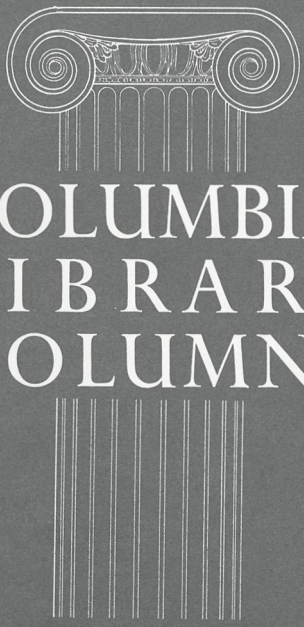

COLUMBIA LIBRARY COLUMNS

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Columbia Library Columns

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Alexandrina Vereshchagina. Portrait by Léon Noël, 1838.

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Lermontov and His Friends

HELEN MICHAILOFF

IN HER time Alexandrina Vereshchagina (1810–1873) would have laughed her pretty head off had some one predicted that her poetry albums—books filled with artistic contributions from friends each girl kept in those days—would find a place of honor among the rarities of the Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Columbia University, in, of all places on earth, New York City. Yet on the second thought she would have agreed that the honor was well deserved since she had always firmly believed in the future greatness of a distant relative of hers, Mikhail Lermontov (1814–1841).

Although Alexandrina's education was typical for a Russian girl of an aristocratic family, it left a deeper imprint on her mind than was usually the case, directing her interests toward literature and arts. Her character combined a natural gravity and a deep sense of duty with a bent for sarcastic humor and even mischief, and it must have been that latter propensity that drew her to the future poet aged fifteen or sixteen when they met in Moscow some time after 1827. The clumsy bow-legged boy with the head too big for his body, whose swarthy face was redeemed from ugliness only by a pair of large expressive eyes, and whose sarcastic tongue served to protect his sensitivity and shyness, attracted Alexandrina's sympathetic interest, and she became a companion in social amusements, a guide in his pursuits of literary success and a con-

fidante in his affairs of the heart, which were turbulent and numerous. She always treated her "cousin" with sincere sisterly affection and throughout his life remained one ofthe few people able to exercise a beneficial restraint on Mikhail's restless nature.

Cartoon entitled "Adorator" in Lermontov's hand, drawn in Alexandrina Vereshchagina's album.

In the spring and summer of 1830 the young poet was captivated by Alexandrina's friend, Katya Sushkova, whom he dubbed "Miss Black Eyes." The three of them spent several magic weeks at Serednikovo, a magnificient estate of Lermontov's great-uncle near Moscow. That romantic vacation enriched Russian literature

by a number of poetic gems from Mikhail's pen via the albums of the two girls. The infatuation with Katya ended in a heartbreak: the spoiled society beauty, two years the poet's senior, looked down upon the ungainly youth, a mere high-school student, and mocked his poetic offerings.

Mikhail's despair did not last long. Soon a pair of "serene gentle eyes" became his lodestars. But those, too, looked with disfavor upon the youthful gallant, and the poet had to concede another defeat. The spring of 1832, however, cured all the wounds of the past. Now he fell in love with Alexandrina's cousin, Varvara Lopukhina, a girl a year or two his junior, intelligent and charming, if not beautiful in the conventional sense. This time his feelings were reciprocated and Mikhail was transported with bliss. It was Varvara now for whom Mikhail wrote poems and whose album he filled with numerous drawings.

That was doubtlessly the happiest period in Lermontov's short life, and it came to a sudden end all too soon. What separated the sweethearts we shall never know for certain. Possibly the girl's relatives believed the two to be too young for marriage, possibly they distrusted Mikhail's unsettled character and requested him to cease all association with Varvara for some length of time. Whatever caused the break, the fall of 1832 found Lermontov in St. Petersburg, enrolled in the Army Cadet School,—the first tragic step on his way to self-destruction.

At that point the paths of the three friends parted. In 1835 Varvara married a certain Nikolai Bakhmetev, a wealthy man twenty years older than she. The apparent incompatibility of the couple was intensified by Mr. Bakhmetev's inordinate jealously of the poet and turned the marriage into an endless torment for the young woman. Although he knew that Varvara's relations with Lermontov had not exceeded a boy-and-girl flirtation, Bakhmetev compelled his wife to destroy everything she had ever received from Mikhail. By eliminating every trace of the artist's identity

she succeeded in saving only one souvenir of her first love—her album with Lermontov's drawings.

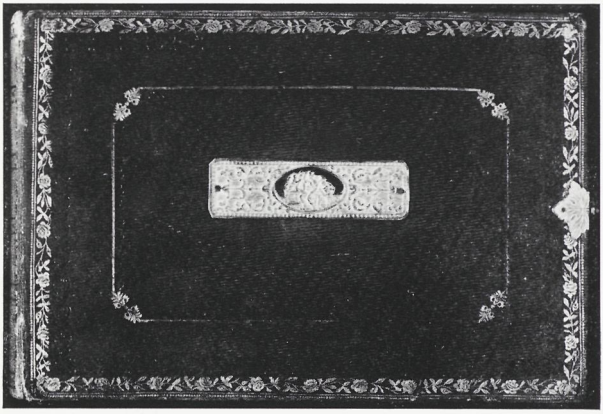
Alexandrina married Baron Karl von Hügel in 1837 and settled for good on her husband's family estate, the Castle of Hochberg,

Lermontov's satiric drawing of two astonished gentlemen.

near Stuttgart, Germany. Shortly before her death in 1858, Varvara, visiting some European spa, saw her cousin once more and entrusted to her safe-keeping the mementos she had preserved from her husband's destructive fury.

Baroness von Hügel, who maintained correspondence with Ler-

montov until his death, kept the poet's memory green to the end of her days. She lovingly preserved and passed down to her children her Lermontov collection, and in 1856 she had two of Lermontov's poems, "The Angel of Death" (dedicated to her) and



Front cover of the album owned by Varvara A. Lopukhina-Bakhmeteva.

"The Demon" published in Germany, for their publication was forbidden in Russia.

The Lermontoviana amassed by Alexandrina was cherished by her descendants and handed down from one generation to the next. The materials remained inaccessible to outsiders until 1934 when they were auctioned off together with other items of the von Hügel property. The albums were acquired in the 1950's by the Columbia Libraries.

The set consists of three books. It is surprising how well they have worn their 140 odd years: the Morocco leather of their covers feels soft and supple to the touch, the pages are unfrayed, the ink on them stands out black and clear. The oldest of them,

which covers the years 1808–1822, belonged to Alexandrina's mother and is of interest as the record of literary tastes and social contacts of a cultured Russian family of the early nineteenth century.

Watercolor portrait of Varvara Lopukhina-Bakhmeteva, painted by the poet in her album.

Alexandrina's album contains eight autograph poems, some reflecting Lermontov's infatuation with Sushkova, others unrelated to it. Among those is his well-known "Angel," the loftiest religious poem in all world literature. His graphic contributions are represented by nine cartoons which apparently lampoon mutual acquaintances. At this late date no identification of the characters is possible.

Varvara's book offers seventeen drawings (plus two unfinished ones) in watercolor, ink, or pencil. Three of them, however, do not resemble Lermontov's manner and their authenticity must be left in doubt. The most interesting of the drawings are: its owner's portrait as Lermontov saw her when they met after her marriage (he introduced the young woman in the same pose and dress as the heroine of his unfinished novel *Princess Ligovskaya*); and the picture of *Achille*, a Negro servant of Varvara's brother, also depicted in one of Lermontov's poems.

Until their recent reproduction in "Russian Literature Triquarterly," (No. 10, Fall, 1974-Spring, 1975, Ann Arbor, Michigan) only Varvara's portrait was known to the public at large through a copy ordered by the poet's first biographer. But comparison with the original shows that the copyist failed completely to capture the fragile charm of the woman's face. The entire album "reads" like an exchange of love letters, wordless but nonetheless eloquent.

There is some poetic justice in the fact that such deeply personal souvenirs of the poet have found their permanent home in the West. The Lermontovs proudly traced their descent from Duke de Lerma, a Spanish grandee forced to flee to Scotland where he founded the family of Learmonths among whom was Thomas the Rhymer, a Scottish bard of the thirteenth century. The Spanish part of the legend has apparently no leg to stand upon, but the lineal connection with the Learmonths of Scotland can be considered established. In his early teens the poet was greatly taken by his family history: he signed his name "Lerma" and in two of his poems expressed his longing to visit "my" Scotland.

Mikhail was a precocious youth, highly gifted in various arts, and his grandmother, who had raised him, saw to it that his talents were fully developed. Already as a child he spoke French and German, and was fond of modeling, drawing, and music. Versifying came to him as easily and naturally as breathing, and by the time he was fifteen, he had written a large number of poems—

mostly imitations and translations that served as training for his pen. At the University Preparatory School in Moscow, where he was brought in 1827, his talents found recognition. His poems were praised and published in the school magazines, his drawings

Lermontov's watercolor sketch of a usurer.

carried off prizes, and his performance on the violin earned him the honor of playing at the graduation concert.

At that juncture he seemed to be wavering between painting and writing as a career. But a new, powerful influence, Byron's poetry (in the original English), swayed him toward literature. Painting, however, remained for him an alternate way of self-expression, complementing his literary works and in turn complemented by them. Although Lermontov never achieved a professional mastery in drawing, his graphic productions possess such individuality and power that they cannot be overlooked in the discussion of his creative art. For literary scholars his drawings

serve as supplemental comments on the poet's literary works and as a means of obtaining insight into his subconscious.

Lermontov's sudden decision in 1832 to enter the Army Cadet School was a tragic mistake, for though by sheer will power he

Pencil drawing of a cellist by Lermontov.

shaped himself into a devil-may-care hussar, he was obviously unfit for army life and was suffocating in the atmosphere of the military routine. He continued writing poetry and prose but refused to submit anything for publication, believing that he had not yet reached the perfection he was aiming at. His press debut occurred in 1835 much against his wish: a relative of his submitted the poem to an editor without the author's knowledge. The work was noticed and mildly praised. In 1837 the poet shot up to sudden and country-wide fame with his poem bewailing the death of

Pushkin. The verses circulated by his friends in a manuscript form contained an attack on high court circles and earned their author a transfer from the capital to the battlefields of the Caucasus. The banishment proved to be a blessing in disguise: it pulled the pleasure-seeking hussar out of the mire of his St. Petersburg surroundings and brought him in close contact with everything he loved. As the hostilities were suspended that year (March 1837-April 1838), he was free to travel all over the region, collecting local folklore, sketching the majestic scenery. Nine months later he was pardoned by the tsar and returned to the capital to bask in the sunshine of his literary success. Now he felt that his talent had matured enough and he no longer hesitated to offer the reading public his works which drew to a great extent upon his experiences in the Caucasus.

Unfortunately that happy period of fruitful creative work did not last long. In 1840 Lermontov became involved in a quarrel with the son of the French ambassador. A challenge to a duel followed. Although the encounter had no grave consequences, he was court-martialed and again transferred to the Active Army in the Caucasus. This time he found himself in the midst of military operations, which, too, provided a wealth of materials for his poetry and painting.

Another duel in consequence of a petty quarrel with a former fellow officer put a sudden tragic end to Lermontov's life so full of promise (July 15/28, 1841) and deprived Russia of her most brilliant writer since Pushkin. Not yet twenty-seven when he died, Mikhail Lermontov left behind over 400 lyrics, 25 narrative poems (some unfinished), 5 plays, a complete novel, several prose tales (mostly unfinished) and a no less astonishing number of pictures— 12 oil paintings, 55 watercolors, and close to 400 drawings and sketches in ink or pencil.

But that wealth of the poet's heritage was discovered and reached the reading public half a century later. At the time of his

death Lermontov's fame rested on some forty odd poems and a novel published during his lifetime. But so great was the impact of Lermontov's poetry and personality upon his readers that the de-

Pencil sketch by Lermontov of a group dancing the quadrille.

mand for posthumous editions of his works kept soaring, and the financial success of those publications spurred the publishers to undertake extensive searches for Lermontov's verses. So energetic were their efforts in that direction that they caused a controversy among literary critics, some maintaining that the poet's wish to offer the public only his best should be respected, others insisting that Lermontov's early death made it imperative to acquaint his admirers with everything that had come from his pen. The latter opinion prevailed, and the commemorative edition of 1889–91 appeared in five volumes of collected works plus one volume of biographical information. The materials had come from the old notebooks and manuscripts the poet had left with his relatives, who stubbornly opposed their publication on the ground that the poet himself had discarded them as too weak.

In Russia, Lermontov and Alexander Pushkin share the distinction of being the major national poets. And with good reason, too. As far as versification techniques go, Lermontov's achievement lies in the skill with which he employed in his poetry simple con-

Portrait of Lermontov painted by A. Chelyshev, ca. 1833.

versational language, doing away with the traditional "high style" of poetic composition, the device he had borrowed from Byron. Lermontov's poems abound in rich imagery. He is fond of striking comparisons and similes, of vivid adjectives, and bright colors. He paints pictures with words and sees his graphic compositions

with the eye of the romantic poet he was. His poetry has a broad appeal due to the unique musicality of his verse and the all-embracing scope of his themes, which range from tenderest love lyrics to bawdies, from heartfelt prayers to mocking defiance of religion, from messianic prognoses of the state of Russian society to soldiers' emotions on the battlefield. And through all his works runs the red thread of the poet's deep sympathy for the underdog and his impassioned protest against everything that limits individual growth.

Outside Russia Lermontov's works are little known to the public at large. Poetry is untranslatable: preserving the meter of the original requires additions and omissions of words which destroys the effect; prose renditions rob the poems of melody, their main charm. For this reason few of Lermontov's poems have been translated into English, and those that have been fail to justify the high renoun in which he is held, as a poet, in his own country. His novel, *A Hero of Our Time*, acclaimed as the first Russian psychological novel, has been translated into all major European languages. The translations, however, appeared too late in the day, when other heroes held the reader's attention, to attract notice on a large scale. Lermontov's plays are highly melodramatic and bombastic. Only one of them, *The Masquerade*, has become part of the Russian theater repertoire.

Little is known about the man Lermontov really was. Few documents survived the thorough expurgation carried out after the poet's death by his relatives and friends, who feared unflattering publicity. None of his letters that came down to us reveal Lermontov's philosophical or literary position. A great number of his manuscripts and drawings are known to have perished as well, through accident, negligence or wilful destruction. Therefore materials like the Vereshchagina albums are an exciting triumph over time and circumstances.

Nicholas Murray Butler: Columbia's "Nicholas Miraculous"

ALBERT MARRIN

NEARLY three-quarters of a century has passed since that day in April, 1902, when, a few days after his thirty-ninth birthday, Nicholas Murray Butler became one of the youngest university presidents in the history of American higher education. In those halcyon days before the First World War, the twelfth president of Columbia University was a personage to be reckoned with in several areas of national life; indeed few university presidents have ever enjoyed a like prominence for so long a time. An educational statesman rather than simply an educator, he had long enjoyed a reputation as a theorist, a publicist, and a reformer. Virtually single-handed, he had created Teachers College. It was largely owing to his efforts that, for better or worse, at the turn of the century a central Board of Education was created in New York City to replace the multitude of corruption-ridden local school boards. Butler, moreover, was the exemplar of what Thorstein Veblen termed the "captain of erudition," the new type of efficient, businesslike administrator then beginning to dominate higher education. As Butler once remarked, running Columbia University was exactly like running a railroad. Although the foundations of Columbia's eminence had been laid by his predecessor, Seth Low, whose mausoleum-like monument to his father dominates the campus, it was during the forty-four years of Butler's stewardship that Columbia grew from a small university with a local reputation into a national institution with an international reputation and influence. Well might Theodore Roosevelt dub him "Nicholas Miraculous Butler," after St. Nicholas Thaumaturgis, the "Miracle Worker."

Educational administration was but one area for Butler's restless energies and varied interests. Butler was a politician to his fingertips. Even as a youngster growing up in Paterson, New Jersey, he had been fascinated by politics, marching in parades and taking

Butler (left) on the steps of City Hall, April 11, 1931, with Mayor Walker and Prince and Princess Takamatsu of Japan.

part in his father's unsuccessful campaign for the mayoralty of the town. As an undergraduate, as a professor of philosophy, as first dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, and finally as president of the University, he indulged his predilection for politics with gusto. William Allen White called him the "insider of insiders"; for not only was he a power in the New York State Republican Party, but through his friendship with Theodore Roosevelt, William

Howard Taft, and Warren G. Harding he was able to give advice on issues of national concern, as well as on federal appointments ranging from customs officers at the Port of New York to ambassadors, secretaries of state, and justices of the United States Supreme Court. Furthermore, he sought to project his influence into foreign affairs. It was he, more than anyone else, who persuaded Andrew Carnegie to launch the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in 1910 and who, in 1928, initiated a national debate on the Kellogg-Briand Pact outlawing war as an instrument of national policy, an activity that earned him a Nobel Peace Prize, shared with Jane Addams, in 1931.

Butler has always been a controversial figure. Mentioning his name in certain quarters today will rouse otherwise even-tempered men to profanity; for others he remains the master builder, the creator or guiding spirit of innumerable undertakings devoted to the public welfare and enlightenment. He elicited a like range of reactions from his contemporaries. H. L. Mencken, one seldom given to understatement, exempted him alone from his tirades against university presidents. "As a class," Mencken announced in 1924, "they are platitudinous and nonsensical enough, God knows. But there is at least one among them, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia, who actually says something when he speaks." Benjamin Cardozo, a former student in logic, spoke of him as the physician whom the ailing world summons to its bedside "when the fever pains and ague rack it too severely for endurance and it would learn the path to health."

The less complimentary side of the coin seems, on balance, to have been evident through the years. From the beginning of his career until practically the day he died, Butler was the subject of hostile, sometimes vicious, criticism. As president of Columbia University, he was known as an autocrat, a "Czar Nicholas" in an era when Czardom conjured visions of pogroms and knout-wielding Cossacks, and as a foe of academic freedom. The historian Charles A.

Beard, the composer Edward MacDowell, and Joel Elias Spingarn, a brilliant literary critic and founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, were all supposedly victims of Butler's high-handedness. An undergraduate publication cited his delusions of grandeur: "The University," he reputedly said, paraphrasing Louis XIV, "it is I." The obvious pleasure he derived from associating with Morgans, Carnegies, Dodges, and Harknesses branded him for others a hypocritical materialist. The Muckraker Upton Sinclair, a former student, considered him "the interlocking president" and "the intellectual leader of the American plutocracy." Robert M. La Follette, a lifelong antagonist, assailed him before the Senate as "the handyman of privilege" and a "bootlicker of men of fortune," while Justice Harlan Fiske Stone, formerly dean of the Law School, held him in contempt for his "shallow righteousness and ubiquitous currying of favor" with the mighty. His predilection for befriending foreign statesmen who subsequently became repugnant to the American public exposed him to attack from still another quarter. During the First World War, zealous "patriots" cited his friendship with Kaiser William II as proof of his sympathy with Prussian authoritarianism; his acquaintance with, and occasionally too-easy praise for, Benito Mussolini made him a "Lover of Dictatorships." Yet in 1940, when he summoned the nation to cast its lot with the Allies against the Axis powers, radicals from left and right discovered a common cause. While the *Daily Worker* berated Butler the capitalist war-monger, Senator Bennett Champ Clark, Democrat from Mississippi, thundered against the "senile reactionary," "professional propagandist," and "pothouse Republican politician."

For all the controversy, Butler remains a man of mystery. It is ironic that so notable and influential a man should have been overlooked by the academic community whose interests he strove to further. Whereas there exist excellent biographies of many of his peers among university presidents, he has been virtually ignored

by historians. Thus far no article has appeared about him in the *Dictionary of American Biography*—all of which suggests that Nicholas Murray Butler may be the most neglected near-great personality in recent American history.

The materials for remedying this deficiency exist in abundance. The Butler papers in the Columbia University library's manuscript division, supplemented by those of his associates—John W. Burgess, Seth Low, Brander Matthews, John B. Pine, Harry Thurston Peck, J. M. Cattell—and the magnificient oral history collection, enable us to gain a more intimate view of this remarkable man and his times.

When he became president of Columbia University, Butler was a middle-sized man with a bullet-shaped head, brown hair receding from the forehead, blue eyes, and bristling mustache. Solidly built and athletic, Butler at thirty-nine was an enthusiastic horseman and hiker capable of walking forty-five miles in twelve hours over rough Adirondack roads. As he grew older, he exhibited a tendency to paunchiness; his hair, graying, eventually receded from forehead to crown, thereby giving the head an appearance of massiveness; heavy folds under the eyes suggested age, but the brightness and penetrating quality of the eyes continued to suggest youthfulness. As a rule, he enjoyed good health, having no serious illnesses or problems until well-on in years, and then almost exclusively with his vision.

Despite his busy schedule, Butler made heroic efforts to pursue intellectual interests and to keep abreast of scholarship in many areas, a resolve aided by an ability to read rapidly and with a high degree of comprehension. And he read a lot, boasting that he used the University libraries more than any faculty member, a claim confirmed by the librarians themselves. Constance M. Winchell recalled him in her oral history memoir as an "omnivorous reader . . . [who] just devoured books." He had an excellent memory for names, faces and quotations, the latter sprinkled generously

throughout his speeches. When, however, he forgot the exact wording of a quotation or its source, life could become miserable for

Butler and his daughter, Sarah, on board ship returning from a European holiday, August 1926.

the junior reference librarians. On one occasion a library assistant read through an entire session of *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* to verify a quotation; another time, Butler wanted a French quo-

tation from Montesquieu verified, a task involving a page-by-page, line-by-line, search of his works in fourteen volumes. When located in volume thirteen, Butler's recollection of the statement was exactly correct.

Butler's regular literary fare consisted of the *Congressional Record*, where his own speeches might be found reprinted at the request of a friendly senator or congressman, biographies of statesmen—Alexander Hamilton, Bismark, Gladstone, and Disraeli were favorites—and classics in philosophy and political theory, particularly *The Federalist*. His planned reading for the summer of 1941, when he was seventy-nine years of age, consisted, he said, of works "much too great to be well-known": Spengler's *Decline of the West*, Mosca's *The Ruling Class*, Ortega y Gasset's *The Revolt of the Masses*, *The Letters of Sir Frederick Pollock and Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes*. He was also an avid reader of newspapers, consulting perhaps a dozen on a regular basis. Once, when the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace was preparing a mailing list of the principal newspapers in the United States, Butler amazed an assistant by ticking off the names of dozens of papers ranging from the Springfield *Republican* to the *Argonaut* of San Francisco, including in most cases the name of the publisher or managing editor, or both.

Butler's active life and broad range of interests exacted their price in terms of his ongoing intellectual development. Save for the years of graduate study at Columbia and a year at the University of Berlin in the mid-eighteen-eighties, Butler read widely but not deeply. He seldom went to the heart of a subject outside his chosen fields of philosophy and education; and even in these fields he tended to lose touch, not to mention sympathy, with new developments. In politics no less than in education, he denounced progressivism as nonsensical and un-American. When current developments highlighted shortcomings in an area where he thought he ought to express an opinion, he was likely to seek a royal road to expert knowledge. In 1931 we find him writing to the Columbia

economist Edwin R. A. Seligman for "some book or pamphlet" containing the essential facts on the national debt, ammunition which he intended to use against advocates of deficit spending. It was not surprising that this approach opened him to charges of superficiality and dilettantism.

Although Butler considered himself a serious intellectual, he never cast his thought into a single, ordered exposition. His thought must be extracted from the more than 3,200 essays, speeches, reviews, reports, interviews, introductions, and press releases catalogued in M. H. Thomas's *Bibliography of Nicholas Murray Butler, 1872–1932* and published since then. In the sense that a book is a sustained treatment of a limited theme, Butler never wrote a book. His master's thesis on Kant and doctoral dissertation in logic, which might have qualified as such, disappeared when Columbia moved from the old campus at Forty-Ninth Street and Madison Avenue to Morningside Heights in the eighteen-nineties. His many "books" are collections of speeches, articles originally presented as speeches, and interviews; he even published his 1875 valedictory from Paterson High School. His book reviews, written primarily for the *Educational Review*, of which he was founder and editor, were hastily composed and brief, rarely more than a paragraph in length. The books to be reviewed were selected from among those on a shelf in his office containing ten or fifteen feet of current publications. He would go over the entire shelf in an hour, get an idea of the contents of each book, select those to be reviewed, and dictate the review to a secretary.

His best-known work, the two-volume *Across the Busy Years*, is not properly a book either. Its title, though, is aptly chosen, for it consists of articles published separately in *Scribner's Magazine* and elsewhere during twenty-three of the busiest years of his life, 1916–1939. Nor is it an autobiography, for it lives up to its subtitle "Recollections and Reflections" only occasionally. Although Butler preserved all manner of memorabilia—calling cards, invitations, menus, ticket stubs, banquet seating plans—he was a secretive

man. Nowhere in his writings is he candid about himself; indeed, certain subjects were absolutely taboo. What we know of the inner man must often be ascertained from unintentionally revealing remarks, a deductive process with strong limitations. The memory of his mother, for example, "is too sacred to be made a matter of record." He abandoned Theodore Roosevelt in the Presidential election of 1912 "for reasons that I deemed good and sufficient." He explained to the historian James Truslow Adams that the material for a serious autobiography was so confidential that it should remain closed for a minimum of fifty years; besides, "one would not wish to hurt the feelings of any child or grandchild of one of those referred to unkindly or with bitterness in any of these [documents]." Yet, in the nineteen-fifties, when Robert H. Ferrell was preparing a book on the origins of the Kellogg-Briand Pact, a rumor, still to be verified or contradicted, had it that shortly before Butler's death a secretary went through his papers and destroyed many items of importance.

A large proportion of Butler's time away from Columbia was spent in delivering speeches. Butler, like Winston Churchill, a friend with whom he has been compared, was a natural on the speaker's platform. Speaking gave him the feeling of exhiliration and pride born of complete self-mastery and command of an audience. Wherever he rose, the robust physique, erect posture, and striking headpiece immediately riveted the audience's attention, even an audience of rambunctious Columbia undergraduates protesting the suspension of football in 1905. As he spoke, the words flowed at a steady pace, in a cultured diction, and in a rich resonant voice. All too often, however, the effectiveness of these gifts was diminished by his method of preparation. With the exception of those speeches intended for very special occasions, Butler was too busy and apparently too confident in his own powers to prepare speeches carefully. Shunning that alter ego of the harried executive, the professional speech writer, Butler's normal procedure

was to review the subject in his mind an hour before delivery, perhaps rehearse it with an aide, and then speak extemporaneously, having a stenographer from the Master Reporting Company transcribe it in shorthand. The results of this method of preparation were predictable, especially since he seldom revised the text of speeches before sending them to the printer. Some observers, not unfriendly by any means, maintained that, upon hearing the first paragraph of a Butler speech, they could write the remainder themselves. The sheer volume of his speeches and his readiness to give them were a perennial source of humor at his expense. The columnist Heywood Broun recalled a bit of the conventional wisdom from his days at the Horace Mann School (also founded by Butler) to the effect that Butler had a brass pole in his house down which he slid immediately upon receiving an invitation to address a meeting anywhere within the City limits.

Butler was a complicated man who revealed different facets of his personality in his public and private capacities; the late Professor Lindsay Rogers, whose oral history memoir provides many valuable insights, discerned "several Butlers." In reading the testimonials marking the stages of his career and unpublished accounts by associates it becomes evident that, however greatly he was respected for his accomplishments, as a public figure he was never really liked, much less loved. The image he projected was certainly *not* lovable; it was the image of a cold, condescending, complacent man exuding a *gravitas* worthy of a Roman patrician. Harold Laski informed Oliver Wendell Holmes: "Nicholas Murray Butler is today (1929) pompous, oily, snobbish." Professor James T. Shotwell, for forty years his colleague at Columbia and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, recalled: "He had a very strong sense of dignity. I never knew him to unbend." Butler even criticized King Haakon of Norway for not acting regal enough!

His public image was that of an egoist. Innumerable actions con-

firm his certainty of, and pride in, his abilities and importance. For forty years he took pains that his biography, in a column-and-

Butler and his second wife, Kate, at the Beach Club, Southampton, Long Island, July 4, 1943.

a-half of small type, should remain the longest in *Who's Who*, surpassing those of Joseph Stalin, Benito Mussolini, and Franklin D. Roosevelt. The number of foreign dignitaries with whom he was acquainted and corresponded furnished a particular source of

self-congratulation. In reviewing this aspect of his life, Butler recorded in *Across the Busy Years*: "I am astounded at the length and high significance of the list. It is literally true, I think, that . . . it has been my fortune to meet, to talk with and often to know in warm friendship almost every man of light and leading who has lived in the world during the post half-century." This is not to say that all celebrities enjoyed the pleasure of his company; for when visiting New York some employed all their cunning to avoid being "collected" by Butler and shown off at his home, 60 Morningside Drive, dubbed by students "the Social Register House." As with his speeches, jokes about his pride and social climbing abounded. One story making the rounds in the early 'thirties had it that, having arrived at the pearly gates, the spirit of Sigmund Freud was surrounded by angels. "Come with us quickly," they implored. "We want you to see God . . . professionally. He has been acting strangely. He has hallucinations. He thinks he is Nicholas Murray Butler."

Butler's personal relationships with the Columbia University community revealed a very different, more appealing, side of his personality. Possessed of a keen sense of obligation toward subordinates, he looked upon the University community as a kind of vast extended family. It is a misconception that he deliberately shied away from contact with the faculty; on the contrary, he knew many of them by name, even those to whom he had never been introduced, and took a personal interest in their wellbeing. How many university presidents nowadays would routinely visit the hospitals affiliated with their institutions to inquire after and spend time with any faculty who were ill? A shy man in many respects, he would take all kinds of trouble for a person, and put the University to expense, provided there was no publicity. Upon learning that a professor's widow was neglecting herself, he said to Virginia Gildersleeve, dean of Barnard College: "She dosen't get enough to eat, they tell me. Will you please arrange to have

her take her meals in Hewitt Hall? I will see that money is provided." When a particularly needy assistant professor of history approached him with his tale of woe, Butler allotted him twice the salary prevailing at his rank from the discretionary funds available to the President; and, Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes testifies, "there were a great many things of the sort."

When in the midst of his intimates, Butler became a changed man. Ever since he met as an undergraduate with the Witenagomot at Schmitt's Saloon at Forty-Ninth Street and Fourth Avenue, there to quaff tankards of icey beer, sing and tell tall tales, he had been an avid clubman. At the gatherings of the Century and other clubs, the mature Butler revealed himself a charming, genial person who craved human contacts. For forty years the leading spirit of the Occasional Thinkers, he opened their meetings—attended by the likes of Frederic René Coudert, a distinguished lawyer, and Governor Alfred E. Smith—by conducting the singing of "*Don't Let the Old Joke Die.*" After lunch, the cry would go up for "the Sage," who obliged by reading a recent personal letter from a world leader and leading the ensuing discussion. Nor was it unknown for him to join in a circle dance with old friends to usher in the New Year.

Clubs provided pleasant interludes from work and, unfortunately, from home life. One hesitates to venture into his personal life, but in this case it is essential to a better understanding of the public figure. Butler's personal life, as near as can be ascertained, was not happy; it was filled with sadness, sorrow, and pain. Butler had married well. His first wife was Susanna Edwards Schulyer, daughter of J. Rustin Schulyer, head of the munitions firm of Schulyer, Hartley and Graham, and scion of the Schulyer and van Rensselaer families, leaders in politics and commerce since colonial times. Their wedding, celebrated in 1887 at the Schulyer estate at Bayonne, New Jersey, then one of the choicest residential communities of the metropolis, was a brilliant occasion attended by the

socially prominent throughout the East. A daughter, Sarah, destined for an active political life as vice-chairman of the New York State Republican Committee, was born to the couple in 1893.

Evidently Susanna was never robust nor enjoyed complete health. Years before Butler's rise to the presidency of Columbia, she had been stricken with a chronic illness that taxed her husband's emotional resources as heavily as his physical energies. Many were those "terrible days and nights," as he told Albert Shaw, editor of *The Review of Reviews*, when he walked with her "through the valley of the shadow of death" before she succumbed in January, 1903.

Here he was, a widower at forty, lonely, with a daughter of nine to raise, in addition to his innumerable academic and political responsibilities. When, therefore, his acquaintance with Kate La Montagne ripened into affection, and they were married in 1907, it appeared that his prayers had been answered. Seldom has a man been so mistaken about a woman. Kate was the cross he bore, and her influence upon his personality and career will have to be given its proper due by any biographer. To all appearances a perfect mate, gracious and attendant to the formalities required of a university president's wife, she was, according to Lindsay Rogers, "a babe"; Virginia Gildersleeve saw her as "a jealous, hysterical tyrant" before whom Butler cringed. Resentful of his attachment to his sister and brothers, she strove to drive them apart. She forbade his family to visit their home or to see him on a neutral ground, so that when his sister, Mrs. Mary Mahoney, came to his office in Low Library to wish him happy birthday, Butler stuttered: "You shouldn't have come here. Kate will find out about it." Worst of all, Kate, destined to remain childless, tried to come between Butler and the other female in his life, his daughter, who showed every indication of maturing into a poised, beautiful woman. As long as Sarah remained single and lived under his roof, Butler would allow nothing to come between them. But when she married and took

President Butler seated in front of Alma Mater at Commencement, June, 5, 1945.

up residence in England, her stepmother made it plain that she was no longer welcome. The door of his home was barred to his daughter, and Butler dared not risk a confrontation.

Butler submitted to his wife's tyrannizing, even making excuses for her behavior. Given the moral standards prevailing earlier in this century, and the vulnerability of universities to anything smacking of "scandal," Butler may have felt that separation in any form would harm Columbia, something he was incapable of doing regardless of the personal consequences—but here we conjecture. Being so long deprived of a normal family life may actually have strengthened his devotion to work and, in spite of failing vision and hearing, his resolve to postpone retirement as long as possible. He was asked by Thomas J. Watson of IBM, the trustees' representative, to announce his retirement, effective October, 1946. His work finished, Nicholas Murray Butler died peacefully after a brief illness at Columbia Medical Center on December 7, 1947.

Santayana's Schooldays

RUDOLPH ELLENBOGEN

GEORGE SANTAYANA in his autobiography, *Persons and Places*, says that flowers and butterflies come into the world perfectly formed, but men are born like unbaked dough, half-shapeless and not yet what they are meant to be. The elementary education that helped shape Santayana into a leading twentieth century philosopher and poet took place in Spain and America; it included fist fights and satires on his teachers and culminated in his admittance to Harvard.

Josephina Borrás, George Santayana's mother, was born in Scotland to Spanish exiles whose changing fortunes took them to Virginia, Spain and then to the Philippines. It was there that Josephina met and married an American from Boston, George Sturgis, with whom she had five children. Ten years later, Sturgis died and the widow, fulfilling a promise made to her husband, took her children to Boston. During the American Civil War, she returned to Spain to visit childhood friends. There she married Augustín Ruiz de Santayana y Reboiro. In 1863 the couple had a child, Jorge Augustín Nichólas Ruiz de Santayana. We know him as George Santayana.

Civilization had left a faded but abiding mark on the Spanish city of Avila in which Santayana's education began. At the end of the nineteenth century, it was a neglected, cool, walled city that looked out to the Castillian Sierras across a broad valley of ploughed fields intersected with long straight roads, some lined with poplars and oaks. The sun turned golden the gray stones of the battlements, the ruined buildings, the nondescript huts and the piles of rubble left from the sixteenth century when Avila ceased being one of Spain's most wealthy and flourishing cities. Avila retained an ancient dignity; custom prevailed; there were markets

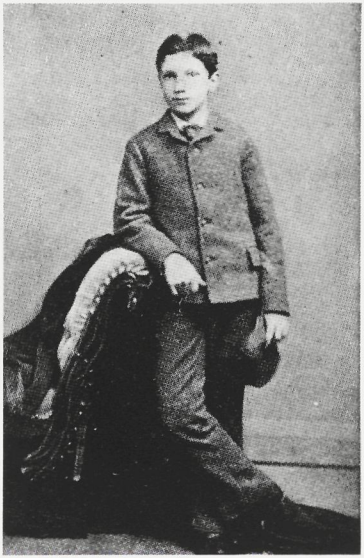
and fairs and traditional religious festivals. It was to Avila that young Jorge Santayana was brought from Madrid when he was scarcely three. Jorge's father, Augustín, hoped to persuade Josephina to remain with him in the more temperate climate that Avila

Avila with the foothills of the Castillian Sierras in the distance.

afforded; she remained until 1869 when she again felt obligated for the sake of her first husband's children to return to Boston. She left her husband and six year old son in Spain.

Santayana's formal education began in a dark room in a public

building around the corner from his home in Avila. The students stood in circles around the teacher, probably just an older boy, and recited after him. Santayana could not remember any reading and writing, or questions and answers, but he recollects in his autobi-



Santayana at the age of eight.

ography, "I had two books: the *cartillia*, with the alphabet and the different syllables, with easy words following; and the catechism, perhaps in a later year. This was divided into two parts, one of Sacred History with pictures in it, of which I remember only Moses striking the rock from which water gushed; and Christian Doctrine, of which I remember a great deal, virtually everything, because it was evidently an excellent catechism, so that after learn-

ing it I have been able all my life to distinguish at first hearing the *sapor haereticus* of any dangerous doctrine."

Santayana was reunited with his mother in conventional and commercial Boston in the summer of 1872. His father felt it was more advantageous for the boy to grow up with his mother in America. Boston, however, had a different atmosphere. In the summer, a stench arose from the mudflats and sewage of the Back Bay, as yet undeveloped and undrained as far as Copley Square. The Santayana house, 302 Beacon Street, at that time one of the last on the street, had an impressive view of the Charles River that sometimes compensated for the summertime odors, but it also had a view of squalid backyards divided by clotheslines and fences. In winter, there were icy blasts from the river which blew across the empty lots.

George, not yet nine when he arrived in Boston, knew no English. Susana, his half-sister, who was twenty-one, began to teach him his new language. In *Persons and Places* he recalls, "I learned some verses by rote, about a bird's nest, out of a brightly colored and highly moral book for young children. They ended, as I pronounced them, as follows:

> "You mahsthonoth in play-ee
> Esteal the bords away-ee
> And grieve their mahther's breasth."

In the fall, he was put in Miss Welchman's Kindergarten on Chestnut Street where he made designs with colored worsted on cards with holes; and he improved his English, learning the word "pantheism" from a fellow classmate who was also too old for kindergarten. The next winter he went to the Brimmer School, a school filled with toughs, ill-will, and rowdiness, governed by the rattan, or other less severe punishments—being kept in after hours or stood in the corner. Here Santayana did not excel in the spelling bees, but because he was older and taller than his classmates, he be-

came a monitor sitting at a desk next to the teacher facing the class. For this show of favoritism, his classmates retaliated. Santayana defended himself, first with words and then with his fists.

Fortunately for Santayana, the prestigious Boston Public Latin School introduced, in 1874, a short-lived experimental eight year program (replacing the traditional six year). In the *Catalogue of the Teachers and Scholars of the Public Latin School in Boston* for 1878 the entrance examination is described: "Candidates for admission to the eighth class must be able to read simple prose fluently, to spell common words correctly, and to write simple sentences legibly from dictation; to distinguish the parts of speech; to perform readily any easy examples in the four simple rules of arithmetic, and in fractions; and must have a general knowledge of the geography of the United States." Santayana must have done more than participate in spelling bees and fist fights at the Brimmer School, for he passed the examination.

The object of the Boston Public Latin School was to prepare boys for college. At the time Santayana attended, the curriculum emphasized English language and literature and especially sight translation of the classics into idiomatic English. The 1880 *Catalogue* states, "Past methods of instruction have too often resulted in an accurate and grammatical rendering of good Latin into bad English. To lead students to understand and convey to others the meaning, aim, and spirit of an author; to grasp a language in its literary rather than literal features; to seize the spirit rather than the letter, is the object of the present methods of instruction."

The typical course of study for the full eight years would include such English works and authors as *Tom Brown's School Days*, *Two Years Before the Mast*, *Robinson Crusoe*, Hawthorne's *Wonder Book* and *Tanglewood Tales*, Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*. Selections from Whittier, Byron, Longfellow, Scott, Pope, Irving, Tennyson, Wordsworth, Milton and of course, Shakespeare were read aloud in class with emphasis on enunciation, accent, and articulation; and there was voice training, oration,

and elocution since most students were destined to become lawyers, ministers, and teachers. In Latin class the student read and recited selections from Nepos' *Lives*, Caesar's *Gallic Wars*, Sallust's *Cataline*, Virgil's *Aeneid*, Cicero and Ovid. The students would also have four years of Greek, six years of French, and two years of German. Mathematics and science, and history and geography were not neglected, nor were drawing, music, and penmanship. And to ensure a sound body as well as a sound mind the boys had gymnastics and military drill.

In addition, in homeroom, Santayana probably had an "informal" declamation exercise five times a year, reciting from memory at least twenty-four lines of poetry or twenty lines of prose. The students were required to choose and recite a new passage at every recitation, one not used previously by himself or his classmates; but there is a story about one student who selected a boring and obscure passage to which teachers invariably did not pay attention. He recited this passage each time, changing the title at each declamation. Santayana, however, enjoyed declamation, for he could indulge vicariously in the imaginary drama of the speeches he recited. He would even take books home to read aloud in the privacy of his bedroom.

With what seems a rigorous course of study, what was it actually like in the Boston Public School? In *Persons and Places* Santayana admits, "I was bored. I hadn't enough to do or enough to learn. At school there was nothing but lessons; and lessons in a large class, with indulgent teachers and slack standards of accuracy, meant perpetual idleness. I could have learned twice as much in half the time, had a better pace been set for me and more matter. In the absence of matter, I dreamt on a hungry stomach." In his parody of the *Aeneid*, written while at the Latin School, we get a picture of classroom activity:

> As when among a crowd of idle boys
> At times arises playfulness and noise,
> And spitballs fly around and beans and chalk—

For mischief lends them weapons—if in walk
By chance a teacher, each his glee restrains
The noise is hushed and guilty silence reigns.

Our picture can be further illuminated by an unpublished poem in a manuscript notebook entitled "Occasional Poems" in the Columbia Santayana Collection. Read on the occasion of his Latin School graduation dinner, he says of his fellow students:

Now here is Howes, so saucy and so pert
When teacher blunders, so on the alert
Who keeps up on them in an undertone
A running commentary of his own,
He often times will break a plucky lance
In combat with a teacher's ignorance,
When Groce talks case, or Moses tries to say
That result should be expressed by may;
And many an hour with this wrangling fill
For e'en when vanquished teachers argue still.

* * *

And Cole, whose brain formed in the untrammelled West
In schoolrooms doesn't feel itself at rest,
But such impatient eager thoughts there
They keep his hand forever in the air;
And Richardson, who plagued the teachers so
With questions and goings to and fro
That now to him, they gratefully agree
Faithful endeavour prizes to decree.

Santayana did not take schoolwork home since most of his preparation for class was finished during the one-hour study period. His free time was spent at the Boston Museum or Public Library where he read Oliver Optic's stories and Abbott's *Lives*, *Mary Queen of Scots*, and *Alexander the Great*. At home, he read Ruskin's *Stones of Venice* and perused the volumes of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. In it, the article on architecture especially

inspired his drawing and daydreaming. Although there was not much family life, there was a brief period during which they read together in the evenings in Spanish from Cervantes (Spanish was the language spoken at home) or in English from Shakespeare.

His teachers at the Latin School were like most teachers, a mixture of young and old, good and bad, most of them being able to produce results and to maintain discipline, and most knowing their texts very well. The Headmaster, Moses Merrill, known as "Holy Moses," was a man of character and moral conviction. In Santayana's *Lines on Leaving the Bedford St. Schoolhouse*, his first printed poem, a copy of which was recently acquired by Columbia as the gift of Corliss Lamont, Santayana satirizes his teachers:

> First, let the lordly Moses be her theme,
> Of kindly heart, though, frowning, fierce he seem;
> Though not so mighty as would suit his mood,
> What power he gets he makes use of for good.

Old Charles J. "Cudjo" Capen, the French teacher, who taught from 1852–1909 at the Latin School, was one who both knew his subject and had his "crotchets." He would open his mouth wide like a "hippopotamus" and point with a pencil at the tongue, lips, palate, or larynx in demonstrating the exact method of producing perfect French sounds; he played thunderous voluntaries on the piano; and it was rumoured that he had married his son's fiancée:

> Next, Farmer Cudjo, far behind the age,
> Musician, linguist, moralist, and sage;
> Who talks of everything but what he ought,
> And knows so much that he can teach us nought;
> Bound to display the treasures of his mind,
> 'T is hard a moment for the French to find;
> So set on showing off his store of knowledge,
> That there's a doubt if we get into College.

Arthur I. Fiske, the Greek master, a cultivated man who loved

his subject, was both clear minded and exceedingly shy and nervous. He stood on his tiptoes as he spoke, and he would wiggle his fingers, half in and half out of his pockets, as if groping for the next word. It was probably about Fiske that Santayana wrote in the *Lines*:

> And next, O contrast happy and complete,
> He whose great name I need not here repeat,
> For nothing that my verse of him might say
> Would to that name a worthy tribute pay.

Pauline Holmes in her *Tercentenary History of the Boston Public Latin School* informs us that he was a distinguished scholar who was loved and respected by his pupils.

After him is Latin instructor Joseph W. Chadwick:

> who when he gets mad,
> Shouts that our Latin is most "shocking bad,"
> And then proceeds, in the most reckless manner,
> To violate the rules of English grammar,
> And now curtails study and Bible reading,
> Neither our rights nor pious wishes heeding.

The English teacher, Byron Groce, nicknamed "Stuffy" by the students, is delineated in *Persons and Places* as an unconventional spirit whose "inner rebellion kept him from being sentimental, moralistic, or religious in respect to poetry; yet he *understood* perfectly the penumbra of emotion that good and bad poetry alike may drag after them in an untrained mind. He knew how to rescue the structural and rational beauties of the poem from that bog of private feeling." Plump and dapper, with a sparkle in his eye and a little mustache and beard,

> The name of Stuffy I cannot pass by,
> Good, jovial soul, who never can be dry,
> But often cross; and whose uncertain mood
> I think must be dependent on his food;

One day he's arbitrary, cutting, set,
The next the jolliest man you ever met.

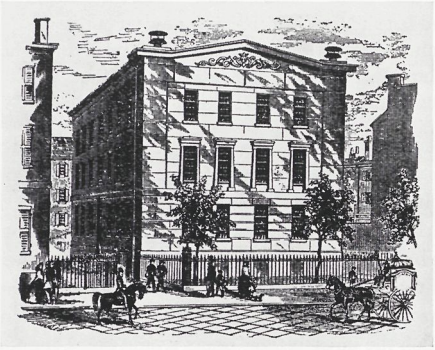
Benjamin O. Pierce, a junior master, lasted only one year at the Latin School:

And last and least is Pierce, just now let out
From College, with fresh knowledge armed throughout,
Who, when he's asked the lesson to explain,
Says with a smile it's all very plain.

The Bedford Street Schoolhouse, where Santayana attended, was the fourth home of the Latin School. Once ample and magnificent, it had grown shabby and squalid subjected to the use of time and the abuse of the boys. It had, in fact, worn out. In 1854, when the building was just ten years old, an addition was built on the top of the building to accomodate more students. The addition was connected by a dark, winding, dangerous, wooden staircase down which the boys in their boots would come thundering like an avalanche. There were other problems: the building was again too small to accomodate all the students, some of whom had to be housed in the old Primary School or the old Bowditch Schoolhouse a quarter of a mile away; the ventilation was poor; the large windows rattled in the winter and were difficult to open in the summer; innumerable lessons had turned the blackboards permanently white; the schoolyard was so small that the boys had to play in the street or go several blocks away to the Common; and Bedford Street was becoming an increasingly commercial thoroughfare with the noise of traffic and heavy teams of horses disturbing the students and teachers. After years of planning, a new building was built, the design of which won a prize at the Paris Exposition of 1878. The new school building on Warren Street, ready for the students by January 1881, was to remain the school's home until 1921.

In June 1880, two years before he was to graduate from the

Latin School, Santayana began to emerge as a poet and scholar. He won prizes for sight translation from Latin, French, and for an original poem, "Day and Night," termed by Santayana as "full of pessimistic, languid, Byronic sentiments." He began to be, what



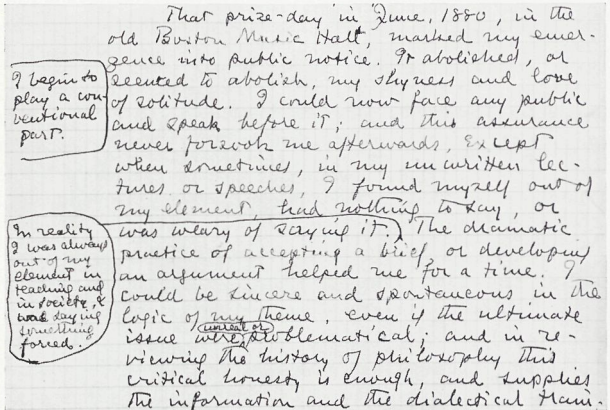
Bedford St. Schoolhouse.

he calls "a personage in my own estimation. . . . That prize-day in June, 1880, in the old Boston Music Hall, marked my emergence into public notice. It abolished, or seemed to abolish my shyness and love of solitude. I could now face any public and speak before it."

The fall of 1880 was the beginning of Santayana's next to last year, and the Latin School was preparing to abandon the Bedford Street Building for the new one on Warren Street. Following his triumphs on Prize Day, Santayana joined a group of classmates in forming a debating society. At each meeting a different boy would propose a topic or resolution or state an opinion which was then debated. When Santayana's turn came he recited a satire on his teachers (quoted above). The club members enjoyed it and wanted it printed. The flattered young poet obligingly revised his work adding a "tirade" on the closing and demolition of the Bedford Street Schoolhouse. The "tirade," which became the first

part, naturally, shows knowledge of classical models; it scans well, and is not sentimental, which given the subject would be a danger to an even more mature poet.

On the final day before the school moved to its modern quarters,



A passage from the manuscript of Santayana's *Persons and Places* in which he writes of his growing self-confidence while attending the Latin School. (Lamont gift)

a Farewell Declamation was held in the auditorium of the Bedford Street building. As the students entered, they were surreptitiously handed the printed copies of Santayana's *Lines On Leaving the Bedford St. Schoolhouse*. About two or three hundred copies of the four-page pamphlet were printed; only four copies are now known to have survived. With many students having copies, it was not long before the masters heard about "a poem." Santayana recollected in a letter written on May 16, 1935 to Pauline Holmes, "Mr. Merrill ('Holy Moses') got wind that one of the boys had written *a poem* on that occasion: would he please step up to the stage and read it. I stepped up, and with the presence of mind of a

future philosopher read only the first part, and sat down again." Santayana was no longer the lisping little Spanish boy; he now spoke with poise and a cultivated English accent.

The Farewell Declamation and Santayana were remembered in 1936 by Samuel W. Mendum, a classmate whom Santayana had once tutored in Latin: "What impressed me . . . was his scholarly mind. . . . Well, I've got to say it, all through that Latin School career of Santayana, I worshiped that scholarly mind. It was an inspiration to me and his schoolmates. It was easy to predict a brilliant future for him in real scholarship. And when he delivered before the assembled school in the old hall at the Bedford Street building on December 24, 1880—the last gathering in that building —a poem of farewell, we were thrilled with admiration."

Although Santayana read only the first part, it was not long before the remainder of the poem satirizing the teachers became public. The young poet mused on the reactions of his masters in his poem, "Teachers' Dialogue à propos of the 'Lines on Leaving the Bedford St. Schoolhouse.'" In this work, from his unpublished volume of "Occasional Poems," he imagines the Headmaster saying:

> O what can be the meaning of all this!
> Those first lines are most like a Judas kiss
> That open to base treachery the way
> And seem to flatter only to betray!
> It shall not go unpunished as I live!
> Those wicked boys shall satisfaction give,
> And with a rod of iron I shall rule
> The ungrateful rebels rising in my school.

Other faculty members he imagined reacting with pedantic lectures or imprecations, but Fiske, Santayana fancied, would say,

> Apparently perhaps it would seem best
> If all these things were quickly laid to rest . . .

LINES

On Leaving the Bedford St. Schoolhouse.

Forth from the seed by its first founders sown,
With rolling years, our good old School has grown;
And, for the brighter future that now nears,
Its fifth and noblest home the City rears.
We hasten thither, with high hopes elate,
And leave the older schoolhouse to its fate.
No more shall those familiar sights and sounds,
There oft repeated, cheer its lonely bounds;
No classic name shall henceforth greet its ear,
No Greek or Latin on the board appear;
No sudden thunder the old stairs shall shake,
And with a palsied tremor make them quake;
Month after month will pass, and yet no more
Shall be heard tales so often told before
Of Spartacus, Bozzaris, and the rest,
Or Toussaint l'Ouverture, of all the best.
The hum of voices during the recess;
The romping that the teacher would repress;
The merry groups that round the windows gather
Of all the day's events to talk together;
The cheated silence, when the opening door
Lets in one of the boys—and nothing more;
All these will disappear, and in their place,
Business this classic site will soon disgrace.

Yes, now we leave thee,—leave thee all alone
To ponder glories which thy youth has known;

The poet's first publication. (Lamont gift)

And a "chorus" advises that should the faculty respond with threats and punishments, the students' merriment would change to contempt.

During the Christmas vacation that followed the Farewell Declamation Santayana suspected that the teachers were angry and upset. After discussing the matter with his family, he went to Headmaster Merrill at home to offer an explanation and to extend an apology. The Headmaster dealt with the matter rather mildly suggesting only that Santayana send written letters of apology, especially to Chadwick, the Greek teacher, who was quite offended. When school resumed at the new location on Warren Street, Merrill made a long speech to the assembled students and faculty; and the matter became part of the history of the Latin School.

Santayana went on to a successful final year at the Latin School, was elected Major of the School Battalion and was appointed by Headmaster Merrill, Lieutenant Colonel. In the newly founded *Latin School Register* Santayana published a long parody based on the *Aeneid*, a sonnet on the death of President Garfield, and a number of other prose pieces and poems. Finally he won six honorable mentions in the Harvard entrance exams. The eight years at the Boston Public Latin School had helped prepare Santayana for Harvard and shape his future as a philosopher, a master of English prose style, and a poet.

EXHIBITIONS IN BUTLER LIBRARY

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Gifts for 1975

December 18–February 27

Singers and Musicians
From the Constance Hope Collection

Our Growing Collections

KENNETH A. LOHF

Berliner gift. Mrs. Constance Hope Berliner, founder of Constance Hope Associates, a firm representing concert and opera artists, has presented the extensive files of papers, correspondence, photographs and memorabilia documenting her association with performing artists during the past forty years. The more than three thousand letters and papers and two thousand photographs relate to the careers of some of the most important musical artists of the twentieth century, including Rose Bampton, Jascha Heifetz, Lotte Lehmann, Erich Leinsdorf, George London, Jeanette MacDonald, Alicia Markova, Lauritz Melchoir, Grace Moore, Jan Peerce, Ezio Pinza, Lily Pons, Eleanor Steber, Italo Tajo and Alfred Wallenstein.

Cane gift. Mr. Melville Cane (A.B.,1900; LL.B., 1903) has added the following to the Library's collection of his literary papers: the manuscripts and drafts for his poetry lectures; letters and manuscripts relating to his recently-published volume of poems, *Snow Toward Evening*; a group of twenty-five letters from William Jovanovich, Muriel Rukeyser, Lewis Mumford and other writers and editors; seventeen books and issues of periodicals containing his poetry and prose contributions; and sixty first editions, including copies inscribed to the poet by Sinclair Lewis, Gorham Munson, Lewis Mumford and Jan Struther.

Carver gift. Mr. John A. H. Carver has presented a group of eleven first and fine editions of literary and historical works ranging from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries. Noteworthy among the works donated are the following: Samuel Butler, *Hudibras Compleat*, London, 1700; Hugh Hamilton, *Philosophical Es-*

says, London, 1772; and Jodocus Lorichius, *Grammatices Latinae Commentarii e Praestantissimis eius Scientiae Autoribus*, Igoldstadt, 1570. The copy of Vincenzio Piazza, *Bona d'Affrica Espugnata da' Cavalieri di S. Stefano*, Parma, 1743, once belonged to the English romantic poet, Robert Southey. His signature and the date, 1799, appear on the title-page, and his bookplate is attached to the verso.

Collins gift. Professor George R. Collins has donated a group of twenty-four first editions of literary works, among which are the following: Will Carelton, *City Legends*, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1890; Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *Poems . . . With Illustrations from his own Designs*, New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1903; Frances A. Trollope, *Petticoat Government: A Novel*, Paris, A. and W. Galignani, 1850; and Lew Wallace, *The Prince of India*, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1893. Of special importance among the volumes in Professor Collins's gift is the rare first edition of Georges de Scudéry, *Alaric, ou Rome Vaincuë: Poëme Heroïque*, Paris, Augustin Courbé, 1654. This handsome folio edition, bound in contemporary full calf, is illustrated throughout with full-page engravings by François Chauveau.

Dames gift. Mr. Ralph J. Dames has presented the following three literary works for inclusion in the rare book collection: Rudyard Kipling, *Plain Tales from the Hills*, New York, M. J. Ivers & Co., 1890, in original printed wrappers; Henry Wotton, *Reliquae Wottonianae*, London, 1651, with engraved portraits; and Izaak Walton, *The Lives of Dr. John Donne, Sir Henry Wotton, Mr. Richard Hooker, Mr. George Herbert*, London, 1670, the first collected edition. In the last-named work the text on the errata leaf is corrected in Walton's hand.

Griffin gift. Mr. Charles C. Griffin has presented the papers of the late Dr. Evarts Boutell Greene (1870–1947), the distinguished

American historian who served as De Witt Clinton Professor of History at Columbia from 1923 to 1939. The papers date from 1893, the years Dr. Greene studied at the University of Berlin on a Harvard University fellowship, and they document his associations with Columbia, the University of Illinois, the American Historical Association, the Illinois State Historical Library, and numerous other associations and learned societies. The collection includes correspondence with his colleagues in the field of American history, including Dixon Ryan Fox, A. M. Schlesinger, Nicholas Murray Butler, Samuel Eliot Morison, Walter Lippmann, Allan Nevins, Robert L. Schuyler and James Truslow Adams. In addition, the papers contain the notes and manuscripts for Dr. Greene's books and articles, as well as clippings and reviews.

Jacobson gift. Mr. Herbert L. Jacobson (A.B., 1936) writer and diplomat, has established a collection of his papers with the gift of more than three hundred letters which he has received over the past thirty years from Mario Praz, Jacques Barzun, David Stacton and Lionel Trilling.

Jaffin gift. Mr. George M. Jaffin (A.B., 1924) has presented a group of eight autograph letters and one postcard written in 1936 by Arthur Rackham to Robert Partridge, mainly concerning Rackham's designs for Partridge's bookplate. Also included in Mr. Jaffin's gift is an autograph postcard written in 1929 by Arthur Machen to Frank Hollings.

Kahn gift. Mr. Max Kahn has donated a group of photographs, clippings, obituaries, postcards and printed works relating to the New York art dealer, Curt Valentin. Included in the gift is a group of seven photographs of Valentin's apartment, taken in August 1954, very shortly after the art dealer's death, showing his noted private collection of paintings and sculpture still in place and in-

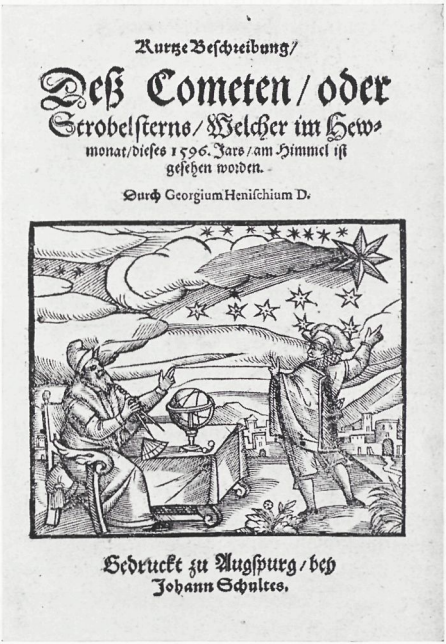
tact. Mr. Kahn's gift also includes a partial file of *Der Querschnitt*, a rare and important literary and art magazine published in Berlin in the 1920's.

Lamont gift. Dr. Corliss Lamont (Ph.D., 1932) has made a distinguished addition to the George Santayana Collection in his recent gift of a copy of Santayana's rare first publication, *Lines on Leaving the Bedford St. Schoolhouse*, a four-page leaflet printed in Boston in 1880, believed to have survived in only a few copies. Accompanying the leaflet is a letter written by Santayana to Pauline Holmes on May 16, 1935, in which he recounts the writing, public reading and printing of the verses written when he was a seventeen-year-old student. Rudolph Ellenbogen has written elsewhere in this issue on this period of Santayana's life.

Dr. Lamont has also donated a group of five letters written by Santayana's mother and sister. Two of the letters were written by Santayana's mother, Josephina, to her brother-in-law, Robert Sturgis, in one of which dated March 28, 1864, she mentions the birth of George; and three letters written by Santayana's sister, Susana Sturgis de Sastre, all of which discuss the philosopher's writings and activities in frank and sometimes critical terms.

Macy gift. Mrs. Helen Macy has established a collection of the papers of her husband, the late George Macy, founder of the Limited Editions Club and the Heritage Press. Comprising approximately 2,500 items, the gift collection contains letters, documents, photographs, awards, and printed materials documenting Mr. Macy's publishing career, including his years with the Nonesuch press, dating from 1941 to 1960. The correspondents include many of the Macys' close friends, including Peter Beilenson, William Rose Benét, Clifton Fadiman, Christopher Fry, Lillian Gish, Alec Guinness, Fritz Kredel, Frederic and Florence March, Francis Meynell, Bruce Rogers, Louis Untermeyer, Carl Van Doren and Lynd Ward. Mrs. Macy's gift also contains some thirty engrav-

ings, lithographs and drawings relating to the volumes they edited and published. Very attractive and important are the five original watercolors by Lynd Ward illustrating scenes from Tennyson's


Kurtze Beſchreibung/
Deß Cometen/oder
Scrobelſterns/Welcher im Hew-
monat/dieſes 1596. Jars/am Himmel iſt
geſehen worden.
Durch Georgium Heniſchium D.
Gedruckt zu Augſpurg/bey
Johann Schultes.

Title-page of Georg Henisch's *Kurze Beschreibung dess Cometen*, 1596. (Pepper gift)

Idylls of the King, each of which is inscribed to George Macy by Ward.

Pepper gift. In memory of his late wife, Dr. C. Doris Hellman Pepper (Ph.D., 1933), Mr. Morton Pepper has presented the dis-

tinguished collection of books on mathematics and astronomy which she collected in the course of her researches in the field of sixteenth and seventeenth century science. The 116 titles in the gift were written by some of the most important scientists in this field, including Georgius Agricola, Petrus Apianus, Bartolomé Barrientos, Joachim Camerarius, Hieronymus Cardanus, René Descartes, Thomas Erastus, Galileo, Oratio Grassi, Cypriano Leovitius, Marcus Manilius and Giovanni Vitratio. Many of the pamphlets and tracts in the gift collection relate to comets, particularly that which appeared in 1577. The rarest among this group is the work published by Laurence Johnson in London, *Cometographia quadam Lampadis aeriae que 10. die Nouemb. apparuit, Anno a Virgineo partu 1577*. Issued under the psudeonym, L. Bariona, and printed by Robert Walley in the same year as the comet appeared, the work is known in only two other copies, one at Harvard and the other at Oxford. The single manuscript in the gift is a group of twenty-one essays collected by Giacopo Castelvetri, an Italian publisher who worked in Elizabethan London. Entitled "Selva di varie nobili scrittori," the manuscript is dated 1595, and contains miscellaneous essays concerned primarily with diplomatic relations; but it also includes transcriptions of letters between Castelvetri's contemporaries, Tycho Brahe and Gaspar Peucer, dealing with the nova of 1572.

Pratt gift. Dr. Dallas Pratt (M.D., 1941) has presented two early eighteenth century books distinguished by their fine bindings. The first of these, Sir William Dawes, *Sermons Preach'd upon Several Occasions*, Cambridge, 1707, is bound in full red morocco, richly gilt-tooled in an elaborate cottage style. This handsome volume is from the library of Sarah Churchill, Duchess of Marlborough, and inscribed by her on a preliminary leaf, "S. Marlborough, 1707, given me by Sir William Dawes." Dawes was the chaplain to Queen Anne. The second volume in Dr. Pratt's gift,

John Sharp, Archibishop of York, *Fifteen Sermons Preached on Several Occasions*, London, 1701, is bound in full red panelled morocco with Dutch floral endpapers. It contains a contemporary signed inscription by an Anne Juory on the front fly leaf, dated January 1705/6.

Publishers' Library Promotion Group gift. The Publishers' Library Promotion Group, an association of trade book publishers organized to promote sales of books to libraries and schools, has selected the Columbia Libraries as the repository for its files and records. The initial gift includes the correspondence, reports and financial records covering the period, 1961–1971.

Sandor Estate gift. Through the courtesy of Messrs. John W. Kraus and Francis Van Praag, and Mrs. Toni S. Smith, we have received from the estate of Marian and Paul Sandor a collection of more than six hundred volumes consisting of works of fiction, history, art, drama and philosophy. Included are sixteen first editions of the works of Robert Nathan, several of which are inscribed by the author to the Sandors, as well as first editions of the writings of Conrad Aiken, Struthers Burt, E. E. Cummings, Bret Harte, Edna St. Vincent Millay, Ogden Nash, A. Edward Newton, Robert W. Service, Algernon C. Swinburne, Sara Teasdale and Eleanor Wylie.

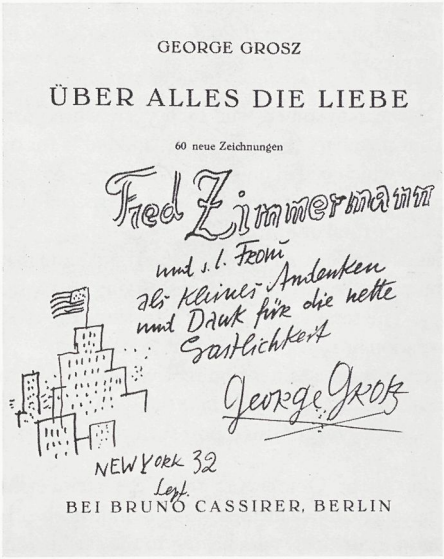
Seegal gift. Dr. Beatrice C. Seegal has donated a group of four works in memory of her husband, the late Dr. David Seegal, who taught at the College of Physicians and Surgeons from 1928 on, and served as Professor of Medicine from 1951 until his retirement in 1967. Included in the memorial gift are the following: Claudius Claudianus, *Opera*, Amsterdam, 1760; Horace Greeley, *The American Conflict*, Hartford, 1864–1866, two volumes; Isaac Newton, *Principia*, New York, Daniel Adee, 1848; and Henry M. Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent*, New York, 1878, two volumes.

Taylor gift. Mr. Davidson Taylor has established a collection of his professional papers with the gift of the group of fifteen journals which he wrote from 1959 to 1964, the period during which he served as the director of the Arts Center Program at Columbia.

Wagner gift. Mrs. Phyllis Cerf Wagner has established a collection of the papers of her late husband, Bennett Cerf (A.B., 1919; Litt.B., 1920), the distinguished American publisher and cofounder with Donald S. Klopfer of Random House. Included in Mrs. Wagner's gift collection are the following: Bennett Cerf's personal correspondence files covering the years, 1929–1945, and comprising nearly two thousand letters and papers; the manuscripts and proofs for his books, *The Laugh's on Me*, *Treasury of Atrocious Puns*, *The Sound of Laughter* and *Stories to Make You Feel Better*; photographs, certificates and awards; files of the Random House and Modern Library catalogs and brochures from 1925 to 1971; and more than one thousand letters written to Mrs. Wagner at the time of Bennett Cerf's death in 1971 by authors, publishers, government officials and public figures, including Fred Astaire, Louis Auchincloss, Jack Benny, Cass Canfield, Truman Capote, Joan Crawford, Averell Harriman, Alfred Hitchcock, John Edgar Hoover, Hubert H. Humphrey, Alfred A. Knopf, John V. Lindsay, Rod McKuen, Philip Roth, Eric Sevareid, Arthur O. Sulzberger, John Updike and Robert Penn Warren.

Zimmermann gift. In memory of her husband, the late Frederick Zimmermann, Mrs. Zimmermann has presented a collection of his letters and books. A double bass player with the New York Philharmonic from 1930 until 1966, and a teacher at the Julliard School of Music, Mr. Zimmermann also studied painting with George Grosz and was the friend of numerous artists, most notably those associated with the group of German painters known as "Der Blaue Reiter." He assisted in the planning for the important New York exhibition of their work at the Curt Valentin Gallery in De-

cember 1954, and much of the correspondence in the gift relates to this exhibition. Included are letters from Albert Bloch, David Burliuk, Mrs. Nina Kandinsky, Paul Klee and Gabriele Münter, as well as files of correspondence with George Grosz and the



Inscription by George Grosz to Frederick Zimmermann on the title-page of the artist's *Über alles die Liebe*. (Zimmermann gift)

American sculptor, John B. Flannagan. Mrs. Zimmermann's gift also includes inscribed editions of works by Grosz, Max Beckmann and Oskar Kokoschka, including Grosz's *Ecce homo*, 1923, and *Über alles die Liebe*, 1930, the latter inscribed by the artist on the title-page with a pen drawing of New York skyscrapers, on the tallest of which is flying an American flag.

Activities of the Friends

Fall Meeting. Dr. Carolyn G. Heilbrun, Professor of English, was the principal speaker at the Fall dinner meeting held at the Faculty House on Thursday evening, November 6. The subject of her talk was "Biography and Sex." Dr. Gordon N. Ray, Chairman of the Friends, presided.

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 June 30. In 1974–1975, the general purpose contributions were $17,970, and the special purpose gifts $4,575, making a total of $22,545.

The Friends also donated or bequeathed books and manuscripts, for addition to the research collections, having an appraised value of $146,275. The total value of such gifts since the establishment of the association in 1951 now stands at $2,028,185.

Aside from gifts, the association received income from the sales of paid subscriptions to the *Columns* and payments for dinner reservations. In the year of this report such receipts totaled $2,639.

Membership. As of October 1, 1975, the membership of the Friends totaled 426. Since memberships include husband and wife, the number of individuals who belong to the association is 657.

Meetings. The winter meeting of the Friends, to be held on Tuesday, January 27, 1976, will be a late afternoon reception in Low Library Rotunda to celebrate the opening of the fiftieth anniversary exhibition, "Bennett Cerf and Random House."

THE FRIENDS OF THE COLUMBIA LIBRARIES

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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.

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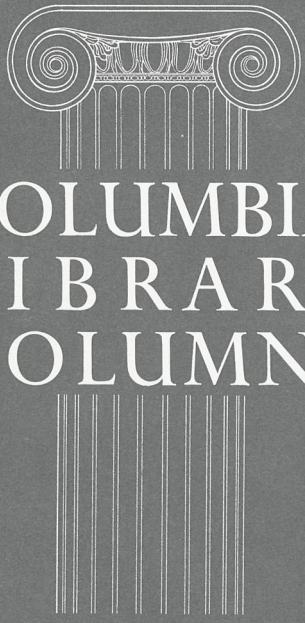

COLUMBIA LIBRARY COLUMNS

FEBRUARY 1976 · VOLUME XXV, NUMBER 2

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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 XXV FEBRUARY, 1976 NUMBER 2

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Three issues a year, two dollars and fifty cents each.

Frederick Rolfe, Baron Corvo, 1898.

COLUMBIA
LIBRARY
COLUMNS

Arthur Stedman and Frederick Rolfe, Baron Corvo

MIRIAM J. BENKOVITZ

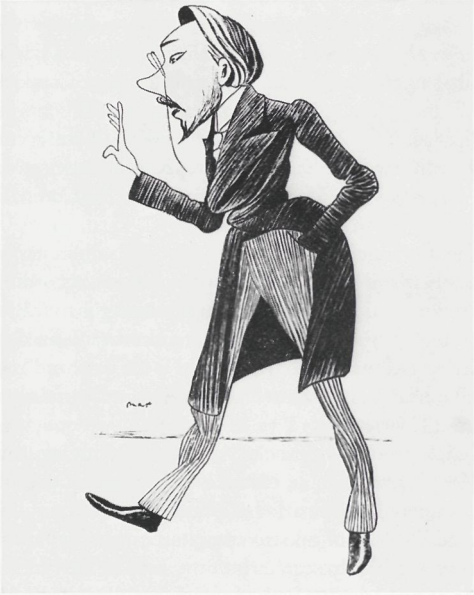
THE life story of Frederick Rolfe, the English writer who called himself Baron Corvo among a number of other pseudonyms, could be told in terms of unexpected encounters and disrupted relationships. Two hitherto unknown letters from Rolfe in the Edmund Clarence Stedman Collection of the Columbia University Libraries help support that statement. Rolfe wrote these letters to Arthur Griffin Stedman, one from London on 17 December 1899 and the other from Oxford on 4 June 1901.

Stedman and Rolfe met in London through Henry Harland, American expatriate, novelist, associate of the publisher John Lane, and editor of *The Yellow Book*. The two Americans, Harland and Stedman, had a long-standing connection. Their fathers, Thomas Harland, lawyer and one-time Commissioner of Internal Revenue, and Edmund C. Stedman, a prominent man of letters in his own day—the "banker-poet"—had been boyhood friends and Yale classmates. As young men, they had been together at Unitary Home, a New York City commune on East Fourteenth Street and the last remnant of Fourierism in America. There Edmund's second son Arthur Griffin Stedman was born in 1859, and there Thomas Harland found his wife. To the Harlands' second son

Henry, born in 1861, Edmund Stedman was named godfather. He took his obligation seriously, giving help and encouragement to Henry Harland when he began his literary career under the pen-name Sidney Luska with his realistic novels about immigrant Jews living in New York's lower East Side. In a year or two, Harland had worked this vein out, and he took himself and his wife Aline Merriam Harland first to Paris and then, in 1889, to London. He arrived with a letter of introduction to Henry James from Edmund Stedman. What was more natural than to find Arthur Stedman, himself a writer, an editor and literary agent, Harland's guest during a visit to London in 1899?

Harland enjoyed playing host at his flat in Cromwell Road. He had touted himself as a Jamesian stylist ("a sort of lemonade Henry James," Vincent O'Sullivan, another American, called him) and, by association and inclination, an aesthete of the "greenery-yallery" kind, especially after he and Aubrey Beardsley with John Lane had created *The Yellow Book* in 1894. Thereafter Harland's flat in Cromwell Road became a gathering place for the contributors to *The Yellow Book*, male and female, and for others who liked meeting them and each other; and they kept coming to Cromwell Road after *The Yellow Book* was discontinued in 1897. Harland's merit as a host was in the eye of the beholder. To some, Harland was a man of small accomplishments and large pretenses with his endless talk, so "amazingly witty, pleasant, ephemeral, . . . insincere" and, after too much port, plainly ribald. He was rarely silent and never still. He "talked on-a-trot" and he "skipped and hovered and sat on his hind leg everywhere." When seated, he constantly crossed and recrossed his legs and twisted nervously in his chair. To others, such as Ella d'Arcy, an "intellectual, mouse-mannered piece of sex" who had been a sub-editor of *The Yellow Book*, Harland was brilliant, amusing, and "the sweetest-tempered of companions." Long afterward, she remembered him "standing on the hearth-rug, or sitting on the floor, waving his eye-glasses

on the end of their cord or refixing them on his short-sighted eyes, while assuring some 'dear beautiful lady' or other" how much he admired her work—writing or painting—, her dress, her eyes (which reminded him of "the moon rising over the jungle") or



Caricature of Henry Harland by Max Beerbohm, 1896.

her hair. And thus he put each on "delightfully cordial terms with herself . . . and with him." In any case his spacious drawing room with its piano, large couch, and easy chairs glowing in the soft light of candles and oil lamps was usually full, with guests for tea and guests who came to dinner or who dropped in for coffee and cigarettes and stayed to hear Aline Harland sing a French song

with the "voice of a nightingale" and to crowd into the kitchen where they scrambled eggs. There were the flower-like Olive Custance, later Lady Alfred Douglas, with her painful passion for Harland; Kenneth Grahame and "gorgeous" Max Beerbohm; Evelyn Sharpe, Netta Syrett, Percy Dearmer and his "dazzling soft red-haired wife," Mabel; Ethel Reed, whose work in *art nouveau* was brilliant and whose affair with Richard Le Gallienne was at its height; Richard Le Gallienne, Hubert Crackanthorpe, Arthur Symons, the novelist Victoria Cross with her white face, thick lips, and tightly curled blond hair. There were James Hannay, editor of the *Daily Telegraph*, and his wife Margaret; and at times George Moore, Henry James, and even Edmund Gosse.

In 1899, Frederick Rolfe was there, too. Ella d'Arcy told of seeing him at Harland's afternoon receptions which, according to her, were "to the evenings" what "the Luxembourg is to the Louvre." She referred to him as Baron Corvo and characterized him as a "disquieting creature" who was "proud as the devil and as ungrateful, with a heart full of hatred and a fine head curiously like the portraits of Charles I."

Frederick Rolfe had reached Harland's drawing room—and Ella d'Arcy's uncharitable estimate—by a devious, painful route. A former schoolmaster, a failed priest, an unsuccessful photographer and inventor of underwater photography, an unsuccessful artist, once and briefly secretary to the socialist H. H. Champion, an editor of two journals both of which had died, Rolfe had come to London to make his fortune by writing although it was a "profession" which he found wholly distasteful. Born in Cheapside, London, Rolfe had spent much of his adult life elsewhere; and his most recent stay had been in the workhouse of Holywell, a Welsh village. For three years, he had tried to support himself by devotion to Saint Winefride, whose well gave the town its name, and by painting religious banners for Father Charles de Vere Beau-

clerk, priest of the parish. But by Christmas 1898, Rolfe had been penniless and in debt. His quarrels with nearly everyone in Holywell but especially with Beauclerk were so long and so loud that Rolfe thought himself excommunicated as a result. He was "stranded, naked, exhausted." Convinced that he must show to what a miserable condition his enemies had brought him, Rolfe entered the Holywell workhouse on 9 January 1899. On February 3, he was released by his own request and set out, ill-clothed, ill-shod, and dirty, to walk some 150 miles to Oxford. In Oxford lived his friend E. G. Hardy, in 1899 Tutor at Jesus College but previously a headmaster of Grantham Grammar School, where Rolfe had held his last teaching position. Rolfe got from Hardy a calm acceptance of his circumstances, dry boots, used but clean clothing, and railway fare to London.

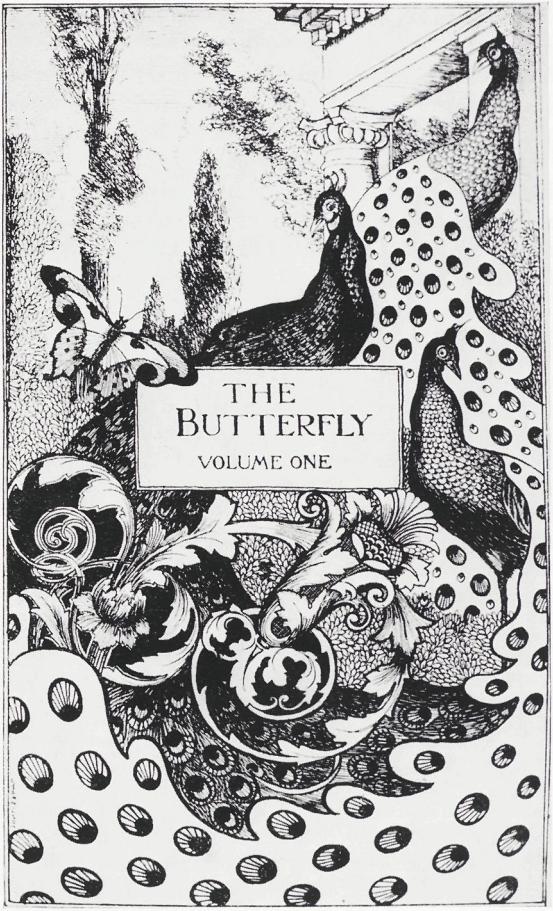
Rolfe's first move in London was to visit John Lane at his office in Vigo Street. Commencing with the October 1895 issue of *The Yellow Book*, Rolfe had contributed to it six stories with the general title "Stories Toto Told Me." Lane had published the six as a book and was even then considering a second series of these stories for book publication. On 27 February 1899, a Monday, Rolfe went to get a decision on the book and to secure other literary work of any kind which would pay. Although he managed to bring Lane to terms the next day, that Monday morning Rolfe came away with nothing except a sovereign which Lane gave him to put in his pocket and promptly regretted. Rolfe was so frustrated and enraged that his first impulse as he came on the street was to fling the coin into the gutter. But he remembered that he had been paid less than he was promised for a story in *The Yellow Book*, and he pocketed the sovereign.

Furthermore, he followed Lane's advice and went at once "buswise" to call on Henry Harland. In this first meeting, Rolfe was sharply aware of the contrast between Harland's elegant appearance and his own in his old brown-check mackintosh, with his thin

unkempt beard and hair and the shabby canvas haversack in which he kept everything he owned. But he talked in the carefully modulated tones of which he was so proud and he accepted Harland's eggs and bacon for lunch and he listened to Harland's prediction that the new set of Toto tales must make him rich and he came away with confidence and self-approbation and another sovereign.

Thereafter Rolfe was invited to the Harlands' and to their friends' homes—Ethel Reed's flat, where she lived with her mother, the Hannays', others'. One invitation from Harland to "come to T" mentioned a visitor from New York. That was Arthur Stedman. The party was much the same as most parties in the Cromwell Road drawing room until Harland asked about a new Toto tale, one eventually called "About What is Due to Contrition." Rolfe produced a copy of it from his haversack and Harland read it aloud "most beautifully and sympathetically." When it was done, the hearers were impressed into silence. Rolfe, too, was impressed, and he congratulated himself on his own powers. He was especially pleased with the description of a thunderstorm with which the tale opens. When Arthur Stedman asked to take a copy back to New York because he was sure he could place it, Rolfe readily agreed.

Exactly when this party took place is uncertain. In late April, Harland was in Paris, where he and his wife dined with Oscar Wilde. Despite illness in March, Rolfe was at work throughout the spring and summer and well into early autumn revising the stories already written and composing a new series of seven for the second collection of Toto tales. By June 19, he had completed three of the new tales of which "About What is Due to Contrition" was one and had sold the entire group of seven on the basis of the three already written to *The Butterfly*, a periodical recently taken over by the publisher Grant Richards. Rolfe's sale of his work to Richards occurred after the meeting with Stedman. Thus conjecture can place the party at which Stedman and Rolfe met



Title-page of *The Butterfly*, the periodical in which Corvo's Toto story, "About What is Due to Contrition," was published in the August 1899 issue.

within the period commencing in May and ending before mid-June 1899.

Meanwhile Stedman returned to New York, where for months he was faced with the serious illness of his father and the family problems it entailed. Only in November was he enough at ease to take up the matter of Rolfe's story and write to inquire about it. Rolfe's first extant letter to Stedman is in reply to his query. The letter, written on the paper of the Hogarth Club but giving Rolfe's address as c/o Grant Richards Ltd at 9 Henrietta Street and marked "*Private and Confidential*," reads,

Dec xvii. 1899

Dear M^r^ Stedman:

I thank you kindly for your letter dated Nov 29^th^; and I hasten to inform you that the Story, which you were good enough to take away with you, has already been sold, and published, in the August Number of an English magazine, called "The Butterfly," which paid an astoundingly good price for it. On this account, it will perhaps be inadvisable to try to sell it in America.

At the present moment I am under contract to Grant Richards to produce a somewhat important work of historical research within the next six months. This task occupies most of the time; and prevents me from devoting many energies to other branches of literature: but I have a few things in hand, which, perhaps, might find a foothold in some magazine of the better class—I take the liberty of sending you the first that comes to hand;—and, should you be able to place similar things continuously, I should be vastly pleased.

I may add that, though I am not rich, I will never consent to do little peddling jobs in journals, or in magazines. My powers and my ambition deserve, and shall have, a higher scope. And, with this preliminary, I go on to say that I have a very large and very brilliant literary scheme to propose to any one who wishes to become a Maecenas of literature, —an entirely novel scheme, which is commended by, but which appears to frighten, the few financiers whom I meet on this side. This is only to be taken as a mention of an existing opportunity. Should you

care to go into the matter confidentially, as my agent, I will send you a frank and definite statement which may help you to an understanding. Please note that I do not press the subject, I am fully occupied with other things; and I can quite well afford to wait, until the course of events shall bring to me the means to do the thing I want to do.

Permit me to offer sympathy in regard to your recent anxieties, and to hope that our acquaintance and connection may improve.

With kind regards, I am

Yours while

Corvo

What Rolfe sent to Stedman is unknown; it was probably a piece written before he came to London in 1899. When he wrote the letter to Stedman, Rolfe was hard at work on *Chronicles of the House of Borgia*. On September 23, he had moved into lodgings in Mrs. Isabelle Griffiths's attic room at 69 Broadhurst Gardens, Hampstead. He described this room, where he lived (often under threat of eviction) until 1904, in his best known book *Hadrian the Seventh*. He had completed his collection of Toto stories there by 29 September 1899, and by December he was spending his days and most of his nights at work in the little attic room or at the British Museum. On 10 November 1899, he had signed an agreement with Grant Richards to produce that "somewhat important work of historical research," the Borgia book. For this work, Rolfe received £1 a week with £10 due on delivery of the manuscript. He had welcomed the commission, but he soon found that he "could die but not live" on the weekly payment, and in late 1899 he had no other source of income. He had some kind of arrangement with a former student, Edward Savage, a solicitor now living at 69 Broadhurst Gardens, whereby Savage provided a small remittance against Rolfe's earnings. The "astoundingly good price" paid him by *The Butterfly* for "What is Due to Contrition," the story Stedman had heard read at Harland's and had inquired about,

amounted to £3.3.0. He had earned nothing more since August; *The Butterfly*, which had agreed to publish six more tales, had expired.

Nevertheless, Rolfe was still sanguine. Lane had the new Toto stories which would appear in due course and help make his name if not his fortune since he had sold all rights for £20. Rolfe was sending out various short pieces, hoping for publication. And he had a grandiose scheme, as he would have to the end of his days: if some one would have the wisdom to finance him on a more lavish scale than Savage, then both Rolfe and his partner must reap a reward from Rolfe's books.

By the time his second letter went to Stedman, Rolfe's situation had changed far more than the contents of the letter indicate. The letter, written from Jesus College, Oxford, reads:

iiii June. 1901

Dear Mr Stedman:

Very many thanks for your communication.

H. Harland proclaimed my book in M.S. to be παιδεράστικος minated the closing of his door to me, and my name on the newspaper Black List, unless I altered it. I refused to alter even a comma. I have not seen H. Harland during eighteen months: nor has he been urbane enough to render an action of graces for the copy of the said book which was sent to him on publication.

Touching the matter of my future work, Mr Stanhope Sprigg of 110 St Martin's Lane, W. C., has been good enough to undertake the management of the same.

I am up here, helping the Senior Publick Examiner with the papers in Honour Greats, for the second time—an immense compliment.

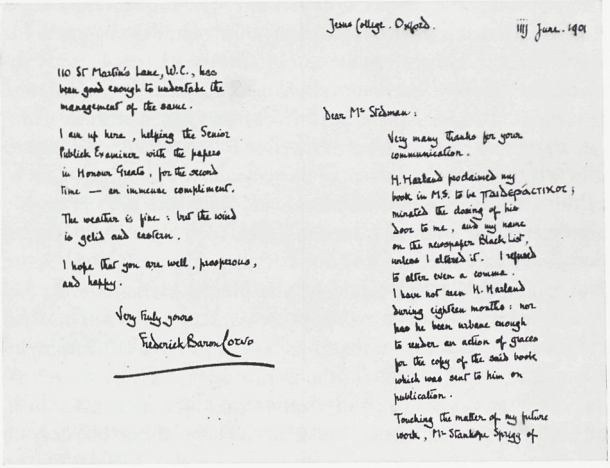
The weather is fine: but the wind is gelid and eastern.

I hope that you are well, prosperous, and happy.

Very truly yours

Frederick Baron Corvo

Rolfe's presence at Oxford was owing to E. G. Hardy. Suffering from glaucoma, he was unable to read his students' examination papers. Early in 1900, he enlisted Rolfe's help and thereafter until 1907, Rolfe went to Oxford several times each year to read



Jesus College. Oxford. 4th June. 1900

110 St Martin's Lane, W.C., has been good enough to undertake the management of the same.

I am up here, helping the Senior Publick Examiner with the papers in Honour Greats, for the second Time — an immense compliment.

The weather is fine: but the wind is cold and easterly.

I hope that you are well, prosperous, and happy.

Very truly yours
Frederick Baron Corvo

Dear Mr Stedman:

Very many thanks for your communication.

H. Harland proclaimed my book in MS. to be ΠΑΙΔΕΡΑΣΤΙΚΟΣ; minuted the closing of his door to me, and my name on the newspaper Black List, unless I altered it. I refused to alter even a comma. I have not seen H. Harland during eighteen months: nor has he been virtuous enough to render an action of graces for the copy of the said book which was sent to him on publication.

Touching the matter of my future work, Mr Stanhope Spriggs of

Letter written by Corvo to Arthur Stedman on June 4, 1900.

Hardy's papers. He was there in February and again in July 1900 when, for the first time, he read papers in "Honour Greats." If the "immense compliment" of reading them a second time flattered him—as well as feeding him—and if he lived up to his own adage that a man is a fool who is not happy in Oxford "when the weather is weather," there was little else in Rolfe's affairs to give him much satisfaction.

The quarrel with Harland recorded here is only one of several in which Rolfe had been involved or was on the verge of being involved since his letter of 1899 to Stedman. Owing to "peridicu-

lous mismanagement," Rolfe had ended his agreement with Edward Slaughter by early March 1901, thus ending at the same time the small remittance Slaughter paid him. Rolfe's relations with Grant Richards were also strained. Richards's readers had not approved the manuscript of *Chronicles of the House of Borgia* when Rolfe submitted it in July 1900, only a little later than agreed. He was indignant. He protested clamourously, but he made every revision and allowed every omission which Richards wanted; and then Rolfe "precluded" the book from being issued with his name, an admonition which Richards failed to follow when he published it in October 1901.

With his other publisher, John Lane, Rolfe was not yet openly hostile, but he distrusted Lane. In March 1900, thanks to a suggestion from an employee at Lane's Bodley Head, Temple Scott, supported by Kenneth Grahame and Henry Harland, Lane had contracted with Rolfe to make a prose translation of *The Rubáiyát* of 'Umar Khaiyám from the French of J. B. Nicolas. Despite his commitment to Richards for the Borgia book, Rolfe had been seduced by the fee of £25 and a statement which Lane made in an unguarded moment that he intended to make Rolfe "not only an artistic success, but a *commercial* success as well." Rolfe's days, already filled with work which he disliked, grew longer and more drudging. He managed, however, to keep the "Borgiada" going and to complete the translation by the end of May so that it could be published in July. But nothing happened. *The Rubáiyát*, intended for publication before *In His Own Image*, the second series of Toto stories, did not appear until 1903 and then only after Rolfe had turned to the Society of Authors. Lane held *In His Own Image* almost eighteen months before bringing it out on 5 March 1901 under a title to which Rolfe assented but for which he had no enthusiasm.

In His Own Image was the cause of the quarrel with Harland reported in the second letter to Arthur Stedman. The book is made

up of the six tales which appeared in *The Yellow Book* and then in *Stories Toto Told Me* plus twenty-four others written especially for the new book. They derived from the summer of 1890, which Rolfe spent outside Rome. When he was removed bodily from the Scots College, Rome, where he was a candidate in 1890 for the priesthood, he found refuge with the English-born Duchess of Sforza-Cesarini first at her palazzo on the Corso Vittorio Emanuele, at the Piazza Sforza, and then at her palazzo high on a hill in Genzano, where she went to escape the summer heat of Rome. Rolfe was shocked and grieved at the Scots College's denial of his vocation so that he went to Genzano "all sad with the half-shut eyes of a dreaming prisoner." But he soon awoke to other possibilities such as the Sforza-Cesarini archives and his own writing and painting and photography. For these last two he had available as models the "long rose-brown sinuosities of youth" which he found in a group of seven boys, all native to Genzano. These boys accepted Rolfe and were eager to serve him; indeed, their simple devotion helped assuage the mockery of his ambitions. With the seven, Rolfe began to wander in the Alban Mountains going a half-day's journey, a day's, two at the most when he went as far as Velletri or into the Sabine Mountains. Rolfe bathed in mountain streams and lakes and he slept on wooded slopes or in a hammock slung between the oaks. He spent whole days lazing in the dappled sunlight and he came back to the Palazzo with strawberries from Nemi, memories of the monasteries at Subiaco, of Guido Reni's paintings in the Church of the Santissima Trinita at Marino, of mass in Bernini's Church of San Tommaso da Villanova at Castel Gondolfo. He also came back with the matter, still "unworded," of *Stories Toto Told Me*. Despite the wealthy Romans' age-long invasion of these mountains, owing to their natural beauty and their coolness in the hot months, the inhabitants preserved their isolation and cultural integrity. Christianity was an ancient heritage, but its orthodox ways and beliefs developed

slowly among the people. Even the most faithful in 1890 retained peculiar customs more pagan than Christian, symbolic approaches to the mysteries of luxuriant growth and sudden destruction by earthquake. They localized their religion. As their ancestors had walked and talked with gods when the world was young, so these peasants were familiar with apostles, disciples, saints. With total reverence for Mary, the Holy Father, and their Son, they envisioned his followers as natives of the Alban Mountains and heaven as a wondrous, enlarged village inhabited by translated villagers. This version of Christian mythology, vital with the breath of Christ and the homely localism of Christianity in these Alban Mountains, provided the matter of *Stories Toto Told Me* and of *In His Own Image*. The seven boys with whom he wandered through the mountains provided Rolfe with frames for his stories and a part of their ambiance. The entire group with their "serene reserved nobility of port, their bright gravity of regard and the antick breeding of their mien" represented "singular perfection" to Rolfe; their leader, Toto Ephoros, seemed extraordinarily beautiful. And Rolfe, as he said about a fictitious priest, was one of the "brave souls" unafraid to "honour their Creator by frank admiration of His noblest works." Rolfe thought Toto as "divinely smart" in blue livery as he was desirable lying on his back in the woods while "his arms framed the density of his hair" and his "head and throat fell back and upward to the sky." Toto became Rolfe's narrator for the tales which began to take shape at least by the summer of 1892.

Rolfe's depiction of Toto gave *In His Own Image* an objectionable "flavour," according to Henry Harland. He bluntly named it, pederasty, and suggested that it be eliminated. Rolfe, as he told Stedman, refused to change so much as a comma, whereupon Harland called Rolfe a fool, declared him unwelcome at Cromwell Road and at the homes of Harland's friends, and even threatened him with the "Newspaper Black List," as the letter to Stedman

says. Rolfe states there that the incident occurred while *In His Own Image* was in manuscript; elsewhere, he placed it later, at a time when he was reading proof on the book. The statement in the letter is very likely accurate. In either event, Rolfe immediately withdrew the dedication of *In His Own Image* to the Harlands and the James Hannays "in acknowledgement of hospitality." And thus ended Rolfe's relations with Hannay, the Harlands, and their friends. Rolfe accepted the closed doors with meager regret and told Lane about the threat of the blacklist. From time to time when Harland or Rolfe published a book, the other sent a letter in praise of it, but they never met again.

That Rolfe wrote bitterly about Harland to Stedman was foolhardy. Doubtless Rolfe thought it one way to strike back at Harland. Besides, Rolfe was so convinced of his rectitude even when it was non-existent that he fully expected everyone, whatever allegiances already prevailed, to join in making his enemies responsible for what he suffered. In this case, Harland was correct in his estimate of Rolfe's depiction of Toto and of himself. Harland's intolerance is regrettable, but given his times, his ambitions, and his pretensions, Henry Harland could act no differently. But neither could Rolfe. He was honest in his admiration of Toto and faithful to himself and his convictions. And neither could Arthur Stedman. He was preparing to take up residence in London, where for two years he acted as "Book-expert" and cataloguer of the Booklovers' Library. Association with Rolfe could only make difficulties. More important was the fact that Stedman could not deny his family and his family's friends. He made no reply to Rolfe, and Rolfe sent no more letters to Stedman.

Giacopo Castelvetro in Scandinavia

ELEANOR ROSENBERG

IN 1975 the Columbia Libraries acquired an interesting and valuable late sixteenth-century manuscript formerly in the library of the late Doris Hellman and given in her memory by her husband, Mr. Morton Pepper. A professor of history at Queens College, Doris Hellman was widely known for her contributions to the history of science and especially for her fine book, *The Comet of 1577: Its Place in the History of Astronomy*. It is not surprising, therefore, to discover that the manuscript now catalogued as Western 32 contains, among its twenty-two items, an exchange of letters between the great Danish astronomer, Tycho Brahe, and his friend Caspar Peucer, the celebrated German mathematician and physician. Tycho's work on the comet of 1577 was published in 1588; his letter to Peucer is dated on September 13th of the same year. Although both Tycho's letter and Peucer's response have been published, Miss Hellman's possession of handwritten copies made no later than 1595 must have given her great pleasure. Now it is our pleasure to count this manuscript among Columbia's treasures and to do honor to her memory.

Upon examination, the manuscript turns out to be a varied collection of documents—letters, discourses, reports, the whole range of materials that the Italians called *relazioni*—which throw light upon aspects of history in the latter part of the sixteenth century.* Only the two letters exchanged by Tycho and Peucer are of scientific interest. A sizable volume containing some 260 written leaves, Western 32 is bound in a parchment cover made from a piece of Latin manuscript of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. Its title-page, however, is neatly lettered in the unmis-

* I wish to thank my friends Ruth J. Dean and Paola Ottolenghi Velli for their valuable assistance in the preparation of this article.

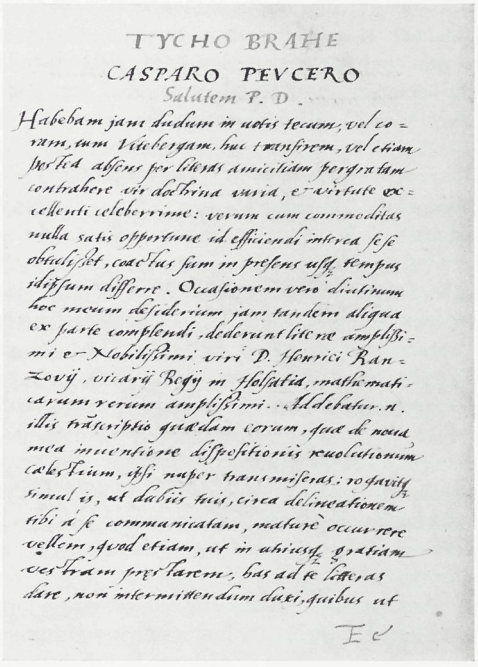
takeable "fine Italian hand" of the late sixteenth century, and almost all the texts are written in the pleasantly legible script of that period though by several different hands. The language, too, is preponderantly Italian, only nine of the items being in Latin.

The title-page provides no clue to the nature of the contents but merely announces a collection: SELVA DI VARIE NOBILI SCRITTURE. It provides the compiler's name as Giacopo Castelvetri, and informs us that the book was prepared in Copenhagen in 1595 ("In Hafnia nell'anno MD.VC."). A Virgilian tag, "Forsan et haec olim meminisse iuuabit" (*Aeneid*, I, 203), precedes place and date, apparently to suggest that the compiler has performed his pious task of preservation in order to bring pleasure to future readers. But this bland suggestion is belied by the provocatively anti-Catholic nature of a number of items in the collection, which was obviously made with a Protestant reading public in mind. And, indeed, the whole appearance of the volume indicates that it has been prepared for printing: the neatly designed title-page, the table of contents, the headings and colophons that accompany many of the texts, and the corrections entered by an editor's hand all have a professional look.

The availability of this manuscript should open up a new chapter in the career of a remarkable man, Giacopo Castelvetro, its compiler and editor, especially if it is studied in relation to a number of similar compilations from his hand that are in the possession of the Newberry Library. Hitherto this Castelvetro, nephew of the great "Aristotelian" commentator and teacher Ludovico Castelvetro, has been known chiefly for his activities in furthering the Italianate taste of aristocratic Englishmen in Elizabethan and Jacobean England. His wanderings, however, took him to many other parts of Europe, and his services as compiler, editor, and publisher of texts in Latin and Italian betray interests that go beyond innocent cultural intentions. He was an intelligence agent as well as a language master, a propagandist as well as a disseminator

of Renaissance literature. Although his fame has been overshadowed by that of his more famous uncle, we do in fact know a good deal about him.*

A brief sketch of Castelvetro's earlier career may help to set his


TYCHO BRAHE
CASPARO PEVCERO
Salutem P. D.

Habebam jam dudum in votis tecum, vel coram, tum Vitebergam huc transirem, vel etiam per te absens per literas amicitiam peregrinam contrahere cùm doctrina varia, tum virtute excellenti celeberrimo: verum cum commoditas nulla satis opportune id efficiendi interea se obtulisset, coactus sum in presens usque tempus id differre. Occasionem vero diutinum hoc meum desiderium jam tandem aliqua ex parte complendi dederunt literæ amplissimi & Nobilissimi viri D. Henrici Rantzovij, vicarij Regij in Holsatia, mathematicarum rerum amplissimi. Addebatur illis transcriptio quædam eorum, quæ de nova mea inventione dispositionis revolutionum cœlestium, ipsi nuper transmiseras: rogavitq; simul is, ut dubia tuis, circa delineationem tibi à se communicatam, maturè occurrere vellem, quod etiam, ut in ubiorij gratiam vestram præstarem, has ad te literas dare, non intermittendum duxi, quibus ut

E C

First page of Tycho Brahe's letter to Caspar Peucer, September 13, 1588, transcribed in Giacopo Castelvetro's compilation, "Selva di Varie Nobili Scritture." (Pepper gift)

* For detailed information concerning Giacopo (*alias* Giacomo) Castelvetro, see especially K. T. Butler, "Giacomo Castelvetro, 1546–1616," *Italian Studies*, V (1950), 1–42; see also the earlier studies cited in that article. To these can now be

Scandinavian experiences in context. He was born in Modena in 1546. In 1564, apparently infected by the "new opinions" in religion, he went to Geneva to join his learned uncle Ludovico who had been forced into exile as a heretic some three years before. He completed his education under Ludovico's guidance and shared his wanderings; after his uncle's death he went to Basle to learn the publishing business and later to Baden to perfect his German. In 1574 he visited London for the first time and found himself in a city that was rapidly becoming a sanctuary for Protestant refugees from all parts of Europe and that provided a warm and sympathetic welcome to gifted expatriates from Italy. Endowed with a winning personality and trained as a language master, Castelvetro apparently found no difficulty in earning a living or in acquiring distinguished patrons. A familiarity with the Italian tongue and some knowledge of "Tuscan" literature had become almost a necessity for men of fashion. And for the sons of the rich the Grand Tour was beginning to take shape, culminating in a long sojourn in Italy. In 1575 Sir Roger North engaged Castelvetro as tutor and travelling companion for his eldest son, John, and the two set out together on a tour to Italy.

By 1580 Castelvetro was again in England; within the next few years he established a connection with John Wolfe, a London printer who catered to the taste of his time by producing books that sedulously imitated the appearance of books imported from Italy even to the point of bearing a forged Italian imprint on their title-pages. At least eight of the works printed by Wolfe between 1584 and 1592 can be traced to Castelvetro's editorship including the first editions printed in England of Guarini's *Pastor Fido* and Tasso's *Aminta*. Castelvetro supplied the Italian originals for some of Wolfe's productions and in several instances paid the printing

added H. G. Dick's article in *Italian Quarterly*, VII (1963), 3–19; *The Newberry Library Bulletin*, VI (1965), 138–40; and A. D. Scaglione's article in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, XXVIII (1966), 141–49.

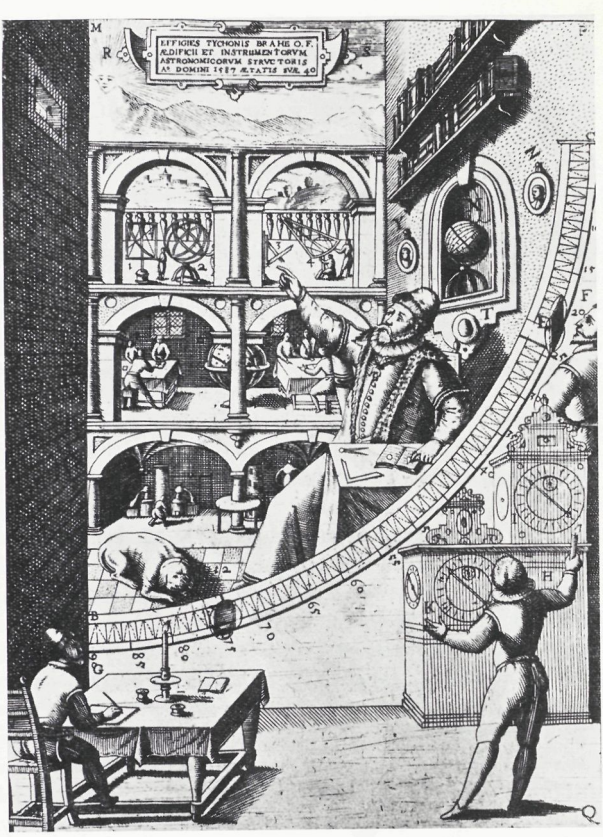
costs himself. A number of Castelvetro's dedications betray the incipient propagandist; in addressing an incomplete Latin epic on Columbus to Ralegh, for example, he took occasion to advertise Sir Walter as prime mover in the English effort to establish colonies in the New World. To Sir Roger North he presented a copy of an Italian translation of Mendoza's *History of China* with an inscription in his own hand that reveals his part in the publication. (This copy is now in the possession of the Columbia Libraries.)

During these years, also, he made a number of trips abroad, and in 1586 he first surfaces as an intelligence agent, carrying letters from Burghley and Walsingham for delivery in Frankfurt to Horatio Palavicino, an Italian exile who had for some years served the Elizabethan government as an international expert in finance. In 1592 we find Castelvetro in Scotland, employed as language master by King James VI and his queen, Anne of Denmark. He brought with him a gift, his own Italian translation of Charles V's *Advice to His Son*, and in its dedication he remarks that after the deaths of his three great friends, Sidney, Walsingham, and Hatton, he had no reason to remain in London. The explanation is suspect, for we know that he had other patrons in London. It is more likely that he went with the blessing of the Cecils who would have found it convenient to keep an intelligence agent near the person of James, upon whom the succession to the English throne would probably fall. As we shall see, Castelvetro was to play a similar role in Sweden. He was still in Edinburgh in August 1594, apparently having displayed his customary affability and his wonted skill as a language master with considerable success. Many years later King James was to speak affectionately of his Italian teacher.

Our narrative now takes us at last to 1595, the year marked by Castelvetro's labors of compiling and editing the papers in the Columbia manuscript, in the nine related volumes at the Newberry, and in one or two other volumes known to have been part of the collection. We are certain that early in that year he was in

Copenhagen; we can suspect that he arrived armed with a letter of introduction from Anne of Denmark addressed to a personage in the royal court, or from King James himself. In the winter and spring of 1590, James had spent several months in Copenhagen celebrating his union with the Danish princess. And in March of that year he had enjoyed a memorable day visiting Tycho Brahe at Uraniborg, the heavenly city on an island near Copenhagen which Frederick II, Anne's father, had equipped for the renowned astronomer. James must have admired the elegant arrangements of Tycho's house, which had running water pumped to various rooms, and surely he marvelled at the laboratories and observatories which Tycho had designed for instruments of his own construction, reputed the best in the world. We can scarcely doubt that Castelvetro in 1595 also visited Tycho, or that he acquired his copies of the Tycho-Peucer letters because of his own interest in Tycho's achievement.

Castelvetro must have been drawn to the Danish capital by its fame for intellectual brilliance, encouraged by his royal Scottish patrons to believe that he would feel secure and find employment there. We have, however, no ready explanation for his major occupation during this period, the collecting and editing of a dozen volumes of papers and documents. The project demanded a large expenditure of time and energy; notes in the Columbia volume, for example, indicate that he was at work on the papers in January, February, August, and October of 1595 and that he was still editing them in Sweden in 1596. Moreover, the borrowing of the originals and the hiring of copyists and correctors must have been costly, not to mention the expense of paper and binding. We know of no source of income that would have enabled Castelvetro to lay out large sums unless he was already in receipt of a handsome sustaining pension from Sir Robert Cecil, who had taken over the organization of the international spy system formerly supervised by Sir Francis Walsingham. We do know that Castelvetro was in



Tycho Brahe shown taking measurements of the stars with the giant mural quadrant that he had installed in his famous castle observatory in Denmark.

Cecil's employ early in 1596 and it is not unlikely that Sir Robert had been the real motivator of his trip to Copenhagen in 1595. Denmark in these years was ruled by an interregnum government, more stable than Sweden's but still one that would bear watching; moreover, Copenhagen would have furnished a good base for the collecting of information concerning Sweden, to which Castelvetro would soon migrate.

On the other hand, to judge from the contents of the Columbia manuscript, the papers themselves cannot by any stretch of the imagination be considered "intelligences" prepared for transmission to Cecil. There was, for example, no longer anything novel for English readers about the attempt of the Archduke Matthias to take over the government of the Low Countries in 1578 or the similar endeavor of the Duke of Alençon in 1582, nor anything alarming in the discourses urging Pope Gregory XIII, who had died in 1585, to head a movement for invading England and Ireland. Such reports were no longer "news" though they certainly had continuing value as propaganda, reminding readers of the perennial dangers of Roman Catholic plots and plans and alerting them to the insidious methods employed by the papists. Besides, as has been mentioned, the physical appearance of the volumes strongly suggests that Castelvetro intended them for publication, not for secret transmission.

By spring of the following year, Castelvetro was in Stockholm and in the service simultaneously of both Duke Charles, the Protestant leader who was later to reign as Charles IX, and Sir Robert Cecil. Writing to Cecil from Stockholm on May 3, 1596, Castelvetro mentions that this is his third communication since his arrival in Scandinavia and adds that he is now engaged in transacting business for Duke Charles. That he continued to act as Cecil's informant is confirmed by an entry in the list of Sir Robert's intelligencers drawn up at the end of 1597: "In Swedlande Castelvetro who is well knowen here in Englande a longe dweller and now in

howse with D. Charles." Castelvetro was, indeed, to remain in the Duke's service until May 1598 and in Cecil's indefinitely.

During these years of unrest in Sweden, Charles had as his main task the manipulation of public opinion. Acting as regent during the absence of the legal heir to the throne—his nephew Sigismund, King of Poland—Charles represented the Lutheran majority in opposition to the Roman Catholic adherents of Sigismund and to the council of nobles who, in principle, shared his rule. A forceful and reckless demagogue, he had discovered that by appealing to the peasants—by stirring up their animosities against their betters and by arousing their panic fear of a Catholic restoration—he could win their support when the Estates convened and thus extend his personal rule while discomfiting his opponents. He went personally before the people to tell them of popish plots to overthrow his government and to warn them that a return of Romanism would bring with it heavy new taxes to pay for rebuilding the monasteries and buying holy relics. He justified his use of force as action necessary to prevent subversion of the state, and he pointed to the fearful conditions in France and the Netherlands as evidence that the pope deliberately provokes internal dissension when he is about to impose his religion on a land.

In these arguments it may just be possible to discern Castelvetro's hand. (One of Charles's royalist critics described them as "Machiavellian doctrine.") But we have no evidence so far of the Italian's interest in Swedish affairs except for a single document and the incomplete text of a second one crammed in as afterthoughts at the end of the Columbia manuscript. Certainly Charles could have found materials for his propaganda in our manuscript and it would have been odd if he had not consulted this gifted man in his household for advice and ideas. Yet there is nothing to support the notion that Castelvetro served Charles as an unofficial minister of propaganda. Nor, though it was greatly to England's advantage to keep Sweden within the Protestant fold, have we any

reason to believe that Cecil had instructed his intelligencer to participate directly in Swedish politics.

The evidence we do have of Castelvetro's activities in the Duke's household is of a lighter, almost frivolous nature. In 1614, back in England after many adventures including imprisonment by the Inquisition, Castelvetro composed a treatise urging the English to include more fresh fruits and vegetables in their diet. His mind dwelling happily in the past, he recalled an experiment he had performed while in Scandinavia. One day in Copenhagen he took slips from a tree that bore very delicious pears; he preserved them in honey so successfully that in the spring, six months later, he and Duke Charles were able to graft them on a tree in Sweden. The incident takes us quite out of the atmosphere of the Duke's political troubles.

It would be pleasant to be able to report that Castelvetro taught Italian to the ladies and children of the Duke's household including the infant Gustavus Adolphus, later renowned for his excellent education and his mastery of languages, who was to redeem Sweden after his father's rule. If we have no support for this speculation, we do have evidence that by May 1598, when Castelvetro left Sweden, his royal employers and their circle had been thoroughly Italianized. He took with him a list on sixteen closely written pages of things they had commissioned him to buy for them—food delicacies, musical instruments, jewels, finery, and many other things besides. Their book requisition of over sixty items includes works by Ariosto and Guarini though belles-lettres are heavily outweighed by historical, political, and scientific titles. In general, their shopping list reveals a great yearning for commodities not available in Sweden and particularly for Italian specialties. And we can be sure that Castelvetro did his best to please them.

"I Am Used To Being Dunned":

F. Scott Fitzgerald and the Modern Library

ANDREW B. MYERS

THE twenties were over. The curtain had come down on the short, glamorous first act in the lives of F. Scott Fitzgerald and his adored, and equally doomed Zelda. It was the '30's and, whether they liked it or not, these sometime Jazz Age headliners were into the slow, sad second act.

The Depression had deepened after these world-weary expatriates had drifted home finally in 1931. For the gifted but erratic Scott it became, gradually, a time of often ignominious stumbling toward a future he could only guess at. His wife, after a European breakdown, and helpful psychiatric treatment, was living in the shadow of lurking schizophrenia. His writing, the one thing that pulled his troubled life together best, had during 1932 and 1933 become a compulsive effort to complete, with his right hand, a mature novel again—his last, *The Great Gatsby*, published in 1925, was years behind him—while with his left he turned out, almost mechanically, tales for popular magazines, which paid for slickness as much as anything else. One wonders, for example, how many *Saturday Evening Post* fans then realized that on occasion their commuter reading offered, in a Fitzgerald short story, what would in time be seriously regarded as contemporary literature.

In the midst of life in this real valley of ashes, Fitzgerald, in the late spring of 1934 became involved in an exchange of correspondence with Random House, which resulted, in early fall of that year, in the reappearance of *The Great Gatsby* in their quite successful Modern Library series. The archives of the parent firm, now in the Columbia Libraries, provide the script for a brief tragicomedy of editorial pressure, hasty writing, unsatisfactory galleys,

and nagging second thoughts by the writer, with the climax the publication, on September 13th, and in a neat, professional package of book-making, of Modern Library volume #117, *Gatsby*, with "A NEW INTRODUCTION" by the author.

Fitzgerald at 1307 Park Avenue in Baltimore.

On the title page were included, below the familiar epigraph, the names of Bennett A. Cerf and Donald S. Klopfer, the energetic young publishers of Modern Library books, of which there were now, including the "Giant" series, over two hundred titles. In partnership with Donald Klopfer, Bennett Cerf, a Columbia alumnus,

had acquired the Modern Library series in 1925, and then in 1927 the two founded Random House, which absorbed it. The Fitzgerald correspondence reported on here is a three-way exchange, between one or another of these proprietors, in New York, and the novelist, then holed up in Baltimore. Essentially, it consists of twelve items from Fitzgerald: one letter and one telegram to Klopfer, and nine letters and another wire to Cerf. These Fitzgerald manuscripts are as yet unpublished, though already known to scholars. Attached in each case, from company files, is the carbon of whatever reply (or replies) followed receipt. It seems clear from context that one or two mailings passed back and forth that have not survived, at least in Columbia's holding, but the basic outline can be clearly reconstructed of "Gatsby Redivivus."

The first Fitzgerald piece to the puzzle is his Western Union telegram from Baltimore, June 22, 1934, to Klopfer,

> THE SOONEST I CAN PROMISE YOU INTRODUCTION IS A MONTH FROM NOW BUT IT WILL SURELY BE FORTHCOMING BEFORE THAT TIME REGARDS.

This somewhat illogical message had obviously been preceded by business correspondence, and that is represented by a Klopfer carbon of June 18, requesting a target date for an introduction, one already "checked" with Maxwell Perkins, Scott's longtime editor at another famous New York house. So Random House did speak to Scribner's!

Next item of interest is a Klopfer carbon, of June 25, anticipating a preface written "within the next month," with the remark it was already listed in the catalogue just put "to bed." Fitzgerald was at this point living at 1307 Park Avenue in Baltimore itself, an inelegant row house, and struggling to see a lively daughter "Scottie" (Frances) through late grammar school years. Zelda, alas, had since May been consigned to the care of the Sheppard and Enoch Pratt Hospital, out in Towson, Maryland, close, ironi-

cally, to the rambling old suburban home, "La Paix," the Fitzgeralds had rented during several previous years. Of his own reaction to the two years at this asylum that, with outpatient visits, followed for Zelda, he would write, in autobiographical notes, "I left my capacity for hoping on the little roads that led to Zelda's sanitorium." The Modern Library-*Gatsby* correspondence crossed lines with the beginning of this time in purgatory for the hypersensitive Scott, himself already the victim of alcoholism.

When July came and went without copy in hand at 20 E. 57 St., Klopfer got in touch on August 1, pressing for the expected preface and concluding, understandably, "I am sorry to have to dun you for it, but publication dates are inexorable." Fitzgerald responded the next day with a letter, typed as all these missives were, to give August 9 as the outside date for submission, and noting, "Far from resenting your dunning me I am glad you did for I am used to being dunned and was looking for a reminder to start me in motion." For insurance he added, "It won't take long as I do such little critical writing that I am always bursting with opinions . . ." He must have hewed to the line, despite his dreary circumstances, for a Klopfer carbon of August 17 [*sic*] indicates that Fitzgerald's "uncorrected front material for THE GREAT GATSBY" accompanies this letter. And will the author make any changes desired and return at once, please.

Up to now it was Fitzgerald-Klopfer in center stage, since Bennett Cerf was on a European trip. By mid-summer he had returned however, and correspondence shifted to him more directly. On August 17, also, Fitzgerald writes, spelling in his usual chancy manner, to "Dear Bennett," returning the introduction corrected, now "immeasurably superior to the original." At the same time he laments the resulting "messy proof" and encloses a "message to the type-setters and proof-readers to do an *absolutely* accurate job of it." One wonders where that admonitory message is, and if the shop ever actually saw it. In any case it was in character for Fitz-

gerald, who personally needed all the editorial help he could get with initial versions, to be careful about the printed page that ultimately would stand for him in public.

This must have been a trying day for the author because, unless he was just careless about dating, on the same August 17 he addressed another letter to Cerf, asking for galley proof back fast since he was "not satisfied" with the latest version. Fitzgerald then shifted to asking that a copy of Thomas Wolfe's *Look Homeward, Angel*, shortly to be put out in ML, be sent to "Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Hitchcock, at Old Westbury, Long Island." This request brought together in effect a contemporary novelist whom Fitzgerald admired (though Wolfe disliked the older man's unpredictably sophomoric behavior when drinking) and a noted socialite polo-player who had recently been Scott's New York companion-after-dark. He closed by asking for "ten or fifteen" copies of the uncoming *Gatsby*.

Apparently up to now no letters turned on money matters. His very tangled finances were being cautiously managed by his loyal agent, Harold Ober—who does not appear in this correspondence. *Tender Is the Night*, Fitzgerald's new novel, had been published in hardback by Scribner's in April last, getting a disappointingly mixed reception, but it had gotten him advances. Magazine income was continuing, as from *Esquire* and *Redbook*. However his back debts and current expenses were, as always, oppressive. Fitzgerald was not living a threadbare existence. But the high life was gone, and he felt emotionally bankrupt.

On August 20 Klopfer would in businesslike manner acknowledge return of that corrected proof, and promise in turn a "good proof-reading" job. Cerf's letter next day picked up the light conversation with assurance "Tommy" would get his Wolfe, after September 25th pub-date. Scott would himself be entitled to six copies of *Gatsby*, and was offered "five or six other titles" in the Modern Library series. Cerf concluded with the encouraging,

"I like the introduction that you wrote very much. It should cause a great deal of talk." Spoken like a good publisher.

There is no space here to pause on all the subsequent details, in an exchange that stretched out, somewhat thinly, until Yuletide. But interesting moments can at least be identified, for biographical data and/or literary insights—as when on August 30 Fitzgerald, rehearsing a visit by Cerf to Baltimore, regretted too much talk then about himself by himself. We can guess that for the insecure author it was all a therapy. And Scott listed on a separate sheet ten Modern Library titles to be sent, free as offered,

Golden Ass	88
Beaudelaire	70
Jungle Peace	30
Don Quixote	174
Borgias	192
Tom Jones	185
W. S. Gilbert	113
Suetonius	188
Gibbon	G 6
	G 7 (Fitzgerald's ink bracket)
Restoration Plays	G10

His varied reading interests reflect a restless mind, an unfinished education, and a persistent urge to teach, this last visible later in college letters to Scottie, and documented in Sheilah Graham's *College Of One*.

The ebullient Cerf responded on September 5, in a rambling chit-chat letter, looking ahead to a Manhattan meeting, but on the 11th wrote, more formally and briefly, "I am pleased to enclose our check for $50.00 in full payment for your new introduction for the Modern Library edition of THE GREAT GATSBY." Whether this was all the recompense Fitzgerald received is unclear, for the author, who kept a surprisingly careful *Ledger* itemizing current income, etc., included in his 1934 listings both "Preface to Gatsby"

for $50 and "Gatsby Modern Library" for $250. Columbia's holdings do not explain the second entry, but it proves to have been for reprint rights.

The Modern Library *Gatsby* was published on September 13, 1934, eleven days before the author's thirty-eight birthday. Some 5,000 copies were run off, with the advertised sale price of 95 cents each. Bibliographer Matthew J. Bruccoli identifies bindings in "blue, green, brown, or red goldstamped" and adds that a number of surviving dust jackets "are stamped in ink 'DISCONTINUED TITLE'." Only Fitzgerald's preface was new. The text itself had never been altered since the second Scribner's printing in 1925. The Introduction composed now was, in approximately 1,300 words, an intense but disjointed *apologia*, a brisk, talkative self-defense that spent almost as much time on Fitzgerald-versus-reviewers as on the novel it led into. Two points made, by an author passionately concerned about his life in art, deserve quick notice. For one thing he hymns H. L. Mencken as a Jovian critic from whose ways lesser mortals should learn. There is an irony here, for in these very days, and nights, Scott was making a nuisance of himself as a frequently unravelled caller at Mencken's apartment in Baltimore. Secondly, Fitzgerald's true commitment to good fiction stands out as he underlines his determined efforts to give his creative best to *The Great Gatsby*. This "intro" if not polished is genuinely interesting, and has become a standard anthology piece.

Almost at once, on September 15, Fitzgerald sent back to Cerf at the "Modern Library Building, New York City," the most intriguing of these letters, one pleading, not too effectively, for a chance to change his brand new preface in any later edition—even at his own expense.

> I do not like the preface. Reading it over it seems to have both flipness and incoherance [*sic*], two qualities which the story that succeeds it manages to avoid.

His agitated plea includes the teasing information that revision would "comprise merely the excision of a paragraph ~~and the~~ and the [*sic*] change of a couple of key sentences." But these details are not spelled out further. If Random House asked for more, or got

Society-page photograph of Zelda and Scottie from the *Baltimore Sun* in the early 1930's.

more, the present file does not show it. I suspect the matter was discreetly dropped. Be that as it may, at the bottom of this missive is typed,

F. Scott Fitzgerald
Per Scottie Fitzgerald, typing

To this Scott put an arrow, in ink, and "note this." His schoolgirl daughter, resilient despite family disasters, was being helpful, and

he was proud of her. There weren't too many happy moments to share.

Cerf sent a September 17 reply, deftly labelling the annoying preface "thoroughly O. K.", and wrote again on the 20th enclosing a review from the *New York Times*, "the first I have seen of your new introduction." Appearing on Thursday, September 20, in the "Books Of The Times" column, was a grabbag review by John Chamberlain that had as one special item a paragraph treating almost sympathetically Fitzgerald's strictures on ill-equipped reviewers, but defending his journalistic cohorts nevertheless. This Timesman was more understanding than resentful. Fitzgerald had been worse handled in the press.

Continuing light-hearted morale building, Cerf wrote on the 28th, (I skip Scott's smalltalk note of the 26th) that "Gatsby is off to a mighty good start in the Modern Library. And why the hell shouldn't it be? It is a swell book." And on October 2 he mailed down a small ad he had placed in the *New Yorker* for *Gatsby* (it had appeared on September 1st, p. 78) closing with "I hope you think we are doing right by your little Nell." Such efforts notwithstanding, Fitzgerald would not come out of this 30's encounter with critical opinion and public taste much better than he had in the 20's. This Prohibition Age brainchild remained more or less a literary waif. Its parent felt this keenly, and continued to importune for a reworked introduction, obviously to bolster the appeal of the novel itself. On October 10 (I skip another mere note of the 5th) Fitzgerald was still insisting, "The preface *is* incoherent. I am not even going to revise it, but simply do it over again." The chance never came. There would be no second Modern Library printing. His troublesome preface remains as his first rush at words left it.

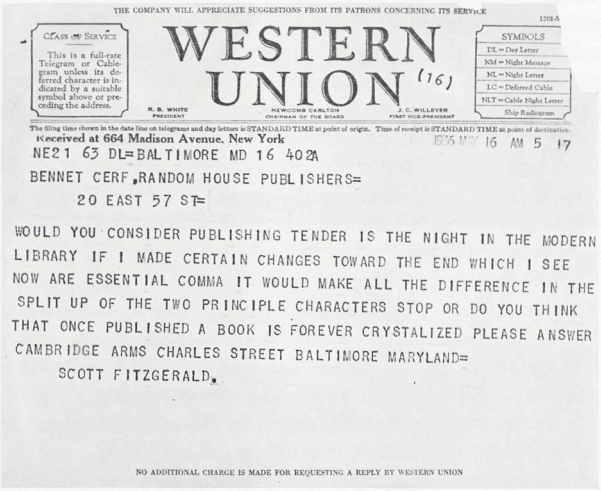
The Random House gathering in Butler Library includes three more Fitzgerald epistles, none of which involves *The Great Gatsby*, but which as "Fitzgeraldiana"—it is his word in the letter

of August 30—fill out the picture of his relationship with this rising American publisher. In a November 20th letter Scott, in an echo of his frustrating Hollywood periods in 1927 and 1931, asks Cerf, since "Goldwin [*sic*] is considering "Tender is the Night" with Miriam Hopkins in the role of Nicole," to interest the star in it too. ". . . she was one of the three (the others were Hepburn and Harding) that I could see in the role, which requires intelligent handling, but of all of them she was my favorite." He is answered on the 23rd that Bennett found their mutual friend rushing for the Coast, but "extremely anxious to do it." However anything more would have to wait until Miriam had finished "Becky Sharpe [*sic*]" for another studio. Goldwyn never made *Tender* then, nor did any other film producer before Scott's sudden death in Hollywood in 1940.

On December 26 Fitzgerald thanked Cerf for the gift of Random House's new *The Daring Young Man on the Flying Trapeze* by William Saroyan. "It's a fine get-up with the bizarre typography of the jacket." Scott does not mention Zelda who had been allowed a Christmas visit with husband and child. Throughout this six month's correspondence, admittedly one with gaps, and one primarily on business matters, there is not a whisper about the tormented Mrs. Fitzgerald. This silence, on his side, can be interpreted kindly or unkindly as conscience demands. In any event there were others closer to him, and to her, to whom he wrote more candidly about the family tragedy. Perhaps what is left unsaid here speaks loudest of all.

Columbia's Nancy Milford has written in *Zelda, A Biography*, "She was the American girl living the American dream, and she became mad within it." There were times, and these weeks and months when for Modern Library he returned to *The Great Gatsby* one of them, when Francis Scott Key Fitzgerald drifted agonizingly close to the same awful condition too. One has only to read between the lines to see.

The last Fitzgerald 'manuscript' in the Random House folders jumps to May 16, 1936, with Scott, having survived meantime the terrible "Crack-Up" of the year before, and Zelda, worse then ever, already sent to the North Carolina sanatorium which would



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BENNET CERF,RANDOM HOUSE PUBLISHERS=
20 EAST 57 ST=

WOULD YOU CONSIDER PUBLISHING TENDER IS THE NIGHT IN THE MODERN LIBRARY IF I MADE CERTAIN CHANGES TOWARD THE END WHICH I SEE NOW ARE ESSENTIAL COMMA IT WOULD MAKE ALL THE DIFFERENCE IN THE SPLIT UP OF THE TWO PRINCIPLE CHARACTERS STOP OR DO YOU THINK THAT ONCE PUBLISHED A BOOK IS FOREVER CRYSTALIZED PLEASE ANSWER CAMBRIDGE ARMS CHARLES STREET BALTIMORE MARYLAND=
SCOTT FITZGERALD.

NO ADDITIONAL CHARGE IS MADE FOR REQUESTING A REPLY BY WESTERN UNION

Telegram sent by Fitzgerald to Cerf, May 16, 1936.

be home for much of the time until the dreadful end. It is a wire, again via Baltimore's Western Union, asking Cerf to consider *Tender* for Modern Library. It continues,

> IF I MAKE CERTAIN CHANGES TOWARD THE END WHICH I SEE NOW ARE ESSENTIAL COMMA IT WOULD MAKE ALL THE DIFFERENCE IN THE SPLIT UP OF THE TWO PRINCIPLE [*sic*] CHARACTERS STOP OR DO YOU THINK THAT ONCE PUBLISHED A BOOK IS FOREVER CRYSTALIZED

The answer? Three Random House carbons accompany this but each is tentative only. Despite this appeal, which is one more example of Fitzgerald's constant grieving over a flawed work he had slaved over for long years, *Tender* did not follow *Gatsby* into the Modern Library fold. So this story-with-a-story really ends with a telegram, as it began with one.

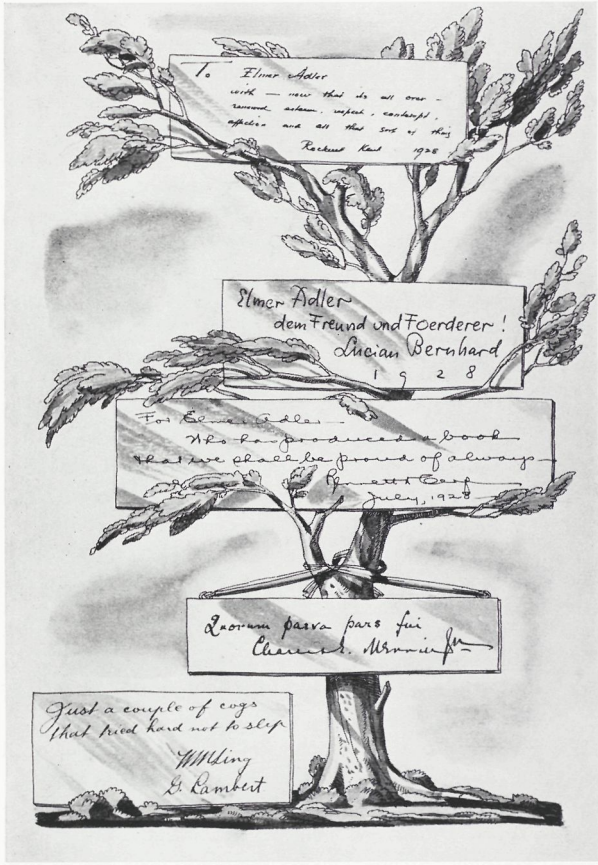
The Candide Collaboration:

A Pair of Gifts

KENNETH A. LOHF

THE course of printing history can be traced through a succession of landmark books, each of which was the result of a successful blending of the individual talents of printer, illustrator and publisher. One need cite only a few instances during the modern era to uphold the conviction: the combined geniuses of William Morris and Sir Edward Burne-Jones produced the sumptuous Kelmscott Chaucer; T. J. Cobden-Sanderson and Emery Walker, the magnificent Doves Press Bible; and the Grabhorn brothers and Valenti Angelo, the monumental Grabhorn Press Whitman. The artist and illustrator Rockwell Kent, Elmer Adler and the Pynson Printers, and the fledgling New York publishers, Bennett Cerf and Donald Klopfer, likewise combined their respective talents in the late nineteen-twenties to produce one of the most attractive volumes in the history of American printing—Voltaire's *Candide*.

On January 29, 1927, *Publisher's Weekly* announced a new publishing firm formed by Cerf, a 1920 graduate from Columbia College, and Klopfer, a New York businessman, to be called Random House, a name which came from a determination to "publish anything they like—at random." Along with Adler, founder in 1923 of the Pynson Printers and supervisor of the manufacture of books at the new publishing house, they planned at the outset to devote their combined energies to the creation and distribution of books of typographical excellence. *Candide*, the novel written by a philosopher to satirize the creed of optimism, was chosen as their first collaboration, and as the first book to bear the Random House imprint. Adler was to be responsible for the com-

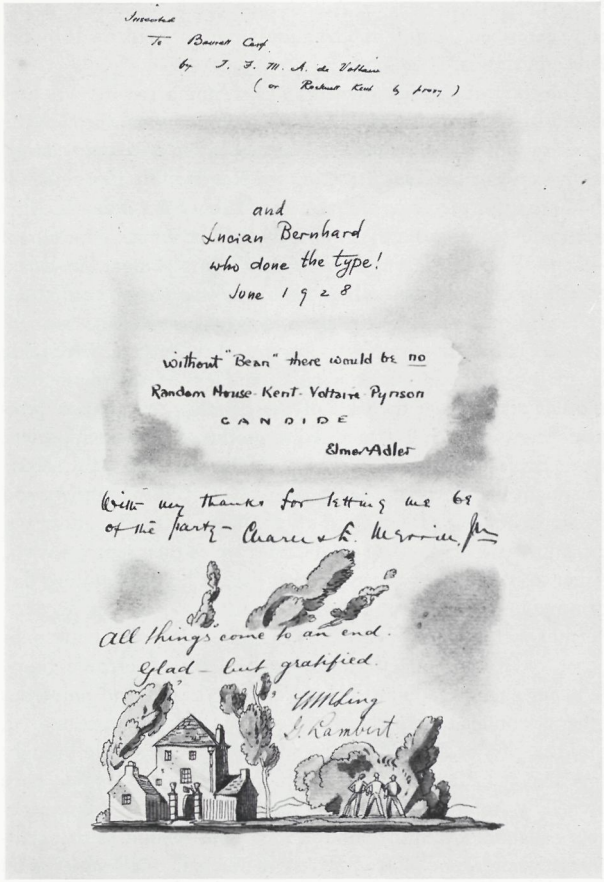


Rockwell Kent's watercolor drawing in Elmer Adler's copy of *Candide*. (Crawford gift)

position and the press work; and Kent, who had studied at Columbia in 1904 and was considered one of the country's notable book illustrators, was selected to design and illustrate the volume. The resulting book, published in the spring of 1928, is a memorable testimonial to the spirit of cooperation and the exquisite taste which existed between the publishers, the printer and the artist. Adler, on a European trip shortly after publication, wrote to Klopfer from London on May 20, 1928, "Stanley Morison was kind enough to say that he considered *Candide* the most important illustrated book to have been made in America." This was high praise, indeed, from one of England's reknowned historians of printing and typography.

For this first book Kent also designed the firm's symbol, which subsequently appeared on the title-page of every Random House book down to the present day. *Candide* was printed in a limited number edition of 1,470 copies; and an additional 95 copies were issued, covered in a fabric binding decorated with the Random House symbol, in which the illustrations, chapter heads and initial letters were hand-colored in Kent's studio. There were also several colored copies reserved for presentation among those responsible for the printing and publication of the volume. Through exceptional good fortune the Libraries have recently received as gifts two of the most distinguished copies of the presentation issue —Elmer Adler's and Bennett Cerf's copies, each containing on the front endpaper five inscriptions written by the other members of the *Candide* collaboration.

Adler's copy, numbered P1 on the colophon page, is embellished with an original watercolor drawing by Kent of an oak tree linking the five inscriptions within its sturdy branches. Cerf's inscription to Adler, expressing a publisher's gratitude to his printer, reads, "For Elmer Adler—Who has produced a book that we shall be proud of always." This copy has come to the Libraries as the gift of Mr. John M. Crawford, Jr., who had received it from



Watercolor drawing by Kent in Bennett Cerf's copy of *Candide*.
(Cerf Foundation gift)

Adler in San Juan in 1957. Adler's own handwritten note in the copy described *Candide* as "the most important book made by the Pynson Printers."

The copy of *Candide* owned by Cerf, numbered P4, was presented by the Phyllis and Bennett Cerf Foundation, through the generosity of Mrs. Phyllis Cerf Wagner. It also contains a charming watercolor by Kent depicting the Random House symbol at the bottom of the page, and the clouds above enfolding the five inscriptions. "Without 'Bean' there would be no Random House —Kent—Voltaire—Pynson CANDIDE," is Adler's inscribed tribute to the publisher, whose nickname was always used affectionately by all his closest friends.

These two inscriptions, as well as the others in these two copies, illustrate the confluence of talents, revising and stimulating one another, that was at the core of the *Candide* masterpiece. Four years later, in 1932, Cerf and Adler produced another important work, the folio edition of *Beowulf*, also illustrated by Kent. While imaginative and expressionistic, the work lacked the subtlety and freshness of their earliest joint effort. After *Beowulf* and several less impressive books, Adler and Cerf traveled their separate ways, Adler to continue for nearly another decade his distinguished fine printing under the Pynson Printers imprint, and Cerf, in his partnership with Klopfer, to become the successful trade book publisher of Robinson Jeffers, Eugene O'Neill, Gertrude Stein, William Faulkner, John O'Hara, Sinclair Lewis, and numerous other celebrated twentieth century authors. It is fortunate, indeed, that the gifts of Mrs. Wagner and Mr. Crawford have brought together at Columbia the two unique copies of *Candide* once owned by Adler and Cerf. They record and confirm this remarkable collaboration in memorable ways, and remind us that publishers, printers and illustrators rely as much on one another as on their own imaginations to achieve their successes.

Our Growing Collections

KENNETH A. LOHF

Bonnell gift. In 1962 Miss Alice H. Bonnell (B.S., 1940) established a collection of the papers of the American theatre producer, Ira A. Hards, and his wife, the actress Ina Hammer Hards. Miss Bonnell has recently added to the collection nearly three hundred items comprising the following: four scrapbooks of reviews, programs and clippings pertaining to productions at the Empire Theatre in New York and the Westchester Theatre in Mt. Vernon, the latter built by Hards for his stock company; an account book for the 1914–1915 season at the Westchester Theatre; Hards's appointment books covering the period, 1900–1932; and programs, contracts and papers relating to plays in which Mrs. Hards performed, including J. M. Barrie's *Quality Street*, Clyde Fitch's *The Truth*, G. B. Shaw's *Arms and the Man* and James Lane Allen's *The Choir Invisible*.

Briggs gift. Mrs. Berta N. Briggs, widow of the late William Harlowe Briggs, who was editor of the trade book department of Harper & Brothers, has presented a fine pen drawing by George Du Maurier, entitled "A Damper," which her husband had received as a gift from Hoyer Millar, Du Maurier's son-in-law and literary executor, in appreciation of the manner in which Briggs had handled the copyright for the dramatization of *Peter Ibbetson* in 1930. The drawing, published in *Punch* in the September 2, 1876 issue, satirizes the aesthetic movement which at that time was flourishing in England. Mrs. Briggs has made the gift of this splendid and fascinating drawing in memory of her late husband.

Cerf Foundation gift. The Phyllis and Bennett Cerf Foundation, through the thoughtful generosity of Mrs. Phyllis Cerf Wagner, has presented a selection of 161 titles from the library of the late

Bennett Cerf (A.B., 1919; Litt.B., 1920), distinguished for their inscriptions, fine printing, or association with Random House. The inscribed volumes, which were displayed in the exhibition, "Bennett Cerf and Random House," include works by Eugene

Pen drawing by George Du Maurier, entitled " A Damper," published in the September 2, 1876, issue of *Punch*. The caption beneath the drawing reads:

Boniface Brasenose, an amiable but aesthetic youth, exhibiting his Art-treasures: "That's--a--a--Mother and Child, a--a--fifteenth century----."

Fashionable Lady: "I should have thought it earlier!"

Boniface Brasenose: "a--may I ask why?"

Fashionable Lady: "Oh, I should have thought they would paint better than that, so late as the fifteenth century!"

(Briggs gift)

O'Neill, James Joyce, Gertrude Stein, Sinclair Lewis, William Faulkner, Robinson Jeffers, George Gershwin, Robert Penn Warren, William Saroyan and numerous other twentieth century American authors. Of particular importance are the following: William Faulkner, *Go Down, Moses, and Other Stories*, 1942,

number 1 of one hundred copies signed by the author; James Joyce, *Ulysses*, 1934, inscribed by Joyce to Cerf, "congratulating him on his courage and enterprise"; George Gershwin, *Porgy and Bess: An Opera in Three Acts*, 1935, inscribed to Cerf with "sincere admiration for his high standards in publishing"; Robinson Jeffers, *Two Consolations*, San Mateo, 1940, inscribed to Cerf and signed by both Una and Robinson Jeffers; and *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin Delano Roosevelt*, 1938, inscribed to Cerf and signed by President Roosevelt. Mrs. Wagner has also presented a fine oil portrait of her late husband painted, ca. 1939, by Nikol Schattenstein.

Clifford gift. Professor James L. Clifford (A.M., 1932; Ph.D., 1941) continues to enrich and strengthen our eighteenth century literary holdings of both rare printed works and manuscripts. His recent gift has added three manuscripts by Mrs. Hester Lynch Piozzi: a fair copy in her hand of her poem, "On a Weeping Willow Set Over Against a Sun Dial at Brynbella," written at her home in Wales in 1802; a notebook containing a collection of prayers and her notes on the pleasure of praying, written at Streatham Park, ca. 1770; and the four-page manuscript in her hand of an Italian novella, "Tutto per il meglio," ca. 1785–87. The two other manuscripts in Professor Clifford's gift are a nine-line verse about Jonathan Swift in an unknown hand, and a copy of Samuel Johnson's letter to Frances Reynolds, dated June 28, 1781. The copy of the Johnson Letter, found by Professor Clifford in 1935 among Mrs. Piozzi's papers, was attached at that time to an anonymously published essay entitled *An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Taste, and of the Origin of Our Ideas of Beauty, &c.*, printed by Baker and Galabin in London in 1785. Professor Clifford identified the author as Frances Reynolds, the sister of Sir Joshua Reynolds, and published his findings in 1951 in a facsimile edition issued by the Augustan Reprint Society. He has now presented, as

the stellar item in his recent gift, this copy of the pamphlet, uncut and in the original wrappers.

Cohn gift. For addition to the John Berryman Collection Mrs. Louis Henry Cohn has donated the poet's copy of *The Dramatick Works of John Dryden*, London, Jacob Tonson, 1735. The first volume of the six-volume set is signed by John Berryman (A.B., 1936) on the front endpaper and dated "Cambridge, 13 Jan. 1937," at the time when he was studying at Clare College in Cambridge University.

Finelli gift. Miss Florence Finelli has presented a collection of nearly 150 noteworthy editions in the fields of children's books and English and American literature, including the following: William Cullen Bryant, *The Fountain and Other Poems*, New York, 1842, first edition in the original binding; Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Vital Message*, London, 1919, inscribed by the author; T. S. Eliot, *John Dryden: The Poet, the Dramatist, the Critic*, New York, 1932, one of 110 copies signed by the author; and a group of ninety publications of the American Sunday Union, issued in Philadelphia from 1827 to 1840, and comprising stories and tracts edited primarily by Frederick Adolphus Packard.

Keppel Family gift. Mr. Charles T. Keppel (A.B., 1930) and other members of the Keppel family have presented a large and important collection of the papers of their father, the late Frederick Paul Keppel (A.B., 1898; Litt.D., 1929), who served as Dean of Columbia College, 1910–1918, Assistant Secretary of War, 1918, and director of foreign operations of the American Red Cross, 1919–1920. The papers cover the period from 1900, when he was secretary of the College, to his death in 1943. The nearly twenty-nine thousands pieces include the manuscripts of Dean Keppel's speeches and writings, as well as his extensive family and professional correspondence, among which are letters from Alex-

ander Graham Bell, Will James, Woodrow Wilson, Walter Lippmann and Nicholas Murray Butler.

Lamont gift. On the 112th anniversary of George Santayana's birth, December 16, 1975, Dr. Corliss Lamont (Ph.D., 1932) pre-

Corliss Lamont presenting his personal collection of Santayana letters and manuscripts to President William J. McGill in Low Library on December 16.

sented his personal collection of the philosopher's letters and manuscripts in a private ceremony held in President William J. McGill's office. In making the gift, Dr. Lamont stated his belief that Santayana, who ranks as one of the most significant American philosophers of the twentieth century, wrote philosophy more beautifully than anyone since Plato. Dr. Lamont's gift, which amply illustrates this belief, includes: eight holograph letters written to him by Santayana from 1935 to 1951, as well as several let-

ters written to Horace M. Kallen, Sterling P. Lamprecht, Herbert W. Schneider and Dagobert Runes; Dr. Lamont's notes for, and transcriptions of, five interviews with the philosopher, two of which were extensive conversations held in Rome in 1950; a series of forty-eight photographs of Santayana taken near the end of his life in his quarters at the Convent of the Blue Nuns in Rome; the holograph manuscripts of the poems written by Santayana on the subjects of Harvard University's Delphic Club and Signet Society, dated Christmas 1890 and March 22, 1902, respectively; and the philosopher's copy of Francis Bacon's essays, presented to him on December 16, 1891, by his Delphic Club associates.

Lemaitre gift. Mr. Victor Lemaitre (A.B., 1925; A.M., 1926) has donated a copy of a pamphlet, *Umbrellas and Their History*, issued in 1864 by the New York retailers of umbrellas, Clyde and Black, which at that time was located at 683 Broadway. This amusing social history, written by William Sangster but published anonymously, is illustrated with charming and fanciful illustrations by the English engraver and artist, Charles Henry Bennett.

Liebmann gift. Mr. William B. Liebmann has donated a collection of more than seventy books, pamphlets and ephemera relating to fine printing, among which are the following noteworthy items: three letters written by C. H. St. John Hornby, founder of the Ashendene Press, as well as a leaflet, *List of Books Printed at the Ashendene Press, 1895–1913*, with bibliographical notes at the end in Hornby's hand; an original colored drawing by Frederic Goudy of an initial letter "S" done for the Village Press, dated 1919; a scrapbook with approximately seventy mounted bookplates of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, including examples of the work of W. A. Dwiggins, E. D. French, Rockwell Kent and Bruce Rogers; the Limited Editions Club edition of *The Book of Job*, 1946, signed by the illustrator, Arthur Szyk; and McKinlay Kan-

tor, *Andersonville*, Cleveland, 1955, one of one thousand copies signed by the author.

Nickerson gift. Mrs. Jane Soames Nickerson has presented, in memory of her late husband, the distinguished military historian,

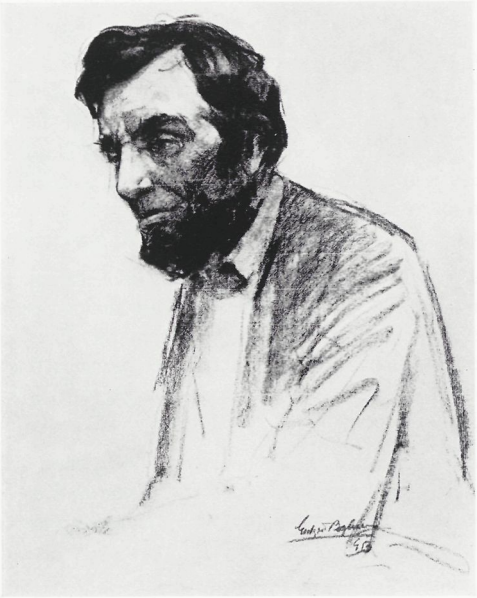
The nave of Old St. Paul's Cathedral, London. Engraving from Dugdale's history of the Cathedral, published in London in 1658. (Nickerson gift)

Major Hoffman Nickerson, A.U.S., a collection of twenty-four volumes of seventeenth and eighteenth century publications primarily on English history, the Inquisition, the Church of England, and art and architecture. Among the most important editions in

her gift are the following: Francis Bacon, *The Historie of the Reigne of King Henry the Seventh*, London, 1629; William Dugdale, *The History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London*, London, 1658, the first edition of this valuable study of the Cathedral and its monuments before their destruction by the fire of London; Procopius, *The History of the Warres of the Emperour Justinian*, London, 1653, first edition of the first English translation; and Antonio de Solís y Rivadeneyra, *The History of the Conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards*, London, 1724, the first edition in English translated by Thomas Townsend. Mrs. Nickerson has also presented a fifteenth century document on vellum: an authorization by Rudolph II von Scherenberg, Bishop of Wurzburg and Duke of Franconia, to transmit church documents. Docketed on the verso, "Wurzburg, 1475," the document has attached to it the Bishop's seal of embossed wood.

Parsons gift. Through his recent thoughtful gift, Dr. Coleman O. Parsons (A.B., 1928) has added to the collections twenty-seven editions of English translations from Greek and Latin classical writings and twenty-one editions of English literary works. Among the noteworthy titles in the gift are: *The Letters of Marcus Tullius Cicero to Several Friends*, London, Dodsley, 1753, three volumes, first edition of the translation by William Melmouth; the poet William Sotheby's copy of *The Satires of Decimus Junius Juvenalis*, London, Bulmer, 1802, first edition of the translation by William Gifford; a copy of Richard Bernard's translation, *Terence in English*, London, 1641, handsomely bound in contemporary calf; Joseph Glanvil, *Saducimus Triumphatus: or, Full and Plain Evidence Concerning Witches and Apparitions*, London, 1700, with a bookplate designed by Thomas Bewick; and Thomas Percy, *The Hermit of Warkworth: A Northumberland Ballad*, London, 1771, with an engraving on the title-page by Isaac Taylor after a drawing by the historical painter Samuel Wale.

Pepper gift. To his earlier gifts Mr. Morton Pepper has now added a large and comprehensive collection of portraits and memorabilia of Abraham Lincoln, including nearly 150 lithographs, engravings, photographs, watercolors, drawings and etchings depicting



Charcoal drawing of Abraham Lincoln by Gutzon Borglum. (Pepper gift)

the President, his family and political associates, and events with which he was associated. Among the lithographs, dating mostly from the period, 1860–1865, are fourteen fine examples by Currier

and Ives. The original art works include an impressive signed charcoal drawing of the President by Gutzon Borglum, measuring 19 by 15 inches. Also part of the gift collection are numerous items of memorabilia, such as souvenir ribbons, bookends, a dinner plate, figurines, plaques and mementoes, all of which bear the likeness of the Civil War President.

Ray gift. Dr. Gordon N. Ray (LL.D., 1969) has presented a copy of the Eragny Press edition of Émile Moselly, *La Charrue d'Érable*, printed in Paris in 1912 for Le Livre Contemporain. The volume, one of an edition of 116 copies, contains twelve illustrations by Camille Pissarro engraved by Lucien Pissarro on wood and printed in chiaroscuro. This, the last major work printed by the Eragny Press, is one of its most handsome and desirable productions.

Schrader gift. For inclusion in the collection of the papers of the Women's National Book Association, Miss Donna Schrader has sent the files of the Status of Women Committee. The files, numbering more than five hundred letters and memoranda, relate to the efforts of the Committee to secure equal rights for women in the publishing industry.

Scott gift. Mr. Barry Scott has donated an uncut copy of the first edition of a pamphlet by William Morris, *Under an Elm-Tree; or, Thoughts in the Countryside*, printed by James Leathan in Aberdeen in 1891.

Trautman gift. The gift by Professor Ray Trautman (B.S., 1940) of a copy of the Kelmscott Press edition of William Morris's *Child Christopher and Goldilind the Fair* assists the Libraries in bringing its Kelmscott Collection closer to completion. Published in Hammersmith in 1895, the edition of *Child Christopher* was limited to six hundred copies. The particularly fine copy donated by Professor Trautman is bound in half morocco, richly gilt and with green morocco onlay on the spines.

Professor Trautman's recent gift also includes 125 additional literary, historical and finely-printed editions, among which are: a copy of the folio edition of Samuel Prout's *Sketches in France, Switzerland and Italy*, published in London in 1839, and containing twenty-five tinted plates; and a set in the original calf of the American issue of the third edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, printed by Thomas Dobson in Philadelphia. Serial publication of the latter was begun by Dobson in 1790, and the monumental work, entitled *Encyclopaedia; or, a Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Miscellaneous Literature*, was completed seven years later in eighteen volumes, the title-page dated 1798.

Activities of the Friends

Random House Exhibition. The exhibition, "Random House & Bennett Cerf," celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the publishing house, opened with a reception in Low Library on Tuesday afternoon, January 27, sponsored by the Friends and the University Librarian, and attended by more than five hundred invited guests. Mrs. Phyllis Cerf Wagner, the publisher's widow, was the guest of honor. The exhibition of inscribed first editions, letters and manuscripts relating to Random House authors and their books will remain on view through February 20.

Bancroft Awards Dinner. The Bancroft Awards Dinner has been scheduled for Tuesday evening, April 1.

EXHIBITION IN BUTLER LIBRARY

March 3–May 13

Two Gifts from Morton Pepper:

The John Steinbeck Collection

and

The C. Doris Hellman Collection of Astronomy Books

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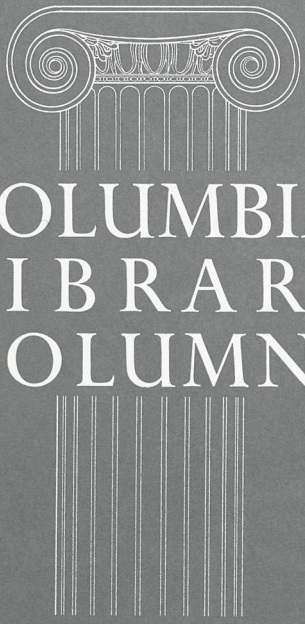

COLUMBIA LIBRARY COLUMNS

MAY 1976 · VOLUME XXV, NUMBER 3

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* * *

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Columbia Library Columns

VOLUME XXV MAY, 1976 NUMBER 3

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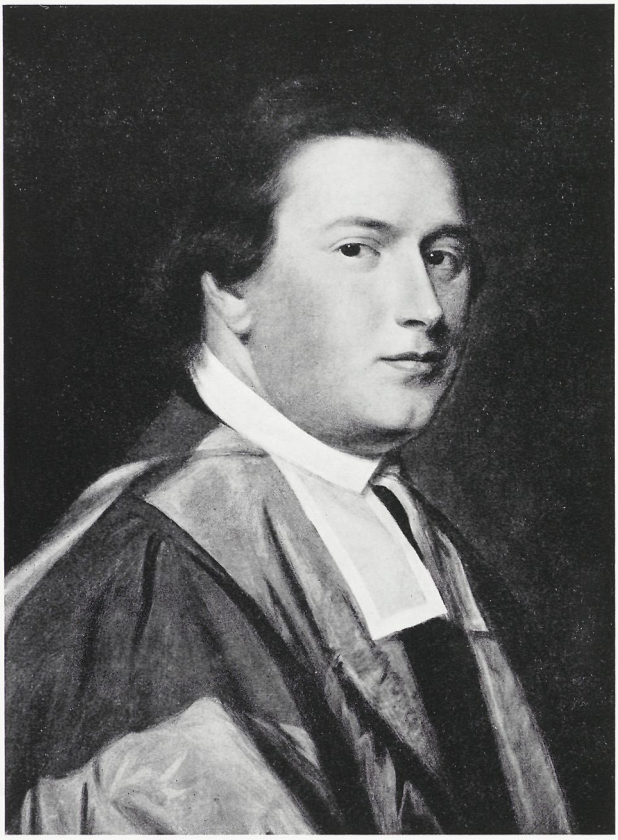


Portrait of the Reverend Myles Cooper by John Singleton Copley.

COLUMBIA
LIBRARY
COLUMNS

King's College and the American Revolution

DAVID C. HUMPHREY

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY has often honored its sons who performed so nobly in the nation's service during the American Revolution: Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, Gouverneur Morris and Robert R. Livingston, Jr. The Bicentennial of the American Revolution is stimulating a new round of tributes, and well-deserved they are. It may come as a shock, however, to realize that the men who educated these heroic figures might regard them more as symbols of failure than as sources of pride. Had the leaders of King's College (as Columbia was called before the Revolution) selected those alumni who best embodied the ideals for which the college stood, they would probably have chosen Samuel Auchmuty and Thomas Barclay. While Hamilton and his associates regrettably joined the rebels of 1776 and betrayed the British monarchy, Auchmuty and Barclay fought for the Empire and then devoted their lives to its service. Auchmuty rose to the rank of general in the British army, fought in India, Egypt, and South America, and was knighted for his accomplishments. Barclay became a distinguished lawyer and political leader in Nova Scotia and then served thirty years in the British diplomatic corps.

Samuel Auchmuty and Thomas Barclay were not idiosyncratic products of an otherwise radical college community. Probably half or more of those students who attended King's College from its founding in 1754 through the 1770s and were living in 1776 became loyalists. So did Myles Cooper, president of King's from 1763 to 1775, four of the five other men who taught the liberal arts at King's between 1770 and 1777, and more than two-thirds of the trustees who participated in college policy making during the early 1770s. The college leaders conceived of their institution as a bulwark of the established order, not as its critic. Indeed, on the very eve of the Revolution they sought to strengthen the college's ties to the Crown.

"I knew him well," one King's College trustee recalled of Myles Cooper several years after the American Revolution forced the college's second president to flee to his native England. "He was honest, just, learned, and liberal; judicious, sensible, friendly, and convivial; he loved good company, and good company loved him; he was by no means dissipated. He loved God, honoured his King, esteemed his friends, and hated rebellion." All in all these were the qualities that one expected of a gentleman and an Oxford alumnus, but for a minister of the Church of England Cooper's piety did seem a mite overshadowed by his sociability. A close friend once quipped that Cooper knew "every Body, and every Thing that passes" in New York City, while at his death it was joked that Cooper's "Library sold for £5, the Liquors in his cellar for £150." Cooper's facile manner, his sense of humor, his fondness for good food and drink, his bulky size and pudgy face, all convey the impression of an easygoing fellow. But Cooper was not a frivolous man. His "Witty and Entertaining" qualities and his "high Taste for Amusem[en]t" were matched by his energy, ambition, shrewdness, and resoluteness, a combination of traits that quickly won him favor with the college trustees.

Just what the King's College students thought of Myles Cooper

is another matter. Upon becoming president of King's College in 1763, Cooper decided that "pretty strict discipline" was one of the ingredients necessary to turn a young and faltering college into a thriving and influential one. The college trustees agreed, suspect-

A southeast view of the city of New York, ca. 1763, drawn by Captain Thomas Howdell, of the Royal Artillery, from what is now the corner of Varick and Beach Streets. King's College is in the center with Trinity Church just beyond and the Hudson River at the right. The palm tree was probably added by the engraver, P. Canot.

ing as they did that rumors about lax discipline at the college were discouraging parents from enrolling their sons. After all, twenty or so undergraduates was not the trustees' idea of an impressive student body, yet no more than that number met daily for classes in the spacious new building located between Broadway and the Hudson River, a few hundred yards north of Wall Street. Actually, the college's problems stemmed much more from its identity as an Anglican institution in a colony where no more than fifteen percent of the population was Anglican. But members of the Church of England, who predominated among the trustees,

faculty, and students, were not about to surrender the control they had fought so hard to achieve in the 1750s. It was disturbing enough that Harvard, Yale, and Princeton were all in the hands of religious dissenters.

On the very day that Myles Cooper became president, the college launched a campaign to tighten up the "collegiate way of living." A new set of rules required students to eat and sleep at the college and to wear academic gowns, much as did students at Cooper's alma mater, Queen's College, Oxford. Punishments for virtually every conceivable transgression served to deter wayward student behavior, while the construction of a "board fence eight foot high with Nails at the top" provided a second line of defense against the all-too-common late night forays by students into the city. The college even hired a porter to sit at the gate with a set of rules in hand telling him when to let students pass, a custom that Cooper appropriated directly from his alma mater. In 1771 the president crowned his system of discipline by borrowing another custom from Oxford, the use of a "Black Book" or book of "Misdemeanours" in which to record student violations of the rules. Soon Cooper was boasting that "with Respect to *Discipline* (which, it seems is one heavy Accusation exhibited against us,) we are far from being outdone by any College on the American Continent. . . ."

Eighteenth-century college students being the resilient folk they were, the campus did not settle down to an unvarying academic routine during the politically tumultuous years of the 1760s and 1770s. Indeed, the "Black Book" itself is testimony to the fact that disorderliness was a feature of life on the campus as well as life outside it, although there is little evidence that student bumptiousness was inspired by the revolutionary fervor of the day. The list of undergraduate transgressions is largely predictable: getting drunk, missing classes and prayers, calling a professor "*Names* in the Dark," stealing liquor and tea cups, shooting guns, refusing

to wear gowns or to do assigned exercises, disappearing into the countryside on fishing trips, spitting in the cook's face, creating "Noise and Confusion," and, as one would expect from this recital, defying the president. One student even had the effrontery to challenge Cooper to a duel in the middle of a class.

If Myles Cooper's solution to the discipline problem was less than perfect, the manner in which he attacked it upon becoming president suggested not only that he would bring a firm hand to the academic helm but also that Oxford was much in his mind as he shaped King's College to meet his academic goals. The influence of Oxford was even more apparent in Cooper's handling of the curriculum. "Our plan of Education," the president confided to a friend, was "copied, in the most material parts, from Queen's College in Oxford; with the whole system of which . . . I look upon myself as perfectly familiar." Thus King's College students endured a dose of Greek and Roman literature, history, and philosophy heavy even for an eighteenth-century college, and to Aristotle they paid, as one disgruntled Queen's College student of the era put it, "more profound reverence than to common sense." While professors at other American colleges expounded on the Whig ideology of liberty, warning that revolution was a justifiable recourse when "publick liberty & safety" could not be "otherwise secured," Cooper, like a good Oxford don, emphasized that no citizens were "so free from arbitrary controll" or enjoyed "such constitutional rights" as the subjects of Great Britain.

Myles Cooper once quipped that he was not a "quarrelsome Animal: for I never desire to differ with any one but Whigs and Republicans—till I am married." Yet, despite his distinct lack of sympathy for the burgeoning revolutionary movement in the colonies, the president did not find that his college suffered for his views. In fact, the number of students almost doubled between 1768 and 1772, from twenty-four to forty-five. King's College also enjoyed by 1770 the largest endowment of any colonial col-

lege, thanks to an amazingly successful fund raising project in England in the early 1760s. To Cooper and the college trustees it seemed like a time neither to join the revolutionary movement nor to cower before its growing strength. Instead they believed that

King's College in 1770.

King's College should seize the advantage that its Anglican identity and a profession of loyalty to the Crown might give the college with imperial and ecclesiastical officials in England. Would not a "Royal Charter for the College constituting it a University" prove beneficial to the college and strengthen the "connection and harmony between the mother country and this colony"? Indeed it would, and at the same time the King might show his favor by founding two or more professorships at the new university and by bestowing upon it all the other "useful privileges" enjoyed by Oxford and Cambridge. The college trustees, the majority of whom by 1771 had moved close to the loyalist positions they eventually took in 1776, saw in the plan a politically appealing opportunity to give King's College an "evident Superiority" over all the other colleges in the colonies. For Myles Cooper, to whom Oxford had been a guiding light all along, it was an opportunity

to turn King's College into the Oxford of the New World, the academic bulwark of Church and Crown in America.

In October 1771 Myles Cooper sailed to England, armed with addresses from the college trustees to various British officials. To the King and his ministers the trustees emphasized how the proposed university could prove an instrument for "cementing the Union between Great Britain and the colonies" by diffusing "a Spirit of Loyalty . . . thro' his Majesty's American Dominions." Church of England officials were plied with special words about the "peculiar Relation" which King's College bore to the safety of the Anglican Church in America. The university would enable the Church to "extend its Discipline and Doctrine," and the pursuit of this goal would at the same time help render American subjects "obedient and affectionate to the Constitution." For eight months in 1771 and 1772 Cooper consulted with numerous political and ecclesiastical figures in England. Upon his return to New York he reported that the way was "so far prepared" that should the trustees submit a charter for the proposed university to officials at home it would encounter "no great Difficulty."

For some reason the college trustees dallied almost two years over the charter, but in August 1774 they finally settled on a twelve thousand word document that provided for the establishment of "American University in the Province of New York." American University was to look something like Oxford, but it would actually function more like King's College. The university would embrace King's College and all other colleges founded in New York under the provisions of the charter, with an Anglican serving as president of each college. Myles Cooper would become president of the university, while the King's College trustees would form the core of a group of Regents who were the university's official governing body. The university would be run by a Major Academical Senate and several minor senates, along with various academic officers—chancellor, vice-chancellor, chamber-

lains, proctors—which were copied from Oxford. The charter anticipated that the King would establish several royally-supported professorships in the university.

The college trustees commissioned John Vardill, a former faculty member, to lobby in England for the charter's approval, and Vardill soon reported encouraging news: the King was resolved to patronize King's College and had already nominated Vardill a "*Royal Professor*" in King's College "for the purpose of defending the *Christian . . . Religion*." The British Secretary of State for the Colonies indicated that he could not see "any material objection" to the charter. Moreover, the secretary believed that the conduct of the colony of New York in general entitled "its well disposed and peaceable Inhabitants to His Majesty's particular Favor and Indulgence."

While the college's loyalist stance won support in London, it created enemies in New York. New Yorkers did not require much astuteness to detect how Myles Cooper stood on the issues. A member of the "Church and King Club," Cooper displayed his zeal by giving toasts to the memory of Archbishop Laud, a man whose rigid defense of King and Church a century and a half earlier had cost him his head. In fact, Cooper so distinguished himself as a defender of the Crown that he became identified as the author of several loyalist pamphlets which had actually been penned by fellow Anglican clerics. Whether Cooper took as hard a line in America as he did when he returned to England in 1775 is difficult to tell, but in 1776 Cooper told an audience at his beloved Oxford that the "Power of any Nation" had never been better employed than in the war to suppress the "wicked and unprovoked Rebellion." "Never was there a more worthy object of military Exertion. . . ."

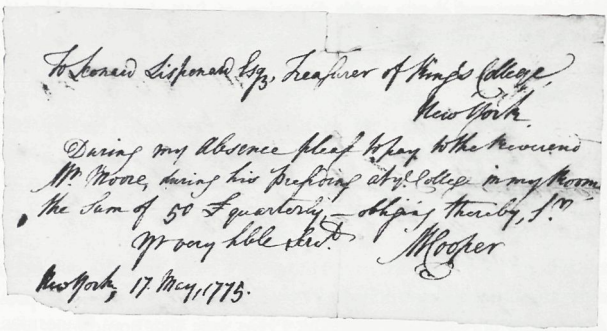
Cooper's loyalist pronouncements were seconded by John Vardill while he was a member of the King's College faculty in 1772 and 1773. Vardill verbally blasted Princeton's president and

its students for entering "deeply into the Party Politics and Contentions of England." How offensive that Princeton students should have appeared at the Commencement of 1770 in American homespun and should have defended the proposition that "*The Non-Importation Agreement reflects a Glory on the American Merchants, and was a noble Exertion of Self denial and public Spirit.*" Such principles were "dangerous to the highest Degree," as any sane man could tell by turning his "Eyes to Boston, where he may see Men acting on those Principles, and in such a Manner as to be a Disgrace to all Order and Government." Thank goodness that King's College students were not "taught to pace in the political Trammels, of any Sect or Party. . . ."

The King's College faculty was not unanimous in its loyalism. Indeed, Robert Harpur, the only Presbyterian on the faculty, not only joined the revolutionaries but served actively in New York's new republican government. Nonetheless, a loyalist mood predominated on the campus in the 1770s, one that sometimes surfaced less in outright expressions of support for the British than in a pronounced obliviousness to the Revolutionary movement. While King's College commencements in the 1760s had been marked on occasion by an "Oration in Praise of Liberty" or an oration which contended that "*The Well-being of the People is the supreme Law*," in the 1770s students confined their performances to innocuous topics like "Taste" and "Cheerfulness," delivered before audiences which included royal officials, Anglican clerics, and the "principal Officers" of the British army. The political tenor at King's did not prevent the college from educating some sturdy patriots. It did not even dissuade one active member of the Sons of Liberty from educating his son there in the 1770s. Nor did it stop Alexander Hamilton, during his undergraduate days from 1773 to 1775, from publishing a vigorous defense of the Continental Congress or from drilling with a company of American volunteers. But King's College undergraduates certainly

did not undertake the kind of collective anti-British action that marked the 1770s at Princeton, where students hung a British spokesman in effigy and burned the college steward's tea in imitation of the Boston Tea Party.

The drift of the colonies toward revolution finally reached into


To Leonard Lispenard Esqr, Treasurer of Kings College
New York
During my Absence please to pay to the Reverend
Mr Moore, during his Residence at y^e College in my Room
the Sum of 50 £ quarterly — obliging thereby, S^r
Yr very Hble Servt
Mooper
New York, 17 May, 1775.

Letter from Myles Cooper to the treasurer of the College, Leonard Lispenard, May 17, 1775, authorizing the payment of £50 to the Reverend Mr. Benjamin Moore during Cooper's absence in England.

the heart of King's College in the spring of 1775. In April Myles Cooper was one of five New Yorkers to be warned in a public letter that the "injury you have done to your country can not admit of reparation. Fly for your lives, or anticipate your doom. . . ." Cooper retreated for a few days to a British warship anchored in the New York City harbor but soon returned to his duties. About midnight on May 10 a "murderous band" of some size tried to make good the letter's promise. With an eye to seizing Cooper and, in the judgment of one New Yorker, of committing the "most violent abuse upon him," the mob broke open the college gate. Aroused by a pupil (a "heaven-directed youth," Cooper later called him), the president escaped half-dressed through a back way and sought safety in the home of a friend. The next day he

boarded a British vessel. Two weeks later he sailed for England. "We hope the Non-exportation Agreement to Great Britain will always except such traitors to the Liberties of America," commented one American newspaper.

King's College continued in operation for two more years, moving to the home of a trustee in the summer of 1776 after the New York Committee of Safety turned the building into a hospital for American troops. A few months later the British captured the city and took over the college building. In the summer of 1777 Reverend Benjamin Moore, president *pro tempore* of King's College, filed the annual call for matriculants in the *New York Mercury*. Several youths responded, but the college probably closed soon after. Those trustees who were still in New York City continued to meet on occasion through 1781. Meanwhile, Myles Cooper tarried in England, hoping as late as 1779 that a "happy termination" of the war might permit him to resume his "old situation." The American victory shattered his hopes. Yorktown and the peace which followed also spelled the end of plans for American University.

If the history of King's College in the 1770s disappoints some of Columbia's many friends in this Bicentennial year, it at least permits us to understand something else that might otherwise remain obscured: how great an impact the American Revolution had on King's College. When the New York legislature reorganized King's College and reopened it as Columbia College in the 1780s, more than just the name had changed. Almost to a man, the people who had run King's College in the 1770s were gone. Of the twenty-one trustees who had participated in the planning of American University, only five remained in New York City by 1784, and only two of these men were called upon to help manage Columbia. Most of the King's College trustees had emigrated to England and Canada, or had retired to the countryside, or had died.

If the Revolution had decimated the leadership of King's College, so too had it extinguished the loyalist spirit which those leaders had brought to the institution. Myles Cooper had sought to make King's College the bulwark of Church and Crown. In the 1780s the college celebrated the virtues of republicanism and the achievements of the young nation. The first president after the Revolution, William Samuel Johnson, was a lawyer, a revolutionary, and a participant in the Constitutional Convention of 1787. When the Constitution was ratified in 1788, Columbia's faculty and students joined Johnson in a festive procession through the streets of New York City, preceded by a flag emblazoned with the motto: "*Science and liberty mutually support and adorn each other.*" The new moral philosophy professor eschewed Aristotle and dedicated himself to inflaming "American youth with a true love for their country, with a spirit of patriotism worthy their great rights and privileges. . . ." Columbia students composed essays which demonstrated that in ancient times as "mankind increased in civilization and knowledge, Monarchy was thrown off and a republican form of government established in its stead."

These changes alone would have devastated Myles Cooper had he, by some magical trip from the grave in which he was buried in 1785, managed to visit Columbia in the late 1780s. But imagine his reaction, too, upon discovering that Episcopalians (as American Anglicans were now called) did not compose a majority of either Columbia's trustees, its faculty, or its students. Episcopalians still played a significant role in the life of the college, but Columbia was much closer to being a nondenominational institution than King's College had ever been. The state legislature had even abrogated the clause in the original college charter requiring that the college president always be an Episcopalian. And what of the collegiate way of living that Cooper had worked so hard to tighten up with his "Black Book" and his eight-foot fence and his rules about living and eating at the college? Columbia's leaders had sim-

ply abandoned it. Students lived in town and moved back and forth freely between the college and city. Liberty had a new meaning for undergraduates, too.

To be sure, Columbia College in the 1780s and 1790s was still identifiable in many ways as the descendant of King's College. But Columbia was also an institution that had felt the transforming power of the American Revolution.

"Sundry Gentlemen at Oxford"

Some early "Friends" of the Columbia Libraries

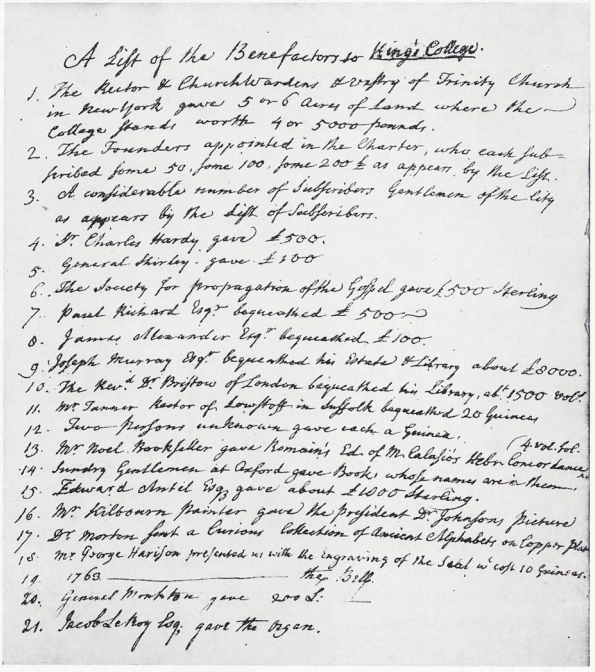
ALICE H. BONNELL

"SUNDRY Gentlemen at Oxford gave books whose names are in them." So reads the *Matricula* of King's College in recording gifts to the College of the Province of New York in the City of New York, or King's as Columbia was known in Pre-Revolutionary days. Founded by Royal Charter from George II of England in 1754, the only institution of collegiate rank to be established in the Province of New York, the College opened on July 17th of that year in Trinity Schoolhouse with eight students taught by Dr. Samuel Johnson, President of the College. Dr. Johnson, a clergyman of the Church of England, has been called the first American philosopher. His requirements for admission to King's College and the philosophy of the education to be offered therein are contained in the following "Advertisement" in the *New York Gazette and Weekly Post Boy* of June 3, 1754:

The lowest Qualifications they have judged requisite in order to Admission into the said College, are as follows, *viz.* That they be able to read well, and write a good legible Hand; and that they be well versed in the Five first Rules in *Arithmetic*, *i.e.* as far as *Division* and *Reduction;* And as to *Latin* and *Greek*, That they have a good Knowledge in the *Grammars*, and be able to make grammatical *Latin*, and both in construing and parsing, to give a good Account of two or three of the first select Orations of *Tully*, and of the first Books of *Virgil's Æneid*, and some of the first Chapter of the *Gospel of St. John*, in *Greek*. In these Books therefore they may expect to be examined; but higher Qualifications must hereafter be expected; and if there be any of the higher Classes in any College, or under private Instruction, that

incline to come hither, they may expect Admission to proportionably higher Classes here . . .

It is further the Design of this College, to instruct and perfect the


A Gift of the Benefactors to Kings College.

1. The Rector & Churchwardens & Vestry of Trinity Church in New-York gave 5 or 6 acres of Land where the College stands worth 4 or 5000 pounds.
2. The Founders appointed in the Charter, who each subscribed some 50, some 100, some 200 £ as appears by the List.
3. A considerable number of Subscribers Gentlemen of the City as appears by the List of Subscribers.
4. Dr Charles Hardy gave £500.
5. General Shirley gave £100
6. The Society for propagation of the Gospel gave £500 Sterling
7. Paul Richard Esqr bequeathed £500
8. James Alexander Esqr bequeathed £100
9. Joseph Murray Esqr bequeathed his Estate & Library about £3000.
10. The Revd Dr Bristow of London bequeathed his Library, ab. 1500 Vols.
11. Mr Tanner Rector of Longstoft in Suffolk bequeathed 20 Guineas
12. Two persons unknown gave each a Guinea.
13. Mr Noel Bookseller gave Romain's Ed. of M. Calasio's Hebr. Concordance (4 Vol. fol.
14. Sundry Gentlemen at Oxford gave Books, whose names are in them.
15. Edward Antil Esqr gave about £1000 Sterling.
16. Mr Kilbourn Painter gave the president Dr Johnsons picture
17. Dr Morton sent a Curious Collection of Ancient Alphabets on Copper Plates
18. Mr George Harrison presented us with the Engraving of the Seal w[ch] cost 10 Guineas.
19. 1763 ——— the Seal.
20. Governor Wentworth gave 200 L.
21. Jacob Leisler Esq. gave the Organ.

A page in the Matriculation Book of the College lists the gift of "Sundry Gentlemen at Oxford." (See number 14)

Youth in the Learned Languages, and in the Arts of *reasoning* exactly, of *writing* correctly, and *speaking* eloquently; and in the Arts of *numbering* and *measuring;* of *Surveying* and *Navigation*, of *Geography* and *History*, of *Husbandry*, *Commerce* and *Government*, and in the

Knowledge of *all Nature* in the *Heavens* above us, and in the *Air, Water* and *Earth* around us, and the various kinds of *Meteors, Stones, Mines* and *Minerals, Plants* and *Animals*, and of every Thing *useful* for the Comfort, the Convenience and Elegance of Life, in the chief *Manufactures* relating to any of these Things: And, finally, to lead them from the Study of Nature to the Knowledge of themselves, and of the God of Nature, and their Duty to him, themselves, and one another, and every Thing that can contribute to their true Happiness, both here and hereafter.

The incipient library of King's College early received two substantial gifts—one, the law library of the Hon. Joseph Murray "the most considerable lawyer here in his time," was received in 1757. This bequest formed the foundation of the present library of Columbia University. The second major acquisition was also a bequest though it came directly from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 'the Venerable Society,' bequeathed by the Reverend Duncombe Bristowe, rector of All Hallows, Staining-within-Aldgate, London. The printed Report of the S.P.G. for 1759 reads:

The Rev. Dr. Bristowe, a worthy member of the Society, lately deceased, having by his last Will bequeathed his library of near 1500 Volumes to the Society to be sent to the College of New York, of which Dr. Johnson is President, or to such other Place or Places as the Society should direct, the Society hath directed those Books to be sent and placed in this College of New York, in Approbation of the generous Donor's Design.

These two bequests, of course, reflect in large measure the professions of their donors, and are easily identifiable still by the bookplates affixed to each volume. With this substantial foundation from its "Friends," the library began its career of support for academic programs. There followed donations of individual books from local booksellers such as Garret Noel, and citizens such as Bartholomew Crannell who in 1770 gave "sundry books to be

added to the College Library." The Rev. Mr. Jeremy Condy of Boston presented Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts-Bay* 1764, "The gift of the Rev. Mr. Jeremy Condy of Boston to the Library of King's College in New York Nove. 1766." This gift

Cornerstone of King's College, laid August 23, 1756.

might be considered a little unusual as coming from a Baptist minister to an Anglican oriented college.

Though the first years of the College were spent in Trinity Schoolhouse, a separate building was erected, as speedily as funds could be raised, between Murray and Barclay Streets in downtown New York on land conveyed to the Governors of King's College by Trinity Church, May 13, 1755. The cornerstone was laid, August 23, 1756, bearing this inscription:

This first stone of this College called King's established by Royal Charter, for the Honour of Almighty God, and the advancement of the public good, both in Church and State, was laid by His Excellency Sir Charles Hardy, knight, the very worthy Governor of this Province August 23d An. Dom. 1756. (translated from the Latin)

and the building was completed as the students began "to lodge and diet there" in May 1760. This was open country at that time and, except for Broadway, the streets existed only in maps.

A letter to the S.P.G. of February 1760 from the Rev. Mr.

Henry Barclay, rector of Trinity Church, on behalf of the Governors of the College thanks the S.P.G. for their resolution to send the 1500 books designated by Dr. Bristowe to King's College and indicates that the "Library Room in the College we hope will be in readiness to receive the books by midsummer." Certainly upon completion of the library room the Murray books, presumably lodged heretofore in Trinity Schoolhouse, were installed, but owing to the continuance of war in Europe, or perhaps mere procrastination in carrying out the bequest, the Bristowe books were delayed some years in arriving.

Meanwhile, William Johnson, second son of President Samuel Johnson, and tutor in King's College, having gone to England to take Orders in the Church of England, is said to have "sent books for the Library" from England in 1756, the gift to him from some of the Fellows of Oxford. However there is doubt that these ever reached the College, as William Johnson died in London, and no record exists of the titles or of the reception of the books.

In November 1762, Sir James Jay, elder brother of John Jay, was authorized by the Governors to seek support for the College in England. In the course of the address presented to the English authorities by Sir James and his associates, mention of the library is made in outlining the progress of King's College:

> Thus far encouraged, a neat and convenient edifice is erected, for public Schools and Lodgings, a small library, with a Mathematical Apparatus provided, and a course of Education begun under the Direction of a President and two Professors . . .

In response to their appeal, substantial sums of money were contributed to the College, and its Library is said to have received specific gifts. The commissioners appointed to solicit contributions were very probably also instructed to hasten the shipment of the Bristowe books, for in *Weyman's Gazette* of May 16, 1763, appears:

With pleasure we can inform the Public, from good Authority, that the Governors of King's College in this City, have received a Donation by the last Vessels from London, of no less than Twelve Hundred Volums, of valuable, well chosen, and useful Books; being part of the Library of the late eminent and worthy Divine, Doctor BRISTOWE: The remainder of his Library, consisting of several Hundred Volums more, is expected every day . . .

However, it seems as if, even with all these gifts of books, the library was still considered to fall short of the desired number of volumes and breadth of subjects included, for, in 1772, Myles Cooper, second President of King's College, and an Oxford Scholar before coming to King's to succeed the aging Dr. Johnson, in visiting England to solicit further support for the College, sought help from a number of English universities in the form of donations to the Library. He succeeded in obtaining from Oxford University, according to his *Report to the Governors* upon his return:

. . . a Copy of each of Ye Books (on hand) printed by the University at Ye Clarendon Office, together with several smaller Benefactions from different Members of the University . . .

The Governor's *Minutes* of May 22, 1763, contain the following:

Resolved: that letters of thanks be wrote to the two Universities of Cambridge and Oxford for their generous donations.

There has been a tradition at Columbia that this first benefaction from Oxford University became an annual presentation of books published at the Clarendon Press.

However, the *Minutes* of the order book of the Clarendon Press Delegates, May 4, 1772, state that "a single copy in strong binding of each of the books published at the University expense and now deposited in the warehouse" should be presented "to the Library of the College of New York," which seems to offer no basis for the assumption that this was more than a one-time gift.

University records as far as can be determined show no indication of continuing annual benefactions, or the discontinuing of the same, and present acquisition records include no such arrangement with Oxford University. We must conclude then that the official gift of Oxford occurred in 1772, though benefactions from individuals may have been received from time to time.

No trace of the books given by "Sundry Gentlemen at Oxford" has been found among the books which survived the American Revolution, and it has been supposed that they were all victims of the War, by fire or battle. For in April 1776, the Governors of King's College received a message from Robert Benson, secretary of the Provincial Congress, directing them to prepare the College building for the reception of troops. Accordingly, the students were dispersed, the Library, apparatus, etc., deposited in City Hall and the building turned over to the American Army. The Great Fire of 1776 and the occupation of New York by British troops reduced a library of over 2,000 volumes to the mere 200 which are extant in the Libraries today.

In 1950, the existence of another early "Friend" came to light. Enos M. Johnston, descendent of Robert Harpur, first Librarian of King's College, discovered in the home of his aunt, a volume from the Library of King's entitled, *A System of Natural Philosophy*, by Thomas Rutherforth, published in Cambridge in 1748. The volume is inscribed "From the Rev. John Carylon of Truro in Cornwall to the Library of King's College in New York, 1772." This same inscription appears in a second volume, presented in 1953 by Mabel Perry Smith, *Dialogues of the Dead*, by Lord Lyttleton, published in London in 1760. Though Cornwall is a long way from London, and we have no specific information as to whether President Cooper visited that part of England in his appeal for books, the date of the inscriptions would seem to make the gift the result of his residence of about two years in England.

Mr. Johnston's ancestor, Robert Harpur the "mathematical

teacher," was selected as the first librarian by the Governors of King's in 1763 and directed to prepare a catalogue of the Library and care for the books. Though Harpur was no longer librarian in 1772, having resigned in 1767, he tutored privately a number of

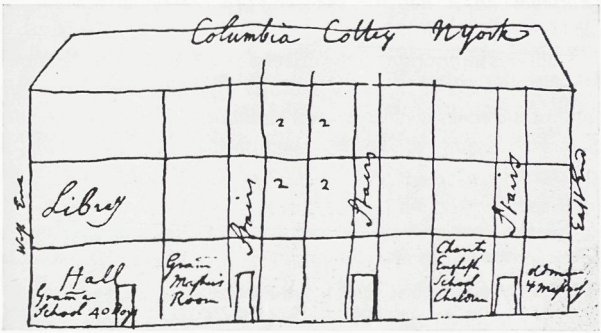


Diagram of the College in 1784, showing the Library on the second floor.

King's College students, including John Parke Custis, George Washington's step-son, and Alexander Hamilton. For this activity he may have retained "library privileges" for borrowing, and withdrew the Rutherforth book for perusal. "The confusion and turbulence of the whole City" as described in the *Matricula*, may have prevented its return, and, as the years passed, it eventually became an inhabitant of an attic. Perhaps it was as well, since we now have the book which otherwise might have been among those which were lost or destroyed.

Though Mr. Harpur may have been responsible for the absence of part of the Rev. Mr. Carylon's gift for 150 years, whether by design or not, he, in turn, also belongs to the company of the early "Friends." Harpur is said to be the only professor at King's College to side with the "Rebels," later becoming involved in the world of politics and serving in a number of capacities in the for-

mation of the new government. A red leather portfolio, beautifully tooled in the style of Derôme, is inscribed on the flyleaf: "For the Library of the College at New York. Robt. Harpur." The portfolio contains two pamphlets, *Lettres de M. le Marechal (Fouquet) duc de Belleisle*, 1759, and *Proceedings of the Committee [London] . . . for Cloathing French Prisoners of War*, 1760.

A curious inscription on the title page of another of the volumes in the King's College Library indicates another method by which some of the books may have left their home. This volume, Jacques Basnage's *History of the Jews*, published in London in 1708, is inscribed:

> E ricardi Fry ex accademia Bridgeport 48
> donum ejui Patri Jun 30, 1777
>
> This book was taken by a sailor out of the College of New York in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven, when burning, being set on fire by the British troops.

Possibly the author of the inscription (unsigned) wrote 1777 for 1776, the year of the Great Fire in New York, though the King's College Library had been deposited in City Hall in April 1776, months before the outbreak of the fire in September. On the other hand, perhaps the book was one abstracted from the College Library as stored in City Hall and returned at a later date in response to the requests for the return of books.

In more recent times, the first of the books given by "Sundry Gentlemen at Oxford" to return to the University Libraries came as the gift of Dr. Aaron Rabinowitz in 1970. Dr. Rabinowitz acquired the library of an Orange, N.J., physician, Dr. Royce Paddock (A.B., Columbia College, 1910; M.D., College of Physicians and Surgeons, 1914). Among the books of the latter's library was a volume entitled *An Essay of Health and Long Life*, by

George Cheyne, London, 1734. Inside the front cover appears this inscription:

> Presented to King's Coll. Library New York
> by J. Rawbone Vice Principal of St. Mary
> Hall, Oxon. 1772.*

With great generosity Dr. Rabinowitz restored our straying volume to the Libraries. But how did it stray? Was it exchanged by British soldiers for rum as Judge Thomas Jones relates? Judge Jones, though a Loyalist, describes the dispersal of the library;

> Upon General Howe's entry into New York, the soldiers broke open the City Hall and plundered it of the College Library, its mathematical and Philosophical apparatus, and a number of valuable pictures which had been removed there by way of safety when the rebels converted the College into a hospital . . . I saw in a House upon Long Island nearly 40 books bound and lettered, in which were affixed the arms of Joseph Murray, Esq. under pawn from one dram to three drams each.

Efforts were made to recover the volumes, and no fewer than four proclamations were printed recalling them. Just how many volumes, if any, were restored in response to the several requests, there is no knowing.

Research both in Oxford and New York has failed to produce any further information on "J. Rawbone," but he is the sole representative for the Columbia University Libraries of all the "Sundry Gentlemen at Oxford" who gave books to King's College, and as such deserves a special place among the "Friends." The King's College Library books mentioned in this article are for the most part shelved in the King's College Room of the Columbiana Library with the other surviving volumes. The Joseph Murray books which remain, however, form part of the Treasure Room of the Columbia Law Library.

* St. Mary Hall, an early (14th century) foundation of Oxford University, is now a part of Oriel College.

Early Nineteenth Century New York Architectural Drawings

KEITH N. MORGAN

THE Sclater Collection of drawings of early nineteenth century New York architecture, purchased by the Avery Library in February, will provide valuable new evidence for the authorship of several New York buildings and additional information on the careers of architect-builders at the turn of the century. Acquired from Mr. and Mrs. Grant Sclater of Charlestown, Rhode Island, the collection descended from the original owner, Henry Hedley, New York builder, through the Hedley and Tuthill families to Mrs. Sclater.[1] Although Hedley's firm presumably generated this portfolio of approximately one hundred and ten items, drawings signed by two other architects and sketches attributable to still others present a cross section of styles and building types from vernacular designs to the most important commissions of Federal and Early Republican New York.

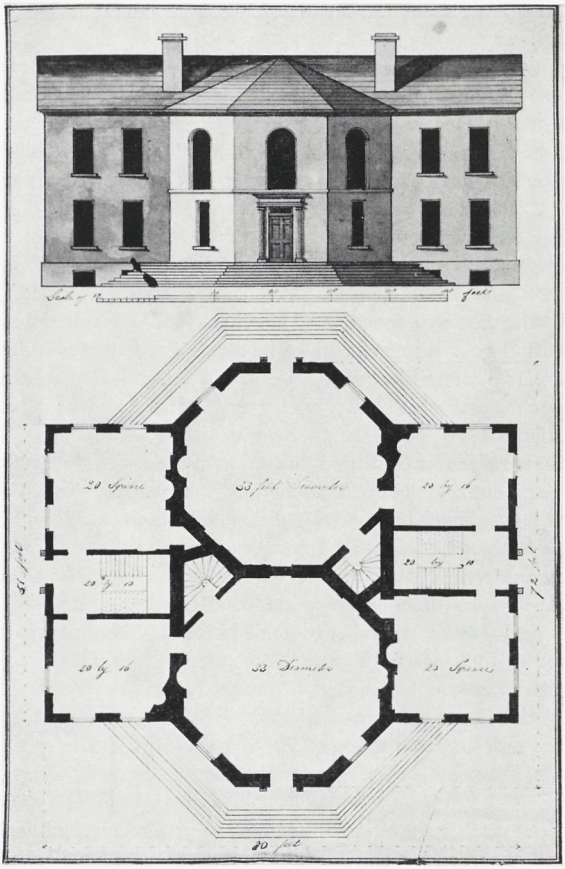
An initial impression of Henry Hedley's career can be formed from the drawings themselves and from New York City directories. Hedley first appears in the city directory for 1800 where he is listed as a carpenter living at 259 Greenwich Street.[2] A small drawing of a standard five-bay, two-story Georgian house, labeled "executed in Old England," is evidence that Hedley worked elsewhere before coming to New York.[3] The earliest dated drawing, an "Urn for Mr. D. M. Clarkson at Bloomingdale, (full-size) (fixed 11 July, 1800)," is similar enough in simplicity and draughtsmanship to later signed Hedley drawings as to suggest the nature of his early work in New York. Another drawing of a simple wooden gate, also for Mr. Clarkson at Bloomingdale, definitely establishes

Hedley as a carpenter, but with aspirations as a draughtsman and a designer.

The largest number of signed, dated, and labeled drawings in the collection pertain to the house designed by Henry Hedley for John R. Hedley "to be built on the Westerly side of the third avenue about four miles from New York." The relationship of the two Hedleys is presently unknown. The drawings date from August 20, 1826 through April 10, 1827. Most of them are of details such as window jambs, freize and cornice moldings, or the capitals and bases of the columns at the entrance door. Unfortunately, no plan or elevation, and only one section, is labeled for this otherwise well documented commission. The details and section suggest a country house of moderate size in a late Federal style. The commissions for Clarkson and J. R. Hedley approximate the duration of Hedley's building career although he did not die until 1836–37.[4]

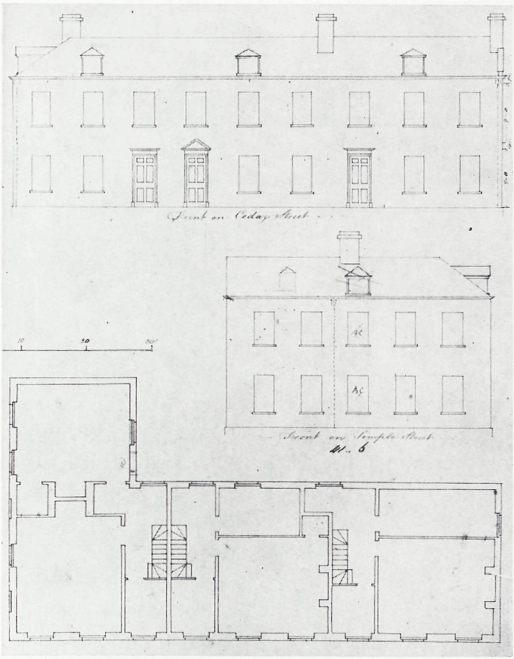
Finer residences form a major portion of the designs in this collection. The only labeled drawing not from the New York City area is "A design for the ground floor of a house for Rev. Mr. Ellison, Albany," signed by Joseph Newton, architect. Joseph Newton worked as a carpenter and master builder in New York from 1791 until 1826, residing in Greenwich Street near Hedley for many years.[5] A number of unidentified drawings suggest the work or influence of John McComb, Jr., by exhibiting strong similarity in draughtsmanship to known McComb drawings.[6] The depiction in one drawing of windows as black voids with delicate white sash lines and the handling of perspective in the roof, as well as the overall massing, are reminiscent of certain drawings by McComb.

Recent scholarly interest in vernacular architecture will make much of this collection fascinating material for students of early New York. Well represented are builders' solutions to the developing New York row house: three stories over a tall basement



Plan and elevation for an unidentified house, suggesting the influence or work of John McComb, Jr.

containing kitchen and service area, and a side entrance reached by a high flight of steps to the first floor living area. Several drawings were executed for developers who were interested in erecting multiple identical dwellings, such as the one of the four town



Henry Hedley's plan and elevation for row houses on Cedar and Temple Streets, New York.

houses for Mr. G. Ragg or Mr. Whitman's row houses on Cedar and Temple streets. Designs for storefront warehouses and several stables and outbuildings are also included. It would be tempt-

ing to suggest that these humbler edifices correspond to Hedley's earlier years as a carpenter, but, unfortunately, none of these drawings are dated although several are inscribed with the clients' names.

Engineering—or a general appreciation for structure—also emerges as one of Hedley's interests. Detailed working drawings for the support systems of many of his projects are included. One amusing example is labeled "A plan of the roof sent to Philadelphia for the circus." Carefully preserved by a blue ribbon binding is an article from an April 5, 1826, newspaper giving a "Description of the Helton Railroad in England, by William Strickland, Esq., Civil Engineer." Another clipped article discusses the construction of a "Grand Suspension Bridge over Menai Straights." This minor collecting habit brings forth questions as to the nature of Hedley's career as a surveyor from 1822 until his death. Only further research can provide the answers.

Ecclesiastical architecture is a major strength of the Sclater Collection. The most interesting drawing is a pencil and wash sketch on burlap-backed paper of St. John's Chapel in Varick Street, presently unattributed. Penciled on the right center of this elevation is an inscription which appears to read "This drawing was done by a Mr. Hedley who I thought (illegible) . . ." When these lines are more fully deciphered they may prove Henry Hedley's involvement with the design and construction of this important church erected between 1803 and 1807. The Sclater Collection drawing is identical to photographs of the Chapel, now demolished, which was modeled on the still extant St. Paul's Church, but with the steeple moved to the front of the building.[7] Other New York churches included in the collection are St. George's, Beekman Street, and Zion Church, on the corner of Mott and Cross streets. Unidentified church furnishings are represented by drawings of a baptismal font, a pulpit and sounding board, and wall tablets for the Ten Commandments. An elevation of another

Pencil and wash sketch of the side elevation of St. John's Chapel, Varick Street, New York.

sophisticated but unlabeled church and an engraving of three views of St. Paul's, London, round out this interesting assortment of ecclesiastical designs.

Two competition drawings of plans for the New York City

St. John's Chapel and Park in 1829. The Chapel was demolished in 1917 by the city in its widening of Varick Street.

Hall are perhaps the most notable designs from the collection. One plan is inscribed "2nd set of plans for City Hall, the South or principal elevation exactly as the first set of Plans some trifling difference will be in the rear, and one window added to the ends." The drawing is signed "James C. Lawrence, Architect at Mr. Hedley's No. 259 Greenwich Street." Another page of City Hall plans signed by Lawrence, presumably from his first set, is also included in the collection. Few of the entrants in the 1803 City Hall competition are known today; the Lawrence drawings bring the group to four identified competitors.[8] His design for City Hall is remarkably similar to the general massing of the building eventually erected by Mangin and McComb, but lacks the latter's

more sophisticated forms such as the monumental lobby with circular stairways.

That Lawrence signed the drawings as "architect at Mr. Hedley's" sheds an interesting light on his employer's occupation and prominence in the city. In the run of city directories, Hedley is listed simply as a carpenter until 1814, then as a carpenter and builder until 1822, at which point he is labeled a surveyor. Nevertheless, at the time of the City Hall competition, Hedley was a carpenter who employed an architect to provide designs. This suggests an unusual relationship between the two occupations. In the 1805–06 city directory, Hedley is included in neither the appendix list of architects–in which McComb is singled out for praise and recommendation–nor, surprisingly, the list of carpenters of note practising in the city. The existence of drawings by several different hands also intimates that Hedley, as a carpenter-builder, accumulated drawings from several architect-designers, including perhaps McComb.

Montgomery Schuyler, in a 1903 article discussing the relative contributions of John McComb and Joseph Mangin to the design of the City Hall, commented:

> St. John's Chapel in St. John's Park is another of the putative works of John McComb. Whoever designed it, it is in the straitest sect of the British Georgian of its period, some years posterior to that of the City Hall. It is on the face of it inconceivable that the designer who did the one did the other, and highly improbable that a "builder and mason" [McComb] did either. The architecture strongly intimates that one was done by an architecturally educated Frenchman, and the other by a carpenter of colonial training who also, in virtue of that training, was by no means an architecturally uneducated man.[9]

When the information contained in the Sclater Collection is more fully analyzed, it may be possible to elevate Henry Hedley from his present obscurity to the ranks of carpenter-builders capable of having designed and built St. John's Chapel. Since McComb was

busy supervising the construction of the City Hall while St. John's was being built, he should not be looked to as a likely candidate for authorship of the church's design. The fact that the Hedley firm entered the City Hall competition three years after becoming established in New York shows the self-confidence of a "by no means architecturally uneducated man." That Hedley was the "carpenter of colonial training" who designed St. John's will, however, require further documentation.

In summation, the Sclater Collection presents a wide spectrum of projects from a simple tombstone design to the building of City Hall. The drawings cover at least three decades (1800–1830) of rapid development for New York City in domestic, ecclesiastical and public architecture. They establish the career of one carpenter-builder who typifies his profession, appears as the possible author of several New York buildings, and enjoyed, it would seem, a working relationship with architects. The style of his buildings is basically a conservative adherence to Colonial and Federal forms. Hedley serves well as a standard against which the work of his better-known contemporaries can be measured. The existence of the Sclater Collection at the Avery and the McComb drawings at the New York Historical Society will provide an excellent opportunity to truly judge McComb's recognized supremacy and to achieve a well documented understanding of early nineteenth century New York architecture.

NOTES

[1] According to Mrs. Sclater, the drawings came into the possession of the John Henry Hedley family around 1835. They descended to Mrs. Annie Sturges Hedley Tuthill, a daughter or granddaughter, who gave them to her son, Daniel Sturges Tuthill, Mrs. Sclater's first husband.

[2] Longworth, Thomas. *American Almanac, New York Register and City Directory*. New York: 1800.

[3] The Sclaters still possess a school notebook owned by Henry Hedley as a boy in Yorkshire, England.

[4] Longworth, *New York Register*, 1836–37. Agnes Hedley, widow, is listed at 305 Greenwich Street for the first time in this volume.

[5] Longworth, *Register*. Joseph Newton is listed as a master builder and carpenter living at 107 Greenwich Street from 1791 to 1806/07; as a carpenter at 11 Jay Street until 1813/14; and as a carpenter living at 390 Greenwich Street until 1825/26.

[6] Gilchrist, Agnes Addison. "John McComb, Sr. and Jr., in New York, 1784–1799," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* (March, 1972), pp. 10–21. See Fig. 12.

[7] King, Moses. *King's Handbook of New York*. Boston: 1892, p. 344.

[8] Stokes, I. N. Phelps. *The Iconography of Manhattan Island 1498–1909, compiled from original sources and illustrated by photo intaglio reproductions of important maps, views and documents in public and private collections*. New York: Robert H. Dodd, 1926, V, p. 1394. Stokes mentions Archibald Robertson, "Dr. Smith," and Mangin & McComb as the only known entrants.

[9] Schuyler, Montgomery. "The New York City Hall, A Piece of Architectural History," *Architectural Record* (May, 1908), p. 388.

Our Growing Collections

KENNETH A. LOHF

Gifts

Barnouw gift. Miss Elsa Barnouw has donated a group of twenty-nine volumes and pamphlets from the collection of her father, Dr. Adriaan Barnouw, many of which relate to Dutch history and language. Included in the gift is a copy of Albert Smith's *The Struggles and Adventures of Christopher Tadpole at Home and Abroad*, illustrated by John Leech.

Barnett Family gift. The papers of the late Eugene Epperson Barnett have been received as a gift from the members of the Barnett Family, including his widow, his daughter, Mrs. Eugenia B. Schultheis, and his sons, Mr. Robert Barnett and Mr. Arthur Doak Barnett. Comprising more than forty thousand letters and documents, the papers record Eugene Barnett's career from his college days in the first decade of this century to his death in 1970. The papers document his work as general secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association, his years in pre-Communist China, his activities as a lay leader in the Methodist Church, and his affiliations with several United Nations and other national and international organizations.

Barzun gift. Dr. Jacques Barzun (A.B., 1927; Ph.D., 1932) has donated a number of important and useful works, including: a fine set in the original binding of *The Works of John Ruskin*, published in London, 1903–1912, in 39 volumes; William Shakespeare's *The Phoenix and Turtle*, one of 30 copies printed by the Officina Bodoni in Verona in 1974; bound files of *The Griffin*, published by the Readers' Subscription, 1951–1959, and *The Mid-Century*, published by the Mid-Century Book Society, 1959–1962; and two items bearing inscriptions by Guillaume Apolli-

naire, *Le Festin d'Esope*, published in Paris in 1903 by the Revue des Belles Lettres, and a catalogue of the exhibition of the work of Robert Delaunay held in Paris in 1913.

Bovard Estate gift. From the estate of the late Cora E. Bovard, and through the courtesy of her son, Dr. Everett W. Bovard (A.B., 1940; A.M. 1947), we have received a collection of more than eight hundred volumes in the fields of American and English literature and history. Of special importance are the following: William Hacke, *A Collection of Original Voyages*, London, 1699; T. B. Howell, *A Complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason and Other Crimes and Misdemeanors from the Earliest Period to the Year 1783*, London, 1816, 34 volumes; Joseph Knight, *David Garrick*, London, 1894, 2 volumes, extra-illustrated with nearly two hundred prints and engravings; and *The Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, London, 1837, the second edition in 3 volumes, extra-illustrated with approximately 125 prints and engravings. Dr. Bovard has made this gift in memory of his mother and father, Cora E. and Everett W. Bovard.

Bowden gift. Mr. and Mrs. Frank J. Bowden have presented the bookplate collection formed by the late Sara Eugenia Blake, who was a distinguished designer as well as collector of bookplates. The extensive collection of nearly seven thousand exemplars, dating mainly from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, is particularly rich in armorial and college bookplates, both American and foreign, and those designed for celebrities such as Charlie Chaplin, Bruce Rogers, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Anthony Trollope, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Herbert Hoover and George Bernard Shaw. Of special interest are those designed by E. D. French and Rockwell Kent; and the most unusual in the collection is doubtless the bookplate designed by Paul Revere for Isaiah Thomas, the New England printer.

Frederick Leighton's bookplate designed by
Robert Anning Bell. (Bowden gift)

Cane gift. Mr. Melville Cane (A.B., 1900; LL.B., 1903) continues to enrich the Libraries' collection of his literary papers, as well as its holdings in rare books. His recent important gift has added the following: a file of more than fifty items of correspondence with

Bookplate designed by Paul Revere for Isaiah Thomas.
(Bowden gift)

Maxwell Perkins relating to the Thomas Wolfe estate; manuscripts and galleys for his *The First Firefly*; letters and reviews relating to his collection of poems, *Snow Toward Evening*; the music for Charles Cushing's setting for his poem, "Snow Toward Evening"; ten volumes in Upton Sinclair's series of Lanny Budd novels, all of which are either inscribed or signed by the novelist;

the first American edition of Jan Struther's *Mrs. Miniver*, 1940, warmly inscribed to "Darling Mel"; and twenty first editions by Henry Morton Robinson, John Erskine, Claude Bragdon and other writers.

Class of 1923 gift. Once again it is a pleasure to record the gift of the College Class of 1923 of a rare first edition hitherto lacking from our collections. The Class, through its President, Mr. Joseph Brennan, and with the generous assistance of Messrs. James Bernson and Harold Kovner, have presented the funds necessary to acquire an especially fine copy of the first edition of Thomas De Quincey's *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater*, published in London in 1822. This copy, which is in a particularly fine state of preservation, is in the original boards, uncut, with the paper label on the spine intact, and including the half-title and the advertisement leaf.

Cranmer gift. Since 1957, when Mrs. W. H. H. Cranmer established a collection of the papers of her late husband, Professor John Erskine, she has made several significant additions. A recent important gift has added 1,500 volumes from Professor Erskine's library, including those containing his notes, as well as volumes inscribed to him by Hervey Allen, Walter Van Tilburg Clark, Floyd Dell, Oliver St. John Gogarty, E. V. Lucas, Brander Matthews, Mark Van Doren and numerous other American, English and French authors. Mrs. Cranmer's gift also includes an extensive file of biographical materials relating to Professor Erskine's life and career, comprising photographs and memorabilia, scrapbooks of clippings concerning his numerous books, and more than two hundred letters from his friends and associates in the literary and musical worlds. Included in these files are letters from Melville Cane, Marie Curie, Walter Damrosch, George Bellows, Jo Davidson, Marian MacDowell, Anaïs Nin, Henry Morton Robinson and Leonora Speyer.

Dames gift. Mr. Ralph J. Dames has donated a pristine copy of the first edition of Wendell Phillips Garrison's *The New Gulliver*, printed at the Marion Press in Jamaica, New York, in 1898.

Dix gift. Mr. Dennis Dix (A.B., 1948) has presented, in the second installment of the papers of his great-grandfather, John Adams Dix, a group of 127 letters written by many of the most renowned political, military and literary figures of the mid-nineteenth century period in American history. Included in Mr. Dix's splendid gift are series of letters from Washington Irving, General George B. McClellan, Governor Edward Denison Morgan, General John James Peck, President Franklin Pierce, John Meredith Read, William Henry Seward, Edwin Stanton and Charles Sumner. There are also single letters from General Robert E. Lee, Mary Todd Lincoln, Samuel French Morse and President John Tyler.

Greenberg gift. Mrs. Dorothy M. Greenberg has established a collection of the imprints of Greenberg: Publisher, a firm founded by her late husband Jacob W. Greenberg (B.Lit., 1914) in 1924 and managed by him until the company was sold in 1958 to Chilton Company of Philadelphia. The more than 450 volumes in Mrs. Greenberg's gift include juvenile books, "How-to-do-it" books, and works in the fields of the cinema, ballet, sailing, photography, book collecting, psychology, music and literature. Among the authors represented are Tony Sarg, John T. Winterich, John Middleton Murry, Alfred Adler, Daniel Blum, Franklin P. Adams, and Betty Smith.

To the Greenberg Collection Mr. Kenneth Marks has donated a copy of the first book published under the publisher's imprint, Tony Sarg's *Book for Children from Six to Sixty*, issued in 1924. A collection of amusing stories and pictures by Sarg, the volume was an immediate best-seller, and was issued in a limited edition of 25 copies, one of which was purchased at the time by President Calvin Coolidge for his grandchild. The copy given by the pub-

lisher to his nephew, Mr. Marks, is the one which the latter has donated to Columbia's collection.

Hamilton gift. Mrs. Robert P. Hamilton has made a further gift of papers to the collection of her grandfather, Peter Wellington Alexander, which she established in the Libraries last year. Nearly five hundred letters, military orders and documents have been added, including letters from General Braxton Bragg, Jefferson Davis and General William T. Sherman. The two General Sherman letters were written in September and October of 1862 to General Thomas Hindman, Head of the Confederate Army of the Trans-Mississippi Department, and discuss guerilla warfare and give his views on war. Civil War letters of this nature between opposing forces are unusual and revealing documents of the conduct of the war.

Kempner gift. Mr. Alan H. Kempner (A.B., 1917) has presented an important group of manuscript items, including two pages of the holograph manuscript of Thomas De Quincey's *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater*. Written ca. 1822, in ink on two sides of a single leaf, the manuscript is revised throughout by the English essayist. Mr. Kempner's gift also includes seven autograph letters written by Samuel Rogers, poet and friend of Wordsworth, to Horace Twiss, a London wit and politician during the first half of the nineteenth century. The final item in Mr. Kempner's gift is the edition of *All the Extant Works of François Rabelais*, New York, 1929, translated by Samuel Putnam and handsomely illustrated by Jean de Bosschère.

Lamont gift. Dr. Corliss Lamont (Ph.D., 1932) has presented a group of important books and manuscripts for addition to the John Masefield Collection which he established in the Libraries and has continued to strengthen. His gift includes the following: the illustrated edition of Masefield's book of poems on horse racing, *Right Royal*, London, 1922, inscribed by the author to

his cousin-in-law, Esmé Masefield, with a watercolor drawing mounted on the half-title page and dated January 10, 1926; fifteen letters written by the poet to Esmé Masefield and her sister, Dorothy Rodwell, in the 1920's and 1955; two greeting cards con-

Watercolor drawing by John Masefield in Esmé Masefield's copy of *Right Royal*. (Lamont gift)

taining poems by Masefield which he has autographed; a greeting card printed for the Royal Household in 1952 and signed by Masefield when he was poet laureate; two manuscript genealogies of the Masefield family; and a sheet of Hotel Metropole stationery containing the signatures of twenty-three members of the Masefield family, and dated January 10, 1925, on which occasion the family gathered for a reunion. Of singular importance in Dr. Lamont's gift is Masefield's personal copy of *The Poetical Works of John Keats*, London, 1901, containing 119 annotations by Masefield throughout the volume in preparation for the edition of Keats's poems published in 1903 with his notes. The volume bears Masefield's bookplate and is autographed by him.

Matthews gift. Mr. Herbert L. Matthews (A.B., 1922) has sent, from his home in Glenelg, Australia, the typewritten manuscript and notes for his recently published book, *Revolution in Cuba*, which has been added to the Libraries' extensive collection of his papers.

Woodcut by Albrecht Dürer in Geiler von Kayserberg's *Navicula sive Speculum Fatuorum.* (Rice gift)

Rice gift. Professor Eugene F. Rice, Jr., has added to the collections two highly prized editions: Desiderius Erasmus, *Paraphrasis in Euangelium Secundum Ioannem*, Basel, 1523, the first edition published by Johann Froben, the press to which Erasmus served

as general editor and literary adviser; and Johannes Geiler von Kayserberg, *Navicula sive Speculum Fatuorum*, Strassburg, 1511, illustrated with a woodcut on the title page and 112 woodcuts in the text designed by Albrecht Dürer. The latter work is the first illustrated edition of Geiler's lectures on his friend Sebastian Brant's *Ship of Fools*, and the woodcuts after Dürer were printed from the same blocks as the first Basel edition of Brant's work.

Robinson gift. Mrs. Gertrude Robinson has established a collection of the literary papers of her husband, the late Henry Morton Robinson (A.B., 1923; A.M., 1924), novelist, journalist and editor, known primarily for his best selling novel, *The Cardinal*. The collection includes the notes and manuscripts for that novel, as well as for his other books, *Fantastic Interlude*, *The Great Snow*, *Love or Perish*, *The Perfect Round*, *A Skeleton Key to Finnegan's Wake* (written with Joseph Campbell), and *The Water of Life*. The more than six thousand letters reflect his Columbia, publishing and literary ties, and include lengthy files of letters from Samuel Hopkins Adams, Frederick Lewis Allen, Jacques Barzun, Melville Cane, Paul De Kruif, Max Eastman, John Erskine, Aldous Huxley, Merrill Moore, Christopher Morley, Alan Seeger and Edmund Wilson.

Sheehy gift. Mr. Eugene P. Sheehy has donated a group of nine first editions of literary works by Anthony Burgess, L. P. Hartley, P. H. Newby, Jean Rhys and Eudora Welty. Included is a fine copy in the original jacket of Rhys's *Good Morning, Midnight*, the author's scarce fourth novel published in 1939.

Stevens gift. In memory of the late Professor Bertha M. Frick, Miss Jane E. Stevens has donated a fine copy of *Roller-Printed Paste Papers for Bookbinding*, 1975, written, designed, printed on hand-made paper and bound by Henry Morris at his Bird and Bull Press in North Hill, Pennsylvania.

Notable Purchases

Engel Fund. Two literary manuscripts have recently been added to the Solton and Julia Engel Collection by means of the Engel Fund. The first of these is an autograph letter written by James Fenimore Cooper on January 2, 1842, to his Philadelphia publishers, Messrs. Lea and Blanchard. The American novelist writes about his story of the British navy before the American Revolution, *The Two Admirals*, the manuscript of which he is completing. "Of the success of the book, I shall predict nothing," he writes, "but it has some of the best things in it, in the way of nautical description, I have ever done, and things that are entirely original, too."

The second item acquired for the Engel Collection is the autograph manuscript of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's story, *J. Habbakuk Jephson's Statement*, written on forty-nine folio pages and signed by the author at the conclusion of the text. Published in the January 1884 issue of the *Cornhill Magazine*, the story was based on the accounts of the derelict mystery ship, the *Marie Celeste*. Widely read and reprinted, the story provoked considerable controversy, and Doyle's career as a successful author may be said to have started with its publication.

Ulmann Fund. We continue to acquire, by means of the Albert Ulmann Fund, important productions of modern fine presses. Acquired this year were examples of the work of the Allen Press, Basilisk Press, Rainbow Press, Rampant Lions Press, Tiber Press and World's End Press. The most impressive is the four-volume set of the Tiber Press Poets, published in New York in 1960, comprising the following works: John Ashberry's *The Poems*; Kenneth Koch's *Permanently*; Frank O'Hara's *Odes*; and James Schuyler's *Salute*. Each of the folio volumes is sumptuously illustrated with full-page silk screen prints by the American artists,

Michael Goldberg, Grace Hartigan, Alfred Leslie and Joan Mitchell.

Two other important works added to the collections through the Ulmann Fund were the Basilisk Press facsimile edition of the Kelmscott Chaucer and the World's End Press publication, A. B. Christopher's *The Word Accomplished*, illustrated with richly colored etchings by Natalie d'Arbeloff. Both of these works were published in London in 1975. The Chaucer facsimile was issued with a companion volume of pencil drawings by Sir Edward Burne-Jones containing eighty-five of the finished drawings for the woodcut illustrations which appeared in the original edition.

Activities of the Friends

Bancroft Awards Dinner. On Thursday evening, April 1, members of the Friends, historians, publishers and university officials 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 1976 awards for books published in 1975 which a jury deemed to be the best in the fields of American history and diplomacy. Awards were presented for the following: *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823*, by David Brion Davis, published by Cornell University Press; and *Edith Wharton: A Biography*, by R. W. B. Lewis, published by Harper & Row. The President presented to the editors of each book the award and certificate provided by the Edgar A. and Frederic Bancroft Foundation. The principal speaker for the occasion was Dr. Henry F. Graff, Professor of History, whose topic was the American presidency.

Fall Meeting. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Friends will be celebrated at the fall meeting, Thursday evening, November 4, to be held in the Rotunda of Low Memorial Library.

EXHIBITION IN BUTLER LIBRARY

The Faces of Lincoln

Portraits Presented by Morton Pepper

May 17–September 29

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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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