1. \(14.\text{z.C.} - 15.\overline{9} = 71.9\) 
2. \(20.\text{z.C.} - 18.\overline{9} = 102.9\) 
3. \(26.\overline{3} - 10\text{z.C.} = 9.\overline{3} - 10\text{z.C.} = 213.9\) 
4. \(19.\overline{2}.\text{z.C.} - 192.\overline{9} = 10\text{z.C.} - 1089 = 19\text{z.C.}\) 
5. \(18.\text{z.C.} - 24.\overline{9} = 8.\overline{3} - 2.\overline{z.C.}\) 
6. \(34\text{z.C.} - 12\text{z.C.} = 40\text{z.C.} = 4809 - 9.\overline{3}\) 

7. In the frite there appeareth. 2. numbers, that is 14.\text{z.C.}
From the Librarian

After Issue 4 which was a refurbishment special, this year’s Insight, with the exception of our final article, which gives readers a preview of the new library building, has reverted back to the traditional collections based content.

The front cover of this issue depicts the bookcase made last summer in the College Joinery by our talented colleague Paul Farnes to house the mathematics books previously stored in the Tunnel. The books were conserved last year with a generous donation from Dr Jacqueline Stedall, who very sadly passed away in September 2014. Conservator Lucy Crombie has described in detail the work she carried out on the collection to restore so many of the books which Jackie, a contributor to the first issue of Insight in 2011, used to such good effect in her research and teaching.

The article by Aoife O’Gorman concentrates on our World War One collection which has become the focus of interest during the current centenary period.

Aoife’s article is an overview of pamphlet propaganda concentrating on the Queen’s collection, a large proportion of which originally belonged to William Sanday, the Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Christ Church who became fascinated by the First World War and, on his death in 1920, donated it to Queen’s together with his collection of theological pamphlets.

Last August we passed a milestone in the Library when Paul Ivanovic, who had worked in Queen’s as our Rare Books Cataloguer for ten years, completed the project to catalogue all of our pre-1820 early printed books, some 38,000 records. Paul has now moved on to work in another college library but I am delighted that as a celebration of his great achievement he agreed to write an article about some of his favourite books in Queen’s.

Mahruba Mowtushi’s article on the archive of Prince Akiki K Nyabongo explores Nyabongo’s literary career and his development as student of East African studies. Nyabongo, a Ugandan Prince, was a Rhodes Scholar at Queen’s in the 1930s and went on to a varied political and literary career. His archive lay undiscovered in a large cardboard box in a top cupboard in the Lower Library for many years but has now been sorted, boxed and made accessible to scholars and I am delighted that this fascinating collection of material is beginning to be explored.

For the final article this year I asked Stuart Cade and Mandy Franz from Rick Mather Architects to provide a brief overview of the design strategy for the new library building which started on site at the end of June. Their article includes a number of images of the planned new library which I hope will whet your appetites for the exciting developments about to take place.

As always, in addition to my gratitude to all the contributors I am most grateful to my colleague, Lynette Dobson, who has compiled the Newsletter for us and taken many of the photographs.

If you have ideas for future articles or indeed would like to contribute, please contact me at amanda.saville@queens.ox.ac.uk.

Amanda Saville, Librarian, June 2015

Inside this issue:

The conservation of The Queen’s College mathematics collection: a gift from Dr Jacqueline Stedall, Fellow
Lucy Crombie

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A few selected attractions from the Queen’s College antiquarian collection: touching on architecture, city life, medicine, Shakespeare and torture. Paul Ivanovic

Lost and Found: the Akiki Nyabongo Archive at Queen’s College, Oxford
Mahruba Mowtushi

The Queen’s College New Library
Stuart Cade and Mandy Franz
Last year Dr Jacqueline Stedall, Senior Research Fellow in the History of Mathematics, made a generous gift to provide for the conservation of the collection of mathematical texts in the College’s library. The Queen’s mathematics collection is a varied one, including twentieth century texts alongside a notable assemblage of much earlier monographs from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In 2011 Dr Stedall explained the significance of these early printed mathematical texts in an article for this magazine:

...the foundations of modern mathematical notation were laid down in a surprisingly short time from the mid-sixteenth to the late-seventeenth century, a period for which Queen’s owns a particularly fine collection of texts.

Dr Stedall made great use of the collection in her own research, as well as for teaching undergraduate students, and was conscious that many were damaged and in a highly vulnerable condition. Years of handling and use, combined with storage in the hot and dry conditions of the Tunnel beneath Queen’s Back Quadrangle, meant many volumes were suffering from severe leather degradation and its ensuing problems, such as detached boards or damaged spines.

The conservation work funded by Dr Stedall aimed to return as many volumes as possible to a condition in which they could be safely used and handled by readers, prioritising texts of special interest to readers and bindings of particular significance. It also addressed the future preservation of the collection as a whole, looking at improving housing and storage of the volumes. As the conservator working on the collection, in this article I outline the main focuses of the project, and look at some of the bindings repaired and some of the conservation techniques employed.

Over forty volumes were selected for interventive conservation treatment as part of the project. More than half of this number were bindings requiring reattachment of one or more of the book boards. This problem, as noted above, was commonly caused by deterioration of the leather covering. Leather deterioration also greatly limits the options for treatment: it is obviously desirable to preserve as much of the original material as possible, and for many of these volumes any significant attempt to lift their powdery, flaky leather coverings and gain the access necessary for a substantial repair could only have resulted in further damage to the very material we were trying to save.
For the majority of books, board reattachment was achieved using a combination of internal and external hinges of cloth and paper, as this involved minimal disturbance of the leather (see figures 3 – 5). By lifting only a small portion of the leather at head and tail of the spine, material can be adhered across the spine to provide a new attachment for the board. A strip of material is also added along the edge of the spine, creating a more substantial hinge onto which the board might be attached. The loose edge of the hinge is adhered under the leather on the edge of the board. The combination of cloth and a strong, long-fibred Japanese paper creates a remarkably strong attachment. As shown in figures 2 – 4, the paper can also be toned to the colour of the leather to make the repair unobtrusive.

A reattachment technique known as ‘board slotting’ was used on a smaller group of hollow-back bindings included in the selection for treatment. This method is perhaps even more expedient than a paper or cloth hinge when trying to avoid disturbance of a vulnerable leather covering, but requires that the leather spine covering is not directly adhered to the spine structure and is free to flex away from the spine when the book is opened, as with the hollow-back style of binding that became common in the nineteenth century. Treatment involves the use of a specially designed machine to cut a small slot in the edge of the detached board. The spine piece is detached, and toned cloth is both glued and sewn to the spine structure. The edges of the cloth are inserted into the slot in the board edge, reattaching the board without having to lift or unsettle the leather covering, before finally the spine piece is replaced over the repair. Figures 6 and 7 show one of the bindings repaired using this method.

Of those books not requiring board reattachment, several early parchment bindings needed
treatment for significant damage to their covering skin. One of these volumes was a copy of John Wallis’ *De algebra tractatis* (Queen’s MM.a.63) printed by the University Press in Oxford (where it was presumably also bound) in 1693. As shown in figure 8 above, the parchment covering had been severely affected by heat and light degradation across the spine; it had become brittle to the point of cracking and had already lost significant areas. Repair and consolidation of the damaged areas was vital to prevent further deterioration and loss. The curled-up, broken edges of the damaged parchment were lightly humidified to enable them to soften and lie flat. With the skin more pliable and cooperative, it was then possible to support the damage from underneath, inserting material to which the broken areas could be adhered and held in place. Japanese paper was used for the repair rather than parchment, which might have pulled uncomfortably on the original material as it too distorted organically with age. Layers of paper were laminated together to achieve a weight and body similar to that of the parchment, and toned so that the areas of repair would blend into the spine. As is visible in figure 9, two distinct shades were required to achieve this due to the natural variation in the colour of the original parchment around the two areas of loss.

Not just parchment, but also various paper bindings were amongst the volumes included in the project. Some of these were perhaps the most interesting volumes worked on in terms of the bindings themselves. Figures 10 and 11 show a copy of Edward Waring’s *Miscellanea analytica*, published in Cambridge in 1762 (Queen’s MM.a.236). The simple binding with boards of
temporary nature of these bindings means examples today are relatively rare. In terms of conservation, the challenge is to preserve the essential ephemerality of the cover, whilst making sure it is stable and not at risk of further deterioration. To prevent the loss of further fragments from the fragile spine of MM.a.236, the damaged areas were lifted and re-adhered over a layer of sympathetically toned Japanese paper, effectively consolidating the spine covering (see figure 12).

The four volumes of *Opuscules mathematiques* by Jean Le Rond d'Alembert (shelfmarks MM.a.231 – 234; see figures 13 and 14) were printed in Paris only a year before Waring's *Analytica*. Contrarily, the paper bindings of this set were probably intended to be permanent. The distinctive style of these bindings is known as 'lapped component' or rigid case binding, and was common throughout the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries in Germany and to a lesser extent in other European countries. Structurally the binding technique has similarities with the modern day case binding, in that the cover and textblock are made separately. It additionally features a stiff spine formed by moulding thick paper around the textblock. The set in Queen's collection is in typical in having decorative coverings of handmade paste paper, and edges stained with a bright red pigment. More unusual is that as well as the primary covering, these volumes have an additional, loose 'dust jacket' made from a matching paper. For three of the volumes, this secondary covering was in a state of disrepair that allowed for observation of the waste paper laminated to its underside (see figure 14). The discovery of what appeared to be German newprint was perhaps unsurprising given the most common provenance of the binding style, however, further examination also revealed French manuscript waste in the papers laminated to form the stiff spine piece, making it impossible to arrive at any definite conclusions about where this French publication was finally bound. Treatment of the loose covers was kept as simple as possible, with toned Japanese paper adhered from underneath to repair the tears in the paper (see figure 15).

Here I have presented just some examples of the practical conservation carried out as part of the project. Equally as important as the treatment of individual volumes were the measures taken to address the preservation of the mathematics collection more generally. The College provided for new shelving to be built in the Upper Library that would allow the majority of the MM.a. shelfmarks and the HS.a. shelfmarks to be shelved together for the first time. Relocation from the unpropitious conditions of the Tunnel into the
Upper Library will in itself be hugely beneficial for the collection, and with the construction of the new library building the remainder of the collection will soon too be removed into a much improved environment. The move also provided an opportunity to clean and check every single book for damage. Many minor repairs were carried out in situ, for example, loose or lifting labels were pasted down, and vulnerable fragments of leather were secured. Many bindings were treated with the leather consolidant ‘Klucel G’ to prevent further deterioration of powdery or flaking leather. Finally, all volumes thought to require additional protection were provided with shoes or boxes as appropriate.

It has been a great pleasure for me to be able to work on this collection over the last year, and I would like to thank all the team at the Oxford Conservation Consortium, where the conservation was carried out, for their help and patient advice. I hope that in combination, the practical conservation work, refurbishment and improvements to housing will help to safeguard a collection whose importance Jacqueline Stedall recognised and valued.

Lucy Crombie trained at Camberwell College of Arts where she gained and FdA and MA in book and paper conservation. She has worked on projects at the Wellcome Trust and the College of Arms. Recent work at the Oxford Conservation Consortium included a project to conserve the early music manuscript collection at Christ Church, funded by the National Manuscripts Conservation Trust.

In memoriam
Dr Jacqueline Stedall
1950-2014

The war of ideas

Aoife S. O’Gorman
Balliol College, Oxford

Last August marked 100 years since the outbreak of the First World War, and the Centenary was commemorated all over the world, on a local, national and international scale, just as the War itself affected individuals, communities, and nations. Oxford was hit hard by the War, as students went off to the Front, and colleges transformed for war work, some housing officer training battalions (such as Balliol and Exeter), some converting to hospitals (Somerville, Merton and Univ), and some taking on the students of other colleges (Oriel took the students of Somerville, much to the delight of the gentlemen left behind!). Queen’s was one of eight colleges to house cadets and mechanics from the Royal Flying Corps, which took over a number of University buildings in 1915. Though none of the colleges closed, the numbers were much reduced – in 1917, with only 100 Freshmen, the number of new students in the University was at its lowest since the Civil War.

But while the streets bustled with nurses and soldiers, and the quads echoed to the clump of army boots instead of the swish of academic gowns, what became of the academics left behind? Some certainly opposed the War, and were ostracised for their views. The case of F.C.
Conybeare is famous – one of Oxford’s leading theologians, his injudicious comments on Sir Edward Grey and responsibility for the War in a letter to a German colleague were published in the American press in 1914 and provoked an outcry among his peers. Others felt passionate about the causes for which Britain claimed to be fighting, but were too old to fight. Motivated by a strong desire to ‘do their bit’ for the War effort, some, such as the Professor of English, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Gilbert Murray, Regius Professor of Greek, joined the Volunteer Training Corps, practising skirmishes and parades in the early morning, ready to face a potential German invasion. Others, unable to wield a bayonet, turned to their pens.

The First World War was fought on land, at sea, and in the air. The Somme, U-Boats, and the Red Baron have passed not only into history, but into popular culture as well. Yet the war of ideas was also important, and the men behind those ideas were the intellectual elites. For the first time in history, governments on both sides of the conflict created propaganda departments, specifically targeting the population at home, the men at the front, neutral powers, and the enemy; loudly proclaiming the justness of their cause, the perfidy of the enemy, and insidiously whispering the impossibility of the task before their opponents. With no television or radio, and film in its early stages, propaganda was disseminated in public speeches and lectures, posters, newspapers, and pamphlets. Though the Governments were frequently involved in its creation, a number of independent groups in the main belligerent countries produced and disseminated their own pamphlets and papers, discussing the causes of the War, encouraging recruitment, maintaining morale, reporting on battles, and planning for the future. Religious groups and academics, pacifists and parliamentarians all turned their attention to writing about the War as their way of making a difference – be that in aiding the war effort, or trying to promote peace.

Queen’s College has a remarkable collection of such documents providing a wonderful source for scholars of the Home Front, with pamphlets hailing from Britain, Germany and France. These were the gift of Professor William Sanday, an eminent theologian, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity and Canon of Christ Church College. Born in 1843, Sanday was 71 when the War broke out, and was deeply interested in the plethora of pamphlets which proliferated from the beginning of the conflict, stating:

Since the war began there has been on this side [of] the water quite a remarkable output of books and pamphlets, the object of which is to help the nation to a stronger grasp and fuller understanding of its own mission in the world; of the principles for which it stands, and ought to stand; of the significance of its past history and its outlook towards the future; of its relations with other nations and theirs with it.

He himself contributed to the collection, writing throughout the War, with The deeper causes of the War for the Oxford Pamphlets series in 1914, The meaning of the War for Germany and Great Britain, published by the Clarendon Press in 1915, and When should the War end? for the Evangelical Information Committee in 1917 (figure 3). He was also an avid reader of the views of his opponents, quoting their work in his own, and attempting to respond to their arguments. Given the alliance with France, French works would have been relatively easy to obtain, they could be ordered directly, or sent back by acquaintances in France. German texts were harder to get hold of, though it was not impossible (as Sanday’s rather large collection proves). Though we cannot be sure of the exact routes the pamphlets took to reach Sanday, we do know that correspondence between former colleagues was occasionally sent through the Netherlands and Switzerland, with neutral friends acting as go-betweens, and some of Sanday’s pamphlets were sent to Germany in this way. It is not unlikely that German pamphlets would have taken a similar route, and we should bear in mind that pamphlets were openly sent into neutral countries. It seems doubtful that the
The war of ideas

authorities would be overly concerned about censoring literature defending their own cause, though critics would presumably face harsher restrictions, not only in dissemination but in publication.

This brings us back to what the Dons did during the War. Oxford University Press was very involved in the War effort, and despite labour shortages due to the 356 workers away at the Front, those left behind devoted themselves to publishing war literature alongside the usual output of the Press. The first major publication was in September 1914, a book written by six members of the Oxford History Faculty, entitled *Why we are at war: Great Britain’s case*. Using diplomatic documents and Government reports, the authors aimed to investigate the ‘true’ causes of the War, coming, unsurprisingly, to the conclusion that Britain was not to blame, and had no choice but to intervene in the conflict. Nevertheless, they sought to examine the evidence impartially, including many of their source documents in appendices, and treating the matter in a scholarly fashion.

This approach would set the tone for the series of ‘Oxford Pamphlets’ which followed. Published by Oxford University Press, the series comprised 87 pamphlets when publication ceased, all written by academics or intellectuals. They dealt with a wide variety of topics, from H.W.C. Davis’ accounts of battles in Belgium and Northern France in the early days of the conflict (*The retreat from Mons* and *The battles of the Marne and Aisne*, both 1914), to Sir William Osler’s call to soldiers in *Bacilli and bullets* (1914), encouraging them to get vaccinated before going out to the trenches (figure 4). Initially, the pamphlets dealt with issues surrounding the outbreak of War, but as the fighting continued, the authors turned to wider subjects, examining the history of belligerent nations, economic concerns, and even indulged in flights of fancy, such as Ernest Barker’s *All for Germany* (published anonymously in 1914), which parodied Voltaire’s *Candide*, or Laurence Binyon’s *Bombastes in the shades* (1914-15), a play which featured a German sergeant, a medieval French knight, the German poet Heine, Socrates, and Queen Elizabeth!

Other pamphlets focused on the idea of the ‘barbaric German’, presenting tales of atrocities committed by German soldiers in Belgium and Northern France, denouncing a supposedly civilized nation for the actions of her people. Many of the British authors drew on the famous Bryce Report, published in May 1915 by the British Government following an inquiry conducted by a Committee of eminent legal experts, and which confirmed the reports of horrific acts supposedly being committed by German troops. French propagandists referenced these atrocities too, and Joseph Bédier’s *How Germany seeks to justify her atrocities* (1915) was a prime example, using extracts from German diaries taken from prisoners of war to prove that horrible acts had been committed by German troops (figure 5). Published in January 1915, Bédier’s pamphlet was translated and distributed around the world in an effort to highlight German actions and convince neutral countries that the Entente were in the right. The French arguments surrounding the outbreak of war were more straightforward than those of Britain and Germany – it was obvious that France had been invaded, and that the French people were defending their homeland, there was no need for more complex arguments, although...
these certainly developed, and a number of prominent French intellectuals like the sociologist Emile Durkheim and the philosopher Henri Bergson contributed to the international debate.

Of course, the Germans were just as prolific as their Entente opponents, and the professors of Friedrich Wilhelm University in Berlin were quick to respond to the outbreak of War, organising a series of public speeches which were later collected and published as a series under the title Deutsche Reden in schwerer Zeit ('German Speeches in Difficult Times' - figure 7). Addressing not only their colleagues and students, these speeches were published with the aim of providing hope and inspiration, both to civilians at home and soldiers at the Front, reminding the German people of the greatness of their nation, and of the glorious destiny that lay before them when the War was won. Though their bias was obvious, and therefore unsuited to distribution abroad, a number of the pamphlets found their way to the Queen’s collection, and provide a valuable resource for the historian examining public opinion in Germany during the War. Other intellectuals contributed to another series, Der Deutsche Krieg ('The German War'), which counted well-known names such as the historian Arnold Oskar Meyer, and the journalist Paul Rohrbach amongst its authors.

The subjects of propaganda on both sides were wide and varied, evolving as time went on. Initially, pamphlets focused on the causes of the War, each side trying to convince their own people, and potentially sympathetic neutral powers that they were not to blame. As the War continued, and pamphlets proliferated, many turned to more abstract issues, such as the history of the belligerent nations, economic and legal aspects of the conflict, and plans for the future of Europe (and the world!) after the War. There were, of course, still denunciations of the evil enemy, but these were published alongside Christian pleas for tolerance and understanding, social Darwinistic justifications of War, and passionate vindications of German Kultur or
A few selected attractions from the Queen’s College antiquarian collection

British culture, central European Zivilisation or western civilisation.

The pamphlets were also far from unanimous, even within the same series. While one author in the Oxford Pamphlets could place the blame for the War firmly on the shoulders of a Prussian military caste, another would denounce the German nation as a whole. Similarly, German authors were divided on who to blame for the conflict, veering between France, Russia and Britain, depending on the preferences and prejudices of each individual author. This shows us the degree of autonomy granted to those writing and publishing the pamphlets by those in power – whether because Governments wished to disguise their involvement, or because they really were not that involved is another question!

I am using the collection at Queen’s for my research on British and German academic propaganda during the War, but its sheer variety makes it a valuable resource for a much wider group. Given the diversity of contributors and subjects, the collection’s potential is limited only in how much time you have to study it.

1 For those interested, Malcolm Graham’s Oxford in the Great War (Pen and Sword Military, 2014) gives a useful brief overview of town and gown during the War.
2 The Times, 8 Oct 1917, MS Top. Oxon d. 664.
4 Sanday, The meaning of the War for Germany and Great Britain and Germany, Clarendon Press, 1915, p17.
5 As letters to Sanday held in the Bodleian show, e.g. MS. Eng. Misc. d. 124/1, fol.44-58.

Aoife O’Gorman is a D.Phil Candidate in History at Balliol College, Oxford. Her thesis examines academic propaganda in Germany and Britain in the First World War, with a particular focus on Oxford and Berlin in the early years of the War.

A few selected attractions from the Queen’s College antiquarian collection:

- touching on architecture, city life,
- medicine, Shakespeare and torture.

Paul Ivanovic
Former Queen’s Rare Books Cataloguer

Proclamations

This is intended as an accessible and stimulating article that has contemporary resonance. I start with the impressive number of Tudor and Stuart proclamations in the Queen’s collection which treat a wide range of subjects and testify to enduring human concerns. They reveal problems which one might consider to be of far more recent origin. The proclamations were called out, read or announced from the pulpit, and they constituted one of the important ways a monarch might communicate with his or her subjects. Generally they are not overly long, clustering around one to
three sheets in length (a paper sheet being around 30 cm plus in height and printed on one side only). In order to do justice to the range of subjects covered, I have decided to refer to several, giving shelf marks in parentheses (as I have done with all the antiquarian works cited) in order to facilitate their use and encourage interest.

The longest proclamation in the collection is *A proclamation concerning soape and soape-makers* [Sel.b.229(75)], published in 1634. At 11 sheets it is relatively self-explanatory and deals with the regulation of the soap trade. However, the length is its only remarkable feature.

In contrast, there is the fascinating *A proclamation prohibiting the use of the net or engine, called a trawle* [Sel.b.229(96)], dated 1635, which states:

> ... taking into consideration the great destruction made of fish, by a net or engine, now called a trawle ... whereby not only small and unsized fish but even the fry, and spawne, are utterly destroyed ... by the destruction thereof, there hath been a greater scarcitie of fish than in former times ...

Further 17th century publications indicate that this shortage of fish was short-lived, although in modern times it is again a pressing concern.

Transport, a more prosaic concern, is duly represented in a number of proclamations. There is, for example, *A proclamation to restraine the excessive carriages in wagons, and four-wheeled carts to the destruction of high-ways* (1618) [Selb.232(51)]. And, of course, the eternal problem of congestion: *A proclamation for the restraint of the multitude, and promiscuous use of coaches, about London and Westminster* (1636) [Sel.b.229(94)].

Depending on your point of view, lighter subjects raised in proclamations include the pricing of wines, variously spelt as the “prising” or “prizing” of wines, such as Sel.b.236(9) in 1667, and Sel.b.243(79) in 1687. Also, poor behaviour by the public is featured in Sel.b.239(59) dated 1670:

> Whereas complaint hath been made unto us, that divers persons do rudely press, and with evil language and blows force their way into our Royal Theatre ... and at times of their public presentations ... without paying the prices established ...

Thus the proclamations cover an extraordinary range of subjects. Those not hitherto mentioned include fasts, thanksgivings (often for military victories), the scourge of papists, the quartering of the army, the pay and pressing of sailors, patents, crime and highwaymen, treason, and cancellation of fairs due to coronations or plagues.

The Great Fire of London is the subject of several proclamations, for example *A proclamation for the keeping of markets to supply the city of London with provisions ...* (1666) [Sel.b.236(2)] and *A proclamation touching the charitable collections for relief of the poor distressed by the late dismal fire in the city of London* (1668) [Sel.b.236(32)]. These documents indicate how disruptive, widespread and long-lived the effects of the fire were on the inhabitants of the city of London.

**The history of St Paul’s cathedral**

One of the buildings “irreparably” damaged during the Great Fire of London was the Old St. Paul’s...
A few selected attractions from the Queen’s College antiquarian collection

Cathedral. The history of St. Paul’s Cathedral in London, from its foundation until these times (1658) [52.D.4], written by William Dugdale, was given by the author to the Queen’s College Fellow and politician Joseph Williamson (1633-1701) and was subsequently donated to the Library. The impressiveness and majesty of the old cathedral is captured by many elegantly engraved plates, two of which are reproduced on the left (figures 1-2). One wishes, perhaps, that more effort had been expended to save the old structure before the decision was made to build Sir Christopher Wren’s existing cathedral.

The Nuremberg chronicle

The Liber chronicarum or Nuremberg chronicle (1493) [Sel.a.193] by Hartmann Schedel (1440-1514) is a conflation of secular and religious history from the creation to contemporary times. It includes 1809 illustrations, many repeated from 645 original woodcuts. There are generic kings and queens and many of the 116 city views are imaginary, and are repeated to represent different places. “Paris” is shown above (figure 3), but the same illustration is also used for Treviso. However, 28 of the illustrations derive from sketches and prints, suggesting a growing interest in realism and travel. The Liber chronicarum has been described as one of the first geography books to successfully integrate illustrations and text.

It is ironic a similar book today might be far more accurate. One could argue that there are diminishing differences between cityscapes with the advent of trans-national business chains and celebrity architects working globally.

Shakespeare’s First Folio

The Queen’s College Library is fortunate to possess a copy of the First Folio of Shakespeare [Sel.b.203]. John Heminge and Henry Condell were both actors and sharers in the King’s Men theatre company. They were jointly responsible for the 1623 publication of the 36 plays of Shakespeare in a single folio volume (known as the First Folio). It was a literary landmark in being the first folio published in England which was exclusively devoted to plays. The works of Beniamin Ionson, also a folio, was published in 1616, but does not solely contain plays. Previously, the folio format had been reserved for works of a more serious nature. However, given the scale of the undertaking of the First Folio, a smaller format would not have lent itself to a single volume publication. Two of Shakespeare’s plays were not included, Pericles and The two noble kinsmen, and one has not survived, namely Cardenio. It is possible these plays were excluded from the collection because they were not considered substantive works of Shakespeare. Evidence suggests that Pericles was the result of a collaboration with George Wilkins, and it is known that Two noble kinsmen was the product of a collaboration with John Fletcher. However, if that is the case, it is surprising another collaboration with John Fletcher, namely Henry VIII, was included. Eighteen of the plays, including such famous plays as The Tempest, Twelfth night, Coriolanus, Macbeth and Julius Caesar, had no print existence prior to their publication in the First Folio and therefore owe their survival to this collection.

The sources of the texts for the First Folio seem to have been mixed, including printed quartos, manuscripts and author’s papers, and are the subject of much scholarly debate. Printing of the folio appears to have started in February/March 1622 and to have been completed by the end of the following year. The printing time seems to have been prolonged by other major printing jobs which also occupied Jaggard’s print shop at this time. The number of copies printed has been estimated to be between 750-1500; more modern estimates favour the lower figure, with approximately 230 extant. The print estimates are based on financial considerations, technical reasons (the need of the print-shop to balance type composition and presswork) and publication history (the fact that a
second edition, the Second Folio, was produced nine years later).

Queen’s College Library is fortunate not only to possess the First Folio (1623), but also the Second Folio (1632) [Sel.b.204], the Third Folio (1664, also issued in 1663) [Sel.b.205], and the Fourth Folio (1685) [Sel.b.206]. Pericles was printed for the first time in the 1664 Third Folio issue along with several other apocryphal plays. Interestingly, the Third Folio survives in relatively few numbers and it is thought many copies were lost in the Great Fire of London in 1666.

The First Folio is one of the most extensively examined books in history, primarily because of the detailed analysis by Charlton Hinman. Using a self-devised collating machine, he followed the appearances of repeatedly used damaged type pieces throughout the text by examining the 82 Shakespeare Folger Library First Folio copies, and was able to produce an extremely detailed, if dry, print history.

With regard to the copy details of the Queen’s First Folio there is much one can say but I will be brief. The Queen’s First Folio was rebound in gilt-tooled red Morocco by Francis Bedford (1799-1883) and John Clarke. It bears the bookplates of actor David Garrick (1717-1779), Thomas Jolley, and Queen’s benefactor Robert Mason (died 1841). The text is clean and in excellent condition, though Sidney Lee in his “Census” was not impressed. The only significant imperfection is the loss of the leaf facing the title-page, bearing Ben Jonson’s poem To the Reader, which has been supplied in facsimile.

The most exciting feature of the Queen’s College copy is said to be a preserved marked-up proofsheet – a page in King Lear (page 295), showing errors to be corrected.

An idea of the many differences between First Folios is apparent from the reproductions of the British Museum First Folio and the Queen’s College First Folio shown left (figures 4-5). The First Folios are both opened at the beginning of Hamlet.
Medical texts

The early medical collection in the Queen’s College Library is principally a result of the donations of Sir John Floyer (1649-1734), who donated around 200 volumes, and the far less well-known Theophilus Metcalfe (1690-1757), a general practitioner, who donated around 1100 volumes. Sir John Floyer is best known for his advocacy of cold water bathing, the first major treatise in English on diseases of old age, his works on asthma (he was a sufferer) and emphysema, and his pioneering studies on pulse rate measurements. Space permits brief mention of only a few of many noteworthy medical works.

A compleat body of chirurgical operations, containing the whole practice of surgery. With observations and remarks on each case. Amongst which are inserted, the several ways of delivering women in natural and unnatural labours ... by M. de La Vauguion, (1699) [NN.s.4240] is one of the books donated by Metcalfe. It includes a section “Of the Caesarean Birth” and surprisingly clearly indicates why such surgery was often fatal at this time:

Place the woman on her back, and then make a longitudinal incision below the navel ... till you lay the womb bare ... then open the membranes which contain the foetus, and bring both it and the burthen away ... make a suture of the belly, as in its proper place was directed, without stitching the womb at all.

It is unclear why a physician would not suture the womb as it is one of the most vascular organs in the human body, and not doing so almost certainly dooms the woman to death by blood loss. In the early history of the caesarean, such surgeries were only conducted when the woman had already died in an attempt to save the child or as a final resort in an attempt to save mother and child, given the excessively high mortality rate. It was not until the late 18th century that a surgeon reported suturing the womb following a caesarean section, saving both the mother and child, and despite this received much criticism.

Wounds of the brain (1682) [Sel.f.126] by James Yonge (1647-1721) describes the treatment of a four year old boy injured when a farm gate he was climbing over fell on him and whose head was “crushed between a pin of wood projecting from the gate and a small stone on the ground.”

Despite the penetrating injuries with brain matter issuing from the wounds, the boy survived following medical treatment. One of the three illustrations in the text is the gate itself (shown below, figure 6) with a second illustration showing the significant piece of bone (life-sized) the boy lost from his skull.

Yonge was clearly a very talented and versatile doctor as he worked as a naval surgeon and significantly improved surgical technique with the flap amputation, using a long flap of skin to cover the stump of the injured limb.

Another earlier surgical pioneer represented in the Queen’s collection is Ambroise Paré (ca. 1510–1590) who reintroduced the ligature of arteries, essentially forgotten since Galen (AD 129-ca. 200), in place of cauterization during amputation, which both improved results and saved lives. Paré also worked on fairly sophisticated, if unwieldy, prostheses as illustrated below (figure 7).

A general martyrologie

The plate below (figure 8) is one of twelve graphic illustrations of torture in Samuel Clarke’s A general martyrologie, containing a collection of all the greatest persecutions which have befallen the church of Christ, from the creation, to our present times; wherein is given an exact account of the protestant sufferings in Queen Maries Reign (London, third edition 1671) [8.B.20]. A popular work, originally published in 1651, it is almost entirely derived from John Foxe’s Actes and monuments (1563), popularly known as
Foxe’s Book of martyrs. To the modern eye these cartoonish images of depraved violence may evoke uneasy feelings of horror and humour, as many are so excessive as to be obviously imagined. For example, one sketch (not shown here) depicts a mother hanging with her daughter being hanged from her long hair – the physics of cruelty seeming startlingly unrealistic.

A final word

The digitisation of many early printed works means that those consulting them are often interested in bindings, print history or provenance in the form of, for example, bookplates and manuscript additions. The illustrations below (figures 9-10) are from The Queen’s College copy of An account of the musical performances in Westminster-Abbey and the Pantheon, by Charles Burney (1785) [XX.z.22] which is rich in provenance information. The bookplate (“To my book”) is charming in its directness.

The availability of online texts does not diminish the future importance or value of the antiquarian collection in the Queen’s College Library. There are many differences between individual copies of an early printed work, they physically connect you to the past, and many people prefer working with physical volumes.

This antiquarian project was a rewarding experience. I am very grateful to all my colleagues on the Early Printed Books Project and at The Queen’s College, and the many other colleges where I worked, for their cooperation, encouragement and support throughout.

The printing and proof-reading of the first folio of Shakespeare, Charlton Hinman (1963).

Sidney Lee’s ... A census of extant copies with some account of their history and condition [of the First Folio] was first published in 1902, listing 158 copies, and updated in 1906, listing 172 copies. This publication was the first census of the First Folio and indeed of any book. In 2003, Anthony James West produced an updated census The Shakespeare First Folio: the history of the book. Volume II: A worldwide census of First Folios. Another valuable reference is Shakespeare in print: a history and chronology of Shakespeare publishing, Andrew Murphy (2003).


The antiquarian works cited in this article published before 1700, in English or English speaking countries, are available, in full text, via Early English Books Online (EBBO): http://eebo.chadwyck.com/

The 18th century work cited is available, in full text, via Eighteenth Century Collections Online (EECO): http://find.galegroup.com/eeco/

Both these databases are only accessible via subscribing institutions.

The Liber chronicarum or Nuremberg chronicle (1493) is available in full text via The World Digital Library (WDL). Their website states: “The WDL makes available on the Internet, free of charge and in multilingual format, significant primary materials from all countries and cultures”: http://www.wdl.org/en/

Lost and found: the Akiki Nyabongo Archive at The Queen’s College, Oxford

Mahruba Mowtushi
King’s College, London

In 1936, the Ugandan Prince of the Toro Kingdom, Akiki Hosea Nyabongo (1907-1975), then completing a thesis on Ugandan religious customs at Queen’s College, Oxford, is said to have sent a letter to the Bengali poet Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) in his seminary in west Bengal, Shantiniketan, requesting him to translate a poem which Tagore had composed on Africa. Nyabongo, who had just published the previous year his first novel, The story of an African chief (later re-titled into Africa answers back), made the appeal on the grounds that he was desirous of fellow Africans to have the chance to read this poem. Tagore did not hesitate either to reply to Nyabongo’s letter or to comply with his request. In May 7, 1937, The Spectator published ‘To Africa’, the English version of the original poem in Bengali, translated as promised, by Tagore himself. Written in protest to Benito Mussolini’s invasion of Ethiopia (then Abyssinia) in October 3, 1935, the morally charged language in Tagore’s poem critiques the application of organized violence by European imperial forces on a feminized and traumatized African continent.

Subsequent research on this short-lived but intriguing exchange between these two scholars, who never had the chance to meet in person but interacted through the exchange of letters,
brought me to the attention of the recently recovered papers belonging to Nyabongo in the 1930s by the head librarian, Amanda Saville, at the Queen’s College Library. My interest in Nyabongo and Tagore has developed from a much broader interest in the Bengali-east African literary exchanges as well as research on how the idea of ‘Africa’ figures in a selection of Bengali works produced during the first half of the twentieth century. For both Tagore and Nyabongo, the 1930s were a critical time, marked by important personal, political and literary developments that inform my current interest in the Akiki Nyabongo archive.

While there is a large body of critical scholarship that examines the lives and works of scholars from east Africa who were writing at around the same period, no sustained study has, as of yet been produced on the corpus of Nyabongo’s writings. This paucity may be partly accounted for by the fact that most of his fictional works have not been available in print save for his first (and to date, the only published) novel, together with a collection of short stories called The Bisoro stories. Up until the recovery of the personal papers and documents belonging to Nyabongo at Queen’s, I personally did not know much about this elusive scholar. However, as becomes apparent from even a cursory glance at his personal papers, he is an important figure to study, who, as a student of social anthropology and a cultural historian of early twentieth century Uganda, is known to have had wide ranging transoceanic interactions and collaborations with formative thinkers in Africa, Britain and the United States.

It should be born in mind that the creative and often critical bend of Nyabongo’s writing style and the diversity of works produced in the 1930s bear a direct relationship to his transatlantic experience of travel which made possible subsequent affiliations with African-American scholars such as W.E.B. Du Bois as well as diasporic black intellectuals in England and the Caribbean, including figures like George Padmore, Marcus Garvey, Jomo Kenyatta and Paul Robeson, the renowned American singer and leading activist championing the cause of black movements in the United States.

The Akiki Nyabongo archive at Queen’s College Library holds an impressive collection of documents carefully divided into personal letters, manuscripts of unpublished novels and short stories, lectures and speeches, and several anonymous photographs, which belonged to Nyabongo while he was completing a DPhil at the College. The collection also includes a copy of Nyabongo’s DPhil thesis titled ‘The religious practices and beliefs of Uganda’ (1939) which critiques the British anthropologist Lucy Mair’s ethnographic study on Buganda in An African people in the twentieth century (1934). The bulk of Nyabongo’s works dating from the 1930s, which examine different aspects of Ugandan life under colonial government, can be divided into three permissible sections with evident overlaps: these are, his enquiry into the anthropological, the religious, and the educational avenues of enquiry.

For the interest of students and scholars in east African literature, the archive contains the
typescript of a manuscript of a curious piece of work called *Yali the savage* which, going by the private letters accompanying the text, reveals to have been returned by the publishing house of Curtis Brown for further amendment by the author. With an introduction by the American actor and singer Paul Robeson, the text is dedicated to

*My Brothers the Divine Rulers,*  
*And to the people of Abyssinia*  
*Who have given their lives in*  
*The defence of our motherland*.²

The novel offers an anthropological explication of the societal system of the hill-people of Mutebi of Buganda in the early years of the twentieth century by charting the birth and the ‘coming of age’ of the character of Apuli Yali. Born into a household of farmers, Yali distinguishes himself as an excellent bark-cloth maker and a learned traveller across the east African terrain that brings him face to face with British district commissioners in Uganda and Kenya. One such member of the expatriate community whom Yali encounters in Uganda is the eccentric colonialist, Peter Sylvanus Mance (a possible prototype of Joseph Conrad’s Kurtz) who openly acknowledges to have what he calls ‘gone native’. As a Bildungsroman, *Yali the savage*, like Nyabongo’s earlier work, *Africa answers back*, raises significant questions on race and civilization among others, which, if studied carefully, will hopefully prove to be imperative for east African writing and postcolonial scholarship in general.

In addition to the idea of having ‘gone native’, Nyabongo’s judicious, and at time excessive usage of the word ‘savage’ in relation to Yali’s coming of age narrative also deserves mention on account of its problematic implication of what constitutes as ‘being savage’ as opposed to ‘being civilized’. It bears mention that the application of contradictory, if not problematic phrases throughout the text (such as ‘savage politeness’, ‘savage customs’, or ‘savage culture’) read at times like a satire to rival European colonial conceptions of ‘savagery’ associated with the indigenous population of Africa. What complicates this notion of ‘the savage’ in the text is that in Nyabongo’s portrayal, the Bugandans are far from conforming to the European stereotype of the ‘backward native’. In the text, we are made to marvel at the community’s life in a manner that parallels Chinua Achebe’s illustration of the Igbo cultural mores in the seminal novel *Things fall apart* (1958). In his DPhil dissertation, for instance, Nyabongo is at pains to draw the readers’ attention to the refined social and cultural practices of the Baganda people in Uganda. He says with great conviction that:

> The Ugandians [sic] are probably the most advanced and civilised section in Africa. They have shown in the past a remarkable gift for organization and political life, manifested in the success attained by the kingdoms of Uganda under later rulers, a success comparable to that of Abyssinia under the recent emperors, and still more remarkable is the quickness with which the Ugandians [sic] have welcomed further advance and new ideas, suggested from the outside world.³

The manuscripts of unpublished literature in the archive, therefore, generate critical queries on notions of ‘civilization’, ‘savagery’ and of ‘race’ from a particularly Ugandan perspective. Nyabongo appears to be concerned with the implications behind these and other terms of equal significance, such as the idea of the ‘primitive’ or the conception of the ‘native’ (or of ‘going native’) that he frequently returns to in an effort to underpin the implications these may have on an east African setting under colonial rule.
While understanding that to ‘go native’ involves complex identity politics, there is no need to limit the implications of the term ‘native’ to the imperialist and/or colonialist connotations. Nyabongo’s understanding of ‘going native’ involves a broad spectrum of actions that includes part or total adoption of language, dress and gastronomic patterns to psychological appropriation of certain cultural customs, including sexual practices and mores. The most sustained treatment of the issue of ‘going native’ appears in the typescript of another unpublished novel in the Nyabongo archive, called The woman who went native (figure 3) written during the same period, and where the inter-racial sexual dynamics between the English nurse Berenice Welsh and the men of the fictional east African nation called ‘Bu Hu’, pursue this line of enquiry.

In the typescript of this unpublished novel, Nyabongo imaginatively appropriates the interracial sexual tension between the British women of the mission and the men of ‘Bu Hu’. The case of Berenice Welsh, who may have been modelled partly on the South African novelist and anti-war advocate Olive Schreiner (1855-1920), deserves special mention on account of her medical collaboration with the indigenous society in a concerted effort to initiate herself as a member of the Bu Hu Kati women’s association. This controversial initiation that sees her ostracized from the English community in the end, permits her to become the fifth wife a wealthy man called Rafiki. When the marriage fails to produce children, Berenice chooses to marry two other local men. In a strange turn of events, the young nurse decides to dispense with the formalities of matrimony altogether and decides to ‘go now from place to place to love every man whom she came in contact with, and to enjoy life as she found it’.

W.B. Carnochan among other critics of postcolonial studies have stressed that while the colonial attitude towards ‘[c]opulation with a native woman was considered a serious menace to the wholesomeness of the white race’, intimacy of a sexual nature between a ‘white woman with a native’ was more scandalous. However, Nyabongo’s novel offers a contested depiction of an Englishwoman ‘going native’ which is at odds with, and challenges, the very indigenous customs that are said to have been responsible for Welsh to ‘go native’ in the first place. In a peculiar manner then, Berenice Welsh’s character remains trapped in an existential limbo in ‘Bu Hu’ as she neither conforms to the English expatriate way of life nor adheres to the local African customs.

Aside from the manuscripts of two novels, of considerable interest among the personal documents in the Queen’s College archive is the detailed outline made by Nyabongo on the proposed plans of ‘Rwenzoli University’ (1939), to be founded at the foot of the mythical Rwenzori Mountain Range in Uganda. The ‘Plans for Rwenzoli University’ is an curious document that outlines his dynamic vision of cultural integration between Buganda, the United States and the world at large (figure 4). The need to develop cross-cultural dialogue in the academic discipline manifests itself in the crest for Rwenzoli University which features the ‘Book of Knowledge’ as a means by which ‘wisdom and virtue’, in Nyabongo’s words, ‘shall send a stream of culture and education northward and southward, eastward and westward, through the wilderness of Africa’. For Nyabongo the objective is to invite pupils from all over Africa to utilize the motto of ‘Sapiente et Veritas’ as a means to develop the ‘love of scholarship’, as well as to cultivate

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Fig. 3: Opening page from the typescript novel The woman who went native. Nyabongo Archive, Box 4, no. 29.
‘courtesy, sympathy, industry, ambition and forcefulness’ of character. Such qualities are judged by Nyabongo to be of vital importance for the younger generation of Africans who will assume the leadership of the African continent in the future.

As can be gathered from the various personal letters to academics, and annotated lectures delivered at academic congregations in and outside of Uganda, Nyabongo was highly critical of the condition and quality of education offered by the colonial government to Ugandans. A major theme that is explored in extensive detail in much of his fictional work is the focus on the east African colonial schooling system that produces psychologically hybrid and often emotionally out of place intellectuals such as Stanley Abala Mujungu, the protagonist of *Africa answers back* — who appears to be closely modelled on Nyabongo himself and on his own childhood experiences at colonial academic institutions.

While Nyabongo is resolute in stressing the strengths of the European-style of schooling, he is also adamant to suggest that African pupils bred at mission schools or other colonial organizations should be free to choose and implement certain aspects of their western education as they see fit. Set in Buganda at the turn of the nineteenth century, *Africa answers back* chiefly recounts the story of the education and subsequent self-examination of Stanley Abala Mujungu as he tries to seek a compromise between his traditional upbringing which his people adheres to, and his exposure to European culture through the Christian institution maintained by his teacher the missionary, Reverend Hubert. The twofold educational training to which Stanley is systematically exposed to results in his intensive efforts to martial the arguments against the pros and cons of the Toro traditional customs against European Christian mores which he repeatedly deconstructs through a self-reflexive and pragmatic interpretation of the Bible as it is taught at the mission. Stanley begins to see the virtues of his ‘double’ education and realizes that any teaching, religious or otherwise, should be offered for consideration instead of being diktats.

Nyabongo revisits questions of education under the colonial regime, which he sees as often being formulaic, and in effect, of little use to twentieth century Ugandans. He offers critical explication on the practical ways and means by which immediate measures needs to be taken in order to not merely address, but ameliorate, the system so as to make education more progressive for Africans in general. Such queries are re-evaluated by Nyabongo in various letters and speeches he wrote during this period. Of special relevance are the manuscripts of a speech entitled ‘Church Schools’ (figure 6, overleaf) as well as one called ‘Dr. Murray’s Report’ that are worth examining at length for the wealth of information these provide on the colonial protocols governing east African educational system. The problem with formal education under colonial regime and the need for an educational revolution, synthesized in ‘Church Schools’ in the Nyabongo archive, is worth quoting at some length:

> We thank the missionaries warmly for all that they have done for us, and for the sacrifices that they have sustained while performing their work. Nevertheless, it is time that these sacrifices end and their work should be carried on by the men they have trained. But if there are no men capable of carrying on these labours it is only reasonable to ask why this is. It is sixty-one years since the first missionaries founded a school and I would like to know what outstanding pupil they can claim after all their efforts [...]º.
The requisites for a genuine reconstruction of the indigenous educational organization would be envisioned in the following manuscript from the archive in ‘Dr. Murray’s Report’, written as a supplement to Nyabongo’s proposed plans for University College East Africa:

*Training colleges in England are under government control, why not in Uganda? Why should people pay taxes to government for education in order to fill missionary pockets, for that is all it amounts to. I would like to ask Dr. Murray why English churches are so empty nowadays, if the “Christianizing work of the missions” is so “desirable a vehicle”?*

Like his contemporary east African scholars Martin Kayamba Mdumi (1891-1939) and Parmenas Githendu Mukiri (b.1900/1901-?), Nyabongo too voices the widespread demand for effective educational opportunities to be provided for all Africans in general. To quote the critic Barbara Turfan, Nyabongo et al stress the need for Africans to ‘learn to improve themselves, [...] justifiably claim political rights and responsibilities, develop an economic standing and eradicate racial prejudice and discrimination wherever it occurs’12. Like Kayamba, Nyabongo too would place special emphasis on the necessity of providing equal opportunities for female students on the basis that the ‘young men and women who would be the future leaders’ of the nation would require ‘a better understanding of the structure, functions and needs of the human machine [...] both during [school] days and [in] later years as well’13. In view of this, Nyabongo proposes to extend the same level of dedication to education with respect to African women teachers. This is articulated in yet another speech where he intimates that ‘[i]t would be well to set up small training centers for African women teachers under two fully certified trained women in every district until sufficient African women are trained with sanitation and Home Economics at the forefront’14.

While Nyabongo’s papers dating from the mid 1930s provide extensive detail on the various mechanisms by which to remedy such social and academic maladministration, it was not until 1962, after Nyabongo’s return to independent Uganda that he was able to implement some of his reformative ideas15. An article published in 1976 by Professor Brian Langland, a fellow colleague at Makerere University, sheds considerable light on the value of Nyabongo’s work as the chairman of the Uganda Town and Country Planning Board from 1962 to 197516. Langland, who sees considerable merit in Nyabongo’s efforts to transform the colonial planning law, reiterates that the new chairman was a ‘tireless’ and devoted ‘public servant’ of independent Uganda who, moreover, sought to ‘Ugandise’ the outlook of his department while effectively ‘Africanise’ the municipal development projects. It was questions on the lines of ‘what we Africans want in our houses’, ‘how Africans want [their] compounds laid out’ to ‘what an African town should look like’17 that dominated Nyabongo’s efforts in this later period to represent a truly localized, African municipality which he believed will do justice to an independent Uganda.
Lost and found: the Akiki Nyabongo Archive

Going by the eclectic range of works from the archive, the 1930s appear to be a formative decade in the making of Akiki Nyabongo as a distinguished scholar of East African studies. The period witnessed the development of his ideas and theories on race relations, forms of modernity, questions on civilization and categories of education. While the papers dating from the 1930s allow us to see Nyabongo as a decisive East African scholar and an educational reformer, from 1962 until his death in 1975, Nyabongo served as the chairman of independent Uganda’s Town and Country Planning Board while lecturing at Makerere University’s Geography Department.

Akiki Nyabongo’s work, like that of African American scholar Richard Wright, articulates what Paul Gilroy identifies in the latter as a ‘[simultaneous] affirmation and a negation of the western civilization that formed [them], [remaining] the most powerful expression of the insider-outsider duality’ which Gilroy associates with a majority of Caribbean, European and American intellectuals of African origin. The significance of Nyabongo’s critical and fictional work — as an academic, social anthropologist, educational reformist, cultural minister for independent Uganda and a Prince of the Bugandan kingdom of Toro — provide an invaluable opportunity to examine important issues raised within twentieth century African cultural history, literature and politics.

1 By other East African scholars who were Nyabongo’s contemporaries, and have a rich scholarship devoted to their body of work, I have in mind important figures such as Jomo Kenyatta, Kwame Nkrumah Parmenas G. Mukiri (also known as Mockerie), and Martin Kayamba Mdumi.
2 Nyabongo Archive, Box 4/D.
4 Nyabongo Archive, Box 4/D, p. 75.
6 Elsewhere in the document Nyabongo refers to ‘Rwenzoli’ as ‘Rwenzori’ and uses both interchangeably. For the sake of convenience, I have employed ‘Rwenzoli’ as it appears on the title of the original typescript.
8 Latin for ‘Wisdom and Truth’, this has been put forward by Nyabongo as Rwenzoli University’s institutional motto.

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The Queen's College New Library

Stuart Cade and Mandy Franz
Rick Mather Architects

‘There has been an uneasy conviction in the minds of many Queen’s men in recent years that the Library, which is potentially the finest in Oxford, and one of the outstanding features of the College, has not been exploited to best advantage...it was felt that the inconvenient arrangement of books on overcrowded shelves, the lack of suitable accommodation for readers... seriously reduced the usefulness of the Library...’ (1938 by the editor of the College Record)

Competition

On 23rd June 2005 amongst the telephone bills and architectural magazines, we received a letter from The Queen’s College inviting RMA to compete for an expansion to the celebrated 17th century Library. The Library is renowned amongst architects as an excellent example of Oxford collegiate architecture, with the Upper Library in particular widely considered to be ‘one of the finest rooms in Oxford’.

We were provided with a brief for a new building to house the College’s precious collections and to provide much-needed new reader space. The possibility of what could be proposed was both exciting and engaging.

Whilst the competitive brief was prescriptive in terms of what was required – a new building in the Drawda Garden — there was also the hint that alternatives could be suggested if the rationale was strong enough. Previously the creation of an underground Library in the Provost’s Garden had been looked at and rejected due to a lack of connections and the imposition on the garden.

Challenged by the prospect we started our research with a visit to the College website and by taking the virtual tour. Subsequent site visits to both the Library and gardens and meetings with the Library team left us struck by the qualities of the Drawda Garden and its relative remoteness from the existing Library.

We considered that making the New Library contiguous with the existing building was crucial to the success of the project and to the future of the Library, and decided to formulate our designs around this principle. Some 22 options later we focused on an idea that we could build and connect to a new building under the Provost’s Garden that would provide an interconnected set of light-filled rooms and lift access between the spaces (Fig. 1). The challenge, as it had been for those who had looked at this before, was how to bring natural light into the new reading room whilst not detracting from the appearance of a garden. A ‘ha-ha’ was drawn out which provides a generous linear rooflight set into the slope with the glass disguised from all of the major vantage points. The intent being that in the centre of the new garden the view of the existing Library façade would be unchanged and would have no obvious impression of the activity beneath. Viewed from beneath, the rooflight would both provide light but also new and unique views of the existing Library facade and in particular the (previously unseen) statues of Sir Joseph Williamson, Archbishop Lamplugh, Bishop Barlow, Eglesfield, Edward III, Charles I and Henrietta Maria.

The scheme had such obvious strengths we decided that despite the fact it failed to address the site set out in the brief, it was our preferred and chosen design. When presented, the scheme was understood and well received although it was pointed out that our design was in the wrong garden!

The other competitors had adhered to the brief and its site and hence in the interests of fairness and openness the competition was rerun for all competitors on the Provost’s Garden site. The competition process was run again in the spring and RMA officially won the prized commission in August 2006.

Design development

Our first challenge, with an eye on a future planning and listed building application, was to understand and illustrate the historic development of the College and Library building. The Library building was constructed between 1692 and 1695 and was the second building in the 18th century Renaissance period of the College as it transi-
tioned from the medieval College. The architect of the Library is unknown and there are many theories regarding the Fellow who may have designed it and which professional architect may have been advising him. We will never know! What we know more of is the work carried out on the existing building in 1843 by C.R. Cockerell who constructed the current Lower Library, converting a former open loggia and rooms into the Lower Library and a discrete new stair to the Upper Library. Research yielded existing drawings and new sources of information and provided evidence and material that was compiled into a Heritage Assessment. Extensive consultation began with the city conservation officer, tree officer, archaeologist and English Heritage to assess all factors and studies. Mock-ups were built in the Provost’s Garden to test the design, minimise any impact and in-turn tweak the design, which was granted consent in 2007.

The design development of the Library was a very thorough process engaging a wide and expert team. The process included visits to recently completed libraries and archives in Oxford, London and Cambridge where we listened to other client’s experiences of building and using new facilities, what worked well and they would have improved. We also built upon collective team experience and Amanda Saville’s knowledge of building two previous new libraries.

Buried in the ground the building could benefit from the thermal properties of the ground conditions and become an exemplary green building. Extensive ground surveys were carried out to provide valuable data on the ground conditions and in particular to understand how thermal piles could heat and cool the new Library using the ground temperature deep beneath the Library.

The design

The overriding design principle of the New Library allows users to enjoy the natural light whilst also protecting the collections. A rooflight runs from north to south illuminating the new reading room and the staff offices with the Historic Collections and Archive Store (HCAS) farthest from the natural light. The rooflight will also give spectacular views of the west façade of the existing Library - a view previously only glimpsed over garden walls. The new Library provides a large new facility whilst minimising any visual impact within the Provost’s Garden. The new building provides:

- 36 reader spaces in a large new top lit reading room (figure 2, overleaf). This space is both light-filled whilst offering views to the sky and west facade of the existing Library and provides a new space for the college providing individual and collaborative learning opportunities.
- A new HCAS which will house the College's antiquarian collections in secure and temperature and humidity controlled conditions.
- A flexible reading room for the historic collections for five readers and a permanent Archivist’s office.
- A flexible multi-purpose space for use as a meeting, presentation and seminar room.
- A new Peet Library of Egyptology with accommodation for four readers (see figure 4).
- A new arrangement for the Lower Library including the removal of the 1930s bookcases returning the Library to Cockerell’s 1840s arrangement. A proposed new seating area in the centre will give views both to Back Quad and the Provost’s Garden.
- A link from the main entrance of the existing Lower Library to the New Library, allowing for the students to navigate between the three floors of the Library. This new connection is starting in the first bay of the Lower Library, where the office was located, leading to the reception area within the New Library, passing by ancillary rooms such as restrooms, lockers and photocopier.
- A new garden design for the Provost’s Garden, which will provide an intimate private garden for the Provost married with the need for a space that can be used intermittently for large College events. The design will include sensitive landscaping, new paths and planting providing a new College garden.

Increased space for individual readers, social learning space for group access to collections, and new exhibition space will mean that the New Library is not only a place for Undergraduates to
work and books to be stored, but an environment in which undergraduates, postgraduates, visiting scholars and Fellows can develop the historic and current research life of the College and make it visible to an internal academic community.

Where we are now

Having reached a detailed design stage, the Library project was put on hold in 2009 and restarted in 2014 following a review and appraisal of needs of the College. The design team has treated the pause period as a virtue and the design has been reviewed and refined with the benefit of design development and new technologies. The building design has been modified to provide increased flexibility for current and future use; more reader spaces have been added and the building is greener still, capitalising on improvements in product technology over the intervening 6 years.

At the time of writing we are nearing the completion of archaeological investigations. These have yielded important findings in the form of a number of Anglo-Norman buildings and land boundaries that will significantly contribute to the understanding of the development of Oxford as it expanded from Saxon burh to its medieval limits within the City walls. In addition much of the College’s more prosaic past has been recorded in the form of artefact rich rubbish pits from the first half of the 17th century and work-site remains associated with the construction of the Library and 18th century College building campaigns. Other discoveries include the foundations of...
workshop buildings used to construct the original 17th century Library, an 18th century wine bottle and a WWII tin hat.

With this phase nearing completion a main contractor, Beard of Oxford, has been appointed who will start on site in June 2015 with an anticipated completion by the end of 2016.

We at RMA are delighted that this exciting project is underway and for us it is particularly poignant that two years after Rick’s death that one of his last projects will be realised.

The New Library will be a fitting and much-needed addition to the College and its academic life, providing a striking new reading space and a new perspective on the existing Library. We look forward to writing about the completion of this exciting project in early 2017.

Stuart Cade, Project Partner and design team lead, joined Rick Mather Architects in 1996 and has since worked on a range of significant projects including Dulwich Picture Gallery and the Ashmolean Museum. With an expertise in contemporary buildings in historic settings, Stuart is currently leading the recent commission to extend the library at Lincoln’s Inn, the oldest library in London. Stuart has also led the proposed new library in the historic centre of Christ’s College in Cambridge and has overseen all of the practice’s projects in Oxford.

Mandy Franz, Project Architect, joined Rick Mather Architects in 2007 after completing her studies in Dresden, Germany and Bath. She has a broad range of expertise from design development, detailing, structural engineering and designing in historic contexts. Her experience includes the design and construction of the Corpus Christi College Auditorium and the Acland Site for Keble College in Oxford.
War of Words
German Impressions of World War I

An Exhibition of World War I Pamphlets from The Queen’s College Library Collection

The Upper Library
February 2015—September 2015

Open to all College Members
Non-Members by appointment only

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