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"Skill in administration is . . . necessarily, a personal achievement, but individual limits are set by the stage of social development."\(^1\)

Library history is indebted to the Duke of Modena for threatening Antonio Panizzi with the gallows. Had the radical young lawyer not fled Italy for his life in 1822, and had England not been the only country to offer him haven, the British Museum Library might have had a different course of development. It was Panizzi's good fortune that wealthy and influential citizens of England were interested, at the time, in Italian culture. His plight aroused their sympathy, his erudition made him welcome in their homes, and his charm won him their lasting friendship. Through them he secured, in 1831, a humble but respectable position in the British Museum.

Fate had led Panizzi into an environment undreamed of in his formative years. That he was able to see its possibilities and then to bring them to fruition was a triumph of character over circumstances; for he was cursed as well as blessed in his exile, being nagged all his years by petty prejudice that never allowed him to forget that he was a foreigner in England. The fact that it was he, rather than a native-born Englishman, who brought the British Museum Library to greatness resulted from the impingement of his personal characteristics upon the Museum as it existed when he joined its staff. The outcome of the union of man and institution was a world-renowned library and the beginning of modern librarianship.

This paper has been derived from a paper prepared in the University of Illinois Graduate School of Library Science. During the 1963-64 academic year the author will do continued research on this and other aspects of Panizzi's life.
Panizzi's fame as an administrator rests upon his achievements as Keeper of Printed Books during a period of change and growth at the Museum, and it is with these years that we are here concerned. The pressure under which he lived kept him from writing about his profession; nearly all of his librarianship that has come down to us is his spoken word, recorded on page after page of the Sessional Papers of the House of Commons during his examination by three Parliamentary committees. Here we find more of the broad outlines of his policy than indications of the day-to-day decisions involved in his work. Only unpublished materials in England contain the details that can illuminate the events of his years in the British Museum Library. But many comprehensive secondary sources exist, those quoted in this paper having been written by those who knew and worked with Panizzi, by those who worked in later years in the Department of Printed Books at the Museum or by those who had access to primary materials abroad.

The Man

The outstanding traits that marked Panizzi's personality were zeal, forthrightness, explosive temper, idealism, and gallantry. This odd combination proved to be a winning one for the task of vitalizing a lethargic institution. In personal relations it sent those who met him into separate ranks, for or against; few reacted with indifference.

Panizzi himself was seldom indifferent toward anything. He was passionate about books, enthusiastic about work, emotional about people, and strenuously alive to his world. Especially notable in contrast to the phlegmatic British temperament, his energy, which tended to make him impatient with others not so-endowed, was undoubtedly irritating to some of his associates. All his biographers mention it with awe, since the very recounting of his activities and concerns from the beginning of his residence in London in 1828 to his retirement in 1866 tends to overwhelm either reader or writer. In 1845 he wrote to a cousin: "I work day and night like a desperate man. Why not? My health is good and I am paid to do my duty." His exaggerated concept of duty is found again and again in his own words and was obviously the strongest guiding principle of his public life.

Whereas he despised behind-the-back criticism, he respected an open fighter and was always ready to engage in verbal combat. His legal training gave him a knowledge of argument, and his perspicacity gave him a sense of appropriate language that made him a formidable opponent in debate. He was overly-assiduous, however, in defending his personal honor. Verboseess combined with indefatigable marshalling of evidence often made his justifications weightier than necessary to the occasion. The fact that he was attacked in the press with charges that were often unfair and uncalled-for did not, to many, excuse his fighting back; thus, his memory has been shadowed by a reputation for irritability.
Panizzi admired the tradition of chivalry, and his behavior encompassed its gentle as well as its bellicose aspects. His kindliness and courtesy endeared him to the families of the Italophiles and liberal statesmen who befriended him. Because he was in need, he was the recipient of many favors, and these he sought to return in any way his small means allowed. His chief asset was literary knowledge, and he gladly gave advice and good conversation when it was welcome, as with Sir Thomas Grenville, who let the young scholar study the rare volumes in his personal library. The later donation of this superb collection to the British Museum was a gesture as much to Panizzi as to the nation.

His affinity for the way of life of the British upper class turned out to be a boon to Panizzi. It is commonly conceded that he could never have accomplished all that he did for the Museum without the help of his friends in high places; yet in order to obtain their cooperation he had continually to press his concerns with them. Fashionable dinner parties gave fortuitous occasions for pleasant talk on serious subjects, and Panizzi's pride bowed to practicality when it came to advancing his cause. In consequence he was accused of self-seeking. Still, he was so bashful of public honors that only late in life and after declining it twice did he accept a knighthood, and then only because Gladstone urged that it was his duty.

Always touchy about his "original sin," as he called his foreign birth, Panizzi made haste to become a British citizen as soon as his future seemed secure. This move did not shield him from intolerance, but the overall effect of his exile proved beneficial in the long run. It gave him the company of leading figures of the era, along with a freedom of speech and action that he could not have enjoyed in his native land. In his professional life it stimulated him to greater effort in order to prove himself, and it strengthened his will in the face of heavy odds. Then, too, the basic loneliness of exile was conducive to concentration upon his work, which became for him a substitute for family ties and a means of escape from feelings of alienation.

The Institution

The beginnings of the British Museum were literary, for the first donation to the people, in 1700, was the Cottonian collection of manuscripts. Nothing was done with these, however, until 1753 when Sir Hans Sloane willed to the nation not only his library but also his collection of natural history specimens from all over the world. The whole obviously constituted more of a museum than a library. Since the will had designated that the materials were to be kept together and displayed for the benefit of the people, a somewhat reluctant government passed an act of establishment of the British Museum. A lottery was held to provide the necessary funds, including the purchase of an empty mansion on the outskirts of London.
Robert Cowtan had described old Montague House as it was in the 1830's when both he and Panizzi joined the staff of the British Museum, and after the collections had been swelled not only by the Elgin Marbles but also by many lesser though well-intentioned donations:

On crossing the neatly gravelled courtyard, and ascending a rather steep flight of steps, you entered the hall which contained...

the Roubilliac Shakespeare...an elegant statue of the Hon. Anne Seymour Damer, holding in her hands a small figure of the Genius of the Thames; a gilded representation of Gaudma, a Burmese idol from Rangoon, and a badly-stuffed specimen of a hippopotamus...

Few that saw them will forget the giraffes that stood on the upper landing of the staircase...Close at hand was the room containing 'Magna Charta,' enclosed in a glass-case...

Small wonder that Panizzi always favored the separation of the natural history collections from the library and the antiquities.

Nevertheless, the recent gift to the Museum of the large Hanoverian "King's Library" had so augmented the literary collection as to necessitate the addition of two wings to the main house: one, containing the Royal Library, completed; the other, for the rest of the books, a-building. The reading room was still in the ground floor, or basement, and like the cramped working quarters of the staff, was dark, damp, cold, and stuffy.

Controlling Museum policy were the Trustees, a group of forty-one prominent men headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Speaker of the House of Commons, and the Lord Chancellor. The entire group met but once a year, and a standing committee of fifteen carried on during the rest of the time, three Trustees making a quorum. Attendance was irregular and only a few of the Trustees were genuinely interested in Museum business.

The chief officer of the Museum was called the Principal Librarian, and his position was within the gift of the Crown, an honor similar to the poet-laureateship. The institution was really run, however, by the Keepers of the four departments: manuscripts, printed books, natural history, and antiquities. They performed a managerial function, each going rather much his own way. Under them were assistants, the working force, who tended collections, prepared catalogs, and dealt with the public. All these men were educated; the officers were scholars of note in their fields. Because all were poorly paid, several held other positions concurrently.

Sir Henry Ellis, the Principal Librarian when Panizzi entered in 1831, was a gentle old clergyman and antiquarian whose predilection for scholarship made him ill at ease as a leader of men. In the words of Edward Edwards, "He would at times rather seem wanting in firmness of will than, by pressing his authority, wound the feelings of...subordinates." Panizzi's
nature was precisely the opposite: he respected the past, but he looked to the future; he chafed at restriction and was not reticent about speaking his independent mind. Yet despite inevitable disagreement between the two men, observance of the code of the gentleman made possible their working association of nineteen years.

Of his relationship with the Keeper of Printed Books, a kindly and good-humored clergymen named Henry Harvey Baber, Panizzi said: "We are on the most intimate terms; he often asks me my opinion, or he tells me his own unreservedly." The Assistant-Keeper, Henry Francis Cary was an elderly scholar in delicate mental balance, and with him also Panizzi seems to have got along well, although when Panizzi was promoted over Cary's head, a cloud formed about that event which has obscured what went on before.

As a temporary assistant Panizzi was set to work cataloging the vast Croker collection of French Revolutionary tracts, a job to daunt most men. In 1834 he was shifted to the preparation of a new catalog of the printed books which had been decreed by the Trustees. During those years he had also made a scheme for a catalog of the books at the London University and had cataloged the library of the Royal Society. His only qualifications for this kind of work, besides a natural aptitude, were his knowledge of literature and languages, and such information about bibliography as he had acquired from conversations with Angelo Pezzana, the librarian at Parma during his college years. Nevertheless, Panizzi's speed at cataloging was remarkable, and his minute accuracy in details made him intolerant of the inaccuracies of others. His propensity for picking out flaws in the old Museum Library catalog, done by Ellis and Baber from 1807 to 1819, did not tend to ingratiate him with his superior. Yet on the surface, harmony prevailed among them until 1837.

Meanwhile Panizzi's larger view of the library was crystallizing, and when the parliamentary investigation of the Museum launched in 1835 was continued in 1836, he knew that he eventually would be called upon to testify. With Baber's approval he prepared his evidence by writing to European librarians to ask the extent of their libraries' holdings and the kind of service they gave, for comparison with the British Museum Library. Unsatisfied with the incompleteness of the replies, he secured the Trustees' permission to take his autumn vacation at Christmas time, when the continental libraries would be open, and made personal visits to nine of them to check on various points.

His testimony at the inquiry put into words his dream of a great national library in the British Museum. In order to explain what it ought to be, he felt constrained to point out what it was not, although his inferior position in the institution made this a delicate task. Although his suggestions for improvement of the library showed up its shortcomings, they were phrased with a felicity that disarmed criticism or offense. The impact of his remarks, in contrast to those of other witnesses, has scarcely diminished over the years. From this distance in time he seems so obviously the one to
have taken charge of the library that it is bewildering to realize what noisy opposition greeted his appointment, in the following year, to the Keepership of Printed Books. The fact that three of his most bitter opponents were fellow-Keepers at the Museum gave him much pain during his official life.

Under the handicap of being widely denounced as a foreigner and an upstart, a youth who had usurped a mature man's position, a radical who would try to change everything and would, inevitably, stress Italian works to the neglect of English ones, Panizzi resolved both to justify his appointment and to confound his critics by making the library what everyone thought it should be, and more.

Administration

The problems that Panizzi faced in 1837—relationships with the governing board, money, space, personnel, patrons' wishes—still constitute the basic challenge of library administration. Yet in the beginning of the modern library era, the context out of which these concerns arose and that in which they had to be met gave them a unique cast.

One constant goad to all those associated with the Museum in the middle years of the nineteenth century was public criticism. Anyone who had used a library felt qualified to pronounce opinions upon how it should be run, and the more prominent the man, the more fuss he was likely to make. The parliamentary investigations of 1835-36 and 1847-49 were part of this intense interest in the conduct of the Museum.

As the idea took hold that the British Museum should be a national educational institution, the pressure for perfecting it grew. Every advance stimulated cries for more advance, and each voice proclaimed not only the evil to be eradicated, but usually a remedy as well. Panizzi had to create an atmosphere in which the British Museum Library could grow and serve in an orderly way under firm and unified guidance.

The Governing Board

Panizzi's unusual advantage in his personal relations with several of the Trustees proved necessary to him only upon crucial occasions. In general he enjoyed support for his plans and generosity with regard to his budgets from a majority of the active Trustees. When they insisted upon legislating in technical matters, Panizzi, recognizing their prerogative, followed their orders, although often against his better judgment and under protest. The Trustees' revisions of the "Ninety-one Rules" of cataloging were not very sound, and their project to print the catalog of the library between 1838 and 1841 simply had to be dropped when Panizzi's warnings of inaccuracy and incompleteness proved to be well justified. The faultiness of the A volume of this catalog resulted from the Trustees' inability to comprehend Panizzi's good advice. He insisted that only by taking time to revise
the old catalog shelf by shelf could its errors be corrected, and that these corrections must be made before the catalog was committed to print. Beset by forces pressing for speed, as well as by conflicting opinions concerning procedures, the Trustees were deaf to his repeated pleas. Only in time and through experience did they learn to appreciate Panizzi's broad competence in his professional role.

A strange block to communication between the officers of the Museum and the Trustees existed for thirteen years of Panizzi's Keepership in the person of the Secretary to the Trustees, Josiah Forshall. His position was immensely powerful, and his hatred of Panizzi was the source not only of unpleasantness but of administrative difficulties. For example, having charge of recording acquisitions, he let books pile up in his office while patrons condemned Panizzi for not having them on the shelves. It was well-known that Forshall would have liked nothing better than to thwart Panizzi in his ambitions, but this was a hopeless quest. Panizzi could be stung, but he could not be stopped. The Report of the Royal Commissioners on the British Museum in 1850 exposed the Secretary's inefficiency and, as with every other public confrontation in which Panizzi was involved, his cause was advanced while his opponents were discredited. The Secretary's position was abolished, Forshall resigned, and from that time on the Trustees respected Panizzi's right to administer without interference.

The Staff

Panizzi's relationships with the personnel of the Department of Printed Books began from a good base—he was one of them, and having risen from the ranks, he knew their problems well. Their gratitude for his efforts to get raises in salary for his subordinates was augmented by his unselfishness, of which his statement to the Royal Commissioners that everyone was underpaid except himself is the most noted example. Once he had achieved a living wage, Panizzi became indifferent about money, an attitude which gave him distinct advantage. Although his lack of family responsibilities may have done much to foster his own indifference to money, he was understanding about such obligations in the lives of others, and his natural generosity was extended to members of his staff in times of need. When in 1840 the Trustees decreed that an employee who was absent from his duties at the Museum because of financial embarrassment would be dismissed, Panizzi offered to make a personal loan to anyone in his department so endangered. His offer was accepted several times.

He also showed good sense in promoting promising assistants to higher positions rather than going outside the Museum to fill vacancies. No less than five of his juniors followed him into the Keepership. These men, especially John Winter Jones and Thomas Watts, were invaluable allies to Panizzi in building up and functionalizing the library.

Cataloging was one of the principal occupations of the assistants, and Panizzi not only understood the intricacies of this job but could also be relied upon for expert advice. When the Trustees requested that Panizzi
et down his principles of cataloging as rules which could be printed, he formed a staff committee which he kept working day and night until they had made up the most thorough cataloging code they could devise from their own experience. As chairman, Panizzi insisted that his vote should count the same as the votes of other members; so it seems evident that his dominance was one of ability rather than rank.

All the same, Panizzi as administrator was by no means merely the jolly good fellow. When he took charge of the Department of Printed Books, he knew that the entire staff of the Museum had favored Cary for the post. In order for him to carry out his objectives there was only one thing which he could do, and that was to rule. Things were to be done his way, and although he ignored the resentment that hung in the air, he refused to tolerate stupidity or lack of diligence in his subordinates. Cowtan tells us:

Nothing roused the anger and stirred the indignation of Mr. Panizzi more than when he saw books carelessly handled, or allowed to fall to the ground. He would, if within hearing, leave any work upon which he might happen to be engaged, when the crashing sound of the falling book was heard in the library. We have known him administer reproof, as he only could do many a time to careless fellows who had not [his] reverence for books. . . .

Many incidents of Panizzi's wrath have been recounted in print. Added to his righteous fury, his unusual height and girth and virile features made him an awesome disciplinarian. But he always put duty above popularity, and next to duty, the urgent tasks that confronted him in the library.

Still Panizzi was able to inspire his staff with his enthusiasm, as is clear in their own testimony; he was grateful for their devoted service, as he acknowledged in his letter upon his retirement; and together they achieved much, which was their common reward.

The Collection

In October 1837 Panizzi's first report to the Trustees on his acquisition policy as the new Keeper of Printed Books began by saying: "The attention of the Keeper of this emphatically British library ought to be directed more particularly to British works. . . ." and indeed the library was deficient in these. The reason lay partly in the lack of enforcement of the Copyright Act, a duty vested in the Secretary, who was indifferent about it. Not until 1850 was the Copyright fully taken advantage of. At that time the law was strengthened, and Panizzi was put in charge of enforcement, which ended all further nonsense and sent current books pouring into the library.

Size and comprehensiveness were the chief goals Panizzi had set himself to pursue. He longed to have the British Museum rival France's Bibliotheque Nationale in number of volumes, but still more he wanted complete coverage of world literature and source material. Since more than half of the library had come as gifts, it reflected the special interests of its
donors, and there were obvious gaps among the areas of knowledge. Not content with the obvious, however, Panizzi, before asking for increased funds to fill out the collection, had a careful survey made between 1843 and 1845 of the library’s holdings. His report and recommendations based upon this inventory concluded with the following summary:

The expense requisite for accomplishing what is here suggested; that is, for forming in a few years a public library containing from 600,000 to 700,000 printed volumes, giving the necessary means of information on all branches of human learning, from all countries, in all languages, properly arranged, substantially and well bound, minutely and fully catalogued, easily accessible and yet safely preserved, capable, for some years to come, of keeping pace with the increase of human knowledge, will no doubt be great; but so is the nation which is to bear it. What might be extravagant and preposterous to suggest in one country, may be looked upon not only as moderate, but indispensable in another. 11

This statement is the kernel of his plan for the library. Although Baber had had only 1,000 pounds a year with which to administer the Department, Panizzi had the audacity to ask for 10,000 pounds a year for the purchase of books alone. He got the 10,000 for his total library budget instead, but this was still a kingly sum for a librarian of his day to dispose of with intelligence. He set about to implement his plan without the aid of a usable model for any part of it.

The means he used were varied. He began by having an assistant check the current and antiquarian book lists from all over the world for items of outstanding value and make up a list of desiderata. Next, he kept an ear to the book market through dealers at home and abroad, as well as by any other available source of information. He made use of friends travelling in Europe and of British diplomatic personnel to acquire for him books which he knew he wanted and to look out for others.

He had already begun to collect Americana when Henry Stevens of Vermont visited the library, but when in 1845 Stevens presented Panizzi with a list of 10,000 American books worth acquiring, there began a cordial twenty-year relationship between the two under which Stevens, "with no bargain, contract, or combination, other than mutual interest and limited liability . . . planted in the British Museum more than 100,000 volumes, never on orders, but always on submission of the books and book-rarities that fell in his way."12 Thus by 1865 the British Museum had the world’s best collection of books from and about America.

Not the sort of man to hold with censorship, Panizzi changed one previous policy on acquisition. "When I entered the service of the Trustees," says Robert Cowtan, "books of a sceptical tendency were excluded . . . I remember one of the first things done by Mr. Panizzi, on his appointment to the
Keepership of the Printed Books, was to purchase a large collection of books upon Socialism and Infidelity. The scientists, however, with some justification charged that Panizzi was neglecting their needs. Considering the collection overweighted in that area to begin with, he had purposely favored other fields, and this practice put him into a position from which it was difficult to answer demands for the very latest scientific information. He had proposed to set aside a portion of his yearly budget for books wanted by other Keepers, but found their requests quite unreasonable. Defending the librarian's right to use his own judgment in the face of conflicting claims, he asserted that in the matter of selecting purchases, "the proof I think, that I have done well on the whole is, that everybody is dissatisfied." 

The Building

Panizzi's victory in obtaining an increased appropriation for books evolved into a long campaign for shelf space, because when it came to money for buildings, the Parliaments of the 1840's preferred to temporize with expedients. The wings added to Montague House were inadequate when they were built, but since property values in the area had risen as the city expanded, the government settled upon tearing down the old mansion and building two more wings to form a rectangle. The library, however, continued to burgeon to such an extent that Panizzi finally became desperate. After a series of reports on his dire need had failed to result in the acquisition of more land for the Museum, he suggested filling in the central quadrangle.

The famous reading room and copious stacks that resulted were immediately and universally acclaimed and constituted Panizzi's greatest triumph in the eyes of the public. There is no denying that the reading room was large, comfortable, and attractive; that the twenty-five miles of book shelves were sufficient to the growing collection for some years; and that a librarian's ability to design a library was convincingly demonstrated. Yet the situation of that library, confined forever within the embrace of surrounding display galleries, is far from ideal. C. B. Oldman, speaking from the point of view of a Keeper of Printed Books, bewails Panizzi's allowing this problem to arise, while acknowledging the pressure under which the decision was taken. Arundell Esdaile, having acted as Assistant Keeper, shows a more tolerant attitude, pointing out that "by December 1852 a librarian's nightmare was realized; books were placed on the shelves three deep." In such circumstances a librarian may be driven beyond accepting expedients into actually proposing them.

The Patrons

The library of the British Museum has always been a scholar's library with a restrictive admission policy. Despite Panizzi's reference to it as "public," and despite his conviction that poor students should have free access
to rare and expensive works, as he himself had had through his contacts with rich collectors like Grenville, he recognized the limits of popularization for the library. Furthermore, the rigid opposition of Sir Henry Ellis, who as Principal Librarian had control over the reading room, made any relaxing of the rules difficult to achieve. To him, as to many others in the first half of the nineteenth century, preservation of the library's treasures was of primary importance.

Once a reader was admitted, however, Panizzi felt that he should have efficient and liberal service, without discrimination, but within reason. Panizzi tried to protect his staff from what he considered invalid demands upon their time and energy. He was proud of the large reference collection available on open shelves around the walls of the reading room; yet there were some unreasonable readers who did not want to help themselves. They were incensed when Panizzi introduced printed slips upon which to enter the information given in the catalog for the desired books, preferring the old system of scribbling the name of the book on a scrap of paper and letting the clerks search for additional information. On the other hand, he had to prevent one reader from helping himself too much—the Keeper of another department who felt that officers of the Museum should be allowed to take what books they wanted from the library shelves without filling out tickets for them, a practice which Panizzi had abolished.

He did have reason to boast of the speed with which the reading room clerks delivered materials from the stacks, and he told the Committee on Public Libraries that although there was a rule limiting to four the number of books a reader could have at one time, he himself ignored it. Still the readers complained:

One of the greatest complainers . . . has had as many as 148 volumes at one time. Another . . . had 261 volumes . . . kept for him [for] day to day use for his convenience; there is no other library in the world where that is done, nor could it be done without the order which there is at the British Museum.

The Techniques

Panizzi constantly sought means of facilitating and regularizing library procedures, although it is difficult to find reference to any idea of this sort that was exclusively his own. He was certainly alert to the ideas of others, recognizing good ones and putting them into effect whenever possible. Watts had an inventive mind and was responsible for several improvements in shelving, including a new system of numbering the presses, or bookstacks, which allowed room for additions to the collection. He is also given credit for the removal of the entire library from Montague House to the new wing in 1838 with almost no interruption of service to readers. Likewise, from the assistants came the suggestion for the use of movable and multifold slips for additions to the manuscript catalog. From duplicates of these a shelf list was made up, a step toward the contemporary card file.
But Panizzi's unique and, to his profession, most important contribution was the cataloging code known as the "Ninety-one Rules." Based upon intelligent principles, executed in exhaustive detail, this code set a lasting standard of thorough and precise description. Although he was not to put the catalog of the Museum Library into print, he did the foundation work that made the catalog, when it was printed, of universal value in bibliography.

Although considered by some to be Panizzi's finest technical achievement, the great reading room and "Iron Library" of 1857, still in use today, was actually an amalgam of several notions previously proposed by others. Four people had publicly advocated enclosing the quadrangle, Delessert had suggested a round reading room for the French Royal Library, and the Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève and the Library of Congress already had metal shelving. Panizzi merely designed a circular reading room with metal stacks round the circumference, and then, much more difficult, he had the structure built in the quadrangle. It took more than one petition, much patient pressure, and the help of powerful friends to convince the Treasury.

The occasion of the grand opening of the room was marred by the claims of an architect named Hosking that Panizzi had stolen his published plan for filling in the empty square with a hall of statuary; and years later, Sydney Smirke, the Museum's architect, took exception to someone's unwitting designation of Panizzi as the "architect" of the reading room, so that Panizzi had to defend himself again. The domed ceiling is Smirke's elaboration, but otherwise, there is no question that Panizzi was responsible for the structure, as a library, in every particular.

Conclusion

By 1850 Panizzi had become a victim of gout in his right wrist, which made painful the writing of his vast correspondence and reams of official papers. His health steadily declined from that time on, so that his Principal Librarianship was marked by almost constant discomfort, and his retirement was a mere lingering of the strong body. He had spent himself during his Keepership of Printed Books.

While in that office Panizzi had created in the British Museum a library of unmatched quality for its day. He had brought the Museum to public attention in a way that served to establish its place in the social and educational structure of the nation; he had systematized library keeping in a way that provided a universally useful model; and he had solidified an emerging concept of librarianship into a respected profession. This he had done against a kind of opposition which made every step forward a hard-won yet uncelebrated victory. Indeed, he fitted well Thomas Carlyle's description of the ideal librarian, given ironically enough, in an attempt to discredit Panizzi:

You must have a man to direct, who knows well what the duty is that he has to do; and who is determined to go through that, in spite of all clamour raised against him; and who is not anxious to obtain approbation, but is satisfied that he will obtain it by-and-by, provided he acts ingeniously and faithfully."18
FOOTNOTES


ADDITIONAL REFERENCES


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