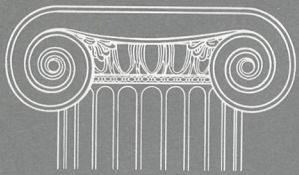

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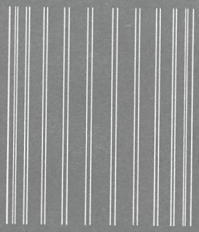

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Douglas Moore, seated at the piano, at the time of the first performance of *The Ballad of Baby Doe* in July, 1956, at the Central City Opera House in Colorado. Shown with him are John Latouche (far left), Emerson Buckley, and Hanya Holm.

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The Perils of Baby Doe

LEWIS J. HARDEE, JR.

THOSE who have seen Douglas Moore's opera *The Ballad of Baby-Doe*—and few devotees of American opera have not—will quickly recall the old turn-of-the-century prints that are projected onto a screen for entre-scène atmosphere. If these scenes, which have become traditional in *Baby Doe* productions across the country, bring to mind an old wild west melodrama, consider the reference appropriate: the history of this opera is a lively and sometimes perilous one.

The story of Baby Doe first came to Douglas Moore's attention in 1935, during the ninth year of his long association with the Department of Music at Columbia University. On March 8 of that year he read in the *New York Times* an article, "Widow of Tabor freezes in shack; famed belle dies at 73 alone and penniless, guarding old Leadville bonanza mine." The article recounted the glamorous, tragic tale of Baby Doe Tabor, whose marriage to Horace Tabor, the Colorado silver baron, had delighted and scandalized the nation. A photograph appeared with the article showing "Elizabeth (Baby Doe Taylor) at the height of her famed beauty and social career." (Interestingly, this account parallels the scenario of the opera that was ultimately written. The headline, in fact, forms the basis for the opera's concluding scene.)

The inherent poignancy of the story greatly appealed to Moore who immediately sensed its appropriateness as an operatic subject.

However, the Baby Doe project was destined not to be an easy one: twenty years would pass and Moore would write four other operas before the idea would become reality.

The first peril to the Baby Doe opera was lyricist trouble, which proved to be an unending peril. Moore first approached his friend Pearson Underwood with the idea of turning the Colorado legend into an opera. Underwood had poetic talents but lacked a strong dramatic sense. The project went nowhere.

In the early 1950's a second attempt with Pulitzer Prize winning playwright Paul Green was a disaster. (Yet through this association Moore's opera came to have its premiere at the Central City Opera House in Colorado.) Prior to meeting Moore, Paul Green had been in correspondence with the Central City Opera Association which sought to have an opera written and performed in celebration of its centennial. Green himself had previous interest in the legend, and had written a movie in Hollywood, *Silver Dollar*, which dealt with Baby Doe's profligate daughter.

A mutual friend, Donald Oenslaeger, who ultimately designed the settings for the opera, brought Moore and the playwright together. From the outset the two men were incompatible in both personality and artistic aims. Green said,

"I had gotten a lot of material together, and [Donald Oenslaeger] thought we could hit it off. . . . I was more interested in a drama, Moore in an opera. I was interested in a play for which drama would be accompanied by music—he was interested in an opera. I wasn't interested in a thirty page libretto. I wanted something closer to Kurt Weill's *Johnny Johnson*. Moore played *Giants in the Earth*, and that was interesting, but it was drama I was interested in. Moore has the modern idiom and never does seem to climb, seems to 'gravel' along."

Moore, on the other hand, remarked,

"I admired Paul Green very much in [his libretto for] *Johnny Johnson*. I thought it was wonderful, and I was thrilled at the idea of working with him. But when he sent me an outline of the first

scene, it was just *awful*. And I showed it to John Latouche who had been wanting to do something with me, and he said, 'This sounds as if it were translated from a foreign language.'"

Moore found the partnership intolerable. He said,

"You see, I torpedoed the project. . . . I couldn't work with him. . . . Paul Green and I had outlined a story and when we separated we agreed—he was very kind—he said, 'Let's each of us take this to have it any way we want. . . .' Then it was subsequently commissioned by the Koussevitzsky Foundation and I was free to get my own librettist."

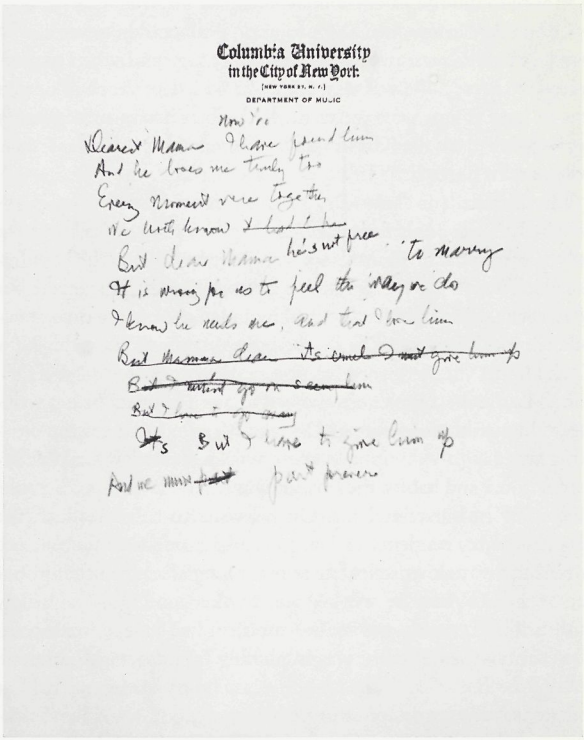
The libretto for *Baby Doe* was ultimately written by playwright-lyricist, John Latouche, among the most gifted and the only professional of Moore's several librettists. Latouche's professional credits in the theatre began early with contributions to the 1937 revue, *Pins and Needles*, and included the imaginative, iconoclastic musical play, *The Golden Apple*, which won the New York Drama Circle Award for best musical 1953–54.

But Latouche was a rose that came with thorns. In his work habits he was the opposite of Douglas Moore. Whereas the composer was a highly disciplined artist, working regularly, with consistent hours and habits, the lyricist was erratic and unpredictable, producing in bursts and fits. On his visits to Salt Meadow, the Moore country residence on Long Island, Latouche could be heard pottering away downstairs late at night long after the other guests had retired. When he worked, he worked quickly, frequently with brilliant results, and to any problem had half a dozen solutions easily—the difficulty was in pinning him down. Moore said,

"In *The Ballad of Baby Doe* it was a funny arrangement. Latouche was always disappearing. He was always busy. He was doing something for Carol Channing [*The Vamp*] and something for Leonard Bernstein [*Candide*] and so I was so excited that I would go ahead and write [the words].

"Because John was always involved in so many things, it was hard to get hold of him and he would come down here [to Salt

Meadow] and we would imprison him and say, 'Now you can't have a cocktail until you get that scene finished.' He would work very fast and very well. And the tragic thing was that last scene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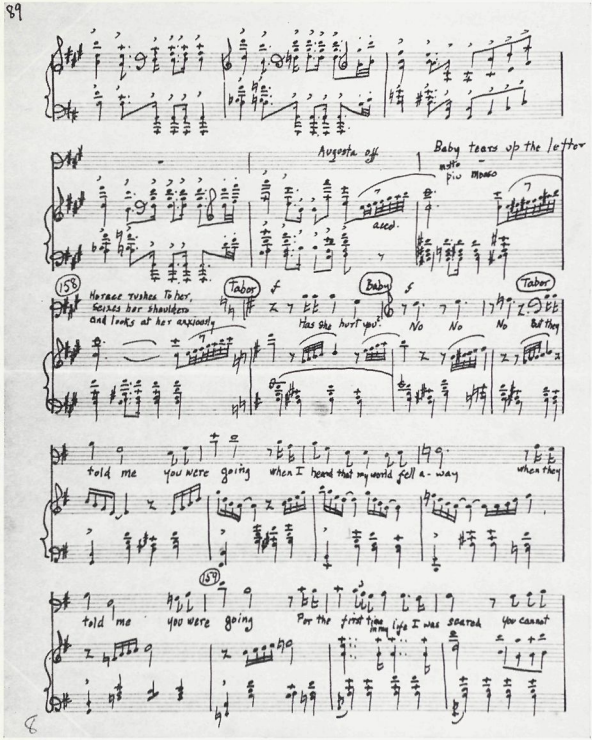
Early draft in Moore's hand, ca. 1955, of the lyrics for the "Letter-writing" scene in Act I.

which was difficult to do. He was bringing it up to the Institute [of Arts and Letters] to the Ceremonial to deliver it to me and left

it in the taxi and he had to do it all over again. But I suppose it was even better the second time. But with John you could never tell what you were going to have. . . ."



Draft of the music for the end of the "Letter-writing" scene.

Work began on the vocal score in June 1954 and with it Douglas Moore's twenty year flirtation with Baby Doe became a

love affair. Effie Moore, his sister in law, commented on this period in his life:

"We all laughed at him! It was as if he were living in a dream all of that time, and we all . . . said he was in love with Baby Doe and paid no attention [to us], and if you asked him a question usually he hadn't heard. He seemed to be in a dream world—that was our deduction—that he was having a love affair with Baby Doe and had no use for anybody in his family!"

But new perils arose. The Central City Opera Association which had originally commissioned the work, feared legal difficulties with Paul Green (who admittedly had the first claim to the centennial offer) and ceased cooperation with Moore and Latouche. As Douglas said, "We were dropped like hotcakes."

The subsequent commission from the Koussevitzsky Foundation came through, and for a time work proceeded smoothly. Then in April 1955, there arrived at Columbia University a letter addressed to the Messrs. Moore and Latouche from a Denver woman named Caroline Bancroft, author of certain tourist trade booklets based on the Tabor-Baby Doe affair, such as *Silver Queen: The Fabulous Story of Baby Doe Tabor*, *Augusta Tabor, Her Side of the Scandal*, and *Tabor's Matchless Mine and Lusty Leadville*. The letter fell like a bombshell upon the opera project.

The gist of the communication was that she, Caroline Bancroft, constituted "The Tabor authority of the world"; that much of the material circulated about the Tabor-Baby Doe business was not in the public domain, but protected by her own copyrights; and that she expected to receive a large percentage of any receipts achieved by the Moore-Latouche opera production. The letter contained scarcely veiled threats to injunct any production on opening night if her terms were not met, and added that the expenses of a lawsuit would be more than compensated for by the attendant publicity in sales of her Tabor material.

Moore and Latouche immediately engaged in a furious round of meetings and correspondence with their lawyers. Moore cer-

tainly had had enough unhappy legal entanglements with his previous operas to be alarmed: *White Wings*, his first opera, although completed in 1935, was not allowed a performance until fourteen years later—1949, because of legal complications with the play upon which it was based. Similar difficulties with its related novel served to deny *Giants in the Earth* its proper circulation and in large part can be blamed for preventing its publication. The award to *Giants in the Earth* of the Pulitzer Prize in Music for 1951 had no effect in removing these legal obstacles.

In dealing with Bancroft's threat, Latouche's tactics were to avoid any possibility of plagiarism by supporting each of the opera's scenes and characterizations with actual contemporary newspaper accounts. Douglas' solution was to drown the troublesome Miss Bancroft in charm. He wrote assuring her that her fears were groundless, adding, "Mr. Latouche asks me to send you his regards and to mention that his next show will be based on a short story of an old friend of yours . . . who has spoken very warmly of you to him." The eventual meetings between Douglas Moore and Miss Bancroft were friendly.

With this peril averted, the work once again went forward. Latouche continued to disappear for long periods of time, leaving the frustrated composer to work alone, forcing Moore to invent entire scenes and numbers on his own. Thus, in its completed published form, *The Ballad of Baby Doe* includes three arias for which the musician wrote both words and music, "Augusta's Lament," "The Willow Song," and "The Letter Song," only the first of which was revised by Latouche. (Among the Moore papers now in the Special Collections Division of Butler Library are numerous scenes and drafts of numbers in the composer's hand, attesting to his contribution to the libretto.)

Central City eventually reextended to Moore and Latouche its commission for the opera. The vocal score was completed in mid-August, 1955, and scored six months later. In November 1955 Moore could write, "Latouche and I have decided definitely to

call the opera, *The Ballad of Baby Doe*. The title has a nice lilt and seems better than just Baby Doe."

On July 7, 1956, *The Ballad of Baby Doe* received its premiere performance in Colorado in a first rate production by the Central

The opening scene of *Baby Doe* in the Central City production, showing Walter Cassel and Martha Lipton in the roles of Horace Tabor and his wife, Augusta. The set was designed by Donald Oenslaeger.

City Opera Association. Emerson Buckley conducted, Hanya Holm directed; starring roles were cast from the New York opera stage. *Baby Doe* was an operatic bonanza. The music world buzzed with talk that out in Colorado an important new opera had opened—some said the best American opera ever written. First string reviewers flew out from New York to see for themselves; their judgments, with few exceptions, were enthusiastic. The reviewer for the *Denver Post* heaped upon the work his higest praise, and for added laurels personally attended two rehearsals and three performances. (Douglas wrote, "We composers do not ordinarly get such careful treatment.")

On August 7, 1956, while preparations were being made for the New York premiere, John Latouche died without warning. Douglas said,

"He died at the age of thirty nine—tragic. Suddenly a heart attack and that was it. It was right after the success of *The Ballad of Baby Doe* in Central City. We had a conference down here [at Cutchogue] and decided it needed some revision and he wrote the new part and he never heard what I had done with [setting it to music.] He went back and went up to Vermont and this thing happened. It was a great loss."

Douglas outlived Latouche by more than a decade, until July 25, 1969, and had the pleasure of seeing his creation enter that select category of works referred to as "the standard repertory operas." *Baby Doe* received its New York premiere on April 3, 1958, by the New York City Center Opera Company. There has been a national tour and hundreds of professional and college performances across the country. *The Ballad of Baby Doe* has successfully survived transplants from the sturdy halls of the opera house to music tent theatres in-the-round. It was performed in 1961 at Belgrade and the West Berlin Festival by the Santa Fé Opera Company. It has been the recipient of honors and awards, among them, the New York Music Critics Circle Award for 1958. Excerpts from it have been performed on national television. Its popularity shows no signs of waning.

Thus, if the history of *The Ballad of Baby Doe* had been marked with many unhappy episodes, it indeed finally arrived at triumph.

NOTE: Quotations of Douglas Moore were from tape recorded interviews conducted at Cutchogue, N.Y. between 1967–1969; Paul Green, from telephone interview, Chapel Hill, N.C., July 27, 1967; Mrs. Arthur [Effie] Moore, tape recorded interview, Cutchogue, N.Y. November 1, 1970; quotations from letters were from the Douglas Moore files now at Special Collections Division, Butler Library, Columbia University.

The Stephen Crane Collection

Before Its Acquisition By Columbia: A Memoir

LILLIAN B. GILKES

THE strange disappearance from Cora Crane's Court Hotel in Jacksonville of the papers, manuscripts, books from the library at Brede Place which Stephen Crane's widow brought over from England and kept together until her death, and which later became Columbia University's great Stephen Crane Collection, remains a mystery ringed with scandal and continues to pose a challenge to Crane studies. Also, there is growing evidence for the belief of some scholars that not all of the materials Cora had in her possession are actually in the Collection.

Where are they? And who had the present collection before it got to Columbia?

This paper, alas, provides no answers to the first of these questions. As to the second, it will attempt to sketch what happened, utilizing information pieced together from various sources over a period of almost two decades, particularly from conversations with the late Joseph Marron, Director of the Jacksonville Free Public Library, and its Reference Librarian Audrey Broward who introduced me to Henry W. Walters—one of the chief protagonists in this mystery drama.

The usual story is that the mass of books and papers was hidden in "an old trunk" purchased for $500.00 by the Assistant Librarian at Jacksonville, Carl Bohnenberger, and a local businessman, Norman Mitchell Hill. This is what Hill, who handled the sale to Columbia, told the late Roland Baughman, who journeyed to California to inspect the collection then stored at the Huntington Library. It had been offered there, and rejected because the asking price was considered exorbitant.

Hill's silent partner in the Columbia transaction was Henry

Walters, an employee of the Jacksonville Gas Company. In the course of reading gas meters at the Court Hotel Walters had become a friend and confidant of Cora, whose disastrous third marriage to the alcoholic Hammond McNeil was soon to end in

Pencil drawing of Cora Crane from Helen Crane's sketchbook. (Crane Collection).

tragedy. Walters, a man of some refinement though uneducated, seems to have combined a rather circumscribed appreciation of literary artifacts with some realization of their monetary value. But the Crane materials did not come to him directly from Cora.

Nor were they found among the personal effects left outright in her will, together with all of her real estate, to her friend and executor Ernest Christie Budd, a Jacksonville businessman who had wanted to marry her. No mention of them, either, appears in the inventory of personal property which has since disappeared from public records on file in the Duval County Courthouse, but which, fortunately, was copied by a collector of Crane memorabilia, Ames W. Williams, on one of his visits to Jacksonville. Mr. Williams' copy is preserved in the Arents Crane Collection at Syracuse University, together with other missing documents he had copied at the same time, pertaining to Cora's estate.

There can be no doubt, I think, as was suggested in my *Cora Crane* (Appendix III, p. 378. Indiana University Press, 1960), that sometime between Cora's death, 4 September 1910, at Pablo Beach, and the filing of her will for probate four days later, the whole boodle was stolen out of her rooms in the Court Annex at 118 Davis Street. But the thief was not one of the three principals in this remarkable charade, nor Cora's legatee Budd, but someone else whose identity still cannot be positively affirmed.

Broken by McNeil's treatment of her in the divorce case, and in ill health from a stroke, Cora had moved into two rooms in the Annex after relinquishing the management of her establishment to a housekeeper, Edith Gray. The last year of her life was spent in retirement at her beach cottage "Palmetto Lodge," during which time she rarely came up to town, except to see her doctor or to consult her attorney. The records show that Edith Gray, and the girls at the Court, were living high off the hog. They ran up staggering bills for meat and groceries which remained unpaid—to say nothing of "extras" such as $926.50 to an Atlanta firm for silk lingerie! The ill woman was being fleeced by those to whom she had entrusted her affairs.

In Jacksonville, researching the biography, I interviewed a gentleman who claimed friendship with Cora. However, from what he told me, he was certainly more closely identified with an indi-

vidual who, later, may have succeeded Edith Gray in operation of the then hideously transformed and cheapened Court under its bawdy-house name, the "Whitehouse Hotel."[1] He too had read gas meters at the old Court—or its lurid reincarnation, the White-

The Whitehouse Hotel in Jacksonville.

house Hotel. (The various ownership transfers spanning a seven-year period after Cora's death are recorded in my *Cora Crane*, pp. 383–87.) The "flesh industry" by that time had pyramided into something resembling a syndicate, usually functioning on three or more levels. At the top, raking in the lion's share of profits, was the corporate entrepreneur who leased the building to a tenant, who in turn either sub-leased or placed a hired operator in charge. This is how it was in most cities of the size of Jacksonville, in 1913, when the Court was re-opened as the transmogrified Whitehouse Hotel. In the hired-manager class was my informant's "dear

[1] Photographs of the Court are in the Columbia University Crane Collection. Those of the Whitehouse Hotel are in my possession, given me by Henry W. Walters.

friend," who for convenience we may call "Stella" though that is not her name, and whose real name does not appear in the City Directory for any year.

It was quickly apparent in the course of my interview that the name of Henry Walters—which I innocently let fall—was a stink bomb to the gentleman seated opposite me. He clammed up, then exploded. Yielding to Walters' importunities, it seems, "Stella" had let him "borrow" a portion of the mysterious trunk's contents "which he never returned." These, I suspected, might have been the Conrad letters which Carl Bohnenberger later edited and published with an appreciative Introduction in the American *Bookman* (1929). But worse! Taking advantage of "Stella's" desperate need of cash in a "crisis," when she was hurriedly "called out of town" on some pretext or other, the trunk was removed to Walters' home and he reimbursed her the "contemptible" sum of $250. Stripped of these euphemisms, the real reason for "Stella's" abrupt skeedaddle is transparent: a police raid on the Whitehouse Hotel, subsequent to the election—in 1917—of a city administration pledged to close up the redlight district.

I never saw Norman Hill, he had left Jacksonville at the time of my investigations. Henry Walters, then a very old man, was losing his memory. It was difficult to make much of his confused recollections. When I questioned him about this episode I could get no coherent reply, only winks, chuckles, and an old man's somewhat lubricious innuendoes concerning the wronged "Stella" and her champion, my informant. He did, however, confirm the $250 paid—with something of the cat's leer when licking the cream from his whiskers.

The trunk and its priceless contents remained for some thirty years, or longer, stored in Walters' outdoor garage. Little could be done with them while Ernest Budd was among the living. Walters' wife, sniffing a tainted source, would not let the trunk come into the house. The garage was not much more than an open shed, and Walters was rather on the defensive about his wife's atti-

tude. But in view of how heated was the female mind toward anything "out of a house," I am suspicious that in some burst of Xanthippean wrath Mrs. Walters may have attempted to set fire to the whole thing. A great number of manuscript leaves are indeed heavily charred around the edges, these and many others showing signs of water damage that did not come from rain.

As for Carl Bohnenberger—how did he, a young man of scholarly leanings and unexceptionable probity, get into this extraordinary stew? When I knew Bohnenberger in Jacksonville he was working on a study of the English composer Frederick Delius, who had lived some years at Orange Park, a suburb. Besides his job at the Library, he reviewed books for the Florida *Times-Union* and wrote a Sunday column signed with the pseudonym of "Adam de la Hale." My interest in the Cranes at that time was still only a wish dream, his, a closely guarded secret. So, regrettably, the names of Stephen Crane and Cora Taylor—the only identification Cora ever had in Jacksonville—never entered our discussions of books and authors. But I would guess that Walters, mistrusting his own business sense in the handling of literary remains—it certainly was not very great in other respects—confided in his acquaintance Norman Hill, known as a shrewd salesman. On Hill's advice, they decided to hang onto their holdings until the market in Crane futures showed a bullish trend. Hill, a man of limited background himself, probably lacked any precise knowledge of bibliophilic values or how to go about exploiting the rich lode which was now theirs. So they approached Bohnenberger at the Library.

Conceivably, Bohnenberger or Hill may have paid Walters an additional $250, bringing the investment figure up to $500, as quoted, since there would now be a three-way split. The detail seems not very important.

Publication of the Crane-Conrad letters in *The Bookman* was obviously a trial balloon. An autograph copy of Crane's *Maggie* brought $3,700 in 1930, the top price ever paid for a Crane first

Cora Crane (far right) and friends in St. Augustine in 1907.

edition. *Maggie*, according to Matthew J. Bruccoli[2] was the "glamor" item in Crane collecting; the 'thirties the peak of activity for that work, though a sharp slump occurred when the American Art-Anderson galleries disclosed that eleven copies of Crane's first novel, which had been supposed a great rarity, were in the possession of a niece Mrs. Florence Crane Coughlan. But there was no 1893 *Maggie* in Cora's collection; the depression years, too, undoubtedly made more difficult the disposal of the collection as a unit. Bohnenberger must have been watching carefully the fluctuations of the rare book market during those years, consulting dealers' catalogues and sales lists of the two leading auction galleries, Anderson and Parke-Bernet, as neither Walters nor Hill would have known how to do. Then in the summer of 1936, on his way home from a trip to New York, Bohnenberger was killed in a car collision.[3]

His death must have been a hard blow to the hopes of the other two. They sat out another ten-year period. Hill, meanwhile, completed—with many errors—the catalogue of the collection Bohnenberger had begun. Bruccoli reports that no sizable Crane collection ever was sold at auction, and that even in the recovery period of the 'fifties when Crane studies began in earnest, after the initial push given in 1923 with the appearance of Beer's biography, for reasons hard to determine Crane items did only moderately well in the collector's market. This fact may help to explain what now seems in the hindsight an incredibly low figure paid by Columbia, but which I was told, in confidence, was at that time the highest

[2] Matthew J. Bruccoli, "Stephen Crane as a Collector's Item," in *Stephen Crane in Transition: Centenary Essays*, ed. Joseph Katz (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1972) pp. 161–73.

[3] Carl Bohnenberger did not write the unfinished sketch of Cora's life which furnished the material for Branch Cabell's scurrilous last chapter, "Cora Comes Back," in *The St. John's: A Paradise of Diversities* (Farrar & Rinehart, 1943). The point is argued in detail in *Cora Crane*, Appendix III: 'Sources of Misinformation.' The scholarly insights recorded in Bohnenberger's Introduction to the Conrad letters are the best evidence that this concoction of cheap vulgarisms was the work of another hand.

ever paid by any university for a single offering of literary materials.

Hill eventually undertook to peddle the collection himself, and according to report he pretty well covered the map of the United States, among the colleges and universities, before he found a buyer. Its acquisition by Columbia was the accomplishment of Roland Baughman, and will stand as a monument to his zeal and dedicated foresight as the University's Head of Special Collections. However Henry Walters' actions may have been guided by self-interest, I think it should also be said that the early rescue of the collection and its preservation, more or less intact, is due entirely to his fortunate interference, determination, and regard for the memory of Cora Crane.

High among the crop of rumors and fairy-tales set in motion after Cora's death was one originating with a local attorney, a frequenter of "line" establishments who, perhaps from inverted self-esteem, left a narrative in which he claimed to have acted as Cora's legal advisor.[4] This gentleman also stated that he had been "offered" her library by Cora herself, but declined. Another story, of the kind passing for humor, was that the library—from Brede Place, the Court, the Whitehouse Hotel?—had ended up in a girls' school! This school, now a co-ed college, turns out to have as Crane holdings nothing but a few cheap reprints of some of Stephen's books.

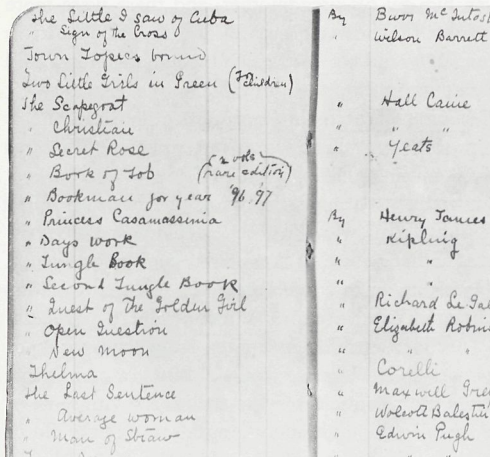
But referring back to the hypothesis that not all of the things Cora had when death came are now in the Columbia Collection, the 'library' story is not without point. That hypothesis continues gaining credibility, for the following reasons:

(1) My informant, "Stella's" friend, would not be coaxed or prodded into revealing how many items or which ones, had been removed from the trunk and surreptitiously disposed of while "Stella" had possession. That this was done in some instances can hardly be in doubt and is one possible answer to the tantalizing, still

[4] George M. Powell. See *Cora Crane*, 'Sources of Misinformation.'

unsolved puzzle of what became of Crane's letters to Cora, the few he wrote her from Cuba and others mentioned in her diaries.

(2) There are 75 books in the Columbia Crane Collection including 18 from a list made by Cora in England. James E. Kibler



The Little I saw of Cuba	By Burr McIntosh
Sign of the Cross	" Wilson Barrett
Town Topics bound	
Two Little Girls in Green (Children)	
The Scapegoat	" Hall Caine
" Christian	" " "
" Secret Rose	" Yeats
" Book of Job (2 vols rare edition)	
" Bookmans for year 96.97	
" Princess Casamassima	By Henry James
" Days Work	" Kipling
" Jungle Book	" "
" Second Jungle Book	" "
" Guest of the Golden Girl	" Richard Le Gallienne
" Open Question	" Elizabeth Robins
" New Moon	" " "
Thelma	" Corelli
The Last Sentence	" Maxwell Grey
" Average Woman	" Wolcott Balestier
" Man of Straw	" Edwin Pugh
Tony Drum	" "
The Sin Eaters	" Fiona Macleod

Two pages from Cora Crane's "List of Books, Brede Place." (Crane Collection).

Jr. has described 277 books "for which there is some evidence that they were once owned by the Cranes."[5] Then there are the 176 books sold at auction on the Courthouse steps as part of Cora's estate, some of these, no doubt, the novels Cora had for her girls to instill in them a taste for good reading. These figures suggest that other books from the library of the Cranes may still turn up.

Some years ago, a student at Jacksonville University walked

[5] James E. Kibler, Jr., "The Library of Stephen and Cora Crane," *Proof: The Yearbook of American Bibliographical and Textual Studies*, ed. Joseph Katz (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1971), 1, 199–246.

into his English professor's office one day and showed him a book which proved to be Cora's own copy of the Methuen *Wounds In the Rain*, with handwritten notes from Kipling, Moreton Frewen, and Crane to his publishers tipped in. The student said the book had been given him by his grandmother, and there were more where it came from. He allowed his professor to describe the items for publication, but would say no more on the subject. Nor would he consent to part with the book! This is but one example of what is now showing signs of becoming a pattern, new Crane items turning up here and there.[6] This writer joins others in the hope that "more of the missing will emerge into daylight."

Joseph Katz has recently unearthed from the Haydon Burns Library in Jacksonville a new cache of thirty-four post cards written to Cora during her tenure of the Court, some from friends, others probably from her girls who regularly reported to "Miss Cora" when absent on trips with their gentlemen. But of particular interest is a set of nineteen cards, in cipher, in the handwriting of Ernest Budd and signed "Uncle Edward." Budd, a compulsive gambler, haunted the racetracks playing the horses with some of Cora's money as well as his own, and was at this time in the North arranging for the purchase of a lucky horse, or shares in the horse. A catalogue of the Rancocas Stud Farm at Sheepshead Bay, with marginal notations of racing bets he had placed, is in the Columbia Collection. Mr. Katz and I are preparing a joint article based on these cards which will appear as a follow-up in the next issue of the *Columns*.

[6] *Wounds in the Rain*, described in George W. Hallam's "Some New Stephen Crane Items," *Studies in Bibliography*, XX, (1967); a copy of Kipling's *The Seven Seas* which Stephen had given Cora in Jacksonville, described in Matthew J. Bruccoli's "Cora's Mouse," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, LIX, (1965); a copy of Hardy's *Jude the Obscure* with an inscription by Cora, from the Court, now at the University of Virginia. *Wounds in the Rain* is owned, or was, by Richard S. Williams, of Jacksonville. *The Seven Seas* is in the private collection of M. J. Bruccoli. All three are recorded in Kibler's article.

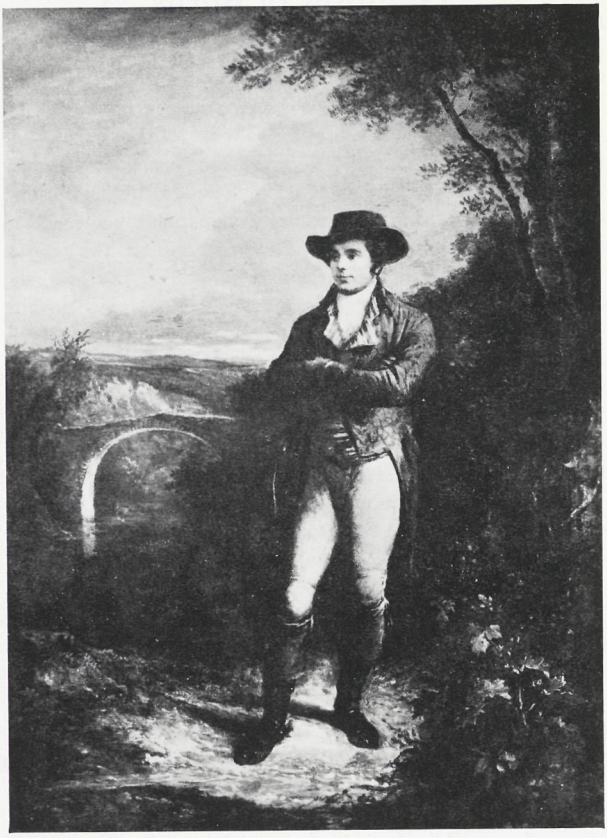
Glimpses of Burns in the Dunlop Collection

COLEMAN O. PARSONS

SEVENTY-ONE years ago William Young of Glasgow sent George Dunlop a letter to include in his "interesting collection," for "you are, as all your friends know, a keen collector of MSS." For three decades, until his death in 1909 at the age of sixty-seven, Dunlop was editor and proprietor of the Kilmarnock *Standard*. And Kilmarnock, of course, is the Ayrshire market town in which "that pauvre Inconnu," Robert Burns, tickled the public taste toward the end of July 1786 with a three shilling octavo in blue paper wrappers, called *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect*.

George Dunlop was a lifelong student, promoter, and defender of Burns, as well as president of the Kilmarnock Burns Club and executive committeeman of the Federation of Burns Clubs. His own collections, recently given to Columbia by his granddaughter, Nora E. Scott, are rich in American, English, and Scottish autographs, with Jefferson Davis, Abraham Lincoln, Charles Dickens, Sir John Tenniel, John Galt, Andrew Lang, and John Wilson ("Christopher North") each contributing two. Yet there are only two short bits in the Scottish poet's hand. This scantiness is most likely due to Dunlop's activity in building up the assortment of relics, documents, holograph poems, and first editions in the museum of the Kay Park Burns Monument in Kilmarnock.

From the Earl of Glencairn in 1781, when Burns was twenty-two, to James Glencairn Thomson in 1899, the poet can be glimpsed more often through patrons and descendants than in his own person. Thus a browser among the Dunlop autographs will be reminded of two early patrons by a letter of Major-General Alexander Stewart to Gavin Hamilton (8 November 1784), with



Painting of Robert Burns by Alexander Nasmyth, ca. 1787.

instructions about paying a large sum of money for stock on Martinmas. Stewart's wife, Catherine Gordon of Afton and Stair, thought highly enough of the Kilmarnock *Poems* to invite Burns to Stair House on the river Ayr, and he in turn thought highly enough of her to take time from his proposed emigration to Jamaica to copy in September 1786 "a parcel of Songs," the Stair MS., which was broken up in Victorian sale and auction. And five years later Burns prepared for "the first person of her sex & rank that patronised his humble lays" a sixty-eight page selection, the Afton MS., which includes "Tam o' Shanter" and is now safely kept in the Burns Cottage Museum, Alloway. The poet's finest tribute to Mrs. Stewart is in "The Brigs of Ayr" (1786):

> Benevolence, with mild benignant air,
> A female form, came from the tow'rs of Stair.

Gavin Hamilton, the Mauchline writer (lawyer) serving Alexander Stewart, had subleased Mossgiel to Robert and Gilbert Burns on Martinmas 1783, the brothers informally agreeing to allow themselves £7 a year each as wages for their labor on the 118-acre farm. A liberal in politics and religion, Hamilton soon got into a row with the Auld Licht (Old Light) minister, William Auld, who accused him of defalcation in stent money collected (taxation for the poor), irregular church attendance, travel on the Sabbath, laxity in family worship, and abusive letterwriting. While Hamilton was successfully carrying his defense through the higher Presbyterian courts, Burns gleefully joined the fray with a satire, "Holy Willie's Prayer" (1785), barbed against Auld's abettor, the hypocritical Mauchline elder, William Fisher. He also took occasion to praise honorable "Gaun" in "To the Rev. John M'Math: Inclosing a copy of Holy Willie's Prayer":

> An' may a bard no crack his jest
> What way they've use't him?

In turn, this "gentleman in word an' deed" promoted subscrip-

tions to the Kilmarnock *Poems*, and his "much indebted, humble servant, Robert Burns," dedicated the book to him. Gavin Hamilton was the poet's chief provincial patron; his chief cosmopolitan patron was James Cunningham, 14th Earl of Glencairn.

Glencairn appears in the Dunlop Collection in a fragmentary

Anonymous miniature painting of James, Earl of Glencairn, late eighteenth century.

contract about a disagreement and an umpire, bearing his signature of September 1781, and in a receipt for £24, a "composition of entry" of 27 January 1783 (Kilmarnock) for certain houses of his. Although drily phrased by lawyers and agents, these are the transactions that sustain a gracious way of life and permit the exercise of *noblesse oblige*.

As patron of Kilmarnock parish, Glencairn raised an ecclesiastical storm among the liberals by appointing an Auld Licht minister, the Rev. James Mackinlay, to the Low Parish Church. That

worthy's approaching induction drew from "Rob Rhymer" the jibes of "The Ordination "early in 1786:

> Our Patron, honest man! Glencairn,
> He saw mischief was brewin;
> And like a godly, elect bairn,
> He's wal'd us out a true ane, *chosen*
> And sound this day.

Even a twelvemonth later Burns had not cooled off, for he characterized "Mass" James Mackinlay as that "ill-digested lump of Chaos . . . strongly tinged with bituminous particles and sulphureous effluvia." The minister outlasted such verbal exuberance to be honored by his parishioners and by Glasgow University and was still holding his post at "Kilm 21 Sept[r] 1821" when he performed a marriage ceremony (certificate, of course, in the Dunlop Collection).

On Burns's going to Edinburgh late in 1786 to oversee a second and expanded edition of his poetry, he was taken under the "wing" of Glencairn, who helped him find a publisher and, when subscription promised better for sales, put his name on the list—with his mother's—for 24 copies and stimulated a desire in the Caledonian Hunt for 100 copies. Thus he showed "a goodness like that benevolent BEING whose image he so richly bears," a certain "proof of the immortality of the Soul." The poet's gratitude to his "first . . dearest Patron and Benefactor," his "titular Protector," his "best Friend," never faltered. The earl survived only until 1791, dying in England a bachelor at the age of forty-one after wintering in Portugal for his health. He was mourned in somewhat artificial verse by his protegé:

> Accept this tribute from the Bard
> Thou brought from fortune's mirkest gloom.
> ("Lament for James, Earl of Glencairn")

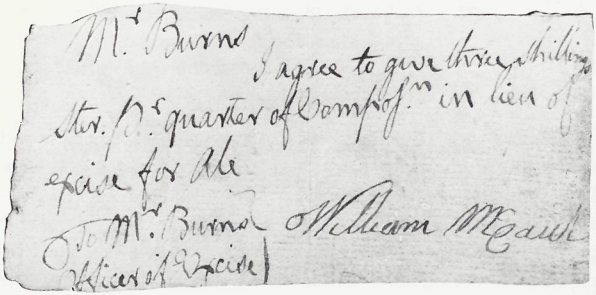
The only letter of Burns's in the Dunlop Collection is that of Mauchline, 15 November 1788, which appears in J. Delancey Fer-

guson's edition of the correspondence as No. 286 with the notation, "MS. not traced." Its few lines requesting the return of "2 volumes of Songs" left at St. Margaret's Hill are addressed to Archibald Lawrie, whose father, the Rev. George Lawrie, Burns

Engraving of the town of Mauchline by J. C. Armytage, after William Bartlett.

had visited at Loudoun Manse in Newmilns, Ayrshire some two years before. The minister readily served as still another patron when he sent the Kilmarnock *Poems* to Dr. Thomas Blacklock. This blind bard's praise, with the recommendation of a second edition, helped decide Burns to try his fortunes in Edinburgh as a poet rather than in Jamaica as a plantation clerk and overseer. While in the Scottish capital Burns saw much of Archibald, then twenty and a student at the university. Toward the elder Lawrie the poet felt "the mingled sentiments of esteem for a friend & reverence for a father," but toward the son, the "Priestling" to be, he displayed his talent for warm friendship with the young.

This talent, however, could be thwarted by arrogant and insensitive young men. One such was the Earl of Dalhousie's second son, William Ramsay, renamed Maule in boyhood and heir at sixteen to the greater portion of the Panmure estates in Angus. The



Agreement, ca. 1790, in Burns' hand. (Dunlop Collection).

Dunlop Collection includes an undated agreement of about 1790 in Burns's handwriting (certified on the back as authentic by Joseph Train, successor to the poet's "particular friend," John Lewars, as Supervisor of Excise in Dumfries). The signature alone is that of Maule, who was then an army officer of eighteen or nineteen stationed within Burns's division of Thornhill Ride in Dumfriesshire.

> Mr Burns
> I agree to give three shillings Ster. pr quarter of Composn in lieu of excise for Ale
> To Mr Burns William Maule
> Officer of Excise

Writing to his matronly correspondent, Mrs. Frances Ann Wallace Dunlop on 29 October 1794, Burns was to complain about the "mischievous Folly & unprincipled Wickedness" of members of the Caledonian Hunt and officers of a regiment at

Dumfries. Most galling was the Hon. Ramsay Maule of Panmure "driving away in his fine and elegant Phaeton on the Race Ground at Tinwald Downs Octr. '94." This sight wrung four extempore lines from the poet:

> Thou fool, in thy Phaeton towering,
> Art proud when that Phaeton's prais'd?
> 'Tis the pride of a Thief's exhibition
> When higher his pillory's rais'd.

Despite Maule's liberalism, his conviviality, his love of life and of the absurd, the older man sensed in him a coarseness and insolence which emerge in John Kay's posthumous *Original Portraits . . . with Biographical Sketches* of 1838. This *bon viveur* got into "many an awkward scrape" from which he slipped by payment to the offended commoner. Unaware that he had ever angered Burns, the "Generous Sportsman" made ironic amends in 1817 by settling an annuity of £50 on the exciseman's widow, an obligation which was taken up a year and a half later by her son James Glencairn Burns.

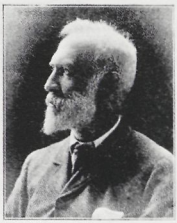
James's mother was Jean Armour and his descent legitimate. His two nephews represented in the Dunlop Collection belonged to the line of illegitimacy. Their grandmother was Helen Anne Park, Anna of "the gowden locks," barmaid at the poet's "favourite Howff," the Globe Inn at Dumfries, and niece of the landlady. She it was who inspired what Burns thought "the best love-song I ever composed in my life" and who bore witness to her passion on 31 March 1791 in giving birth to Elizabeth Park—or Burns. Brought up by Burns's mother and then by his wife, Elizabeth was seventeen when she married John Thomson, a soldier. Her second son, Robert Burns Thomson, rose from handloom weaving to the founding of a brush factory. On the side he wrote poetry, achieving a hit during the Crimean War with "My Daddy's Awa' at the War." Dunlop preserved the manuscript of Thomson's epistle to James McKie, written in July 1881 for the eighty-fifth

anniversary of his grandfather's death. A curious skirting of Elizabeth Park's illegitimacy may be detected in the ambiguous use of the grandfather's locution for his first bastard, "dear-bought Bess," daughter (1785) of Elizabeth Paton, the Burns family servant:

Wi' rowth o' faithfu', frien'ly wishes,	*plenty*
May honest men aye praise his pen	
When *honest* Burnsiana gushes,	
But may he ne'er, sic questions speir,	*ask*
As, Dear bocht Bess na, wha was she?	
While he himsel', the hale cou'd tell,	
Or quartly leave sic dirt to d'e.	*in every quarter*

Thomson's younger brother, James Glencairn Thomson, was only thirty when, on 25 January 1859, he took part in a Glasgow observance of the centenary of his grandfather's birth. But in 1899 he was seventy-one, living in the Glasgow suburb of Crossmyloof (if translated, Cross-my-palm). His age and his poor circumstances inspired eleven patrons, including the former prime minister, Rosebery, and a general committee of thirty-four to circulate an appeal for an annuity or other provision for the "Only Living Grandson of Robert Burns . . . our national poet." In this testimonial, kept by Dunlop, Thomson is described as one who "on occasion can still render, with full expression and spirit, many of his distinguished grandfather's songs, both humorous and pathetic."

The trivializing of Burns's memory to that of a sentimental songster, whose sturdy rebelliousness in verse and deed had better be forgotten, is reflected in Stephen Wellstood's letter of 13 February 1885 to Professor John Stuart Blackie (author in 1888 of a *Life of Robert Burns*). Grateful for the professor's praise of Hew Ainslie's "River o' Loch Ryan" in a lecture, Wellstood gave him a poem written in Ainslie's octogenarian hand: "one of his best Love Songs, so very Burnonian [sic] in its composition, comparing the four phases of the wooers passion, to the seasons, & wind-



James G. Thomson

TESTIMONIAL

TO

James Glencairn Thomson,

CROSSMYLOOF, GLASGOW

(ONLY LIVING GRANDSON OF ROBERT BURNS).

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The EARL of ROSEBERY, K.T., K.G.
Sir JOHN STIRLING MAXWELL, Bart., M.P.
Sir JOHN WATSON, Bart. of Earnock.
F. FAITHFUL BEGG, Esq., M.P.
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CHARLES SCOTT DICKSON, Esq., Q.C., Solicitor-General for Scotland.
Councillor JAMES M'LENNAN, Ex-Deacon Convener.
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JOHN GREENE, 506 Eglinton Street.
THOMAS MENZIES, 211 Crown Street.
WILLIAM FERRELAND, 34 Garturk Street, Govanhill.
CHARLES RUSSELL, Editor, *Glasgow Herald.*
J. MURRAY SMITH, Editor, *Glasgow Evening News.*

THE above Committee has been formed for the purpose of making an appeal to the many friends and well-wishers of Mr. JAMES GLENCAIRN THOMSON, Crossmyloof, who is 71 years of age, the only surviving grandson of our national Poet, ROBERT BURNS, to assist in raising a sum of money sufficient to purchase an annuity, or otherwise provide for him. This appeal is also being made to admirers of ROBERT BURNS both at home and abroad, to many of whom Mr. THOMSON must of necessity be personally unknown. It may be stated that Mr. THOMSON is a worthy Brother of the Masonic Craft, an enthusiastic bowler, a most genial companion, and on occasion can still render, with full expression and spirit, many of his distinguished grandfather's songs, both humorous and pathetic. His lovable personal character has a charm which attracts old and young alike, and evokes the highest respect and esteem of all those with whom he personally comes in contact.

Subscriptions will be gratefully received and acknowledged by JAMES DUNLOP, Esq., Banker, Pollokshaws, and JOHN DONALDSON, Esq., 97 West Regent Street, Glasgow, Joint Treasurers.

IN NAME OF THE COMMITTEE,

DONALD M'FARLANE, *Chairman.*
HENRY F. LOWNDES, *Secretary.*

Broadside printed in January 1899.
(Dunlop Collection).

ing up with the climax of marriage." The climax, or "dying raptures" experienced with Anne Park and frankly renewed in "Yestreen I Had a Pint o' Wine," was surely somewhat different.

George Dunlop and William Young, the first letterwriter quoted, attended a school reunion on the Scottish New Year's Eve of 1901. Months later Young's comment was, "That happy Ochiltree Hogmanay remains with me a treasured possession." In another way, the entire Dunlop Collection is "a treasured possession," not least for its glimpses of Burns, his patrons, his progeny, and those who fondly shielded his memory.

Our Growing Collections

KENNETH A. LOHF

Barnouw gift. To the papers of her father, the late Dr. Adriaan J. Barnouw, Miss Elsa Barnouw had added more than two hundred letters, notes, and manuscripts relating primarily to his writings and researches on Dutch history. In addition, Miss Barnouw's gift included five watercolor drawings by Hendrik Willem Van Loon, and a group of six seventeenth and eighteenth century Dutch illustrated works.

Berol gift. Mr. and Mrs. Alfred C. Berol have made several important additions to the American Revolution and the Arthur Rackham Collections, both of which they have established in the Libraries. They have presented, for inclusion in the former, a letter written by the American naval officer, Stephen Decatur, on December 8, 1813, while he was on board the *U.S.S. United States*, off New London. The letter, addressed to the Secretary of the Navy, William Jones, concerns the meritorious service and loyalty of two midshipmen, a Mr. Randolph of Virginia and a Mr. Bourne of Rhode Island. Letters from Decatur of war date are exceedingly rare, and this example, with the conjugate address leaf also franked by Decatur, is a particularly fine addition to the Collection. Mr. and Mrs. Berol have also donated five important Arthur Rackham drawings and five letters written by him, two of which contain charming drawings in the text. The series of five pen and ink drawings were done by Rackham, ca, 1886–87, for Miss Edith Amy Tomkins, at the time she was being courted by the young artist. Rackham married Edyth Starkie in 1903. Accompanying the sketches is a letter from Miss Tomkins' daughter, Miss May Maitland, describing the background to the courtship. This group of drawings, done when Rackham was nineteen years of age, are now the earliest examples of his work in the Collection.

Cary Trust gift. Adding to their series of important gifts, made to the Libraries since 1968, the Mary Flagler Cary Charitable Trust have recently presented a fine copy of Johannes Chrysostomus, *De reparatione lapsi*, published in Cologne, ca. 1468, by Ulrich Zel, a priest of Mainz who established the first press in Cologne. The work, of which only one other copy is recorded in an American library, is printed by Zel in a type based upon the first small font used by Johann Gutenberg in his *Catholicon* of 1460. This copy contains initials painted in red throughout, and is bound in an elaborately blind-stamped black morocco.

Class of 1923 gift. On the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary, the Columbia College Class of 1923 presented two John Jay manuscripts of great historical importance. The first of these is the manuscript diary kept by Jay during the period, June to December, 1782, when he served as a peace negotiator in Paris. The resultant treaty with Great Britain represented one of the great achievements in American diplomacy, and Jay's contributions are documented in this diary, the only one known to have been kept by him. The second mansucript is Jay's notebook recording his conversations in 1783 and 1784 with Benjamin Franklin, who also served as a peace commissioner. Franklin, then 78 years of age, reminisced wittily about various American Colonial personalities, among them, Lewis Morris, Robert H. Morris, George Thomas, Andrew Hamilton, and Elias Boudinot. The gift of these two distinguished documents was made in memory of Gerard Tonachel (B.S., 1923), who served as president of the Class for twenty years before his death in 1971.

Cole gift. Dr. Charles W. Cole (A.M., 1928; Ph. D., 1931) has presented a collection of seven volumes of notes written by his father, the late Charles Buckingham Cole (LL.B., 1889), for his course in Common Law and Equity Pleading at the New York Law School from 1902 to 1914. Cole was a prominent New York lawyer, and the notebooks reflect his wide knowledge of the legal

Miss Tomkins, Mr. Rackham, and Puff seated on a cliff-top bench at Yarmouth.

When the nineteen year-old Arthur Rackham was courting Miss Edith Amy Tomkins in 1886, he memorialized their visits together with a series of pen drawings of Miss Tomkins and Puff, her white Pomeranian. In a letter written in 1969, Miss Tomkins's daughter, Miss May Maitland, has recounted the background of the courtship. She wrote of how her grandfather, Edward Tomkins, drove Edith and Puff to Lon-

Miss Tomkins astride a horse with Puff alongside.

A large bull following Miss Tomkins, while Puff stands alert.

don in a Phaeton. After driving around Hyde Park, the horses were put in the stables, and Edward Tomkins went to gamble at his club, while Edith and Puff went off to meet Arthur Rackham. In summer the setting for the courtship moved to Yarmouth where the Tomkins family went for their holidays. Illustrated are four drawings in the series, the earliest Rackham drawings in the Collection. (Berol gift)

Miss Tomkins's dog, Puff, at the heels of his mistress and Mr. Rackham.

profession and the growth of legal education in the early decades of this century.

Corbitt gift. Miss Anne L. Corbitt (A.M., 1923) has presented a copy of *The New-England Primer Improved*, printed in Boston by S. Kneeland in 1762. This copy, which was formerly owned by Miss Corbitt's aunt, Miss Matilda Mountain, is in a fine state of preservation. It is bound in the original calf-backed boards, and includes the frontispiece portrait of King George III.

Fleming gift. Mr. John F. Fleming has presented a fifteenth century Flemish manuscript, on paper, of a collection of essays and tracts by various French humanists, including Pierre d'Ailly, Nicolaus d'Oresme, Nicolaus de Clemanges, Johannes Gerson, and Pierre de Rivo. The subjects of the essays relate to Canon Law, religious orders, the monastic life, and various aspects of Christian worship. The manuscript, bound in vellum and comprising 438 pages, is signed and dated, 1451, by the scribe, Johannes Jordani.

Freed gift. Mrs. Eldon T. Freed has donated a group of eight letters written to her grandmother, Julia Ann Enoch Pierson, by Civil War soldiers. The gift also includes twelve letters and manuscripts by members of the Pierson family and several pieces of printed ephemera relating to the15th Iowa Regiment during the Civil War.

Hamilton gift. Mrs. Elizabeth Peltz Hamilton has presented a gift of books and manuscripts of most special importance and value to the University: the library of her husband's ancestor, Alexander Hamilton, a collection of letters written by and to Hamilton, as well as other family correspondence and memorabilia, and a white marble portrait bust of Hamilton done from life by the Italian sculptor Giuseppe Ceracchi. The library comprises more than eight hundred volumes and pamphlets, several of them signed by Hamilton and containing his markings, including numerous edi-

tions of *The Federalist*, Hamilton's own writings, works on finance and banking, the French Revolution, law and government, and the writings of eighteenth century American statesmen and political figures. The choicest item in the library, and the one of greatest association value, is the extra-illustrated copy of *Hamiltoniana: A Collection of the Facts and Documents Relative to the Death of Maj.-Gen. Alexander Hamilton*, New York, 1874, which is illustrated with more than 230 portraits, engravings, and autographs. Included among the latter are letters and documents written by Hamilton, Aaron Burr, George Washington, James Madison, Governeur Morris, John Jay, Elias Boudinot, De Witt Clinton, and numerous other luminaries of the period. Mrs. Hamilton's splendid gift also includes a collection of more than two hundred letters written either by Hamilton or to him and to other members of the Hamilton Family by Pierre Charles L'Enfant, James Kent, the Marquis de Lafayette, Philip Schuyler, and William Henry Harrison.

Kempner gift. Mr. Alan H. Kempner (A.B., 1917) has presented two framed etchings by Giovanni Baptista Piranesi, "Veduta del Pantheon d'Agrippa" and "Veduta interna della Basilica di S. Giovanni Laterano," made in the 1760's. They are the earliest states of these particular etchings, which come from the artist's great work, *Vedute di Roma*. Mr. Kempner's gift also included a nineteenth century Amharic manuscript prayer book and several issues of *Bibliographica*.

Kent gift. Mrs. Sally Kent has made a most unusual addition to the Rockwell Kent Collection. She has presented a twelve-piece dinner-ware setting with designs from Kent's illustrations for his celebrated edition of Herman Melville's *Moby Dick*. The dinnerware, manufactured by the Vernon Kilns in Los Angeles in the 1930's, is cream-colored with the designs in dark brown.

Lamont, Corliss, gift. Dr. Corliss Lamont (Ph.D., 1932), who played a major role in the establishment of the Rockwell Kent

Egg cup and dessert plate from a twelve-piece dinnerware setting, manufactured by the Vernon Kilns in Los Angeles in the 1930's, with designs from Rockwell Kent's illustrations for *Moby Dick*. (Kent gift).

Collection, has presented a significant additional group of Kent letters, drawings, proofs, and printed ephemera. The gift, numbering more than two hundred letters and seventy drawings, was formerly owned by Miss Juliet Koenig, who worked with Kent on most of his lettering work, and who was often addressed by the artist as "St. Julia." The letters from Kent to Miss Koenig date from 1929 to 1961 and relate to Kent's work on *Moby Dick*, *The Canterbury Tales*, *Beowulf*, and other of his great projects in the graphic arts. The drawings include ten early architectural watercolor drawings, a title-page for *Beowulf*, pencil sketches of a sailing ship and a rejected title-page design for *Moby Dick*, six ink and pencil sketches for *Venus and Adonis*, and numerous other sheets of designs and details incorporated into later work.

Lamont, Helen, gift. Mrs. Helen Lamont has added to our literature collection a group of ten first editions of works by Algernon C. Swinburne, including a copy of *Songs Before Sunrise*, 1871, signed by Laura Buxton Forman. Also included in Mrs. Lamont's gifts are collected editions of the writings of James Boswell, Thomas Carlyle, T. B. Macaulay, Plutarch, and Shakespeare.

Loos gift. Mrs. Melvin Loos has collected a group of fifty-five letters written by her husband, the late Melvin Loos, Assistant Director of the Columbia University Press and adviser to the Publications Committee of the *Columns* on typographic design and layout. These letters, addressed to his associates and colleagues in the printing field in America and England, have been turned over to the Libraries by his widow to form the nucleus of a collection which will document Mr. Loos' distinguished career.

McCutcheon gift. Mrs. John T. McCutcheon has presented a group of twenty-two original pen-and-ink cartoons drawn by her husband, the late John Tinney McCutcheon, who is considered to be one of the leading political cartoonists of his day. The drawings, dating from 1897 to 1940, were done mainly for Chicago newspapers and syndicated throughout the country. More than

half of the cartoons in the gift relate to Tammany Hall and New York politics, while the remainder deal with national politics with an emphasis on presidential campaigns.

Ink drawing of a cartoon, "The Chicago Tammany Will Visit the Original Tammany," by John T. McCutcheon, October 19, 1897. (McCutcheon gift).

Mixer Memorial gift. The friends and associates of the late Charles W. Mixer (B.S., 1934) have contributed funds for the acquisition of a memorial book or manuscript. Recalling Mr. Mixer's strong support for the establishment of the Tennessee Williams Collec-

tion, we have acquired by means of the memorial fund, the typewritten manuscript of an early draft of a play by Williams entitled "Now and At the Hour of Our Death, (A Play in Two Scenes)." Comprising twenty-three pages, all of which are heavily corrected in black and red pencil, the play, written in 1969, is set in a restaurant popular with shoppers, located in the center of New York near a large department store.

Nevins gift. Mrs. Mary Nevins has presented, for inclusion in the papers of the late Professor Allan Nevins (Hon. Litt.D., 1960), the notes, drafts, and manuscripts of Professor Nevins' book, *The American States During and After the Revolution, 1775–1789,* an important study of political and social change during this period, published in 1924, at a time when Professor Nevins was a journalist and writer in New York.

Parsons gift. Dr. Coleman O. Parsons (A.B., 1928) has added to our literature collection a group of twenty-four first and fine editions of works by English and Scottish writers, including Arthur Austin, Robert Bloomfield, Robert Burns, Lord Byron, Thomas Campbell, Thomas Carlyle, John Galt, James Hogg, John Keats, and Sir Walter Scott. Dr. Parsons' gift also included a copy, in contemporary calf, of the London, 1684 edition of Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Tully's Offices,* translated and edited by the seventeenth century English journalist and linguist, Sir Roger L'Estrange.

Quinn gift. Mr. Anthony Quinn has presented the typewritten manuscript of his autobiography, *The Original Sin,* published by Little, Brown and Company in 1972. The manuscript, which recounts a distinguished and eventful career in the cinema, contains Mr. Quinn's pencil and ink corrections throughout.

Random House gift. Through the courtesy of Mr. Donald S. Klopfer, Chairman of the Board of Random House, Inc., the publishing firm has presented the editorial and production files of its subsidiary, Pantheon Books, covering the years from 1944 through 1967. Numbering more than twelve thousand letters and manu-

scripts, the files document the publication of volumes of poetry, fiction, and non-fiction by such noteworthy authors and artists as A. Alvarez, Georges Bernanos, Herman Broch, Winifred Bryher, Albert Camus, William Demby, Eugene Ionesco, Karl Jaspers, Jacques Maritain, Isamu Noguchi, José Ortega y Gasset, Pier Paolo Pasolini, Sir Herbert Read, and Ben Shahn. Many of the letters are written to Kurt and Helen Wolff, Jacques Schiffrin, and André Schiffrin, all of whom have headed Pantheon Books at various times since its founding in 1942.

Rendell gift. Mr. Kenneth W. Rendell has presented several groups of important manuscripts for addition to our collections. Included among his gift are the following: a series of nearly five hundred letters, memoranda, notes, and manuscripts relating to Frances Perkins and her biography of Alfred E. Smith; more than two hundred letters written to Dr. John Wesley Hill from businessmen, political figures, and educators; miscellaneous papers of the Livingston Family of New York, dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; fifteen letters written to the New York lawyer and author, Maunsell B. Field, dated 1843–1848; a complete collection of stock certificates issued by railroads which were part of the New York Central System in the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth centuries; and approximately five hundred letters relating to the Jay Family, including extensive files of letters written to and by John Jay II, William Jay, and Peter Augustus Jay.

Reynolds gift. Mr. Paul R. Reynolds, Jr., has sent, for inclusion in the papers of Paul R. Reynolds, Inc., nearly eight hundred pieces of correspondence of his literary agency, including files on Irwin S. Cobb, Mazo de la Roche, Edna Ferber, Gene Stratton Porter, George Bernard Shaw, Algernon C. Swinburne, Oscar Wilde, Thornton Wilder, and P. G. Wodehouse.

Schroeder gift. Mrs. Rudolph Schroeder has donated a collection of the papers of William Robert Sheperd, (A.B., 1893; A.M.,

1894; Ph.D., 1896; Litt. D., 1929), Seth Low Professor of History at Columbia from 1926 to 1934, and an authority on international relations and Latin American history. The gift includes biographical material relating to Professor Sheperd, as well as the notes for several of his lectures and speeches. The correspondence file contains letters from prominent historians, including Carlton J. H. Hayes, James T. Shotwell, and Charles A. Beard.

Scott gift. Mr. Barry Scott has presented two watercolor drawings and a poetry manuscript by the English writer, David Gascoyne. The manuscript, written in the early 1940's, is a two-page typewritten draft of the poem, "Elsewhere," signed by the poet and containing his ink corrections throughout.

Simon gift. For addition to the Otto Rank Papers, his widow, Mrs. Pierre Rank Simon, has presented the notes and drafts, written by Rank in 1938 and 1939, for the preface to his book, *Beyond Psychology*. Published posthumously in 1941, the book is the only one to have been written in the English language by the Austrian psychoanalyst.

Smith gift. Professor Joseph H. Smith (LL.B., 1938) has presented a group of sixty-three first editions of works by George W. Cable, Charles Dickens, Thomas Hardy, William D. Howells, John Masefield, Sir Walter Scott, Jonathan Swift, William M. Thackeray, Anthony Trollope, and other English and American authors.

EXHIBITIONS IN BUTLER LIBRARY

October 1–December 12
Rarities for Research: Library Gifts 1973.

December 14–February 28
Posters by Maxfield Parrish.

Notable among the works by Scott are the copies of *Peveril of the Peak*, 1822, and *Redgauntlet*, 1824, both of which are in the original boards, uncut.

An illustration by Childe Hassam of Florian's Caffè in William Dean Howells's *Venetian Life*, London, 1891. (Smith gift).

Tauber gift. To the collection of his papers Professor Maurice F. Tauber (B.S., 1934) has added his professional papers covering the period of the late 1960's which document his work on library surveys, his activities with the American Library Association, and his participation in numerous library meetings and conferences.

Activities of the Friends

Fall Meeting. At the forthcoming Fall dinner meeting, to be held at the Faculty House on November 14, Dr. Meyer Schapiro, University Professor Emeritus, will speak to the Friends on his study of ancient manuscripts. Mr. Warren J. Haas, Vice President for Information Services and University Librarian, will present the Columbia Libraries Citation for Distinguished Service to Mrs. Julia Engel, who, with her husband, the late Solton Engel, established and endowed the Engel Collection of literary first editions, association books, autograph letters, and manuscripts.

Bancroft Dinner. The annual Bancroft Prizes Dinner is scheduled for Thursday, April 4, 1974.

Finances. In the November issue each year we report the total gifts from our members (both cash and "in kind") for the twelve-month period which ended on March 31. To conform with the University's financial reporting period, which runs on the fiscal year, July 1 through June 30, this year's report will cover a fifteen-month period, April 1, 1972, through June 30, 1973; and all succeeding annual reports will be based on the University's fiscal year. In 1972–73, the general purpose contributions were $18,574, and the special purpose gifts $7,770, making a total of $26,344.

The Friends also donated or bequeathed books and manuscripts, for addition to our research collections, having an appraised value of $116,815. The total value of such gifts since the establishment of the association on May, 1951, is now $1,530,773.

Aside from gifts, the association has received income from sales of paid subscriptions to the *Columns* and the Twenty-Year Index, and payments for dinner reservations for the fall and winter meetings. In the year of this report, such receipts totaled $3,873.

Membership. As of October 1, 1973, the membership of the Friends totaled 420. Since memberships include husband and wife, the number of individuals who belong to the association is 663.

THE FRIENDS OF THE COLUMBIA LIBRARIES

AN OPPORTUNITY

The Friends assist the Columbia Libraries in several direct ways: first, through their active interest in the institution and its ideals and through promoting public interest in the role of a research library in education; second, through gifts of books, manuscripts and other useful materials; and third, through financial contributions.

By helping preserve the intellectual accomplishment of the past, we lay the foundation for the university of the future. This is the primary purpose of the Friends of the Columbia Libraries.

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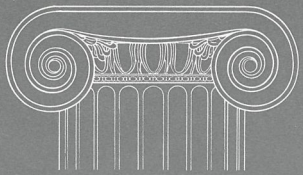

COLUMBIA LIBRARY COLUMNS

FEBRUARY 1974 · VOLUME XXIII, NUMBER 2

CONTRIBUTORS TO THE ISSUE

LILLIAN B. GILKES, an authority on Stephen and Cora Crane, is the author of the article on the Crane Collection in the November 1973 *Columns*.

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* * *

Articles printed in COLUMBIA LIBRARY COLUMNS *between 1951 and May, 1971, have been fully listed in the 20-Year Index. The latter may be purchased from the Friends of the Columbia Libraries.*

Columbia Library Columns

VOLUME XXIII FEBRUARY, 1974 NUMBER 2

CONTENTS

Published by THE FRIENDS OF THE COLUMBIA LIBRARIES, Butler Library, Columbia University, New York, New York 10027.
Three issues a year, two dollars each.

One of two pencil caricatures of George Bernard Shaw by Max Beerbohm appearing on facing preliminary pages in Beerbohm's copy of Shaw's *The Doctor's Dilemma, Getting Married, & The Shewing-up of Blanco Posnet.*

COLUMBIA
LIBRARY
COLUMNS

The Jack Harris Samuels Library

KENNETH A. LOHF

IN the twenty-five years of his life during which he collected rare books, Jack Harris Samuels (A.M., 1940) amassed a library of nearly three thousand first editions, association books, and manuscripts covering the history of English and American literature from the sixteenth through the twentieth centuries. It was a formidable achievement, and one that, happily, was destined to become a cornerstone of the research collections of the University Libraries, for it was bequeathed to Columbia by Mr. Samuels's mother, the late Mollie Harris Samuels, in whose apartment on Park Avenue the Library was housed.

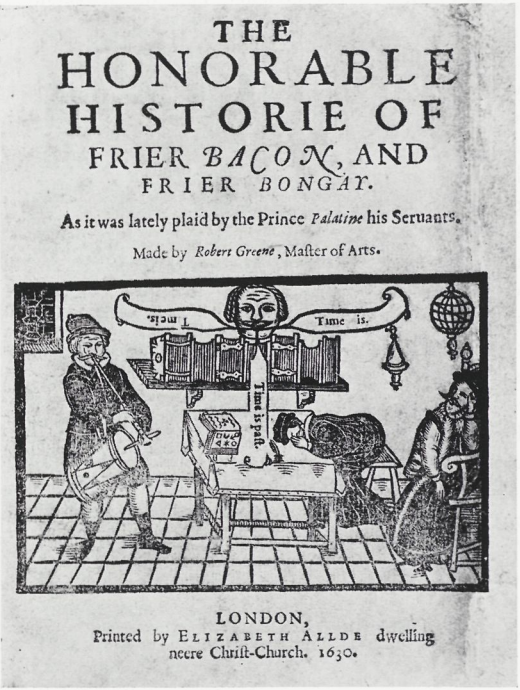
Meeting a collector for the first time, one is always tempted to ask: "How did you begin collecting?" When I met Jack in 1961 I asked the inevitable question, and he answered in his emphatic voice that the Library owed its genesis to the time in 1939 when he was a graduate student in English and Comparative Literature at Columbia. He was enrolled in Professor Joseph Wood Krutch's course, "English Drama from Dryden to Sheridan," the first course ever taught by Professor Krutch at Columbia. Jack was required to read the text of a certain Restoration drama. If he told me the name of the play, I have since forgotten it. Finding no copy available in the Columbia Library (we assume it was charged out to a fellow student), Jack visited a mid-town book shop and asked to purchase a reading copy of the particular play. None was in stock, but the book dealer walked to a case at the back of the shop

and produced a seventeenth-century quarto edition priced at $20. This is a modest cost by today's standards; however, a young graduate student in 1939 would doubtless have thought the price a bit steep. Jack hesitated, probably felt a moment of apprehension, and then made the purchase. Without realizing it at the time, he had become a collector. Book-collecting was a passion that would consume his energies and talents until his untimely death in 1966.

The more than ninety shelves of volumes in shining leather bindings and near-perfect dust jackets span more than four centuries of English literature. The earliest in date is the 1545 edition, the third collected edition, of *The Workes of Geffray Chaucer*, printed in London by Robert Toy. The most recent are the novelists, poets, and playwrights that Jack was reading in the 1960's—Tennessee Williams, William Carlos Williams, Ivy Compton-Burnett, and Robert Frost, to select only a few out of the hundreds that lined his shelves.

The volumes collected do not necessarily form a representative history of English literature, for Jack's tastes were individual and mercurial. He revered Anthony Trollope, but merely tolerated Charles Dickens. He admired the poems of T. S. Eliot, but would not allow those of Ezra Pound on his shelves. As a further perusal of the volumes in his Library will show, he had a collector's bias for original boards, pristine bindings, distinguished provenance, and inscriptions by the authors, preferably from one famous author to another more famous author. "To attract a collector," A. W. Pollard has written, "a book must appeal to his eye, his mind, or his imagination." In the case of Jack Samuels, all three qualities had relevance to the continued growth of his Library. His special loves were the drama of the Restoration, the literature of the eighteenth century, the Victorian three-decker novels with particular emphasis on Trollope, Australian fiction, and the first editions of contemporary writers, including E. M. Forster, Robert Frost, John Galsworthy, Baron Corvo, Lytton Strachey, Virginia Woolf, and George Bernard Shaw.

A brief survey of the Library must begin with the sixteenth century, the period of the earliest book, the 1545 Chaucer already mentioned. Other authors of the century include Edmund Spencer, Sebastian Brant, and Raphael Holinshed. The pristine copy of


THE
HONORABLE
HISTORIE OF
FRIER *BACON*, AND
FRIER *BONGAY*.

As it was lately plaid by the Prince *Palatine* his Seruants.

Made by *Robert Greene*, Master of Arts.

LONDON,
Printed by ELIZABETH ALLDE dwelling
neere Christ-Church. 1630.

Title-page of the 1630 edition of Robert Greene's drama.

Spencer's *Colin Clouts Come Home Again*, 1595, is from the collection of the English poet, Frederick Locker-Lampson. The leather bookplate of Henry Huth, the English banker and bibliophile, is in the two volumes of Holinshed's *Chronicles of England*,

Scotlande, and Irelande, 1577, which are handsomely bound in the original calf. The English edition of Brant's *The Ship of Fooles*, 1570, contains the text translated by the Scotch poet and divine, Alexander Barclay. It may be recalled that Brant's satire, in the form of an allegory—a ship laden with fools and steered by fools to the fools' paradise of Narragonia—vehemently criticizes the weaknesses and vices of his time. The book achieved phenomenal popularity and influence throughout Europe, and the effective and poignant woodcuts, present in the English edition in the Samuels Library, greatly assisted its popularity.

The collection of English drama of the seventeenth century is among the treasures of the Library. Nearly two hundred quarto editions, from the Elizabethan and Restoration periods, were acquired, the rarest being the exceptionally fine copy of the first edition of Christopher Marlowe's *The Famous Tragedy of the Rich Jew of Malta*, published in 1633, forty years after the playwright's death. Nearly as scarce is the 1631 edition of the anonymous *A Pleasant Comedie of Faire Em, The Millers Daughter of Manchester*. Only a single copy of the 1592 first edition, that in the Bodleian Library, is known to exist. Among the works by Shakespeare are the 1619 edition (but dated 1608 on the titlepage), published by Thomas Pavier, of *The Chronicle History of Henry the Fift*; and a copy of the second folio edition, *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories and Tragedies*, published in 1632, with the rare Allot imprint, which reads "Printed by Tho Cotes, for Robert Allot, and are to be sold at his Shop at the Signs of the blacke Beare in Pauls Church yard." The poetry of the period is also well-represented by handsome editions, many in the original bindings, of the writings of Richard Brathwait, Thomas Carew, John Donne, Richard Lovelace, Andrew Marvell, and John Milton.

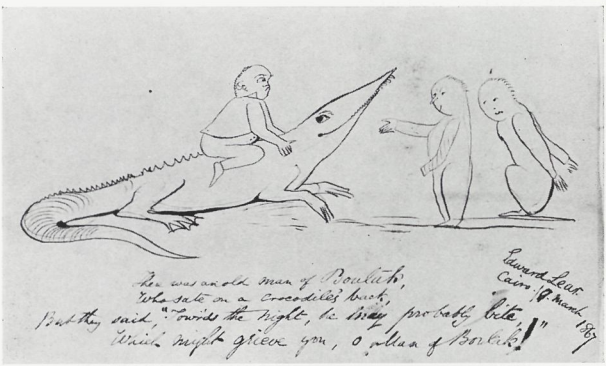
Virtually all of the major literary works of the eighteenth century are present, and the prized editions of the novels of Henry Fielding, Tobias Smollett, and Laurence Sterne are in contem-

porary calf bindings. *The Plan of a Dictionary of the English Language*, 1747 (a rare uncut copy), addressed by Dr. Samuel Johnson to the Earl of Chesterfield, stands alongside the two folio volumes of *A Dictionary of the English Language*, 1755, in the

Engraved title-page of Richard Brathwait's
The English Gentlewoman, 1631.

original boards uncut. The lexicographer's famous poems, *London*, 1738, and *The Vanity of Human Wishes*, 1749, are also on the Johnson shelf, the former being the copy from the library of the noted Boswell scholar and collector, Ralph H. Isham. In addition

to the uncut copy of James Boswell's *The Life of Samuel Johnson*, 1791, there is a two-page autograph letter written by Boswell to George Colman, the younger, on July 28, 1792, discussing Colman's musical drama, *The Surrender of Calais*.



Manuscript of a limerick by Edward Lear.

One of the classics of the stage, and among the wittiest of English comedies, is Richard Brinsley Sheridan's *The School for Scandal*. In addition to the Dublin, 1780, edition of the play, the Library possesses three long letters, totaling fifteen pages, written in 1772 and 1773 by the playwright to Thomas Grenville, at that time a young student at Oxford, but who was later to become a distinguished diplomat and book collector. These early letters are remarkable in their detail of the life of the twenty-one year old Sheridan, who at the time was courting Miss Elizabeth Ann Linley. There is, in addition, a letter written to Sheridan by his wife, Elizabeth, in 1790, concerning her lonely life in the south of England separated from Sheridan, who was living in London while serving as a Member of Parliament.

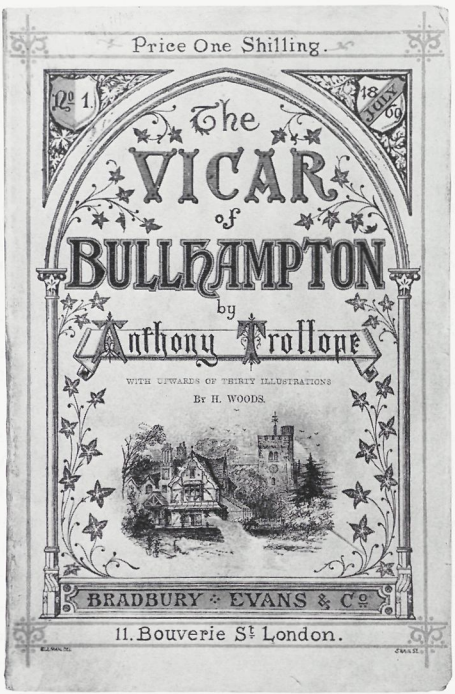
Foremost among the volumes of poetry of the Romantic period are William Wordsworth's *Lyrical Ballads*, 1798–1800, John

Keats's *Poems*, 1817, and Lord Byron's *Don Juan*, 1819–1824. The poetry of the first four decades of the Victorian era includes inscribed copies of Robert Browning's *Sordello*, 1840, Lord Tennyson's *Enoch Arden, Etc.*, 1864, and George Meredith's *Modern Love and Poems of the English Roadside*, 1862. A letter from Tennyson written to Prime Minister Disraeli, April 28, 1868, discusses his publisher's sales reports and the foreign piracies of his poems. Among the manuscripts is a charming autograph by Edward Lear, the painter and writer of nonsense verse, of a limerick which begins "There was an old man of Boulak." The poem, dated Cairo, March 9, 1867, is illustrated with a pen drawing of a man astride a crocodile.

The collector was, perhaps, proudest of his more than one hundred and fifty three-deckers of the nineteenth century, the standard form for the publication of fiction during most of the period. The three octavo volumes of each title were usually bound in paper-covered boards with a paper label on the spine, and later in the century, in cloth boards decorated in blind stamping, often in elaborate designs. An exhibition of highlights from Jack's collection was held at the Grolier Club in the spring of 1963. Many of the copies in the collection once belonged to Michael Sadleir, the noted authority in the bibliography of Victorian fiction. Included are the literary masterpieces of the century—*Jane Eyre*, *Wuthering Heights*, *The Woman in White*, *The Moonstone*, *The Mill on the Floss*, *Sense and Sensibility*, *The Return of the Native*, *The Egoist*, *Robert Elsmere*, and *Under Two Flags*. The copy of George Eliot's *The Spanish Gypsy*, 1868, is inscribed to a fellow novelist, Anthony Trollope; and *New Grub Street* by George Gissing is inscribed to Edward Bertz, who is said to have been the model for Julian Castri in Gissing's *Workers In the Dawn*. The future literary historian will have considerable raw material in these volumes for a study of literary influences and associations.

The run of Anthony Trollope first editions is most impressive in its condition and completeness. The two greatest treasures in

the Trollope canon are present, both of them three-deckers: *The Macdermots of Ballycloran*, 1847; and *The Kellys and the O'Kellys; or, Landlords and Tenants*, 1848. These are the writer's



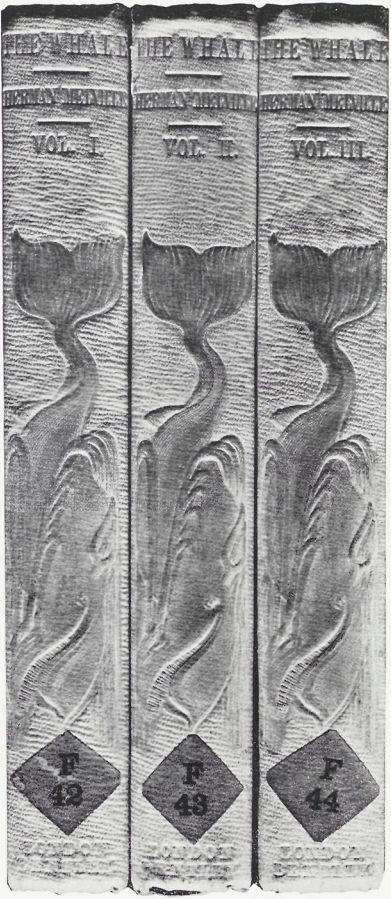
Pictorial wrapper of the first number of Trollope's *The Vicar of Bullhampton*, July, 1869.

first two novels, and the Samuels copies are once again from the collection of Michael Sadleir. Five of the novels are in the original parts: *He Knew He Was Right*, 1868–1869; *The Last Chronicle of Barset*, 1866–1867; *Orley Farm*, 1861–1862, the copy owned by

Mrs. Catherine Gore, another prolific novelist of the Victorian era; *Ralph the Heir*, 1870–1871; and *The Vicar of Bullhampton*, 1869–1870. Eight of the Trollopes are inscribed, including *North America*, 1862, sent by Trollope to the Boston publisher, James T. Fields. Trollope's letter to Fields, written on May 19, 1862, presenting the set, is tipped in the first of two volumes. The novelist had sent Fields five copies to be distributed, "one to Longfellow, one to Mrs. Homans, one to Dr. Lothrop, one to my friend Synge, and for the other I would wish to obtain house room in Charles Street, if so much favor can be extended to it." Completing this remarkable collection are autograph letters from Trollope, periodicals in which his writings appeared, and studies on the novelist's works.

Important titles in American literature of the nineteenth century are also part of Mrs. Samuels's bequest, and among their number are works by Edgar Allan Poe, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Herman Melville, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and Stephen Crane. One of the most stunning three-deckers is the first edition of Melville's *The Whale*, published in London in 1851, and preceding the American edition, issued under the title *Moby Dick*. The binding is a striking one, illustrating, in gilt on each of the spines, the whale diving into the sea. Poe's most quoted poem, "The Raven," appeared in print at least three times before it was published in a book by the author, *The Raven and Other Poems*, 1845, of which the Samuels copy survives in the original tan printed paper wrappers. *Maggie, A Girl of the Streets*, Stephen Crane's first book, was published pseudonymously in 1893 under the name "Johnston Smith." The book in yellow wrappers has become one of the most sought-after first editions in American book-collecting. The Samuels copy, signed in ink by Crane on the front wrapper, is also inscribed to L. S. Linson on the title-page.

Continuing into the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, one is struck by the number of association volumes in the Library. Present are Henry James's copies of Thomas Hardy's



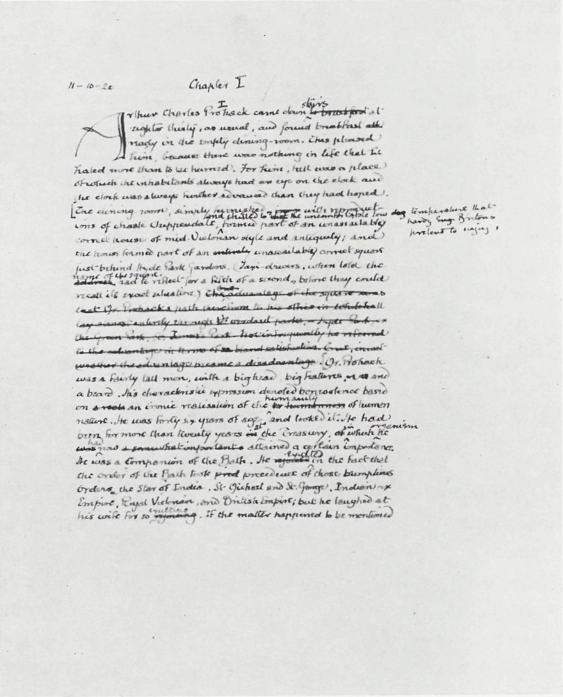
The bindings of the first edition of Melville's *The Whale*, published in London in 1851. This edition precedes the American edition, published as *Moby Dick*.

The Mayor of Casterbridge, 1886, Rudyard Kipling's *From Sea to Sea*, 1889, and H. G. Wells's *In the Days of the Comet*, 1906. Oscar Wilde's *Salome*, 1893, is inscribed to his fellow aesthete, the artist William Graham Robertson. Norman Douglas's *The Herpetogy of the Grand Duchy of Baden*, 1894, was presented to H. M. Tomlinson, another novelist who wrote about exotic landscapes. Tomlinson's *Waiting for Daylight*, 1922, is inscribed to Katherine Mansfield, "in morose ingratitude for a Garden Party." John Galsworthy's second novel, *Jocelyn*, 1898, is presented to his wife, and *The Man of Property*, 1906, is inscribed to Ford Madox Ford, novelist and editor of the *Transatlantic Review*, to which Galsworthy contributed. Other Galsworthy volumes bear inscriptions to Max Beerbohm and John Drinkwater. T. E. Lawrence's copy of Joseph Conrad's *The Mirror of the Sea*, 1913, is inscribed by Conrad "with the greatest regard."

George Bernard Shaw, the lively and irreverent satirist, was another of Jack's favorite writers. Nearly twenty first editions of the plays, most of them inscribed, as well as proofs, letters, and manuscripts, round out the holdings of the Irish dramatist. The copy of *The Doctor's Dilemma, Getting Married, & The Shewing-Up of Blanco Posnet*, 1911, originally belonged to Max Beerbohm, a satirist in another medium, and it contains Beerbohm's two pencil portraits of Shaw, dated 1920, on facing preliminary pages. Also among the Shaw collection is the first proof of *Getting Married*, dated December 17, 1908, corrected by Shaw throughout the text. When he completed the writing of *Caesar and Cleopatra*, Shaw wrote on December 30, 1898, to Ellen Terry, one of the leading actresses of the day, saying that he would send her a copy of the play for reading and criticism. He began his letter, the original of which is in the collection, "Call me a gentleman again, Ellen, and all is over between us."

Shaw always demanded the last word on anything written about him so it is not startling to come across in the Samuels Library two manuscripts by other writers with extensive revisions

in his hand: "Bernard Shaw as I Remember Him" by Lady Keeble, formerly Lillah McCarthy, and Allan Dowling's "Bernard Shaw and St. Joan," both of which were done as interviews and issued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Chapter I

Arthur Charles Prohack came down stairs ~~to breakfast~~ at eighteen thirty, as usual, and found breakfast ~~all~~ ready in the empty dining-room. This pleased him, because there was nothing in life that he hated more than to be hurried. For him, hell was a place of which the inhabitants always had an eye on the clock and the clock was always further advanced than they had hoped. [The dining room, simply furnished ~~[illegible]~~ with reproductions of chaste Chippendale, and chilled to ~~[illegible]~~ the uncomfortable low temperature that hardy Eng Britons prefer to enjoy, formed part of an unassailably correct house of mid-Victorian style and antiquity; and the house formed part of an ~~[illegible]~~ unassailably correct square just behind Hyde Park Gardens. (Taxi-drivers, when told the name of the square ~~address~~, had to reflect for a fifth of a second, before they could recall its exact situation.) ~~The advantage of the square was that Mr. Prohack's path [illegible] to his office in Whitehall lay almost entirely through the [illegible] parks, Hyde Park, the Green Park, St. James's Park. [illegible] referred to the advantage in terms of [illegible] satisfaction. [illegible] whether the advantage became a disadvantage~~. [Mr. Prohack was a fairly tall man, with a big head, big features, ~~[illegible]~~ and a beard. His characteristic expression denoted benevolence based on ~~[illegible]~~ an ironic realisation of the ~~[illegible]~~ humanity of human nature. He was forty six years of age, and looked it. He had been for more than twenty years ~~in~~ at the Treasury, ~~of~~ in which organism he ~~was~~ had now ~~a somewhat important~~ attained a certain importance. He was a Companion of the Bath. He ~~rejoiced~~ [illegible] in the fact that the order of the Bath took ~~[illegible]~~ precedence of those bumptious orders, the Star of India, St. Michael and St. George, Indian Empire, Royal Victorian, and British Empire; but he laughed at his wife for so ~~rejoicing~~ exulting. If the matter happened to be mentioned

First page of the autograph manuscript of
Arnold Bennett's *Mr. Prohack.*

as news releases by the London General Press in 1927. To cite one instance of Shaw's final word, I single out Lady Keeble's transcription of Shaw's reply to her as to why he left Ireland to live in England. She had quoted Shaw as saying, "I found myself one day

on the Irish hills and suddenly became conscious of the fact that I was dreaming my life away." Shaw canceled these lines emphatically and wrote above, "Lord bless you, I'm old enough to be A.E.'s father; and George Moore had not discovered Ireland then: he was in Paris studying painting. He hadn't even discovered himself. The Ireland that you know did not exist. I could not stay there on the Irish hills. England had conquered Ireland; so there was nothing for it but to come over and conquer England, which, you will notice, I have done pretty thoroughly." It was the kind of impudent wit that Jack relished.

Arnold Bennett's *Mr. Prohack*, a story about London in the years immediately after World War I, was not among his greatest novels. However, the amusing and satiric story of the dilemma of a civil servant on the brink of poverty who inherits ten thousand pounds a year, was one of the author's popular late novels. The Samuels Library boasts the original handwritten manuscript of the work, in Bennett's careful, studied hand, as well as William McFee's copy of the first edition, published in 1922.

Another full-length manuscript in the Library, Alan Patrick Herbert's autograph manuscript of his celebrated novel, *The Water Gipsies*, contains numerous revisions and deletions throughout, as well as inserted rough working notes on the plot and the characters. There is also the corrected typescript of the novel. The work was published in 1930 and served to footnote Herbert's fight for freedom of the Thames River to non-commercial craft.

In the contemporary period since World War I Jack's collecting interests focused on the authors of the Bloomsbury Group. There is a copy of Virginia and Leonard Woolf's *Two Stories*, 1917, the first production of the Hogarth Press. This fragile pamphlet, in the original blue limp linen wrappers, was the first of many distinguished publications issued by the Woolfs during the following twenty years. Virginia Woolf's story in the pamphlet, "The Mark on the Wall," is her first publication in book form. Among the other nineteen first editions of her writings is Max

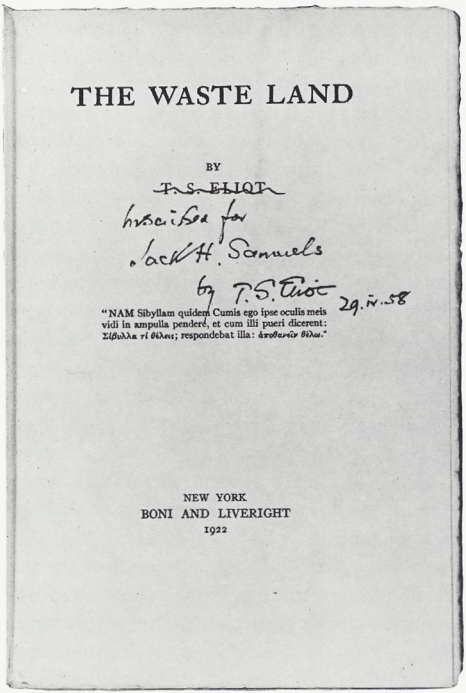
Beerbohm's copy of *The Common Reader*, 1925, with Max's watercolor drawing of a most proper lady reading pasted on the title-page over the Hogarth Press design. The copy of Lytton Strachey's *Elizabeth and Essex*, 1928, is inscribed to Max "with admiration and gratitude" by the Bloomsbury biographer.

Perusing the two shelves of the novels and other writings by E. M. Forster, another member of the Bloomsbury Group, I am awed by the thoroughness of the collector. The bibliography is virtually complete, and nearly all of the novels are signed or inscribed, beginning with the first issue of the author's first book, *Where Angels Fear to Tread*, 1905, which is inscribed to a friend, Percy Whichelo, and contains the bookplate of Frederic Prokosch. Among the dozen letters and manuscripts is the group of ten pages of holograph notes for Forster's lecture on the English socialist writer, Edward Carpenter, the final form of which was published in 1931 in a collection of essays and memoirs on Carpenter edited by Gilbert Beith.

James Joyce and D. H. Lawrence occupy special places in the history of twentieth century literature, and the copies of their first editions in the Samuels Library are no less unique. *Ulysses*, on handmade paper and in the original blue wrappers, is inscribed to the literary critic, John Middleton Murry, on publication day, April 27, 1922. David Garnett's copy of *Dubliners*, 1924, has an autograph presentation card from Joyce pasted on the fly-leaf. D. H. Lawrence's autobiographical and controversial novel, *Sons and Lovers*, 1913, is inscribed to his friends, Katherine Mansfield and her husband, John Middleton Murry, who was to write and publish a study of Lawrence eighteen years later. The association value of these copies is of crucial importance in literary history.

The twentieth century poets in the collection are once again a measure of personal taste. Among these represented are Robert Frost, T. S. Eliot, W. H. Auden, Robinson Jeffers, Robert Graves, William Carlos Williams, Cecil Day-Lewis, Edith Sitwell, and Marianne Moore. Several splendid association copies spring to

mind. In addition to the first issues of Frost's *A Boy's Will* and *North of Boston*, the Library includes a rather ordinary-looking copy of the March 26, 1961, issue of *The New York Times Maga-*



THE WASTE LAND

BY

~~T. S. ELIOT~~

Inscribed for
Jack H. Samuels
by T. S. Eliot 29.iv.58

"NAM Sibyllam quidem Cumis ego ipse oculis meis
vidi in ampulla penderé, et cum illi pueri dicerent:
Σίβυλλα τί θέλεις; respondebat illa: ἀποθανεῖν θέλω."

NEW YORK
BONI AND LIVERIGHT
1922

First edition of *The Waste Land* inscribed by T. S. Eliot for Jack Samuels.

zine. Leafing through it, one comes to pages 12 and 13, Stewart L. Udall's article, "Frost's 'Unique Gift Outright,'" including the text of the poem Frost delivered at President John F. Kennedy's inauguration, entitled "Dedication." One suddenly realizes the

unique quality of these two pages, for the autographs of Secretary Udall, President Kennedy, and Frost appear above the printings of their names.

The first American edition of *The Waste Land*, 1922, was inscribed for the collector by Eliot in 1958. The copy of *The Confidential Clerk*, 1954, presented by the poet to John Middleton Murry, stands on the shelf that includes twenty other first editions of Eliot's plays, essays, and poems.

The California poet, Robinson Jeffers, is represented by more than a score of limited signed and inscribed editions, the most important being his first book publication, *Flagons and Apples*, 1912, inscribed for Cortlandt Schoonover. Marianne Moore's first book, *Poems*, 1921, is inscribed to the poet, Robert Gathorne-Hardy, and the copy bears some forty manuscript corrections by Miss Moore throughout the text. One of the greatest contemporary treasures in the Library is W. H. Auden's first book, *Poems*, privately printed by hand by Stephen Spender in 1928 during a summer vacation, and dedicated to the poet's friend, Christopher Isherwood. Although a statement in the little pamphlet claims that "about 45 copies" were printed, it is believed that very few have survived. This copy, in the original orange wrappers, once belonged to the English novelist, William Plomer, and he has written his name on the front end paper.

In this summary of the Library only a few of the manuscripts were singled out for separate mention. It is important to note that autograph manuscripts for complete poems, essays, and stories are present for C. Day-Lewis, Edith Sitwell, Logan Pearsall Smith, A. E. Coppard, Ronald Firbank, and Elizabeth Bowen. Few of the manuscripts of Ivy Compton-Burnett, the highly subtle and sophisticated chronicler of upper-class English society, have found their way to this side of the Atlantic. However, Jack managed to acquire a choice one for his Library—the corrected typescript, on 409 pages, of *Elders and Betters*, dated 1943, considered by many critics to be among her best novels. Her handwritten warning on the verso of the title leaf, "N.B. Please do not alter my spelling or

punctuation," squared three times in wide red pencil strokes, underscores the novelist's protection of her eccentric style.

From 1961 up to the time of his death in 1966, Jack presented to the Columbia Libraries a series of distinguished and important gifts, and these may also be considered an integral part of his Library. These gifts included a magnificent album of twenty George Cruikshank pen and watercolor drawings; a fine copy of Charles Dickens's *Our Mutual Friend*, 1864–1865, in the original parts; a collection of first editions and manuscripts of Frederic Prokosch; and more than a hundred rare literary editions and examples of fine printing from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries. His most impressive benefaction came in 1961 when he donated his remarkable collection of Theodore Dreiser books and manuscripts, comprising nearly a hundred editions of the novelist's works (most of them inscribed), ten letters by Dreiser, and the original holograph manuscript of the story, "Fulfillment," on 88 pages.

The preceding odyssey through the landmark volumes in the Samuels Library leaves one somewhat breathless in admiration and respect. He was a dedicated collector, who pursued his vocation with taste and imagination. John Carter's characterization of a book-collector seems particularly apt in our thoughts concerning Jack Samuels. The book-collector is one who has, in Carter's words, "a reverence for, and a desire to possess, the original or some other specifically admirable, curious or interesting edition of a book he loves or respects or one which has a special place among his intellectual interests." The wealth of inscribed and association books, the author collections and runs of first editions, the manuscripts and autograph letters, the writings about authors and literary history, the books about books, the productions of fine presses —all of the components that form the Jack Harris Samuels Library also illustrate how the dedicated bookman collects, not only for his own gratification, but for the student and scholar who will benefit from his efforts.

Note: The George Bernard Shaw quotations are used by permission of The Society of Authors, London, on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate.

Cora's "Uncle Edward" and friends. Ernest C. Budd is the man at left front. Those with him are (front, right) Mr. Frazier, manager of the Florida Ostrich Farm; (rear, right) Arthur B. Gilkes, father of Lillian; (rear, left) Joe Mitchell, golf pro of the Jacksonville-Fairfield Country Club. From a custom-made postcard belonging to Lillian B. Gilkes.

Not at Columbia: Postcards to Cora Crane

JOSEPH KATZ AND LILLIAN B. GILKES

IT was Jacksonville, Florida, at the end of October 1972. Lillian Gilkes had completed her essay for the *Library Columns* on the background of the Stephen and Cora Crane Collections at Columbia University, and we were visiting the city where Stephen began his unsanctified relationship with Cora three-quarters of a century ago.[1] That was where the Columbia University collections had come from: they were the portable property Cora brought back from England when Stephen died and she had returned to the city from which they started. The annual meeting of the South Atlantic Modern Language Association would open in a few days, but we had come early for a variety of reasons that mainly had to do with the Cranes.

Those reasons were in part sentimental. One of us had been born in Jacksonville and for that reason had written a biography of Cora; the other wanted to see for the first time places important in Stephen's life and work; both of us welcomed the occasion as an opportunity to talk without using the telephone and mails that are necessary to sustaining our long friendship over most of the years.[2] The time seemed right for this kind of sentimental journey because the anniversary of Cora's death had just passed and the anniversary of Stephen's birthday would come while we were in the city. It also was the anniversary of the time they met. But this was to be a working trip too. We each had projects in progress, including a joint project, for which we needed information in

[1] See Lillian Gilkes's "The Stephen Crane Collection Before Its Acquisition by Columbia: A Memoir," *Columbia Library Columns*, XXIII (November 1973).

[2] Much of the background information for this article came from Lillian Gilkes' *Cora Crane: A Biography of Mrs. Stephen Crane* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1960), especially from pp. 313–57.

newspapers, directories, and other records housed in Jacksonville. More exciting potentially was our shared belief that there were Crane things Cora left in Jacksonville when she died sixty years ago, that never reached Columbia, and that we intended to try to find.

This story is worth telling only because we were right. We were not immediately or completely right, but ultimately and mainly we were right. More than six decades in the history of a Southern port city desperately striving to remain vital is a long time. No trace remains of Cora's night club, the Hotel de Dream, where she and Stephen met in September 1896, nor of her later demimonde establishment, The Court, which she opened when their life together closed and she had to support herself again. The overgrown commercial city has obliterated all of the Cranes' landmarks and we suspect that even ghosts would have difficulty in maneuvering through the traffic-jammed downtown streets along which we had to pick our way to find the hidden sites. So to some extent our sentimental expectations were frustrated. It is next to impossible to recover the past in reality; it lives in memory, traditions, books, papers, and people. There are always the graves, and we visited Cora's and the one in which she buried Harry Parker, the boy who worked for the railroads until he made up stories about his relationship with her and was murdered by Hammond P. McNeil, her third husband, in a fit of sodden jealousy. On the morning of the one hundred and first anniversary of Stephen's birth we marked it by teaching a class of undergraduates at Jacksonville University, talking about his writings, his years with Cora, and their association with the city. We thought that appropriate. All this time, of course, we also were hunting for those submerged things that might tell us more about Cora and Stephen. In a car loaned by friends, following contacts and leads supplied by them and other friends, we haunted the city.[3] Nothing turned up. The

[3] It is no exaggeration to say that without Phil May, Jr., this article could not have been written: he gave us his car, his hospitality, and his advice on where to

SAMLA meeting came and went, and it was time for us to go ourselves.

There is an unwritten rule of scholarship about looking for things where they ought to be, but sometimes we ignore it. It happened that this time we had. Katz was scheduled to be in the middle-west in a few days to speak—appropriately—about the problems of unravelling Crane's biography. It was stubbornness more than anything else that decided him on spending one more day in Jacksonville to continue the hunt rather than to push on to other work in Chicago. This time he went to the Jacksonville and Florida Room of the Haydon Burns Library to spend that final day turning over every item visible on the shelves in the hope of finding something—anything. Nothing. Finally, a few minutes before the library was to close, after he had looked at everything else he could see, he reached for two unpromising-looking wooden file boxes marked "Postcard Collection." There they were: among the hundreds of picture postcards, all arranged according to the places they depicted, were thirty-four unknown cards addressed to Cora during the last two years of her life. They survived only because someone in the library six decades earlier thought it should have a collection of scenic views. But the cards did survive, and the most significant pictures they preserve are new ones into Cora's last years.

They were unhappy years. Before meeting Stephen, Cora ran the Hotel de Dream as a private resort in which Jacksonville's men of substance could relax in unconventional pursuits after spending their days rigidly in Victorian respectability. Discreet catering to their needs gave Cora knowledge of the best people, even if she was not welcomed into many of their homes, and supplied her

look. As Reference Librarian of the Jacksonville Free Public Library, Miss Audrey Broward had given Miss Gilkes continous and invaluable aid in the preparation of *Cora Crane*; now, as Librarian of Jacksonville University, she helped both of us on this trip.

position and money. The three and one-half years with Stephen that followed were no less fun if financially less stable, and gave her even greater status. Afterwards, however, she had to settle for The Court—a superior kind of brothel, but a brothel nonethe-

Postcard with a photograph of one of Cora's "girls," mounted in one of the albums in the Columbia Crane Collection.

less. She still had friends, still knew those who ran things and mattered, and still carried herself magnificently, but for all that she was in reduced circumstances. A sign of her reduction was her marriage to Hammond McNeil in 1905. Charming he was, but also erratic, violent, doltish, and alcholic. He hindered, not helped; it was up to her to make the best of her life and her business.

As some of these postcards attest, she tried to do both as well as she could. Similar cards are mounted in two large, fat albums at Columbia, many from young male clients who called her "Ma" and signed themselves "Son"; others from her girls, to whom she was "Miss Cora" and The Court "home."[4] Evidently she tried to

[4] There must have been different sources for the Columbia University albums and these postcards. The albums came from The Court; these cards must have come from Cora's personal effects at Palmetto Lodge, the two storey frame house

create an atmosphere of warmth, intimacy, and affectionate discipline in a situation that easily could have seen sordid, and evidently she succeeded. Some of the new cards show that this was true even towards the end: "Harry," probably a client, sending regards on a trip; "Helen," likely a Madam, keeping in touch; Edna, one of her girls, saying she is bringing a "friend." But Cora was running a house, not a home. When girls went off on brief excursions with their gentlemen they were required to sign out, and on longer trips they had to report back their whereabouts, the behavior of their escorts, and their experiences—all in the strictest boarding school tradition. These regulations, however, had a commercial motivation: a girl who did not come through with a percentage of her take was put out of The Court. Still, there was affection in Cora's operation. The two Columbia postcard albums speak of careful preservation and display, likely because they were an important source of diversion in the restricted confines of The Court.

They must have diverted the girls, of course. They came to Cora mostly from the rural hinterlands of south Georgia, eastern Alabama, and the Florida panhandle—attractive girls, but usually ill-educated and sometimes barely able to read or write. For many of them, a few commercial trips with a man who wanted the freedom of their company away from home was as much as they would see of the world. Picture postcards like these could at least show them that there was a big world outside the little one in which they were forced to spend their lives.

That almost certainly was their great significance for Cora too.

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she built at Pablo Beach, eighteen miles from Jacksonville, on land she acquired in 1904. While it is obvious that whoever inserted these cards into the Postcard Collection must have had no idea of their importance, it is just as obvious that someone else did: one card that originally had to have been in the series found its way into the Stephen Crane collection in the Arents Library at Syracuse University. It is from "Uncle Edward" and is postmarked New York, 10 February 1910. Philip S. May, a Jacksonville attorney, identified for Miss Gilkes the handwriting on this card of Uncle Edward, in 1954. The Arents Collection card is transcribed in *Cora Crane,* p. 355.

Better educated, cosmopolitan, former wife first of a titled Englishman and then of a famous author, her thoughts continually roamed through the world outside Jacksonville. An exile, the cards gave her a vicarious taste of the life she had known, and she collected them avidly. What these cards reveal is that Cora's accumulation in those albums at Columbia was by design. She had taken up a fad that had become a craze during the first decade of the twentieth century. Postcard collectors, like all collectors, developed specialties, formed clubs, and exchanged what was readily available for what they needed. Cora joined the Cosmopolitan Correspondence Club, inviting foreign cards in trade for local ones. Nine of these postcards came to her in that way.

Probably they all served to reduce a little the terrible pressures that had begun to build in her life. One sunny day in May 1907, Harry Parker joined Cora and her housekeeper Hattie Mason on a picnic. McNeil, who had heard the foolish boasts the boy was making about an imaginary intimacy with Cora, tracked them down and shot him dead. Cora would not take the stand against her husband, but Hattie Mason's unshakable testimony could have sent him to the electric chair. After McNeil's father closeted himself with his son, surely to make a deal in which family aid was contingent upon Hammond leaving The Court and Cora, the two women were hustled away from Jacksonville on a trip to England. Mrs. McNeil and "Mrs. Barrett" (Hattie's pseudonym on the trip, sometimes used by her when she returned) went, and while they were gone a jury biased in favor of the defendant acquitted him of murder, partly because of the provocation he is supposed to have received from his disreputable wife. He, in the meantime, wrote promising to "do his duty" by Cora. Soon after she came back, however, he demonstrated an odd interpretation of that phrase: on trumped-up testimony of her extreme cruelty towards him, he filed for divorce. She did not resist. She went to pieces.

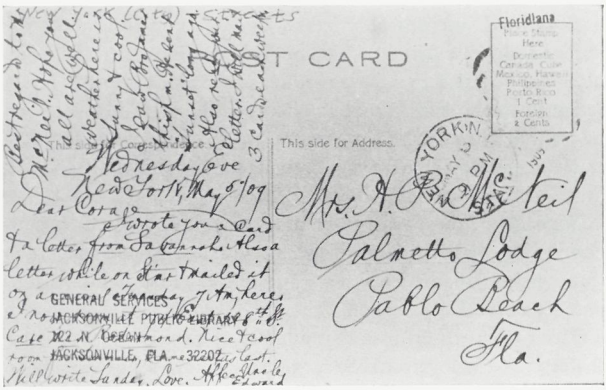
In her need she turned to Ernest Christie Budd, a Jacksonville businessman who once moved into The Court when his uncon-

genial wife refused to free him. It seems clear that the relationship he had with Cora was honorable, and that when McNeil deserted her he wanted marriage. She, in turn, named him executor of her will and sole legatee of her estate. But the scandal surrounding his removal to The Court and his wife's descent upon it to drag him back to her house probably led to his separation from the prosperous real estate firm in which he had been a partner. To make his living he seems to have turned his enthusiam for horses into a reasonably successful gambling operation. Early in May of 1909 he went to New York to live in a rented room near the area racetracks and formed some sort of connection with the Rancocas Stud Farm at Sheepshead Bay.

Nineteen of these new postcards are from Budd to Cora concerning bets he was placing for her and himself from May 1909 through July 1910. While it may seem incredible that two supposedly rational people would choose to communicate about such a matter on cards open to any number of prying eyes, this was the case. A catalog from the farm, presumably sent by Budd to Cora, was among her effects and is now at Columbia, and penciled notations in the catalog are a record of these transactions—according to an analysis Miss Gilkes made while she was working on *Cora Crane*. In fact, the idea of using postcards to keep in touch about twice a week was carefully constructed to guarantee secrecy. It involved a simple code: Budd was "Uncle Edward"; "reviews" were racing forms; "Bro. James" presumably was the Rancocas Farm manager; and "gifts"—family photographs from Cora, baskets and packages from Uncle Edward—were checks for wagers or winnings. According to Budd's notations on the catalog, the bets he laid down totaled $11,500, with single bets going from $25 to as high as $750: because neither he nor Cora could have afforded any such sustained loss, he must have won substantially fairly often. But exactly how they did in their unconventional endeavor cannot be known.

Not everything on the cards from Uncle Edward to Cora con-

cerned gambling, however. Nearly all of them contained brief notes of a personal sort that flash something of his concern for her during a devastating time. Uncle Edward, despite his very different feelings about McNeil, was careful to send him regards



Postcard from Uncle Edward to Cora as Mrs. McNeil. The note at the top left, the stamping at the top right, and the four lines at the bottom left are by the Jacksonville Free Public Library.

during May and June 1909, but afterwards—presumably once Cora knew that she was to be discarded and told him—is silent about Cora's husband. In July McNeil filed for divorce, and in October the final decree was granted—with the unusual stipulation enjoining Cora from ever again calling herself "Mrs. Hammond P. McNeil." For Uncle Edward and others she again became "Mrs. Stephen Crane": after his 3 November card, that was the way Budd addressed her; and that was the way he buried her at Evergreen Cemetery shortly after she died on 4 September 1910.

For in January or February, Cora suffered a mild stroke which left her permanently weakened. Uncle Edward cheered her on: "Glad to hear of your great improvement"; "I hope you are safe

and well"; "Hope to hear good news from you soon"; "Very great pleasure indeed to hear you are safe and well at home." As the cards show, there were also letters between these two unhappy people, and they must have contained substantial news reports

Cora Crane's grave in the Evergreen Cemetery, Jacksonville.

and intimate expressions. When McNeil's father shipped her out of the country before the murder trial, she had visited her old haunts in the Sussex countryside and quickly formed some scheme of returning to live there once the mess settled down. There is

reason to believe that Budd was to join her in starting that new life. Most likely the gambling was a way to build their nest egg. But there wasn't time: the winter stroke was followed by another the next autumn, and Cora was dead. On her tombstone, Budd had carved "Cora E. Crane | 1868–1910." He himself died in Jacksonville on 18 March 1925.

Back in Jacksonville sixty years later, Cora is not entirely forgotten. The copestone that outlines her grave has sunk below the surface of the earth, but the grave itself is well tended. Rumors still are recalled about her, The Court, and Ernest C. Budd: they had lain together; there was a child; Cora pretended it came from one of her girls and adopted it—all nonsense. Old men still claim to have known Cora and Budd, or pretend to have known them, but they are getting older and fewer. Of course no one now in Jacksonville was one of Cora's girls or one of her clients, nor was in any way related to any of them, but many people know that they belonged to other peoples' families. The Court itself was razed, and its land turned into a parking lot; the few bawdy houses of its time that survive mostly have become slum dwellings which puzzle their inhabitants because of all those small bedrooms. One day the rumors will have completed their gradual transmogrification into conflicting but unassailable facts. But in Jacksonville thirty-four postcards have been accidently preserved to allow a glimpse into the human past. Probably there still is more. We think so, and we think they can be found.[5]

[5] Under the late Roland Baughman and again under Kenneth A. Lohf, Special Collections of the Columbia University Libraries has earned the gratitude of scholars for its unusual hospitality and aid. As partial acknowledgment of his debt, Katz has given photographs he made of the thirty-four cards to the library.

An American in Paris:

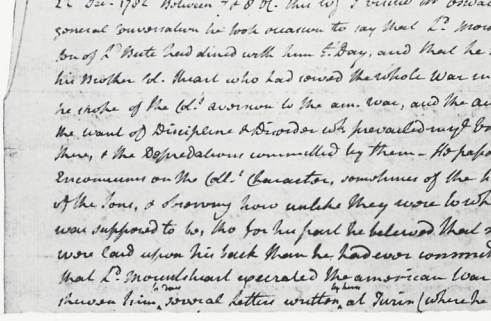
A Recent Notable John Jay Acquisition

RICHARD B. MORRIS

THROUGH the generosity of the Columbia College Class of '23, Special Collections has now acquired an extremely choice Jay item, coming in time to be included in the publication program of the John Jay Papers, the first volume of which is scheduled for the press during the present academic year. This is Jay's diary kept for a brief but crucial period during the preliminary peace negotiations of 1782.

It should be noted that while John Jay was a rather careful collector of his own papers, he never was a consistent diarist. Unlike John Adams, whose diaries are a delightful revelation about the author as well as the people and events with which he was associated, Jay was much more taciturn, and one might even say inhibited. The Jay Papers in Special Collections already have fragmentary diary entries for the summer of '76 and for the years in which Jay rode circuit as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. These newly acquired diary entries, notably those covering the period June 23 to December 22, 1782, shed light on one of the most controversial aspects of the negotiations for peace during the American Revolution. In the light of the scattered character of Jay's diaries it seems reasonable to come to one of two conclusions, either that some events with which Jay was associated seemed to be of such striking importance that he recorded them in diary form, or that only few fragments of a lifetime of diary-keeping have survived. All extant evidence favors the former rather than the latter explanation.

The most important entry in Jay's diary of the peacemaking is the following:



The opening portion of Jay's diary entry for December 22, 1782.

22 Decr. 1782. Between 7 and 8 o'C. this Evening I visited Mr Oswald. After some general Conversation he took occasion to say that Ld. Mount Stuart the Son of Ld Bute had dined with him to Day, and that he had also seen his Brother Col. Stuart who had served the whole War in America. He spoke of the Col's aversion to the Am. War, and the Acct. he gave of the want of Discipline and Disorder which prevailed in the british army there, and the Depredations committed by them. He passed several Encomiums on the Coll's Character, sometimes of the Father and then of the Son's, and observing how unlike they were to what the Father was supposed to be, tho for his part he believed that more sins were laid upon his back than he had ever committed. He said that Ld. Mountstuart execrated the American War, and had shewen him to day several Letters written by him at Turin (where he was Emb.) to Ld. Hilsborough on that Subject. Mr. Oswald asked me if I remembered what he had told me of Mr. Pultney's Information about the propositions of C. De Vergennes to Divide Am. with Britain. I told him I did. Well, says [he] the same kind of proposition was made to Ld. Mountstuart. His Ld brought with him here to Dinner his Letter Book which he did not chuse to leave with his Chargé D'affairs and in which he shewed me his Letters written with his own Hand for he would not confide it to his Secy, to Ld. Hils-

boroug, and the first Letter was dated in the month of Septr. 1780; from which it appears that a Mr. Mally who had formerly travelled with Ld Mountstuart, and is an honorary professor at Geneva, and is employed to write the History of Hesse, etc., for which he receives annuities, a Man in short well known among Men of Letters was employed by Mr. Neckar to make overtures to Ld. Mountstuart about putting an End to the War by dividing Am between Britain and France, the latter to have the eastern part.

Mr Oswald also says that Ld. Mountstuart went to Geneva on the occasion where he conversed with Mr Mally and that his Ldship read to him out of his Letter Book some french Letters from this Mr Mally to his Ld. on the Subject after his Return to Turin, that this correspondence of his Ld. with Ld Hillsborough contains a very curious and particular account of french Intrigues, particularly that Neckar wished for peace because his System could only raise Money enough to provide for old arrears and for current Expenses, and were he obliged to sustain the Expence of the War he must break in upon it and perhaps be disgraced, it also mentioned the Intrigues to get de Sartine out of the Marine Department, and Mr Oswald says that the Overtures about Am. were conducted with a Variety of precautions for Secrecy, and with a Stipulation or Condition that both parties in Case they did not agree should be at Liberty to deny all that passed. He told me that my Lord wrote strongly to Ld. Hilsborough against the Am. War and that the latter in answer told Him it was a Subject out of his Line, and with which it was not proper for him to interfere.

Ld. Mountstuart was offended with the Minister for this and he brought his Letter book with him to Mr Oswald to shew him the full State of the Matter. Mr Oswald said that as he had told me the affair of Mr Pultney he could not forbear mentioning this also, for it was a little strange that so extraordinary Matter should come so circumstantial and correspondent, from two such different and unconnected Quarters. He desired me to consider this Communication as very confidential, adding that he could say more, but that it would not be proper for him at present to enter into a Detail for further particulars.

When this editor was researching the negotiations for his book *The Peacemakers: The Great Powers and American Independence*

(Harper and Row, 1965), he first came across this entry. He also was confronted with the denial by Edmond Genêt, the one-time minister from France to the United States during the French Revolution, that the events described therein had ever taken place. Since Richard Oswald, the British peace commissioner who was Jay's informant, was known to be both a man of integrity and a wellwisher of America, the editor was not prepared to write off the incident as a malicious fiction concocted by Oswald to confirm Jay in his suspicions of French intentions toward American peace objectives.

Determined to run the incident down, the editor found confirmation of Oswald's account in Lord Mountstuart's letterbooks in the British Museum as well as in the Foreign Office Papers in the British Public Record Office. Viscount Mountstuart, the eldest son of Lord Bute, George III's intimate friend at one time and the first Lord of the Treasury in the early years of his reign, was the British envoy to Sardinia. In the spring of 1780 he received permission from his government to go to Geneva, pleading the "immense heats" of Turin and their effect on the health of Lady Mountstuart and his children. Since he had to travel through France, technically enemy country, in order to reach Geneva from Turin, he applied for a passport from the French Minister at Turin, which was granted, although the Comte de Vergennes, France's foreign minister, expressed the hope that the Scotsman would not get involved in the factional quarrels that were tearing Geneva apart at this time.

Had Vergennes known the purpose of Mountstuart's trip he never would have granted the passport. Mountstuart, on arriving in Geneva, spent a good deal of time with his former tutor, an historian named Paul-Henri Mallet. Mallet had previously gone to Paris and had held extensive conversations with a fellow Genevoise, Jacques Necker, the prestigious Director General of Finances in France, who headed a peace party and sought, behind Vergennes' back, to get France out of the war. Mallet proposed

An uncharitable contemporary British cartoon of the peacemaking, dated February 24, 1783.

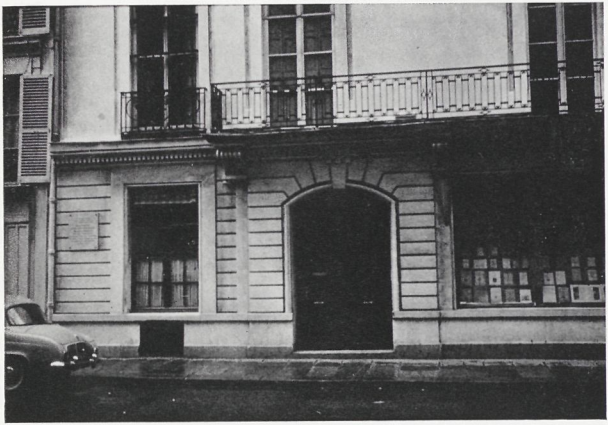
to Necker that "some one province," say New England, be declared independent, "and the others obliged to return to their former allegiance." Necker was sympathetic.

Anxious to gain the limelight as a peacemaker, Mountstuart rushed off a report of his personal conversations to the British Secretary of State, Lord Hillsborough. There followed a long and detailed correspondence between Mountstuart in Turin and Mallet in Geneva, and Mountstuart thought that he was making progress. Then the blow fell. On November 21, 1780, Hillsborough wrote Mountstuart that he had laid his communications before the King, but that George III had expressed the view that any negotiations with France were out of the question so long as "she continues to abett and support the Rebellion now raging in His Majesty's North American colonies," and certainly no attention could be paid to "proposals made or suggested" in the "unavowed and private manner" of Mountstuart's "Genevan friend." He was bluntly told not to pursue the matter further by a personal trip to Paris, nor to receive any proposals whatsoever from the French "if the Rebell Colonies are in any manner included."

Crushed by the response to his well-meaning efforts and further disheartened by the dismissal of Necker from office in the spring of 1781, Mountstuart licked his wounds and bided his time, trying in the spring of 1782, to insinuate himself once more in the role of mediator now that the Lord North ministry had been overthrown, but without success. Granted leave to return home, he reached Paris on December 16, 1782, after the Americans had signed a preliminary peace but before France and Spain had completed their own preliminary negotiations. On December 22nd he dined with Oswald. That same evening John Jay made a social call on the British commissioner. Oswald, as Jay recorded in his diary, told him about Mountstuart's letterbooks and the portion the ambassador had read him regarding his Franco-Genevan negotiations.

In short, Jay was right, Edmond Genêt wrong. Genêt confused the time of the Mountstuart negotiations with 1782, when Necker

was out of office, instead of 1780, when the banker was at the height of his power. Blandly asserting that Necker had never interfered in the concerns of the department of foreign affairs,



Hôtel d'York on rue Jacob, Quartier Latin, where the Definitive Peace was signed on September 3, 1783. The building now houses the publishing firm of Firmin Didot.

Genêt may not have realized that Necker merely took the precaution not to inform Vergennes or his subordinates. At the time in question Genêt's father, Edmé Jacques Genêt, served as *premier commis* of the Bureau of Interpretation, passing on to Vergennes intelligence received from England and America. The elder Genêt held that post until September 1781, when, on his death, his precocious son succeeded him. In fact Edmond Genêt was in Vienna not Versailles in 1780. Thanks to Jay's diary entry we know now what really transpired, and we know enough to justify Jay's suspicions that America, but for fortuitous events, might have been the victim of a dangerous backstairs intrigue that would have left it dismembered and without the resources to survive as a viable state.

Our Growing Collections

KENNETH A. LOHF

A.I.G.A. gift. The American Institute of Graphic Arts has sent, for inclusion in the depository file, the books of 1972 production which won places in the "Fifty Books of the Year" Exhibition in 1973.

A.A.U.P. gift. The Association of American University Presses has donated the file of fifty-two titles which were selected for exhibition in its 1972 Book Show. Each volume chosen was considered by a member press of the Association to be its most outstanding example of design and production.

Bancroft gift. Professor Margaret Bancroft (A.M., 1913) has donated a copy of the American edition of Charles Dickens's *Master Humphrey's Clock*, published in Philadelphia in 1854 by Getz and Buck.

Barzun gift. Professor Jacques Barzun (A.B., 1927; A.M., 1928; Ph.D., 1932) has presented the correspondence, manuscripts, notebooks, and publications of his father, Henri-Martin Barzun, the noted French author, lecturer, and editor. The correspondence files reflect Henri-Martin Barzun's wide associations in the literary, artistic, and political circles during the past sixty years, and include letters from André Breton, Katherine Dreier, Marcel Duchamp, Georges Duhamel, Albert Gleizes, Ivan Goll, Ezra Pound, Pierre Reverdy, Edgar Varèse, Gabriel d'Annunzio, and Felippo Tommaso Marinetti. Professor Barzun's gift also includes more than 250 volumes of poetry and fiction from his personal library, as well as from his father's library, many of which are warmly inscribed.

Black gift. Mr. Algernon D. Black, Leader of the Society for Ethical Culture in the City of New York, has established a col-

lection of his papers, which document his wide-ranging activities as an author, lecturer, and public figure concerned with education, housing, discrimination, labor, juvenile delinquency, and numerous other civic matters. Mr. Black's initial gift has included more than seven hundred typewritten and mimeographed copies of his platform addresses, radio talks, and publications.

Brown gift. To the collection of his papers Mr. James Oliver Brown has added nearly nine thousand letters and documents relating to the contemporary authors he represents in his literary agency, including Louis Auchincloss, Herbert Gold, Jessica Mitford, Erskine Caldwell, Adrian Conan Doyle, Elsa Lanchester, Frances Perkins, Alberto Moravia, and Jean Stafford.

Burger gift. Mrs. Elisabeth Owen Burger has presented the papers of her late husband, Sir David Kemp Owen, co-administrator for the United Nations Development Program, 1966–1969, and executive chairman of the United Nations Technical Assistance Board, 1957–1965. Sir David attended the San Francisco Conference in 1945 and worked thereafter for the United Nations, and nearly all of the papers in the collection of approximately twelve thousand pieces relate to these activities. Among the correspondents are Lady Astor, Clement Atlee, Chester Bowles, Sir Stafford Cripps, Dag Hammarskjold, Julian Huxley, B. H. Liddell Hart, Trygve Lie, Gunnar Myrdal, Adlai Stevenson, and U Thant.

Foster gift. Mrs. Maxwell E. Foster has presented a spirited pencil and crayon drawing of a Spanish galleon, measuring eight by ten inches, done by John Masefield, and sent by the English poet to Mrs. Foster's mother. Masefield had been entertained by Mrs. Foster's parents (her father, Dr. George Edgar Vincent, was President of the University of Minnesota at the time) when he visited the University on a speaking tour during the first World War. Masefield sent this drawing as a token of his affection and gratitude.

Henne gift. Professor Frances Henne has added to our Charles Dickens collection a copy of the first American edition of *Oliver Twist*, published in Philadelphia in 1839 by Lea & Blanchard. The volume, with illustrations by George Cruikshank, is bound in the original brown publisher's cloth.

Kent gift. Mrs. Sally Kent has presented, for addition to the Rockwell Kent Collection, an item of singular importance: the typewritten manuscript of the artist's autobiography, comprising 1,036 pages and containing his holograph corrections in ink throughout. The work was published in 1955 by Dodd Mead in New York under the title *It's Me, O Lord.*

Lamont gift. Dr. Corliss Lamont (Ph. D., 1932) has presented the manuscript and drawings for Rockwell Kent's *The Golden Chain: A Fairy Story*, a tale about the birth of a child. Written on March 2, 1922, for Katherine Abbott, the vellum-bound manuscript contains thirty charming pen-and-ink drawings that were later used by the artist in his *A Birthday Book*, published by Random House in 1931. *The Golden Chain* was privately printed in 1922 in a limited edition of eight copies.

Ledbetter gift. Professor J. T. Ledbetter has presented, for inclusion in the Mark Van Doren Collection, a group of seventy letters and cards which he received from the poet from 1961 until a month before Van Doren's death in 1972. Since Professor Ledbetter is himself a poet, the series of affectionate letters contain numerous comments on the writings of both poets.

Li gift. Dr. Li Shu-hua, the eminent scholar and educator, has presented the collection of his correspondence with Chinese leaders, educators, and scholars. The approximately five hundred letters, mounted in eight albums, were written to Dr. Li, from the mid-1920's to 1972, by Wu Chih-hui, Li Yu-ying, Hu Shih, and other prominent Chinese scholars. Dr. Li was vice president of the National Academy of Peiping for twenty years, was political vice

minister and then minister of education in 1930–1931, served as director-general of Academia Sinica in 1943 and was elected to the Central Executive Committee of the Koumintang in 1945. The letters in Dr. Li's gift document his distinguished career in the development of education and research in science in China from the 1920's on.

Longwell gift. Mrs. Longwell has further enriched the collection of the papers of her husband, the late Daniel Longwell (A.B., 1922) with the addition of more than one hundred first editions and books relating to Stanley Morison and the history of printing, and 165 photographs and ephemera relating to Mr. Longwell. Of special importance are the following: a fine copy of the broadside, *A Specimen by William Caslon*, printed in London, ca. 1734; inscribed copies of Stanley Morison's *Four Centuries of Fine Printing*, 1924, and *Modern Fine Printing*, 1925; a watercolor drawing of an illustration by George Herriman for Don Marquis's *The Lives and Times of Archy and Mehitabel*, 1950; and inscribed photograph portraits of Rita Hayworth, the Duke of Windsor, Marilyn Monroe, Mary Martin, Ginger Rogers, and Sir Winston Churchill.

Myers gift. Miss Winifred A. Myers has presented, for inclusion in the John Masefield Collection, two letters written by the late poet laureate of England, dated June 18 and July 5, 1942, to the Royal Army Medical Corps concerning the will and personal property of his son, Lewis Crommelin Masefield, who was killed in action while serving with an ambulance unit in the Middle East during World War II.

Nevins gift. Mrs. Mary Nevins has donated the following additional papers to the collection of her late husband, Professor Allan Nevins (Hon.Litt.D., 1960): the typescripts, drafts, and notes for the unpublished, revised edition of Professor Nevins's biography of John C. Fremont; 68 corrected typescripts of essays and lectures on the Civil War; 12 diplomas for honorary degrees

Photograph of Marilyn Monroe inscribed by the actress to Daniel Longwell, "To My Darling Dan: One of the few men who really saw my possibilities. Always, Marilyn." (Longwell gift)

awarded to the historian by American universities; an inscribed photograph of Admiral Chester W. Nimitz shown signing the Japanese surrender agreement on the *U.S.S. Missouri*, September 2, 1945; a photograph of King Albert and Brand Whitlock, which had been presented to Dr. Nevins by Mrs. Whitlock; a photograph of the signing of the peace treaty in the Hall of Mirrors, in the Palace at Versailles, June 28, 1919; and the original letter sent to the Honorable Hamilton Fish, December 6, 1871, by members of the United States Senate urging him not to resign as Secretary of State because of "the eminent success which has attended the foreign relations of the country under your administration." This important historical document is signed by Hannibal Hamlin, Schuyler Colfax, Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, Roscoe Conkling, and forty other Congressmen.

Norton and Company gift. W. W. Norton and Company have made a substantial addition to the Collection of their publishing and editorial papers. The gift, comprising the editorial files for the period 1945–1965, includes correspondence with Paul H. Douglas, Erich Fromm, Edith Hamilton, John Lehmann, Ashley Montagu, John Cowper Powys, Herbert Read, Henry Handel Richardson, Arnold Schoenberg, Lillian Smith, and Leonard Woolf. Among the nearly two hundred thousand pieces are letters from many leading writers of fiction and non-fiction books of the period: Sylvia Beach, Ruth Benedict, Bernard Berenson, Pablo Casals, Jo Davidson, Dwight D. Eisenhower, T. S. Eliot, Ira Gershwin, Margaret Mead, H. L. Mencken, Karl Menninger, Frances Perkins, James Purdy, John Crowe Ransom, Muriel Rukeyser, Bertrand Russell, Robert Sherwood, and Mark Van Doren.

Pulling gift. In a most generous benefaction, Mrs. Edward Pulling has presented the papers of her great uncle, Edward Morse Shepard, (1850–1911), a prominent New York lawyer of his day, who was particularly active as a reform Democratic leader in Brooklyn.

He gained special prominence as special deputy attorney general in the criminal prosecution of John Y. McKane in 1893–1894 for flagrant election frauds. As a lawyer he rendered memorable service as counsel to the New York Rapid Transit Commission and to the Pennsylvania Railroad. His other activities include civil service reform, Grover Cleveland's campaigns for the presidency, Seth Low's campaign for Mayor of Greater New York in 1897, and his own candidacies for Mayor of Brooklyn in 1895 and Mayor of New York in 1901. The correspondence files, which comprise the largest segment of this collection of approximately twenty-five thousand pieces, is rich in information about New York politics and social life at the turn of the century. There are letters from numerous important figures of the period, including Frederic Bancroft, R. R. Bowker, William Jennings Bryan, Grover Cleveland, Hamlin Garland, Richard Watson Gilder, Edward Everett Hale, Abram S. Hewitt, John La Farge, Henry Cabot Lodge, Seth Low, George Foster Peabody, Joseph Pulitzer, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Franklin D. Roosevelt, Theodore Roosevelt, Elihu Root, Carl Schurz, and Booker T. Washington.

Random House gift. A major resource was added to the collections when Random House, Inc., through the courtesy of its Chairman, Mr. Donald S. Klopfer, presented the archival copies of all its publications dating from 1925 to the present day. The initial gift, numbering 5,591 volumes, comprises copies of the first editions published by Random House in their trade, juvenile, and textbook divisions. This outstanding research resource includes copies of the writing of many major novelists and poets of the twentieth century, including W. H. Auden, Paul Bowles, Erskine Caldwell, Truman Capote, William Faulkner, Robert Graves, Christopher Isherwood, Randall Jarrell, Sinclair Lewis, John O'Hara, William Saroyan, Gertrude Stein, and Robert Penn Warren. To maintain the completeness of the Random House Library, the publisher will continue to send first editions of their publications as they are issued.

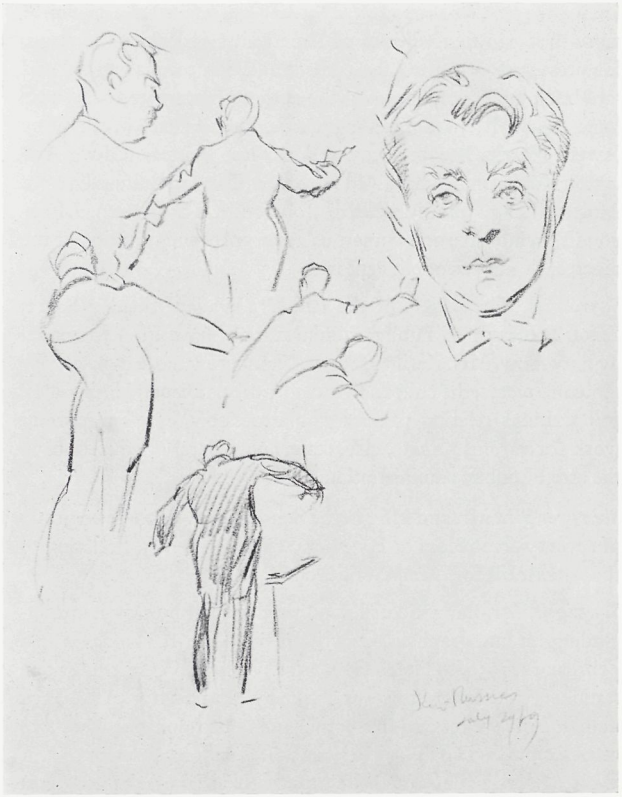
Saffron gift. From his personal library Dr. Morris H. Saffron (A.B., 1925; A.M., 1949; Ph. D., 1968) has selected a group of more than 750 first editions of American and English literature for presentation to the Libraries for addition to our general and rare book collections. Among the authors represented are James Lane Allen, Richard Harding Davis, Bret Harte, Sarah Orne Jewett, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Edgar Lee Masters, Edwin Arlington Robinson, Richard Aldington, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, Andrew Lang, John Masefield, Robert Louis Stevenson, Algernon C. Swinburne, and numerous other poets and novelists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Sayre gift. The papers of the late Dr. Wallace Stanley Sayre, Eaton Professor of Public Administration, have been presented by his widow, Mrs. Kathryn Sayre. Numbering more than twenty thousand pieces, the collection includes the correspondence, notes, and writings relating primarily to Professor Sayre's important work for various private, city, state, and federal organizations in the area of public administration.

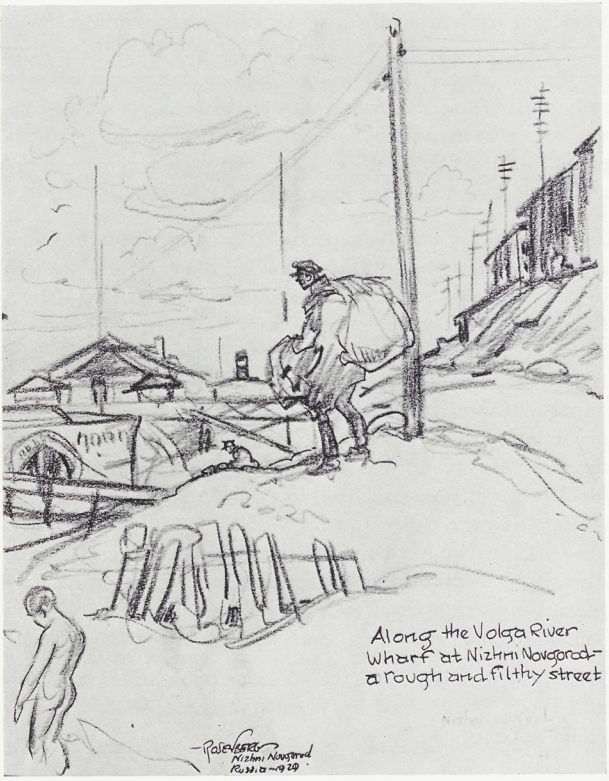
Schreyer gift. Mr. and Mrs. Leslie Schreyer have donated a group of seventy-five pieces of ephemera, dated 1947–1957, relating to the Americans for Democratic Action.

Scott gift. Mr. Barry Scott has donated several literary items, including an autograph letter written by Alice B. Toklas, dated February 4, 1930, to Helen G. Taylor. Written on Gertrude Stein stationery, the letter concerns a visit by Miss Taylor to the Paris home of the writer and her companion. Also donated were two manuscripts by David Daiches: the holograph manuscript of "Sir Walter Scott Today"; and the typewritten manuscript of "Scott and Scotland," with numerous corrections. Both of these essays were written for the Scott bicentennial celebrations in 1971.

Spingarn gift. Mrs. Joel E. Spingarn has presented a group of nine letters and one postcard written by her brother, Lewis Einstein (A.B., 1898; A.M., 1899), author and diplomat, who was Ameri-



Pencil drawings by Manual Rosenberg made in 1929 during his trip to Russia in the company of other American journalists. On left page is a sheet of sketches



of W. Herdajew, conductor of the Kiev Symphony Orchestra; and on the right, a view along the Volga River wharf at Nizhni Novgorod. (Strobridge gift)

can envoy and minister to the American embassies in Turkey, China, Costa Rica, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia, where he served from 1921 until 1930. The majority of the letters in Mrs. Spingarn's gift, addressed to her and her husband, are written from Prague, Florence, Edinburgh, and London during and immediately after World War I, and they contain remarks on his contemporaries in the various capitals in which he served and interesting comments on the life of a diplomat, including his readings and writings in the fields of American history and diplomacy.

Strobridge gift. Mr. and Mrs. James G. Strobridge have presented a collection of more than three hundred drawings and sketches by the noted illustrator, cartoonist, and writer, the late Manuel Rosenberg, who was for many years the chief artist for the Scripps-Howard chain of newspapers. Notable among the gifts are the sixty sheets of drawings made by Mr. Rosenberg in 1929 during his trip to Russia in the company of other journalists. The major portion of the gift comprises the file of sketches and caricatures of leading personalities in public life and the arts made by Mr. Rosenberg from the 1920's to the 1950's. Included are Jane Addams, George Arliss, Max Baer, Theda Bara, Enrico Caruso, Feodor Chaliapin, Ina Claire, Walter Damrosch, Jack Dempsey, Elsie Janis, Beatrice Lillie, Groucho Marx, Mae Murray, Ezio Pinza, William Howard Taft, Peggy Wood, Israel Zangwill, and numerous other entertainers, sportsmen, politicians, and writers.

Wouk gift. For inclusion in the collection of his papers, Mr. Herman Wouk (A.B., 1934) has donated seventeen foreign and reprint editions of his novels.

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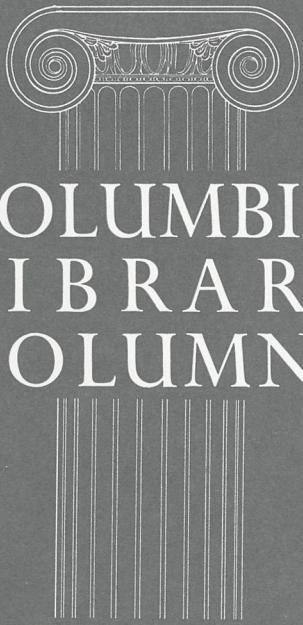

COLUMBIA LIBRARY COLUMNS

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* * *

Articles printed in COLUMBIA LIBRARY COLUMNS *between 1951 and May, 1971, have been fully listed in the 20-Year Index. The latter may be purchased from the Friends of the Columbia Libraries.*

Columbia Library Columns

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Edward Morse Shepard, ca. 1895. (Pulling gift)

COLUMBIA
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Edward M. Shepard and the Gravesend Affair

DAVID C. HAMMACK

FOR a few months in 1893 and 1894 the comic-opera battle of boss John Y. McKane against earnest Brooklyn citizens for political control of the suburban resort town of Gravesend provided moralists and reformers throughout the nation with shocks, laughter, and texts. Like many other incidents of the age of reform, the Gravesend Affair has been remembered as the occasion for an outburst of righteous indignation against an arrogant political pirate. In his fine study of *The City of Brooklyn, 1865–1898*, Harold C. Syrett provided an enduring description of McKane's colorful career as Supervisor of the Town of Gravesend, defender of its Coney Island amusements against Anthony Comstock and his prying Society for the Suppression of Vice, defier of state investigations, and perpetrator of voting frauds. These matters, together with much of the story of the fight against McKane, were well recorded in the official documents and newspapers which devoted so many pages to the boss. But thanks to the new availability of the Edward M. Shepard Papers, generously given to the Columbia University Libraries by Mrs. Edward Pulling, additional light can now be thrown on the affair. The Shepard Papers offer some new answers to old questions, and also provoke —and suggest answers to—new questions. It is now possible to see

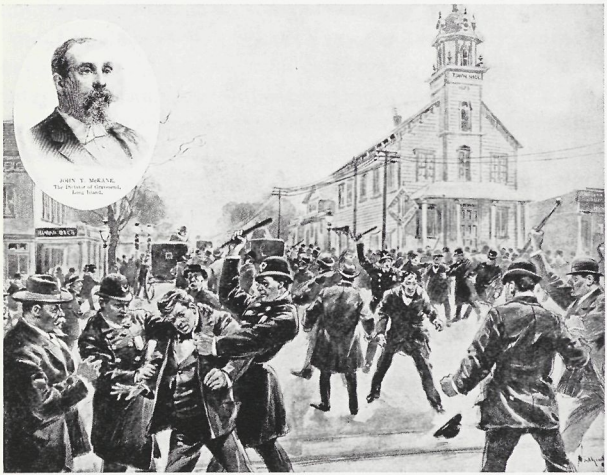
the Gravesend Affair as an event in a concerted, long-term effort to organize Brooklyn and Kings County for reform.

The affair seems to have begun late in October, 1893, when the *New York Times*, closely allied with Shepard and his Brooklyn Democratic Club in efforts to reform the City of Churches, revealed that Gravesend, still an independent town within Kings County, had 6218 registered voters out of a total population of 8418. Even in a town known as "the gut" for its brothels, gambling dens, racetrack, and drinking establishments, these enrollment figures indicated an unlikely proportion of adult male citizens. Examination of the voting lists enabled the *Times* reporter to add that in addition to the usual nonresidents and dead men, several Gravesend and Brooklyn streets were registered to vote.

These charges provided a timely issue for the coalition of Republicans, Cleveland Democrats, and independents who were campaigning for a fusion Mayor in Brooklyn and a fusion Supreme Court Judge in Kings County. William Jay Gaynor, the fusion nominee for Judge (and future Mayor of the City of New York) had motive and justification for pursuing the matter. But his aides found the Gravesend Election Inspectors unwilling to produce the voting lists save on orders from McKane. When they obtained a court order on the Saturday before the election they first found the Inspector "out," and then, when they returned to Gravesend after midnight when the Inspectors might be "in," found themselves packed off to jail, at McKane's direction, as vagrants and drunks. Since several of the would-be copyists were teetotalers with Republican political ambitions, the "drunk" charge hurt. As an added insult, the prisoners were shifted from jail to jail on Sunday. No judge could be found to set and take bail until 10 a.m. Monday; by then the unshaven men looked sufficiently disreputable to justify the charges against them.

It was too late to purge the voting lists, but the reformers determined to press their cause. Monday afternoon a group of them met to plan a poll-watching expedition, and at 4:30 a.m. on Elec-

tion Day their party of ministers, doctors, bankers, brokers, lawyers, and merchants set out in several carriages, armed with copies of an injunction directing McKane not to interfere with the election. This procession retained its dignity only until it reached



An illustration from the November 18, 1893 issue of *Harper's Weekly* showing John Y. McKane's police at Gravesend, defying the order of the Supreme Court and battling with William Gaynor's poll watchers. A portrait of McKane appears in the inset.

Gravesend, however, for there it encountered an aggressively hostile crowd. When one of the Brooklyn party struck a man who was interfering with his horses the crowd rioted, beating him and driving off his companions. Acting in his capacity as Superintendent of Police, McKane told the local police to refuse protection to the Gaynorites, and further to keep them away from the voting booths. Shown the injunction, McKane reportedly snarled "Injunctions don't go here!" Defeated for the day, the reformers returned home to nurse their wounds—and give interviews. The

resulting publicity helped Gaynor and his fusion associates sweep the election.

Before the votes had been counted, fusion leaders began to move for prosecution. Shepard and George Foster Peabody of the Brooklyn Democratic Club, Gaynor, prominent Republicans, and most New York City and Brooklyn newspapers urged Governor Roswell P. Flower to act. Flower, a Democrat concerned to avoid the Gravesend taint, bypassed his party's local prosecutor and named as special prosecutors two representatives of the fusion coalition: Shepard, a civil service reformer and "Cleveland" Democrat, and Republican Benjamin F. Tracy, who as Secretary of the Navy had recently extended the application of civil service rules in shipyards.

Gaynor has usually received credit for this prosecution, and his letters to Shepard show that he did take a part in it, even after his elevation to the bench. But two years later Shepard wrote Joseph B. Bishop, the noted reform journalist, that while Gaynor had suggested light treatment for McKane, the special prosecutors had instead decided to charge him with a felony. In any event Shepard and Tracy did prosecute McKane and several of his subordinates, including a large number of Election Inspectors. They secured indictments, convictions, and sustaining opinions on appeal, so that by the summer of 1894 the offenders were in jail. Reasoning that the centralized government of a great city, exposed to the scrutiny of press and taxpayers, would discourage a recurrence of McKane's sort of politics, Shepard and Tracy also pressed for state action to annex Gravesend to Brooklyn. This also was done in 1894.

From one point of view, the Gravesend Affair was a simple outrage against fair elections, followed by a well-deserved punishment. The many people who wrote letters of congratulation to Shepard on McKane's conviction took this view. "There is still a God in Israel," telegraphed one Buffalo man; another added "you have done a good work." From Brooklyn came messages similarly

phrased in religious terms: Shepard had achieved a "righteous result," "redeemed" the government, and deserved God's blessing as "the Savior of the reputation of our country and state and most important institution." Others adopted a more secular tone, thanking the lawyer for his service in behalf of "good government," "purity in elections," "justice," and "the rights and interest of the city's people." A few saw McKane as a great civil menace, if not an agent of evil: one man wrote from the Union League Club that McKane was "about as bad as the Anarchist;" another citizen believed the prosecutors had braved physical danger in going after McKane, and that his conviction permitted "the law abiding and respectable community" to "breathe more easily."

But thoughtful men saw that punishment alone would not eradicate the conditions which produced McKane. The *Times* and the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, like many of Shepard's correspondents, believed that the election day fracas involved not only regulars and reformers, but respectable citizens and ruffians, the well dressed and the shabby, the rich and the poor. The Gaynor forces had encountered more than a small band of politicos: several of the Election Inspectors were hotel keepers and small businessmen, and McKane had filled Gravesend streets with a large number of men who supported his regime against wealthy, meddling outsiders. Many of the townspeople saw—not incorrectly—that Gaynor and his fusion allies were in part using their small community to create an issue for campaigns elsewhere. It was also true that the fusion coalition included owners of Gravesend land who hoped to make the town into a respectable residential area, and to gain access to the town's financial records; for these men the contest reflected tensions between new middle-class homeowners and the established leaders of a disreputable resort. One of the jailed Election Inspectors complained bitterly about the heavy punishment imposed upon him, "a person in a lower station in life." If the poorer Gravesenders and others like them came to see the affair not as an outrage against fair elections but as an incident in a class war ag-

gressively pressed by the well-to-do, reform would be in trouble throughout Kings County.

Shepard sensed this difficulty. Having worked for several years to organize the eight hundred election districts of Kings County for the Cleveland Democrats, he understood the voters' feelings unusually well. Hence when the Hamilton Club of Brooklyn invited him, on the day of McKane's conviction, to a nonpartisan testimonial dinner in honor of his service "for righteous government in this City of our homes," he declined. "I should be reluctant," he wrote, "even to seem to accept as the occasion of festivity the success which with others I have had in that criminal prosecution [of McKane]. For that prosecution resulted in a sudden and dreadful catastrophe to a man whose present suffering and the suffering of whose friends cannot be altogether put out of sight. Over that result good citizens, I believe, rightly rejoice; but it is a rejoicing solemn and even grim." A Pennsylvania Quaker wrote to approve this "purity of motive and feeling" in one of "our public men," but despite its wide publication Shepard's statement evoked far fewer letters of congratulation than had the conviction of McKane. It did bring a brief, unsigned note from Sheepshead Bay, McKane's home neighborhood, sending "the thanks of a heartbroken family."

A remarkable series of letters from McKane's subordinates followed. These indicate that in return for guilty pleas, sixteen Gravesend Election Inspectors secured the prosecutors' recommendation of light sentences and, in some cases, help which enabled their families obtain "a means of competence" during the jail terms. These men professed astonishment at Shepard's "gentlemanly" conduct. "During the McKane trial," one wrote, "I thought you was [sic] one of the most hard-hearted men I had ever met." Another had "thought you were one of that contemptible class, who cry *reform* with the tongue, but who at the core are rotten." Describing themselves as "the mere tools of the political trade," "Used . . . by others," forced "to act knowing my fate had

I refused," or "for fear that something would happen to me," some of them now demonstrated that they were indeed only pawns by offering to shift their loyalty to Shepard in return for an early release from jail. Describing himself as one of the four top politicians of Gravesend, one of the convicts even offered political support. "While political differences are being healed in the County of Kings," he wrote, "reunite them more strongly by helping us to obtain our liberty."

Shepard did not respond to these last requests. But he and his associates in the Brooklyn Democratic Club did understand that it was not enough to defeat McKane; they moved to replace his leadership and his organization with their own. Another long series of letters in the Shepard Papers offers a fascinating look into the methods of a political organization devoted to reform. Through his own assistants, Shepard obtained and dispensed post offices and other federal patronage in Gravesend, organized the victorious slate of candidates for the offices vacated by those convicted in the election cases, and after annexation helped Gravesenders find places in the Brooklyn city government.

In all these actions, Shepard followed the policy he described later in 1894, to seek places for men "where I had reason to think the public service would be promoted by their appointments, and where it seemed to me that they had put good politics and the public service under obligations by their course." In a report on discussions with Cleveland administration officials, one of Shepard's aides elaborated: "we did not ask for patronage as spoils, but rather as giving us power with, and among, a certain element who would view our supremacy only from that standpoint." The Brooklyn Democratic Club leaders did not hope to take over the entire Kings County Democratic organization; but they did seek to change the party's methods and policies. To back up their demands, they created a machine of their own and when necessary ran candidates who would split the Democratic vote and throw the election to the Republicans. Careful attention to Gravesend following McKane's

conviction brought dividends; as one of Brooklyn's thirty-one wards after annexation, the former town gave Shepard candidates their third and eleventh highest percentages in the elections of 1894 and 1895. By 1896 Shepard had begun to hope that his group had made its point, and that it would soon become possible to work with a unified Democratic Party. Two years later, Brooklyn became part of Greater New York. After playing a minor role in the first campaign for the Greater City, Shepard accepted the regular Democratic nomination for Mayor in 1901. By then, he had decided that more could be accomplished from within the party than from the outside.

George Washington Plunkitt, the Tammany District Leader famous for remarks on "very practical politics" recorded by William L. Riordan, observed in 1905 that reformers were "only mornin' glories—looked lovely in the mornin' and withered up in a short time, while the regular machines went on flourishin' forever, like fine old oaks." Though there was some truth in this, journalists and historians have perhaps accepted it too readily as a blanket judgment on the politics of the period. Plunkitt also observed that "bluff counts a lot in politics." As Plunkitt well knew, several New York and Brooklyn reformers were shrewd, serious politicians willing to stay the course. His approach to the Gravesend Affair is one of several evidences that Shepard was a reformer of this type.

The Best Books

DALLAS PRATT

SUPPOSE we have to choose from all the books in the world those which are, not the greatest, nor the most valuable, but, literally, the best; best for us, that is, best for humanity, best for the people of the world, past, present and future. They would be the books, along with the ideas or activities they represent, which have done the most to reduce the sufferings of humankind.

To simplify the game, let us agree to exclude the testaments of world religions, like the Bible, the Koran, the Vedas, so as to avoid having to explain away the miseries resulting from certain interpretations, or misinterpretations, of these works. Also, because space is limited, let us set aside the triumphs of medical progress, such as the discovery of anesthesia, Lister's surgical antisepsis, Fleming's penicillin. This leaves the writings of a group of men and women who, through their lives, have been the great social benefactors of our civilization. Strangely, some of them are virtually unknown to the average person, many are dismissed with a brief mention in a textbook, and the writings of not a few, rare though they may be, are not of sufficient interest to collectors to be preserved in rare book rooms.

It *is* surprising that so many of these benefactors of the human race have been almost forgotten, while the names and histories of great monsters of inhumanity like Napoleon and Stalin are drilled into every schoolchild. But this is the common fate of reformers, the keepers of the public conscience, often rewarded with ridicule, yawns and oblivion. Wilberforce, the champion of the slaves, is neglected, but a never-ending succession of biographies honors his contemporary Wellington, a "man of blood," and an iron-hearted reactionary to boot.

I decided to play the game of the "best books" in the Columbia

Libraries, and my selection, admittedly subjective and more representative than exhaustive, will be found on pages 15–22.

Reading about these very good people proved to be not at all dull; they stepped out in very lively fashion from their biographies,

Like the birds to whom St. Francis preached, the friars were enjoined to travel over the world, trusting only in God's providence.

journals and letters. Here is an extract from John Wesley's *Journal* (which the *Cambridge History of English Literature* calls "one of the great books of the world"): Wesley describes how the rabble at Pensford, which had been baiting a bull, drove the torn and exhausted animal against the table on which he was preaching. "They strove several times to throw it down by thrusting the helpless beast against it, who of himself stirred no more than a log of wood. I once or twice put aside his head with my hand that the blood might not drop upon my clothes." Nothing could be more vivid, or describe more clearly both how needed and how irresistible Wesley's blend of courage and humanity was in a brutal age.

Consider some of the less appreciated and less well-known of these individuals. The turbulent histories of Francis of Assisi, Voltaire and Gandhi are familiar to everybody, but de las Casas,

George Fox, Howard and some of the others, too, had lives which were just as vital and adventurous. Then there was Dr. Johann Wier, who started as a kind of sorcerer's apprentice, became tutor to the royal children of France, voyaged to Crete and to Africa, and ended as a hunter, not of witches, but of witch-hunters!

Also interesting is the way a chronological arrangement of humanitarians and their works illustrates the progress of western civilization (in this context "progress" can, for once, be used without apology). Our brief history of the humanitarian movement in the West over the past 800 years begins with St. Francis, even though aid to the poor and disabled in Europe did not start with him; before his time, institutions for the poor, the old and the sick were administered by monasteries and later were partly replaced by "hospitals" (*hôtels-Dieu*). However, St. Francis and his followers went everywhere and universalized what had previously been a more local approach, just as his love overflowed into all of nature. Three other religious reformers and humanitarians on our list, Vincent de Paul with his Lazarists and Sisters of Charity, George Fox with the Quakers and John Wesley with the Methodists, were also universalists, in that their "good news" and good works crossed parochial frontiers and rapidly expanded internationally.

Looking at the list chronologically, one sees that most of the earlier reformers were involved in efforts to free the human spirit, and often to save the body as well, from the crushing domination of the Church. Thus Castellio tried to temper the punishing of "heretics," Wier and Scot shielded so-called witches from ecclesiastical witch-hunters, Grotius tried to find a basis for society in "natural law" outside of Church and Scripture, and Locke, Voltaire, Fox and Wesley, each in his own way, encouraged man to look inward rather than to the established church for spiritual guidance. Only de las Casas, the reformed conquistador turned bishop, worked from within the Church and used its authority to belabor the materialistic exploiters of the Indians.

In the later eighteenth century, Howard and Beccaria, through their concern for prisoners, helped to turn the attention of reformers to secular tyranny. Pestalozzi was also working in this tradition when he introduced educational reforms to free children from the tyranny of regimented schooling and the "learn or be whipped" method. By this time an exported form of tyranny, the African slave trade, could no longer be excused as necessary for "converting the heathen," and when West Indian blacks were reproducing themselves in sufficient numbers to supply the sugar plantations, the slave trade yielded to the final onslaught of a long line of abolitionists, represented on our list by William Wilberforce. However, American slavery, since it was one of the pillars which supported the manufacture of cotton, resisted for another half century before succumbing to the military might of the Union armies, a determined President and the pen of Harriet Beecher Stowe.

The battle against "white slavery"—women and children in mines and factories, the poor in festering, cholera-plagued slums —was joined by men like Shaftesbury and Chadwick in the 1840's, carried on by them and their successors through the century, and extended to America via the Settlement House movement by Jane Addams.

In our own day, humanitarians cast in the old, heroic mold seem to have disappeared. The care of the sick, the indigent and the aged has largely passed out of private hands, governmental committees and commissions have taken over, and our list ends with Lord Beveridge, Chairman of a Parliamentary Committee. He is the author of the report which ensures that the population of Great Britain will henceforth be cared for "from cradle to grave."

It is a record of progress. And yet, when one looks at today's world, one still sees poverty, starvation, violence at home and war abroad. Have the reformers failed after all?

There comes into focus a small, brown-skinned man, dressed in

homespun, turning a spinning wheel. We have forgotten him, perhaps because he fits into none of the usual categories. Granted that he led his country out of the British Empire, yet the rest of his program seems absurd. "Replace industrialism with cottage industries;" "adopt poverty;" "follow truth and cultivate fearlessness." St. Francis would gladly have joined him, but to the rest of us it is the way back, the antithesis of progress.

Gandhi said, "The law of love is the law of life."

Could it be that the way back to the best men, the best books, is another way of going forward?

* * *

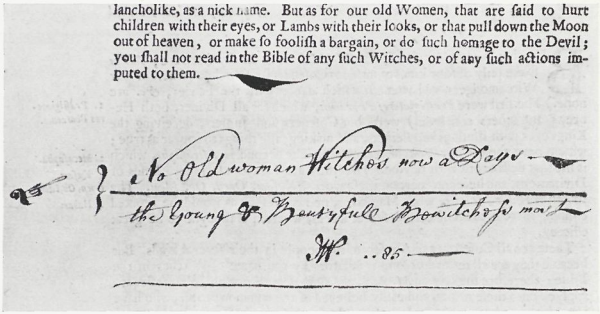
Below is the list of the "best books." It is chronological, by the birth-dates of the authors. If the Columbia selection is not the first edition, the year of that is added in parenthesis. When necessary, titles have been translated.

The Little Flowers of St. Francis of Assisi. (1182–1226). Rome, 1925 (c. 1328). The works of mercy initiated by St. Francis combined material aid with a new gentleness toward the wretched. Along with these, so touchingly described in the *Little Flowers*, went the saint's tender concern for animals and for all of nature. It is particularly this book which has kept vivid the image of Francis, in whose name the friars and their lay helpers have labored among the poor over the centuries.

Bartolomé de las Casas (1474–1566). *Tyrannies and Cruelties Committed by the Spaniards in the West Indies* (originally, *The Destruction of the Indies*). Rouen, 1630 (1552). De las Casas was a conquistador who "got religion." He won the title of "Universal Protector of the Indians" because of his relentless crusade against the Spaniards for their materialistic exploitation of the natives in Spanish America. His ideas on imperialism and the self-determination of nations were centuries ahead of his time.

Sebastian Castellio (1515–1563). *Concerning Heretics: Whether They Should Be Persecuted.* Basel, 1554 (facsimile edition). Cas-

tellio, French theologian and humanist, urged men not to torture and kill "heretics" merely because of differences of opinion. He exerted a quiet but profound effect on Dutch Protestants in the seventeenth century, on the Mennonites and on Roger Williams,


lancholike, as a nick name. But as for our old Women, that are said to hurt children with their eyes, or Lambs with their looks, or that pull down the Moon out of heaven, or make so foolish a bargain, or do such homage to the Devil; you shall not read in the Bible of any such Witches, or of any such actions imputed to them.

No old woman Witches now a Days—
the Young & Beautyfull Bewitch oss most
W. .. 85

On page 62 of Scot's *The Discovery of Witchcraft* an eighteenth century owner has written: "No old woman witches now a Days—the Young & Beautyfull Bewitch oss most."

through whose influence his ideas on liberty of conscience were planted in the New World.

Johann Wier (1515–1588). *Concerning the Illusions of Devils.* Basel, 1564 (1563). This physician to the humane Duke of Cleves was one of the first to suggest that most so-called witches were mentally ill people who needed to be treated, not tormented. Casting scorn on the more outrageous witch-hunters, his book impressed the thoughtful and probably saved many from the stake.

Reginald Scot (1538?–1599). *The Discovery of Witchcraft.* London, 1665 (1584). Scot interrupted his writings on agriculture and his parliamentary duties to produce a courageous and monumental polemic against the witch-hunting obsession. He complemented Wier's scientific approach by an appeal to magistrates and clergy. For the benefit of English anti-Catholics, he shrewdly connected witch-hunting with "Popish superstition."

Saint Vincent de Paul (1576–1660). *The Conferences of St. Vincent de Paul to the Sisters of Charity*. Westminster, Maryland, 1952 (1803). Vincent ranks with St. Francis as the greatest of the humanitarian saints. Starting with prisoners condemned to the galleys, his mission expanded to include the poor, the sick, the insane, foundlings and victims of war. He recruited secular priests to work in the country and women of all classes to minister to the urban poor.

Hugo Grotius (1583–1645). *On the Law of War and Peace*. Amsterdam, 1663 (1625). A Dutch jurist who spent his life trying to promote peace, Grotius was the spiritual father of the United Nations, of the World Court, and of the Geneva Convention since he condemned the killing of prisoners and civilians and the use of poisons or poisoned missiles in war. His book maintained that the law of nations should extend to all without regard to race, religion or the fortunes of war.

George Fox (1624–1691). *Journal*. London, 1765 (1694). As founder of the Society of Friends, Fox gave substance to ideas which were pacific, tolerant, humane and deeply spiritual. Aside from the model colony founded by William Penn, the Quakers have been pioneers in penal and psychiatric reform, in education, in social welfare, in war relief and rehabilitation and in peace activities of every description.

John Locke (1632–1704). *A Letter Concerning Toleration*. Boston, 1743 (1689). Locke was the source of the theory of the natural rights of man which, via the French Enlightenment, was transmitted to Jefferson and the founders of the American Republic. In the *Letter*, he struck a mighty blow for religious toleration by declaring that choice of religion should be a matter for the individual conscience and should not be dictated by the State.

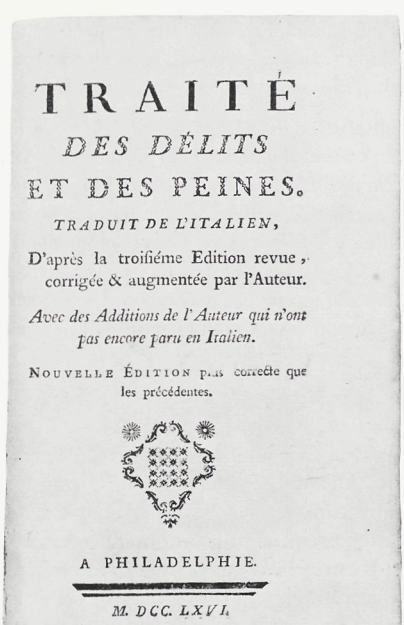
Voltaire (1694–1778). *Treatise on Tolerance*. Paris (?), 1764. Among the humanitarian-minded *philosophes* of the Enlightenment, Voltaire was conspicuously the activist. He wrote the

Treatise at the height of his campaign to prove the innocence of Calas, who, falsely accused of murder by religious bigots, had been tortured, then executed by the hideous method of breaking on the wheel. Voltaire's work aroused all Europe to these horrors —"*Ecrasez l'infâme!*"—and is an eloquent memorial to the courage and humanity of the author.

John Wesley (1703–1791). *Journal*. London, 1909–1916 (1739–1774). Wesley used to travel 5000 miles a year, on foot or on horseback, and preach up to fifteen sermons a week; his *Journal* has been called "the most amazing record of human exertion ever penned by man." It illustrates his saintly life, his personal contact with hundreds of thousands of people through his preaching, and his all-encompassing humanity. While his mission was primarily to the new urban masses created by the Industrial Revolution, he was also deeply concerned about prisoners, African slaves and cruelly treated animals. Methodism influenced many nineteenth-century reformers.

John Howard (1726–1790). *The State of the Prisons in England and Wales*. Warrington, 1777. Howard's visits to innumerable prisons in the British Isles and on the Continent exposed the inhuman conditions there. Among the many reforms which his writings achieved in Britain were salaries for gaolers (instead of fees extorted from prisoners), a movement toward reformation and away from mere punishment of offenders, and a more effective control of gaol fever.

Cesare Beccaria (1738–1794). *On Crimes and Punishments*. Philadelphie [i.e., Paris], 1766 (1764). Beccaria, an aristocratic young Milanese lawyer who was much influenced by the French *encyclopédistes*, worked in collaboration with his radical friend and mentor, Pietro Verri, to produce this treatise which included an eloquent denunciation of the judicial use of torture. It created an immense sensation in Europe, and was directly responsible for penal reforms and for the reduction or elimination of torture in Prussia, Russia, Austria, Tuscany and elsewhere.



TRAITÉ
DES DÉLITS
ET DES PEINES.
TRADUIT DE L'ITALIEN,
D'après la troisiéme Edition revue, corrigée & augmentée par l'Auteur.
Avec des Additions de l'Auteur qui n'ont pas encore paru en Italien.
NOUVELLE ÉDITION plus correcte que les précédentes.
A PHILADELPHIE.
M. DCC. LXVI.

Edited by André Morellet, the first French edition of Beccaria's *On Crimes and Punishments* was printed in Paris ("Philadelphie") the year after the Italian publication.

Johann Pestalozzi (1746–1827). *How Gertrude Teaches Her Children.* Stuttgart, 1820 (1801). (Collected Works, Vol. 5). Up to the time of the Swiss teacher, Pestalozzi, rote memorizing under threat of punishment was the standard system of education. By showing in this and other books that a child's mind could be developed through an imaginative use of observation and experience, and by demonstrating this method in the schools he founded,

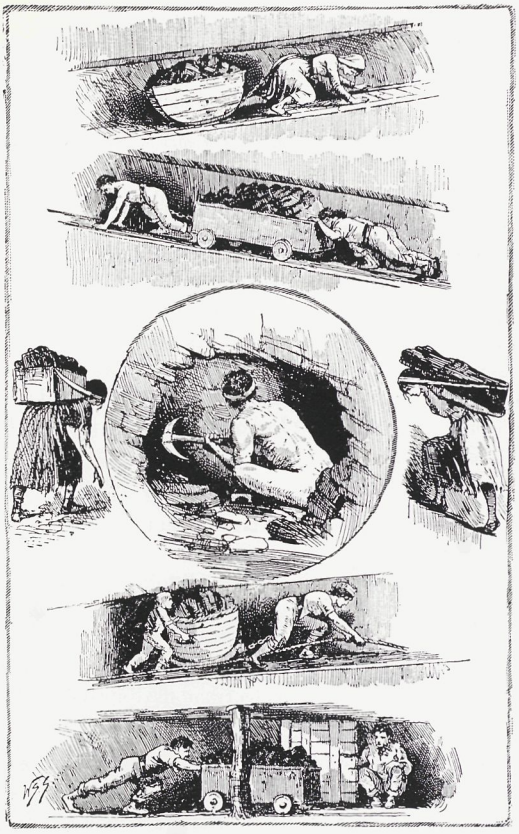
he started a humanitarian reform in elementary education which greatly affected the German system. It also influenced educationists like Froebel, Horace Mann and John Dewey.

William Wilberforce (1759–1833). *A Speech of William Wilberforce, Esq. . . . on the Abolition of the Slave Trade.* London, 1789. Great names in the long struggle to abolish slavery and the African slave trade were those of the French philosopher Montesquieu, the Quakers Anthony Benezet and John Woolman, and the English abolitionists Thomas Clarkson and Granville Sharp. But Wilberforce was the most influential advocate in the British Parliament, and led the crusade which culminated in the 1807 Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

Edwin Chadwick (1800–1890). *An Inquiry into the Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring Population of Great Britain.* London, 1965 (1842). Chadwick was Secretary of the Poor Law Commission, and wrote the 457-page report summarizing surveys of the Commission which had exposed the appalling state of the urban slums, where the poor lacked decent housing, sanitation and any form of health care. Chadwick's program for water systems and sewage disposal made him the first pioneer of public hygiene. The initiation of the Civil Service was another of his many reforms.

The Earl of Shaftesbury (1801–1885). *Speech of Lord Ashley* in the House of Commons . . . to Bring in a Bill . . . Respecting the Age and Sex of Young Persons Employed in the Mines of the United Kingdom.* London, 1842. No one in the history of Great Britain initiated more reform legislation on behalf of the exploited poor than this intensely religious aristocrat. The destitute insane, women and children in the mines, tiny sweeps sent naked up chimneys, homeless waifs in the London streets, children working fourteen hours a day in factories, even animals under vivisection: Shaftesbury championed them all.

* Shaftesbury was known by the courtesy title, "Lord Ashley," until he succeeded his father in 1851.



HORRORS OF THE COAL MINES

The pictures illustrate the abuses which Lord Shaftesbury's legislation was designed to correct.

Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811–1896). *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* Boston, 1852. By writing a book about the tragic life of slaves which was read by millions, Mrs. Stowe made the single most influential contribution to the abolition of slavery in America.

Jane Addams (1860–1935). *Twenty Years at Hull-House.* New York, 1910. Inspired by a visit to the world's first settlement house, Canon Barnett's Toynbee Hall in East London, Jane Addams and a friend established Hull-House in Chicago. The year was 1889. It was a place where working people, particularly those recently arrived from abroad, could come, with their children, and be exposed to cultural and educational aspects of America as personified by Miss Addams and her associates who, as residents in the House, were also their neighbors. Counseling and pioneer social work were undertaken, and social legislation was lobbied for. The social welfare movement in America was greatly stimulated by the example of Hull-House.

Mohandas Gandhi (1869–1948). *Indian Home Rule.* Madras, 1919 (1909). The idea of passive resistance as a method of securing individual rights was partly suggested to the Indian leader by Thoreau's essay "Civil Disobedience." Gandhi called it *Satyagraha*, "soul force," and prophetically described in *Indian Home Rule* how it might be used to achieve non-violent liberation for India. As an instrument for reform which avoids the bloodbath of violent revolt, it has also proved its worth in the campaign for Negro rights under Martin Luther King, Jr.

William H. Beveridge (1879–1963). *The Beveridge Report.* London, 1942. Starting as Sub-Warden of the same Toynbee Hall which inspired Jane Addams, Lord Beveridge took a leading role in social welfare reforms. His career culminated in his chairing the Parliamentary Committee whose recommendations became the foundation of modern social welfare legislation in Britain and a model for other countries.

Mahatma Gandhi.

Magazines for Young America:

The First Hundred Years of Juvenile Periodicals

JUSTIN G. SCHILLER

"A DISTINCTIVE feature of American journalism, and one which has been carried further in this country than in any other, is the periodical adapted to juvenile reading." So read the monograph by S.N.D. North on the periodical press in the United States which formed a part of the 1880 census report. And yet these juvenile magazines are often disregarded and ignored by serious collectors of children's literature. How many of them realize the huge quantity of childhood favorites originally serialized or printed for the first time in these journals? The familiar nursery rhyme "Mary's Lamb," written by Sarah J. Hale, made its debut in 1830 in *Juvenile Miscellany*, while stories by Louisa May Alcott, Gelett Burgess, Frances Hodgson Burnett, Palmer Cox, E. E. Hale, Oliver Optic, Howard Pyle, Frank R. Stockton and Mark Twain gladdened countless children in magazines, months before they were issued in book form.

Following the colonial Revolution of 1776, the literary interchange between Britain and the United States seemed to increase, with more people wanting education in the various branches of useful and polite knowledge. Publishers prepared "Americanized" versions of well-known European texts besides printing several of the more standard English courtesy manuals, but there was still a need to disseminate popular culture inexpensively and this led to the mass progress and development of American magazines.

Almost concurrent with this new wave of publishing mania, there occurred an interest in producing books for the amusement of children—far removed from the didactic preachings of James Janeway, and less obviously instructive than school texts and primers. John Mein, Hugh Gaine and Isaiah Thomas all reprinted or

adapted popular juvenile stories issued previously in London by John Newbery; but these illustrated histories of Little Goody Two-Shoes, King Pippin and Giles Gingerbread were expensive, and relatively few households could afford to buy them.

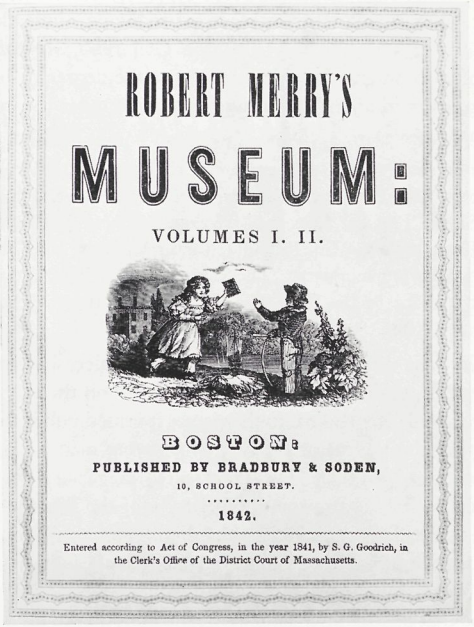
It was at the beginning of 1789 in Hartford, Connecticut, that the first American attempt was made at producing a juvenile periodical, and it was suitably titled the *Children's Magazine*. A listing of the contents for one issue shows the degree of balance between instruction and morality introduced under the guise of amusement:

An easy Introduction to Geography. The Schoolboy addressed to the Editors. Moral Tales continued: The Jealous Wife. The Affectionate Sisters. Familiar Letters on Various Subjects: Letter V from Phyllis Flowerdale to Miss Truelove; Letter VI from Miss Truelove to Phyllis Flowerdale. Poetry: The Sweets of May. The Cottage Retirement. Advice to the Fair. The Contented Cottager. The Tear. The Honest Heart.

Not unlike the various missionary and tract society journals, the *Children's Magazine* concentrated too heavily on the sins of human error, and after three monthly issues it ceased publication.

Whatever be the reason, few attempts were made during the next decades to produce juvenile-oriented magazines. Religious publishers continued to promote the study of the Bible in public schools, while many tract society chapbooks appeared in the place of inexpensive periodical reading for children. In fact, there was such an increase in the production of juvenile books between 1790 and 1800 that d'Alte A. Welch, in the introduction to his *Bibliography of American Children's Books Printed Prior to 1821* (Worcester, 1972), claims "they were so numerous that it is possible to mention [in passing] only those that went through seven or more editions." Occasionally, editorials would occur in family magazines proposing various systems or curricula for educating the young, but rarely did any periodical contributions aim directly at youth.

In January 1802 the *Juvenile Olio* was announced as a new monthly, edited by "a citizen of Philadelphia," but only the printed proposal issued by David Hogan has survived. At about the same time *The Juvenile Magazine, or Miscellaneous Reposi-*


ROBERT MERRY'S

MUSEUM:

VOLUMES I. II.

BOSTON:

PUBLISHED BY BRADBURY & SODEN,

10, SCHOOL STREET.

1842.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1841, by S. G. Goodrich, in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of Massachusetts.

Title-page of the first volume of *Robert Merry's Museum.*

tory of Useful Information was produced in Philadelphia by Benjamin Johnson (1802–1803), and soon thereafter *The Fly; or Juvenile Miscellany* was printed under the editorship of "Simon Scribble, Esq." (Boston: Josiah Ball, 1805). These few papers must be considered the "incunabula" of juvenile magazines, al-

though in relative rarity they are less numerous than their fifteenth century counterparts.

It was not until 1823, under the auspices of the American Sunday School Union, that the first successful periodical for children was published: *The Teacher's Offering*, later called the *Youth's Friend and Scholar's Magazine*. It was a magazine of sixteen 24mo pages, selling for twenty-five cents per yearly subscription, and by 1827 it had reached a circulation of ten thousand copies. Brief religious essays and anecdotes on similar matters formed its contents, and occasional woodcut illustrations augmented the text. Remaining in print for forty-one consecutive years, the *Youth's Friend* led the way for other juvenile magazines by its understanding "the habits and disposition of children"—as commented by a reviewer in February 1827 for the *American Journal of Education*.

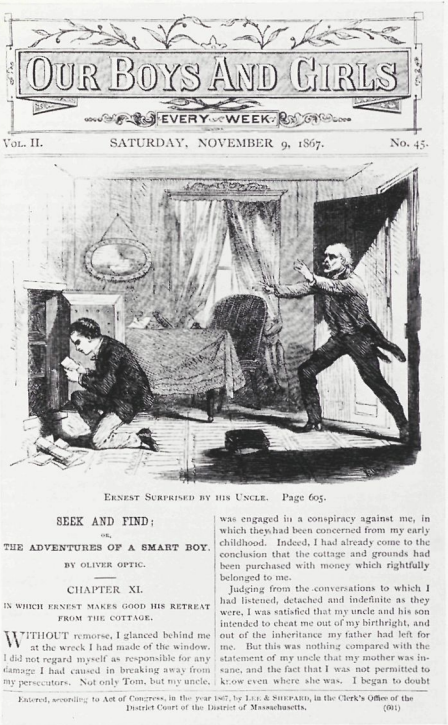
One of the most important of the American juvenile periodicals was *The Youth's Companion*, begun in Boston with a specimen issue dated April 16, 1827, and running consecutively until September 1929. Its first editor was Nathaniel Willis, father of the American poet, and founder of a Congregational paper called *The Recorder*. Willis originated a children's department in this paper, where he included original contributions as well as reprints from other publishers, but soon the section expanded beyond capacity and the *Companion* was born. In the prospectus, this was heralded as a new kind of publication for American youth. While unassociated with Sunday schools and tract societies, the *Youth's Companion* would contain many articles of a religious character—all instructive and entertaining, warning "against the ways of transgression, error and ruin, and allure to those of virtue and piety."

The paper began as a four-page quarto, to be issued weekly at $1.50 a year; but the price was reduced to one dollar before the second number was published. During the summer of 1829 it printed a three-part serial, the first of a feature contributing much to the success of the *Companion*. By 1831 occasional woodcuts were inserted in the text, chiefly borrowed from the book pub-

lisher James Loring, and portraying the races of man, natural history subjects, children praying or dying, and so on. These woodcuts were often crude and poorly printed, and at times even placed on their side to fit within the column make-up of the page. By the late 1860's the magazine also included contributions by some of the best of our American juvenile writers, among them Harriet Beecher Stowe, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps and Hezekiah Butterworth. This growing use of illustrations and original fiction made the *Youth's Companion* a serious rival to its competitors.

But perhaps more than its contents, a major factor responsible for the popularity of the *Youth's Companion* was its use of the "premium list." Just after the Civil War, many periodical publishers discovered the efficiency of premiums given away with annual subscriptions, but, of them all, the *Companion* used premiums for the longest time. For more than half a century, the annual "Premium List Number" issued in late October delighted hundreds of thousands of children with its pictures of tool chests, magic lanterns, electric equipment and small printing presses, dolls, the Elsie and the Henty books and much more—all available free for a stated number of new subscriptions. The "Magic Scroll Saw" alone is said to have added 40,000 subscribers, and by 1898 the magazine had passed the half-million mark in paid circulation.

Among the most notable as well as prolific writers for American children was Samuel G. Goodrich, chiefly familiar under his pseudonym "Peter Parley." In March 1833, Goodrich, who had already published many instructional works, launched the publication of *Parley's Magazine*. This proved to be a miscellany of geography and travel, Bible stories, little didactic tales, dialogues and poems with a remarkable quantity of articles dealing with natural history—all copiously illustrated. Woodcuts of wild animals, travel scenes and pictorial decorations abounded, so that by January 1842 the magazine claimed to have reproduced twelve thousand illustrations in its first nine volumes. In 1844 *Parley's Magazine* merged with *Robert Merry's Museum* (begun inde-



OUR BOYS AND GIRLS

EVERY WEEK.

VOL. II. SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1867. No. 45.

ERNEST SURPRISED BY HIS UNCLE. Page 605.

SEEK AND FIND;

OR,

THE ADVENTURES OF A SMART BOY.

BY OLIVER OPTIC.

CHAPTER XI.

IN WHICH ERNEST MAKES GOOD HIS RETREAT FROM THE COTTAGE.

WITHOUT remorse, I glanced behind me at the wreck I had made of the window. I did not regard myself as responsible for any damage I had caused in breaking away from my persecutors. Not only Tom, but my uncle, was engaged in a conspiracy against me, in which they had been concerned from my early childhood. Indeed, I had already come to the conclusion that the cottage and grounds had been purchased with money which rightfully belonged to me.

Judging from the conversations to which I had listened, detached and indefinite as they were, I was satisfied that my uncle and his son intended to cheat me out of my birthright, and out of the inheritance my father had left for me. But this was nothing compared with the statement of my uncle that my mother was insane, and the fact that I was not permitted to know even where she was. I began to doubt

Entered, according to Act of Congress, in the year 1867, by LEE & SHEPARD, in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the District of Massachusetts. (601)

The first page of an installment of Oliver Optic's *Seek and Find* in *Our Boys and Girls*.

pendently in 1841), which Goodrich edited until 1854, and these pages continued to be filled with stories about geography and historical anecdotes. The narrative was cleverly disguised by the framework of Robert Merry taking a group of children on a balloon tour of Europe. One of the young travelers would identify the particular country over which they flew, while others would

engage in dialogue piled high with statistics and accurate information relating to that country's characteristics, customs and so on. This would continue serially until another child identified the next country en route, and thus the subject if not the nature of the conversation would change.

Another important juvenile magazine was the *Student and Schoolmate* of Boston, formed in 1855 by a union of the *Student* (founded in 1846) and the *Schoolmate* (founded in 1852)—two New York papers. At first it was edited by N. A. Calkins, former editor of the *Student*, and then by William T. Adams, best known to children as "Oliver Optic." While including representative illustrations, this new magazine achieved greatest recognition by introducing the Reverend Horatio Alger, Jr. to juvenile readers—including the serialized appearance of *Ragged Dick* in 1867. The following year this story came out in book form with new illustrations, but its original printing as monthly installments so aroused public conscience and sympathy on behalf of the child boot-blacks of New York that it was directly responsible for the abolition of the vicious "padrone system," under which Italian children were brought into the country for use as child labor.

Following the Civil War, a large part of the aggregated circulation of the magazines for children was accounted for by the *Youth's Companion*. Its subscription list increased greatly under the stimulus of the premium system, while it continued to retain the literary talent of people such as Charles A. Stephens—who, by his own estimate, had written for the *Companion* more than three thousand short stories or sketches and over one hundred serials. Nevertheless, rival periodicals still tried their chances at success.

One of the most innovative of these new magazines was *Demorest's Young America*, self-declared as a "Museum of Philosophy, Art, Science and Literature." It was published in New York under the editorship of W. Jennings Demorest, and introduced in its first year (1866) a series of color-plate transformation pages with movable and changeable heads, color-plate fold-outs, elaborate hidden

picture designs and rebus puzzles, besides several colored lithographs printed by the American branch of J. M. Kronheim & Co. Its contributors included "Aunt Fanny" Barrow, "Sophie May" (Rebecca S. Clarke), Josephine Pollard, Alice and Phoebe Carey,

A picture puzzle from *Demorest's Young America*, vol. 1, 1867. (Henne gift)

with chapters on how slate pencils are made, the history of daguerreotypes, Aesop's fables, original music compositions and an abridgement of Robinson Crusoe told "in words of one syllable." *Young America* was promoted chiefly by the premium system, which gave away imported microscopes, two-blade pocket knives, double-toned harmonicas, boxes of watercolor paints with brushes,

and field compasses—any one of these for a single subscription to its pages. And by compounding a list of new subscribers at $1.50 for one year, a child could earn a portable mahogany writing desk, Webster's large unabridged Dictionary, a warranted patent lever silver watch, or (for fifty subscribers) a Wheeler & Wilson sewing machine valued at fifty-five dollars. But despite this generous flow of gifts, Demorest never gained a devoted following and after numerous attempts at revitalizing (including a change in format from square duodecimo to octavo size) it ended after ten years.

Its life span almost parallels that of *Oliver Optic's Magazine*, published by Lee & Shepard in Boston. The main attraction was the exciting serials by its editor, William T. Adams, but after three years as a weekly it shifted to monthly issues during 1870 and eventually was forced to publish its final number in December 1875. There were too many magazines similar to his own competing for the same audience, and while Adams secured a good readership the main emphasis of *Oliver Optic* never shifted beyond the realm of high adventure. He could neither expand nor develop his limited market.

The *Riverside Magazine* is described by Frank Luther Mott as "a brilliant but unsuccessful illustrated monthly" that eventually merged to become part of the Scribner chain after four years. During the period between 1867 and 1870, under the editorship of Horace E. Scudder, the magazine maintained one of the highest standards of quality ever enjoyed by a juvenile periodical. Through a series of famous negotiations, Scudder obtained eleven original stories from Hans Christian Andersen written expressly for the *Riverside*, as well as six of his tales now first translated into English. There were additional contributions by Jacob Abbott, Frank Stockton, Sarah O. Jewett and Mary Mapes Dodge, while first-class illustrations were commissioned from Thomas Nast, Winslow Homer, Henry L. Stephens, John La Farge and F. O. C. Darley.

But besides providing a prestigious group of authors and artists, Scudder took his editorship quite seriously, and in the very first issue of the *Riverside Magazine*, launched a campaign to develop critical awareness toward juvenile literature:

> What shall we give our children to read? is the constant cry of anxious parents, as they stand in despair before the counters in the bookstores, turning over the demure and gaudy books which profess to be the latest and best. But what is it to a child whether a book was first published in hot haste this Christmas or has lain on the counter for a year. . . . We may as well discard at once all such unnecessary considerations as when a book was published, or where it was published, and come right to the gist of the matter, and ask if it is *good*,—good in itself and adapted to the reader for whom we are buying it.

Each of his editorials lashed out at the fashions of the day, when they seemed beyond the point of good sense, especially if they potentially endangered the reading habits of youth. Scudder was without compromise, and if he felt a new book should be damned he did not hestitate to say so, regardless of his professional alliance to various publishing houses. It is thus evident that when the *Riverside* merged to become *Scribner's Monthly*, the objectives set by Horace Scudder were not entirely lost; they surfaced constantly during the next half-century, influencing the direction of the juvenile press as well as the goals of his contemporary colleagues.

Another of the journals deeply concerned with the good reading habits of children was *Our Young Folks*. Begun in January 1865, it was a bright, amusing, literary magazine with an excellent list of contributors: Harriet Beecher Stowe, Whittier, Longfellow, Lowell and Louisa Alcott each submitted short pieces frequently, while Mayne Reid, Oliver Optic and Horatio Alger provided serial adventures—the most popular of them being the tales of young Jack Hazard narrated by John Trowbridge, one of the magazine's editors. Also in these pages "The Story of a Bad Boy" by T. B. Aldrich made its first appearance, as did the famous

"Bird-Catchers" drawing by Winslow Homer. The illustrations were virtually always of a high grade, consisting of a well executed frontispiece and several smaller woodcuts with each issue—and occasionally there would be a colored lithograph for the Christmas

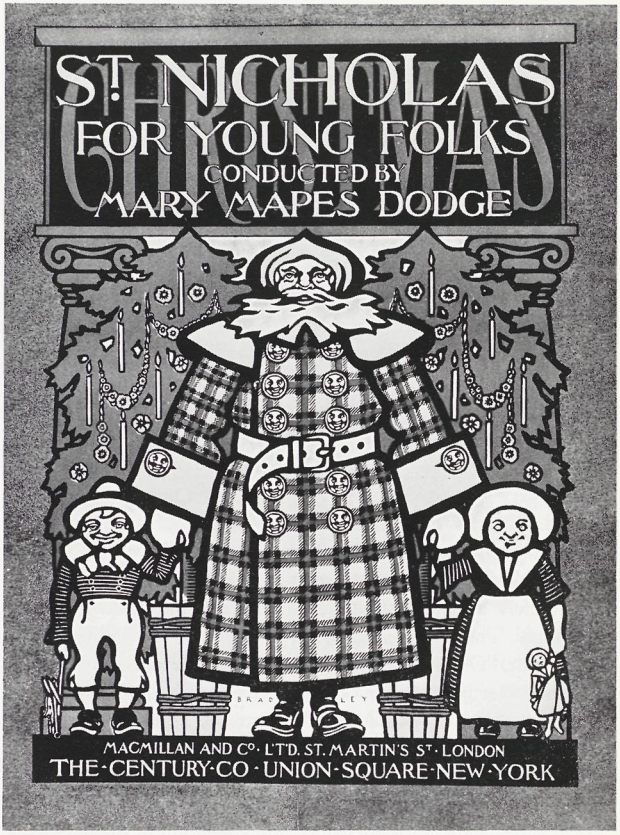
"The Bird-Catchers" by Winslow Homer in its first publication as the frontispiece to the August, 1867 issue of *Our Young Folks*.

season. There was even a department for young readers to submit their own literary or artistic contributions for consideration, a "letter box" which published comments from readers as well as listing which contributions had been accepted for forthcoming publication, and a "Roll of Honor" for recording other notable stories, poems, etc., submitted to the magazine. Another regular feature of puzzles, rebuses and charades appeared under the heading "The Evening Lamp," and occasionally reviews of new books for children would be given—not critical reviews, but rather announcements of good literature prepared by various contributing writers of the magazine. *Our Young Folks* did much to "humanize" juvenile periodicals, without the thrust of sophistication that ultimately suffocated the *Riverside Magazine*, and its collapse

came quite unexpectedly—at the end of its ninth year, when the publishers were persuaded to turn over their circulation list as well as subscription commitments to *St. Nicholas Magazine*.

This new magazine, named after the patron saint of New York and special friend of all boys and girls, became the most significant and influential children's periodical ever to be printed in any language. *St. Nicholas* began publication in November 1873 and was issued continuously through February 1940—structured after the principles of its original editor Mary Mapes Dodge. Miss Dodge was well known to young readers as the author of the juvenile classic *Hans Brinker; or, the Silver Skates* (1866) and had gained journalism experience while working on *Hearth and Home*. By the time she began her new endeavor, a commitment which lasted until her death in 1905, she had developed a strong awareness of what a children's magazine should—and should not—contain. Above all, there must be something to appeal to children of all ages without unbalancing the sense of unity. The literary content must be of a high standard, while the illustrations should be numerous and of very good quality. And when the first number finally appeared, following nearly half a year of planning, her requirements had all been met successfully without compromise.

Beginning as a large square octavo of 48 pages, *St. Nicholas* was handsomely printed by the De Vinne Press and quite copiously illustrated. The first issue included contributions by William Cullen Bryant, "Olive Thorne" Miller, Noah Brooks, Lucy Larcom, Rebecca Harding Davis, Lucretia P. Hale, Celia Thaxter and Donald G. Mitchell ("Ik Marvel"). Frank R. Stockton, the magazine's associate editor, began the first serial, and there were pages with extra-large size text "for little folks" learning to read. Also included was a short story printed in German for children learning that language, with the translation appearing in the next issue —but meanwhile other children were encouraged to try guessing the plot merely from careful observation of the accompanying illustration. Critical reviews of new children's books were given,



Poster by Will Bradley for the 1899 Christmas issue of *St. Nicholas*. (Engel Collection)

divided into paragraphs for each publisher, and "the riddle box" contained anagrams, enigmas, a musical puzzle, paraphrased proverbs and a geographical rebus. Miss Dodge conducted the "Jack-in-the-Pulpit" column for younger readers.

The magazine achieved almost immediate approval, and circulation quickly rose to 70,000 copies. Among the most popular features were the monthly stories narrated in a foreign language (either German or French) and then published in English the following month; children were asked to send in their own translation, and those submitting the best versions would have their names printed along with the English text. This feature later became the "St. Nicholas League," a permanent section devoted entirely to original contributions by readers who would then receive prizes based on the merit of their composition. Among the many juvenile contributors were "E. Vincent Millay," "Conrad William Faulkner" and "Ringold W. Lardner," all of whom had their first publications in print in the pages of *St. Nicholas*. And, doubtless, there were thousands of other youngsters who were encouraged to reach their literary and artistic potential due to the efforts of Miss Dodge and her crew.

During the years of her editorship, Mary Mapes Dodge managed to maintain a remarkable standard of literary excellence; she published some of the best tales written for American children. Louisa May Alcott's *Eight Cousins*; Noah Brooks's *Boy Emigrants*; Francis Hodgson Burnett's *Little Lord Fauntleroy*, complete with the famous illustrations of Reginald Birch; *The Floating Prince* by Frank Stockton; *Two Little Confederates* by Thomas Nelson Page; *Captain January* by Laura E. Richards; *Tom Sawyer Abroad* by "Mark Twain;" Theodore Roosevelt's *Hero Tales from America*; Howard Pyle's *Jack Ballister's Fortunes*; Kate Douglas Wiggin's *Polly Oliver's Problems*; Rudyard Kipling's *Jungle Book*; Edward Eggleston's *Hoosier School Boy*; Palmer Cox's "Brownies" and Gelett Burgess's "Goops": all these first appeared in *St. Nicholas Magazine* before the end of the nineteenth century.

The gradual awareness and development of our children's literature can be readily observed through the progress of American juvenile magazines. As a literary form, the periodical became an essential product of our growing culture—distributing knowledge

Illustration by Palmer Cox, "A Short Stop," from the October 4, 1881 issue of *Harper's Young People*.

and moral doctrine to countless numbers of readers for a relatively small investment. The first children's journal seems to have been *The Lilliputian Magazine*, published in London by John Newbery about 1751. Although America did not produce the first such journal, it was nevertheless here that the genre was perfected. Our best specimen, and indeed the best of any children's paper yet produced, is *St. Nicholas Magazine*, which secured its audience not through trickery, premium lists or colored supplement sheets, but rather by supplying a unified literary and artistic magazine for readers from youth to adolescence. By focusing its energies on all forms of juvenile entertainment, covering the ages from five to

seventeen years, *St. Nicholas* protected itself from losing its readership–by "growing up" with them for a period of some twelve years. None of its contents had a condescending tone, and even the mature articles were arranged with enough illustrations so as not to frighten the younger readers. Its original plan, to supplement the curriculum of the schools, had provided a success similar to that of the *Youth's Companion*. For its final fifty years it directed its columns to pleasing the entire family through informative articles and by interviews with Gladstone, Thomas Hardy, Rudyard Kipling, Henry Ward Beecher, William Dean Howells and Jules Verne. Both magazines responded to the needs of society, and in so doing helped mold many young and influential minds.

Our Growing Collections

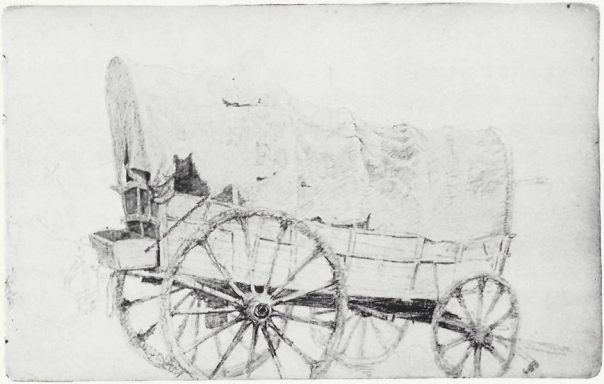
KENNETH A. LOHF

Archons gift. The Archons of Colophon, an organization which the late Charles W. Mixer served as Secretary-Treasurer for many years, has presented funds in his memory for the acquisition of three scripts of plays by Tennessee Williams: the mimeographed script of the first production of *Summer and Smoke*, produced by Margo Jones in Dallas in 1968, autographed by Williams; the mimeographed prompt copy of the first New York production of *Summer and Smoke*, autographed by Williams and Margaret Phillips, who played the leading role of Alma Winemiller; and Claire Luce's copy of the mimeographed script of *Sweet Bird of Youth*, July 1961, signed by the actress on the title-page.

Beckerman gift. Dr. and Mrs. Bernard Beckerman have presented a second group of 143 volumes from the library of Mrs. Beckerman's father, the late Dr. Charles J. Brim (M.D., 1912), in whose memory their gift has been made. Included are first editions of works by D. H. Lawrence, William McFee, Joseph M. March, Christopher Morley, Thornton Wilder and Heywood Broun, to mention only a few of the novelists and writers represented.

Berol gift. Mr. and Mrs. Alfred C. Berol have made another most significant addition to the Arthur Rackham Collection, which they established in 1951 and have continued to develop into a major resource of the Libraries. Their remarkable gift includes nine limited first editions illustrated by Rackham, numbered and signed by the artist, and each containing an original full-page watercolor or pen drawing by Rackham, as follows: Hans Christian Andersen, *Fairy Tales*, London, 1932; J. M. Barrie, *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens*, London, 1906; Charles Dickens, *The Chimes*, New York, 1931; The Brothers Grimm, *Little Brother and Little Sister*, London, 1917; Henrik Ibsen, *Peer Gynt*, London, 1936; Wash-

ington Irving, *The Legend of Sleepy Hollow*, London, 1928; Edgar Allan Poe, *Tales of Mystery and Imagination*, London [1935]; *The Arthur Rackham Fairy Book*, London [1933]; and William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, London, 1908.



Drawing of a Prairie Schooner from the sketchbook of William Mason Grosvenor, ca. 1870. (Behrend gift)

Behrend gift. Mrs. Morris Behrend has donated the papers of her late grandfather, William Mason Grosvenor, who was economic editor of the *New York Tribune* from 1875 until his death in 1900. The papers contain manuscripts and clippings of his publications on economics, and document his activities in liberal Republican politics in Cincinnati, Ohio, where he lived and worked for most of his life. Among the correspondents are Carl Schurz, Nelson W. Aldrich, James A. Garfield, Murat Halstead, Joseph R. Hawley, Horace White, and Whitelaw Reid. Also included is Grosvenor's sketchbook, ca. 1870, in which he recorded the places he visited on a trip to the West.

Clifford gift. Professor James L. Clifford continues to enrich our eighteenth century literature collection. His recent gift of nine-

teen editions included works by Hester Lynch Piozzi, Alexander Pope, John Arbuthnot, George Colman the younger, John Dryden, Matthew Prior and Nicholas Rowe. Of special importance is the copy of Edmund Burke's *A Philosophical Enquiry Into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, London, 1759, the second edition, but the first to contain the author's "Discourse Concerning Taste," which is printed as an introduction to the volume. Another important item in Professor Clifford's gift is the long letter written by Elizabeth Montagu, one of the leaders of the bluestockings, to her husband, Edward Montagu, ca. September 1765. Written from Bath, the letter concerns events on the Continent, life in the English spa, and the activities of friends and of Mrs. Montagu's sister, Mrs. Sarah Scott.

Coggeshall gift. Mrs. Susanna W. Coggeshall has added several groups of manuscripts to the collection of the papers of her mother, the late Frances Perkins, including: the notes, drafts and manuscripts of seventy-five articles, dated 1895 to 1961; notebooks kept by Miss Perkins from 1901 to 1911, containing lecture notes, primarily at Columbia University, but also including Mt. Holyoke College, University of Pennsylvania and Adelphi University; and more than two thousand pages of notes in Miss Perkins's hand on numerous subjects, among which are fire prevention, immigrant education, the status of women, socialism and the reorganization of the U.S. Department of Labor. The earliest item in the gift is a four-page high school essay written by Miss Perkins at age thirteen, entitled "Robin Hood and Sherwood Forest," and dated January 21, 1895.

Darling gift. Dr. Richard L. Darling has added to our collection of eighteenth century literature an item of great rarity: Alexander Pope, *Essais sur la Critique et sur l'Homme . . . Ouvrages traduits de l'Anglois en François*, published in London in 1737 by G. Smith. The only other known copy is in the Bibliothèque Nationale in

Paris. The British Museum has only the 1741 edition, and the standard Pope bibliography located no copy in America.

DeGeorges gift. In memory of the late Charles W. Mixer, Mr. and Mrs. Frank DeGeorges have presented a fine copy of the first English edition of W. H. Auden's *The Age of Anxiety: A Baroque Eclogue*, published in London in 1948.

Durgin gift. From her personal library, Mrs. James H. Durgin has made a selection of more than fifty volumes for donation to the Libraries. Among the literary works in the gift is a 1928 printing of James Joyce's *Ulysses* which had hitherto been lacking from our collection of the early editions of this important twentieth century novel. There is also a first edition of Erasmus Darwin's *The Botanic Garden; A Poem*, London, 1791, in which the author, a physician, discourses in heroic couplets on plants and flowers according to the theories of Linnaeus.

Fuld gift. The Honorable Stanley Howells Fuld (LL.B., 1926), recently retired as Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals and of the State of New York, has established a collection of his papers. Documenting a distinguished career in the legal and judicial professions, the papers comprise the bound volumes of briefs and memoranda of law of the District Attorney's Office, intra-court reports from 1946 to 1971 relating to cases in the Court of Appeals, drafts and manuscripts of lectures and addresses, and photographs and certificates.

Henne gift. Professor Frances Henne has presented a group of twenty rarities in the field of children's literature. Of considerable importance are the following: Sir William Popple, *A Rational Catechism: or, An Instructive Conference Between a Father and a Son*, London, 1687, bound in contemporary calf; *Cynthia, With the Tragical Account of the Unfortunate Loves of Almerin and Desdemona: Being a Novel*, Northampton, William Butler, 1798, an early and scarce imprint of an English novel first published in

America in 1797; six Kate Greenaway *Almanacks* for 1885, 1886 (two copies in variant bindings), 1891, 1894 and 1895, of which three are in their original mailing envelopes; and Charles Lamb's anonymously published *The Book of the Ranks and Dignities of*

Clay cuneiform tablet, dated ca. 2,300 B.C., found at a ruin now called Jokha in central Babylonia, the ancient city of Umma. (Henne gift)

British Society, London [1805], with twenty-four colored engravings. The work was identified in 1924 as having been written by Lamb, and accompanying the copy donated by Professor Henne are two letters written that year to T. J. Wise by the bibliographers Francis Needham and Arundell Esdaile concerning the authorship of the book and the location of copies.

Professor Henne's gift also includes three cuneiform tablets: two square tablets, dated ca. 2300 B.C., one a butcher's bill for "one large kid goat" from Nippur, and the other a temple transaction from Jokha in Central Babylonia, over which the temple scribe rolled his cylindrical stone seal; and a cone, measuring four and one-half inches high, dated ca. 2060 B.C., just before the time of Abraham, and bearing a cuneiform inscription of twenty lines from Libit-Ishtar, a renowned Babylonian king. This interesting

cone was found in one of the ruin mounds of Ur of the Chaldees. It had originally been built into the temple wall with other stones to serve the purpose of the modern cornerstone, and this particular cone is of historical interest for it mentions several early cities of the Book of Genesis, the existence of which were once doubted.

Kraus gift. Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Peter Kraus have presented a most distinguished production of the Gehenna Press: *Bresdin to Redon: Six Letters 1870 to 1881*, edited by Roseline Bacon. The gift copy is one of one hundred, boxed and specially bound in full morocco, with an additional impression of the etching by Leonard Baskin, and signed by him, of his double portrait of Rodolphe Bresdin and Odilon Redon which appears as the frontispiece.

Longwell gift. Mrs. Mary Longwell has made a further significant addition to the papers of her husband, the late Daniel Longwell (A.B., 1922). Her recent gift includes: letters and manuscripts of T. S. Eliot, Edna Ferber, Ellen Glasgow, A. P. Herbert, Paul Horgan, Stanley Morison, Christopher Morley and H. M. Tomlinson. Of particular interest are Morley's autograph manuscript of an examination paper in history, dated March 5, 1913, at the time the writer was a Rhodes scholar at Oxford University; and Paul Horgan's manuscript, entitled "The Western Muse," illustrated with twelve crayon drawings of "Some of our Frontier Arts and their Artists," done by the writer as a Christmas gift for the Longwells in 1940. The printed materials in the gift comprise twelve pamphlets, most of which are limited and signed, of writings by William McFee, Morley, Frank Dobie, A. P. Herbert, Paul Engle and Grant Wood.

Montgomery-Moore gift. Mrs. Cecil Montgomery-Moore has presented a fine copy of the first edition of the earliest work by the English historian, John Oldmixon, *The British Empire in America*, published in London in 1708. The work, in two volumes, contains eight maps by Herman Moll. Mrs. Montgomery-Moore has made the gift in memory of Alice Weel Bigart.

Oppenheim gift. Messrs. Mordecai J. and Aaron C. Oppenheim have presented the collection of posters of the first World War period formed by their grandfather, the late Maurice Frankenhuis. Numbering nearly three thousand pieces, the gift, to be known as the "Frankenhuis Collection," contains fine examples of works printed and lithographed in Germany, the United States, France and the Netherlands. The bulk of the collection comprises posters and broadsides printed in German-occupied countries, including Belgium, Poland, Austria, Finland, Lithuania, Romania and Russia.

Pacella gift. Dr. Bernard L. Pacella, Clinical Professor of Psychiatry, has presented a collection of twenty-four letters and documents by members of the famous Medici family of Florence, which was renowned in Italian history for the extraordinary number of statesmen it produced and for its magnificent patronage of letters and arts. Represented in this splendid gift are manuscripts, dated 1548–1704, written by the following: Cosimo I, Grand Duke of Tuscany (1519–1574); Carlo de'Medici, Cardinal (1595–1666); Mattia de'Medici, Prince (1613–1667); Leopoldo de'Medici, Cardinal (1617–1675); Ferdinand II, Grand Duke of Tuscany (1610–1670); Cosimo III, Grand Duke of Tuscany (1642–1723); Ferdinand, Prince of Tuscany (1663–1714); and Marie de Médicis (1573–1642), the wife of Henry IV and the mother of Louis XIII, kings of France.

Pepper gift. Mr. Morton Pepper has presented the papers of his wife, the late Dr. C. Doris Hellman (Ph.D., 1933), comprising the files of correspondence, manuscripts, lecture notes and printed materials relating to her work as an historian of sixteenth and seventeenth century astronomy, as well as ancient, medieval and Renaissance science. Of special interest are the notes and manuscripts concerning Dr. Hellman's research on comets, particularly that of 1577, and astronomy and astronomers, notably Tycho Brahe. The papers also document her teaching, research and lectures at Queens College, New York University, Cornell University, the Columbia

Renaissance Seminar, international meetings and congresses and professional organizations such as the History of Science Society.

Ray gift. Dr. Gordon N. Ray (LL.D., 1969) has presented a collection of nearly two hundred letters and manuscripts, dating from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, of English and American novelists, poets and historians. Among the English writers are Alfred Austin, James Bryce, Edward Gordon Craig, Jean Ingelow, Henry Arthur Jones, Andrew Lang, E. V. Lucas and John Masefield. Represented in the group of American authors are George Bancroft, Will Carleton, Wilberforce Eames, Max Eastman, James T. Fields, Arthur Davison Ficke, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Julia Ward Howe, Charles Warren Stoddard, Edmund Clarence Stedman, Francis Lieber and John Treat Irving.

Sheehy gift. Mr. Eugene P. Sheehy has presented a copy of the limited and numbered edition of the novels of the late Ivy Compton-Burnett, published in London in 1972 by Victor Gollancz. The uniform set of nineteen volumes, issued in an edition of five hundred copies and bound in crimson cloth, was published posthumously in accordance with the author's wishes. Included are all the novels published between 1925 and 1971, that is, from *Pastors and Masters* to *The Last and the First.* Her first novel, *Dolores*, was omitted in accordance with her instructions. Mr. Sheehy has made his gift in memory of the late Rudolph S. Wild.

Southworth gift. Dr. and Mrs. Hamilton Southworth have enriched our collections with the gift of more than one hundred rare and first editions important in the fields of literature, printing and medicine. Foremost among them are the following: Andreas Vesalius, *Icones Anatomicae*, New York and Munich, 1934, a collection of engravings made from the original sixteenth century plates; St. John Chrysostom, *Opera*, Basel, 1504, bound in contemporary calf and rubricated throughout; and Isaiah Thomas, *The History of Printing in America*, Worcester, 1810, two volumes, bound in the original calf. The literary first editions include works

by John Gay, Edna St. Vincent Millay, Alexander Pope, Laurence Sterne, Jonathan Swift, Lord Tennyson, James Thomson and Isaac Walton.

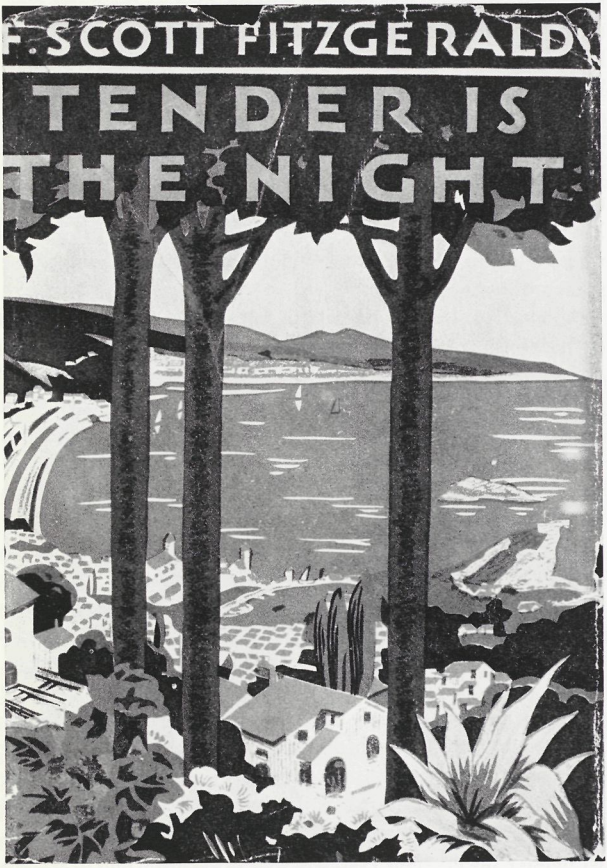
Steegmuller gift. Mr. Francis Steegmuller (A.B., 1927; A.M., 1928) has donated a group of twenty-five volumes from his personal library, including a number relating to Jean Cocteau, among which is a copy of Cocteau's only children's book, *Drôle de Ménage*, Paris, 1948, which was also illustrated by the French author.

Taylor, Davidson, gift. Mr. Davidson Taylor has donated more than seventy volumes from his personal library, including inscribed copies from his colleagues and friends in the broadcasting world, among whom are Hans V. Kaltenborn, David Schoenbrun, Eric Sevaried, William L. Shirer and Howard K. Smith.

Taylor, Mary Elizabeth, gift. Adding to her earlier gifts of volumes from the library of the late Sophie Kerr, Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Taylor has presented a further group of 312 first and fine editions, including collections of poems and novels by Conrad Aiken, Walter de la Mare, Ford Madox Ford, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Ernest Hemingway, Du Bose Heyward, Rudyard Kipling and James Joyce. Of particular interest are the first edition of Fitzgerald's *Tender is the Night*, 1934, in the original dust jacket, and the three first editions of Hemingway's *Men Without Women*, 1927, *The Old Man and the Sea*, 1952, and *The Sun Also Rises*, 1926.

Recent Notable Purchases

Ulmann Fund. The Albert Ulmann Fund, presented by his daughter, Mrs. Ruth U. Samuel, has enabled us to add to the printing collection three handsome works printed by Giovanni Mardersteig at the Officina Bodoni in Verona, Italy. The most notable among them is the three-volume edition of Aesop's *Fables*, published late in 1973, and based on the Aesop published in 1479 by

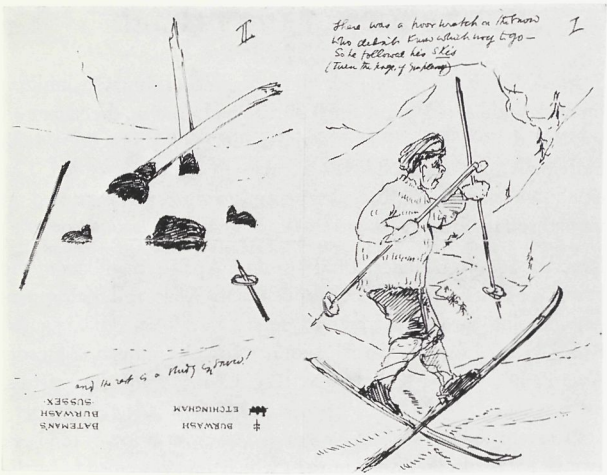


Book jacket from F. Scott Fitzgerald's *Tender is the Night*, 1934, with a drawing of a Riviera scene. (Mary E. Taylor gift)

Giovanni Alvise, Verona's third printer. One of the finest illustrated Italian books of the fifteenth century, the original edition is now very rare. The Officina Bodoni edition contains the original Latin and Italian texts, the latter that of Accio Zucco, as well as the sixty-eight woodcut illustrations attributed to Liberale da Verona, the most important Veronese miniaturist of the period. They were recut on wood by Anna Bramanti for this edition, and they were colored by hand after a copy of the Aesop in the British Museum. An additional volume containing the fables in Caxton's translation is included in this splendid production of one of the greatest presses of this century.

Another fine example of hand-printing, also acquired by means of the Ulmann Fund, is the edition of James Russell Lowell's *Four Poems: The Ballad of the Stranger, King Retro, The Royal Pedigree, and A Dream I Had*, printed and bound by Frederic and Bertha Goudy at The Village Press, in Hingham, Massachusetts. Issued on March 10, 1906, the edition of the four poems, first collected in this publication, consisted of fifty numbered copies on Arches paper.

Engel Fund. Two important additions were made to the Solton and Julia Engel Collection. The first of these is H. Rider Haggard's copy of the first English edition of Robert Louis Stevenson's *Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde*, London, Longmans, Green, 1886. Haggard's signature appears on the title-page, and his signed note on the half-title reads: "Given to me by Charles Longman in 1886. It was the specimen copy sent in to his office by the binders." The second item purchased is the letter written by Rudyard Kipling to Dr. M. S. Taylor on December 2, 1910, in which the novelist praises Dr. Taylor's photographs of their winter holiday the previous year, and tries to persuade him to accompany him again on a skiing trip. In addition to his four-page letter, Kipling has included another double page containing a limerick and two pen drawings memorializing a skiing mishap in the snow.



Pen drawings and limerick by Rudyard Kipling contained in a letter written to Dr. M. S. Taylor on December 2, 1910. (Engel Fund)

Friends Endowed Fund. On the occasion of the opening of the exhibition of the Jack Harris Samuels Library in February, the Friends of the Libraries acquired, for inclusion in the Samuels Library, the twelve-page autograph manuscript by Max Beerbohm of his "The Story of the Small Boy and the Barley Sugar." Written in 1897 when the author was twenty-five, the story is among his two or three earliest attempts at fiction. It was published the same year in *The Pageant*, and collected in *A Variety of Things*, 1928. This fairy tale for adults, similar to Beerbohm's "The Happy Hypocrite," is the story of Tommy Tune whose family is so poor that he cannot afford a piece of barley sugar, and when he is able to buy a piece it is seized from him by a greedy schoolmate.

Activities of the Friends

Samuels Exhibition. The Jack Harris Samuels Library exhibition opened with a reception on Thursday afternoon, February 7, sponsored by the Friends and the University Librarian, which more than three hundred Friends and invited guests attended. The exhibition of 150 rare first editions and manuscripts remained on view through April 5.

Bancroft Awards Dinner. On Thursday, April 4, members of the Friends, historians, publishers, university officials, and their guests —numbering three hundred and ninety in all—assembled in the Rotunda of Low Memorial Library for the annual Bancroft Awards Dinner. Dr. Gordon N. Ray, Chairman of the Friends, presided.

President William J. McGill announced the winners of the 1974 awards for books published in 1973 which a jury deemed to be the best in the fields of American history, international relations, and diplomacy. Awards were presented for the following: *Frederick Jackson Turner: Historian, Scholar, Teacher*, by Ray A. Billington, published by the Oxford University Press; *The Devil and John Foster Dulles*, by Townsend Hoopes, published by Little, Brown & Company; and *The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1880–1970*, by Stephan Thernstrom, published by the Harvard University Press. The President presented to each of the winners a $4,000 award from funds provided by the Edgar A. and Frederic Bancroft Foundation.

Future Meetings. Meetings of the Friends during 1974–1975 have been scheduled for the following dates: Fall Meeting, Thursday, November 7; Winter Meeting, Thursday, February 6; and Bancroft Awards Dinner, Thursday, April 3.

THE FRIENDS OF THE COLUMBIA LIBRARIES

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