COLUMBIA LIBRARY COLUMNS

VOLUME XV

NOVEMBER, 1965

NUMBER I

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

ROLAND BAUGHMAN is Head of the Special Collections Department of the Columbia University Libraries.

LUTHER H. EVANS, formerly Librarian of Congress and later Director General of Unesco, is Director of Legal and International Collections at Columbia.

PEPPINO MANGRAVITE is Professor Emeritus of Painting at Columbia.

RICHARD B. MORRIS is GOUVERNEUR MORTIS Professor of History at Columbia and Director of the John Jay Papers Project.

JOHN JOSEPH STOUDT, a Research Associate at Haverford College, has written and lectured on the culture of early Pennsylvania.

* * *

Articles printed in COLUMBIA LIBRARY COLUMNS are selectively indexed in LIBRARY LITERATURE.

Columbia Library Columns

VOLUME XV

NOVEMBER, 1965

NUMBER I

CONTENTS

A Master Spy's Espionage Collection	RICHARD B. MORRIS	3
A Neglected Genius of Colonial Pennsylvania	John Joseph stoudt	9
Dante Through Three Artists' Eyes	PEPPINO MANGRAVITE	17
The Return of Alice's Adventures Under Ground	LUTHER H. EVANS	29
Alice at Columbia		36
Our Growing Collections	ROLAND BAUGHMAN	38
Activities of the Friends		51

Published by THE FRIENDS OF THE COLUMBIA LIBRARIES, Butler Library, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 10027. Three issues a year, one dollar each.



Dr. Edward Bancroft, a young American scientist and writer who belonged to an American patriot group in London, was recruited into the British secret service in 1772. He had the code name "Edward Edwards" and was highly successful, particularly when in Paris where he was a confidant of Franklin and others of the American mission who were seeking aid from France. All of them trusted his loyalty and it was not until sixty years after his death that his traitorous activities were discovered.

The hollow trunk of a box tree on the south terrace of the Tuileries Gardens was used as the means for transmitting messages. Each Tuesday Dr. Bancroft brought his report inserted in a bottle and lowered it by a string into the hollow. At the same time he picked up new instructions from Lord Stormont.



COLUMBIA LIBRARY COLUMNS



A Master Spy's Espionage Collection

RICHARD B. MORRIS

FTER World War II, the master spy, Major General William H. ("Wild Bill") Donovan, returned to his busy law practice, having organized and headed the OSS, that legendary "cloak-and-dagger" operation, whose feats behind enemy lines have provided countless themes for spy stories and TV series. Convinced of the importance not only of the espionage and sabotage sides of his complex and secret operation, but also of the research and analysis carried out by his agency, he strove to alert the nation to the need for systematic intelligence planning and organization. He was determined to show that intelligence operations had played a meaningful role in military and diplomatic decision-making from the beginning of our national history and were by no means alien to the American tradition.

Unfortunately General Donovan did not live to complete the huge task he had set himself or to give to the historical workingpapers that were gathered for him the stamp of organizing genius and special style that was his own. Very recently the Donovan Papers have been turned over to the Columbia Libraries' Special Collections Department by the General's widow, and already they have drawn a flock of researchers, ranging from professional historians to fiction writers. What is being turned up will indubitably contribute to a deeper understanding of the role of intelligence in the conduct of the War of the American Revolution as it was conducted on both sides of the Atlantic.

Richard B. Morris

The average person, although exposed on some four or five levels in the school system to courses in American history, has only the foggiest notion of undercover operations during the War for Independence. Of course, he knows of Nathan Hale's martyrdom and that Major André was executed as a spy, a role for which he technically qualified. A reading of James Fenimore Cooper's *Spy* sheds some light on the espionage operation that Patriot John Jay ran in New York before he left his home state for greater duties at Philadelphia and Madrid. Those who are somewhat better informed may have known how a double agent, in the person of the American turncoat Dr. Edward Bancroft, had penetrated the secrets of the American mission to France and sent back to the British items about supplies and ship sailings that he had picked up at Benjamin Franklin's residence at Passy. The history texts will give him little more.

There is a large and fascinating story still to be told, however, and so far we have had only little pieces of it. In my recent book, The Peacemakers, the first monograph to come out of the John Jay Papers project, I have had occasion to dwell upon the espionage which accompanied the diplomatic negotiations that ended the American Revolution. Assisted in some cases by clues offered by the Donovan Collection, I have traced the labored efforts of the French Foreign Ministry to obtain documentary evidence of Spain's double-crossing tactics in negotiating for peace with the British behind Louis XVI's back. I have also revealed how France's Foreign Minister, the magisterial Comte de Vergennes, went to great lengths to secure through espionage agents incriminating documents that would prove that Jacques Necker, France's Director General of Finances, was making covert appeasement moves toward the British ministry. How a British double agent was used by some one high up in British government circles to frame the anti-administration leaders, Lord Shelburne and the Duke of Richmond, is revealed by a study of intelligence correspondence, and how a counterintelligence agent sought to mislead the French and their Dutch ally regarding British naval

A Master Spy's Espionage Collection

movements is also narrated therein. Some of the French intelligence reports from London, as I point out, had curiously anti-American overtones. Nevertheless the best efforts of professional espionage agents on the Continent failed to thwart the attainment by America of its major objective, the winning of independence.

If, then, espionage played a less consequential role in the later European phases of war and peacemaking, it was of prime value in the early years of the Revolution, when France and Spain were covertly aiding the American insurgents, and Lord Stormont, Britain's tenacious ambassador at Versailles, was bent upon tracking down the evidence of France's complicity in supporting the insurgency of England's colonies. Many years ago Benjamin Franklin Stevens, bookman and antiquary, issued in twenty-four portfolios a collection of manuscript facsimiles of documents drawn from the European archives relating to America, 1773-1783. A substantial part of this collection dealt with the intelligence operations conducted by Lord Stormont in Paris, as well as with the activities of Philip Stevens, the permanent undersecretary of the British Admiralty, and William Eden, an undersecretary of state, who between them conducted an operation on a scale of almost the magnitude of General Donovan's operation for the OSS.

In many cases the reports of General Donovan's researchers provide more fare than is offered at B. F. Stevens' table. To take one example from a goodly number, among the Donovan reports are some juicy morsels detailing the activities of the corps of British spies who used Holland as a center for their operations. From a little bookshop in Rotterdam Frouw Marguerite Wolters, an innocuous-looking burgher's widow, for years fed the British Admiralty with reports—political, diplomatic, military, naval, and financial—gleaned from her agents located in every European nerve center, including Paris and Madrid. When at the end of 1780 England declared war against the Dutch, Frouw Wolters's espionage center was merely moved to Ostend in the Austrian Low Countries, where it was headed by her trusted chief clerk, L. C. Hake. In addition, Sir Joseph Yorke, Britain's formidable

Richard B. Morris

ambassador to the United Provinces, removed himself from The Hague when his country went to war against the Netherlands, and merely shifted the intelligence operations that he himself had supervised from the Dutch capital to Antwerp.

These intelligence activities, and numerous other undercover operations conducted both in England and on the Continent, are documented and analyzed in part, if not in full, in three separate, though incomplete, reports made for General Donovan and based upon a study of the documents in the public archives of Great Britain and France. The Vatican archives were also combed, but the yield was negligible. In addition, the Donovan team searched the Headquarters' Papers at the William L. Clements Library at Ann Arbor for documents revealing British military intelligence operations in America, an area which was carefully worked over by Carl Van Doren in his Secret History of the American Revolution.

Of all the reports and transcripts in this huge collection, perhaps the most significant for the historian are the analyses and copies of correspondence detailing American espionage operations directed by General Washington himself, and documented at length in the Papers of George Washington deposited in the Library of Congress. While the letters which Washington wrote have been published in the Fitzpatrick edition, no systematic publication of the enormous body of letters addressed to the General has ever been attempted. They are still in large measure an unworked mine. The Donovan Collection contains thirtyfour volumes of transcripts of documents from the Washington Papers, along with ten volumes of biographical sketches dealing with people covered in the correspondence. These are grouped by regional campaigns, and attention is paid to espionage, intelligence, and counterespionage activities.

In *A Peculiar Service*, a book scheduled for fall publication, Corey Ford tells us how the idea of the book was suggested to him by General Donovan, to whose staff Ford was temporarily assigned during World War II. The general, whose extensive

6

A Master Spy's Espionage Collection

library of books on espionage has also been donated to the Columbia Libraries along with his research papers, took down from his crowded shelves a copy of *General Washington's Spies* by Mor-



Contemporary silhouettes of Sarah Townsend and her brother Robert, one of General Washington's spies who was known as Culper Junior. ton Pennypacker and asked: "Why don't you write a book about the beginnings of American intelligence in the Revolution?"

Corey Ford finally took up the challenge, and his forthcoming book, recounting some of the hair-raising escapades of the spy rings in New York, demonstrates the profitable uses to which the Donovan Collection may be put by a resourceful researcher who can recognize a clue, and has the ingenuity and persistence to run down the leads in which this collection of working papers and documents abounds. One spy ring which is now exposed to us in fascinating detail by Corey Ford is the Culper Ring—code name for Washington's Manhattan agency. Its members were amateurs at spying. We catch glimpses of them in the Donovan Papers—a schoolteacher, a Setauket farmer, an ex-whaler, a tavern keeper, a Quaker merchant. Amateurs, but, as Corey Ford shows, these homespun spies managed to outwit the professional British intelligence operation to the end of the Revolution.

Richard B. Morris

Finally, one caution must be offered. The Donovan Collection is a vast storehouse of research notes, calendars, transcripts, and microfilm, for which a guide has been prepared by the General's research assistant, Mrs. Eleanor F. Steiner-Prag. These reports light up innumerable paths, but you yourself will have to choose the one you wish to explore, make your own fresh reconnaissance of the ground ahead, and carry on the journey to the end.

A Neglected Genius of Colonial Pennsylvania

JOHN JOSEPH STOUDT

BOUT one hundred and twenty-five years before that Independence day in 1845 when Henry David Thoreau went to live alone by Walden Pond near Concord, Massachusetts, a German-born mystic named Conrad Beissel (1691-1763), with several companions, was living the solitary life in the Conestoga region of what now is Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

Not only was Conrad Beissel's self-chosen solitude just as productive in a literary sense as Thoreau's later became, but it also was an expression of the same rebellion against a society which demanded that a man live by its laws, conform to its customs, accumulate its wealth, think its thoughts and dress to please its tastes.

Conrad Beissel was to become one of the most productive literary figures in Colonial America. He wrote—of course in the German language—at least six volumes of mystical prose and about forty thousand lines of German religious verse. But even though eighteenth century America boasted few writers as prolific, his name does not appear in the histories of American literature; American literary historians continue to ignore him because he wrote in that other language in which George Washington published some of his Pennsylvania proclamations, the German.

Beissel had been born at Eberbach along the Neckar in Germany, March 1, 1691, son of a no-account baker who had died several months before his son's birth. The lad's orphaned childhood was one of poverty, neglect and hunger. Precocious of mind but sickly of body, he withdrew into himself and developed an outer life of make-believe and feigned good fellowship: he even fiddled for the frolics of weddings. This introspective young

John Joseph Stoudt

man was apprenticed to a baker in Eberbach, going on his journeyman travels to Strassburg, Mannheim and Heidelberg. At each place he came in touch with unorthodox religious groups— Philadelphians, pietists, mystics—and in 1716, in his twenty-fifth year, he experienced profound conversion, finding acceptance in the Heidelberg circle of pietists, among whom were several university professors. His espousal of pietism brought him in conflict with his fellow bakers as well as with the ecclesiastical authorities; his fellow bakers resented this long-nosed busybody prying into their affairs and criticizing their peccadillos; churchmen were alarmed by the threat of separatism. Soon he was in conflict with civil and religious authorities and was haled before civil and religious courts—where he was found guilty of an unknown charge and banished from his homeland.

Sick with tuberculosis and deeply troubled, Beissel came, peddlar's pack on his back, to the land of the exiled pietists in tolerant Wittgenstein, then *rendezvous* for the persecuted. Ill, ragged, and hungry he thus reached Schwartzenau where there still was an afterglow of an earlier awakening; here a fellow baker named Schatz introduced him to Johann Friedrich Rock (1648-1749) and to Eberhard Ludwig Gruber (1665-1728), leaders of the congregation of True Inspiration, a movement deriving from the prophets of the southern French deserts. Here too he was cured of his illness by Dr. Carl.

In 1720, in company with Georg Stieffel, Jacob Stuntz, Simon König and Heinrich von Bebber he sailed for America, landing in Boston in September and proceeding to Philadelphia. His goal was Germantown. Here he remained for a year, living with the sectarian leader Peter Becker, learning a new trade—weaving. His spirit, though, was not yet at peace and he longed for fuller solitude, convinced that civilization was corrupt. So, with his travelling companions, he plunged deeper into the Pennsylvania wilderness, going fifty miles farther up into the Conestoga region, hoping to live there as one of the quiet in the land, free from contentious religious opinions, close to the forest and his God.

A Neglected Genius of Colonial Pennsylvania

His fight had taken him from cultured but, as he felt, corrupt Heidelberg to the edge of the American wilderness.

Beissel's search for the simple life, uncluttered by human misery, was not easily satisfied. He visited the Labadist colony in Bohemia Manor, Maryland; he made acquaintance of Welsh sabbatarians in Chester county; he travelled to various regions, preaching his message.

His holy life and blessed works soon brought him to the attention of the other solitary living in Penn's woods, for at that time the frontier was peopled by hermits like those of the ancient Egyptian deserts. Pennsylvania was full of mystics, and Beissel was chief among them. From his light a new awakening arosetwo decades before the New England great awakeningand his preaching journeys helped to convince others that he was a religious genius. Also, he had special attraction to women. Gradually, solitary of both sexes forsook their lonely ways and gathered around him, forming a community. Beissel accepted this as a call



BEISSEL, JAEBEZ AND ONESIMUS. From an old Kloster sketch.

to leadership. After several starts, a new congregation arose about him, located at the place called Ephrata. This was around 1735. Various colonies of the awakened came to the community and in 1739 the congregation was well enough organized to have a hymnal published, containing the poetry of Beissel and some of the others.

John Joseph Stoudt

Even while he had been a solitary pilgrim in the Pennsylvania wilderness, Beissel had written prose and verse; in fact, Benjamin Franklin, then a struggling Philadelphia printer, had brought out



THE EPHRATA CLOISTER

Shown above are two of the principal buildings of the Cloister: Saal, the Chapel (right), and Saron, the Sister House (left). They are still standing and are being preserved by the state.

collections of his works. This was as early as 1730. Beissel's pen never stopped. He wrote meditations, epistles, hymns, apocalypses as well as verses—some of the deepest writings to come from a Colonial American writer.

The congregation that gathered about Beissel in the Lancaster Conestoga was half-monastic, half-worldly. Three orders developed, perhaps in imitation of the old Franciscans: first there was the Brotherhood of Zion, a gathering of some of the most profound spirits of the pietist movement; then there were the Sisters, organized into the Sisters of the Rose of Sharon; and finally there was a third order, of Householders, who, unlike the single sisters and brethren, were heads of households and farmed their own fertile Lancaster lands which surrounded the celibate cloisters. Hence a community of three orders formed a dynamic economic pattern; soon it was sending wagon loads of produce to Philadelphia and even maintained agents there to market its wares.

To subject the flesh and spirit, Beissel founded several schools, for in addition to physical labor there were these disciplines for the spirit: a writing school where manuscript illumination was done and a singing school where the choir was trained in Beissel's peculiar theories of music. Here the poetry which Beissel was writing was matched to the musical chorales he was composing, for he was poet, musician, and choir-master.

By 1748 the singing of Beissel's music at Ephrata was a high art and had attracted attention in all of the colonies. Visitors came to hear this angelic sound. In this year there came off the Ephrata press a magnificent hymnal, *Die Turteltaube*, the Turtledove, containing only words. A beautifully illuminated manuscript copy was made in the writing school and presented to Conrad Beissel. This precious example of American calligraphic art is now in the Music Division of the Library of Congress. Also, for the use of the singers in the choir, choral books were prepared, consisting of printed words of the chorales with musical notations added by hand. These chorale books were made in the Ephrata writing school.

In 1750 the chief illuminator, Sister Anastasia, who was born of a prominent Swiss family, prepared a magnificent copy book, *Der Christen ABC*, the Christian ABC, which was a pattern book for the illuminating art. It survives and now is the property of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

In 1754 the third great hymnal was prepared, *Paradisiches Wunderspiel*, miracle play of paradise, containing an enlarged collection of religious poetry. Again a specially illuminated copy was made for and presented to Conrad Beissel; this too is in the Music Division of the Library of Congress. Chorale books likewise were made for the use of singers, who stood in the chapel with printed words and manuscript chorale books, singing this mystical music at worship.



An Ephrata Sister from an illuminated hymn-book

A Neglected Genius of Colonial Pennsylvania

The Columbia University Libraries now have the Berol collection of Ephrata materials, giving students of American colonial history basic sources for a study of this phase of early American life. The collection comprises twelve items, as follows:

One printed copy of the *Turteltaube* hymnal of 1747, containing the mystical poetry of Beissel and other Ephrata members.

One printed copy of the *Turteltaube* hymnal of 1747 with later printed appendices.

Three manuscript choral books to the *Turteltaube* hymnal of 1747 used in the choir by the singers.

One printed copy of the Wunderspiel hymnal of 1766.

One manuscript choral book of the *Wunderspiel*, dated 1754, and used with the earlier edition of the hymnals.

One unidentified manuscript choral book which belonged to Jacob Neagly in 1791, probably to accompany a later hymnal.

One unidentified choral book in manuscript with printed register which may be related to the *Weyrauchs-Hügel* of 1739. (If so, it is a unique piece.)

Three volumes of Beissel's mystical prose writings.

Together these twelve items in the Berol collection afford students basic material to study not only the poetry of one of Colonial America's most prolific writers, although he wrote in German, but his music too. Beissel's music, which is being transposed and revived, can be sung—a disc has been cut to record it and it seems to have been, next to the Moravian music of Bethlehem, the finest cultural achievement of Colonial Pennsylvania.

Here in this music we come close to Bach, close to the deep seventeenth century piety—mystical chorales and mystical verse which is a far cry from the deism of that rationalist eighteenth century. And today, as we visit Ephrata in the dusk of a Pennsylvania summer evening and hear the strains of Beissel's music sung again along the gently flowing Cocalico, we too are moved by its depth and mystical aspiration; we can sense the profound mood of old Ephrata.

Perhaps then, we may understand why that clever and witty

John Joseph Stoudt

figure of early Pennsylvania, printer Benjamin Franklin, made the fame of Ephrata known in England and France, and carried two of these illuminated manuscripts to Europe. Perhaps Franklin, rationalist that he was, knew within him that this spirit which breathes forth from Beissel's music was far deeper than anything which rationalism could offer.

In any event, Beissel's poetry and music, as yet largely unstudied, await the work of an appreciative student who, in the Berol collection, has a good introduction to what this writer believes is one of the finest cultural achievements of eighteenth century America.

16

Dante Through Three Artists' Eyes

PEPPINO G. MANGRAVITE

ANTE'S Divine Comedy is dear to artists. For over 600 years this great poem has inspired them to transcribe its world of imagery—a sculptural world of impassioned human gestures and clashing souls—into graphic and pictorial vernaculars of their time. To artists, Dante represents the poet of the soul of mankind, and the visual interpretation of mankind's soul has been the purpose and function of the artist ever since he first discovered the outline thousands of years ago, then invented manual ways to make it "capture" permanently on a surface the symbols of the soul. Out of that discovery and of those inventions, "the Poets," it has been said, "made all the words."

The Divine Comedy—the Inferno, particularly—has been interpreted in various and diverse graphic and pictorial languages by many artists, including Giotto, Botticelli, Michelangelo, Signorelli, William Blake, and, in our time, Salvador Dali and our American contemporaries Rico LeBrun and Robert Rauschenberg. These artists' interpretations of the Divine Comedy are commonly spoken of as illustrations, but they are more than visual representation of word logic; they are graphic and pictorial narrations which for aesthetic enjoyment should be read in their own syntactical form without the accompaniment of literary text.

Illustration—"the art of representing graphically or pictorially some idea which has been expressed in words"—is as old as human language itself. Unfortunately, its potency as an art was weakened when modern culture applied it to literature, specifically to story books.

I remember my school days, 50 years ago, when we did not need a synthetic stimulus in the form of drawn or painted paraphernalia to help us enjoy reading literature. Students were no more imaginative then than they are today, the teaching of read-

Peppino G. Mangravite

ing may have been slower, more cumbersome than under the present progressive methods, but we learned to read and grew up with a genuine desire to read. It was not unusual then to read Dante's *Divine Comedy* at sixteen or seventeen. Would I could write of the living pictures and dramatic compositions which the poetry of Dante evoked in my mind! Those mental pictures were real to me; they had individual character, they were the result of Dante's visions interpreted by my imagination. It was some years later when I saw for the first time Doré's literal illustrations of the *Divine Comedy* reproduced alongside the literary equivalent the poetical visions of Dante converted and reduced to a banal and miniscule scale—that I realized how futile it is to overlap word language with graphic or pictorial illustrations. Ever since, I have avoided books for adults with pictures that overlap words.

Most illustrations for the Divine Comedy by great artists, though designed to interpret the narrative in visual terms, were not intended to distract the reader's interest from the text-an interest which is apt to be weakened by the eye's instantaneous comprehension of picture reproduction alongside it. Writing, drawing, and painting are separate languages, and most fine artists realize this. I myself was lucky enough to have learned it at an early age. As Aldous Huxly puts it: "Music can say four or five different things at the same time, and can say them in such a way that different things will combine into one thing. . . . Painting too can exhibit the simultaneity of incompatabilities-serene composition alongside agonized brush work. . . . We can see more than one thing at a time, and we can hear more than one thing at a time. But unfortunately we cannot read more than one thing at a time." Literature cannot be perceived as significant form at a glance as drawing and painting can. It is a known fact that the average reader, accustomed to reading illustrated books, often skips that part of the literary text paraphrased by visual illustrations. For aesthetic enjoyment, the poet's visions and the artist's interpretations of them should be read apart, in spite of their historic kinship.

Dante Through Three Artists' Eyes

Ever since the beginning of language there has existed a perceptual relationship between poet and artist. In the language of the poet the visual artist often recognizes an image of his inner self. Expressing himself in action as he does, the artist's very nature urges him to elaborate what he senses and sees into his own graphic or plastic language. For centuries poets and artists have imbued human language with the warmth and color of their sensibilities—until logicians began to show hostility to their emotive acts.

To the logical mind of Ancient Greek and Roman philosophers the expression of the senses in formal thought was considered a deceitful function of language. Out of that peculiar reasoning Plato exiled poets from his republic, and later the Romans established the Artes Liberales—intellectual studies that scorn the inclusion of the maker's sensibilities—the manifestations of his hand and eye. The alienation of the maker from the pursuits of the mind persevered for a thousand years. But its system can still be traced in the antiquated Liberal Arts Colleges of today.

Dante was the first in the modern world to reconcile sensibility and intellect, for he had the dualistic power of perceiving with an artist's eye and of thinking in poetical phrases. He believed that the senses are avenues to the mind, and that of these the eye is supreme. That is why his poetry is predominantly visual, hence beloved by artists.

Perusing Dante's *Divine Comedy*, Goethe wrote: "He saw objects so distinctly with the eye of his imagination that he could reflect them into clear-cut outlines, and thus it is that we see the most abstract conceptions range themselves before us as if drawn after nature." No wonder Dante has continually attracted artists to his domain.

The numerous artists who have illustrated Dante's *Inferno* have spanned many different cultural periods, each with its own particular view about art. Let us take, for example, the periods of Botticelli, Blake, and Rauschenberg. What was the prevailing view of each artist's period about the purpose of Art, and how

Peppino G. Mangravite

does the manner in which each painter chose to illustrate Dante's poem demonstrate not only the attitude of his age, but also his own individual and unique response to the poet's word?

Art historian Kenneth Clark tells us that there have been three principal views about the purpose of art in Western civilization. "First that it aims simply at imitation," (until before the invention of the camera); "secondly that it should influence human conduct; and thirdly, that it should produce a kind of exalted happiness." Imitating with fidelity what the optical eye sees was the view of the purpose of art held by the Ancient Greeks. That view was extended past the Renaissance. It was Botticelli's view. With such a view, what does he see in the poetical vision of Dante; what, for example, does he hear in Canto XXXI of the *Inferno?* What does Blake, painting in a period when the moralistic view of art was dominant, see and hear in the same Canto? And in our own time with its exalted view of art, what does Rauschenberg see and hear in Canto XXXI? Last but not least, what does Dante say in this Canto?

John Ciardi, in his modern translation of Dante's *Inferno*, summarizes Canto XXXI as follows:

The Central Pit of Malebolge — the Giants

"Dante's spirits rise again as the Poets approach the Central Pit, a great well, at the bottom of which lies Cocytus, the Ninth and final circle of Hell. Through the darkness Dante sees what appears to be a city of great towers, but as he draws near he discovers that the great shapes he has seen are the Giants and Titans who stand perpetual guard inside the well-pit with the upper halves of their bodies rising above the rim.

⁴Among the Giants, Virgil identifies NIMROD, builder of the tower of Babel; EPHIALTES and BRIAREUS, who warred against the Gods; and TITYOS and TYPHON, who insulted Jupiter. Also here, but for no specific offense, is ANTAEUS, and his presence makes it clear that the Giants are placed here less for their particular sins than for their general natures.

"These are the sons of the earth, embodiment of element forces

Dante Through Three Artists' Eyes

unbalanced by love, desire without restraint and without acknowledgment of moral and theological law. They are symbols of the earth-trace that every devout man must clear from his soul, the unchecked passions, passions of the beast. Raised from the earth, they make the very gods tremble. Now they are returned to the darkness of their origins, guardians of earth's last depth.

"At Virgil's persuasion, Antaeus takes the Poets in his huge palm and lowers them gently to the final floor of Hell."

This vision of Dante in Canto XXXI, while providing the atmosphere for the linear movement of Botticelli, encourages the artist to transpose the poet's sculptural allegory into his very own lyrical articulation. Botticelli was devoted to the allegory of the Divine Comedy, but he was not a scholar, as say, Michelangelo was. He saw the poem with the intuitive eye of a painter disciplined in the belief that even allegory should be sharply projected into visual form by imitation of its equivalent in nature. He illustrated the rhythm of the poem with lyrical Botticellian lines-lines which do not bind Dante's allegorical images, but imitate instead the physical form of man as conceived by ancient Greek sculptors. In Canto XXXI, Botticelli transforms the diverse characters of Dante's Titans and Giants into one repetitious image -the ancient Greek image of man. He illustrates more his ability to imitate codified forms than to illumine Dante's visions with the clarity of his linear language. The Greco-Roman image of man is so persistently imitated in Canto XXXI that Dante's idiomatic narration of the "Ninth and final Circle of Hell" becomes Botticelli's classical adaptation of Hell.

Blake, on the other hand, in the poetical allegory of Dante, hears only the echoes of his own mystic voice. He sees Dante's visions with the Protestant's eye—endeavoring to sustain mystical content within the moralistic art view of his time. He chooses the most virtuous of the Giants, Antaeus, in Canto XXXI to illustrate *his* concept of allegory and myth, not Dante's.

Botticelli had sensed the narration of Canto XXXI in its entirety before he transposed it into his own linear language. Blake



Botticelli's protrayal of the pit (Dante's Inferno, Canto XXXI)



Peppino G. Mangravite

chooses only one episode of the Canto, the most literal, to represent more his own doctrine of immanence than the transcendental visions of Dante. And he does this with the popular art language of the time— water color and engraving, of which he was a consummate master. The languages of water color and engraving, unlike the linear pen drawings of Botticelli, permit an infinite variety of light and dark planes—the very variety that colors Blake's illustrations of Dante with Blakean drama.

Robert Rauschenberg's inspiration for the illustration of Dante's *Inferno* was mainly derived from reading contemporary poet John Ciardi's *Dante's Inferno*, a rendering of the *Inferno of the Divine Connedy* in modern English. I have evolved my estimation of Rauschenberg's illustrations from long perusal of his original drawings, both when they were first exhibited in New York—they are now owned by the Museum of Modern Art—and more recently from the superb loose-leaf, actual-size reproductions of the 34 Cantos published in portfolio form by Harry N. Abrams, Inc., a copy of which is available for the "reader" of visual art in the Special Collections Department of the Columbia University Libraries.

Rauschenberg's drawings are a technical language of his own invention, which involves wetting a piece of drawing paper with lighter fluid, placing on it, face down, a photograph from a magazine, and rubbing over the back of the photograph—then adding to the transferred image water-color washes, shading, erasing, and line drawings. This distinguished "Pop Artist's" drawings of Dante's *Inferno* are a distillation of his exalted view of art and life —art and life to Rauschenberg being one and the same. Dore Ashton, in the introduction to the reproductions in the portfolio, writes that Rauschenberg "is akin to the Florentine Master of Universal Sightseeing in that he hears, smells, touches, recoils, swoons before what he sees."

In Canto XXXI the images Rauschenberg uses are all of the present day, taken from magazines. "Just as Dante used public figures to people his Hell," writes Rauschenberg's biographer



William Blake's conception of Antaeus setting down Dante and Virgil (Dante's Inferno, Canto XXXI)



Rauschenberg's illustration for Canto XXXI of Dante's Inferno

Dante Through Three Artists' Eyes

Calvin Tomkins, "so does Rauschenberg: Kennedy, Nixon, and Adlai Stevenson turn up here and there." In most Cantos, "Stevenson appears as Virgil, the guide." In Canto XXXI he appears "along with other modern souls in torment as struggling athletes in the place of Dante's Titans." The illustration is Rauschenberg's elated view of Dante's allegory seen and articulated through his own visual idiom.

Fully to appreciate Rauschenberg's illustrations of Dante's *Inferno* the reader of visual art should also take into consideration his humility and respect for the poet's words. After he had decided to make a series of drawings of the *Inferno*, "he made up his mind," writes Calvin Tomkins, "that he would not attempt to pick out highlights (in the Cantos) to illustrate, because that would smack too much of personal taste and imply a certain lack of respect for the poet by distorting his emphasis and thus encouraging distortion in reading." How true! Dante's poetical words and the artist's illustration of them are languages to be respected and enjoyed for what they are.

Dante will forever deliver the word so that it reaches the roots of the artist's sensibilities and awakens in him the echo of all the dreams that mankind has dreamed for centuries. It is for the artist to illustrate by his own visual means the vision of Dante without overlapping the poet's words. If all the artists who have illustrated the *Divine Connedy* have not succeeded in illumining the poet's words, a few, certainly, have achieved the aesthetic satisfaction of translating them into visual vernaculars of their time; thus, by the power of creative imagination, they are ever expanding our awareness of the universal breadth of Dante's thought.



Lewis Carroll's photograph of Alice, Lorina, and Edith Liddell to whom he originally told *Alice's Adventures Under Ground*.

The Return of Alice's Adventures Under Ground

LUTHER H. EVANS

Y STORY begins with the measles. If it is not unconstitutional for the Librarian of Congress to have the measles, it certainly is undignified. Be that as it may, I came down early in 1946 with this annoying affliction, which earlier-when I was 13-had put me to bed with Ivanhoe. Daily I received a few papers from my office on essential matters, and The New York Times. On March 14 that remarkable source of current knowledge carried, on the first page of its second section, advance publicity about the Eldridge Johnson sale which would be held on April 3 at the Parke-Bernet Galleries in New York. The touching news item related how the aged widow, who long ago had been the inspiration for the little girl of Alice's Adventures Under Ground, had been brought to part, some 18 years earlier, with the prized and famous manuscript which she originally had found in her Christmas stocking. It contained the story which the mathematics professor made up and told to her two sisters and herself on a picnic on that American Independence anniversary in 1862. The newspaper calmly set forth that the British Museum, although yearning to acquire the great item for the people of Britain, had felt unable to bid more than £12,500 at Sotheby's auction sale of April 3, 1928. That had not been enough, and Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach had purchased the manuscript and six Dodgson letters for £15,400.

The newspaper account was accompanied by a facsimile page from the manuscript, with a drawing of Alice by Lewis Carroll, which clearly showed that Tenniel's inspiration for his famous illustrations in the printed *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*

Luther H. Evans

came from the author of the great story. There followed information about the purchaser to whom Dr. Rosenbach sold the little morocco-bound book with its ruled pages, block letters, and numerous pen-and-ink drawings.

In the leisure of my enforced idleness I began to think about the aggressions which unusual riches had enabled Americans to commit earlier in the century against the cultural patrimony of other countries. I had only a few months earlier participated in the exciting work of writing in London the constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, and was much attached to the noble ideals expressed in it. One of these was respect for the cultural heritage of all countries, and another was the jealous preservation of and making widely available the world's books, manuscripts, art objects, and other materials of learning and research. I had also seen some of the evidence of the suffering which the people of the tight little isle had gone through. Reflection on these matters filled me with emotion, and I determined to act, both to make some reparation for excessive American acquisitiveness and to show gratitude for the suffering from which we Americans had been beneficiaries. But how?

Being an administrator, that is, an underpaid semi-intellectual whose job it is to put other people's ideas into noiseless practice, with care to obscure the fact if perchance an idea is his own, I quickly came to the conclusion that the course of action I should follow was to persuade a few compatriots to pay handsomely to relieve my anguish by purchasing the manuscript at the forthcoming auction sale, and presenting it as a gift to the British Museum, the most appropriate repository of the British cultural heritage. The Museum's hunger of 18 years before no doubt still existed.

As soon as it was safe to go downstairs to the telephone without danger of a relapse, I called Lessing Rosenwald, who had recently contributed a magnificent collection to the Library of Congress, and asked his advice. He accepted my idea with genuine

quite dull and stupid for things to go on in the common way.

So she set to work, and very soon finished off the cake.

"Curiouser and curiouser!" cried Alice, (she was so surprised that she quite forgot how to speak good English) "now I'm opening out like the largest telescope that ever was! Goodbye, feet!" (for when she looked down at her feet, they seemed almost out of sight, they were getting so far off,)" oh, my poor little feet, I wonder who will put on your shoes and stockings for you now, dears ? I'm sure I ca'n't! I shall be a great deal too far off to bother myself about you : you must manage the best way you can - but I must be kind to them", thought Alice, "or perhaps they won't walk the way I want to go! Let me see : I'll give them a new pair of boots every Christmas. And she went on planning to herself how she would manage it:

A page from the original manuscript of *Alice*, with illustration by the author.

Luther H. Evans

enthusiasm, and volunteered to put in some large blue chips and to assist me in wheedling others into supporting the project. He further advised me to talk to Dr. Rosenbach about the price to be bid and to ask him to do the bidding. He mentioned that Dr. Rosenbach took great pride in having been the original purchaser of Alice and would wish to be the purchaser again on this second and perhaps last time it would ever be sold at auction. This I did at once. Dr. Rosenbach was as excited as a young girl on her first date. He offered spontaneously to do the bidding without a commission, to make a contribution himself, and also to give me time to collect the necessary funds. We discussed prices, and on his recommendation, I gave him authority to bid up to \$100,000, and to charge the cost to my personal account. He thought the manuscript would bring perhaps \$75,000, but one should play it safe. The Library of Congress was not to be involved in any responsibility.

I do not recall the date of my calls to Mr. Rosenwald and Dr. Rosenbach, but I do have the text of a telegram to Wilmarth S. Lewis, dated March 22, 1946, in which I informed him of my plan.

The sale is a part of history, and need not be recounted here. The purchase was made for \$50,000, and Mr. Rosenwald, Dr. Rosenbach and I set about the task of interesting contributors, with frequent help from John Fleming, who then was Dr. Rosenbach's assistant. Most of the money came in by virtue of the initial drive in 1946, thanks to Mr. Rosenwald's great zeal and the standing which his support gave the enterprise. Dr. Rosenbach added to his generosity by making a substantial contribution on behalf of his brother, Dr. Philip Rosenbach, and himself, and also persuaded other persons to give substantial sums. After a while the going became harder, and I became more and more preoccupied with other matters of interest to the Librarian of Congress, who was also, by 1947, representative to many Unesco meetings.

Despite an unpaid balance of more than \$8,000, John Fleming

The Return of Alice's Adventures Under Ground

suggested during the summer of 1948 that I go ahead and make the presentation to the British Museum when I passed through London early in November, en route to the Beirut meeting of Unesco's General Conference. I decided to take advantage of the opportunity. One fine day right after Thomas E. Dewey conceded his unexpected defeat by Harry S. Truman, I took the precious item from the safe in the Librarian's office and tucked it in my brief-case. The manuscript spent a peaceful night in the room where my 12-year old son slept. The next day it was on exhibit for some hours in the New York Public Library, and was there also for the night, prior to the sailing of the *Queen Elizabeth* on November 6, 1948.

During the crossing of the Atlantic I took enough time from U.S. delegation meetings to read the manuscript, which differs considerably in the text from the published book. The purser's safe and an exhibit case in the ship's library were, however, the principal repositories of the treasure during the voyage. The purser was delighted to serve as temporary custodian, and proudly recounted how he had served in the crew of the ship which brought Mrs. Reginald Liddell Hargreaves (the original Alice) to the United States in 1932, where she was honored by many, including Columbia University.

The Customs people at Southampton had been alerted, and there was no difficulty at that stage. Our arrival in London was at about midnight on Friday—I almost left the manuscript in my seat on the train—and we were due to leave for Damascus by plane at 5:00 p.m. on Saturday, November 13. There was thus little time in which to have a transfer of custody, but Sir John Forsdyke, then Director of the British Museum, and his colleagues were prepared to carry out the arrangements about which he had told me by wire two days earlier. Around 10 a.m. that cold and wet Saturday I took the little treasure in hand—it had spent the night under my pillow at the hotel—and went by car to the British Museum. There I entrusted full care and custody to the Archbishop of Canterbury, as Chairman of the Trustees of the

Luther H. Evans

Mueum, and gave a little speech in which I recounted much of the above story. I added that the gift was made by a group of citizens of the United States who wanted to perform an act of



Luther H. Evans (left) presenting the original Lewis Carroll manuscript to the Archbishop of Canterbury (now Lord Fisher of Lambeth) and to Sir John Forsdyke, then director of the British Museum.

justice (cultural reparation) and also an act of thanks for the valiant defense of Western civilization and the liberties of all men against German might and terror, a defense organized by the British while Americans were engaged in arguments over whether international affairs were of any concern to them.

The Archbishop made an impressive speech of thanks about the gift as "an unsullied and innocent act in a distracted and sinful world... a pure act of generosity." Mr. George V. Allen, Assistant Secretary of State and chief of the U.S. delegation to the Unesco Conference, made a few kind and approving remarks, a number of Americans present swelled a bit with pride, and a number of Britishers had a quicker heartbeat and some even a slight catch in the throat. *Alice* had returned!
The Return of Alice's Adventures Under Ground

There is nothing further to say, except that the remaining amount of money was eventually raised (the last of it early in 1953), and that the Trustees of the British Museum were provided confidentially with a list of the donors, who would, it had been agreed when the enterprise was begun, remain anonymous.

35

Alice at Columbia

N May 2, 1932, Mrs. Reginald Pleasance Hargreaves was granted the degree of Doctor of Letters by Columbia University. President Nicholas Murray Butler, in presenting the degree, made the following citation:

"Descendant of John of Gaunt, time-honored Lancaster; daughter of that distinguished Oxford scholar whose fame will last until English-speaking men cease to study the Greek language and its immortal literature; awakening with her girlhood's charm the ingenious fancy of a mathematician familiar with imaginary quantities, stirring him to reveal his complete understanding of the heart of a child as well as of the mind of a man; to create imaginary figures and happenings in a language all his own, making odd phrases and facts to live on pages which will adorn the literature of the English tongue, time without end, and which are as charming as quizzical, and as amusing as fascinating; thereby building a lasting bridge from the childhood of yesterday to the children of countless tomorrows—the moving cause, Aristotle's $\tau \delta \circ \delta$ ἕvɛκα of this truly noteworthy contribution to English literature."

Mrs. Hargreaves (the former Alice Liddell, who as a girl of ten had inspired Lewis Carroll to compose *Alice in Wonderland*) was given the degree at one of the culminating events of the centenary celebration of Carroll's birth. The central theme of the celebration was a definitive exhibition of the published works of the author-mathematician-cleric, which made history by bringing together for simultaneous display nine of the fifteen copies of the 1865 edition of *Alice* then known to exist, as well as the original manuscript which Dr. Evans discusses in this issue of the *Columns*.

Today, after some thirty-three years, the number of known copies of the 1865 *Alice* has been somewhat increased, but it is altogether unlikely that the Columbia exhibit could be duplicated.



Mrs. Reginald Pleasance Hargreaves, the original Alice of *Alice's Adventures Under Ground*, with President Nicholas Murray Butler after receiving the Litt.D. degree.

Our Growing Collections

ROLAND BAUGHMAN

Gifts

I.G.A. gift. The American Institute of Graphic Arts has continued its practice of placing a full set of each year's "50 Books of the Year" award winners in Special Collections. The current gift comprises the 1964 exhibition (1963 production).

Appleton gift. Professor William W. Appleton (M.A., 1940; Ph.D., 1949) has presented a remarkable collection of thirty letters from his distinguished ancestor, William Henry Appleton, the publisher, to the latter's father, Daniel Appleton, then senior member of the firm. The letters, written during the period from May 15, 1838, to May 2, 1839, deal with business affairs, commercial news, and personal matters.

Aramco gift. Through the good offices of Professor Saba Habachy, the Arabian American Oil Company has presented to the Law Library a collection of 214 Arabic books, many of which are old and rare. They comprise basic works on Islamic law, statutory compilations of several Middle Eastern countries, and legal treatises, as well as a number of novels, histories, and other works of more general interest.

Day gift. Mrs. John Day has presented a large number of transcriptions, notes, and papers relevant to the Columbia papyri which her husband, the late Professor Day, had compiled.

East Asian Library: Chinese Section. In recent months some 200 government and public institutions in Taiwan have been approached directly for publications that are not otherwise read-

Our Growing Collections

ily available. Our list of required titles was carefully prepared, and the response has been remarkable. Within a month and a half, from the middle of May when the first package came into our hands until the end of June, 622 titles in 780 volumes had been received, and further gifts are expected. Many of the publications represent limited editions that are now out of print, and much classified material published by the National Government is included.

Feinberg gift. Mrs. Charles E. Feinberg has presented the scarce proof-sheet of Walt Whitman's "For Queen Victoria's Birthday", May 24, 1890.

Friedman gift. Mr. Harry G. Friedman (Ph.D., 1908) has presented five pamphlets on sculpture published by Tiffany & Co. in 1907 and 1908.

Gellhorn gift. Professor Walter Gellhorn (LL.B., 1931) has made substantial additions to the collection of his notes, correspondence, and manuscripts.

Greeman gift. Mr. Richard L. Greeman (M.A., 1963) has for some time collected works on microfilm by and about the French author Victor Serge. These films have been presented to Columbia University, under certain suitable restrictions. Included is Serge's manuscript novel, *Les Années Sans Pardon*.

Halsband gift. Professor Robert Halsband (M.A., 1936) has presented several items of high importance. Among them are: Italo Montemezzi's L'Amore dei Tre Re, 1913, inscribed by the composer to Mrs. Halsband; a photographic portrait of Paderewski, glazed and framed, and inscribed to Mrs. Halsband; and a group of miscellaneous autographs and printed pieces relating to Josef Hofmann, John McCormack, Julia and E. H. Sothern, and Louis Syberkrop.

40

Hays gift. Judge Paul R. Hays has presented a large collection of his non-current papers to Columbia University.

Katz gift. Professor Joseph Katz of Miami University in Dayton, Ohio, has presented two collections of importance. One comprises the James Otis Hoyt family papers; the other consists of materials by and relating to Genevieve Earle, and will be added to the considerable file already in Special Collections.

Keally gift. Mr. and Mrs. Francis Keally have placed in Avery Library 68 volumes of standard architectural texts.

Kerr gift. Professor and Mrs. Paul F. Kerr have presented nearly 150 books and serials relating to geology and other scientific subjects.

Kidder Smith gift. Mr. G. E. Kidder Smith has presented to Avery Library a substantial collection of pamphlets, exhibition catalogs, programs, etc., mainly on contemporary church architecture and ecclesiastic art in western Europe.

Knickerbocker gift. Professor William S. Knickerbocker (A.B., 1917; A.M., 1918; Ph.D., 1925) has presented a fine letter by Ben Ray Redman (9 p.), 24 September 1920.

Lasker gift. The late Mr. Bruno Lasker of Poulsbo, Washington, added substantially to the collection of his papers which he placed in Special Collections some years ago. The present gift, made only a few days before his death, comprises further material on Mr. Lasker's history of his life career, namely, material covering the period 1957-1965, and material for his Study of Prophetics. The latter group—the result of several decades of accumulation—deals with conditions (psychological and physical), methods, history, and case studies of prediction. It comprises some 5,000 pages (in 33 binders) of abstracts and com-

Our Growing Collections

ments; an index to abstracts by names, topics, and sub-topics; notes for a substantial bibliography; printed and manuscript materials; and the typed draft of an unpublished book, *Dates With Destiny*, 1964.

Longwell gift. Mr. Daniel Longwell (1922 C) of Neosho, Missouri, has made some rare and valuable additions to the Sir Winston Churchill Collection which he has established at Columbia. To be noticed at this time are three works by Churchill —the nearly unfindable *India* published in London by Thornton Butterworth, 1931 (a remarkably fine copy); the scarce 1908 edition of *Savrola*, issued as one of "Newnes' Sixpenny Novels" in paperback; and a proof copy of *Step by Step*, 1931, with the chapter "Will Hitler Make Napoleon's Mistakes?" which was deleted from the published version (a copy of which is included in the present gift). Mr. Longwell has also presented the first edition of Daniel Defoe's *Memoirs of a Cavalier* (no date), remarking that Churchill commented in his *History of World War II* that he followed the style of Defoe as exemplified in that work.

Unrelated to the Churchill Collection, but nevertheless of primary interest, was the gift by Mr. and Mrs. Longwell of Brander Matthews's *The Development of the Drama*, 1904, autographed by the author to Max Beerbohm.

Medina-Dimock gift. Judges Harold R. Medina (LL.B., 1912) and Edward J. Dimock have presented a most interesting legal manuscript to the Law Library. It is a Latin indenture (the lower unit), dated "in the octave of Saint Martin," 1305, in the reign of Edward Longshanks, and it deals with the settling of a land claim involving the "manor of Throppil with appurtenances" before the King's Court at Westminster. The settlement was in the favor of one John de Eure, but the deforciant, John Bertram, was granted balm in the amount of "one hundred silver marks."

Meloney gift. Mr. William Brown Meloney (A.B., 1927) has

presented a collection of 149 volumes from his private library. Among the books in the collection is John Evelyn's *An Essay on the First Book of T. Lucretius Carus De Rerum Natura*, 1656, bearing Evelyn's manuscript annotations in preparation for a later edition that was never published. Also present are: the first complete edition of the works of Rabelais, Lyon, 1558; the Geneva, 1550, edition of the works of Machiavelli; Boccaccio's *Il Decamerone*, Venice, 1557; a remarkable pamphlet entitled *A Guide to the Central Park*, published in 1859 shortly after the park became a municipal reality; two manuscripts by Alfred Noyes ("On William Butler Yeats," which lacks the first page, and a poem, "Robin's Adventure"); three inscribed copies of *Jail Journal*, 1854 and 1868, by the Irish patriot, John Mitchel; and Eugene Field's copy of Sheridan's *Dramatic Works*, 1870, with Field's autograph and two loose pages of notes in his hand.

Parker gift. Mr. Bertram Parker of Williamsville, New York, has presented a fine photographic portrait, glazed and framed, of Woodrow Wilson. The portrait is autographed, "To my dear friend, Bainbridge Colby, Woodrow Wilson, 1923." It had been acquired by Mr. Parker's grandmother, the late Mrs. E. J. Bellinger, at an auction of the contents of the Colby residence near Jamestown, New York.

Parsons gift. Professor Coleman O. Parsons (A.B., 1928) has presented a three-volume set of Anne MacVicar Grant's Letters from the Mountains; being the Real Correspondence of a Lady, between the years 1773 and 1807, 4th edition, 1809. In presenting the set, Professor Parsons wrote: "Despite the title page, the temporal range of the letters is 1773, when the lady was seventeen, to 1806, when her age should not be referred to by gentlemen like ourselves. The volumes are interesting for her life in America; her discussions of literature . . .; her comments on Highland manners, economy, language, and superstition; and her unfavorable analysis of Mary Wollstonecraft's Vindication."



Price Fifteen Cents

Cover of the booklet "by an officer of the park", which was published in New York by A. O. Moore and Company in 1859. (Meloney Gift)

Polanyi gift. Mrs. Karl Polanyi has presented a large collection of the papers, notes, and manuscripts formed by her late husband. Professor Polanyi served for many years on the Columbia faculty, beginning in 1947. One of his primary interests was the Ford Foundations' Interdisciplinary Project, which he directed from 1953 to 1955. The collection comprises his lecture notes while at Columbia; his "Memoranda" for the Interdisciplinary Project on economic aspects of institutional growth; notes and drafts for his various writings, including his *Semantics of General Economic History, Ports of Trade in Early Societies, Dahomey and the Slave Trade*, the first outline of *The Great Transformation*, early drafts of his unpublished *The Livelihood of Man*, the plan (later abandoned) for *Freedom and Technology*, and drafts and notes for various articles and shorter works.

Rabinowitz gift. Mr. Aaron Rabinowitz has presented three useful works in editions not previously in the Columbia collections: *Memoirs of the Sansons*, 1876; *The Cream of Leicestershire* (by Captain Edward Pennell-Elmhirst), 1883; and *The Journal of Montaigne's Travels in Italy*, 1903.

Rouse gift. Miss Mary S. Rouse has presented additional materials from the library of her brother-in-law, the late Leonidas Westervelt (1903 C). The gift includes books, scrapbooks, portrait photographs (many of them autographed) of theatrical personages, and other materials related to the theater. Of special note are eight typed scripts of plays by Westervelt, and an extraillustrated set of *Macready's Reminiscences*, 1875, originally two volumes but extended to four by the insertion of autographs, letters, pictures, playbills, and the like.

Taylor gift. The professional library of Dr. Howard C. Taylor (M.D., 1891), former Chairman of the Department of Obstetrics and Gynecology, was presented to the Medical Library in the Spring of this year. That portion of the collection which was not



Scenes from the Civil War play by Leonidas Westervelt in which John Ellsler starred. (Rouse Gift)

already present in the Medical Library was added to the Library's resources. The balance of the gift will be housed in the Department of Obstetrics & Gynecology as a working collection for the members of the Department, and will thus serve to strengthen the Library's resources and services by making more readily available additional copies of frequently consulted materials.

Terhune bequest. The late Anice Terhune (Mrs. Albert Payson Terhune) has bequeathed to Columbia a full set of the books written by her late husband (A.B., 1893), together with a number of other works from his library, including the deluxe edition of William Beebe's *Monograph of the Pheasants*, in four large volumes.

Upjohn gift. Professor Everard Upjohn has presented to Avery Library a number of 19th-century items, including a complete run of the very rare American art magazine, *The Limmer*, numbers 1-6, 1895.

Warren gift. Dean William C. Warren (M.A., 1952) has presented to the Law Library a substantial collection of books and pamphlets, mainly dealing with federal taxation, corporations, and related matters.

Whicher gift. Mrs. George F. Whicher (A.M., 1911) has presented a fine group of letters received by her husband, the late Professor George F. Whicher (A.M., 1911; Ph.D., 1915). Five of the letters are from John Erskine (1914 to 1922); one is from Lewis Mumford (1929); and five are from William P. Trent (1914-1915).

Williamson gift. Mrs. Charles C. Williamson has presented the papers and correspondence of her late husband (Ph.D., 1907; LL.D., 1929). It is a magnificent collection, emphasizing Dr. Wil-

46



Illustration by Archibald Thorburn for William Beebe's Monograph of the Pheasants. (Terhune bequest)

liamson's wonderful versatility of interest. The correspondence covers the periods of his college years and his positions at Bryn Mawr, the New York Public Library, the Carnegie and Rocke-



Dr. C. C. Williamson (left) with friends on the side terrace of his house at Hastings-on-Hudson.

feller Foundations, his long service at Columbia as Director of Libraries and Dean of the School of Library Service (1926-1943), and his multitude of intellectual activities after his "retirement."

Wisan gift. Professor Joseph L. Wisan, Chairman of the Department of History at City College, has presented two volumes of lecture notes taken by Holland Thompson (A.M., 1900; Ph.D., 1906) from Professor Herbert Osgood's course in Colonial American History at Columbia in 1900 and 1901.

Notable Purchases

Manuscripts: The Law Library reports the purchase of a small legal manuscript in Latin, dated October 4, 1301. It is of English interest, and consists of two vellum leaves stitched together. One

leaf contains a writ ordering the Sheriff of Lincolnshire to investigate an alleged trespass in and theft of timber from the woods of Mysne in Kirketon Manor, which was owned by the Countess of Cornwall, Lady Margaret de Clare. The other leaf contains particulars of the resulting enquiry, and bears the seals of the six officiating jurors.

An acquisition of singular interest is a manuscript volume containing orders, commissions, and instructions from the Continental Congress transmitted to John Jay while he was in Madrid during 1779 and 1780. It was at first thought that the documents had been copied into the book by Jay himself, but careful examination showed the handwriting to be that of Henry Brockholst Livingston. In all, the volume contains fifteen documents of the greatest significance—Jay's commission as Minister to Spain, his instructions for conducting affairs at the Court of Madrid, the secret article in the Treaty of Alliance between France and the American colonies, instructions to Benjamin Franklin and John Adams for negotiating peace with England (in which negotiations Jay subsequently assisted), letters to Jay from the Congress, and orders from the Treasury Board regarding secret markings on bills of exchange.

Of scientific interest is a volume by the 18th-century French mathematician and astronomer, Jean Baptiste Josephe Delambre. Containing 420 printed and 46 manuscript leaves, the volume comprises working materials very possibly used by Delambre in preparation for his "Tables astronomiques calculées sur les observations les plus nouvelles", which he did in collaboration with Josephe Jerome de Lalande, and which were published in the third (1792) edition of Lalande's *Astronomie*.

A collection of 4.393 pieces—the surviving early files of the famous printing equipment firm of R. Hoe & Co.—was purchased during the summer. It includes letters, accounts, estimates, and indexes, covering the period 1834-1858, with additional files for July-August, 1853; March, 1855; September-October, 1857; January, February, April and June, 1858; and January, 1865.

Printed Works: A splendid two-volume set of *De Vitis*... *Clarorum Philosophorum* by Diogenes Laertius, printed at Amsterdam in 1692, has been acquired. It is the large paper edition, magnificently bound by Roger Payne in dark blue straightgrained morocco, gilt tooled, for Sir Mark Masterman Sykes (1771-1823).

Notice should be taken, too, of the beautiful edition of Dante's *La Divina Commedia*, published by Canesi in Rome, 1965, the 700th anniversary of the poet's birth. The edition is enhanced with faithful reproductions of the famous drawings by Sandro Botticelli.

Finally, we have acquired a portfolio of superbly executed "intaglio-relief" prints by the Canadian artist, Saul Field; the set is entitled *Themes from the Old Testament*, and bears the date 1964. Mr. Field's method of preparing and printing his plates, in full, vivid colors, is completely his own, and the results are unique in the same sense that William Blake's illuminated books are unique—no two can be *exactly* alike.

Activities of Friends

In the November issue we publish the annual statement of the amount which has been contributed by the Friends during the twelve-month period ending on March 31. During the year, \$10,610 in unrestricted funds and \$1,941 for specified purposes were received, making a total of \$12,551. Such gifts from the Friends over the past fourteen years now amount to \$232,438.

In addition to the monetary gifts, the Friends have during the year augmented the Libraries' resources for research by presenting rare books, manuscripts, and other items having an estimated value of \$83,258. This brings the fourteen-year total of such gifts to \$712,610. (The principal items have been described in "Our Growing Collections.")

The comparative figures for contributions during the past years are indicated in the following table.

	Unrestricted gifts	Special purpose gifts	Total gift funds	Book and manuscript gifts	Total value of gifts \$ 6,004.00
1950-52**	\$ 4,348.00	\$ 41.00	\$ 4,389.00	\$ 2,515.00	
1952-53	4,423.00	4,133.00	8,556.00	43,653.00	52,209.00
1953-54	3,166.00	13,224.00	16,390.00	53,643.00	70,033.00
1954-55	2,413.00	29,930.00	32,343.00	15,251.00	47,594.00
1955-56	4,471.00	13,977.00	18,448.00	22,381.00	40,829.00
1956-57	3,755.00	28,975.00	32,730.00	17,937.00	50,667.00
1957-58	5,464.00	15,477.00	20,941.00	67,791.00	88,732.00
1958-59	5,516.00	8,811.00	14,327.00	13,286.00*	27,613.00*
1959-60	7,408.00	5,280.00	12,688.00	36,980.00	49,668.00
1960–61	7,642.00	1,121.00	8,763.00	71,833.00	80,596.00
1961-62	9,821.00	4,131.00	13,952.00	100,917.00	114,869.00
1962-63	15,798.00	5,763.00	21,561.00	113,827.00	135,388.00
1963-64	10,634.00	4,165.00	14,799.00	69,325.00	84,124.00
1964-65	10,610.00	1,941.00	12,551.00	83,258.00	95,809.00
	\$95,469.00	\$136,969.00	\$232,438.00	\$712,597.00	\$945,035.00

** December 1950-March 1952. Later years begin April 1 and end March 31. *Corrected figures.

As of September 20, 1965, the membership total was 574. The above family memberships comprised 909 individuals.

PICTURE CREDITS

Credit for some of the illustrations in this issue is acknowledged as follows: (1) Article by Richard B. Morris: The silhouettes of Sarah and Robert Townsend are from Morton Pennypacker's General Washington's Spies (Brooklyn, N.Y., Long Island Historical Society, 1939); the drawing of Dr. Edward Bancroft concealing a message in the garden is from American Heritage, volume VII, no. 3 April 1956. (2) Article by John Joseph Stoudt: The drawing of the Ephrata Cloister is from a card (Yorkcraft, 2318); the drawing of Beissel and two followers is from Julius Friedrich Sachse's The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania, 1742-1800... (Philadelphia, Printed for the author, 1900); the drawing of the Ephrata sister is from The Pennsylvania-German Society Proceedings and Addresses at Harrisburg, October 25, 1901, vol. XII (The Society, 1903). (3) Article by Peppino Mangravite: The Botticelli drawing is from Dante Alighieri La Divina Commedia illustrata da Sandro Botticelli (Rome, Editrice Nanni Canesi, n. d.); the Blake drawing is from The Divine Comedy (N.Y., Heritage Press, 1944); the remaining drawing, which is reproduced through the courtesy of the Museum of Modern Art, is from Robert Rauschenberg's Drawings for Dante's Inferno (N.Y., Harry Abrams, 1964). (4) Article by Luther Evans: The photograph of the three Liddell sisters is a Times Wide World Photo; the page of the original manuscript of Alice's Adventures Under Ground is from a facsimile (N.Y., Panda Prints, Inc., n. d.); the photograph of Luther Evans presenting the original manuscript is by Keystone Pictures, Inc. (5) The photograph of "Alice at Columbia" is a Wide World Photo.

THE FRIENDS OF THE COLUMBIA LIBRARIES

PRIVILEGES

INVITATIONS to exhibitions, lectures and other special events.

USE OF BOOKS in the reading rooms of the libraries.

OPPORTUNITY TO CONSULT LIBRARIANS, including those in charge of the specialized collections, about material of interest to a member. (Each Division Head has our members' names on file.)

OPPORTUNITY TO PURCHASE most Columbia University Press books at 20 per cent discount (through the Secretary-Treasurer of the Friends).

FREE SUBSCRIPTIONS TO COLUMBIA LIBRARY COLUMNS.

* * *

CLASSES OF MEMBERSHIP

ANNUAL. Any person contributing not less than \$15.00 per year.

CONTRIBUTING. Any person contributing not less than \$25.00 a year.

SUSTAINING. Any person contributing not less than \$50.00 a year.

BENEFACTOR. Any person contributing not less than \$100.00 a year.

Checks should be made payable to Columbia University. All donations are deductible for income tax purposes.

OFFICERS

HUGH J. KELLY, Chairman FRANCIS T. P. PLIMPTON, Vice-Chairman CHARLES W. MIXER, Secretary-Treasurer Room 315, Butler Library, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 10027

THE COUNCIL

HENRY ROGERS BENJAMIN MRS. FRANCIS H. LENYGON ALFRED C. BEROL MRS. GEORGE MACY FRANK D. FACKENTHAL FRANCIS T. P. PLIMPTON AUGUST HECKSCHER DALLAS PRATT MRS. ARTHUR C. HOLDEN MORRIS H. SAFFRON MRS. DONALD HYDE IACK H. SAMUELS HUGH J. KELLY MRS. FRANZ T. STONE LEWIS LEARY NORMAN H. STROUSE RICHARD H. LOGSDON, Director of Libraries, EX OFFICIO

PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

ROLAND BAUGHMAN

DALLAS PRATT, Editor CHARLES W. MIXER

AUGUST HECKSCHER



COLUMBIA LIBRARY COLUMNS

FEBRUARY 1966

VOLUME XV, NUMBER 2

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

ROLAND BAUGHMAN is Head of the Special Collections Department of the Columbia University Libraries.

DAVID FLAHERTY, a brother of Robert (see below), also became a film-maker. He assisted his brother in most of the latter's productions. He currently is organizing the Robert Flaherty Collection in the Special Collections Department of the Columbia Libraries.

ROBERT FLAHERTY (1884-1951) was an American explorer, who gained international fame as a maker of unforgettable films. The best-known were Nanook of the North (1922), Moana of the South Seas (1925), Man of Aran, (1944), and Louisiana Story (1948).

KENNETH LOHF is Assistant Librarian in the Special Collections Department of the Columbia University Libraries. He has been author and co-author of several bibliographies of literary figures.

* * *

Articles printed in COLUMBIA LIBRARY COLUMNS are selectively indexed in LIBRARY LITERATURE.

Columbia Library Columns

VOLUME XV

FEBRUARY, 1966

CONTENTS

Poet of the Cinema	DAVID FLAHERTY	3
The Exploring Camera of Robert A Picture Section	Flaherty:	13
Salute to Edwin and Robert:		
The Grabhorn Press	ROLAND BAUGHMAN	23
Our Growing Collections	KENNETH LOHF	43
In Memoriam: Donald Frizell Hya	le	54
Activities of the Friends		55

Published by THE FRIENDS OF THE COLUMBIA LIBRARIES, Butler Library, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 10027. Three issues a year, one dollar each.



Robert Joseph Flaherty, explorer and motion picture director, with his camera.



COLUMBIA LIBRARY COLUMNS



Poet of the Cinema

DAVID FLAHERTY

In this issue of Columns, we take pleasure in turning the spotlight on the Robert J. Flaherty Collection, which Frances Hubbard Flaherty, the motion picture producer's widow, has presented to the Libraries. In the article below, David Flaherty, who also is a film-maker, writes about his brother's contribution to the cinematic art. EDITOR'S NOTE

LTHOUGH Robert Flaherty is best known for the films he made—he has been called "the cinema's first poet" and "the father of the documentary film"—he was first of all, and always at heart, an explorer. It was not until he was approaching middle age that the first of his four major films, "Nanook of the North," was shown to the public. This motion picture, which opened a new career to him, was the direct result of his explorations in the Canadian North.

He was born in 1884, the son of a mining engineer, and the mining camps of northern Michigan and northwestern Ontario were his early background. As a boy he learned from the Indians to track and hunt rabbits and, as he grew up, he went on long prospecting trips with his father's men, travelling by canoe in summer and on snowshoes in winter.

Between 1910 and 1916 Flaherty led a series of expeditions into sub-arctic Canada for Sir William Mackenzie, the great Canadian railroad builder. Sir William had heard that there were

David Flaherty

iron ore deposits on a little-known group of islands in Hudson Bay called the Nastapokas. In 1910 the Canadian government had decided to build a railway from the wheat fields of western Canada to the west coast of Hudson Bay in order to provide an outlet for the shipment of wheat through the Bay and Hudson Strait to Europe. Sir William reasoned that if wheat could be sent that way to the great markets of the world, iron ore could be too.

On the first of his expeditions, travelling hundreds of miles by dog sledge with Eskimo drivers, Flaherty found, after breaking off and examining rock samples from the iron-bearing cliffs of the Nastapokas, that the iron ore deposits were too lean to be of the least economic importance.

Nevertheless, Sir William, persisting in his quest for iron ore, sent Flaherty again to the North. In the course of his subsequent expeditions Flaherty, with Eskimos as his sole companions, made two crossings of the great Ungava peninsula, the first by dog sled in the spring of 1912, and the return crossing—along a more northerly route following the courses of lakes and rivers —by canoe in the summer of the same year.

But the most significant achievement of these northern explorations was his re-discovery of a large group of iron-bearing islands in Hudson Bay known as the Belchers, which appeared as mere dots on the maps. On these islands he spent a winter, exploring and mapping them and investigating their large deposits of iron ore. To the largest island of the group the Canadian government has given his name.

On a later expedition Flaherty, who at that time knew nothing about films, took along with him at Sir William's urging a motion picture camera in order to make notes of his explorations. Also, he wanted to show his friends at home what fine people the Eskimos were, upon whose cheerful courage and skill as guides and hunters the success of his travels depended.

His first attempt at film-making ended in disaster. While editing the picture in Toronto, he accidentally dropped a cigar-

Poet of the Cinema

ette, and 70,000 feet of film went up in a burst of flame. "It was just as well," he wrote. "It was a bad film, the kind of travel film that would have bored to death everyone but the



Mr. Flaherty, in white shirt at left, en route to location during the filming of *The Man of Aran.*

person who made it. I had learned to explore, but I hadn't yet learned to reveal."

He was determined to return to the North and to devote his whole time to making a film of the people he had come to know and like so well. It was to be a biography of an Eskimo through the course of a year. He persuaded the French fur company, Revillon Frères, to finance the expedition. His outfit included not only motion picture cameras and film, but all the necessary apparatus for developing, printing and projecting the film. The Revillon fur post at Cape Dufferin, on the northeast coast of Hudson Bay, was his base.

For his leading character he chose one Nanook, a hunter famous throughout the country. With Nanook's approval he

David Flaherty

took on three younger men as helpers. This meant also their wives and families, their dogs, sledges, kayaks, and hunting gear.

A key to Flaherty's film-making technique was always his insistence on seing his rushes as soon as possible. It was the only way, he said, that he could make a film. In the North he was not only his own cameraman, but laboratory technician and projectionist as well. His greatest problem was the washing of the film, for his Eskimos had to keep a hole chiselled through six feet of river ice all winter, and then the water would be hauled in barrels on a sledge pulled by Eskimo dogs up to his hut. There the ice had to be cleared off before the water was poured over the film. Deer hair falling from the Eskimos' clothing gave Flaherty another headache.

His printing machine was an old English one that was screwed to the wall. He soon found when printing the film that the light provided by his little generator fluctuated too much; so he abandoned electricity and used daylight instead, blocking out all of the darkroom window except a slot the size of a single motion picture frame. He controlled this daylight with pieces of muslin, added to or taken away from the aperture of the printing machine.

By screening his rushes, not only for himself but for the people he had chosen, he was able to enlist the enthusiastic participation of all those around him. In a way, it became *their* film. Nanook, for instance, was constantly thinking up new hunting scenes for the picture. Because Flaherty did not impose a prefabricated story but used only the dramatic elements indigenous to the country, his films have an authenticity that has made them endure.

After more than a year in the North, Flaherty brought his film to New York for editing. This took the better part of a winter. Then came the hurdle of finding a distributor. He showed the film first to the great Paramount company. "The projection room," he wrote, "was filled with their staff and it



Frances Flaherty, Richard Leacock (at the camera), and Robert Flaherty on location during the filming of *Louisiana Story*.



The Cajun boy, Joseph Boudreaux, is directed by Mr. Flaherty, while the boy's "father" (right) looks on. (Louisiana Story)

Poet of the Cinema

was blue with smoke before the film was over. When the film ended they got up in a rather dull way, I thought, and silently left the room. The manager very kindly put his arm around my shoulders and told me that he was terribly sorry, but it was a film that just couldn't be shown to the public. He was very sorry indeed that I had gone through all that hardship in the north only to come to such an end, but he felt that he had to tell me, and that was that."

One after another the other distributors turned the film down. Finally, near desperation, John Revillon, head of the fur company, appealed, as one Frenchman to another, to the Pathé company, and Pathé, after much persuasion, agreed to distribute the film.

"Nanook of the North" had its world première at Broadway's Capitol Theatre during a blistering heat wave in June, 1922. The astute theatre manager had decorated the lobby with igloos and icicles, and it is not unlikely that many of the customers went in to escape the heat. At any rate, "Nanook" had a successful two-weeks' run at the Capitol, and some film critics hailed it as a revelation. This may be evidence that Flaherty, the explorer, had learned also to reveal.

Even Hollywood now took notice of "Nanook." Jesse L. Lasky, whose Paramount company had been the first to turn it down, commissioned Flaherty to make a picture in any corner of the world he chose, provided only that he "bring us back another 'Nanook.'" Flaherty chose to record the beautiful primitive culture of the Polynesians while it still was alive. With his wife, who was a lifelong collaborator, their three young daughters, and me, his novice brother, he spent almost two years on the island of Savai'i, in Western Samoa. Here, where life was easy and gracious and food fell from the trees, he could find none of the elements of struggle and hardship that had gone into the making of "Nanook." He had to settle for the life of ritual and ceremony of the gentle Samoans, culminating in the ordeal of tattooing.



Mr. Flaherty and Helen van Dongen, editor of the film, examine a sequence in *Louisiana Story*.

The Samoan film, "Moana," was another revelation—but one that failed to satisfy its sponsors who had expected another "Nanook." Like "Nanook," the Samoan film had no Hollywood love story; yet Paramount put it out as "the love life of a South Sea siren." Commenting on this, and on his later experiences with Hollywood, Flaherty once remarked, "In Hollywood I have all the prestige of an illegitimate child in a nunnery."

In "Man of Aran," produced for a British company in 1932-33 on an island off the wild west coast of Ireland, Flaherty found again an elemental struggle for survival. Here it was man against the sea. "Man of Aran," another revelation to the public, was awarded first prize at the 1934 Venice film festival in competition with films from all over the world.

Flaherty's next film, "Elephant Boy," commissioned by the late Alexander Korda, took him and his family to the jungles of Mysore, in southern India. This was a fiction film, based on the Kipling story, "Toomai of the Elephants." Since large sections of the film were made at the London studios under another director, "Elephant Boy," which achieved considerable commercial success, was not Flaherty's sole creation, and only in the scenes made in India is it representative of his inimitable style.

Flaherty's last film, "Louisiana Story," like his first, "Nanook of the North," had an industrial sponsor. This time it was not a fur company, but the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. Given complete freedom, Flaherty made a film with a thread of story reminiscent of his own boyhood among the lakes and streams of the north country. As in his other films, he used no professional actors, and he worked with a minimum crew. Flaherty, to whom film was "the language of the eye," was primarily a visual artist. "Nanook" and "Moana" are silent films, made before the advent of the talkies. "Man of Aran" and "Louisiana Story" contain a minimum of dialogue. Each of

David Flaherty

these four films has been in continuous circulation over the years, and the demand for them gives no sign of abating.

Upon Robert Flaherty's death in 1951 at the age of 67, the poet A. M. Sullivan wrote of him: "Flaherty, the poet whose medium was light, whose pages were the silver screen, leaves a great treasure to the permanent library of human experience."

Much of the treasure left by Robert Flaherty—the diaries, reports, maps, and photographs covering his career as an explorer, and the manuscripts, scenarios and other writings, as well as a large collection of photographs relating to his subsequent career in films—is now in Butler Library at Columbia University.

The Exploring Camera of Robert Flaherty: A Picture Selection

HE pages which immediately follow contain reproductions of stills from the four motion pictures which many have regarded as best exemplifying Robert Flaherty's contribution to cinematic art. In recognition of the active part played in some of the productions by Frances Hubbard Flaherty, the film-maker's wife, by his brother David, and others, it should be stated that the title above is meant to connote the finished products resulting from Robert Flaherty's overall creative talents, regardless of who may actually have been doing the photography.

Specific film credits are given on the page following the picture section.

A Picture Section



NANOOK Nanook beams with pleasure over the music coming from the gramophone.


NANOOK

Nanook, the Eskimo who was selected for the central role in the film, about to throw his spear. On success in the hunt depend food, clothing, home light and heat, and in fact, life itself.



NANOOK

Eskimo woman and child inside an igloo. The snow of the curved ceiling "sparkled and glittered and glistened like the dust of diamonds." In such a setting Nanook said to Mr. Flaherty, "Surely, no house of the *Kablunak* (the white man) could be so wonderful."—Frances Hubbard Flaherty: *The Odyssey of a Film-Maker*. Urbana, Illinois, Beta Phi Mu, 1960. p. 16.



MOANA A Samoan maiden making tapa cloth from the bark of the mulberry tree.



MOANA Moana (right) dancing with his bride, Fa'agase.

A Picture Section



MAN OF ARAN Maggie Dirrane, the woman of Aran, pauses in gathering kelp while a gigantic wave breaks against the cliff-like shore.



MAN OF ARAN Men of Aran haul in their fishing net from the turbulent sea.



LOUISIANA STORY Joseph Boudreaux, the boy, paddles his pirogue in a bayou. An oil derrick looms on the horizon.

A Picture Section

FILM CREDITS IN BRIEF

Nanook of the North

Script, direction and photography: Robert J. Flaherty Titles written by: Carl Stearns Clancy and Robert J. Flaherty Produced for: Revillon Frères, New York Premiere (New York): June 11, 1922

Moana

Script, direction and photography: Robert J. Flaherty and Frances Hubbard Flaherty Production Assistant: David Flaherty Titles written by: Robert J. Flaherty and Julian Johnson Production: Famous-Players-Lasky, U. S. A. Premiere (New York): February 7, 1926

Man of Aran

Script, direction and photography: Robert J. Flaherty with Frances Hubbard Flaherty

Assistant and additional photography: David Flaherty Production: Gainsborough Pictures Ltd., London Premiere (London): April 25, 1934

Louisiana Story

Produced and directed: Robert J. Flaherty Story: Frances and Robert J. Flaherty Photography: Richard Leacock Editor: Helen van Dongen Produced for: Standard Oil Company of New Jersey Premiere (Edinburgh Film Festival): August 22, 1948

Salute to Edwin and Robert: The Grabhorn Press

ROLAND BAUGHMAN

This article is an adaptation by the author of an address which he gave on December 2, 1965, as one of a series on the "Heritage of the Graphic Arts." The series is being presented by Dr. Robert L. Leslie. EDITOR'S NOTE

ANIEL Berkeley Updike, the great Boston printer, once said in an address that was billed as his message to his fellow craftsmen, "Printing is a trade and not an art, but it has frontiers on the arts." Now it would be very difficult indeed to select any printer from any period or place who would have fewer points of similarity with Updike than the brothers Grabhorn have, but I believe nevertheless that, deep in their hearts, they would agree with his statement-though I also believe that they would laugh at anyone who would say so. Edwin and Robert Grabhorn have most assuredly practiced the trade of printing as an art, and the books which they have produced over what is now almost half a century have their source in an artistic inspiration which, if it is not in fact unique, is at any rate very rare among American printers. Grabhorn books have a personality, a hall-mark, an aura; like Kelmscott books, they can be imitated but they cannot be equalled at the hands of imitators.

But before this discussion becomes too deeply enmired in the philosophy of "fine printing" and its relationship with "art," perhaps I should say a little of the history and background of these two typographical geniuses who work in the glow of the Golden Gate. Edwin Grabhorn is the elder of the two; he was born in 1890 (or thereabouts—the authorities can't agree and the Library of Congress won't venture a guess; and who would

have the temerity to ask Ed directly?). Robert Grabhorn is some ten years younger; rumor has it that he was born in 1900. Both are natives of Indianapolis.



Ed and Bob Grabhorn at the stone, 1937. Photo by Marjory Farquhar.

Ed Grabhorn learned the printer's craft in the shop of an uncle. He was barely out of his teens when he answered the siren call of the west in 1909, obtaining a job with a music publisher in Seattle, Washington. That first western sojourn of his was brief and disillusioning, lasting only two or three years, but it included a turn at being his own boss—it had so happened that the man who had hired him as a compositor decamped, leaving him in sole possession of a debt-encumbered business. The most enduring consequence of that experience was that Ed

Salute to Edwin and Robert

Grabhorn would never again be happy taking orders from someone else—not even from clients!

In any event, late in 1912 Ed Grabhorn was back in Indianapolis, where he spent the next three or four years working wherever his printing talents could command a wage. By 1915 he had had his fill of that, and he established his own "Studio Press," having acquired a stock of Goudy's Forum and Kennerley types. Somewhere along the line he had married, and the early Studio Press imprints include the name of his first wife, Florence. In a year or two his brother Robert, then in his later teens, became associated with the venture.

The products of the Studio Press were rather arty and selfconscious, in keeping with the tradition that had begun with William Morris, and which during the first two decades of the 20th century made so deep an impression on the younger generation of American printers. However, it should be emphasized right here that the Grabhorns always deprecated and soon fought off the tendency to imitate even the greatest of printers. Frederic Melcher once asked Ed Grabhorn if he owned the Kelmscott Chaucer or the Ashendene Dante. Ed replied that he



Printed in 1917 in Indianapolis. Original: 10-9/16 by 8-3/16 inches.

had owned both of those typographical monuments, but that he would rather not have such books around too long because he might unconsciously get to imitating them. Melcher also recalls, in another connection entirely, that Ed had given away his copy of the Ashendene Dante as a kind of *quid pro quo* for the gift of a copy of the first edition of Mark Twain's *1601*!

Arty or not, the productions of the Studio Press were gaining for Ed Grabhorn a reputation which has remained his ever since. W. R. Voris, who eventually bought the Studio Press lock, stock, and unbound sheets—has written that as a young man he had heard tales of "a queer old fellow" somewhere in Indianapolis who "would rather do a fine bit of work than make a dollar, a man who could do wonders with limited supplies of type and accessories." When, much later, Ed Grabhorn heard about these tales, he told Voris that "the old fellow would be carrying on for a long time and would yet show them how to print real books." That vow was made when "the old fellow" was barely 30, just before he moved to San Francisco in 1920.

But when Ed and his brother Robert threw open the doors of the "Grabhorn Press" in San Francisco, that city, remarks David Magee, the noted Grabhorn expert and bibliographer, was "already richly endowed with printers"--John Henry Nash (the "Aldus of San Francisco"), Taylor and Taylor, the brothers Johnson of the Windsor Press, to mention only a few. John Johnck, founder of the well-known firm of Johnck & Seeger, arrived in San Francisco from Iowa about the same time that the Grabhorns arrived from Indiana. There were not many jobs for newcomers, and the first months were pretty hand-to-mouth for the Grabhorns. The wolf was kept at bay by advertising work, notably for the Standard Oil Company, the American Trust Company, and the Bank of California. Most printers would have been happy enough with accounts like those, but again according to David Magee the Grabhorns wanted to be book printers, not advertising typographers.

Salute to Edwin and Robert

Since no publishers stepped forward to have them do their printing, the Grabhorns issued a book or two over their own imprint. Looked back on today, in the context of later Grabhorn books, those early self-advertising efforts are not very impressive—but they caused someone on the publications committee of the Book Club of California to sit up and take notice. At any rate, in 1921 appeared the first of what has proved to be a long and distinguished series of Grabhorn books issued by the Book Club. It was Emma Frances Dawson's *A Gracious Visitation*.

Such printing was making powerful friends for the Grabhorns, friends who for more than four decades have sponsored the publication of books that do not have to meet too strict a budget—friends who could almost be placed in the category of patrons. One such, and perhaps the most openhanded of all, was Albert M. Bender, for whom the Press printed seven items during the critical first four years of its existence in San Francisco. Mr. Bender died in 1941, and in the twenty years he knew the Grabhorns he was responsible, partially or entirely, for at least 25 of their publications.

By 1924 the Grabhorn Press was able to concentrate more definitely on book printing and somewhat less on advertising



Printed in 1920 in San Francisco. Original: 9-1/2 by 5-3/4 inches.

work (though to this day a substantial part of their effort is devoted to that lucrative side-line; truly definitive Grabhorn collections, I have recently learned, must include bottle labels of a certain highly regarded California wine!). And now begins one of the great periods of the Press, marking its emergence to take its place among the most influential and widely known in America.

The 1920's marked the zenith of the "press book" craze, the "fine printing" madness, the era of the "limited de luxe edition." It was a period made to order for the Grabhorns, who began to issue books that were strictly limited as to edition copies, highly decorated with hand work, and (by today's standards) very modestly priced. It was a time when printers and publishers everywhere could expect to sell nearly any sad old text, provided it was dressed up with all the elegance the illustrator and designer could bestow, and issued in a "limited" number of copies. I'll say this for the Grabhorns-their texts were never old and tired. When they issued Leaves of Grass in 1930 (under the imprint of Bennett Cerf's Random House), it was the first time that American classic had ever been printed in monumental form. The same can be said of the Red Badge of Courage, 1931 (also a Random House book). And many other Grabhorn books of this period-though not exactly qualifying as monumentalincorporated texts of lasting importance which had never received the "fine printer's" accolade before-Salomé, Hymns to Aphrodite, and The Golden Touch in 1927, The Scarlet Letter in 1928, and Robinson Crusoe, which was done in 1930 for George Macy's young venture, The Limited Editions Club.

As we look back on it all now, we cannot really fault the limited editions craze that swept the country during the 1920's. I like the way Ed Grabhorn put it in 1933 in his essay, *The Fine Art of Printing*. "I am glad it all happened," he wrote. "I would go through any form of hysteria again if we could produce another *Leaves of Grass.*" The simple truth is that in that magic



Original: 14-5/8 by 10 inches.

decade there came into being the important tenets that have stood up under the impact of a major depression, the restrictions and ersatz standards of a World War, and the spiraling inflation of the post-war period. In the 1920's the American Institute of Graphic Arts began its 50 Books of the Year shows, their purpose being to hold up for all to see the American productions that, in the opinions of the various juries, best met the challenges of the times. In that decade, too, George Macy's Limited Editions Club got its start, and ever since, in bad times and good, it has sponsored proud publications that exemplify the best in design, illustration, and bookmaking techniques. I submit that we desperately need these fruits of nostalgia, so that, when hard metal at last completely disappears from book production, when type and decent paper become the private province of the hobbyist, when the glacier of computerized printing overruns us all, we will be able to remember that beauty and quality once existed.

But let's get back to the Grabhorns. During the early 1920's, according to Gregg Anderson in his recollections of his years spent as a compositor and factotum at the Press, the Grabhorns were strongly influenced by Morris, Cobden-Sanderson, St. John Hornby, and even Bruce Rogers. But that phase soon passedand in my own opinion it was not only because Ed Grabhorn outgrew it, although of course nothing would have availed if that had not been the case. I think that there was another factor that was equally important-the coming of Valenti Angelo to the Press in 1926. Thereafter Grabhorn books were never the same, never imitative of someone else's work, and never again was the Press to be without the services and vitalizing force of a ranking creative artist. Valenti remained barely a half-dozen years, but while he was with the brothers Grabhorn he had an important hand in some of the most beautiful books they have ever produced. And when he left finally to seek the greater satisfaction of being his own boss in the New York area, he was

HYMNS TO APHRO= DITE

Prose poems selected from John Edgar's translations of "Homeric Hymns". Published in 1927; decoration by Valenti Angelo. Original: 11-13/16 by 7-5/8 inches.

followed by an imposing succession of artists who could and did work in what had become widely known as the Grabhorn genre. To try to list all of these artists would be tedious, and



Ed Grabhorn in 1937. Above him is a photograph of a contemporary San Francisco printer, John Henry Nash. Photo by Marjory Farquhar.

to select from them would be invidious. It would be equally wrong, though, not to mention at least two who have served for substantial periods, and who have strongly influenced the personality of Grabhorn books—Mallette Dean and, more recently, Ed's daughter, Mary Grabhorn.

It is easily seen that the half-century career of the Grabhorns can be divided into five major phases—the "incunabula" years

Salute to Edwin and Robert

in Indianapolis, the imitative period (perhaps "allusive" is a happier word) in the early 1920's, the "fine printing" era of the late '20's and very early '30's, the years of the great depression, and the post-war period. Gregg Anderson goes a step farther in his analysis, correlating the phases with Ed Grabhorn's successive enthusiasms as a book collector. The imitative period, for example, came when Ed was primarily interested in acquiring the better works of the most famous modern printers. "Gradually," wrote Anderson in the summer issue of Print, 1942, "his collecting drifted from the field of printing to the buying of first editions of English and American literature, and, before very long, to Californiana." Each of those interests has been reflected in the finer Grabhorn Press productions. At a later time, Ed took up the collecting of Japanese prints (David Magee credits him with owning "one of the finest collections of Japanese prints in the world"), and this interest, too, has resulted in a series of magnificent Grabhorn books.

But the story will be easier to tell if a chronological sequence is maintained. With the coming of the depression the limited editions bubble burst, leaving many printers who had flourished during the boom with little to do but gaze sadly at their idle presses. Although the west coast received the full impact of the depression somewhat later than was the case elsewhere in the country, San Francisco was eventually to suffer as much as any other city, and the Grabhorns would have fared no better than their fellows had Ed not come up with a brilliant idea. For several years the Press had issued occasional items that reflected his interest in works documenting the early history of California. Important among these were The Harbor of St. Francis (1926), Relation of Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca (1929), and The Santa Fé Trail (1931). These had all sold well, though typographically most of them (the Cabeça de Vaca is definitely an exception) were overshadowed by such masterpieces as the

Aesop, the Mandeville, and the Book of Ruth. Accordingly, plans were laid to issue a series of reprints called "Rare Americana," featuring texts that in the original editions would have been far beyond the purses of ordinary collectors even in good times, and which no one had ever thought worthy of republishing. Between the years 1932 and 1937, the worst years of the depression, the Grabhorns issued and sold out twenty titles in three successive series of "Rare Americana."

The books were very modestly priced, even for those times, but despite that fact some of them stand among the most distinguished items the Grabhorn Press ever issued—*Wab-To-Yah* & the Taos Trail (1936), for example, and The Spanish Occupation of California (1934), with its unforgettable titlepage. And right here, I think, lay the real secret of their success, for it was almost as though the lower the budget for a given book, the more painstaking and lavish the effort to provide



Published in 1931; decorations by Valenti Angelo. Original: 13 by 8-5/8 inches.

Salute to Edwin and Robert

luxury for pennies. No volume among the ten items in the first series of "Rare Americana" could have had an expected gross return of more than \$1,500, although the series included such permanent favorites as Narrative of Nicholas "Cheyenne" Dawson (1933) and John Bradford's Notes on Kentucky (1932). Under those circumstances the profits, if any, must have been figured in mills. But the books sold out as soon as they were issued; in not a single instance did the Grabhorns have to worry very long about an unsold inventory. Remember that those were dire times, and that the Grabhorns were competing not so much with other publishers as with the grocer and the man who collected the rent. The whole deal depended on three main considerations: first, low overhead (Ed and Bob did most of the work themselves, including, I rather think, the binding -even so the illustrator had to be paid); second, low inventory (the editions were held strictly to 500 or 550 copies); and finally, quick turnover (the first series varied in price from \$1.50 to \$3.00, the second was stabilized at \$5.00 with 10% discount for prepayment, and the third again varied from \$4.00

<section-header><text><text><text><text><text>

Number 3 of the 2nd series of Rare Americana; one of the "50 Books of the Year". Original: 11-1/8 by 7-5/8 inches.

to \$7.50). Almost at once, of course, the books doubled and tripled in the rare-book marts, but I have never heard it breathed that the Grabhorns ever expressed the slightest resentment of the fact that others reaped where they had sown. They just wanted to make certain that they would be permitted to go on sowing.

And, most happily for all aficionados of fine printing, it so turned out. The "Rare Americana" tided the Press over the worst years of the depression. The last of the three series, *Phoenixiana*, was issued in 1937, by which time business had picked up considerably. In fact, the project had begun to drag somewhat, and if I know the Grabhorns, they were probably getting tired of it; as other work increased, it became an increasing chore to finish out the promised series.

Nevertheless, the Grabhorn interest in early Americana—and particularly in early Californiana—was not dulled. Up to the time of the wartime restrictions of the early 1940's important California items continued to be produced, among them being Wiltsee's Gold Rush Steamers (1938), Sutter's New Helvetia Diary (1939), and Meyer's Naval Sketches of the War in California (1939), featuring paintings owned by Franklin D. Roosevelt, who wrote the introduction for the book. This was the period, too, for three works aimed at a strictly local clientele, but which were snapped up by "Grabhorn Collectors" over the whole nation—a W. P. A. book, Festivals in San Francisco (1939), Austin's Around the World in San Francisco (1940), and William Saroyan's Hilltop Russians in San Francisco (1941), all with plaintive and nostalgic illustrations by Pauline Vinson, and all published by James Ladd Delkin.

By this time the fame of the Grabhorn Press and its lasting place in the hearts of collectors were assured. Elinor R. Heller and David Magee bestowed the ultimate accolade by compiling a *Bibliography of the Grabhorn Press*, 1915-1940, which was printed by the Grabhorns, and which listed 338 major publica-

Salute to Edwin and Robert

tions, plus innumerable ephemeral pieces. (A second volume was published later, bringing the record up through 1956 and the total of listed publications to 583.) I recall so well the reluctance with which my fellow librarians and I greeted the opportunity to pay \$35 for that first bibliography - which nevertheless we bought. (We could sell it today, authorities permitting, for from five to ten times the original cost, and I think it most unlikely that any of us hesitated to pay the \$75 needed to get the second volume.) The point to be made, however, is that after only twenty years in San Francisco, the Grabhorns were famous around the world for their colorful publications. Forty-odd of their books had been selected for the various 50 Books of the Year shows, and one of them (The Letter of Amerigo Vespucci, 1926) had won the coveted A. I. G. A. gold medal. (The Grabhorns were awarded the medal again in, if memory serves, 1942, this time not for any specific volume, but in recognition of their total accomplishment and influence.)

During the war years, the Press's publishing activities were somewhat restricted, as might be expected. Perhaps the less said of those years the better, although the Grabhorns, who probably had an adequate stock of pre-war paper stashed away, did produce a number of outstanding volumes. Carl Wheat's *Maps* of the California Gold Region appeared in 1942, having unquestionably been in the works before Pearl Harbor, and early in 1944 Ivan Goll's Landless John was issued. Both were of folio size, both made the 50 Books of the Year, and both were modestly priced (the Wheat sold for \$18, the Goll for \$12).

For my sins I give a course of lectures on the history of books and printing in Columbia's library school. As you may guess, the Grabhorns come in for discussion under the general heading of "Modern Fine Printing." Almost invariably the question arises, "How can they make any money?" To that I am forced to reply that I haven't the foggiest notion—and since only the

IRS people know for sure, I can curb my curiosity. I rather suspect that the books the Grabhorns publish over their own imprint (the Shakespeare plays, for example, and the magnificent Alamos which has just come out) are figured on little more than a break-even basis, a kind of self-advertising, self-pleasing proposition in which a certain amount of red ink can be permitted in the interest, on the one hand, of attracting client work, and on the other, of satisfying the ancient Grabhorn compulsion to "show them how to print real books." It must be remembered that for the past twenty years Grabhorn publications for direct sale have been minimal in comparison with work done on order. It must also be remembered that the editions are extremely limited-the Grabhorns, as I said earlier, are not the least interested in giving shelf-room to a large inventory, nor, according to David Magee, in the drudgery of marketing, billing, shipping, etc. The Shakespeare plays are almost the only Press publications these days. They have been coming out at the rate of about one each year since 1951; they are beautiful books into which untold man-hours, artistry, inspiration, and loving care have been poured. And yet the price has been held to \$30 and the editions to 185 copies. This means that the total gross expectancy from any one of them would be \$5,500-and off the top of that must come whatever discount is allowed to

Title-page vignette by Mallette Dean; one of the "50 Books of the Year". Original: 9-9/16 by 6-5/8 inches.



Salute to Edwin and Robert

dealers, usually, I understand, in the neighborhood of 25%. If the Grabhorns make a dollar on a deal like that I would be surprised.

This has been a very sketchy account, and before I bring it to a close perhaps I should take the time for a generality or two. The Grabhorn Press consists of a very few key people-Ed, Robert, Robert's wife Jane, Ed's daughter Mary, and, until 1963, the pressman, Sherwood Grover, who had been with the Grabhorns so long that he was virtually a member of the family. It would be a good guess that ideas germinate freely among that group, so that there may be no way of being certain just who happened to be the one to think up a particular design or technique. But in general Ed is the designer, the idea man, Bob is the compositor and makeup expert, Jane oversees the bindery (while running her own show, the Colt Press), and Mary is a general factotum cum artist extraordinary. Each one, doubtless, would be quite capable of doing anyone else's job if the necessity should arise. It is a close-knit family affair in the purest old-world sense.



Title-page vignette by Mallette Dean. Original: 11-5/8 by 9 inches.

In 1948 Jane Grabhorn made what I consider a priceless summation of the way things happen at the Press. "[Ed]" she wrote (of all places, in an open letter to her infant niece), "is what you might call an experimenter and an optimist—the inventor type. [Bob] is a perfectionist and a pessimist—the professorial type, in a sophisticated sort of way. Probably the reason Bob is a pessimist is because Ed is an optimist.

"I share their amazement," she continues, "every time a book is finished. There appears to be no organization, no planning, no system. Not only does the right hand not know what the left is doing, but the left hand has no idea what the hell it's doing either. In fact, when the Grabhorns are 'at work,' the general effect is of both hands being tied behind the back and two men walking around blindfolded. Then suddenly, there's the book. Finished. I snarl, sneer, worry—but somewhere along the line someone must have been working. Because there's the book. Their team work is so successful that it is undetectable. Their combined talents are so perfectly synchronized that all appearance of effort as ordinary mortals know it, is completely effaced.

"I've seen many people come and go from this shop in the past fifteen years," she goes on, "and I don't believe that a single one of them, including myself, has left a single imprint, a trace, a mark, or a memory. I don't believe that one of us has exerted the slightest influence. These men are completely self-sufficient, and although entirely dependent one upon another almost for their existence, they are totally without need of anyone or anything else. This is a hell of a thing for a wife to contemplate...."

And finally, a word or two about the Grabhorn product. The Grabhorns are experimenters and, because experimenting is always a chancy business, some of them turn out less well than might be desired. Gregg Anderson once commented (a little over-harshly, I have always thought) that "in almost any book where the text runs to more than 200 pages the Grabhorns are at a loss." He cited Wiltsee's *Gold Rush Steamers* (1938),

which comprises 385 pages, as a case in point: the use of overly bulky paper and heavy binding boards made the volume nearly four inches thick! But, having made that mistake once, the Grabhorns have never repeated it. They apparently love thick, resilient paper which takes a deep impression, so their texts are usually short. When they are long, which of course sometimes happens, the paper is selected with the facts of life in mind.

The Grabhorns are masters of title-page design, but they are not "title-page printers." The exhilaration which one experiences on first seeing a Grabhorn title-page is held at a high pitch as one leafs through the rest of the book. It is as though the designers had sought not merely to attract the eye by a brilliant beginning, but to set the theme for the decor of the entire volume. And to be successful in that is indeed a rare and precious thing.

Author's acknowledgment. No modern printers have been more copiously written about than the Grabhorns. Their achievements and envied way of life have inspired a voluminous legenda aurea (much of which, we may be sure, the Grabhorns themselves regard as apocrypha). In any event, there remains little that is wholly new to be set down, beyond personal judgments. Especially as regards factual data, the foregoing "Salute" has necessarily echoed the following excellent sources:

American Institute of Graphic Arts, *Catalogue of an Exhibition* [of Grabhorn printings], New York, 1942.

Gregg Anderson, *Recollections of the Grabhorn Press*, Meriden, Connecticut, 1935.

Gregg Anderson, "The Grabhorn Press," Print, vol. 3, no. 2, Summer, 1942.

Jane Grabhorn, "Dear Victoria", *Book Club of California Quar*terly News-Letter, vol. 14, no. 1, Winter, 1948.

David Magee, "Two Gentlemen from Indiana", in his *Catalogue* of *Some five Hundred Examples of the Printing of Edwin and Robert Grabborn*, San Francisco, [1960].

W. R. Voris, Notes on Some Early Grabhorn Items, Tucson, Arizona, [1030].

Prefatory matter by various persons and notes in the two definitive bibliographies of the Press, 1940 and 1957.



HERAKLES AND THE LION

One of twenty engravings which Boris Artzybasheff made for Padraic Colum's *Orpheus: Myths of the World.* N. Y., The Macmillan Company, 1930. (Artzybasheff bequest)

Our Growing Collections

KENNETH A. LOHF

Gifts

PPLETON gift. Professor William W. Appleton (M.A., 1940; Ph.D., 1949) has made further additions to the Appleton Family Papers. Included in his recent gift are letters to the publishing firm of D. Appleton and Company from Lord Acton, Thomas Bewick, George H. Boughton, Salmon P. Chase, Samuel S. Cox, and A. E. W. Mason, as well as a group of documents among which are two invoices from Thomas Bewick for the shipment of books from Newcastle to Longman and Co. in London, dated February 6 and April 16, 1810.

Artzybasheff bequest. Columbia University was one of several institutions named in the will of the late painter and portraitist Boris Artzybasheff, who for nearly a quarter of a century created covers for *Time*. His works were the subject of a recent retrospective exhibition in the Time-Life Building. Among the twenty-eight oil paintings and drawings received in the bequest are portraits of Marian Anderson, Charles Darwin, Sigmund Freud, General Douglas MacArthur, and Joseph Stalin, as well as illustrations done for As I See, Ghond the Hunter, Orpheus, and The Droll Stories.

Berol gift. Mr. and Mrs. Alfred C. Berol have added significantly to the music materials which they presented last year. Their current gift covers a wide range of research material with special emphasis on eighteenth and nineteenth century American and English harmonies and psalmodies, a number of Isaiah Thomas imprints, publications and manuscripts of the American

Kenneth Lohf

composer Benjamin Carr, nearly two hundred first and later editions of Stephen Foster's sheet music, and approximately twenty thousand pieces of sheet music—mainly American of the nineteenth century, all of which are carefully cataloged by subject, publisher, composer and lyricist.

Davis gift. Professor Robert Gorham Davis has presented a fine group of literary manuscripts, including three letters written to him by Ezra Pound, the holograph draft by Dorothy Parker of her address delivered at the *Esquire Magazine* Symposium in October 1958, and two manuscripts of James T. Farrell, one containing holograph drafts of poems, and the other being a carbon copy typescript of various chapters from *What Time Collects.*

Special mention must be made of an exceedingly interesting music manuscript in Professor Davis's gift. Entitled "A Collection of Dancing Tunes, Marches & Song Tunes," it contains more than a hundred eighteenth century tunes written in a very neat, musical hand. It is inscribed on the fly-leaf "Whittier Perkins' Book 1700," and its importance is increased by the fact that it includes an American Revolutionary manuscript version of the patriotic song "Yankee Doodle." Also included in the gift is a journal kept by Professor Davis's ancestor, William McKindry, from the end of 1778 to January 1780, portions of which relate to General John Sullivan's campaign against the Iroquois Indians.

Farrar bequest. Under the terms of the will of the late Lilian Keturah Pond Farrar, the library has received a set of approximately one hundred lantern slides and photographs relating to the Lake Placid Club which are to be added to our collection of Melvil Dewey Papers.

Flaherty gift. Through the good offices of Professor Erik Bar-

Our Growing Collections

nouw and the International Film Seminars, the papers of the film producer and director Robert Flaherty have come to the Libraries as a gift of Mrs. Robert Flaherty. The papers document Mr. Flaherty's careers as an explorer in the Hudson Bay area and as a film-maker from 1910 to his death in 1951, and they include his early journals and diaries, Eskimo drawings, correspondence, and glass slides, negatives, and stills from his various films, including *Nanook of the North* (1922), *Moana* (1925), *Man of Aran* (1934), and *Louisiana Story* (1948). Mr. David Flaherty's reminiscences of his brother appear in this issue.

Friedman gift. Nearly every issue of *Columbia Library Columns* during the past decade has contained acknowledgement of the gifts of books and manuscripts that have come to the Libraries as a result of the thoughtfulness and generosity of the late Dr. Harry G. Friedman (Ph.D., 1908). These benefactions illustrate a wide range of interest, for they include manuscript letters, French and English documents, Arabic and Persian manuscripts of the Koran, art objects, portraits, and prints. While all of his gifts have enhanced our collections, special mention can be made of the handsome 1495 Latin Bible bound for Pope Paul IV, the seventeenth century English witchcraft manuscript, and the five fifteenth century editions of scarce works by Hieronymus Savonarola. Shortly before his death, Dr. Friedman presented a fine specimen of a clay tablet bearing cuneiform writing which is now in the process of being transcribed and translated.

Gildersleeve bequest. In November 1964 Dean Virginia C. Gildersleeve presented to the Libraries her personal library and an extensive file of papers. Now, by bequest, a further collection of books from her library has been received, as well as a fine oil portrait of her done by the late Harold Brett in 1955.

Grauer gift. Mr. Ben Grauer has presented a collection of nearly



DEAN VIRGINIA C. GILDERSLEEVE

The original portrait, in oil, was painted by the late Harold Brett in 1955. Miss Gildersleeve, then Dean-Emeritus, was a member of the original Planning and Organizing Committees of the Friends of the Columbia Libraries in 1950-51 and served as a member of the Council until December 30, 1954. (Gildersleeve bequest)

Our Growing Collections

four hundred useful books, among which are numerous contemporary titles inscribed to Mr. Grauer, including Edward Dahlberg's *Do These Bones Live*, Averell Harriman's *Peace With Russia*? Herbert Hoover's *The Ordeal of Woodrow Wilson*, and Eleanor Roosevelt's *This 1 Remember*. Of the earlier items, special mention is made of the following: Edward Young, *A Poem on the Last Day*, Salem, 1802; *The Farmer's Daughter of Essex*, New York, 1798; and the Elzevir edition of Publius Papinius Statius, *Opera*..., Amsterdam, 1653.

Hazen gift. Professor Allen T. Hazen has added to our collections a copy of *The Phenix: or, A Revival of Scarce and Valuable Pieces From the Remotest Antiquity Down to the Present Times*, London, 1707-1708, in two volumes, a work which was perhaps compiled by the eccentric bookseller and pamphleteer John Dunton.

Kindley gift. Readers of these pages will recall the gift from Columbia College student Jonathan Kranz, which was reported in the May issue. It is with pleasure that we now note another gift from a Columbia College student, Mr. Jeffrey Kindley of the Class of 1967. Through his thoughtfulness we are able to add two scarce pamphlets of works by Marianne Moore, *Le Mariage* and *Dress and Kindred Subjects*, both published in 1965 in limited editions by the Ibex Press of New York. The first of these is a translation into French done by Mr. Kindley of Miss Moore's poem "Marriage."

Kott-Roberts gift. Messrs. Seymour H. Kott (M.A., 1949) and Richard Roberts have presented a group of personal and scientific papers relating to Michael Pupin and his years at Columbia University. The gift also includes letters, manuscripts, and documents of his daughter, Vavara Smith, and his son-in-law, Louis Graham Smith.

Kenneth Lohf

MacKenzie gift. Avery Library has received a portfolio of original sketches, working drawings, and photographs by the late James Cameron MacKenzie (A.B., 1909; B. Arch., 1912) as a gift from his widow. The New York architect was the designer of the Jacob Riis Houses and other public buildings.

Macy gift. Mrs. George Macy has added the 1965 publications of the Limited Editions Club to the "George Macy Memorial Collection" which she has established here at Columbia. While all of the volumes are distinguished by the Club's usual high standards of book design, the following two are especially hand-some exemplars: Sir Edwin Arnold's translation of the *Bhagavad Gita* with water colors by the young Indian artist Y. G. Srimati; and Herman Melville's two novellas, *Billy Budd* and *Benito Cereno*, illustrated with ten paintings in casein done by the New York artist Robert Shore.

Mespoulet library. Through the good offices of the American Library in Paris, a large and useful collection of French publications has been received from the library of the late Professor Marguerite Mespoulet. Mainly from the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the collection is rich in literature and art history. Of particular interest are the twenty-three first editions of works by Paul Claudel, among which are two handsome illustrated editions published in Tokyo, *Cent Phrases Pour Eventails*, 1927, and *Sainte Geneviève*, 1923, both inscribed by Claudel to Professor Mespoulet. Also noteworthy is Edmond de Goncourt's *A Bas le Progrès!*, 1893, inscribed by the author and containing his holograph corrections in the text.

Morris gift. Professor Richard B. Morris (A.M., 1925; Ph.D. 1930) has made further additions to the collection of his professional papers which he presented in December 1962. The current gift includes the correspondence, drafts, and manuscripts

Our Growing Collections

relating to his articles, essays, and various books, among them Treasury of Great Reporting, Studies in the History of American Law, and Alexander Hamilton and the Founding of the Nation.

Parsons gift. Although in England on sabbatical leave during the current academic year, Professor Coleman O. Parsons (A.B., 1928) presented two scarce and valuable works before his departure in the fall. Up to now the only edition of Joseph Glanvill's defense of witchcraft, *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, in the Columbia collections has been the fourth edition, London, 1726, but Professor Parsons's recent gift has now added the second edition of 1682 to our holdings. He has also presented a copy of the second edition of *Scotland's Skaith; or The History of Will & Jean*, Edinburgh, 1795. Although the work is often ascribed to Alexander Wilson, Professor Parsons's own researches have attributed the authorship to the Scottish poet Hector MacNeill.

Podell gift. During his later years Jacob J. Podell (A.B., 1913) was an avid and perceptive collector of Franklin D. Roosevelt letters, manuscripts, photographs, and association books. His splendid archive, designated "The Jacob J. Podell Collection," has now been presented to the Libraries in his memory by Mr. Podell's children, Mrs. Carol Podell Vinson (A.B., 1957), Mr. Robert L. Podell (M.S., 1957), and Mrs. Madeleine Podell Michael (LL.B., 1946). Of the fifty-seven letters from the President, twelve are addressed to "Dearest Mama," Sara Delano Roosevelt, and are of a personal nature. Doubtless the most charming letter is the one written to his grandfather, Warren Delano, on August 23, 1896, when the future President was fourteen years old. He was traveling in Germany, and, as any young man of that age, he writes of trout-fishing, bicycling through the Black Forest, and snapping photographs with his Kodak. Signed

Kenneth Lohf

typescript and mimeographed copies of the first three inaugural addresses are present in the collection, as well as a remarkable document, "Biographical Notes for the Cyclopedia of American Biography," completed in the President's holograph on August 21, 1919. The books in the collection reflect a wide range of interest—religion, poetry, history—and all are signed or inscribed, and one in particular, the 1546 edition of Petrarch, illustrates the President's appreciation of fine books, for he inscribed it, "Bought by me in Venice in 1905—a very fine Aldus." There are seventeen volumes of the President's own writings and among them is a copy of *The Happy Warrior Alfred E. Smith*, 1928, signed on the half-title by two Presidents of the United States and a Presidential candidate: F. D. R., Harry Truman, and Al Smith.

Rabinowitz gift. From 1891 to 1923 Thomas Bird Mosher published some 444 volumes, books through which he, like William Morris in England, was attempting to raise the level of printing and publishing by carefully selecting his texts from the most distinguished American, English, and foreign authors, and then presenting their work in a beautiful format characterized by hand-set type, special hand-made paper, elegant bindings, and meticulous craftsmanship. The Columbia Libraries have, over the years, acquired a reasonably representative collection of the publications of the Mosher Press, but recently, through the interest and generosity of Mr. Aaron Rabinowitz, our holdings have been considerably strengthened. Mr. Rabinowitz has presented eighty-one titles including publications in "The Bibelot Series," "The Old World Series," "The Brocade Series," and "The Vest Pocket Series."

Rose gift. Mr. Reginald Rose has presented thirty-four albums containing 132 scripts which he and other playwrights have written for the popular television series "The Defenders." Ac-
Our Growing Collections

companying each script are a synopsis, cast list, shooting schedule, and allied papers, many with hand-written notations.

Salisbury gift. Mrs. Leah Salisbury has made further notable additions to the collection of papers, from the files of her author agency, which she has established here at Columbia. The current gift contains correspondence, scripts, and other records of various playwrights, writers, and actors, notable among which are Brooks and Oriana Atkinson, Clemence Dane, Ernest Hemingway, Joseph Kramm, Elmer Rice, Kurt Weill, and Albert Hackett and Frances Goodrich, authors of *The Diary of Anne Frank*.

Samuels gift. Mr. Jack Harris Samuels (A.M., 1940) has presented an important group of printed materials in the field of English literature. Notable among his recent gift are the Huth copy of Philip Massinger's *The Emperour of the East*, London, 1632, and a splendid copy of Charles Dickens's *Our Mutual Friend*, London, 1864-1865, in the original parts. Other items include two Kate Greenaway almanacs, four eighteenth-century editions of the plays of Lewis Theobald, and an eight-volume edition of *The Spectator*, London, 1765, bound in old calf.

Van Doren gift. Professor Mark Van Doren (Ph.D., 1921) has added a notable collection of nearly two hundred Allen Tate letters to the "Mark Van Doren Papers." The letters, which range in date from 1926 to 1962, record the close relationship of these two poets, and they often contain typescripts of Mr. Tate's poems, a number of which are unpublished and many of which vary from the printed versions. Also included in the gift are eight letters of Caroline Gordon (Mrs. Allen Tate) and other related correspondence.

Wouk gift. Mr. Herman Wouk (A.B., 1934) has made dis-

Kenneth Lohf

tinguished additions to the Herman Wouk Papers in Special Collections. His recent gift contains the drafts, manuscript, and typescripts of *Marjorie Morningstar*, as well as the working papers for his most recent novel, *Don't Stop the Carnival*, including the manuscript, typescript, and related research materials. The original manuscript of *Youngblood Hawke* was presented two years ago; he has now added the typescript and galley proofs to the collection. Also included are the manuscripts of his plays, "Nature's Way", "The Meadow Sweet With Hay", "The Curious Impertinent", "There's No Way Across", and "Modern Primitive", as well as a group of memorabilia, including personal correspondence, 1934-1955, and souvenirs of his first trip to Israel in 1955.

Notable Purchases

Manuscripts. In 1894 Thomas J. Wise edited and published anonymously William Morris's *Letters on Socialism.* The original manuscripts of the four letters printed in the volume, dated April 2, 4, and 10, and May 6, 1888, all written to the Rev. George Bainton of Coventry, have now been acquired for the library by means of the Ulmann Fund. In this instance at least, the bibliographer Wise was careless in his transcripts, for a comparison of the manuscripts and the printed versions reveals a number of discrepancies.

Printed Works. Avery Library has acquired a most significant French work on rococo design and ornament, Juste Aurèle Meissonier's *Oeuvre*, published in Paris, ca. 1730. Primarily a designer of objets d'art, Meissonier strongly influenced continental design in the first half of the eighteenth century and English design in the latter part of the century, particularly the work of Thomas Chippendale.

Our Growing Collections

A splendid copy of William Blake's *Illustrations of The Book* of Job, London, 1825, has been acquired for the "Solton and Julia Engel Collection." This series of engravings, numbering twenty-two plates including the engraved title, represents Blake's most widely known achievement, and our copy is one of eighteen proof sets on India paper with the incorrect date, 1828, appearing on the title. The plates are mounted on leaves of Whatman paper bearing the watermark "Turkey Mill 1825." The volume has the added distinction of being from the library of John Addington Symonds and containing his bookplate.

Recently added to the Gonzalez Lodge Collection was a copy of the Greek text edition of Aeschylus, *Tragoediae Septem*, published in Glasgow in 1795 by Andrew Foulis. The volume is one of twelve copies on large paper, handsomely bound by Roger Payne in dark blue straight-grained morocco with gilt panelled sides and floral ornaments.

To support the expanding needs for research materials in the field of African affairs, a collection of approximately 1,850 volumes from the library of the late Mr. S. F. Hassan has been acquired. The subject coverage is broad, including materials in science, travel, and all phases of the humanities, and the imprints range in date from the sixteenth century to 1961, the earliest item being Flavius Arrianus, *Ponti Euxini & Maris Erythaei Periplus...*, Geneva, 1577.

Donald Frizell Hyde

April 17, 1909-February 5, 1966

"In Donald Hyde's untimely death"—President Grayson Kirk has written—"the world of letters has lost one of its most valued supporters. His literary and bibliophilic interests were many and varied, and he devoted himself to them, as to his chosen profession of the law, with energy, imagination and constructive generosity."

"Constructive generosity" on a truly international scale. But members of the Friends of the Columbia Libraries have a very special reason for remembering how timely and constructive the Hydes-Donald and Mary-have been through the whole modern period of our activities. Late in 1950 a plan to reactivate the Friends stood in need of impetus. The idea was there, the potential was fully appreciated, but a point had been reached where momentum was beginning to abate. The Hydes, characteristically, supplied the impetus in both personal encouragement and support precisely when it was most effective. In acknowledgment the then Director of Libraries, Carl White, wrote, "Your gift will always stand in my mind as a kind of symbol-a symbol of the real beginning of our Friends' organization. How much this will mean to Columbia and all it stands for, and how proud I am to be the one who has the pleasure of thanking you, both of you, at this moment of beginnings."

In the intervening years libraries and bibliographical organizations throughout this country and beyond have benefited from their participation, encouragement and support. Donald Hyde will be much missed, but the lasting benefits of his work will continue to influence all of us. His was a "constructive generosity" that we will long remember.—R.H.L.

Activities of the Friends

MEETINGS

Leo Rosten speaker at the Fall Meeting. On the occasion of the association's Fall Meeting, which was held at the Men's Faculty Club on Wednesday, November 10, Mr. Leo Rosten, the author of *The Education of Hyman Kaplan* and other books and Editorial Adviser for *Look* magazine, was the speaker. In the development of his topic "Ideas and Superstitions", he gave a humorous and at times sardonic twist to many commonly held beliefs.

Winter Meeting on February 28. As we go to press with this issue of Columns, plans have been completed for the next meeting of the Friends, which will be held at the Men's Faculty Club on Monday, February 28. The program will focus on the late Robert J. Flaherty's career as a motion picture maker and on the collection in the Columbia Libraries which bears his name. The speaker will be Frances Hubbard Flaherty (Mrs. Robert Flaherty), who was associated with her husband in his motion picture work and is a public speaker, and Professor Erik Barnouw, teacher of Dramatic Arts at Columbia.

Bancroft Awards Dinner. Our members may wish to make note of the fact that the Bancroft Awards Dinner will be held this year on Thursday, April 21. Invitations will be mailed a month before the event.

CREDITS

The basic file of original negatives of the photographs pertaining to the cinematic work of Robert Flaherty is a part of the Robert J. Flaherty Collection in the Columbia Libraries. To facilitate production, however, existing prints were utilized, as follows: The ones of Mr. Flaherty directing the Cajun boy, and of Mr. Flaherty and Helen van Dongen are from Arthur Calder-Marshall's *The Innocent Eye: The Life of Robert J. Flaherty* (London, W. H. Allen, 1963); the ones of Frances and Robert Flaherty with Richard Leacock, of Nanook with a gramaphone, of the Samoan maiden making tapa cloth, of Moana dancing with his bride, and of Joseph Boudreaux paddling his boat are from Frances Hubbard Flaherty's *The Odyssey of a Film-Maker* (Urbana, Illinois, Beta Phi Mu, 1960).

As indicated in the caption, Artzybasheff's drawing "Herakles and the Lion" was made for Padraic Colum's *Orpheus*.... Mr. Colum holds the rights and it has been reproduced with his permission.

The photograph of the oil portrait of the late Dean Virginia C. Gildersleeve was made by the Kelsey Studio of Hyannis, Massachusetts, and was supplied by the Barnard College Public Relations Office.

The "Film Credits in Brief" is from the Calder-Marshall volume cited above.

THE FRIENDS OF THE COLUMBIA LIBRARIES

PRIVILEGES

Invitations to exhibitions, lectures and other special events.

USE OF BOOKS in the reading rooms of the libraries.

OPPORTUNITY TO CONSULT LIBRARIANS, including those in charge of the specialized collections, about material of interest to a member. (Each Division Head has our members' names on file.)

OPPORTUNITY TO PURCHASE most Columbia University Press books at 20 per cent discount (through the Secretary-Treasurer of the Friends).

FREE SUBSCRIPTIONS TO COLUMBIA LIBRARY COLUMNS.

CLASSES OF MEMBERSHIP

ANNUAL. Any person contributing not less than \$15.00 per year. CONTRIBUTING. Any person contributing not less than \$25.00 a year. SUSTAINING. Any person contributing not less than \$50.00 a year. BENEFACTOR. Any person contributing not less than \$100.00 a year. Checks should be made payable to Columbia University. All donations are deductible for income tax purposes.

OFFICERS

HUGH J. KELLY, Chairman FRANCIS T. P. PLIMPTON, Vice-Chairman CHARLES W. MIXER, Secretary-Treasurer Room 315, Butler Library, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. 10027

THE COUNCIL

MRS, FRANCIS H. LENYGON HENRY ROGERS BENJAMIN Mrs. George Macy ALFRED C. BEROL FRANCIS T. P. PLIMPTON FRANK D. FACKENTHAL AUGUST HECKSCHER DALLAS PRATT MRS. ARTHUR C. HOLDEN MORRIS H. SAFFRON MRS. DONALD HYDE JACK H. SAMUELS HUGH J. KELLY MRS. FRANZ T. STONE LEWIS LEARY NORMAN H. STROUSE RICHARD H. LOGSDON, Director of Libraries, EX OFFICIO

PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

DALLAS PRATT. Editor CHARLES W. MIXER AUGUST HECKSCHER

ROLAND BAUGHMAN



COLUMBIA LIBRARY COLUMNS

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

ROLAND BAUGHMAN is Head of the Special Collections Department of the Columbia University Libraries.

RAYMOND F. KENNEDY is Preceptor of Music at Columbia University.

ELLEN MOERS is Research Associate in the Department of English and Comparative Literature at Columbia University. She is a specialist in the early period of Theodore Dreiser's life.

JOHN E. UNTERECKER is Associate Professor of English at Columbia University. He has in process a biography of Hart Crane.

* * *

Articles printed in COLUMBIA LIBRARY COLUMNS are selectively indexed in LIBRARY LITERATURE.

Columbia Library Columns

VOLUME XV

MAY, 1966

NUMBER 3

CONTENTS

" A Piece of Pure Invention:" A Hart Crane Episode	JOHN E. UNTERECKER	3
New Light on Dreiser in the 1890's	ELLEN MOERS	10
"Yankee Doodle:" An Early Version	RAYMOND F. KENNEDY	25
Our Growing Collections	ROLAND BAUGHMAN	30
Activities of the Friends		41

Published by THE FRIENDS OF THE COLUMBIA LIBRARIES, Butler Library, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 10027. Three issues a year, one dollar each.



HART CRANE

A photograph of the poet taken on the roof of the building in Brooklyn in which he lived.



COLUMBIA LIBRARY COLUMNS



"...A Piece of Pure Invention:" a Hart Crane Episode

JOHN E. UNTERECKER

OST of us think of Hart Crane as a "difficult" poet, as the author of the enormously intricate booklength poem *The Bridge* or as the author of the no-less-intricate—if shorter—lyrics that were collected in his first book of poems, *White Buildings*.

If we are familiar with the legends that were built up around him during his lifetime and just after his suicide, we are likely also to think of him as a difficult man—a hard-drinking "roaring boy," an undisciplined, undisciplinable man of violent and unpredictable behavior who might, after a night on the town, amuse his friends with wild tales of streetcorner orations, of barroom brawls, of battles with the police or with his typewriter—an object which toward the end of his benders sometimes refused to write and which, in punishment, was more than once hurled through (closed) second-story windows.

The stories are good ones, and they improve with the telling. But they do not even hint of an altogether different side of Crane's life—a side that is revealed in considerable detail in the great mass of correspondence—much of it still unpublished between Crane and his friends, between Crane and his family. For here we can see the roots of those complicated forces that

Copyright 1966, by John E. Unterecker

John E. Unterecker

were to drive Crane to a death-leap from the *Orizaba* in the last months of his thirty-second year, and we can see as well the roots of those other forces that drove him to the composition of some of the finest poetry of the century. We can also see, however, in letter after letter, a much more "normal" man than the good anecdotes would suggest, a man generous to a fault, affectionate, and cheerful in the face of really dreadful financial and emotional problems.

This side of Crane's nature is very nicely demonstrated by a happy letter to his mother and grandmother that he wrote toward the end of October, 1924. Until now published only in part, it is particularly interesting because Crane had enclosed with it an occasional poem, one of the few by him to have survived. This one, written as a going-to-Europe message for his Aunt Zell, demonstrates something of the facility in light verse that Crane possessed—a facility that shows up also in his unpublished (and in his own time unpublishable) limericks. Beneath the poem's surface, however, the careful reader can observe the remarkable metrical dexterity that is evident in all of Crane's finest work.

Both letter and poem were composed during what for Crane was a very good time. Actively working on the four central lyrics in the "Voyages" set, he was also busily sketching details for the organizational plan of *The Bridge*. Here good fortune had played into his hands, for he had recently been able to move into a back room at 110 Columbia Heights in Brooklyn, a room in which John Augustus Roebling, the designer of the Brooklyn Bridge, had also once lived. Watching the hour by hour changes in the harbor scene, Crane, like Roebling, responded to a seascape dominated by the great sweep of bridge cables. Literally letting the scenery soak into his consciousness, he described the view to everyone to whom he wrote. For more than six months, his letters are filled with it. Gradually his feelings seem to settle into an emotional synthesis—a form almost as

"... A Piece of Pure Invention:"

solid as that of the external bridge itself, a structure of emotion that long after he had left the particular room, the particular window, he would draw on for imagery and for tone. "That window is where I would be most remembered of all," he had written Waldo Frank in the spring of 1924: "the ships, the harbor, and the skyline of Manhattan, midnight, morning or evening-rain, snow or sun, it is everything from mountains to the walls of Jerusalem and Niniveh, and all related and in actual contact with the changelessness of the many waters that surround it." In this room Crane had been able to share love and to transform that shared love into poetry: "I think the sea has thrown itself upon me and been answered, at least in part, and I believe I am a little changed-not essentially, but changed and transubstantiated as anyone is who has asked a question and been answered. . . . Just now I feel the flood tide again the way it seemed to me just before I left Cleveland last year. . . . And my eyes have been kissed with a speech that is beyond words entirely."

Though Crane neglected to tell his mother that he had fallen in love, not with a girl, but with a young man, his sense of being in love communicated itself to her easily enough. For Grace Crane—now more than six years divorced from Hart's candymanufacturer father, C. A. Crane—had herself recently fallen in love with a man Hart had still to meet, a Mr. Charles Curtis, concerning whom she and her son were beginning to exchange full and frank lettters. In many of those letters—as in this one— Hart speaks slightingly of his father, for he had taken his mother's "side" in the divorce and was only beginning at this time to respond to the father to whom several years later he would turn with great affection and good will.

In 1924, however, it is to his aunt and godmother, Zell Hart Deming, to whom Hart characteristically turns for advice or for literary encouragement. A witty, eloquent woman, she was Crane's aunt-by-marriage; her daughter, Helen, was his

John E. Unterecker

only first cousin. Zell was a successful businesswoman—the publisher-manager of the Warren, Ohio, *Tribune-Chronicle*—proud of the fact that she had been the first woman member of the Associated Press.

Crane had intended his bon-voyage poem—"to Zell, now bound for Spain"—to be ingenious and faintly sentimental. Faintly sentimental it certainly was, but the ingenious commentary on Zell's anticipated journey exploded into nothing more than a dull thud, for Grace Crane had inaccurately reported her sister-in-law's itinerary. As Hart discovered at her hotel—his ship letter by that time already mailed—Zell's journey was to be to none of the places Grace had thought she was going! ("I nearly sank with mortification when she informed me casually that she was not even going near *Spain* and had not intended to from the outset of her plans," Hart soon wrote his mother. "How did you ever get so bawled up on her plans as to write me about that as you did? I finally explained the joke of my verses to her on that score, as I thought she would enjoy them all the better, maybe, when she found them in her stateroom.")

In spite of the fact that Crane was "mortified", Grace Crane "bawled up," and Zell—let us hope—amused, the occasion for the tangle—the occasional poem itself—is with us yet. This fragment, at last finding publication here in *Columbia Library Columns*, reminds us of one altogether happy day in Hart Crane's life.

> 110 Columbia Hts Tuesday—Oct. 21st, '24

Dear Grace and Grandma:

The last day of my vacation, and somehow the best! So cold and sharp it is, you might think it time for turkey. You know how keenly brilliant the atmosphere around these parts can be—frequently in any season. On such days one gets an even better edge to his glorious light here by the harbor. The water so very blue, the foam and steam from the tugs so

"... A Piece of Pure Invention:"

dazzlingly white! I like the liners best that are painted white with red and black funnels like those United Fruit boats across the river, standing at rest. And you should see the lovely plumes of steam that issue from the enormous heights of the skyscrapers across the way. I've been toasting my feet at an electric stove, a kind of radio heater that I have in my room, and glancing first at the bay, then with another kind of satisfaction at my shelves of books and writing table—for a long time unable to think of anything but a kind of keen sensual bliss, that is in itself something like action—it contains so much excitement and pleasure.

After breakfast I called up Zell and Helen. They arrived yesterday but I was too occupied with other things to look them up that early. I see them at the Waldorf at four this afternoon. Which reminds me that I have already posted a steamer letter, or rather, a poem, to Zell, which she won't glimpse, I hope, until she starts down the bay. She had written me, asking for a poem in this connection, and knowing how hard such "occasional" pieces are for me to write, I worried considerably. But it's not so bad for a piece of pure invention. I enclose it here for your amusement—the only thing lacking is the photo of myself looking out my window here, of which I haven't a copy now to send you.

On going up to "headquarters" the other day for chocolates for my friends, I learned that CA¹ had been here during September—just how long I didn't ask. Which shows that I'm to expect the complete "go-by" from him in the future. He must be mortified about something—too much so to show his head. I'll send him a Christmas card once a year, and bless his soul! Which reminds me that I certainly do hope to join you at Christmas,—it will be high time, and we'll celebrate. I shall bring two quarts of something good from the metropolis and you'll BOTH have to break ALL THE RULES!

¹ Clarence Arthur Crane, Hart Crane's father

WITH A PHOTOGRAPH

TO ZELL, NOW BOUND FOR SPAIN



From Brooklyn Heights one sees the bay: and, anchored at my window sill, I've often sat and watched all day The boats stream by against the shrill Manhatten skyline, -- endlessly Their mastheads filing out to sea.

And just so, as you see me here (Though kodaked somewhat out of focus, My eyes have still the proper locus) I'm flashing greetings to your pier, Your ship, your **C**uto-bus in France--All things on which you glide or prance Down iinto sunny Spain, dear Zell. Good berths, good food and wine as well!

I hope to know these wishes a true Forecasting. Let me hear from you. Enclose some petals from a wall Of roses in Castile, or maybe garden stall; While I'll be waiting at this old address, Dear Aunt, God-mother, Editress!

Hart Crane embellished his manuscript page with a pen and ink drawing of the view through his window.

"... A Piece of Pure Invention:"

I also want Mr. Curtis to join us during part of it. I'm sure to like him, and we'll "tching-tching" your health.

Give Margaret and Ralph my regards when you think of it.

Love, as always-

Hart



The Manhattan skyline as seen through the window of Hart Crane's room in Brooklyn.

New Light on Dreiser in the 1890's

ELLEN MOERS

great deal is known about Theodore Dreiser (witness the recent massive Swanberg biography), but relatively little about the man who wrote *Sister* Carrie. A Dreiser manuscript, "Some American Women Painters," and two of his unpublished letters in the Special Collections Department of the Columbia Libraries illustrate this apparent paradox.

Thanks to the two volumes of Dreiser's never-completed autobiography, we have a good understanding of his extraordinary midwestern boyhood and first career as a newspaperman, up to the time he settled in New York in 1895. We may know all too much about his career after the publication of *Sister Carrie* in 1900: pioneer of urban naturalism, battler with the censors, iconoclast and radical, in the 1910's, 1920's, 1930's and 1940's. But the half decade intervening between the private and the public Dreiser remains blurred. It may be the most important period of Dreiser's long life, for it was between 1895 and 1900 that he became the man who wrote his miraculous first novel, in a great rush through the fall, winter and spring of 1890-1900.

The "lost" Dreiser can be found in, of all places, the first (1899) volume of *Who's Who in America*:

Dreiser, Theodore, journalist-author . . . connected with daily papers, Chicago, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, 1891-5; editor Every Month, musical magazine, 1895-7; then in sp'l work for Cosmopolitan magazine; contributes prose and verse to various periodicals. Author: Studies of Contemporary Celebrities; Poems. Residence: 6 W. 102d St., New York.



THEODORE DREISER

Photograph made at sometime between 1907 and 1910 while he was editor for the Butterick Publishing Company.

Ellen Moers

Several points in this *Who's Who* entry have long seemed puzzling, beginning with the fact of its existence. It certainly belies the legend, spread by Mencken and even Dreiser himself, that *Sister Carrie* sprang from the blue, a "sport" of a novel written by a barbaric "immigrant" totally unconnected with the American literary scene.

And what was the "musical magazine," correctly entitled *Ev'ry Month*, that Dreiser edited from 1895 to 1897? Only half of the *Ev'ry Month* mystery was dispelled when John F. Huth opened up the subject in 1937, for Mr. Huth had found a partial run of the magazine (only a few more issues have turned up since that time). Published by the sheet-music firm of which his brother Paul was a partner, *Ev'ry Month* gave young Dreiser the unique opportunity to express his philosophical and political views in its extensive editorial columns, to react frankly to new works by such contemporaries as Stephen Crane and Abraham Cahan. The missing 1895 and 1896 issues of the magazine would add considerably to our knowledge of the author of *Sister Carrie:* may I seize this occasion to urge librarians and their Friends to cooperate in the search for the elusive *Ev'ry Month*?

Furthermore, what sort of "prose and verse" did Dreiser contribute to various periodicals in 1897, 1898 and 1899? His bibliographers, Edward McDonald and Vrest Orton, unearthed in 1928-9 about one hundred magazine pieces published under his byline before the publication of *Sister Carrie*. But their inevitably incomplete lists have never been revised, though new Dreiser works of the period are constantly turning up. For example, Columbia's manuscript article by Dreiser, "Some American Women Painters," clearly belongs with his 1890's magazine work; until a definitive Dreiser bibliography is prepared, we can say with all probability, but not absolutely certainty, that the article was never published.

For bibliophiles, the most tantalising mystery in Dreiser's first

New Light on Dreiser in the 1890's

Who's Who entry is the two book titles of which he is named as an author in 1899, for Sister Carrie was of course his first publication in hard covers. Collectors kept hunting for Studies of Contemporary Celebrities until John Huth announced in the 1938 Colophon that many of the Dreiser articles which could have made up such a volume were actually collected in the early 1900's by Orison Swett Marden, who had initially commissioned the pieces for his Success magazine, but gave Dreiser no credit in the published books. Huth's discovery, incidentally, came as a surprise to Dreiser himself: all he remembered was that he had prepared a group of Celebrity interviews for publication by a Cincinnati house that went bankrupt, then stored them in a trunk along with a completed biography of the painter George Inness, and unpublished articles and early poems. The trunk disappeared. Columbia's manuscript was not among its contents: probably the earliest extant manuscript written by Dreiser for publication, it was saved by his first wife, Sara White Dreiser, to whom he must have given it shortly before or after their ill-fated marriage in 1898. Columbia acquired it by purchase from a family that was kind to Sallie Dreiser many years after her separation from the novelist.

And what, finally, of the book of *Poems* which appeared under Dreiser's name not only in the 1899 entry, but in every *Who's Who* up to the 1908 volume? Dreiser wrote a good deal of poetry before he ever thought of writing fiction: many of his poems appeared in the magazines of the late 1890's. It has long been known that, in 1898, Dreiser tried to enlist the support of William Dean Howells for a projected volume of his poems. Now, from two unpublished Dreiser letters in Special Collections, we know that in 1899 he also submitted his poems to Edmund Clarence Stedman. The Dreiser-Stedman correspondence, including all the answers to Dreiser's letters, adds to our understanding of Dreiser in the 1890's. For the young man

13



MOTHER AND SON

A double portrait, by Cecilia Beaux, of a now unidentified couple.

New Light on Dreiser in the 1890's

who sat down to write *Sister Carrie* was, as much as "iconoclast" and "naturalist," an aspiring poet and art critic.

"Some American Women Painters" is an undated manuscript article of twenty-four pages, written on the same sort of yellow copy paper, with the same sort of pencil, in the same legible, neat hand that Dreiser would soon use in the writing of Sister Carrie. The seven artists he discusses, Cecilia Beaux, Rhoda Holmes Nicholls, Clara T. McChesney, Alice Barber Stephens, Mrs. Kenyon Cox, Matilda Browne and Mrs. J. Francis Murphy, were professional, not "Sunday" painters. They had studied in the best American art schools, in New York and Philadelphia; many had also studied abroad, even exhibited in the Paris salons. (Cecilia Beaux, whom Dreiser distinguishes as the foremost American woman painter, received excellent notices from French as well as American critics.) Most of these women were members of the various Academies that were then the center of art life in America, and they carried off numerous prizes at the annual exhibitions. From the information Dreiser includes about prizes, incidentally, we are able to assign a very early date, 1897, to the article.* It may represent his first attempt at freelance magazine writing.

"Some American Women Painters" is hastily and crudely written, yet in its subject matter, and the enthusiasm with which it is handled, it is revelatory of a little-known side of Dreiser.

* None of the many dates mentioned in the piece is later than 1897. Dreiser writes that the third Hallgarten Prize (given by the National Academy of Design for an oil by a painter under thirty-five) was awarded to Mrs. Cox "last year" and to Mrs. Murphy "three years ago." These awards were actually made in 1896 and 1894, respectively.

actually made in 1896s and 1894, respectively. Dreiser may never have heard of Mary Cassatt, who lived in Paris and exhibited relatively rarely in New York. But his choice of Cecilia Beaux as foremost American woman painter of the day was a common one; see the article on Miss Beaux in the October 1897 *Scribner's* by William Walton, who had written about Mary Cassatt in the same magazine the year before.

Ellen Moers

Over half of his hundred-odd magazine pieces of the 1890's had to do with the arts: music, theater, sculpture, Literature (with a capital L), photography, design and, especially, painting. (In his articles about a dozen or more painters of the day, Dreiser took himself seriously as an art critic; he was taken seriously enough by at least the painter J. Scott Hartley to be selected as "the proper person" to write a memorial study of George Inness, Hartley's father-in-law.) And, on the subject of women in the arts, Dreiser was something of an authority. Before writing his first novel about a young woman who goes on the stage, he had published articles about women making careers as violinists, harpists, opera singers, pianists, composers, and playwrights, as well as painters.* What a life in Art meant to the turn-of-thecentury American woman was as ready a theme for Dreiser as it was for Howells, Huneker and Willa Cather.

In his fascination with the arts and fondness for the artists, he was a typical young writer of the New York 'nineties. Aspiring authors tried to model their style of life—even their style of work—on the example of their painter friends. They envied the painters their Bohemian dress and habits, their romantic studios, their Paris years, their casual friendships with women models and painters, their relative freedom in choice of subject matter. Like Stephen Crane, a writer exactly his own age, Dreiser spent many hours going in and out of the studios of artist friends. Crane lived for a while in the old Art Students League building; Dreiser joined the Salmagundi Club. They both wrote their most clearly autobiographical (and poorest) novels about themselves as painters: Crane's *Third Violet*, published in 1897, and

^{*} Probably the first article Dreiser sold as a freelance writer was "Our Women Violinists," which ran in the November 1897 *Puritan*. It may have been written about the same time as "Some American Women Painters," as an unpublished letter, dated November 18, 1897, from Mrs. Kenyon Cox to Dreiser, suggests. The violinists piece, unlike the painters piece, would be revised for inclusion in a whole series of articles about women in the arts that Dreiser wrote for Success in 1890.

New Light on Dreiser in the 1890's

Dreiser's later, more ambitious work, *The "Genius"*, which also testified to his friendship with the painter Everett Shinn. Frank Norris, whose *Vandover and the Brute* is in the same tradition,



ALONG BROADWAY

Illustration by William Glackens for Dreiser's story "Whence the Song" (*Harper's Weekly*, December 8, 1900). The author and the artist had met for the first time early that year.

wrote of painters with more authority and less sentiment: he had been an art student himself in Paris.

Looking for literary models for such portraits of the writer as artist, we need go no further than to those best-sellers of the 1890's, DuMaurier's *Trilby* and Kipling's *The Light That Failed*, the two contemporary novels that most dazzled the young American "naturalists," though literary historians blush to admit it. But the turn of the century romance between writer and artist was more than a fad: it was a collaboration. In those golden days just before the commercialization of photography, magazine and newspaper articles were illustrated by talented

Ellen Moers

young artists, for whom journalism served as an apprenticeship for art, just as it served the writers for literature. Two early character sketches in Dreiser's *Twelve Men* celebrate his close friendship with artists he encountered on the daily or monthly press.

Dreiser knew at least two of the women painters discussed in Columbia's manuscript. He comments on the "wit and brilliant personal qualities" of Louise Cox, of whom he would write again with similar enthusiasm in a March, 1898, *Cosmopolitan* article about "The Work of Mrs. Kenyon Cox," and in a January, 1899, *Cosmopolitan* piece on the "Making of Stained Glass Windows." (Mrs. Cox was one of Tiffany's designers. She gave Dreiser the pictures to accompany his articles about her.) In the last sentence of the manuscript, the only one that sounds unmistakably Dreiserian, he credits Mrs. Francis Murphy's "agreeable nature" with being "one of the ameliorating influences in the rather severe world of American art strugglers."

Both Mrs. Cox and Mrs. Murphy were married to successful painters. Dreiser apparently met Francis Murphy at the Salmagundi Club; he might possibly have met Kenyon Cox through painter friends like Louis Sonntag or Bruce Crane. Or he may have used his entrée as a magazine writer, on the occasion of an interview or studio "writeup," to strike up an acquaintance. We know from other sources that young Dreiser was always trying to make an impression on people who had achieved distinction in the arts. He seized every opportunity to talk about himself, to debate his philosophies, to show his own creative work, to share his dreams, to reach for the hand up the ladder which, with his shabby background and wretched education, Dreiser needed more than any of his contemporaries among the New York writers. Literary celebrities whom he met on assignment included Mark Twain, Anthony Hope, Israel Zangwill and,

New Light on Dreiser in the 1890's

most important, William Dean Howells, whose considered praise could make a young writer's fortune and establish his position among the new realists. In the 1880's and early '90's, Howells had been busy "making" Garland, Crane, Herne, Cahan, Dunbar, Fuller, Frederic, Ade, Markham, Herrick, and Norris. That he could not pass on his *imprimatur* to the author of *Sister Carrie* (a work of which he never recorded his opinion, except to tell Dreiser once, hurriedly, that he did not like it) is a mark of the limitation of Howells's sensitivity, not of his generosity.

We know, however, that Dreiser wanted to break into the literary scene as one of "Howells's young men," rather than as a rebel against the literary establishment. And he wanted to do it as the author of a book of *Poems*, specifically the volume that figures so mysteriously in his *Who's Who* entry. In August, 1898, a literary columnist announced that Dodd, Mead was going to bring out a book of verse by Theodore Dreiser for which William Dean Howells had reportedly "expressed a hearty liking."* The Dreiser-Stedman letters in Columbia's Special Collections demonstrate further that, far from abandoning his poems when they failed to be published at the end of 1898, Dreiser went on submitting them for criticism to the literary establishment up to only a few months before the start of *Sister Carrie*.

The story of these letters interweaves with that of the Dreiser-Howells meetings and goes back to 1897, Dreiser's first year as freelance for the magazines. In November, 1897, *Metropolitan Magazine* ran an article called "New York's Art Colony: The Literary and Art Retreat at Bronxville," by Theodore Dresser. (Still in the orbit of his successful songwriter brother, Dreiser was experimenting with the "American" spelling of

^{*} Dodd, Mead has no record of any 1890's dealing with Dreiser. Once famous, Dreiser did bring out a large collection of poems called *Moods*, *Cadenced and Declaimed* (Liveright, 1926; Simon & Schuster, 1935.)

Ellen Moers

their name that Paul used.) The "retreat" was Lawrence Park, a beautifully landscaped residential estate inhabited by prominent painters, architects, and writers. "Most of us have fixed in our minds how the rich live," Dreiser began his article, "and how, also, the exceeding poor—the newspapers keep this knowledge fresh by constant comparison—but not all are familiar with that third class, neither rich nor poor, but talented, who sometimes live in colonies and are to a certain extent exclusive."

Dominating Lawrence Park was the home of Edmund Clarence Stedman, who was both rich *and* talented. Poet turned Wall Street broker, Stedman was, in his sixties, a pillar of the New York literary establishment. Generous with his time and hospitality, an editor and anthologist and sponsor of American poets young and old, Stedman tried to do for American poetry what Howells did for fiction. From the moment Dreiser caught sight of Stedman's beautiful home, emblem of all the literary aspirant's dreams, he may have conceived the plan of showing Stedman his own verse.

But first there was Howells. In April, 1898, five months after the Lawrence Park article appeared, *Success* ran a Dreiser piece on Howells, a lifeless "interview" apparently based on questions submitted and answered by mail. Howells, however, liked the article enough to ask Dreiser to come for a chat in his apartment overlooking Central Park. What happened there is partly told in an extremely interesting piece Dreiser wrote a year or so later on "The Real Howells" (*Ainslee's*, March 1900.) Howells was graciousness personified. The talk turned to philosophical matters, the struggles of young writers and the aspirations of Dreiser himself. Howells must either have looked over Dreiser's poems there and then, or offered to do so in the immediate future. For, in his *Ainslee's* article, Dreiser would lavish praise on Howells as the great "literary philanthropist." "His heart is warm. . . . Is it a young poet longing, verses in hand, for recognition,

New Light on Dreiser in the 1890's

Howells will help him . . . he will take of his time to read the struggler's material and recommend him according to his merit." Some sort of encouragement certainly came to Dreiser at this



The reception room in the Bronxville home of Edmund Clarence Stedman, where he received many of the writers and artists of the period. The poet's study can be seen through the open door at the left.

time in connection with his poems, for on May 15, 1898, he wrote Sallie White that they would be published in book form during the coming winter. On July 27, a man from McClure's Syndicate came to interview Dreiser for an advance notice of his "forthcoming" book of poems; Dreiser must have told him that Howells had "expressed a hearty liking" for the poems. It was probably around the same time that Dreiser listed a book of *Poems* among his productions, for *Who's Who*. He was not the only author to describe as published a volume that would presumably appear before a biographical directory: *Ship of Fools*

Ellen Moers

(under that or an alternate title) was listed among the works of Katherine Ann Porter twenty years before publication.

The winter of 1898-9 came and went, bringing Dreiser's marriage to Sallie White, but no *Poems*. He thought again of Stedman. In March 1899, *Munsey's* ran Dreiser's detailed account of "Edmund Clarence Stedman at Home," and early in April Dreiser must have written to ask if he could go back to Lawrence Park and submit his poems for Stedman's approval. On April 4 Stedman's secretary answered Dreiser's letter. (The original of this letter, as of the others Dreiser received from Lawrence Park, is among the Dreiser papers in the Library of the University of Pennsylvania. Copies can be seen in the Stedman Letterpress books in Columbia's Special Collections.) Illness would prevent Stedman acknowledged their receipt on April 19, and promised that her grandfather would "examine your work with interest" as soon as his health improved.

A month went by, and Dreiser grew understandably impatient for news. On May 31 he wrote Miss Stedman very politely from the Salmagundi Club (it is the earliest Dreiser letter at Columbia, and one of the earliest extant), asking if Stedman could possibly comment on his poems before the end of June. Time pressed, for Dreiser was "going west for the summer"an announcement as true as it was (though neither Dreiser nor Stedman could know it) momentous. By June 9 Stedman had read the poems, for a letter was sent to Dreiser on that date from Lawrence Park, this time written by Ella Boult, Stedman's literary assistant. After apologies for Stedman's inability to write Dreiser himself, and a detailed explanation of the illness from which he was suffering, Miss Boult proceeded to break the news, as gently as possible, that Stedman had read Dreiser's poetry with the minimal enthusiasm that would be felt by all later readers. "He finds your characteristic and best mood the

New Light on Dreiser in the 1890's

contemplative, exemplified in such pieces as 'Compensation' bearing the stamp to a certain extent of the verse of the Protectorate and the Resteration." (The comparison may have been Stedman's, but the spelling was surely—though she was a Cornell graduate—Miss Boult's.) "Now," she went on, "Mr. Stedman is of the opinion that no matter how perfect in form or how interesting poetry may be, if it is lacking in dramatic or lyric quality, it does not appeal to the present generation. We examine hundreds of books and MSS that fail from this very cause, and on this account he does not venture to advise you about publication . . . it is impossible for verse to succeed in book form unless it is distinctly above the average. For this reason Mr. Stedman, himself, has written very little verse of late years."

Dreiser's undated reply, written on the stationery of Ainslee's Magazine, is the most interesting piece in the correspondence. For his reaction to adverse criticism was neither abject nor apologetic; it seemed to stiffen his determination to go his own way. He would often, in later life, have more serious occasion to reply to indifference or hostility in terms similar to those he addressed through Miss Boult to Stedman. Picking up the kindly warning that his poetry could not be popular, Dreiser wrote somewhat sharply that poetry was never popular-and, he implied, there were more important things than popularity. "A critically admired volume stands more as an exponent of a mans mental calibre than as a source of revenue or general fame." These were cocky words to address to so well established a literary figure as Stedman, and yet they seem to reflect more than mere youthful impudence. They suggest the toughness of mind and stiffnecked independence that would support Drieser throughout the Sister Carrie crisis of the following year, and would help him to survive, as so few writers did, far into the new century. In this 1899 letter to Stedman we seem to hear

Ellen Moers

premonitory echoes of the words Dreiser would address to Walter Page of Doubleday little more than a year later, when *Sister Carrie* was being suppressed even before publication. "A great book will destroy conditions, unfavorable or indifferent, whether these be due to previous failures or hostile prejudices . . .," he would write. "Even if this book should fail, I can either write another important enough in its nature to make its own conditions and be approved of for itself alone, or I can write something unimportant and fail, as the author of a triviality deserves to fail."

The private and personal confidence evident in Dreiser's last Stedman letter, so different from the openmouthed envy that marks much of his 1890's journalism, may have owed something to a piece of news Dreiser proudly announced at the end of the letter: "Possibly Mr. Stedman will be interested in knowing that these [poems] will be published in the fall." Or it may reflect the surge of power sensed by the young man who was about to undertake *Sister Carrie*. The fall of 1899 brought no *Poems*, but the beginning of a new era in American fiction, Soon after his letter reached Stedman, Dreiser went off to Ohio to spend the summer with his friend Arthur Henry, who pushed him to try his hand, for the first time, at fiction. Dreiser turned out a few short stories that summer and began to ruminate *Sister Carrie*. By the spring of 1900 the book was done, and the career of Theodore Dreiser, novelist, had begun in earnest.

A Note on Sources

Among the unpublished materials used for this article are Dreiser's letters to Sallie White, now available for restricted use only at the Lilly Library, Indiana University; and letters to Dreiser from Louise Cox, Scott Hartley and Ainslee's Magazine, all in the Dreiser Collection at the University of Pennsylvania. The very important Ainslee's correspondence establishes the fact that Dreiser wrote "The Real Howells" before October, 1890, and, most interesting, the fact that Dreiser paid to have his poems set in type in the middle of 1902. Richard Duffy of Ainslee's would thereafter refer to "the poems in your book."

"Yankee Doodle:" An Early Version

RAYMOND F. KENNEDY

ROFESSOR Robert Gorham Davis of the English Department has greatly enriched the music resources of Columbia University by his generous gift of a treasured family heirloom, a manuscript volume of tunes that were popular in America at or near the time of the Revolutionary War. Among the tunes recorded in the manuscript is an early version of "Yankee Doodle" which varies markedly from the melody as we know it today.

Entitled "A Collection of Dancing Tunes, Marches, & Song Tunes," the leather-bound booklet of thirty-six leaves contains more than two hundred tune scores, written in a remarkably neat hand—obviously that of one who was well schooled in transcribing music notation. The volume bears on its first page the following inscription: "Whittier Perkins's Book, 1790." Because of that inscription the manuscript is usually given the provisional date of "about 1790," even though there is physical evidence to show that it may have been completed several years before the owner-ship inscription was written.

The significance of this manuscript has been known to scholars for a long time. More than half a century ago, in 1909, it was described in considerable detail by Oscar G. T. Sonneck, then Chief of the Music Division of the Library of Congress, in his *Report on "The Star-Spangled Banner," "Hail Columbia," "America," "Yankee Doodle."* At the time Mr. Sonneck examined the manuscript it was the property of Professor Davis's great-aunt, Mrs. Austin Holden of Boston. It figured importantly in his researches, for he was able to locate only one or two other manuscripts of comparable antiquity.

Nevertheless, exhaustive as its treatment was, even the brilliant *Report* was compelled to leave the origin of the air of "Yankee

Raymond F. Kennedy

Doodle" an unsolved mystery, though Sonneck did succeed in eliminating many of the misconceptions which had encumbered and blocked his search. As it appears in the conclusion of his report on the song, the author expected further evidence to turn up and the puzzle to be eventually solved. Unfortunately, however, despite extraordinary efforts by two competent scholars, Frank Kidson (in "Some Guesses about Yankee Doodle," *Musical Quarterly*, January, 1917) and S. Foster Damon (*Yankee Doodle*, 1959), the origins of one of our most famous national songs remain today elusive, and to a great extent unknown.

Whittier Perkins's Book, as we have said, does not stop with "Yankee Doodle;" it includes as well versions of "The 12 days of Christmas," "Lord Bacon," "Green Sleeves," and "Battle of the Kegs." (The last-named song was written by Francis Hopkinson in 1778; our manuscript, therefore, cannot be dated before that year.) Like "Yankee Doodle," the versions, though recognizable, are often different from the ones familiar today. Such departures might come as a surprise to some people who, unaware of the changeable nature of traditional music, may have assumed that they were singing, whistling or playing an ancient favorite exactly as their forefathers had done. But although we may tend to deplore the changes that so often come about in our American national music through various influences, we must realize that such changes are only natural and indeed inevitable. At the same time, we must admire the flexibility of our national music culture which, out of various experiences, has fashioned a kind of music that is genuinely American, although different from the older styles.

The music of colonial America included in Perkins's manuscript comprises, for the most part, tunes that are not easily distinguished from their contemporary counterparts of British, Scotch and Irish origins. Generally speaking, the differences between American and Old World songs are greater in the words than in the music, for the words are much more frequently of

26


18th Century and 20th Century versions of "Yankee Doodle." The music at the top is from the manuscript about which Mr. Kennedy writes in the adjoining article.

Raymond F. Kennedy

strictly American origin, embodying events of American cultural life. As it happens, the Perkins manuscript includes few tunes with words. This would indicate that either the ballads were so well known it was not thought necessary to include the words, or that the manuscript was intended for instrumental use. Many musically-inclined people in those days were content to play airs on either the flute or violin, without other instrumental accompaniment. In fact, it was the mark of every cultured young gentleman in England and America during the eighteenth century, and well into the nineteenth, to be able to play such airs on the German flute.

Insofar as the music is concerned, the tunes are generally in the eighteenth century popular style, based on the harmonic system that is still in use today. The rhythm is usually simple and employs one of the standard eighteenth century meters.

The majority of the songs are cast in simple binary form; some of these are extended through the device of variation, others are part-songs employing imitation.

What has been given here is but a very general picture of the content of the manuscript. Each tune could be dealt with as a separate study—however, the investigator who essays that task must be prepared for baffling experiences when examining some of our most familiar American airs. Nevertheless, the Whittier Perkins songbook is a rich storehouse of material for any student of music, history or folklore. An examination of the manuscript will add substantially to our general knowledge of American musical life in the Revolutionary War period and to a recognition of the marvelous heritage of song which we as a nation possess.



A page in the late eighteenth century manuscript booklet "A Collection of Dancing Tunes, Marches, and Song Tunes." (Davis gift)

ROLAND BAUGHMAN

Gifts

T is by no means unusual for this writer, in his capacity as Head of Special Collections, to be approached by some distinguished member of our faculty with the diffident enquiry as to what he should "do about" his "papers." This generally comes up because, he tells me, "The University of So-and-So has made a most interesting proposal. They want my papers, and they say they will set them up in special quarters and furnish me with an evaluation which I can use for tax purposes. But before I decide I'd like to know whether Columbia is interested."

This always leaves me a little deflated. For more than a dozen years I have been preaching the gospel (ad nauseam, as I thought) of Columbia's "interest" in being made the repository of the manuscripts, correspondence, notes, and memorabilia of our faculty members. That effort has borne distinguished fruit, and the pages of "Our Growing Collections" for the past year alone are studded with notices of gifts or bequests of the papers of, for example, Jacques Barzun, the late Harry J. Carman, Charles Frankel, Walter Gellhorn, the late Virginia C. Gildersleeve, Donald L. Keene, Richard B. Morris, Allan Nevins, William Y. Tindall, Mark Van Doren, and the late C. C. Williamson. It is an effort that we take great pride in, knowing that we are serving scholarship by preserving and making available the unpublished materials which authors and historians have gathered in support of their own writings. And it is an effort that has placed Columbia high among the universities of this country in the development of manuscript resources for the purposes of research. From a mere handful of manuscripts at the end of

World War II, our collection has increased to more than two million pieces. Most of that growth is the result of gifts—and many of those gifts have come from faculty and alumni.

Let it be emphasized again, then, O alumnus or faculty member, that when some other university approaches you, you should remember that anything they can do, Columbia can do better! And we want to be given the chance to prove it.

Altenhein gift. Dr. Margarete Reckling Altenhein (M.A., 1931) has presented a beautifully illuminated and lettered manuscript of St. Francis of Assisi's "Hymn to the Sun," translated into German by Franz Brentano. The handwork was done in 1948 by the Polish refugee, Alfred Jahn.

Barnett Gift. Mr. James Barnett, knowing of our great interest in the productions of the Grabhorn Press in San Francisco, has presented two early specimens of the work of the Press. One of the items is Stevenson's *Diogenes in London*, issued shortly after the Press was established in San Francisco in 1920. The other is James Rorty's *What Michael Said to the Census-Taker*, 1922. Both books are in fine condition and will make distinguished additions to our Grabhorn collection.

Barzun gift. Dean Jacques Barzun (A.B., 1927; Ph.D., 1932) has again added substantially to the Berlioz Collection and the Jacques Barzun Papers. Among the many items in the current gift are four files of the Dean's recent professional correspondence. Specific mention should be made of two rare bits of Berlioz iconography—a lithographic caricature of the composer holding the rolled score of his opera, *Les Troyens*, undated but signed "Et. Carjat;" and a lithograph clipped from a newspaper of 2 April 1857, entitled "Souvenir du Grand Festival des Orphéonistes; Aspect de la Salle . . . Alliance de la Télégraphie et de la Musique."

Also included with Dean Barzun's gift are six letter boxes containing administrative and academic papers. These are being added to related materials in Columbiana.

Dana gift. Mrs. Richard H. Dana has presented to Avery Library a most valuable collection of 342 photographs recording the extensive architectural work of her late husband.

East Asian Library. The East Asian Library reports that it has received more than 800 government publications from the National Diet Library of Tokyo. The gift, which covers the period 1960-65, includes surveys, reports, and statistics relating to history, religion, politics and government, economics and finance, education, social welfare, agriculture and industry, national defense and the like. Such materials provide a rich source of basic data for the study of Japan in recent times.

Frankel gift. Professor Charles Frankel (A.B., 1937; Ph.D. 1946) has presented the manuscript and corrected galley proofs of his distinguished book, *The Love of Anxiety*, which was published by Harper & Row in 1965.

Frantz gift. Mr. Harry W. Frantz of Bethesda, Maryland, has presented a collection of some 400 books, manuscripts, notes, and memorabilia to the Library of the Graduate School of Journalism, in memory of the late Francis A. Jamieson. Included in the gift is Mr. Frantz's carefully documented list of the items.

Grimm gift. Mr. Peter A. Grimm (A.B., 1911) has presented three distinguished sets. One comprises the London, 1821, edition of the works of Lord Byron in five volumes; another is a nine-volume edition of Shakespeare, London, 1767, with the bookplates of Lord Cornwallis; and the third is a collection in twelve volumes of the works of Jonathan Swift, London, 1755-68. The bindings of the last set bear the arms of George IV.



BERLIOZ

Undated caricature of the composer, who holds the score of his opera, *Les Troyens*. (Barzun gift)

Halpin gift. The Music Library reports the gift by Mr. William C. Halpin of a collection of 975 long-playing classical records, many of which are new to our holdings and others being much-needed duplicates.

Hertzmann gift. The Music Library also reports the gift by Mrs. Evelyn Hertzmann (B.S., 1952) of manuscripts, notes, and miscellanea from the papers of her husband, the late Professor Erich Hertzmann.

Huebsch gift. A gift of paramount importance is the collection recently presented by Mrs. Benjamin W. Huebsch. It comprises more than a thousand volumes, for the most part representing the publication activities of her late husband. Also included, however, are a number of fine volumes of works presented by their authors to Mr. Huebsch, all containing warm inscriptions.

It is hoped that, in the near future, this collection will be the subject of an article in *Library Columns*.

Keene gift. Professor Donald L. Keene (A.B., 1942; Ph.D., 1950) has generously presented the typescript, with his manuscript revisions and corrections, of his recent work, *The Old Woman, the Wife, and the Archer; Three Modern Japanese Short Novels.* This work, which was published by the Viking Press in 1961, contains translations of stories by Shichiro Fukasawa ("The Songs of Oak Mountain"), Chiyo Uno ("Ohan"), and Jun Ishikawa ("Asters").

Kent gift. Our readers will recall that in the February, 1965, issue of *Library Columns* we acknowledged the gift by Miss Louisa Kent of the M.A. diploma which was awarded by Columbia College to Washington Irving in 1821. This piece was discussed more fully by Andrew B. Myers in the issue for May, 1965.

34

Recently Miss Kent has presented a substantial collection of manuscripts and papers by and relating to her distinguished ancestor, Chancellor James Kent (LL.D., 1797 Hon.). Because the collection is quite large, it will be presented in three annual installments, but when the transfer is complete, we will have available for scholars an extraordinary documentation of the interests and career of one of the truly great figures in the early history of Columbia and New York.

Lada-Mocarski gift. Avery Library has announced the receipt of a gift of a number of fine books on art and architecture, including an excellent facsimile of *Meraviglie de Venezia*. These are the generous presentation of Mr. and Mrs. Valerien Lada-Mocarski.

Matthews gift. Mr. Herbert Matthews (A.B., 1922) has continued his presentation of Castro-Cuba materials. Most recently he has added volumes 10-23 of the definitive edition of José Marti's *Obras Completas*, together with other works of importance to an understanding of our truculent neighbor.

Mitchell gift. Mr. Herbert Mitchell (M.S. in Library Science, 1947), a member of the Avery Library staff, has presented an unusual work, Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*, 1715-25, complete with the rare "Umberslade" plate. He has also presented Christian Rieger's *Elementos de Toda la Architectura Civil*, 1763, a Spanish translation of an important Austrian treatise, as well as a collection of 275 18th-century engravings of Rome and its art treasures by Maggi, Parasacchi, and others.

Moreau gift. Mr. John Moreau of Chicago has recently published a biographical work, *Randolph Bourne*, *Legend and Reality*. In the course of his researches he made considerable use of Columbia's collection of Bourne's papers, and his welcome

here prompted him to present an extensive file of letters he has received from personages who knew Bourne. The collection comprises about 100 pieces, and includes letters from Floyd Dell, Waldo Frank, Upton Sinclair, Norman Thomas, and many others.

Philosophy Department gift. Through the good offices of Professor Justus Buchler of Columbia's Department of Philosophy, a most important body of John Dewey material has been received. Of primary significance is a manuscript notebook containing lecture notes of Dewey's course on "real logic," taken by Alice Chapman (later Mrs. John Dewey). Some of the pages (in Lecture 43 particularly) were written by Dewey himself.

Also included in the gift is a fine copy of the first edition of John Locke's *An Essay Concerning Humane Understanding*, London, 1690.

Root gift. Dr. Walter S. Root has presented a beautiful portrait of Alexander Hamilton. It is a photogravure copy of an original in the Yale School of the Fine Arts, printed in color by W. H. Gilbo, and copyrighted in 1908 by William J. Campbell. It bears Campbell's signed certification that it is number 23 of an edition of 25 proofs.

Upjohn gift. Professor Everard Upjohn has presented to Avery Library a manuscript "plan book," containing a record of drawings sent out by the firm of his great-grandfather, Richard Upjohn, during 1846-1854. This is a most important document, comprising original source information of a great New York architectural firm.

Notable Purchases

Manuscripts. Partly by means of the Friends' Book Account and partly from another special book fund, an unusually import-

ant manuscript of Leone Ebreo's *Dialoghi d'amore*, libro III, was purchased. Written in Italy about 1530, it is one of four known manuscripts of this text, of which two are in the Vatican and another is in the British Museum. According to the scholar, John Charles Nelson (*Renaissance Theory of Love*, 1958), the *Dialoghi d'amore* is "a detailed synthesis of philosophical doctrine centering in a restatement of the Neoplatonic position." The vigor of its doctrine shook its contemporaries as no other work of its kind had done. It was probably written about 1501/2 in the author's native Hebrew, but it did not achieve wide circulation until a translation into Italian was published in 1535.

Collections. Two important collections were purchased recently. One comprises a file of more than 50 letters and related documents from Van Wyck Brooks to Mr. Cyril Clemens of Kirkwood, Missouri. The other is a collection of the first editions of works by William Faulkner, totaling 19 items and including most of his major novels as well as such scarce pieces as *Salmagundi* (1932) and *Sherwood Anderson and other famous Creoles* (1926).

Individual items: Incunabula. Six 15th-century books have been added in recent months, two of them being of unusual interest. One is really several works together—Rufius Festus Avienus's collection into a single volume of geographical, astronomical, and medical texts by himself and others. The astronomical portion, by Aratus, a 3rd-century B.C. physician and astronomer, is illustrated with amusing woodcut depictions of various constellations. The volume was printed in Venice in 1488 and is the first and only 15th-century edition of Avienus.

Another acquisition is a cause for pride: the Venice, 1483, edition of Cicero's *Orationes*. No other copy of this edition is known to be in America, although at least 20 are recorded in European libraries.

Other individual rarities. Avery Library reports the purchase of a most exceptional item, Edward Pearce's [*Friezes*], 1640. This work, which comprises twelve engravings, records the begin-



GEMINI

Depiction of the constellation Gemini from Avienus's 1488 printing of Aratus's 3rd Century B.C. astronomical treatise.

nings of the English Renaissance style, and no other copy of this first edition is known to exist.

The Webster Library of Plastic Surgery reports that it has recently made several notable additions. "Perhaps the most interesting," writes the librarian, "is Leonardo Fioravanti's *A Short Discours*...*uppon Chirurgerie* (1580).... It is a translation from the Italian, and contains a description of an operation for the restoration of a lost nose... possibly the earliest reference to plastic surgery in English."



PICKING MULBERRY LEAVES

A woodblock print by Kitagawa Utamaro, being one of a series which illustrate the process of silk culture.

Modern fine books. A number of items could be reported in this category, but perhaps the most notable are the two latest publications to be issued by the Grabhorn Press in San Francisco. One is an imposing folio entitled Alamos, a philosophy in living, combining magnificent photographs and sensitive text by Richard J. Elkus which reproduce the beauty and spirit of a tiny Mexican town that has nestled in the Sierra Madre for more than 300 years. The other is Twelve wood-block prints of Kitagawa Utamaro illustrating the process of silk culture, printed at the Grabhorn Press and published by the Book Club of California. The wood-cuts are reproduced in full color from originals in the Grabhorn collection of Japanese prints.

Of equal beauty, though of quite different inspiration, is another west-coast production, Albert Camus's *The Fall*, printed by the Allen Press in Kentfield, California, 1966. It is luxuriously decorated with large illustrations in from three to six colors, all by Lewis Allen, who has used wood, linoleum, cloth, and black line to achieve his striking results.

Finally, mention should be made of the opportunity that was seized recently to acquire a fine representation of the work of the "Hammer Creek Press." The lot consists of a dozen items, dated variously from 1951 to 1960, all exquisitely printed by the owner of the Press, John Fass, in extremely limited editions —never more than a hundred copies. They were done purely for the owner's own personal pleasure and satisfaction, and fittingly demonstrate the ancient Aldine motto, *Festina lente*, which the Press has adopted.

Activities of Friends

MEETINGS

Bancroft Prizes Dinner

On Thursday, April 21, approximately 300 members of our organization and their guests met for the culminating event of the academic year—the Bancroft Prizes Dinner which was held in the Rotunda of Low Memorial Library. Mr. Hugh J. Kelly, Chairman of our association, presided.

During the program, President Grayson Kirk announced the titles of the two prize-winning books judged by the Bancroft Prize Jury to be the best published in 1965 in the fields of American History, American Diplomacy and International Relations of the United States: *Between Two Empires: the Ordeal of the Philippines, 1929-1946*, by Theodore Friend, III, and *The Peacemakers: the Great Powers and American Independence*, by Richard B. Morris. He presented a \$4,000 check to each of the authors, who responded with short addresses. Mr. Kelly presented certificates to Mr. Chester Kerr of the Yale University Press and to Mr. Cass Canfield of Harper and Row, the publishers, respectively, of the two prize-winning books.

The Bancroft Dinner Committee was made up of Mrs. Francis Henry Lenygon, Chairman, and Mrs. Arthur C. Holden.

The prizes are provided by funds from the Bancroft Foundation. The Friends take pleasure in helping to enlarge public knowledge of these awards.

Secretary-Treasurer Honored

At the meeting of the Council of the Friends, which was held on March 16, Dr. Richard H. Logsdon, the Director of Libraries, referred to his recent letter to the Council members concerning the forthcoming vacancy in the Secretary-Treasurership of the Friends, because Mr. Mixer will, as of May 1, devote full-time to strengthening the collections, service and financing of Columbia's East Asian Library. For this intensive operation, he will, as Assistant Director of University Libraries, move his office to that library for a period of approximately a year and a half. Plans for handling the Secretary-Treasurer's duties will be worked out soon.

Dr. Logsdon then presented the following resolution, which he read:

"Mr. Charles W. Mixer, Assistant Director of the Columbia University Libraries, has served as Treasurer of the Friends of the Columbia Libraries since February, 1952, and as Secretary-Treasurer since the summer of 1953. He has thus been identified closely with the activities of our organization during its most fruitful period, and it is little enough to say that much of the success of the Friends has been due to Mr. Mixer's careful attention to the myriad of details which the smooth operation of an organization such as this entails.

"After serving twenty years as a key officer in the central administration of the Libraries, Mr. Mixer has recently accepted a wholly new responsibility. On or about May 1 he will undertake the direction of one of the major units of the Columbia library system, the already large and rapidly developing East Asian Library. Anticipating that his new duties will require his full attention, Mr. Mixer has asked to be relieved of his assignment as Secretary-Treasurer.

"It is with deep regret that the members of the Council accept Mr. Mixer's resignation, for our debt to him is great. Happily, he has signified his wish to remain on the Publications Committee, and it is with gratitude that we look forward to a continuance of his invaluable service in maintaining the high standards of *Columbia Library Columns*."

The Council passed the resolution and Mr. Kelly asked that it be printed in the next issue of *Columbia Library Columns*.

Activities of the Friends

Mr. Mixer said that he was very pleased over this expression of appreciation by the Council and that his close involvement in the operations of the Friends over the past years had given him much satisfaction.

PICTURE CREDITS

Credit for some of the illustrations in this issue is acknowledged as follows: (1) Article by John E. Unterecker: The photograph of the view through the window of Hart Crane's room is reproduced through the courtesy of Mr. Richard W. Rychtarik; the picture of Crane on the rooftop and the manuscript page with pen sketch are from Special Collections. (2) Article by Ellen Moers: The portrait of Dreiser is from Robert H. Elias's Theodore Dreiser: Apostle of Nature (N. Y., A. A. Knopf, 1949) and is reproduced by permission of Mrs. Everett Tutchings, daughter of the photographer, the late Pirie MacDonald, Hon. F.R.P.S.; the painting by Cecilia Beaux is from Scribner's Magazine, October, 1897; the picture of Edmund Stedman's reception room is from Munsey's Magazine, March, 1899; William Glackens's sketch of a Broadway scene is from Harper's Weekly, December 8, 1900.

THE FRIENDS OF THE COLUMBIA LIBRARIES

PRIVILEGES

Invitations to exhibitions, lectures and other special events.

USE OF BOOKS in the reading rooms of the libraries.

OPPORTUNITY TO CONSULT LIBRARIANS, including those in charge of the specialized collections, about material of interest to a member. (Each Division Head has our members' names on file.)

OPPORTUNITY TO PURCHASE most Columbia University Press books at 20 per cent discount (through the Secretary-Treasurer of the Friends).

FREE SUBSCRIPTIONS TO COLUMBIA LIBRARY COLUMNS.

* * *

CLASSES OF MEMBERSHIP

ANNUAL. Any person contributing not less than \$15.00 per year. CONTRIBUTING. Any person contributing not less than \$25.00 a year. SUSTAINING. Any person contributing not less than \$50.00 a year. BENEFACTOR. Any person contributing not less than \$100.00 a year. Checks should be made payable to Columbia University. All donations are deductible for income tax purposes.

OFFICERS

HUGH J. KELLY, Chairman FRANCIS T. P. PLIMPTON, Vice-Chairman (Position vacant at present) Secretary-Treasurer Room 315, Butler Library, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 10027

THE COUNCIL

HENRY ROGERS BENJAMIN MRS. FRANCIS H. LENYGON ALFRED C. BEROL MRS. GEORGE MACY FRANK D. FACKENTHAL FRANCIS T. P. PLIMPTON AUGUST HECKSCHER DALLAS PRATT MRS. ARTHUR C. HOLDEN MORRIS H. SAFFRON MRS. DONALD HYDE JACK H. SAMUELS HUGH J. KELLY MRS. FRANZ T. STONE LEWIS LEARY NORMAN H. STROUSE RICHARD H. LOGSDON, Director of Libraries, EX OFFICIO

PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

ROLAND BAUGHMAN

DALLAS PRATT, Editor CHARLES W. MIXER

AUGUST HECKSCHER



