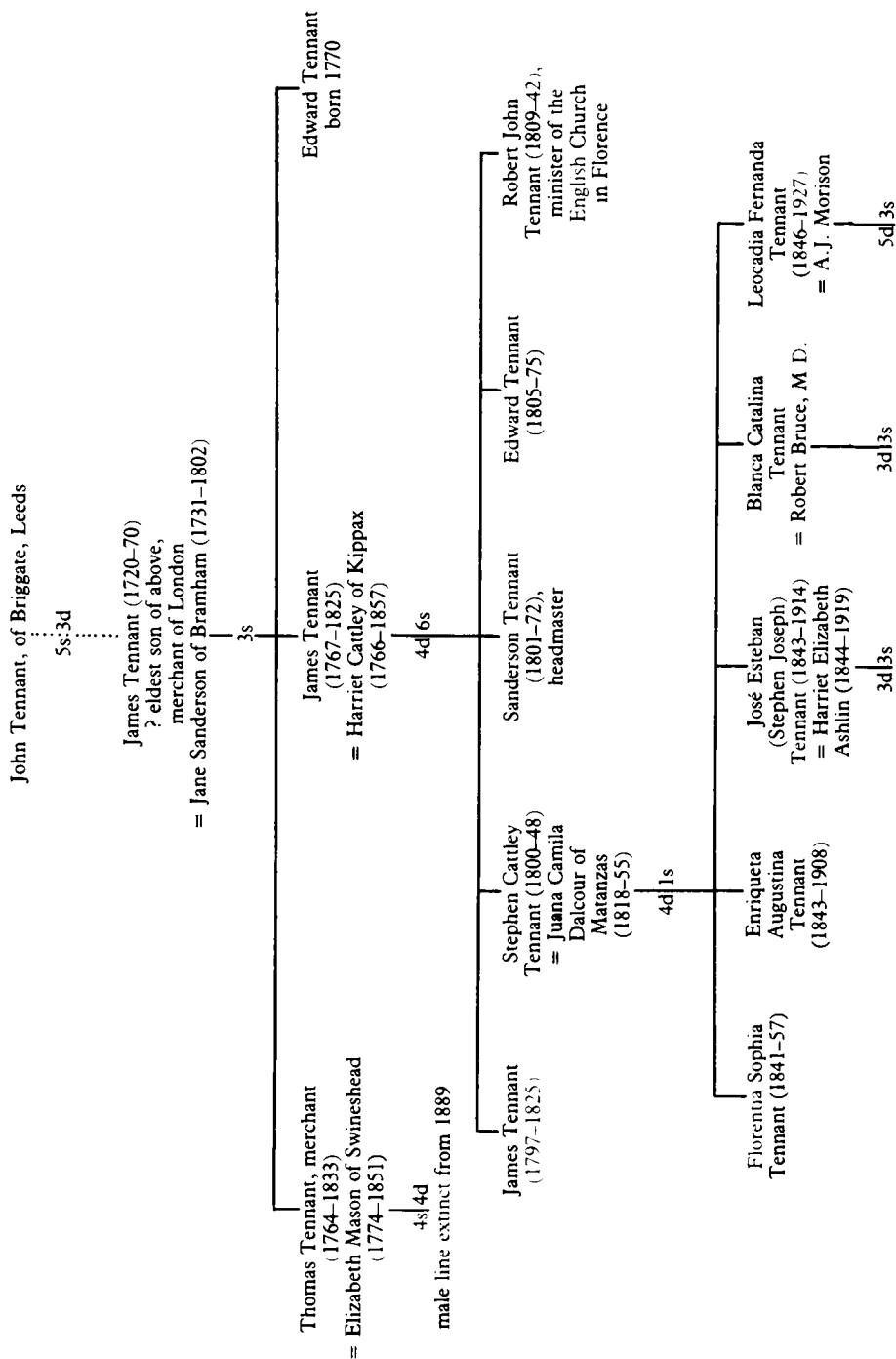
⁶ *ibid.*, 253, 328, 364.

Pedigree 3 The Forbes Family of Florida and Cuba



Source: W. S. Coker & J. D. Watson, *Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands, Panton, Leitch & Company and John Forbes & Company, 1783-1847* (Pensacola: University Presses of Florida, 1986), 21-46.

Pedigree 4
The Tennant Family of Leeds



Source: R.V. Taylor, *The Biographical Lexicon* (London, Simpkin, 1865), 348-51, 490-7; J. Pusey, 'Pedigree and Arms of Leeds Families', MS. 1892, in Leeds Reference Library, 24; J.A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigie*, Part II, Vol. vi (1954), 140-1; P. F. Siskier, 'The Forbes/Dalcour/Tennant Family Tree', MS. 1982; P.L. Tennant, 'The Tennant Family Tree', MS. 1984.

River, in Matanzas Province. On 2 October 1820 he drew up his will, in Spanish. On 13 May 1823 he died, after forty years in America, dying as he had lived in the Roman Catholic faith.⁷ His estate was estimated in value at a possible \$150,000 and was bequeathed to his two daughters, Sophia and Juana, as his 'universal heirs'.

John Forbes's grand-daughter married the Anglican Stephen Cattley Tennant (1800–48), the second son of James Tennant (1767–1825) of Leeds and Harriet Cattley (1766–1857) of Kippax. Stephen's father was a younger brother of Thomas Tennant (1764–1833), thrice mayor of Leeds in 1808, 1823 and 1832, and had become a shipbroker in Liverpool between 1810 and 1820. In the 1820s he became a partner in the firm of Tennant, Moore & Co.,⁸ merchants trading with the West Indies, especially with Cuba during the sugar boom of the 1820s. After the death of James Tennant in 1825, the business was continued by the two sons, Stephen and Edward Tennant (1805–75). The trade of the house was conducted through Edward in Liverpool and through Stephen, who resided in Havana from 1823. At Matanzas on 19 March 1840 Stephen Cattley Tennant married, according to the rites of the Catholic Church, Juana Camila Dalcour (1818–55), the daughter of Sophia Forbes (1796–1827) and the grand-daughter of John Forbes. The issue of the marriage comprised four daughters and one son, including the twins born in 1843, Enriqueta Augustina and José Esteban.

Of the early history of Enriqueta Augustina Tennant very little is known, apart from an enigmatic reference by John Rylands, reported in 1893 by Joseph Parker, to her 'splendid fortitude' under adverse circumstances.⁹ When she was five years old in 1848 her father died in a railway accident at Farnborough station. Her mother was only thirty when she was widowed: she remarried in Paris, becoming the wife of Julien Fontana (1810–69),¹⁰ Polish pianist and friend of Chopin. She had three more children and died in 1855 when Enriqueta was aged twelve. The young girl was sent to a private school in New York, which one may assume to have been a Roman Catholic convent school. Her education was completed in Paris and in London. Those years were formative of her character and her disposition: they left a deep imprint upon her personality and transformed her attitude towards her inherited faith. When next she appears she does so in Manchester in the 1860s. The link between Havana and Manchester may well have been provided by her uncle, Edward Tennant of Liverpool. Not only

⁷ English translation of the will of John Forbes, dated 2 October 1820.

⁸ *Gore's Liverpool Directories*, 1810–83. Apparently the mercantile role of Edward Tennant in Liverpool was assumed after his death in 1875 by Horatio Crankshaw, merchant and agent for More, Ajuria & Co. of Havana.

⁹ Joseph Parker, 'John Rylands of Manchester', *Daily News*, 7 October 1899, 8i.

¹⁰ B. L. Sydow (ed.), *Correspondance de Frédéric Chopin* (Paris: Richard-Masse, 1954), ii, 103.



THE LATE MRS. RYLANDS.

Photo: R. K. Durrant & Son, Torquay.

Figure 1

Photograph of Mrs Rylands, c.1875, from 'A Gracious Benefactor: The late Mrs Rylands, Manchester', *Christian*, 13 February 1908 (John Rylands Library, Library Archives, Newspaper Cuttings, ii. 149)

had Enriqueta become a companion to Mrs Rylands at Longford Hall, but she had also left the Roman Catholic Church and had embraced 'the dissidence of Dissent'. She had become a member of the congregation at Cavendish Congregational Chapel, where Joseph Parker was the minister from 1858 to 1869. Parker must have met Enriqueta before 1869 and implies that she was a member of his congregation long before 1869. 'Mr Rylands, Mrs Rylands, and Miss Tennant were names which always went together in the congregation connected with my ministry. I am not aware that for years I ever knew them separated on any public occasion.' The name of Enriqueta Tennant, however, does not appear on the list of church members drawn up in 1862. If this list is correct then she joined the congregation after 1862 and may have become a companion to Mrs Rylands in 1863, when she was twenty. For John Rylands the early 1860s was a period of intense distress caused by the death of his son and heir William in 1861.¹¹ For his wife Martha the need for a companion may well have been increased by the absorption of her husband, in quest of consolation, in the study of the Bible. Miss Tennant, 'young, vivacious, accomplished' in Parker's eyes, could well have proved an ideal member of the household at that juncture.

After the death of his second wife John Rylands married Miss Tennant. The wedding took place on 6 October 1875 in Kensington Congregational Church, where John Marshall (1796–1880) acted as officiating minister: the witnesses were Stephen Joseph Tennant (1843–1914), the twin brother of the bride, and John Rylands (1815–98) of Thelwall Grange, a partner in the firm of Rylands Brothers, wire manufacturers of Warrington.¹² Thereafter John Rylands seems, at the age of seventy-four, to have slackened the pace of his business activity. He did not renew his membership of the Manchester Royal Exchange after the year 1876. He last attended a meeting of the board of directors of the firm on 1 March 1877. As Governor of the company, he continued to preside over the bi-annual meetings of shareholders until 10 February 1888, but he spoke little at such meetings after 1878. Under the influence of adverse economic circumstances the fortunes of the firm began to deteriorate. The average rate of profit declined from the end of 1875. The absolute level of profits declined after 1876. Dividends sank from 1877 from 10 per cent to 7.5 per cent, and a regular 10 per cent dividend did not return

¹¹ The death of all seven children of his first wife, Dinah, remains a central tragedy in the life of John Rylands. In the absence of death certificates speculation as to the cause of their death would be fruitless. It may be noted, however, that the library at Longford Hall included a copy of Dr Thomas Jarrold, *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Curvatures of the Spine* (London: Longman, 1823) and that Cassidy's statue of 1893 in the John Rylands Library suggests a distinct curvature of the spine.

¹² Joseph Foster, *Pedigrees of the County Families of England, Vol. I, Lancashire* (London: Head, Hole & Co., 1873) provides the best pedigree of the Rylands family of Warrington. The connection between the two families of Rylands has yet to be established.

until 1893 (Table 1). In 1881 the firm acquired its last factory, in the East End of London, and so completed the construction of its industrial empire.

Table 1
Annual Profits of Rylands & Sons Ltd., 1873–1921

Profit (%)	Dividend (%)	Profit (%)	Dividend (%)		
1873	4.4	10	1898	5.1	12.5
1874	4.3	10	1899	6.4	14
1875	6.8	10	1900	5.7	12.5
1876	6.6	10	1901	4.3	12.5
1877	3.7	6.25	1902	5.5	12.5
1878	3.05	5	1903	4.5	12.5
1879	0.8	5	1904	3.6	12.5
1880	2.5	5	1905	5.2	12.5
1881	2.8	5	1906	4.5	12.5
1882	3.3	7.5	1907	4.7	12.5
1883	3.3	5	1908	2.6	11.25
1884	3.1	5	1909	4.2	10
1885	2.7	5	1910	3.9	10
1886	3.6	5	1911	3.9	10
1887	2.9	5	1912	4.7	10
1888	3.3	6	1913	4.2	10
1889	3.6	6	1914	3.6	10
1890	3.8	6.4	1915	5.6	10
1891	4.0	7.25	1916	7.9	12.7
1892	4.4	8.5	1917	10	11.3
1893	4.3	10	1918	13.7	16.7
1894	4.2	10	1919	10.8	20
1895	5.5	12.5	1920	7.7	16.7
1896	5.2	12.5	1921	-21.3	10
1897	4.3	12.5			

Source: John Rylands Library, Archives of Rylands & Sons Ltd., Auditors' Balance Book, 1873–1950, showing half-yearly profit balances as well as total liabilities. The table reveals the difference between the stable dividends and the fluctuating returns on capital: it also suggests the importance of fixed-interest loans in raising the level of dividends paid to shareholders above the rate of profit upon total capital.

For John Rylands the seven years 1882–88 were years of declining health: for Mrs Rylands they were years of increasing care and thought for the welfare of her husband. She decided that a change of air might prove beneficial. She and her husband therefore acquired in 1882 a

country home at Haven Street, near Ryde in the Isle of Wight. During the summer of 1883 John Rylands drew up his will and signed it on 17 November 1883. In 1885 he made a large investment of £60,000 in the Manchester Ship Canal Company. That investment may have been made under the influence of his business associate, Reuben Spencer (1830–1901), an enthusiast for the project, but it was regarded at the time as a risky venture, it had small economic rationale, and it proved unprofitable. John Rylands attended only a single meeting of the board of directors of the company, their third meeting on 25 August 1885. He was regarded as too old to be asked in 1886 to sign a renewed financial guarantee to prospective investors. He remained a director when the board was reduced in size from fifteen to twelve members, but he did not attend the beginning of construction works on 11 November 1887. At Haven Street, and on behalf of her husband, Mrs Rylands opened the Longford Institute in 1886. That establishment was intended to provide the village with a social centre, similar to the Longford Institute opened in Stretford in 1883. During the years 1885–87 four religious publications were sponsored by John Rylands, *Hymns of the Church Universal* in 1885, a third edition of his self-interpreting paragraph Bible in 1886,¹³ a separate index volume to the Bible, with a concordance of subjects totalling 192 pages in 1886, and an edition of *Hymns for the Young* in 1887. After his Baptist phase (1830–42), he had returned to the Congregational tradition of the Rylandses and the Pilkingtons: he became the only cotton manufacturer to be included in a Congregational roll of honour.¹⁴ Increasingly his sympathies tended away from ‘national orthodoxy’ and towards an ecumenical outlook: he believed the unity of the churches might be found more fully in their hymns than in their creeds.

Late in 1886 the health of John Rylands began to worsen, his mind and his memory becoming enfeebled. From February 1887 his signature deteriorated in firmness. Regular weekly meetings of the board of directors of Rylands & Sons Ltd. were instituted from 11 June 1887. On 3 September 1887 Mrs Rylands presented a life-size photograph of her husband, for display in the firm’s board room.¹⁵ John Rylands made his last signature in the General Meetings Minute Book on 29 September 1887, but he accepted the post of Governor of the University College of Wales because of his special affection for the region and because of its role in his own religious evolution.¹⁶ He died

¹³ The first two editions had appeared in 1863 and 1878. The task of compilation was achieved by two Baptist ministers, the Revd Samuel G. Green (1822–1905) and the Revd Fitzherbert Bugby (1823–87), with the aid of John Gaskin.

¹⁴ A. Peel, *A Hundred Eminent Congregationalists, 1530–1924* (London: The Independent Press, 1927), 92–4.

¹⁵ J[ohn] R[ylands] L[ibrary], Archives of Rylands & Sons Ltd., Minutes of the Board of Directors, 31 (3 September 1887). The photograph of John Rylands is the one that has been most frequently reproduced.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, 44 (29 October 1887).

on 11 December 1888 and was interred at Southern Cemetery, Manchester on 15 December. Between 1873 and 1888 the firm had made average profits on its total capital of 3.6 per cent per annum but had repaid in dividends 85 per cent of its paid-up share-capital. Mrs Rylands became the sole executrix of her husband's estate, an impressive testimony to his confidence in her capacity. She inherited the bulk of the estate of £2,574,922 including 61,336 £20 shares in the firm together with £850,874 on fixed-interest deposit with the firm and 6,000 £10 shares in the Manchester Ship Canal Company, so becoming the chief shareholder in Manchester's two largest business enterprises. She remained in firm control of that fortune for twenty years.

The name of John Rylands lived on in the firm whose directors solemnly resolved 'to continue our activities in maintaining the honour of the firm which will bear his name.'¹⁷ The surname also became familiar to students of English law, as the name of one of the parties in *Rylands v. Fletcher* (1868), a leading case in the law of tort.¹⁸ Two of the firm's senior directors commemorated their late employer in their own way. Reuben Spencer established the Rylands Memorial Club in April 1889 and published *The Home Trade of Manchester* in 1890, with a dedication to the memory of John Rylands. The Wesleyan William Carnelley (1823–1919) published *The Questions of the Bible arranged in the Order of the Books of Scripture* (London: Unwin, 1889, 370pp), with a similar dedication. Mrs Rylands determined to create her own memorial to her husband. First she encouraged Dr S.G. Green (1822–1905), Baptist, Biblical scholar and hymnologist, to compose a memoir of her husband.¹⁹ Then she arranged with the architect Charles Henry Heathcote (1850–1938) for the design and construction of the Rylands Memorial in Southern Cemetery: the elaborate and expensive structure resembled the Albert Memorial and remained intact for over thirty years. Finally she decided to create a library as the most appropriate of all memorials, and to locate it in Manchester.

Born a Habanera and a member of a colonial slave-owning society, Enriqueta Augustina Tennant had been translated into a bustling centre of commerce, which was described by Gladstone in 1870 as the centre of the modern life of the country and which deemed itself to be the hub of England. Mrs Rylands had become deeply attached to the city of her adoption and consulted four advisers as to the form her scheme should take, Dr Green, William Carnelley and two Congregationalists William Linnell (1837–1901), secretary to John Rylands and director of the firm, and Dr J.A. Macfadyen (1837–89) of Chorlton

¹⁷ *ibid.*, 131 (22 December 1888).

¹⁸ A.W.B. Simpson, 'Legal Liability for Bursting Reservoirs: The Historical Context of *Rylands v. Fletcher*', *Journal of Legal Studies*, 13:2 (June 1984), 209–64.

¹⁹ *In Memoriam John Rylands, Born February 7, 1801, Died December 11, 1888* (Chilworth: Unwin, 1889, 72pp printed for private circulation).

Road Congregational Church. With her husband she had always shared a profound community of purpose and an essential kinship of soul. John Rylands had been a great believer in the power of education: he had founded mill libraries at Ainsworth in 1839 and Gorton in 1845 and public libraries in Stretford in 1883 and in Haven Street in 1886. His interests had been religious and especially Biblical: about one-third of his own library of 1,825 volumes at Longford Hall had comprised religious literature.²⁰ Mrs Rylands knew that Manchester was a city of booklovers, with an especial taste for religious literature. She therefore decided to create an immense Nonconformist library of theology for the North of England. In 1889 she set out upon a tour of inspection of the great libraries of England, and in Oxford she chose the model for her future creation. In Manchester she purchased a site in Deansgate and quite deliberately selected one of the city's most notorious slums. She cloaked the whole enterprise in total secrecy, dispensing with the ceremony of laying a foundation-stone.

The task of purchasing 'books of a Theological character' was entrusted to Arnold Green, the son of Dr S.G. Green.²¹ The first purchase of 153 volumes was made from Richard D. Dickinson, booksellers and publisher, of 89 Farringdon Street, E.C.: the invoice was dated 29 November 1889 and quoted a price of £46 13s.9d.²² During the three years 1889–91 Green spent successively £168, £1,311 and £15,515. By July 1892 he had spent a total sum of £20,000 and acquired 10–15,000 volumes: he had built up a strong collection of English Bibles and Testaments and aspired to acquire a complete series of the various editions of the Bible. The books were bought in London rather than in Manchester and from a number of booksellers. Many volumes were rebound and all were impressed with the monogram 'JR', so requiring the services of such London bookbinders as James Strahan and J. Zaehnsdorf. From 1890 Green secured advice from Alexander Balderston Railton (1844–1904), manager of Henry Sotheran & Co., a firm which had been founded in 1816 and was the only London bookseller with a Manchester branch, maintained from 1881 to 1893.

In 1892 an unexpected opportunity occurred for Mrs Rylands to crown her whole scheme of creating a great memorial library. The private libraries of the aristocracy had begun to come on the market during the agricultural depression of 1873–96, beginning in 1881–83 with the sale of the library of the Duke of Marlborough for £56,500. In 1892 earl Spencer, the new Chancellor of Owens College, decided to

²⁰ The John Rylands Library holds the manuscript catalogue of the library, compiled in 1881 in two volumes.

²¹ JRL, Library Archives, Papers Relating to the Spencer and Crawford Purchases, 1892–1901, a collection of letters preserved by A.B. Railton and, unless otherwise stated, containing the sources quoted in the following footnotes.

²² JRL, Library Archives, Invoices I, 1889–94 (131 pp), Invoices II, 1894–99 (77 pp), including only 14 invoices from Quaritch but 74 from Sotheran's between 1891 and 1899.

sell the library built up by his grandfather between 1790 and 1821: he chose to do so through Edward Grose Hodge (1825–1907) of Sotheby's. *The Times* published on 17 June 1892 an article on the Spencer Library, written by Humphry Ward (1845–1926) and designed to apprise the world of the projected sale. The very same morning Railton consulted Green and sent a copy of the paper to Mrs Rylands but without any accompanying letter, leaving it to her to take the initiative. Mrs Rylands took advice, as was her invariable custom, decided to buy the library and authorized Green to begin negotiations. Those negotiations were conducted in complete secrecy during the next five weeks.

Railton inspected the library at Althorp, made a valuation with the help of the cataloguer and bookseller, John Lawler, and submitted on 8 July a report to Mrs Rylands. The Spencer Library comprised 43,331 volumes housed in eight rooms but sharply divided into two main categories. The Old Book Room contained the most valuable items, i.e. 4,136 volumes valued at £128,127 or £31 each. Those works included fifteen block books, 57 Caxtons (some of which were worth £1,500 each), many old bindings worth £500 each and a collection of the rarest Bibles and Psalters in the world, worth £10–12,000 each. The remaining 39,194 volumes were valued by Railton and Lawler at £65,000, or £1 13s.2d each. 'Of one point we feel assured. Never in the history of literature has there occurred an opportunity of securing such a library, it stands first in the private collections of the world and its loss to England would be nothing short of a national calamity.'²³ Lenox Kennedy wanted to buy the Spencer Library for the Lenox Library (1870–95), which had been founded in New York by James Lenox (1800–80). Sotheby's proprietor offered the library to Sotheran's for £220,000, considered a counter-offer of £200,000 made by Mrs Rylands on 21 July and proposed to halve the difference, making the price £210,000. The offer was accepted by Sotheran's on 22 July and by Sotheby's on 25 July. The news of the sale, but not the identity of the purchaser, was announced in *The Times* on 29 July. Railton had achieved his greatest success as a bookseller. 'Providence has had its own end to serve in raising up a Wellington to face the Napoleon of the secondhand book trade [Bernard Quaritch] and with the same result as at Waterloo – the defeat of the Great General took place last week at Althorp Park'.²⁴ Railton secured a commission of only 1 per cent but was made a partner in the firm of Sotheran's. The other intermediaries derived similar benefits from the sale. John Lawler became chief cataloguer for Sotheby's while E.G. Hodge secured from Lord Spencer a commission of 9 per cent and left in 1907 an estate of £126,199, or sixteen times as much as Railton.

²³ A.B. Railton to Mrs Rylands, 8 July 1892.

²⁴ A.B. Railton to Mr and Mrs Charles (?) Edmonds, 28 July 1892.

For her part Mrs Rylands was delighted with the outcome of the negotiations. She had been prepared to pay up to £250,000 and had secured 'one of the greatest bargains in the history of major book sales'. 'Mrs Rylands is greatly enjoying the mystery and will do nothing at present to give a public solution.' 'We are all so full of the Library.'²⁵ Apparently Lord Spencer learned the identity of the purchaser only when *The Times* published an authorized statement on 6 August.²⁶ Mrs Rylands had declined to go to see the library until it was her property: she visited Althorp on 8 August and was well pleased with the sight of her purchase but remained disturbed by 'the amount of misleading information we have had in the papers during the last few weeks'. Even *The Times* of 6 August had added a gratuitous qualification: 'Mrs Rylands intends to present the library to Manchester.' She therefore asked Dr Green to compile an authoritative account of the transaction, which appeared in *The Times* on 12 August. She had reserved the right to sell any portion of the library she did not care to preserve: she decided to dispose of a duplicate Audubon but undertook to do so with the utmost care: 'I am very anxious not to begin immediately with the sale of duplicate books, as this might, through erroneous statements, lead to unpleasant feeling, and this I wish to avoid.'²⁷ Listing and packing of the collection took three months, filling 600 cases. The first instalment reached Longford Hall on 16 August.²⁸ The traditional negative image of Manchester was transformed, almost overnight. William Morris, in *News from Nowhere* (1890), had looked forward in a future golden age to the disappearance of Manchester from the face of the earth: in 1892 he conceded that 'Manchester may be remembered as the last home of the Althorp library.'²⁹

Mrs Rylands now cast around for a suitably qualified librarian to administer the new library and especially to catalogue it. The post was first offered in December 1892 to J.P. Edmond (1850–1906), librarian to the Earl of Crawford at Haigh Hall.³⁰ When he refused Edward Gordon Duff (1863–1924) was appointed, at the age of thirty, in 1893 to the position. Duff was a dedicated bibliophile and bibliographer,³¹

²⁵ F Herrmann, *Sotheby's: Portrait of an Auction House* (London: Chatto, 1980), 119. J.A. Green to A.B. Railton, 1 and 4 August 1892.

²⁶ N. Barker, *Bibliotheca Lindesiana* (London: Quaritch, 1978), 316.

²⁷ Mrs Rylands to A.B. Railton for Lord Spencer, 31 August 1892.

²⁸ *Manchester Guardian*, 17 August 1892, 5v.

²⁹ *ibid.*, 24 October 1892, 8v (W. Morris, 'Town and Country').

³⁰ Barker, *Bibliotheca Lindesiana*, 317.

³¹ For Duff see Alistair & Henrietta Tayler (comp.), *The Book of the Duffs* (Edinburgh: Brown, 1914), ii. 339, 453, 461–2; *The Times*, 1 October 1924, 16iv, 3 October 1924, 14iv, 8 December 1924, 22ii; *The Library*, 5 (1924–25), 264–6 (Falconer Madan); *Manchester Review*, 5 (Winter 1948), 177–9 (W.G. Fry); H.F. Stewart, *Francis Jenkinson, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge and University Librarian* (Cambridge: University Press, 1926), 30–4, 'Duff and Proctor': 'Once or twice in each generation there arises a man whose genius is from earliest days consecrated to the pursuit and study of the printed book. Edward Gordon Duff was one of these. He began collecting before he could read. . . .' See also the *Catalogue of the Library of the late*

who had begun collecting books before he could even read: he had published his first essay in bibliography in 1885 whilst still an undergraduate at Wadham College, Oxford, and he had become a founder-member of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society in 1890. In the year of his appointment as John Rylands Librarian he published five separate works, including a study of *Early Printed Books*, which immediately became a standard textbook. Access to the Althorp Library enriched his scholarship immensely, and in return he first made a knowledge of its treasures widely available. By 1895 he had fully developed, apparently for the first time, the one-line title system for handlists of books printed by De Worde, Notary, R. & W. Faques and John Skot. The first fruits of his labours at Longford Hall were published in 1895 in the form of a *Catalogue of Books in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland and of Books in English Printed Abroad to the End of the Year 1640* (Manchester: Cornish, 1895, 147pp, including a 44-page index of printers and stationers).

By the end of 1896 Duff had completed, on the model of the British Museum catalogue, a catalogue of the whole library in preparation for its publication. Mrs Rylands carefully considered and approved his suggestions for the lay-out of specimen entries on the page, for the use of different sizes of type, for the quality of paper to be used in production and for the choice of Constable's of Edinburgh as printers.³² The printing of the first volume of 648 pages required eight months, from June 1897 to February 1898: the next two volumes required another year. All three volumes, totalling 1,986 pages, appeared in April 1900.³³ The publication of the catalogue was a major bibliographical achievement. The thousand copies distributed throughout Europe and America provided the world's libraries and scholars with a superb and authoritative work of reference. Duff remained determined to add a Subject Index³⁴ but proved unable to do so. His greatest achievement, however, was to extend the basis of the John Rylands Library from theology to the whole field of the

Edward Gordon Duff Esq. which will be sold by Order of his Executors by Auction by Messrs. Sotheby & Co. (2 vols., London, 1925). The sale on 16–18 March 1925 raised £8,100 and 'the catalogue itself will be of permanent value to students of bookbinding.' *The Times*, 17 March 1925, 11v; 18 March, 11vi; 19 March, 11i; 20 March, 11iii. The first volume, of eighty pages, was entitled 'Bookbinding – Stamped Bindings' while the second volume, of 106 pages, was entitled 'Bibliography – Rare Books.' An example of Duff's capacity as a reviewer may be found in *The Library*, 2 (1890), 449–53, 'Bibliography as she is wrote', an anonymous review of Walter T. Rogers, *Manual of Bibliography* (1891), 'a book which may serve as a warning to those who write upon subjects about which they know nothing'. Bibliographies of his publications may be found in the supplementary slip-catalogue of the John Rylands Library (24 items), in the *Catalogue of the British Library* (London: Saur, 1981), lxxxviii. 280–1 (35 items), and, above all, in the *National Union Catalog, Pre-1956 Imprints* (London: Mansell, 1971), cl. 468–71 (58 items).

³² JRL, Library Archives, E.G. Duff to Mrs Rylands, 26 February and 30 April 1897, in volume labelled 'A8'.

³³ The publication date was given as '1899' by the publisher, J.E. Cornish of Manchester.

³⁴ E.G. Duff to Mrs Rylands, 16 March 1897, in volume 'A8'.



Figure 2

The Book-Plate of the John Rylands Library, 1894

This plate was designed in 1894 by Charles William Sherborn (1831–1912) and was registered at Stationers' Hall under the Fine Arts Copyright Act of 1862, upon the application of Mrs Rylands made on 10 December 1894. It bears the arms of three families, those of Pilkington in the crest and those of 'Rylands impaling Tennant' in the shield: the Rylands coat of arms was granted posthumously by the College of Arms in 1893. The full insignia was described by Mrs Rylands as, 'Per pale dexter azure a cross patonce or, on a chief of the last an open book proper: sinister guttée de poix two bars invected per pale sable and gules, each bar charged with three bezants. Crest on an oak branch a mower charged on the breast with a cross as in the arms'. The motto inscribed above the shield also appears upon the pages of the open book in the full coat of arms.

humanities. 'As we have the first printed edition of every classic we ought to have it [the first edition of Aristotle's *The Constitution of Athens*] also.'³⁵ That transformation harmonized with Mrs Rylands's own developing thoughts and was clearly reflected in her emphatic prohibition of 'anything that gives an ecclesiastical appearance to the interior'³⁶ as well as in her dispositions for the iconography of the building, in the 20 portrait statues, in the 28 Latin mottoes and in the 40 stained-glass effigies.

The Library took three times as long to complete as had been estimated, and cost three times as much. As its construction neared completion in April 1899 Mrs Rylands appointed Henry Guppy as Joint Librarian with Duff. For the opening ceremony three separate works were printed.³⁷ Guppy prepared a memorial booklet with a short description of the building while Duff compiled a catalogue of the books and bookbindings displayed in eighteen cases. Richard Lovett (1851–1904), author of *The Printed English Bible, 1525–1585* (1894) and historian of the London Missionary Society (1899), prepared a catalogue of all the Library's English Bibles dating from 1525. The inauguration took place on 6 October 1899, the anniversary of the marriage in 1875 of Enriqueta Augustina Tennant and John Rylands. Mrs Rylands did not defer to municipal suggestions that the library should be opened by 'a royal personage': she invited the leading Congregational theologian of the time, Dr Andrew Fairbairn (1838–1912), principal of Mansfield College, Oxford, to perform the ceremony. On the same day Mrs Rylands was admitted to the Freedom of the City of Manchester, being the first woman to be so honoured and the only one so distinguished until 1956. The ceremony of inauguration was attended by 750 guests, a civic luncheon in the Town Hall by 350 and a *conversazione* in the evening by 1,000.

Duff's achievements had been recognized by his election as Sandars Reader in Bibliography in the University of Cambridge for the year 1898–99 and as President of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society for the year 1899–1900. He found, however, that the administrative burden of office proved greater than he had expected. 'Routine, fixed hours, and office work he found uncongenial'.³⁸ One year after

³⁵ E.G. Duff to Mrs Rylands, 22 March 1897, in volume 'A8'.

³⁶ JRL, Library Archives, Rylands-Champneys Letters, i. 109–10 (Mrs Rylands to Basil Champneys, 24 February 1893).

³⁷ *The John Rylands Library. Memorial of the Inauguration, 6th October 1899. Programme of Music and Brief Description of the Building* (23pp); E.G. Duff, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts, Books and Bookbindings Exhibited at the Opening of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, October 6th 1899* (Manchester: Gill, 1899, 42pp); R.W. Lovett, *The English Bible in the John Rylands Library, 1525 to 1640* (London and Aylesbury: Hazell, Watson & Viney, 1899, 275pp, bound by Zaehnsdorf), a bibliographical catalogue of 68 Bibles including 26 facsimiles and 39 engravings. See *The Times*, 30 December 1904, 7vi, for Lovett's obituary.

³⁸ *Glasgow Herald*, 4 October 1924, obituary in JRL, Library Archives, Press Cuttings, iii. 143.

the inauguration Duff resigned, on 15 October 1900, and Guppy after eighteen months as Joint Librarian became sole Librarian. Duff never again sought an official position but became, liberated from the cares of office, a free-lance pioneer of modern scientific bibliography living in Liverpool until 1915 and thereafter in Oxford. In 1900 he founded the Type Facsimile Society and the Lancashire Bibliographical Society. He catalogued part of the library of J.P. Morgan (1906–07) and supervised the compilation of a census of Caxtons, published by Seymour de Ricci in 1909. After twenty-five years of labour he published in 1917 a description and collation of fifteenth-century English books, having evolved during the course of his research a number of date-tests. He was twice again elected Sanders Reader, for 1903–04 and for 1910–11, and in 1922 was a co-founder of the Oxford Bibliographical Society. His articles were published in the transactions of the bibliographical societies of London, Edinburgh, Oxford and Lancashire. 'He was a first class genius in his own line . . . There is probably no bibliographer alive who can be compared to him.'³⁹ His true memorial remains in the great three-volume quarto *Catalogue* and not least in the twenty-four copies which were ordered specifically for remounting for use as reference copies within the Library itself.

In 1892 Quaritch had emphasized the absence of any valuable manuscripts in the Spencer Library. In 1901 that omission was remedied with the purchase of the Crawford manuscripts. That superb collection had been built up from 1836 by the 25th earl and numbered nearly 6,000 rolls, tablets and codices: they were predominantly Oriental but included an invaluable core of 121 Latin manuscripts.⁴⁰ The collection was unrivalled in age, extent, variety and beauty. The sale was negotiated in twelve days between A.B. Railton and the 26th earl. Under pressure Lord Crawford named a sum 'which I felt confident that no person would give' and 'which I considered would stop further proceedings'.⁴¹ Mrs Rylands rightly thought that the price, £155,000, was 'very high'⁴² but received a favourable report from Railton after his visit to Haigh Hall on 24 July. The sale was agreed on 31 July. Mrs Rylands did not herself visit Haigh Hall but authorized on 2 September the publication of the news in *The Times*, where an

³⁹ *The Times*, 3 October 1924, 14iv (the Revd H.F. Stewart, D.D. (1863–1948), Fellow and Praelector in French of Trinity College, Oxford).

⁴⁰ S. de Ricci, *English Collectors of Books and Manuscripts (1530–1930)* (London: Holland Press, 1930, 1960), 162–3, listing four volumes of catalogues of the Crawford manuscripts (1897–98) as well as 29 volumes of catalogues of the Bibliotheca Lindesiana (1860–1913). According to A.B. Railton's list dated 22 July 1901 the oriental manuscripts included 938 in Persian, 795 in Arabic (to which a list by J.P. Edmond added 540 Arabic papyri), 166 in Turkish, 68 in Coptic, besides an unknown number of papyri, 50 in demotic Egyptian, 33 each in Hebrew and Hindustani and 27 in Samaritan.

⁴¹ *Bibliotheca Lindesiana* (Aberdeen: University Press, 1910), i.xiv, the Earl of Crawford writing in July 1910 estimated that the collection would raise at least three to four times the amount paid in 1901.

⁴² Mrs Rylands to Sotheran & Co., 24 July 1901.

article by Humphry Ward appeared on 3 September, apprising Guppy, on holiday in Devon, of the news of the acquisition.⁴³ The first twenty-five cases of manuscripts were scheduled to arrive at Longford Hall on the afternoon of 12 September.⁴⁴ Mrs Rylands really appreciated the manuscripts and proved loath to relinquish them to the Library in Deansgate, but Duff wondered whether the purchase was an appropriate one. 'I cannot understand why they were bought for Manchester, the one place where they will be most useless, and where there will be no one to look after them.'⁴⁵ Mrs Rylands, however, undertook to bear the cost of cataloguing the manuscripts and agreed to employ nine leading scholars for that purpose. The first two catalogues were published in 1909 by the Egyptologists F.L. Griffith (1862–1934) and W.E. Crum (1865–1944): another appeared in 1911, and four more followed in 1932, 1933, 1934 and 1938.⁴⁶ Together the Spencer books and the Crawford manuscripts became the twin foundations of the John Rylands Library and laid down the main lines of its development during the twentieth century.

The new library was unusual in that it was not the product of a process of gradual growth but was virtually an overnight creation and comparable therein to that other contemporary achievement, the construction of the Manchester Ship Canal. Under the Trust deed of 1 February 1900 it was constituted a private reference library under the care of a Council of Governors and a Board of Trustees, with Mrs Rylands as President. In fact, Mrs Rylands attended only one meeting of the Governors, their first on 18 December 1899, when she met them at the Library, escorted them around the building and showed them some of its choicest treasures. The motto inscribed beneath the Library's coat of arms '*nihil sine labore*' invited visitors to use the facilities made available within its walls. During the first four months from January to April 1900, however, very slight use was made of the new institution, and the early readers were mainly ministers and clergymen. An erroneous impression had apparently spread to the effect that the library was to be a museum of literary and bibliographical curiosities, would not include any examples of modern literature, was intended for the exclusive use of bibliographical specialists

⁴³ Barker, *Bibliotheca Lindesiana*, 353.

⁴⁴ J.P. Edmond to A.B. Railton, 10 September 1901.

⁴⁵ Barker, *Bibliotheca Lindesiana*, 353, quoting E.G. Duff to J.P. Edmond. Hope W. Hogg (1863–1912) to Mrs Rylands, 1 September 1904, with annotation by Mrs Rylands – 'I keep for the present control of the manuscripts'

⁴⁶ F. Taylor, 'The Oriental Manuscript Collections in the John Rylands Library', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 54: 2 (Spring 1972), 449–78. Griffith's catalogue, in three volumes, included 45 papyri in facsimile. The respective authors of the other catalogues were A.S. Hunt (1871–1934) in 1911 and 1915 for Greek papyri, T. Fish (1893–1971) in 1932 for Sumerian tablets, D.S. Margoliouth (1858–1940) in 1933 for Arabic papyri, A. Mingana (1881–1937) in 1934 for Arabic manuscripts and Edward Robertson (1879–1964) in 1938 and 1963 for Samaritan manuscripts. The first catalogues of the Western manuscripts were published by M.R. James (1862–1936) in 1921 in two volumes for the Latin manuscripts.

and ripe scholars and, in consequence, would be surrounded by barriers to keep out ordinary readers who lacked the necessary specialist qualifications.⁴⁷ Guppy thereupon introduced a range of measures in order to attract readers. From 4 May 1900 he extended opening hours into the evening on two days of the week. He encouraged visits by local societies and, from 1904, by schools. He inaugurated the regular series of Rylands lectures from 1900 and arranged evening lectures from 1903. In 1903 he produced the first list of periodical publications received by the Library and, in June 1903, the first issue of its *Bulletin*, a work which was to rank second only to the *Catalogue* in publicizing the new institution. He held frequent exhibitions and from 1906 published a regular series of exhibition catalogues. From 1908 he arranged for special demonstrations and lectures to students and craftsmen.

One of Guppy's most notable achievements was to publish a union catalogue in 1909.⁴⁸ That catalogue was one of the first of its type to appear in Britain and represented a partial fulfilment of the hope that the John Rylands Library could itself become a union library, 'a sort of synthetic or co-ordinating centre for all the libraries round'.⁴⁹ The idea had been first raised in 1905 and was carried further in 1925 when Guppy proposed the publication of a Lancashire Bibliography.⁵⁰ His catalogue of English incunabula in the John Rylands Library was completed in 1916 but was published only in 1930. He also prepared a *Catalogue of Books in the John Rylands Library, Printed in Great Britain, and of English Books Printed Abroad Between 1474 and 1640*, for publication in two or three quartos uniform with his catalogue of English incunabula: this work remained unpublished. In the field of acquisitions he persuaded Mrs Rylands to purchase for the Library such special collections as that of Count Giuseppe L. Passerini (1858–1932) on Dante, in 1905, and that of J.W. Holtrop (1806–70) on fifteenth-century printing and engraving in 1906. Because the catalogue was the sole key to a reference library Guppy notably extended its capacity. He devised an analytical subject catalogue and, in particular, sought to record items otherwise concealed as subordinate parts within other books, a practice maintained for over sixty years. The achievement of Guppy⁵¹ was to enlarge the

⁴⁷ JRL, Library Archives, Henry Guppy's First Annual Report for the Year ending 31 December 1900.

⁴⁸ H. Guppy and G. Vine, *A Classified Catalogue of the Works on Architecture and the Allied Arts in the Principal Libraries of Manchester and Salford* (Manchester: University Press, 1909, for the Joint Architectural Committee of Manchester).

⁴⁹ W.B. Selbie, *The Life of Andrew Martin Fairbairn* (London: Hodder, 1914), 382. A.M. Fairbairn to A.S. Peake, 3 January 1900. Guppy edited the *Library Association Record* from 1899 to 1903 and served as President of the Library Association in 1926.

⁵⁰ JRL, Library Archives, Letters for 1905, J.H. Reynolds to H. Guppy, 21 March 1905.

⁵¹ *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 25 (1941), 14–45, for a bibliography of Guppy's works; *ibid.*, 31:2 (December 1948), 173–9, for his obituary.

clientele of the Library and to open its doors to all *bona fide* users, asking only that they should renew their readers' tickets once a year. During the sixteen years 1901–16 an annual average number of 1,139 readers' tickets were issued, whereof 60 per cent were new tickets (Table 2). By 1909 the number of readers at peak times created congestion in the reading room, especially after Professor T.F. Tout introduced the third-year history thesis at Manchester University in 1908, made it compulsory from 1909 and dedicated Fridays to the pursuit of original research by undergraduate students. Guppy also established a tradition that the Librarian's door should never be closed to the public.

Table 2
Annual Number of New Readers' Tickets Issued by the
John Rylands Library, 1899–1917

1899	157	1909	676
1900	1,639	1910	975
1901	1,143	1911	980
1902	674	1912	610
1903	744	1913	665
1904	573	1914	546
1905	477	1915	533
1906	504	1916	478
1907	540	1917	517
1908	753		

Source: John Rylands Library, Library Archives, Annual Reports to the Governors, 1900–19; John Rylands Library, Library Archives, Readers [Tickets], 3 vol., 1899–1917, excluding Life Tickets.

Some tension survived between the religious and the secular functions of the new foundation. Guppy had described the purpose of the Library in 1899 in neutral terms as 'a contribution to the higher education of the community.' At the inauguration Dr Fairbairn and Dr Green both chose to stress its Biblical and theological character. At their first meeting the Council of Governors agreed that theology should be 'the strong point of the library', and Mrs Rylands confirmed that 'theology should be kept well to the front'. The Bible exhibition of 1904 lasted for four months: it commemorated the tercentenary of publication of the Authorized Version and encouraged Quaritch to assume that 'you are making puritan theology a strong feature in your library.'⁵² Guppy's new analytical catalogue employed a scheme of

⁵² J.T. Wilkinson, *Arthur Samuel Peake: A Biography* (London: Epworth Press, 1971), 81–2; JRL, Library Archives, Letters for 1905, B. Quaritch to H. Guppy, 31 May 1905.

classification allotting first place to theology and philosophy and second place to 'the faculty of history'.

Guppy's extension of the Library's range and function proved timely in the light of the decline of the Nonconformist churches. In relative terms the Nonconformist proportion of the population had apparently reached a peak during the 1860s, the decade of the bicentenary of the expulsions of 1662. In absolute terms the number of Nonconformist church members reached its peak in 1906, 21 years before the Episcopalian peak in 1927. In Manchester local Nonconformist ministers were applying, under Bishop Knox (1903–20), for ordination in the Anglican Church. The interpretation of English history which identified the tradition of Dissent with the cause of social progress nevertheless remained a vital legacy of the Nonconformist episode in the country's history. The Whig interpretation of history was first challenged in 1931 by the Methodist Herbert Butterfield, but the Nonconformist interpretation of history was challenged only in 1985.

The Governors sought to create a reference and research library for the North of England on the model of the British Museum. Their success may be measured by the expansion of the Library's holdings, which took place much faster than had been anticipated. Designed in 1889 to hold 50,000 volumes, its capacity was doubled in 1892 to hold 100,000 volumes. Its holdings surpassed those of the Owens College Library in 1899 and exceeded 100,000 during the year 1905: so fast did they grow that a site had to be acquired in 1907 for a future store for 500,000 volumes. During the years 1900–28 holdings increased on average at almost double the rate of those of the Manchester Public Libraries, so that the Library's share of the city's total stock doubled from 10 per cent in 1900 to 21 per cent in 1928 (Tables 3 and 4). Gifts made up 39 per cent of the total number of accessions recorded between 1900 and 1914. Expansion was achieved mainly by purchases, which consumed 39.6 per cent of the Library's budget in 1900–14 compared to 28.6 per cent spent upon salaries and wages. What made this achievement much more impressive was the rarity and the value of the collections and the virtual absence of rubbish from its holdings.

From 1901 the acquisition of manuscripts gave the Library a new function and transformed it into an archive. Their number increased even faster than the number of books, but their value was even greater. Their uniqueness made them a compelling attraction to scholars eager to extend the limits of their knowledge. Their importance was recognized by the establishment in 1910 of a photographic studio for the production of facsimiles, by the publication of five facsimiles (1909–16), and by the appointment in 1918 as Curator of Manuscripts of J. Rendel Harris (1852–1941), mathematician and Biblical scholar.

Table 3
Number of Volumes Added to the John
Rylands Library, 1900–14

	Number of Volumes	Average Cost per Volume Purchased (in Shillings)
1900	3,625	10.8
1901	5,166	11.3
1902	3,148	11.6
1903	4,242	14.1
1904	2,480	13.9
1905	8,926	8.3
1906	3,233	10.1
1907	2,535	14.0
1908	4,981	10.7
1909	19,640	15.1
1910	5,940	15.7
1911	3,958	52.4
1912	5,839	10.5
1913	3,493	20.6
1914	4,969	14.8
<hr/>		
1900–14 average	5,478	13.9

Source: John Rylands Library, Library Archives, Annual Reports to the Trustees, 1900–19; Annual Reports to the Governors, 1900–19.

The establishment of the John Rylands Library represented a landmark in the cultural history of Manchester and crowned its renaissance during the 1890s. The city became a Mecca of culture as never before through the foundation of the Royal Northern College of Music in 1893 and of the Whitworth Art Gallery in 1896, the expansion of the Hallé Orchestra under the Wagnerian Richter, and the missionary activity of the new journalists of the *Manchester Guardian*, under C.E. Montague and W.H. Mills. German influence upon the life of the city, in history, literature, theology, music and chemistry expanded to its maximum in the generation before the Great War. The John Rylands Library made its own contribution to the regional renaissance and helped endow Manchester with double the library stocks held by such comparable cities as Liverpool, Leeds or Birmingham.

Table 4
Number of Volumes in the John Rylands Library, 1897–1928

December	Number of Volumes	Proportion of the Total Number in Manchester Libraries (%)
1897	60,000	9.27
1899	65,000	9.88
1900	70,000	10.22
1904	83,000	9.85
1908	120,000	12.00
1910	150,000	13.91
1914	180,000	15.65
1920	250,000	18.99
1923	300,000	21.44
1928	340,000	21.31

Source: John Rylands Library, Library Archives, Annual Reports to the Governors, 1900–19. Statistics of the stocks held by Manchester libraries have been calculated from the first six editions of the *Libraries, Museums and Art Galleries Year Book* (1897–1928), estimates for the years 1904, 1908 and 1920 being derived by interpolation.

The creation of the Library was the outstanding achievement of a notable philanthropist. Enriqueta Augustina Rylands stemmed from a wealthy and talented family. She possessed formidable abilities, especially of intellect, judgment, sympathy and will-power. Her cast of mind was, like that of John Rylands, more akin to the Puritan of the seventeenth century than to that of her own age. ‘She believed in the autocracy of the master mind’⁵³ and had no patience with orthodox methods of procedure, whether by committee, by council or by board. Inspired by a strong sense of duty, she eschewed society and chose to live laborious days in the pursuit of her aims, especially in charitable endeavour. Throughout her life she remained possessed by a passion for being the executor of her own purposes: she devoted her own energies as much as her money to the ends she wished to see fulfilled, deeply distrusting any resort to the dispensation of charity by cheque. She loved to ensure the perfection of all her arrangements in every detail and, up to a few years before her death, answered herself all of

⁵³ *Lancashire Congregational Year Book*, 1908, 102 (Walter Hockett).

her voluminous correspondence and did so in perfect handwriting. A cosmopolitan traveller, she was a good linguist and an interesting conversationalist. Her character was sympathetic but suffused by a strong strain of stoicism. She was ever thoughtful of the needs and troubles of others. 'A more delightfully homely and hospitable person I have never met. She seems to live for other people . . . She was all to us that a mother could be; full of eagerness to make everything helpful and interesting.'⁵⁴ Her tastes were catholic, whether in matters relating to art, to literature or to religion.

Her creed was brief: be good, do good. She had little taste for the complexities of theology or for elaborate ecclesiastical ritual. From the time of her first arrival in Manchester she had sought to aid the poor and the helpless. She deplored the alienation of the masses of the people from the Churches and regarded the religious life of Manchester as the most important aspect of all its activities. She felt that the best hope for England was to keep the democracy Christian. To that end she supported the establishment of Institutional Churches in London, Manchester, Salford, and Birmingham and gave full support to the Forward Movement launched in 1905–06 by the sixty Congregational Churches of Manchester and Salford:⁵⁵ she invested her organizing powers in the project as well as her money, spurred others on to support the cause and made available the services of her trusted secretary, the Revd J.W. Kiddle (1834–1911),⁵⁶ who also served as honorary secretary of the John Rylands Library. The first fruits of that movement appeared in 1907 with the opening of the Salford Central Mission Hall, whose construction she had partly financed. In every way she delighted to do good but to do so in secret and without any publicity.

The last four years of her life were years of suffering, caused by a malignant disease which was apparently diagnosed in 1904. She signed her will on 7 August 1903 and bought in 1905 a residence in Torquay, where she died on 4 February 1908. A memorial service was held on 9 February at Chorlton Road Congregational Church, which she had joined in 1902. The funeral service on 10 February was attended by eight members of the Tennant family and by one surviving nephew of John Rylands, Joseph Reese Rylands, as well as by members of the families of Mrs Rylands's sisters – all Anglican – four Bruces, three Morisons and two Sinkers: to her nieces and nephews she had always been known as 'Aunt 'Quita'. The memorial sermon was delivered by her friend, the Revd C.S. Horne.⁵⁷ After cremation, her ashes were interred beside the remains of her husband beneath the shade of the

⁵⁴ W.B. Selbie, *The Life of Charles Silvester Horne M.A., M.P.* (London: Hodder, 1920), 141, 14 September 1891; 100, 1896.

⁵⁵ *Lancashire Congregational Year Book*, 1907, 189.

⁵⁶ *Manchester City News*, 8 July 1911, 9v; *Congregational Year Book*, 1912, 153–4.

⁵⁷ *Manchester Guardian*, 5 and 11 February 1908.

Rylands Memorial in the Nonconformist portion of Southern Cemetery. Two more interments followed in the next two decades. In 1919 William Carnelley, who had been the most faithful servant of John Rylands and who had completed 78 years of service with the firm in 1916, was buried in a plot facing the grave of his beloved master. In 1928 Fanny Sharman Hockett was buried in an adjoining plot: the sister of Walter Hockett, author of the most perceptive obituary, she had been the friend of Mrs Rylands since 1878 and had become, under her will, a co-equal beneficiary with the sisters of Mrs Rylands: she died on 14 August 1928 at Gstaad, Switzerland.

Despite extensive gifts to charity made during her lifetime, Mrs Rylands left an estate of £3,448,692, on which death duties of £650,000 were paid. In her will she made further charitable bequests totalling £473,000 and including £200,000 to the John Rylands Library, to the amazement of the contemporary press. After her death Mrs Rylands was commemorated in at least five different places, in London and Manchester. A statue had been erected in 1907 in the nave of the John Rylands Library itself, facing the statue of John Rylands sculpted in 1893. In London the Whitefield's Central Mission Building in Tottenham Court Road, opened in 1908 with C.S. Horne as Superintendent, included a Rylands Hall. In the hall was a full-length portrait of Mrs Rylands, with her favourite spaniel, presented by her sister together with a brass tablet in memory of 'the noblest woman of the century.'⁵⁸ In Manchester a marble medallion, unveiled in 1909 in the board room at Cheadle Hulme School, commemorated both husband and wife as 'generous benefactors to these schools.'⁵⁹ In the University of Manchester Mrs Rylands had endowed two chairs in the new Faculty of Theology in 1904, in Biblical Exegesis and in Comparative Religion: the University renamed from 1909 the chair of Biblical Exegesis the Rylands chair.⁶⁰ In 1911 a plaque in memory of Mrs Rylands was unveiled on the opening of Congregational Church House, including Milton Hall, in Deansgate on 21 February by Fanny Hockett:⁶¹ another plaque was dedicated in the foyer of the new Stretford Road Congregational Church, opened on 11 October 1911 as the Institutional Church on the site of Zion Congregational Church, and intended to serve as the Manchester counterpart of the Salford Central Mission Hall. All of those memorials were inevitably overshadowed by the John Rylands Library itself.

⁵⁸ *British Congregationalist*, 14 November 1908, 'A Whitefield's Memorial to Mrs. Rylands', Mrs C.S. Horne; *British Weekly*, 12 November 1908, 'The Opening of the Rylands Hall' by 'M.G.C.'

⁵⁹ G.J.M. Baker, *A History of Cheadle Hulme School (The Manchester Warehousemen and Clerks Orphan Schools), 1855-1955* (Manchester: Warehousemen and Clerks Orphan Schools, 1955), 39.

⁶⁰ *The University Calendar*, 1910-11, 65 was the first to use the title of the Rylands Professor.

⁶¹ *Manchester Guardian*, 22 February 1911, 6iv, 7ii-v, with photograph of Miss Hockett.

In creating the Library Mrs Rylands sought to fulfil two purposes, to preserve ‘the simple name of John Rylands – honest, able, unique, successful, John Rylands of Manchester’⁶² and to provide for the most fundamental needs of the population of the city she loved. Her sense of timing was impeccable for the greatest age of ‘Cottonopolis’ had come to a close in the 1870s, and the city’s function during the next century was to be fulfilled in other spheres of life. In London the blitz destroyed the Whitefield’s Mission, with its Rylands Hall. In Southern Cemetery the Rylands Memorial was vandalized on two occasions, in 1927 and 1969, and thereafter dismantled. In Deansgate the John Rylands Library endures, its stock increased ninefold during the past ninety years and its activity recently reinvigorated: it remains a magnificent monument to Enriqueta Augustina Rylands as well as to her husband.

APPENDIX

CHRONOLOGY OF THE LIFE OF MRS RYLANDS

1840	19 March	Marriage at Matanzas, Cuba, of Stephen C. Tennant and Juana C. Dalcour.
1843	31 May	Birth at Havana of twins, Enriqueta Augustina and José Esteban Tennant.
1848	3 November	Death of Stephen C. Tennant at Farnborough (<i>The Times</i> , 6 November 1848, 4iv).
1855	30 March	Death of Juana C. Fontana.
1860s		Enriqueta Augustina Tennant became a companion to Martha Rylands at Longford Hall, Stretford, and attended Cavendish Street Congregational Church.
1875	13 February	Death of Martha Rylands, who was buried in Rusholme Road Cemetery in the same plot as Dinah, the first wife of John Rylands.
	6 October	Marriage of John Rylands and Enriqueta Augustina Tennant in Kensington Congregational Chapel by John Marshall (1796–1880), witnessed by S.J. Tennant, A. Morrison, Samuel Hadfield, solicitor to the groom, and John Rylands of Warrington.
c.1878		Mrs Rylands met Fanny Sharman Hockett.
1881	August	Purchased Corston House, Ryde, Isle of Wight, built in 1835, for use as a rest home for ministers.
1882	11 October	Purchased Beaulieu House at Haven Street, near Ryde, built in 1853, for use as a country home, renaming it Longford House.
1886	31 July	Opened Longford Institute at Haven Street, built in 1885 at a cost of £3,000, in the presence of the Revd W.S. Davis (1839–94), Baptist minister of Ryde.
1887	3 September	Presented a life-size photograph of John Rylands to the firm of Rylands & Sons Ltd. for the board room.

⁶² Parker, ‘John Rylands of Manchester.’

- 1888
 11 December Met the Revd J.W. Kiddle (1834–1911), pastor of Stretford Congregational Church (1884–94).
 Death of John Rylands, who was interred on 15 December at Southern Cemetery.
- 15 December Letter of condolence from directors of the firm, with reply dated 20 December; JRL, Archives of Rylands & Sons Ltd., Minutes of the Board of Directors, 130–2 (22 December 1888).
- 1889
 Met the Revd C.S. Horne at Kensington Congregational Chapel.
 Undertook a tour of the great libraries of Britain, including Oxford, and began the purchase of books through James Arnold Green (1860–1907), the first invoice being dated 29 November 1889.
 Signed agreements with Rylands & Sons Ltd. for issue of 4 per cent debentures to value of £620,000 and for the repayment by the firm of £147,299 from her open account; JRL, Archives of Rylands & Sons Ltd., Minutes of the Board of Directors, 195 (24 August 1889).
- 22 November Basil Champneys submitted plans and estimates of the cost of construction of a fireproof building, with 1.1 million cubic feet and space for 50,000 volumes; JRL, Library Archives, Rylands-Champneys Letters, i. 4.
- 30 November Conference at Longford Hall on the plans, followed by the drawing up of specifications (*ibid.*, i. 9–11) and the invitation of tenders for the ‘New Building, Manchester’.
- 1890
 January–March Travelled on Continent (*ibid.*, i. 17, 35).
 24 June Signed contract with W. Southern & Sons of Salford, builders, as contractors (*ibid.*, i. 278).
 24 November Signed contract with Robert and William Morrison of Liverpool, for building (*ibid.*, i. 285).
 Restored Stretford Congregational Church and added a western porch, with memorial plate; B. Nightingale, *Lancashire Nonconformity* (1890–93), v. 75, 77.
- 1891
 8 January First purchase of books from Sotheran & Co.
 2 March Purchase of nine volumes of Audubon for £330. John Edwards of Manchester, ‘John Rylands’, *Y Traethodydd*, 47 (May 1891), 184–94.
 Leased castle built by John Platt of Oldham at Llanfairfechan on Conway Bay in Caernarvonshire for the summer season: acted as hostess to a party of sixteen including J.A. Green and C.S. Horne; Selbie, *Charles Silvester Horne*, 141 (diary for 14 September 1891).
- 1892
 March–June Visited Continent, returning by 14 June; JRL, Library Archives, Rylands – Champneys Letters, i. 77, 79.
- 17 June – }
 9 July, }
 27 July }
 30 June–7 July }
 At Longford Hall.
- Inspection and valuation of the Old Book Room at Althorp by A.B. Railton (1844–1904) and John Lawler (1850–1918); *The Bookseller*, 14 October 1904, 832; September 1918, 422.
- 13 July At Lingholme, Keswick.

- 19–20 July Travelled to London, with her sister.
 21 July Stayed at the residence of Dr S.G. Green at 10 Mount Ephraim Road, Streatham: met W. Carnelley and W. Linnell in order to discuss the purchase of the Spencer Library, and authorized Sotheran's to buy it for £200,000.
- 22 July Visited the Strand offices of Sotheran's in order to sign letter stipulating conditions of sale and offering £210,000. Gave notice to Rylands & Sons Ltd. that she would require her deposit with the company during the coming month; JRL, Archives of Rylands & Sons Ltd., Minutes of the Board of Directors, 435 (29 July 1892).
- 23 July, }
 29 July–7 August } At Lingholme, with J.A. Green.
 25 July } Signature of contract for the purchase of the Spencer Library; P. Gordon, *The Red Earl: The Papers of the Fifth Earl Spencer, 1835–1910* (1986), ii. 201.
- 29 July Announcement of the sale in *The Times*.
 4 August Day visit to Buttermere, returning via Cockermouth to Keswick.
- 6 August Revelation of the identity of the purchaser in *The Times*.
 8 August Left Lingholme and travelled via London to Northampton, staying overnight at the George Hotel.
- 9 August Visited Althorp, with J.A. Green, A.B. Railton and packers, and viewed the Spencer Library.
- 10 August Visit of inspection by Stephen Kemp to Althorp in order to report on library fittings.
- 9 August – Removal of books from Althorp; Gordon, *The Red Earl*. ii. 205.
 1 November
 9–30 August At Lingholme, Keswick.
- 11 August Forbade Champneys to give information on the building to reporters; JRL, Library Archives, Rylands–Champneys Letters, i. 85.
- 12 August Publication of official account of the purchase in *The Times*.
- 15 August 'New building in Manchester' first referred to as 'the John Rylands Library'; JRL, Library Archives, Rylands–Champneys Letters, i. 89 (W. Linnell to Musgrave Heaphy).
- 16 August Arrival in Manchester of first portion of Spencer Library; *Manchester Guardian*, 17 August 1892, 5v.
- 25 November At Longford Hall, where electric lighting was first installed in 1892–93, in order to protect the library from damage by gaslight.
- 1893 January–March Travelled on the Continent, staying at Cannes, 10 February – 25 March, and at Lugano, 26 March – 16 April (JRL, Library Archives, Rylands–Champneys Letters, i. 109, 122) and returning home on 17 April. Appointed Gordon Duff as Librarian.
- 2 June Accepted Cassidy's tender for a statue of John Rylands, having originally considered in 1890 a simple bust (*ibid.*, i. 92, 130).
- 21 July Accepted Lord Spencer's offer of a portrait of his grandfather for the John Rylands Library; Gordon, *The Red Earl*, ii. 205–6.

- 1894 1 January Sailed on the S.S. *Wirral* from Liverpool to Manchester, with the directors of Rylands & Sons Ltd. on the inaugural voyage along the Manchester Ship Canal. Appointed the Revd J.W. Kiddle as her private secretary and almoner: he became her confidential adviser and shared in the realization or management of her various schemes; *Congregational Year Book*, 1912, 53–4.
- late April–August Travelled on the Continent, visiting Lugano (29 April–18 June) and Chamonix (14 July–3 August); JRL, Library Archives, Rylands–Champneys Letters, i. 170–2.
- 27 October Statue of John Rylands completed, at a cost of £1,325.
- 8 December Made her first will, at the age of 51.
- 1895 March At Longford Hall (*ibid.*, i. 186). Gave £2,000 to the Mansfield House Settlement; Selbie, *Charles Silvester Horne*, 91, 154–5.
- 25 April At her Buxton residence, Blythwood, St John's Rd.; JRL, Library Archives, Rylands–Champneys Letters, i. 204.
- 13 June At her Kensington house, 67 Queensgate; *ibid.*, i. 222.
- 17 June–15 August At Longford Hall; *ibid.*, i. 228, 243, 256, 258.
- 6 August Interview with Champneys, Carnelley and Linnell at the John Rylands Library; *ibid.*, i. 256, 258–9.
- August–September Travelled on the Continent, staying in Lugano and returning by 2 October; *ibid.*, i. 274.
- 9 October Visited Haven Street; *ibid.*, ii. 3.
- 1896 27 January At Longford Hall; *ibid.*, ii. 91.
- 13–14 February Visited London; *ibid.*, ii. 94.
- June–August Travelled on the Continent. Visited Switzerland and the Italian Lakes, with the Revd C.S. Horne. Stayed at the Bernerhof Hotel, Berne; *ibid.*, ii. 140, 8 June 1896. Travelled mainly by carriage drawn by five horses and used the railway only for the St Gotthard tunnel from Goeschenen to Lugano, from Brig to Martigny and from Cluses to Paris; Selbie, *Charles Silvester Horne*, 99.
- 1897 February–April At Longford Hall.
- June–August Travelled on the Continent, leaving Manchester on 13 June and London on 15 June; JRL, Library Archives, Rylands–Champneys Letters, iii. 168.
- 26 November Visited the John Rylands Library in order to discuss relations between the builders and the clerk of works, S. Kemp; *ibid.*, iii. 231–2.
- 17 December Visited the John Rylands Library; *ibid.*, iii. 246.
- 1898 Presented £100 to Cavendish Street Congregational Church for its jubilee.
- 5 April Suffered a severe attack of influenza; *ibid.*, iv. 23.
- 1899 April Appointed Henry Guppy as Joint Librarian, with Duff.
- June Removal of hoarding around Library building; *ibid.*, iv. 112, 7 June 1899.
- July Transfer of books from Longford Hall to the Library.
- 5 July Manchester City Council decided to award the freedom of the city to Mrs Rylands.

- 6 October Inauguration of the John Rylands Library, with articles on the new Library appearing in *The Queen*, 14 October; *The Lady's Pictorial*, 14 October; *The Gentlewoman*, 14 October; *Madame*, 21 October; and *The Leisure Hour*, December 1899, 138–45, by Dr S.G. Green.
- 21 October Mrs Rylands began to issue signed permits to view the Library.
- 18 December Attended the first meeting of the Library's Council of Governors.
- 1900 January–April Travelled on the Continent, visiting Cannes (4 February) and Florence (5 April).
- 13 January Guppy opened a Suggestions Book.
- 26 January Added a codicil to her will, excluding Maria Castiglioni from its provisions.
- 1 February Deed of Trust enrolled in Chancery, vesting the Library in trustees.
- 4 May Opening hours extended by three hours to 9 p.m., twice weekly.
Printing of the hymn collection made by John Rylands in 34 volumes.
- May Toured Switzerland by coach, travelling via Basle, Zürich, Landeck and Fuessen, and visited Oberammergau, with Canon H.D. Rawnsley (1851–1920) and his wife Edith; E.F. Rawnsley, *Canon Rawnsley: An Account of his Life* (Glasgow: Maclehose, 1923), 148–51.
- 9 August Stayed at Northwood, Buxton; JRL, Library Archives, Rylands–Champneys Letters, iv. 181–2.
- 1901 Subscribed to the Manchester Geographical Building Company; T.N.L. Brown, *The History of the Manchester Geographical Society, 1884–1950* (Manchester: University Press, 1971), 57.
Became a founder of the Congregational Historical Society.
- 28 February Death of William Linnell, private secretary to John Rylands since 1866, director of the firm since 1873, executor of the will of Mrs Rylands and first chairman of the Council of Governors of the John Rylands Library.
- May Subscribed £5,000 to the Jubilee appeal of Owens College, so helping to save it from a financial crisis; E. Fiddes, *Chapters in the History of Owens College and of Manchester University, 1851–1914* (Manchester: University Press, 1937), 185.
- 12 May Commissioned Railton to buy Wycliffe Bible of 1410, duly acquired on 16 May for £1,200.
- 12–16 May Travelled by coach in South-West England, stopping at St Vincent's, Clifton, Bristol on 14–15 May and at the Swan Hotel, Wells on 16 May.
- July–September Travelled in Northern England and Scotland, stopping at the Black Swan, York, after 24 July, at Dunbar on 16 August, at the Balmoral Hotel, Edinburgh, 16–20 August, and at the Trossachs Hotel, 3–8 September, returning home on 9/10 September.

- 31 July Purchased the Crawford collection of manuscripts for £155,000. 106 cases were packed in 18 days from 6 September and shipped from Haigh Hall to Longford Hall in 13 days (12–24 September).
- 23 September Interviewed J.P. Edmond and arranged for the continuation of the cataloguing of the Crawford manuscripts.
- 27 September Completion of payment of £155,000 (£40,000 on 11 September, £60,000 on 13 September and £55,000 on 27 September) for the Crawford manuscripts.
- 2 October Held anniversary banquet at Longford Hall.
- 3 October Insured manuscripts for £160,000.
- 1902 Presented a new organ to Owens College for the new Whitworth Hall.
- 13 March Awarded the honorary degree of LL.D. by Earl Spencer on behalf of the University of Manchester, and elected a governor of the University.
- 11 April Added a second codicil to her will, replacing Linnell as executor by her brother, S.J. Tennant.
- 1903 Gave £4,000 to Whitefield's Mission House, opened in September 1903; Selbie, *Charles Silvester Horne*, 174, 177.
- 7 August Signed her second will and appointed four executors in W. Carnelley, S.J. Tennant, J.W. Kiddle and W.A. Linnell, solicitor.
- 24 November Dispatched the first Crawford manuscripts, the Demotic papyri, from Longford Hall to the John Rylands Library.
- 1904 8 January Diagnosis of her medical condition made by Dr A. Midgley Cash.
- 27 January Dispatched all the Arabic and Persian manuscripts from Longford Hall to the John Rylands Library. Promised £12,000 to the new Faculty of Theology of the University of Manchester and endowed chairs of Comparative Religion and of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis with £400 per annum.
- July Afflicted by illness.
- 1905 Presented John Rylands's hymn collection to the John Rylands Library, in 34 volumes plus 9 index volumes.
- 1906 Granted Longford House (25 June) and Longford Institute (29 June) at Haven Street to C.S. Horne at nominal rents. Gave £500 to Richmond Hill Congregational Church, Bournemouth; J.D. Jones, *Three Score Years and Ten* (1940), 88, a reference I owe to Dr Binfield.
- June Held a garden party for 2,000 at Longford Hall, set on foot the Forward Movement in Manchester and Salford, and gave £25,000 to Manchester Congregationalists; *Lancashire Congregational Year Book*, 1907, 189.
- 6 December Added a first codicil to her second will.
- 1907 Purchased the 'Cheshire Cheese' property in Wood Street, for use as the site for a future store for half a million books for the John Rylands Library. Allowed her name to head the fund to remove the debt of £2,566 on the Lancashire Independent College, with a

- gift of £100; Lancashire Independent College, *Report for 1908*, 49.
- 13 September Death of James Arnold Green (1860–1907), her sole agent in the purchase of books and governor of the John Rylands Library (1899–1901), before resigning on account of ill health.
- 9 December Statue of Mrs Rylands unveiled in the John Rylands Library by her brother; *Manchester City News*, 14 December 1907, 3iii.
- 1908 Bought the site for Manchester Congregational Church House for £14,300 and presented it to the Manchester Congregationalists, with £10,000 or half the cost of construction of the building.
- 4 February Died at Torquay, at the age of 64.
- 7 February Service at Torquay conducted by the Revd J. Charteris Johnston; *Torquay Times*, 15 February 1908.
- 9 February Memorial service at Chorlton Road Congregational Church.
- 10 February Funeral service at Chorlton Road Congregational Church, addressed by the Revd C.S. Horne and followed by cremation.
- 1914 7 September Death of her twin brother, S.J. Tennant, a director of Rylands & Sons Ltd. from 1901, an original trustee, a life-governor and honorary treasurer of the John Rylands Library.
- 1924 28 September Death of E.G. Duff at Oxford.
- 1927 31 May Death of Leocadia F. Morison, her youngest sister, at South Kensington.
- 1928 14 August Death of Fanny S. Hockett at Gstaad.