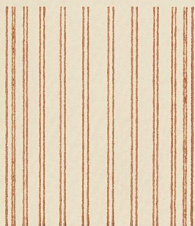


# COLUMBIA LIBRARY COLUMNS



## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

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# Columbia Library Columns

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# Organizing New York for “Social Betterment”

DAVID C. HAMMACK

IN the spring of 1906 controversy paralyzed the work of New York's distinguished City Club. Two years earlier the Club had hired Lawrence Veiller, a phenomenally energetic social worker and tenement reform expert, to serve as its secretary. Veiller swept through the Club with unanticipated force, reorganizing the membership office, instituting “a *complete and adequate system* of keeping track of all legislation by means of *card records*,” and urging, with tireless enthusiasm, that the Club “*adopt a Positive Program of Constructive Legislation*.” By early 1906 Veiller was becoming, in the eyes of the public and of Club members alike, the whole show. Many Club members disliked his “positive program” and his effort to build a political organization to put that program into law. The Club's Board of Trustees sought to defend him, but the rank and file members agreed with Veiller's critics and did not want the Club to support a comprehensive program of reform legislation. In December 1906, the trustees accepted their secretary's resignation and thanked him warmly for his services: “Handicapped in many ways, often the subject of severe criticism for carrying out the instructions of the Board of Trustees, Mr. Veiller nonetheless achieved an unprecedented success.”\*

If the City Club was not to support Veiller and his “positive program,” who was? There was no obvious position—and very little support—for him in the Democratic and Republican parties. The fusion administration of Mayor Seth Low, in which Veiller

\* The George McAneny Papers at Princeton University contain City Club records that reveal Veiller's brief and little known stint with that club.

*Opposite:* Jessie Tarbox Beals's 1916 photograph of life in a New York tenement which has no natural light or sanitation facilities.

had played a prominent role as Deputy Director of the new Tenement House Department, had represented the end, not the establishment of the Citizens' Union as a viable political party. In any case American political parties, unlike their European counterparts, did not have large central headquarters with permanent research and policy planning staffs. The Merchants' Association, the New York Board of Trade and Transportation and the Chamber of Commerce all had such staffs, but they also had their own distinct agendas.

Veiller's first impulse was to organize a new "Civic Association" devoted to "the solution of the city's social and municipal problems," managed by a board of nine directors and "supported mainly by large contributions from a comparatively small number of people." If only he could find a few wealthy backers, Veiller reasoned, he would not be forced to deal with an unwieldy and uncooperative body like the membership of the City Club.

Veiller gained most of his objectives, but not through a new organization: his proposed "Civic Association" became instead the "Department for Improving Social Conditions" of the Charity Organization Society. The decision-making process that produced this result reveals a great deal about personalities, politics and reform in the Progressive Era. We can now follow that process in detail, thanks to the recent gift of the Community Service Society of New York archives to the Libraries. The Community Service Society began as the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor in 1843; it took its present name when it merged with the Charity Organization Society (established in 1882) in 1939, and the archives include extensive records of both organizations.

Documents in this collection make it clear that the Charity Organization Society was a natural base for Veiller. By the end of 1906, its president, Robert W. de Forest, and his Executive Committee associates had "reached a deliberate conclusion" that their organization's "greatest opportunity for service" lay not in coordinating the work of private charities for which they were best known, but "in organizing all the forces of the community for



permanent social betterment." They agreed that "no less attention should be given to the care of needy families in their homes." But they had become convinced that "the most effective work is to strike at those conditions which made these families needy, and, so far as possible, remove them."

...  
 ARCHIVE COPY  
 NOT TO BE TAKEN FROM OFFICE  
 May 3, 1898  
 Dear Mrs. Lowell  
 The other day when I had nothing to do in the office I made an analysis of the 77 cases in the office under treatment, as to the causes of need. I think the facts will interest you.

Death of man	11%
No male support	5%
Unemployment	3%
Intemperance of man	18% x
Intemperance of both	8% x
Accident	3%
Sickness	11%
Excess of children	5%
Other	1%

Old Age 22%  
 Lack of work 11%  
 Unemployment 1%

That is 32% of the poverty of their own faults, while 68% was due to causes beyond their control.

Of course I was very careful in weighing carefully the real cause of need in each case. The large percent due to intemperance, I suppose, is a result of the friendly visitor cases that we are keeping in the office for treatment. It is interesting is it not?

Yours sincerely  
 Lawrence Veiller

...

Letter written by Lawrence Veiller to Mrs. Joseph Shaw Lowell, first director of the Charity Organization Society, enumerating the "causes of need" among families in his district.

Veiller had long been associated with this sort of effort. As a Charity Society district worker in 1898 he had written a remarkable letter to Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell, the Society's first director, asserting that only "32% of the poverty" afflicting families in his district "was the result of their own faults, while 68% was due to causes beyond their control." One of those causes was illness, often brought on by unsanitary conditions in New York's tenements. In the mid-1890s de Forest led the Charity Society into tenement reform work. In 1899 he set up a Tenement House Committee with Veiller as executive secretary. In 1900 he accepted the

chairmanship of a State Tenement House Commission appointed by Governor Theodore Roosevelt; Veiller served as the Commission's secretary. In 1902 de Forest agreed to serve under Mayor Seth Low as the first Commissioner of the New York City Tenement House Department: Veiller served as First Deputy Commissioner.

In de Forest's opinion tenement house reform was just the sort of work the Charity Organization Society ought to emphasize. Reviewing the Society's contributions to "social betterment" in two confidential meetings early in 1907, he asserted that the 1901 Tenement House Law had, in five years, insured that "the sanitary conditions of old tenements have so improved as to very materially diminish the death rate and the disease rate among the tenement classes" and that sufficient "new-law tenements, practically model as respects light, ventilation and sanitation, have been built or are now in process of erection to house one million people, or nearly one-quarter of our population." The Society had undertaken social betterment work in other fields as well, de Forest noted: "the Provident Loan Society which we initiated . . . has loaned this year upwards of \$9,000,000" permitting "the poor to borrow at a fair interest rate." And the Tuberculosis Committee had done a work of public education that was "almost as marvelous." All this "involved continued service . . . cost considerable money . . . involved favorable action on the part of state and municipal authorities . . . [and required] popular support and the support of the press." It promoted the most efficient use of charitable resources. "The result to the community in eliminating some of the more important causes of pauperism is of infinitely greater value than could have been brought about by the same amount of effort and the same amount of money expended for the relief of suffering."

But this past was merely a prologue. In 1906, de Forest argued, "when the social forces of the community are all aboil . . . there has got to be within ten or fifteen years the greatest opportunity for constructive and preventive charitable work that this country has ever seen."

De Forest's associates among the Charity Organization Society's leaders agreed that they should seize the opportunity. However, some of them wondered whether Veiller would be their most effective agent. His hard-driving personality, stubborn self-confi-



The United Charities Building on the northeast corner of East 22nd Street and Fourth Avenue, headquarters of the Charity Organization Society and currently of the Community Service Society.

dence, and controversial record at the City Club provoked hard questions. One Council member acknowledged that he possessed "executive ability of a very high order," but insisted that "Mr. Veiller, as those of us know who have worked with him . . . is somewhat difficult to work with." It would be wise to place Veiller under the close supervision of a small committee, because he was "so able in the way in which he does things—that he carries

conviction with everyone and . . . has a ready answer for any objection and in the majority of cases is probably right."

To this de Forest replied that "In so far as any man of executive force can be entrusted to do things and to conform to the steps laid down by his committee I feel that we can count on Mr. Veiller. During these years I have differed myself with Mr. Veiller not infrequently. We have had some pretty earnest discussions and I think that he has more frequently been in the right than I have been, but whenever a decision has been reached—in every instance which either I as Tenement House Commissioner or as a member of the Board of Trustees of the City Club have reached a conclusion contrary to that of Mr. Veiller's opinion he has reliably carried out that conclusion. We need have no anxiety with regard to Mr. Veiller's personality." Moreover, de Forest and Charity Society Secretary Edward T. Devine had "settled it that Mr. Veiller in coming in will understand that his activities are not to extend to any matters political but . . . simply be confined to those matters which had been determined to be the work of this Society." Devine himself added the opinion that Veiller "is not only efficient . . . he has good judgment. We may safely count upon his discretion. The most irritating quality about Mr. Veiller is that which was expressed in a remark to me recently—'Confound him. He is nearly always right!'"

The Charity Society's Council accepted its Executive Committee's recommendation. Veiller returned to the organization that had first employed him. For more than thirty years he continued his efforts to promote "social betterment" through the Department for Improving Social Conditions, the National Housing Association (Robert W. de Forest, President), and the Criminal Courts Committee, largely supported by the Russell Sage Foundation, of which de Forest was also president from its creation in 1907 to his death in 1931.

The Charity Organization Society's 1907 decision to hire Lawrence Veiller was in one sense simply an incident in Veiller's forty-year association with the ubiquitous Robert W. de Forest. But



more than that it gives us a remarkably clear view of the dynamics of social reform in the Progressive Era. The impulse for many concrete reforms came from de Forest and his associates on the Charity Society's Executive Committee fully as much as from Veiller, Devine, and other social workers. The members of the Executive



Veiller (Standing at center) with a group gathered on October 26, 1948, to celebrate the 90th birthday of John M. Glenn (lower left), first executive head of the Russell Sage Foundation.

Committee defined their responsibilities broadly. They were so profoundly convinced that their programs were right that they never considered them "political." As Veiller wrote a dozen years later, de Forest "strongly . . . instructed" him "not to register with the Secretary of State's office" as a lobbyist even though he spent several weeks in Albany each year, pressing the Charity Society's position on legislation. Yet Veiller was in many ways the Executive Committee's paid legislative agent.

It would be wrong to conclude that Veiller was only de Forest's agent. De Forest and his associates did not seek weak yes-men for executive positions. They valued Veiller's frankness and independence of mind—though they did not like to lose arguments with him. Yet even when they did lose an argument they insisted that they, as members of his Board of Trustees or Council, must have the last word. Expert social work specialists like Veiller played key roles in the Progressive Era movement for social reform, but volunteer managers and financial contributors gave the most detailed attention to the movement and retained the last, if not the first, word in "organizing New York for social betterment."



# Tenements and Families

EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY PHOTOGRAPHS  
OF NEW YORK FROM THE  
COMMUNITY SERVICE SOCIETY COLLECTION



1. Photographer unknown





2. Hiram Myers?



3. Alfred Tennyson Beals



4. Alfred Tennyson Beals



5. Jessie Tarbox Beals



6. Photographer unknown





7. Hiram Myers





8. Lewis W. Hine



9. J. Morrow: Orchard Street



10. Jessie Tarbox Beals?

# Photographing the Poor

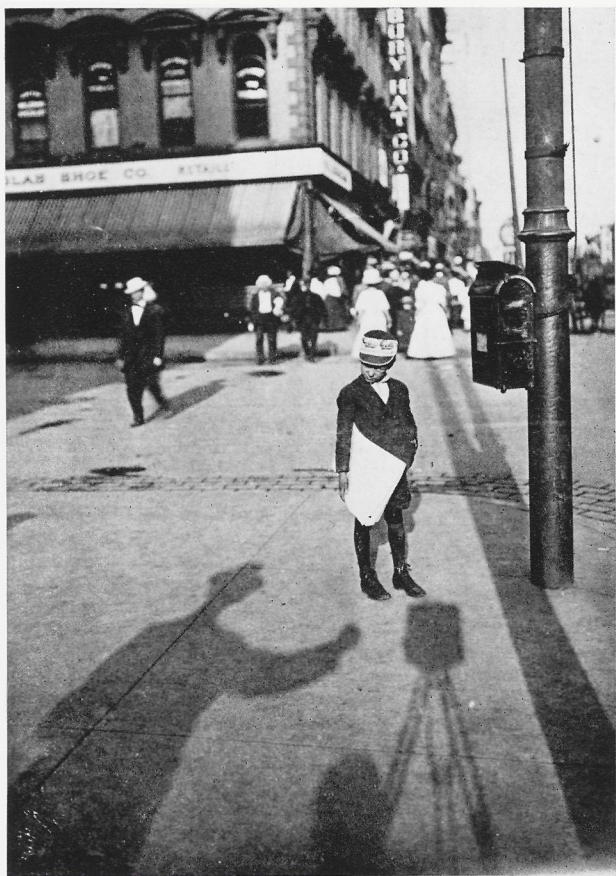
CATHY A. ALEXANDER

“**W**HETHER it be a painting or a photograph, the picture is a symbol that brings one immediately into close touch with reality.” So observed photographer Lewis W. Hine as his lantern slides flashed on the screen. His audience, made up of social workers attending the 1909 National Conference of Charities and Correction, listened in rapt attention as Hine discussed “Social Photography: How the Camera May Help In the Social Uplift.” Hine often worked for the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, a predecessor of the Community Service Society; the Society’s superb photography collection, recently placed in the Libraries, now enables the audience of the 1980s to examine the role of photographs in “social uplift.”

The collection is especially valuable because it illustrates the creation and application of documentary photography. The early twentieth century photographs, known as “sociological” or “social” photographs, reflected a changing attitude toward poverty. These realistic photographs, in turn, helped alter the public perception of poverty.

The Association’s officials had appreciated the impact of illustration before it was technically feasible to print photographs in their publications. In the 1884 annual report, for example, the tenement house inspector asserted that “a faithful drawing will bring a reader into close acquaintance with the regions described.” But what was “a faithful drawing”? This report, like others of the 1870s and 1880s, employed simple wood engravings. The black line and open white spaces in wood engravings gave a light, airy feeling to many of the illustrations. Women in exotic peasant dress, organ grinders and youngsters in bare feet added to the rural village atmosphere of such drawings. The pictures followed the artistic convention of the day, depicting the slum dwellers as in-





The shadow of Lewis M. Hine is seen as he photographs a New York newsboy. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)



teresting, picturesque, poor but simple, and not harmed in any way by poverty.

Audiences of the 1880s were aware of the problem of personal bias, and even the demands of convention, in drawings. The same audience accepted photographs, however, as direct and mechanical reflections of reality. According to Hine, "the average person believes implicitly that the photograph cannot falsify." Hine well knew, of course, that he and other photographers chose settings and posed subjects. By the early 1890s technological advances had made it easy and inexpensive to print photographs on the same page as text, and the Association quickly expanded its use of apparently truthful photographic illustrations.

At first, printing technology moved in advance of new attitudes toward poverty. In the Association's 1892 annual report, a very large and conventionally posed group of adults and children stood or sat in front of the organization's Seaside Home and stared into the camera for a portrait. Several trees constitute the only actual natural scenery. As yet, no new photo style existed to show the happy recipients of aid romping in the surf or listening intently to an Association agent. To be sure, the photographer had to keep his subjects still for the substantial time needed to expose the negative. But all photographers before the First World War grappled with the problem, and until the 1920s most photographs were posed even when they seemed to be candid. The unknown Association photographer of the 1890s was limited far more by the conventional wedding party/vacation spot arrangement than by his equipment. Moreover, the print reproduction of the picture is blurred and indistinct. Yet, once it began using photographs, the Association did not turn back to artists' sketches.

Jacob Riis, a contemporary of the unknown Association photographer, began taking photographs in the late 1880s before many of them could be successfully reproduced in his articles and books. Thus, Riis's famous early books, *How the Other Half Lives* (1890) and *Children of the Poor* (1892), actually contain more wood engravings, based on his photos, than photographs. He used

lantern slides, however, to reach a surprisingly large audience with illustrated lectures. Riis's photographs broke with convention. "New World poverty is not often picturesque," he wrote in 1896, "it lacks the leisurely setting, the historic background."

Riis's photographs showed the public what it perceived as unadorned truth about the slum, and yet his pictures could not have been so effective if his viewers had not shared his assumptions. Reformer and audience held in common the belief that the city environment was dirty, confining, unnatural and dangerous. The photographer portrayed the poor as the victims of harsh environmental and economic conditions; they were more pitiable than picturesque. The most innocent victims were the children, for he and public also shared the conviction that childhood was especially natural, good and in need of protection. The home, they believed, should provide that safe refuge for childhood. The concerns that Riis shared with his audience influenced the developing documentary style of Association photographs for years to come. Riis's involvement with organized charity in New York City is reflected in the presence of a number of copy prints of his photographs in the Society collection.

The Association's photographs, a selection of which is illustrated in the previous section, were designed to serve two aims. The organization offered various kinds of direct aid to the poor, and accordingly, one type of photograph showed its good works—country rest homes, families assisted, dental care, and so forth. These were advertisements to spur fund raising for all these activities. Photograph no. 7 in "Tenements and Families" shows, for example, an Association agent weighing a child at home on a clever portable scale. The Association also wanted to promote reform legislation, so it employed a second type of photograph, one that exposed social ills. The exposé photograph could, of course, double as a fund raiser. Photograph no. 5, for instance, appeared in a Fresh Air Fund advertisement in 1918.

Devoted as it was to very definite purposes—social service and social reform—the Association used its realistic photographs to



Jessie Tarbox Beals at work in the Stanley Studio, New York. (Photograph by Alexander Alland, Sr., reproduced with his permission)

show a carefully selected portion of urban society. Even more than Riis, Association photographers emphasized children and fatherless families. Photographs nos. 1 and 2 illustrate the genre, picturing children in cramped and dirty surroundings. In photograph no. 1, tenement back stairs provide no natural surroundings nor outdoor freedom for the sad-faced youngsters; and in photograph no. 2, the exhausted mother and older child in dark clothing contrast sharply with the baby, dressed in white. The juxtaposition of dark surroundings and small bright spot of the baby's face and body pulls the viewer to the child. The Association matched its words to the emotion evoked by the photograph: "We have recognized the baby in the home as the most hopeful member of the family."

By comparison with those of children and widows, photographs of men are rare indeed. In the collection a number of photographs do depict benign, grandfatherly men. These exceptions prove the rule: their subjects were unemployed because of age or illness, and the photographs were made to advertise the Association's toy-making shop that gave them work and sold toys to raise funds. The Association used few photographs of young, able-bodied men despite its extensive involvement in finding or making jobs for them and in sponsoring lodgings for the homeless. It feared, no doubt, that the public would feel that such persons did not deserve charity and would feel threatened by images of able-bodied men for whom no jobs could be found. Thus, the photographs in the Society collection reveal early twentieth-century beliefs about poverty, its legitimate causes, and its deserving victims.

Social workers on the Association's staff appear to have taken most of the photographs until 1910. One of these was Assistant Agent Frederick D. Greene, who illustrated the Association's annual reports in 1909 and 1910. The impact of the amateur photographs led the Association to invest in professional photography, and after 1910 the organization turned increasingly to professionals and their high-quality work. Many of these photographers, who worked and were paid on a project-by-project basis, are only





Alfred and Jessie Beals in the darkroom. (Photograph by Alexander Alland, Sr., reproduced with his permission)



known by their names and photographs today, little about their lives having been preserved. Other than Riis, the only photographers represented in the Society collection that we know much about are Lewis W. Hine, Jessie Tarbox Beals and her husband Alfred T. Beals.

Jessie Tarbox was born in 1870 in Hamilton, Ontario. She became a schoolteacher, and while teaching in small towns in Massachusetts (where an older brother had settled) she took up photography as an antidote to boredom. Picture-taking soon blossomed into a lucrative summer business. In 1897 Jessie married Alfred T. Beals, and soon they decided to become itinerant photographers. By 1900 they were on the road; five years later, after Jessie had completed stints as a newspaper photographer in Buffalo and as a freelancer at the St. Louis World's Fair, they opened a studio in New York City.

In his biography of Jessie Tarbox Beals, Alexander Alland, Sr., reveals that she was not a committed reformer. Jessie herself noted, while undertaking work that was probably for the Association in 1910–1912, “I am photographing tenement house conditions for the purpose of reform and tubercular prevention—work that I could not do a year ago, but which I have grown up to.” She voiced the picturesque point of view in one of her private poems: “And the little foreign children/In huddled streets of play/In myriad colored dresses/Are like a huge bouquet.” Yet this attitude did not limit the effectiveness of her powerful photographs. In photograph no. 5, a child on a fire escape is depicted looking through the bars as though in prison. Taken from below, the photograph suggests that the youngster is trapped in a tower of a tenement. No way down is visible in the picture. The elements of the new documentary exposé are all present—the city, the child, and the home that is a trap, not a refuge. Jessie did a great deal of work for the Association during the 1910s, and the Society collection contains a large number of her fine prints. At the same time, she took other assignments, photographing the gardens of the wealthy, news events and rich children.

Working with Jessie, Alfred Beals set up and did the darkroom work during their early years together. His rapid development and printing of Jessie's plates gave them a competitive edge at a time when the processing of photographs was difficult and time consuming. Alfred had studied agriculture at Amherst College, and he retained an interest in botony. His temperament seemingly differed from Jessie's; the couple grew more and more estranged. They continued to work together, however, and in 1913 Alfred was listed on their stationery as a photographer specializing in catalogs, illustrations for reports, action views of dogs and horses and, most important, "Sociological Photographs." The Beals separated in 1917 and were subsequently divorced. Alfred continued to take photographs for the Association in the 1920s and 1930s.

Lewis W. Hine, by 1913 the best known photographer of social conditions in America, was born in Oshkosh, Wisconsin. About 1901 he came to New York City, where he became a geography and assistant nature study teacher at the Ethical Culture School. Perhaps two years later the school's principal suggested that Hine, who had once studied drawing and sculpture, learn photography to record school events. Hine taught himself to use a camera, and by 1904 he was making memorable photographs of immigrants at Ellis Island. Within a few years he had left teaching to become a professional social photographer: "I was merely changing the educational efforts from the classroom to the world," he later wrote. Though he actually joined the staffs of the National Child Labor Committee and social work magazine *Survey*, Hine also accepted many freelance assignments, including a series for the Association on the design of comfort stations, which is amply illustrated in the Society collection.

Hine's photographs of people, especially of children, derive their power from his emphasis on the individual. "I have always been more interested in persons," he said in 1938, "than in people." Medium close-ups, drawing the viewer to the subject, reflect Hine's preferences as well as the technical limitations of his day. A striking photograph of two small boys in a bleak tenement hall-

way (see *Columns*, May 1980) illustrates Hine's style. Both Hine and Jessie Tarbox Beals emphasized the dignity of their subjects, however poor. Jessie probably photographed the proud family pictured in photograph no. 10. The father stands erect, and the mother holds the toddler high; the baby is well covered, and the older children are neat and serious. This photo shows a close-knit family struggling to escape the shadow of the tenement, which falls across the confining urban alleyway in which they stand. The emphasis Hine and Jessie Tarbox Beals placed on dignity indicates that a new perception of poverty has evolved from the changes that took place in Riis's time. By the second decade of the twentieth century, the poor have become more individual, prouder, more human, and more like the rest of us. They are victims, but they are not degraded; legislation and a bit of assistance are all that they need to become indistinguishable from middle-class Americans.

Over the years before the First World War, the Association began to use more and more photographs, photo-essays and sophisticated collages to carry its messages and enliven its publications. In 1917 it presented its donors with a lavishly illustrated periodical, *Bagdad on the Subway*. The unusual title refers to O. Henry's idea, as was stated poetically in the first issue, "That Bagdad lies/Within the ken/Of common eyes." The Association's Executive Committee launched the magazine in the belief that "only by repeatedly and effectively getting our work before our supporters could we expect to secure a continuance of their support." Unfortunately, the magazine soon ceased publication, apparently the casualty of too little paid advertising. Nonetheless, the small boy in the collage from the November 1919 issue of *Bagdad on the Subway* shows how very successful the Association had become in making an effective and repeated photographic appeal. The boy served in these years as the organization's symbol, reappearing in several advertisements and collages. His arms are open and trusting, and he is almost asking to be picked up and embraced. His hair is tousled, his clothes are tattered, and his coat is too big for him, as is his burden of poverty. The other photo-



Collage from the November 1919 issue of *Bagdad on the Subway* featuring the little boy who served during this period as the symbol of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor.

graphs in the collage are of fatherless families and children, all demanding action from the viewer: "Please!"

The Association's photographs reveal the development of public attitudes toward poverty. The needy were quaint curiosities in the 1880s, then pitiful victims in the 1890s, and by 1915 they had become good people in difficult circumstances. Association officials chose photographs that they thought the public would accept—and react to. To be effective, reformers had to share the convictions of their audience. Yet beliefs changed dramatically between 1880 and 1915. The selective truthfulness of "social photography" contributed to that change.



# Our Growing Collections

KENNETH A. LOHF

*Alden gift.* Mr. Alex E. Alden has presented the papers of Earl I. Sponable, who served as Chief Engineer and Director of Research for Twentieth Century-Fox Film Corporation and its subsidiaries from 1926 until the 1960s. Sponable's role in research and development in broadcast and movie media, particularly in early sound film, is documented in the correspondence, laboratory notebooks, technical drawings and photographs which comprise the papers. Much of the material donated by Mr. Alden relates to Movietone News and to the Fox laboratories' work with color film, television and Cinemascope. Also included are files pertaining to the Society of Motion Picture and Television Engineers, of which Sponable was a member and, on several occasions, an officer. There is correspondence in the collection from Sir Edward Gordon Craig, Lee de Forest, Samuel Lionel Rothafel and Spyros P. Skouras.

*Altbach memorial gift.* Members of the family and friends of the late Lillian Altbach have donated funds for the acquisition of an Anthony Trollope letter in Mrs. Altbach's memory. The letter, written on June 28, 1868, to the rising young authoress Rhoda Broughton, praises her first novel, *Not Wisely But Too Well*, published the year previously. In the letter Trollope both encourages and criticizes her work: "Were I with you, I could point out faults here and there against nature . . . the fault lies in your exaggeration. But I read your tale with intense interest. I wept over it . . . and came to the conclusion that there had come up another sister among us, of whose name we should be proud."

*Anshen gift.* Dr. Ruth Nanda Anshen has presented more than five hundred letters and manuscripts for addition to the collection of her papers which she established in the Libraries in 1977. There are files pertaining to numerous volumes in the various series ed-

ited by Dr. Anshen, including those for books written by Liebe F. Cavalieri, Sir Bernard Lovell, Norman D. Newell, Morton Smith, Samuel Terrien and other prominent scholars and philosophers. There is also a file of twenty-two letters received by Dr. Anshen from Jacques Maritain, dating from 1946 to 1965, in which the French philosopher writes of the publication of his *Raissa's Journal* and other works, his lectures in America and elsewhere, the translation of his writings, and personal and family matters. Of special importance is the file of papers relating to Dr. Anshen's election in December 1981 as a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts of Great Britain, an honor that has been bestowed on few Americans and never before on an American woman philosopher.

*Belmont gift.* Mr. August Belmont of Easton, Maryland, has presented the papers of his distinguished family. The approximately 13,000 items in the gift document the history of the family from 1799 to 1930 and relate primarily to August Belmont I (1813–1890), banker, political figure and American associate of the Rothschild family, and to his son August Belmont II (1853–1924), financier and sportsman. The papers, comprising correspondence files, letter books, documents, manuscripts, financial records and photographs, deal with the varied Belmont family interests, including finance and banking, the United States Navy, Commodore Matthew C. Perry and his expeditions to Mexico and Japan, Belmont's embassy to The Netherlands from 1853 to 1857, the Democratic Party and New York City politics. There are also papers covering the family's social life in New York and Newport, European travel, horse breeding, The Jockey Club, polo, the Remount Association for cavalry horses in the First World War, fox hunting, dog breeding and yachting. The New York subway construction, railroads, the Cape Cod Canal and aviation are also among the activities represented in the collection. The extensive letter files contain correspondence with nine United States Presidents from Franklin Pierce to Warren G. Harding, including a four page Abraham Lincoln letter written from Washington on July

31, 1862, concerning the destruction of business activities in the South during the Civil War. This remarkable collection presented by Mr. Belmont will provide scholars with important research material on the social and business history of the country during



August Belmont (left) President of the Cape Cod Canal Company, reaching to shake hands with William Barclay Parsons, chief engineer of the Company, across the stream which made Cape Cod an island when the Canal was constructed, 1912-1914.  
(Belmont gift)

the nineteenth century, and as such it is one of the most far-reaching benefactions to the Libraries in recent years.

*Carter gift.* Miss Ruth Carter has presented the library and papers of her late father, Edward Clark Carter, who served as chairman of the Russian War Relief Fund, 1941-1945, and was an officer of the Institute of Pacific Relations, 1926-1948. The approximately six thousand items in the papers also include personal correspond-

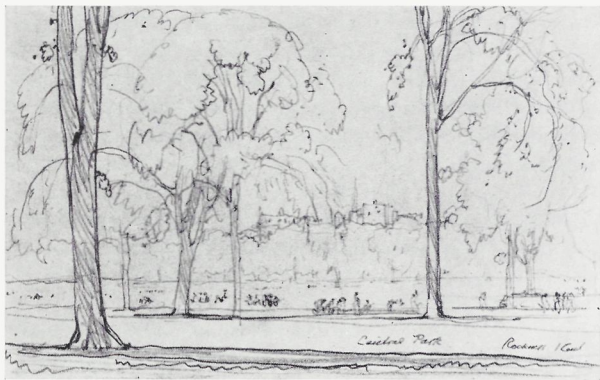
ence, photographs and memorabilia, and his library of 1,523 volumes centers around his interests in Russia, Asia, India, China and the South Pacific.

*Davis gift.* The executor of the estate of the late Harold Clurman, Mr. Sidney Davis, has established a collection of the papers of the distinguished critic, stage director and author. The initial gift included six notebooks kept by Clurman from 1922, the year after he left Columbia College and traveled to Paris, to 1980, in which he recorded quotations from his wide reading, notations on various contemporary and classical dramas, notes on dramatists such as Arthur Miller and Tennessee Williams, and comments on the techniques of playwriting, acting and directing. Mr. Davis's gift also contained lengthy letters from Jean Dubuffet, Walter Mathau, Arthur Miller, Harold Pinter and Tennessee Williams, all of which deal in detail with various plays and publications.

*Finelli gift.* In memory of the late Professor Ray L. Trautman (B.S., 1940), Miss Florence Finelli has presented a collection of the papers of the last two Spanish Viceroyes in Peru, Don José Fernando de Abascal y Sousa and Don Joaquín de la Pezuela. Dated 1815-1816, the approximately 325 manuscript documents, bound in two folio volumes, record the activities of the representatives of the Spanish government in the period immediately preceding the revolution and the founding of the modern state of Peru. The documents are written in various clerical hands and signed by the Viceroyes and other officials. Also included are four printed broadsides issued in Peru at the direction of the King of Spain. Future use of these important documents by scholars will doubtless cast new light on this turbulent period of South American history.

*Grazier gift.* A collection of 741 titles relating to public affairs and general literature has been presented by Mr. Joseph A. Grazier. Several titles have been selected for the rare book collection, in-

cluding a fine large copy of James Hakewill's *A Picturesque Tour of Italy from Drawings Made in 1816-1817*, published in London in 1820 by John Murray. The sixty-three full page plates are from Hakewill's landscape drawings or from J. M. W. Turner's drawings based on Hakewill's sketches.



Drawing of Central Park by Rockwell Kent, ca. 1907. (Jaffin gift)

*Handler gift.* Professor Emeritus of Law Milton Handler (A.B., 1924; LL.B., 1926) has made a substantial addition to the collection of his papers in a recent gift of approximately 7,800 pieces of correspondence and memoranda covering more than fifty years of his legal and teaching careers. Included are his files relating to the Law School, Justice Harlan Fisk Stone, and publications and lectures on antitrust, trademark law and other areas of the law in which he has specialized.

*Jaffin gift.* Two important items have been added to the Rockwell Kent Collection by Mr. George M. Jaffin (A.B., 1924; LL.B., 1926): a signed pencil drawing of Central Park done by Kent, ca. 1907, when he was a student at the School of Architecture; and the very rare portfolio, *Drawings by Rockwell Kent: A Portfolio*



of *Prints*, issued in a limited edition of thirty sets by Egmont Arens at the Flying Stag Press in New York in 1924. The handsome prints, each of which is signed by Kent, are reproductions of drawings done in Alaska and other places for several of his books, including *Wilderness* and *Rockwell Kentiana*.

*Kruger gift.* A group of ten illustrated children's books published in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has been donated by Mrs. Linda Kruger (M.S., 1965; D.L.S., 1980), among which are several issued by D. Lothrop and Company, McLoughlin Brothers and Raphael Tuck & Sons, all of which are noted for their color printing.

*Lamont gift.* Dr. Corliss Lamont (Ph. D., 1932) has presented a copy of Judith Masfield's *The River Thame at Sunset*, a poem published in London in 1976 by the Stourton Press in a limited edition of fifty copies.

*Leighton gift.* Miss Roberta Leighton has donated 133 first editions of English and American poetry, including several works each by Kingsley Amis, Wendell Berry, Melville Cane, E. E. Cummings, T. S. Eliot, C. S. Lewis, Robert Lowell, Ned O'Gorman, I. A. Richards, Mark Van Doren and Richard Wilbur.

*Matson gift.* The New York literary agency Harold Matson Company, Inc., has established a collection of its papers with an initial gift of approximately 75,000 pieces of correspondence, manuscripts, contracts and printed materials. The files, which cover the years from 1958 to 1978, include correspondence with authors, publishers and other literary agents, dealing with the editing and publishing of American and English books, serial rights, reprints, dramatic rights, translations, foreign rights, advertising and promotion, and copyright registration. Among the novelists and short story writers represented in the collection by extensive files are Ray Bradbury, William S. Burroughs, John Collier, Arthur Koest-

ler, Malcolm Lowry, William Saroyan, Wilbur Daniel Steele, William Styron and Herman Wouk. Playwrights and poets include Lillian Hellman, John Mortimer, Charles Norman and Stephen Spender; prominent among the literary critics and prose writers are Frank Kermode, William Manchester, J. B. Priestley, V. S. Pritchett, William L. Shirer and François Truffaut.

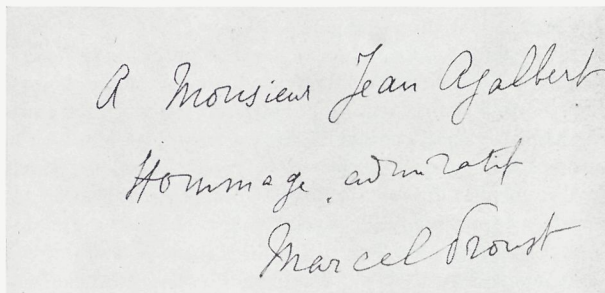
*Myers gift.* Winifred A. Myers Autographs, Ltd., London, through its directors, Miss Winifred A. Myers and Mrs. Ruth Shepherd, has presented a fine four page letter written by the famous English and American actress Fanny Kemble in which she discusses her dramatic readings at Bungay, the financial arrangements for those readings and details concerning the equipment that she requires. The gift has been made in honor of the Librarian for Rare Book and Manuscripts' twenty-fifth anniversary in the Library.

*Nahas gift.* Mr. Anthony Edwin Nahas (A.B., 1981) has donated a copy of the English translation by the Rev. David Williams of Voltaire's *A Treatise on Toleration; The Ignorant Philosopher; and a Commentary on the Marquis of Becaria's Treatise on Crimes and Punishments*, published in London in 1779.

*Norton gift.* W. W. Norton & Company, through its president Donald S. Lamm, has added to the Norton Papers three important literary documents: a letter from Ellen Glasgow, October 6, 1929, concerning *Ultima Thule* by Henry Handel Richardson; a letter from Edgar Lee Masters, November 1, 1929, containing the poet's comments on *The Meaning of Culture* by John Cowper Powys; and a two page handwritten manuscript by Powys entitled "Biographical Sketch," written in 1929 at the time of the publication of *The Meaning of Culture*.

*O'Brien gift.* Our holdings of contemporary French literature have been considerably strengthened by the gift from Mrs. Justin

O'Brien of 185 first editions which she and her late husband, Professor Justin O'Brien, collected. The gift includes extensive holdings of first editions by Samuel Beckett, Jean Cocteau, Valéry Larbaud, André Malraux, Jean Paulhan, St.-John Perse, Marcel



A Monsieur Jean Ajalbert  
Hommage admiratif  
Marcel Proust

Inscription by Marcel Proust in *Le Côté de Guermantes*. (O'Brien gift)

Proust and Paul Valéry. The following association books inscribed to Professor O'Brien are especially noteworthy: Albert Camus, *Letters à un ami allemand*, 1945; Jean Giraudoux, *Siegfried et le limousin*, 1922; Valéry Larbaud, *Giro dell'oca*, 1947, and *Une nonnain*, 1946; and Jean Paul Sartre, *Situations I*, 1947, and *Huis clos*, 1945. In addition, the copy of Marcel Proust's *Le côté de Guermantes*, 1920, has been inscribed by the author to fellow novelist Jean Ajalbert with "Hommage admiratif." Mrs. O'Brien has also donated exceptionally fine copies of John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, 1759, printed in Birmingham by John Baskerville, and the Nonesuch Press edition of *The Works of Shakespeare*, 1929-1933, one of 550 copies.

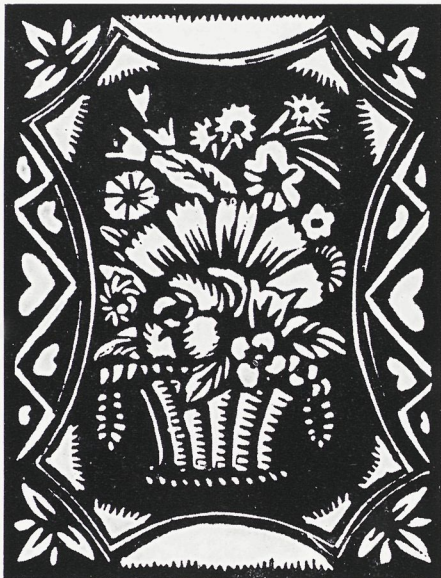
*Parsons gift.* Professor Coleman O. Parsons (A.B., 1928) has recently added to the collection of Scottish literature 131 volumes of poetry, drama, fiction, memoirs, travel literature and history, many of which are autographed or inscribed by their authors. There are numerous first editions by John Buchan, R. B. Cunning-

ham Graham, Andrew Lang, Eric Linklater, Compton Mackenzie, Edwin Muir and Margaret Oliphant. Among the notable titles in the gift are: Daniel Defoe, *The History of the Life and Adventures of Mr. Duncan Campbell*, 1720; William Godwin, *Life of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 1803; Robert Wild, *Iter Boreale*, 1660, the earliest imprint in the gift; and the manuscript by E. J. Powell, *Northern Tour 1857*, with drawings by the author, about which Professor Parsons has written in the May issue of *Columns*. Among the most charming volumes in the gift is James Fisher's *A Winter Season*, Edinburgh, 1810, illustrated with engravings by Thomas Bewick.

*Scott gift.* Mr. Barry Scott has presented Wyndham Payne's *Town & Country: A Collection of Designs and Decorations*, a handsome folio edition printed and published by Cyril W. Beaumont in London, ca. 1930. In his preface to the work, one of an edition of sixty copies on handmade papers signed by both the artist and the publisher, Beaumont describes the hand-colored wood and linoleum cuts as "alive and vibrant with a delightful personality," and the creator as one endowed with "a fertile imagination and considerable powers of invention." Mr. Scott's gift was presented in honor of the Librarian for Rare Book and Manuscripts' twenty-fifth anniversary in the Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

*Shulman gift.* Ms. Holly Cowan Shulman has presented the papers of her father, the late Louis G. Cowan, publishing and communications executive who was Director of Special Programs in the Graduate School of Journalism from 1965 until his death in 1976. The files in the gift document Cowan's activities as Vice-President and President of CBS, as Director of the Morse Communications Center of Brandeis University, as President of the Broadcast Institute of America, and in many other capacities. Also donated by Ms. Shulman were the papers of The Chilmark Press, founded by Cowan in 1960 to publish contemporary and classical English literature in fine editions. Among the correspondence files are letters

from the authors and artists whose work was published by the Press, including Will Carter, Roy Jenkins, David Jones, Frank Kermode, Henry Moore, J. B. Priestley, John Sparrow, Paul Standard and Stephen Spender.



Design from Wyndham Payne's *Town & Country*.  
(Scott gift)

*Simon gift.* The papers of the co-founder of Simon & Schuster, Richard L. Simon (A.B., 1920), have been presented by Mrs. Simon. The approximately 14,000 letters, memoranda, manuscripts, photographs and documents relate to the editorial and business affairs of the publishing house, and they include extensive files on authors and publishers Bennett Cerf, Max Eastman, Edna Ferber, Erich Fromm, Joseph Heller, Dan Longwell, Kenneth



Roberts, Arthur Schnitzler, Jerome Weidman and Sloan Wilson. There is also an extraordinary file of 66 letters written to Simon by his partner, M. Lincoln Schuster, dating from 1923 to Simon's death in 1960, which cover the history of the firm from its founding. Simon's special interest in art, photography and music are documented in his correspondence with Irving Berlin, Margaret Bourke-White, Henri Cartier-Bresson, Philippe Halsman, Oscar Hammerstein 2nd, Jerome Kern, Cole Porter and Richard Rodgers. The file of 22 letters which Simon received from Dwight David Eisenhower from 1945 to 1956 reflect their long association.

*Smith gift.* In memory of the late Margaret Janvier Hort (M.S. in L.S., 1947), Miss Bernice Stevens Smith has presented a collection of 79 children's books of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Included are the works of such English and American authors as Louisa May Alcott, Frances Hodgson Burnett, Walter Crane, Dorothy P. Lathrop, Coventry Patmore, James Whitcomb Riley and Pamela Travers. The volumes in Miss Smith's gift will be added to the Historical Collection of Children's Literature.

*Sommerich gift.* Miss Jane Sommerich has donated 81 editions of literary works, among which are first editions by Louis Adamic, Waldo Frank, Graham Greene, Delmore Schwartz, Hendrik Willem van Loon and Stark Young.

*Stecher gift.* Mrs. Emma D. Stecher has donated a collection of 130 portrait sketches drawn by Miss Lucie Ruth Kraft on the programs of the Institute of Arts and Sciences during the 1930s. The Institute sponsored lectures at Columbia by prominent authors and public figures, and Miss Kraft sketched them while attending the events. Included are portraits, many autographed by the subjects, of Gertrude Stein, Carl Sandburg, Stephen Vincent Benét, Mark Van Doren, Rockwell Kent, Otis Skinner, Max Eastman, Sir Norman Angell, Pearl Buck, Robert Frost, Christopher Morley and many others.

## Activities of the Friends

*Fall Meeting.* The gift of the papers of the literary agency Harold Matson Company, Inc. was celebrated at the fall dinner meeting held in the Rotunda of Low Memorial Library on Thursday evening, November 4. Mr. Don Congdon, Vice President of Harold Matson Company, spoke about the agency, its authors and its archives. The evening's major speaker was Mr. William Manchester, who talked on "The Writer as Spectator." Mr. Gordon N. Ray presided.

*Winter Meeting.* An exhibition marking the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of Washington Irving will open on Thursday afternoon, February 3, 1983, with a reception in Low Library. On view will be first editions, manuscripts, portraits and memorabilia of the author who received honorary degrees from the University in 1821 and 1829.

*Bancroft Dinner.* The Bancroft Awards dinner will be held on Thursday evening, April 7, 1983.

*Finances.* For the twelve month period which ended on June 30, 1982, the general purpose contributions totaled \$29,115. Gifts from individual Friends designated for the Rare Book and Manuscript Library building fund totaled \$157,700. Books and manuscripts donated or bequeathed by members had an appraised value of \$148,506. The total of all gifts and contributions since the establishment of the association in 1951 now stands at \$4,135,851. The Council also approved a transfer of \$10,000, the second installment of a pledge of \$25,000, to the Rare Book and Manuscript Library building fund.

# THE FRIENDS OF THE COLUMBIA LIBRARIES

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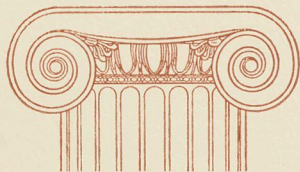
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# COLUMBIA LIBRARY COLUMNS





## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

DON CONGDON is Vice President of the Harold Matson Company where he has represented such authors as Ray Bradbury, Lillian Hellman, William Manchester and William Styron.

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ANDREW B. MYERS is Professor in the Graduate English Department at Fordham University and is currently at work on a biography of Washington Irving.

MORRIS H. SAFFRON is the author of *Surgeon to Washington*, a biography of Dr. John Cochran, and is Visiting Professor of Medicine (Medical History) at the New Jersey College of Medicine.

\* \* \*

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

# Columbia Library Columns

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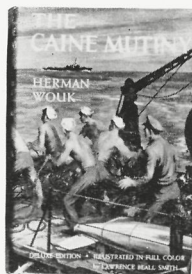
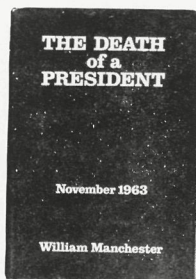
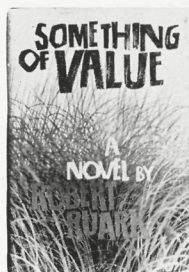
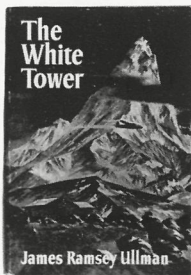
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Several bestsellers whose authors the Harold Matson literary agency represented.

# Harold Matson and His Authors

DON CONGDON

BEFORE Harold Matson became a literary agent he managed several newspaper syndicates, and prior to that he had been an editor of daily newspapers on the West Coast. He began work, as did many reporters and writers of the time, without benefit of formal college education. He made his way east to New York City in the 1920s, and eventually became manager of McClure's Syndicate where he handled the sale of the rights to the memoirs of General Pershing, short stories by Fanny Hurst, weekly editorials by Bruce Barton, and others.

At McClure's, he also helped former President Calvin Coolidge launch a newspaper column which appeared five days a week. After writing the column for seven months, Coolidge told Matson he had nothing else to say and wanted to give up the column even though it was earning him seven or eight times his annual presidential salary. Matson proposed that as soon as he arose each morning, he read the papers and comment on the news. He did so, and finished out his year.

At the beginning of the 1930s, Matson left McClure's to open up his own syndicate to feed news and features to radio stations, but in the depression years collections of fees were few and far between. He then joined Ann Watkin's literary agency in 1932, acting as agent for writers such as Sinclair Lewis and Thorne Smith. When Watkins did not make him a partner, he left in 1937 to open his own agency. Almost immediately he attracted such writers as Phil Stong, H. Allen Smith, James Street, James Ramsay Ullman, Wilbur Daniel Steele and William Saroyan.

It was tough going at first because of the nature of a service business. Not only does it take time to assemble a list of clients, but the agent is paid a ten percent commission only when a sale is made. He does not charge for his time as do lawyers and doctors.

To put it simply, to make \$50,000 he must have sales worth \$500,000. Cash was easier to come by then, in one respect. Payments to clients who sold stories to magazines produced more than fifty percent of an agent's income; slick magazine fiction earned



Harold Matson (left) discussing a contract with H. Allen Smith, 1950.

rates of from \$500 to \$3,000. Somerset Maugham was supposed to have been paid \$5,000 for a story. All the big circulation magazines ran serials which would bring \$15,000 to \$50,000; if a writer didn't sell fiction at that level, there was a secondary group at the \$150 to \$500 range.

Matson's first big serial sale was James Ramsay Ullman's novel, *The White Tower*, a mountain climbing story whose chief characters represented countries then at war—Britain, France, Germany and the United States. *The Saturday Evening Post* bought it, but, before the novel could be cut into installments, the war with Germany ended and *The Post* decided it would be untimely



to print. Matson submitted it to *Collier's*, where I was then an associate fiction editor. We were interested, but it was my chore to offer considerably less money than *The Post*. When it was clear to Matson that *Collier's* would not pay what he thought it was worth, he and Ullman decided to forego serialization. It then became a Book-of-the-Month Club choice, a bestseller and sold to the movies. Ironically, I later joined the Matson agency in 1947, after a stint as editor at Simon & Schuster.

In the late 1940s, Robert Van Gelder, then editor of *The New York Times Book Review*, approached Matson to arrange a contract for a novel, his first. Van Gelder provided only an outline and research notes. Submitting only an outline for a contract was almost unheard of in those days: Matson asked for an advance guarantee of \$20,000 and got it from Doubleday. At that time it was one of the highest advances ever paid for an unwritten novel.

As the 1950s waned, the magazine business began to dry up. Book royalties were providing the biggest share of a writer's and his agent's income. The biggest seller for Matson of the decade was *The Caine Mutiny* by Herman Wouk. Simon & Schuster had published two of his novels, but Wouk decided he wanted a new publisher. As with many novelists, the Knopf reputation of literary excellence was a lure. The first three hundred pages plus an outline were submitted to Knopf, but rejected. It was bought immediately by Doubleday and became a bestseller. Matson was unable to sell the movie rights at the time because the Navy did not want to acknowledge that a mutiny had ever taken place. Eventually, he found one of the early independent producers, Stanley Kramer, who finally persuaded the Navy to lend enough equipment, including a destroyer, to make production costs manageable.

Not long after, Matson became Robert Ruark's agent, in time to place his novel about Africa, *Something of Value*, with Doubleday. One of Matson's best coups occurred when Doubleday wanted to sell the paperback rights for \$50,000; but Matson held off the sale until Pocket Books offered \$106,000, the highest paper-

back price ever paid at that time. Later, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer and Twentieth Century-Fox made identical offers of \$300,000. Matson had arranged the terms of the negotiation so that Ruark had the absolute right to choose between them, a side-door condition often overlooked when a big property is on the market. MGM produced the picture.

One of our younger clients in the 1950s was William Manchester. He had already published a biography of H. L. Mencken, several novels and a number of brilliant magazine pieces. A three part magazine series about John Kennedy was published in book form under the title *Portrait of a President*. Because of the book, he was nominated by Robert Kennedy and the then Jacqueline Kennedy to write a complete report of the assassination while the sources were still available. The ensuing brouhaha is well known.

While Manchester was aware that he was a subject of media attention, he had no idea of the extent of his notoriety until one weekday morning in November 1965. Since midsummer he had been badgered by the Kennedys to make further changes in his manuscript; there would seem to be agreement that the manuscript was in acceptable order and then another set of changes would be pressed upon him by either the Kennedys or his publisher, Harper & Row. To avoid further pressures he decided to go to London by boat, and he hoped the dust would settle by the time he returned. The morning he was to leave he had one last consultation in his hotel room with Evan Thomas, his editor. Surprisingly, Robert Kennedy also turned up to bang on his hotel room door demanding entry, presumably with further requests. Manchester managed to get out of his hotel room into the hall via another bedroom door, arriving at our office just an hour before his departure by ship. He was thoroughly shaken, having believed his plans for the trip were secret. He downed a glass of whiskey and requested that I accompany him via cab to the ship, to run interference, so to speak. As he waved goodbye at the top of the gangplank, he appeared to have eluded all pursuers. A few hours

later he called from the ship to report that, just as he turned away, he heard a voice say, "Hi Bill, how about a few words about you and the Kennedys." It was Bob Trout from CBS Radio with a microphone in hand. The mere fact that Manchester was sailing to Europe was big news. Today Manchester is just as well known, but for different reasons, for the quality of his work in such books as *American Caesar*, the MacArthur biography, and his own memoir of World War II, *Goodbye, Darkness*.

About this time Matson purchased the literary agency, McIntosh, McKee & Dodds, whose clients, including William Styron, Flannery O'Connor and John Irving, joined our list. Also, at about the same time, Herman Wouk decided to write a new novel about World War II. He wanted to make a contract long before the manuscript was finished, and so one of the first direct paperback negotiations between such an established author and a paperback publisher were completed by Matson with Pocket Books. Subsequently, Wouk decided the story would be extended to two novels instead of one; nothing wrong with that except the publisher claimed that the early agreement and advance guarantee covered both volumes; Matson and Wouk disputed that claim. The matter was resolved favorably for Wouk, but only after many months of negotiations. There were lawyers at work on both sides, but it is my opinion that the favorable outcome was a result of Matson's patience, skill at firm negotiation and his reputation of integrity. These are estimable traits in the book publishing world where oral negotiation is the custom and agreements are made long before contracts are written, signed and fulfilled by the writer. Having observed Harold Matson for almost forty years, I can say that he deserves his reputation as a forceful but fair negotiator for his clients and I believe an examination of our correspondence, now at Columbia, will bear it out.

# The Majestic Caliph of Cordova

WASHINGTON IRVING

EDITED BY ANDREW B. MYERS

*Washington Irving was by instinct a storyteller, and whether yarnspinning as an amateur or quilldriving as a professional, a good one sometimes most memorable. The other side of this literary coin is that he was also a good listener. Whether at home in the Hudson Valley, or in Britain, or on the Continent, say in Iberia, he eagerly stuffed his pilgrim's wallet with the folklore and legends, the colorful gossip and chronicles, of the faraway places and peoples around him. His "Omniades" manuscript at Columbia is a case in point.*

*After reaching Spain in 1826 Irving found that its present, like its past so dramatic and troubled, quite fascinated him. Thereafter a lifelong Hispanophile, this imprinting is best reflected in his "Morisco-Spanish" Alhambra, first published in 1832. But for every page on such matters Hispanic that would see print, such as the Conquest of Granada (1829), many hundreds were left unpublished, even unreadied for the press, at the time of his death. Other more pressing volumes, or distractions like service as the U.S. Minister in Madrid from 1842 to 1846, explain delay or disinterest. Some of these pigeonholed projects would appear in Spanish Papers (1866). Others simply passed into family hands as remembrances. His "Omniades" is one of the latter.*

*The author titled it "The Chronicle of the Omniades" and it is clear he meant to develop, reign by difficult reign, the role on the peninsula of Moorish monarchs whose longtime capital was Cordova. In that fabled medieval city the "Omeya" dynasty held sway from the eighth to the eleventh century. Columbia's sizeable manuscript was begun purposefully in 1827, put aside then returned to with a will in 1847, but never, in Irving's regretful words "thoroughly finished off." He had already in*

1840 magazined the original opening, on the first Abderahman, founder of the line. Nevertheless Irving's overall Omeyan unit remained an integral part of a vast scheme (ultimately shelved) to narrate the epic pageant of Islamic history from "Mahomet"



Washington Irving after a portrait done in Seville  
in 1828 by David Wilkie.

to the highwater mark of Moslem expansion westward, its centuries of domination of much of Iberia. The Rare Book and Manuscript Library has a gathering of 313 pages, given in the 1920s by grandnephew Cortlandt Irving. There are also a few spun-off fractions, and scattered segments, in several institu-



tions, and at least one private collection, but this old gift is by far the largest "Ommiades" element known, and the largest Irving holograph unpublished.

The extract here first printed, is based, as indicated by Irving's few short notes (not included below) on two influential Spanish historians: Juan de Mariana, S.J. (1536?-1624) and José Antonio Conde (1765-1820). Irving's technique as historiographer in this much worked-over draft was to capsule and paraphrase with care. His surviving text is clear, though corrections and additions, some substantive, some stylistic, result in a rather scratched-up manuscript.

Chronicled succinctly are the exploits in war and peace of "King Abderahman III (912-961) the greatest of emirs or princes of his sporadically heroic line. He became, as Irving early states, the first to receive the greater title of Caliph. In his reign Cordova became perhaps the most beautiful and dynamic center of civilization in the western world.

**A**BDERAHMAN III ascended the throne in the flower of youth being not more than twenty two years of age. His mothers name was Maria, being of christian parentage. He is described as of great personal beauty, having a fair and fresh complexion, with blue eyes, and a mingled sweetness and gravity of countenance, indicating the greatness and ability of his soul. The care bestowed on his education had quickened a happy natural genius, and stored his mind with valuable knowledge. He was welcomed to the throne by general acclamation. The first to take the oath of allegiance to him was his uncle Almundafar, who, in fact, according to the law of succession had a previous right to the crown. But Almundafar loved Abderahman as his own son; he contented himself with being his general, and he served him with unfailing loyalty. The young King received his oath of allegiance with demonstrations of deference and affection that drew tears from every eye. From the early proofs he gave of goodness and piety the people entertained hopes of a wise and prosperous reign,

Abderahman III

~~Surnamed Amadir ledin Allah~~  
or champion of the law of God

Abderahman III ascended  
the throne <sup>at</sup> in the flower of youth <sup>too</sup>  
being not more than twenty ~~three~~  
years of age. His mother's name  
was of Maria, being of Christian  
parentage. He was of great per-  
sonal beauty, having a fair and  
fresh complexion, with blue eyes,  
and a mingled heretofore and  
gravity of countenance, indicating  
the gentleness and nobility of his  
soul. The care that had been  
bestowed on his education had quick-  
ened a happy natural genius, so  
that and had stored his mind  
with all kinds of valuable know-  
ledge. He was welcomed to the  
throne by ~~the~~ popular acclamations  
of his subjects. The first to take the

912  
This note to come in at  
the next page -

+ By some writers he  
is surnamed Almanzor years of age. His mother's name  
and some give him  
other appellations, but  
they all mean the  
same thing Defender  
of the Faith. He was  
often called by his  
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Abderraman; the  
former name having  
been proposed out of  
veneration of his  
grandfather from  
whom he received the  
crown

+ Mariana lib 7. C. 19  
p. 340.

Opening page of the section dealing with Abderahman III in Irving's unpublished manuscript, "The Chronicle of the Ommyiades."

(Cortlandt Irving gift)

and gave him the name of Amadir Ledin Alla, or champion of the word of God. By some writers he is surnamed Almanzor and some give him other appellations, but they all mean the same thing Defender of the Faith. He was often called by his subjects and of course by historians Abdallah Abderraman; the former name hav-

ing been prefixed out of veneration of his grandfather from whom he received the crown. He was the first of the race of Omeya to receive the title and honors of Caliph.

The first expedition of Abderahman III was to the territory of Toledo against the rebel Caleb Aben Hassan who was in allegiance to the King of Navarre and held sway over a great part of Spain. He was now aided by two valiant sons Suleiman and Giafar, born and brought up in the nurture of rebellion and amid the turmoils of war. The King marched to the banks of the Tagus with forty thousand men in shining steel and one hundred and twenty eight banners. Hassan waited not his coming, but, leaving his son Giafar in Toledo with a strong garrison and ample provisions to stand a long siege, hastened in search of assistance from his confederate rebels of the mountains of Murcia and Granada.

Abderahman III soon possessed himself of the castles on the Tagus and the strong holds of the neighborhood. Without wasting time on the siege of the impregnable Toledo, he marched towards Eastern Spain in pursuit of Caleb ben Hassan. That veteran rebel was already on his return with a powerful force of men seasoned in warfare, and commanded by intrepid chiefs of the eastern mountains.

The two armies met on a spacious plain. Almundafar, uncle of the King, directed the order of battle and led the advance, the King commanding the main body. The light troops of either army skirmished for a time, and then retreating the battalions of horse and foot rushed to the encounter, with a fearful sound of drums, trumpets and clarions. The battle raged throughout the day with various success. At length the cavalry of the King broke the battalions of the rebels and threw them in disorder. Hassan flew from rank to rank endeavouring to rally and enspirited his followers. Wherever he went his scymitar shed death and stayed for a moment the course of defeat, but, as he passed on confusion again took place. Notwithstanding all the efforts of his captains, as the sun went down the rebel army fled in confusion from the field

and took refuge in the mountains leaving seven thousand dead upon the field. Three thousand of the royal troops were also slain, a proof that the victory had been bravely contested.

The youthful monarch watched the scenes of blood, regarded the sanguinary field with horror, where Moslem lay slain by Moslem; and ordered the wounded of either host should be treated with equal care. He now returned to Cordova, leaving the prosecution of the war to his uncle Almundafar. He left it in able hands, for the veteran beat up the whole country from Toledo to Murcia, and the rebel Hassan and his adherents were shut up in the wildest retreats, in castles built among the rudest precipices.

The persevering warfare of Almundafar, and the pardoning benignity of the youthful monarch, rapidly thinned the ranks of the rebels. Many were slain in battle, and many threw themselves, with success, upon the clemency of the King; at length Hassan, himself, began to long for a life of security and repose. One day when the King was at Saragossa, where he had just extended an act of amnesty to numerous rebels, he was informed that two Alcaydes of Hassan had arrived with certain pacific propositions. The King received them, without state or ceremony, in a field on the banks of the Ebro. The most ancient of the two envoys opened his mission with great form. He observed that the Emir Hassan was like a good musselman lamented the blood shed in their civil wars, and desirous of peace with the King Abderahman; he required therefore the tranquil possession of Eastern Spain for himself and his successors; this granted, he should charge himself with the defense of that frontier, relinquishing to the King Toledo, Huesca and all the strong holds in his power, and engaging to aid him with his sword and people in all cases of necessity.

King Abderahman replied that he had exerted unbecoming patience in permitting a rebel chief, a leader of banditti to propose a treaty of peace to his sovereign, and to assume princely terms. As to the envoys, in respect to their character as such, he should not impale them, but that they should return immediately and tell their

leader that if within a month he did not submit, no further mercy could be extended to him or his adherents.

The two Alcaydes, trembling at the mention of impalement, hastened from the presence of the King, and made their way back to Hassan. The hardy rebel however, set the menaces of the King at defiance trusting in the fidelity of his followers, and the assistance of his christian allies. He went the rounds of his fortresses, animated the faltering spirits of his sons; sent reinforcements to Toledo, and determined to maintain this hereditary rebellion, which had now been kept up by the family for half a century. The veteran Almundafar, however, gave him no repose.

Hassan shifted from place to place along the frontier, but was defeated in various encounters; fortune seemed deserting his standard, perhaps age was diminishing his activity and vigilance. He retained however, his indomitable spirit to the last, falling sword in hand in the field of battle, near the city of Huesca, and leaving two sons Suleiman and Giafar heirs of his valour and his obstinate rebellion.

Giafar ben Hassan maintained possession of Toledo for several years, during which time the Miramamolin was occupied with wars against the rebels of Elvira. These being concluded Abderahman turned his attention to the city of Toledo, and indignant that this should remain for generations a strong hold of rebellion in the midst of his empire determined to devote his whole power to the reduction of it.

Giafar ben Hassan heard of the menaced siege. He had not provisions to enable him to hold out long; and as all the town and villages in the neighborhood had fallen into the hands of the Sovereign he could expect no supplies. Collecting all his treasures, therefore, and all he could drain from his partizans he sallied forth one day, with a band of devoted followers, pretending that he was going to check the ravages of the royal forces, and leaving the city in the charge of one of his bravest officers.

Toledo was soon invested by the army of King Abderahman,

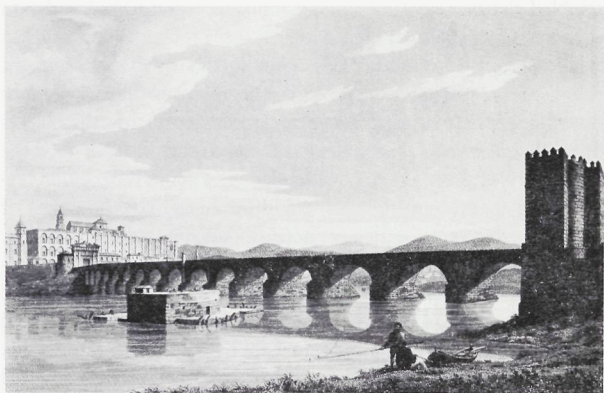


which assailed it on the north side, where it is not embraced by the Tagus. After a considerable time the place was reduced to extremity for want of provisions, nor was the garrison sufficient to defend all the gates and circuits of the walls. The Alcayde assembled the principal inhabitants, and proposed to surrender to the King, on promise of their lives. Many of the inhabitants whose whole lives had been passed in rebellion, spurned at the idea of submission, and preferred to be buried under the ruins of their dwellings. The majority, however, agreed to throw themselves upon the clemency of the King. It was concerted then that the main body of the soldiery by a sudden sally should make their escape, and that the inhabitants would be able to lay the blame of their long resistance to the obstinacy of the garrison who had fled.

Early one morning, before the break of day, the Alcayde marshalled the bravest and most tried of his soldiery within one of the gates of the city. There were two thousand mounted on horse back, and two thousand more who held by the girths and stirrups. When all was ready the gates were thrown open and they sallied forth as silently as possible. They approached that part of the camp where the men of Talavera were quartered. The moment they were discovered they rushed forward, and broke their way through without pausing to fight or plunder. The camp flew to arms, but the enemy had passed through like a storm, and but few had been captured.

On the same morning deputies came from the city offering to surrender, imploring the clemency of the King, and attributing their resistance to the tyranny of the family of Hassan and their rebel troops. Abderahman gave them assurance of their lives and property and they threw open their gates. He treated the inhabitants with a benignity that surpassed his promise, granting a free pardon of all offenses. Thus the city of Toledo, which had so long been the seat of rebellion, and from its natural defenses of rock and water, had set all attack at defiance, was once more restored to the sway of the Miramamolin.

The rebel Giafar ben Hassan retreated with the remnants of his forces to Galicia and became a vassal of King Ordine. He joined with the christians in a ravaging inroad into the Moslem territories. He crossed the Douro, passed by Zamora and Salamanca, de-



The eighth century bridge at Cordova leading to the Great Mosque, depicted in an early nineteenth century drawing by James Cavanah Murphy.

feated a Moorish host under the walls of Talavera, and entering that city sword in hand, plundered the houses, massacred man, woman and child and, wrapping the place in flames departed, loaded with booty. The Wali of Toledo assembled the people of his province and went in pursuit of them, but they had effected their retreat, leaving the whole country through which they passed a scene of smoking desolation. This is the last that we find recorded of the rebel family of Hassan, which, after a long career of terrible renown seems to have returned to its original obscurity.

The Moorish sovereigns of Spain during the intervals of war, or when they could retire for a time from the pressing cares of State, delighted in the amusements of the chase or the towering pleasure of falconry, or busied themselves in the delicious repose

of groves and gardens, drawing around them the poets and men of entertaining talents, or recreated themselves with the singing and dancing of their female slaves. The favorite resort of Abderahman during the serene and temperate months of spring and autumn, was a tranquil retreat on the banks of the Guadalquivir about five miles below Cordova. It was remarkable for its verdure and freshness, its stately alleys of trees and its deep and shadowy woodland. The King was so delighted with this place he caused an Alcazar or royal residence to be built there, with magnificent edifices and gardens, so that in a few years, what had been a mere rural retreat grew into a city. In the midst of it stood the royal palace, of stately architecture, decorated with four thousand three hundred columns of precious marbles exquisitely wrought [Irving's Note: The columns in arabian architecture are generally small and light.] Its halls and salons were paved with marble cut into various devices; the walls were likewise encrusted with the same; the cielings [*sic*] were of stucco work and delicately fretted with azure and gold; the beams of cedar curiously wrought. In some of the halls were fountains and chrystal [*sic*] jets of water falling in marble shells and basins. In the midst of the principal saloon was a fountain of jasper, with a swan of gold of marvelous workmanship, brought from Constantinople; and over the fountain was suspended a famous pearl which had been sent to Abderahman by the emperor Constantine. [Editor's Note: Constantine VII (905-959, A.D.)] The palace was surrounded by gardens, with abundance of fruit trees and groves of laurels and myrtle, enlivened by winding lakes. On an eminence in the midst and commanding a view of the whole, was the royal pavilion where the King reposed after the fatigues of the chase. It was supported by columns of white marble with gilded capitals. In the center was a great basin of Porphyry filled with quicksilver, artificially agitated to resemble water. The garden contained baths of marble with curtains and hangings of silk and gold wrought with representations of forests, flowers and animals.


All the riches and delights of the world say the arabian writers seemed to be assembled in and about the alcazar, to give pleasure to the King, and the place was called Medina Azahra, to the city of Azahra from a beautiful slave whom the King loved above all others of his Harem. In this little city was a mosque that rivalled in elegance and costliness the great mosque of Cordova. There also the mint for stamping money, and stately quarters for the royal guards and cavalry.

Such was the city of Azahra, long the delight of the Cordovan monarchs, but of which now scarce a trace remains. The guards of the King were twelve thousand men. Four thousand Slavonians an ancient race greatly esteemed for grace and valour and inviolable fidelity. They were on foot and guarded the interior of the palace. Their weapons were the double handed sword, the buckler and the mace. The external guard of cavalry consisted of four thousand african guards of the tribe of Zentes and four thousand andalusians.

The guards served by turns in bands or squadrons, and the whole were only called into service when the King went to war in person. They were commanded by persons of the royal family or of noble blood. Beside his guard, Abderahman, in his summer and autumnal campaigns, selected various female slaves, and men servants to accompany him. He was attended also by ingenious and learned men; and he took with him his huntsmen and falconers, for like all his ancestors he delighted in the chase and hawking. Such was the magnificent state of the Moslem monarchs of Spain.

# Dr. John Bard of Hyde Park

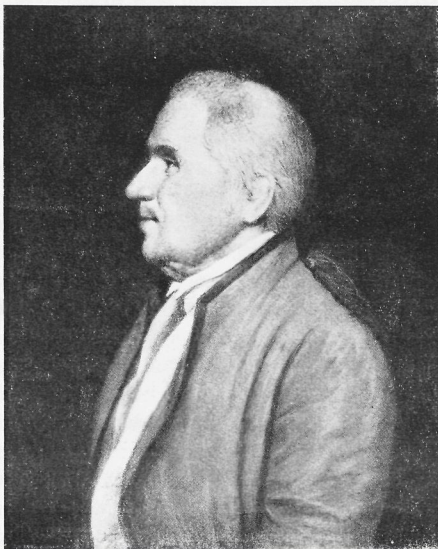
MORRIS H. SAFFRON

 AMONG the objects of art on view in the Rare Book and Manuscript Library is a small but striking pastel of an elderly man with a good head of gray hair, ending in a queue, a prominent nose and deep-set eyes. Although the face in general seems open and frank, the compressed upper lip indicates the firmness, determination and persistence which were characteristic of the man. Outlined against a dark blue background, the figure, wearing a gray coat trimmed with brown, and a white shirt and vest, gazes intently to the left. The sitter, then approaching his eightieth year, is identified as John Bard, a New York physician who was a leader in the medical community during the latter half of the eighteenth century; the portrait itself, hitherto unpublished, is considered to be the original by James Sharples, Sr. (1751-1811), of which at least four other versions are known. Sharples, an English portrait painter, arrived in New York in 1793 with his wife Ellen and family. During his first stay which lasted eight years he traveled widely throughout the States, executing numerous small, inexpensive likenesses of Revolutionary and other distinguished figures, including George and Martha Washington. Scholars have long known that many of the portraits attributed to James, Sr., were actually clever replicas, the work of Ellen or of either of the two artist sons, Felix or James, Jr., but in many instances the problem of attribution is extremely difficult or even quite impossible to solve.

Nevertheless, a study of photographs assembled at the Frick Art Reference Library has led to the following observations. The best version, in all probability the original, by James, Sr., is at Columbia; this portrait has an impeccable provenance, having been presented by Dr. Bard himself to a medical colleague and having been at one point owned by Charles E. Sands whose mother was a Bard.



The version at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., lacks the fineness of detail of the Columbia portrait and the body is shorter. Formerly attributed to Ellen Sharples by Katharine McCook Knox, the authority on the Sharples family and author



Pastel drawing by James Sharples, Sr., of John Bard,  
first president of the New York Medical Society.  
(Mrs. J.G. Phelps Stokes gift)

of *The Sharples* (1930), Mrs. Knox now attributes it to James, Sr. This picture also has an excellent provenance having descended in the Livingston family of Long Island. Mrs. Knox describes the picture at Independence Hall, Philadelphia as "not exclusively by James, Sr." The versions at both New York Hospital and Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, are copies by unknown hands.

The story of the Bard family in America begins with the revo-

cation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 that drove thousands of French Protestants from their homeland. Among these Huguenots was young Peter Bard of Montpellier who migrated first to London and then in 1706 to the banks of the Delaware, where, after a few years in the world of business, he married and settled down in Burlington, New Jersey. Here his intelligence, friendliness and public spirit made him persona grata in the circle of the provincial governor who soon appointed Peter a member of his Council as well as a judge of the New Jersey Supreme Court. Unfortunately, his rising career was cut short prematurely by death in 1734, thus leaving his widow and seven children in very modest circumstances.

John, the third son, born on February 1, 1716, was sent to a classical school in Philadelphia, but after a few years, the fifteen year old boy was apprenticed, according to custom, to a local physician, Dr. John Kearsley, who in the absence of a native medical school had undertaken the instruction of many young men who later became distinguished practitioners. Kearsley, although a brilliant teacher, seems to have had a wretched disposition and to have taken delight in forcing menial tasks on his apprentices. Bard later recalled the tribulations which he constrained himself to endure patiently for seven long years for the sake of his dear mother. It was during this unhappy period that John became acquainted with Benjamin Franklin, and the two young men, having common interests, soon formed a close friendship which was to endure through life. In 1737 at the age of twenty-one, John entered into practice in Philadelphia and three years later married Susanne Valleau, also of Huguenot ancestry, and a niece of Dr. Kearsley's wife. Two sons, Peter and Samuel, resulted from this union; the latter born in 1742, was destined to follow in his father's footsteps as an illustrious physician.

At this period yellow fever, which raged in New York City, took the lives of several prominent physicians, and acting on the sound advice of Franklin, John decided to transfer his activities

from Philadelphia to that thriving city which by 1746 had a population of about eight thousand. Franklin wrote an introductory and highly complimentary letter to Dr. Cadwallader Colden, then President of the Provincial Council of New York. He immediately took the affable new arrival under his wing with the result that young Bard soon found himself with a wide and affluent clientele.

In 1749 John first made his mark by writing an account of an outbreak of "malignant pleurisy" which reached epidemic proportions on the north shore of Long Island. Read before the Weekly Society of Gentlemen of New York, a group which he and his friend Dr. Peter Middleton had helped to found, this widely acclaimed paper was later published in England. In the following year John Bard made medical history when, together with Middleton, he dissected for the first time in America the body of an executed criminal solely for the purpose of instruction in a course in anatomy for students of medicine. In 1759 he was called upon by the city authorities to control an outbreak of "ship's fever," or typhus, in a Dutch vessel carrying German immigrants. Acting on Bard's recommendations, Bedloe's Island was purchased by the City and an isolation hospital for quarantine purposes was erected. Shortly thereafter, he wrote "On the danger of introducing epidemical disorders through want of proper precautions," thus becoming our first epidemiologist, as well as the first public health officer in the City of New York.

In the same year, 1759, John Bard with the assistance of a British naval surgeon performed the first successful laparotomy in this country for an extra-uterine pregnancy, a condition poorly understood at that time. Having successfully evacuated the infected fetal mass, he saved the mother's life and again made medical history. This remarkable case report was sent to London and read by Dr. John Fothergill, the Quaker friend of the Americans, before the Society of Physicians, who later published it in their *Medical Observations and Inquiries*.

Now a man of influence, John was determined that his son

should have all the advantages of education of which he himself had been deprived. In 1759 the seventeen year old Samuel, already determined on a medical career, entered King's College, but left after two years being anxious to begin his studies in Edinburgh,

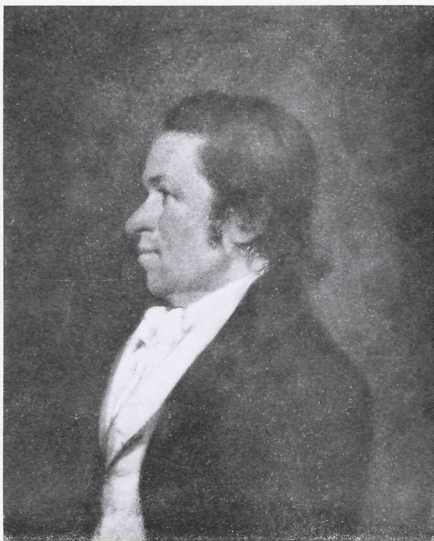


The office and residence of Dr. Samuel Bard seen at the right between the two Dutch houses, with Federal Hall in the distance; watercolor by George Holland, 1797.

then the leading center of medical instruction in Europe. Unfortunately, his ship was captured by the French and Samuel was forced to languish in prison for several months until his release was effected through the efforts of Benjamin Franklin.

In the next four years the extensive transatlantic correspondence between the devoted parent and the ambitious son offers a splendid source of medical history of the period. John's concept of a teaching hospital, similar to the institution he had known in Philadelphia, was the theme of many letters. Apparently the two were

already planning to establish a school of medicine in New York in connection with this hospital; in one letter, dated as early as December, 1762, we find Samuel bemoaning the fact that the rival Philadelphians would certainly get their school started first, and



Samuel Bard, founder of the medical department of King's College. (Courtesy of Museum of the City of New York)

that this would be a great blow to his own plans. In 1766 the long-heralded arrival of Samuel brought renewed strength to the drive for a medical school at King's College which finally opened its doors in November of the following year. In May 1771 a charter was granted to Samuel, John Jones and Peter Middleton for the erection of New York Hospital, the second such institution in the Colonies. Although John had obviously been one of the principal



advocates of both the medical school and the hospital, his name does not appear on the list of either institution, probably because he did not hold a medical degree.

It was shortly before this period that John's wife had inherited from her mother, nee Fauconnier, a large tract of land in Dutchess County known as Hyde Park. In 1768 John, who was never noted for his business sense, advertised the tract for sale, but fortunately no purchaser came along. This was the decade before the outbreak of hostilities between the colonies and the mother country, and citizens were beginning to line up on either side. John was already preparing to relinquish his practice to his son, but when hostilities did finally break out, Samuel along with most of the faculty of King's College, decided to remain loyal to the British Crown. During the brief occupation of New York by the rebels in 1776, Samuel retired to New Jersey where he attempted unsuccessfully to manufacture salt from sea water; but he returned to the city as soon as it was retaken by the British. John, now entranced with the prospect of life as a country gentlemen, retired in 1778 to Hyde Park where he devoted his time to horticultural activities. However, due to a series of improvident investments, he was soon forced to rely more and more on support from Samuel who at one point came to his father's rescue with his entire resources amounting to some three thousands guineas. As a result, in 1783 John returned to the city to resume practice in his son's office. Apparently the royalist sympathies of the Bards were soon forgotten, and as post-revolutionary New York was a beehive of activity, socially minded John found it much to his liking and soon regained many of his old patients. He became a celebrated figure as he rode through the town in his novel low phaeton, accompanied by his equally ancient black attendant. As his correspondence shows, he was on friendly terms with Washington, Hamilton and other celebrities of the day.

In June of 1789 father and son collaborated in a famous case involving no less a patient than George Washington whose life was

threatened by a malignant abscess or carbuncle. Washington insisted that John be called into consultation, and "he submitted to a painful operation at the hands of the younger Bard while his father supported the General, and encouraged both by his cheerful presence."



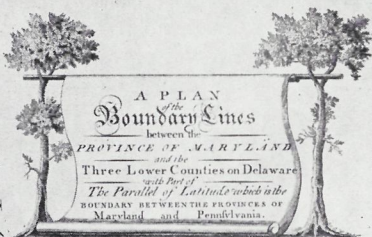
Samuel Bard, seated at the telescope, with his family at Hyde Park overlooking the Hudson River, from a drawing by John R. Murray.

John's position in the medical hierarchy also remained secure. The ugly incident of the 1788 Doctor's Riot, when the very lives of several physicians were threatened by an anti-dissection mob, demonstrated clearly the need for a professional organization; in the same year John Bard was elected president of the Medical Society of New York. He wrote a spirited defense in 1791 of the recently established Free Dispensary, an institution regarded as a threat by some physicians. In 1795 he was again honored by the profession when he was elected president of the newly formed Medical Society of the State of New York. John finally retired in 1797 to his beloved Hyde Park to pass the two remaining years of his life. Having taken into partnership young Dr. David Hosack,

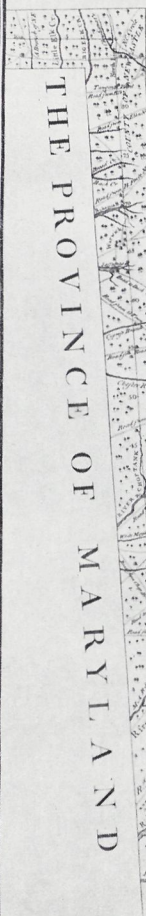
Samuel soon followed his father into retirement, anxious to watch over his beloved parent who remarked to his assembled relatives shortly before his death," I think I am the happiest old man alive." The end came after a stroke on March 30, 1799.

John Bard was a remarkable human being, a favorite of young and old alike, who by his vivacity and cheerfulness swept away the fears of the sick-room. A keen observer, he held to the firm belief that the patient should receive as careful study as the disease itself. Without having had the advantages of a lengthy formal education, he nevertheless was able to leave a permanent mark on the history of his profession. A worthy son followed in the footsteps of his father, but in this writer's opinion the career of Samuel is inconceivable without the stimulus, encouragement and guidance which came from his more talented parent.

THE  
THREE LOWER COUNTIES  
OF  
THE PROVINCE OF MARYLAND



*A Scale of Miles*



# The Map that Marked the End of a Landmark American Boundary Dispute

*A Gift from the Chew Family*

KENNETH A. LOHF

FOR nearly ninety years after the grant of lands to William Penn in 1681, the Penns and the Baltimores were in dispute over the boundary between their territories, which was described ambiguously in the Maryland and the Pennsylvania charters. The protracted dispute, which included an appeal to the English High Court of Chancery in 1735, led to the establishment of a Boundary Commission in 1750, whose members included the jurist Benjamin Chew (1722–1810), appointed by Thomas and Richard Penn. An agreement was made in 1763 between the parties which called for the appointment of two English astronomers, Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, to survey the boundary and thus bring the dispute to a conclusion. By 1767 the surveyors had run their line two hundred and forty-four miles west of the Delaware River and marked the boundary with milestones. Their survey was ratified by the Crown in 1769.

From the original drawings by Mason and Dixon engravings were made by two Philadelphians, Henry Dawkins who is responsible for the entire eastern section and some portion of the west line, and James Smither who finished the east-west line. The latter's work was completed on August 16, 1768, and on that day Mason noted in his journal: "Two hundred copies of the Plans of ye Lines Printed Off." The printing of this map marked the end of one of the most famous boundary disputes in American history.

Because of the length and configuration of the Mason and Dixon

*Opposite:* The eastern section of the map of the boundary surveyed by Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon



line, the map, printed by Robert Kennedy in Philadelphia, was issued in two sheets, measuring  $15 \frac{3}{8}$  by  $27 \frac{5}{8}$  inches and  $26$  by  $20 \frac{7}{8}$  inches. The eastern line could be fitted on to a single copperplate, but because the western line was three times longer it had



Cartouche from the western section of the Mason and Dixon map.

to be divided into three parts, one engraved under the other. The printed parts could be fitted together and joined to the eastern section to complete the map of the entire Pennsylvania-Maryland boundary.

The eastern half has a cartouche bearing the title *A Plan of the Boundary Lines between the Province of Maryland and the Three Lower Counties on Delaware with Part of The Parallel of Latitude which is the Boundary between the Provinces of Maryland and Pennsylvania*, and the west section a cartouche with the title *A Plan of the West Line or Parallel of Latitude, which is the Boundary between the Provinces of Maryland and Pennsylvania*, the latter showing the older spelling "Pensylvania." In the cartouche of the former are two delicately drawn trees supporting a staff from which hangs a banner with the calligraphic title; in the cartouche of the west section, signed "J. Smither Sculpst.," are depicted finely engraved trees, an Indian headdress, two groups of standing Indians, various surveying instruments and a rolled map,

all familiar symbols of the surveying trip of the two English astronomers.

Of the two hundred copies printed for the Boundary Commissioners, several were cut round and mounted on linen for official use. Until very recently the Chew family papers contained twenty-two copies of the map in its original published form of two separate unmounted sheets. The family, in a generous and thoughtful gesture, has chosen the University as the recipient of a gift of one of the maps from their collection. It now joins the Libraries' other important holdings in American history, among them John Jay's draft of an essay published in *The Federalist* and two diaries kept by George Washington, which shall inspire continuing interest among our students in the significant documents in the country's history and the enlightened and dedicated individuals who formed that history.

# Our Growing Collections

KENNETH A. LOHF

*Austin gift.* Mr. Gabriel Austin has donated Rockwell Kent's *The Home Decorator and Color Guide*, a pamphlet written and designed by Kent in 1939 for Sherwin-Williams Paints. The pamphlet, which is fully illustrated by drawings and photographs in color, fills a lacuna in the Kent Collection.

*Baker gift.* The papers of the late Richard Terrill Baker (M.S., 1937), a dean of the School of Journalism, 1961-1970, have been donated by his widow. The approximately thirty thousand items in the collection document his years at the School of Journalism as teacher and administrator, and his work from 1943 to 1945 helping to organize the Post-Graduate School of Journalism of the Central Political Institute of China in Chungking. Dean Baker was at one time a Methodist minister, and the papers reflect his interest in religious journalism and his associations with many religious organizations.

*Barnett gift.* Mr. Henry DeWitt Barnett has established a collection of his papers which joins those collections of his father, Eugene E. Barnett, and his brother, A. Doak Barnett. Mr. Barnett served as an executive of the Y.M.C.A. in New York, 1946-1965; as Quaker International Affairs Representative for East Asia with the American Friends Service Committee based in Tokyo, 1965-1971; and as a consultant in Hong Kong, 1971-1982, to the Department of East Asia and the Pacific of the Division of Overseas Ministries of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) in developing a United States-China people-to-people program. The papers contain his correspondence with missionaries, journalists and organizations promoting Chinese-American relations, as well as memoranda, documents, reports of travelers in China and other related materials.

*Bulliet gift.* Professor Richard W. Bulliet has donated the papers of his grandfather, Clarence Joseph Bulliet (1883–1952), a noted drama critic on newspapers published in Indianapolis, Louisville and Chicago, and the publicity and business agent for the drama



The versatile Robert Mantell as King Lear. (Bulliet gift)

company of Robert Mantell, a leading American traveling classical drama company known especially for its Shakespearean repertoire. Included in the gift are approximately fourteen hundred letters, manuscripts, press releases, clippings and photographs documenting Clarence Bulliet's activities in these areas, as well as in the writing of the biography, *Robert Mantell's Romance*. Professor Bulliet's gift also included books, theater programs and photographs of individual performers and scenes from stage productions.

*Bullwinkel gift.* In memory of her late husband, H. Griffin Bullwinkel (B.S., 1918; M.D., 1920), Mrs. Lola L. Bullwinkel has presented a collection of books, including fifty-six first editions

in the Rivers of America Series and twenty-seven art books, many autographed or inscribed, by Eric Sloane, an American artist who had distinguished himself in the art of wood-working. Included among the Rivers of America Series are volumes by Struthers Burt, Henry Seidel Canby, Carl Carmer, Robert P. Tristram Coffin, Walter Havighurst and Edgar Lee Masters.

*Commager gift.* A file of *The Nation: A Weekly Journal Devoted to Politics, Literature, Science, and Art* has been donated by Professor Henry Steele Commager (LL.D., 1969). *The Nation* was founded in 1865 by Edwin Lawrence Godkin, and the 111 volumes in Professor Commager's gift range from the first volume to 1920.

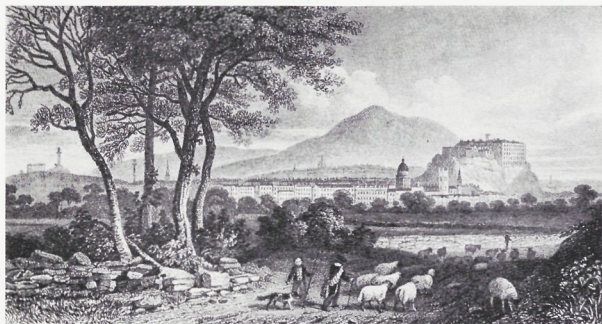
*Connell gift.* Messrs. Karl Kim and Lawrence Fly Connell, sons of the late Sara Fly Connell, have donated a collection of their late mother's papers relating to her research on a proposed biography of her father, James Lawrence Fly, who served as chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, counsel for the Tennessee Valley Authority, and a member of the board of the Civil Liberties Union. Included among the daughter's research papers are files of correspondence with Norman Corwin, William S. Paley, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and others related to the various organizations with which James Lawrence Fly was associated.

*Crown gift.* The papers of the Lawyers Committee on American Policy Towards Vietnam have been presented by Mr. Joseph Harold Crown (A.B., 1927), who organized the Committee in 1965 to promote an end to the American involvement in the Vietnam conflict. The files, numbering approximately ten thousand items of correspondence, documents and printed materials, reflect Mr. Crown's activities in the peace movement, trips to peace conferences and a trip to Hanoi in 1972. The Committee, which included Wayne Morse, Carey McWilliams, Philip C. Jessup, Hans J. Morgenthau and Quincy Wright, was dissolved in 1973. Among the correspondents represented in the papers are Henry Steele



Commager, J. W. Fulbright, Edward M. Kennedy, George McGovern, Wayne Morse and U Thant.

*Fletcher gift.* In memory of his father, the late Sir Angus Somerville Fletcher, Mr. Angus Stewart Fletcher has presented a collec-



A view of Edinburgh from a drawing by Thomas H. Shepherd, printed in John Britton's *Modern Athens!*, 1829. (Fletcher gift)

tion of six hundred and ninety-five volumes of Scottish and English history and culture, ranging in date from the seventeenth to the mid-twentieth centuries. Among the general areas represented are the history of Scotland, local and clan histories, view books, Scottish legends and folklore and biographies of eminent Scotsmen. Among the most noteworthy titles are: John Britton, *Modern Athens! Displayed in a Series of Views: or, Edinburgh in the Nineteenth Century*, London, 1829; Joseph Hunter, *The History and Typography of the Parish of Sheffield in the County of York*, London, 1819; Samuel Rudder, *A New History of Gloucestershire*, Cirencester, 1779; and John Sinclair, *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1791-1799, twenty-one volumes in the original boards. Also in Mr. Fletcher's gift is a file in excellent condition of the first 197 volumes of *Punch; or the London Charivari*, 1841-1939, bound in half calf.

*Hart gift.* Professor Emeritus of Economics Albert Gailord Hart has made a substantial addition to the collection of his papers in his recent gift of approximately eight thousand letters, manuscripts, memoranda and printed materials, comprising research papers and professional publications, correspondence and papers of other economists and of his students, and files dealing with the Benjamin Graham Plan for basing a monetary standard on a "basket" of primary commodities. Among the correspondents in the collection are Arthur F. Burns, John Maurice Clark, Paul H. Douglas, Irving Fisher, Milton Friedman, John Kenneth Galbraith, Albert Bushnell Hart, John Maynard Keynes, Gunnar Myrdal, David Rockefeller and Frank W. Taussig.

*Kaufman gift.* A little known publication by Dashiell Hammett, author of *The Maltese Falcon* and *The Thin Man*, has been donated by Ms. Paula T. Kaufman (M.S. in L.S., 1969): *The Battle of the Aleutians: A Graphic History, 1942-1943*, published by the Intelligence Section, Field Force Headquarters, Adak, Alaska, and printed in Washington by the U.S. Printing Office in 1944. Corporal Hammett co-authored this non-fiction work with Corporal Robert Colodny at the time they both were serving in Alaska with the United States Army.

*Keeler gift.* Mrs. Thelma R. Keeler has presented the papers of her late husband, the author and editor Harry Stephen Keeler, who wrote nearly one hundred long and intricately plotted murder mystery and adventure novels, which were published in English from 1924 until 1953 and continued to appear in Spanish translation after his death in 1967. The collection includes many of his later unpublished book manuscripts, his writings on plot construction, and biographical and bibliographical articles about Keeler, as well as the manuscripts for many of his popular novels, such as *The Amazing Web*, *The Chinese Ticket Murder* and *Sing Sing Nights*. Some of the works were co-written with his first wife,

Hazel Goodwin Keeler, as well as with his second wife, the donor of the collection.

*Kuhn gift.* Mrs. Delia W. Kuhn has presented the papers of her husband, the late Ferdinand Kuhn (A.B., 1925), journalist and author, who was a foreign correspondent for *The New York Times*, 1925-1940, and diplomatic correspondent for *The Washington Post*, 1946-1953. Included in the collection are files relating to his published books, book reviews, editorials, lectures, and magazine and newspaper stories. From 1953 until his death in 1978 Mr. Kuhn did freelance writing in collaboration with his wife and published such works as *Borderlands* and *Russia on Our Minds*.

*Nevins estate gift.* From the estate of the late Mrs. Allan Nevins, and through the thoughtfulness of her daughters Mrs. Ann Loftis and Mrs. Meredith Mayer, we have received an autograph letter written by Willa Cather to Professor Allan Nevins, dated September 26, 1942, in which Cather thanks him for his concern over her recent operation and convalescence; and two autograph letters and a postcard written by Van Wyck Brooks during 1942-1943, concerning a preface he was writing for a new edition of William Dean Howell's *The Rise of Silas Lapham*.

*Pond gift.* A handsome and important work in American theater history has been presented by Mr. Walter Pond (LL.B., 1940): *A Portfolio of Players, With a Packet of Notes Thereon* by H. C. Bunner, E. A. Dithmar, Laurence Hutton, Brander Matthews and William Winter, published in New York in 1888 in an edition of 110 numbered copies. The copy presented by Mr. Pond is inscribed on the title-page by the playwright and producer Augustin Daly, whose renowned theater company is the subject of the volume. The photogravure portraits of leading theater personalities of the period include John Drew, James Lewis and Ada Rehan pictured in several of their leading roles.

**E**quunt ammonicioes seu orioes  
 deuotissie de passioe dñi nri  
 ihu xpi Et prius d' G. birgitta,  
**O** Sancta birgitta amatrix  
 dñi nri ihu xpi seruetissia  
 & eis passionis dñice Ora pro  
 nobis miseris pctoribz/ut salue  
 mur/et ad eterna gaudia collo  
 cemur. A : V : E : R :



St. Bridget in a sixteenth century Swiss manuscript of the  
*Cursus Gloriosae Virginis Mariae*. (Rapoport gift)

*Rapoport gift.* Several literary editions have been presented by Dr. Kenneth D. Rapoport (A.B., 1958) for inclusion in the Rare Book Collection: Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *Works*, London, 1679; William Congreve, *The Works*, printed in Birmingham by John Baskerville, 1761, three volumes; John Dryden, *The Vindication*, London, 1683, with the bookplate of Herschel V. Jones; Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England*, London, 1662; and Thomas Stanley, *The History of Philosophy*, London, 1656. In addition, Dr. Rapoport has presented a handsome manuscript on vellum, written on 148 folios and dated 1523, of the *Cursus Gloriosae Virginis Mariae*, which includes the fifteen odes of St. Bridget of Sweden, as well as additional prayers at the beginning and end of the manuscript. There are three large decorated initials, and on the verso of folio 125 is a half-page drawing in blue, red, green and black depicting St. Bridget kneeling before the crucified Christ. On folio 3 is the eighteenth century library stamp of the Benedictines of Ochsenhausen, near Constance, Switzerland, and the Saints included in the Litany indicate that the manuscript itself was probably written in the same area.

*Ray gift.* Five first editions of Charles Dickens's novel in the original cloth have been presented by Mr. Gordon N. Ray (LL.D., 1969): *The Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby*, 1839; *The Life and Adventures of Martin Chuzzlewit*, 1844; *Dombey and Son*, 1848; *The Personal History of David Copperfield*, 1850; and *Hard Times*, 1854. The first four are illustrated by H. K. Browne. The five volumes, in green cloth stamped in blind, are important additions to our holdings of Dickens's works.

*Sheehy gift.* For addition to the rare book collection, Mr. Eugene P. Sheehy has donated Kathleen Raine's *David Jones and the Actually Loved and Known*, number 146 of 150 copies signed by the author and printed in 1977 by the Golgonooza Press in Ipswich, England. Laid in the volume is a wood-engraving by David Jones, "The Unicorn," printed on Japon from the original block of 1930.



*Simon gift.* Mrs. Andrea Simon has presented the files of her late husband, Richard Leo Simon (A.B., 1920), who with M. Lincoln Schuster founded the New York publishing firm of Simon & Schuster in 1924. The approximately fourteen thousand papers in Mrs. Simon's gift document Richard Simon's years at the College and his entire publishing career, and they contain his personal and family letters and photographs, extensive correspondence relating to his publishing activities, and editorial files pertaining to the various art, photography and music projects which were his special interests. There are also numerous photographs, many of which are inscribed, of the authors with whom he was associated in the publishing firm. Among the correspondents are Irving Berlin, Margaret Bourke-White, Henri Cartier-Bresson, Dwight D. Eisenhower, Philippe Halsman, Joseph Heller, Jerome Kern, Cole Porter, Kenneth Roberts, Arthur Schnitzler, Harry Truman, Jerome Weidman, Sloan Wilson, and numerous other writers and public figures.

*Steloff gift.* In memory of the late Padraic and Mary Colum, Miss Frances Steloff has presented a collection of G. Wilson Knight's manuscript notes and drafts for his essay on John Masefield which was written for *Mansions of the Spirit*, a collection of essays on literature and religion edited by George A. Panichas and published in 1967. In addition to Professor Knight's notes, there are four versions of the essay, along with letters, clippings and other printed items.

*Stengel gift.* Mr. Scott M. Stengel (A.B., 1982) has presented to the Columbiana Library handsome and detailed models of three University buildings, Low Memorial Library, Butler Library and Earl Hall. They were constructed by Mr. Stengel while an undergraduate student in the College, and are now on public view in Columbiana.

*Sypher gift.* A collection of eighty-two editions of works primarily in English literature has been donated by Professor Frank J.

Sypher (A.B., 1963; A.M., 1964; Ph.D., 1968), including first editions of the writings of Thomas Arnold, Walter Pater, Christina Rossetti, Edmund Spenser, A. C. Swinburne, Lord Tennyson, James Thomson and Thomas Woolner. Of special interest are Virgil's *Opera* printed on large paper by the Bodoni Press in 1793 and Bergson's *L'évolution créatrice*, Paris, 1912, inscribed by the philosopher to Elizabeth B. Fahnestock. Autograph letters by Thomas Hood, Joseph Hume, Charlton Lewis and A. C. Swinburne, the latter to Theodore Watts-Dunton, were also included in Dr. Sypher's gift, as well as a palm leaf manuscript and the manuscript of an Arabic language prayerbook.

*Tauber gift.* Messrs. Frederic J. Tauber (A.B., 1971) and Robert Tauber (A.B., 1958; D.D.S., 1962), sons of the late Professor Maurice F. Tauber (B.S., 1934), have presented a collection of papers of their father who taught at the School of Library Service from 1933 until 1976 and served as Melvil Dewey Professor from 1954. The approximately twenty-five hundred items in the gift include correspondence with colleagues, manuscripts of library surveys and other writings and printed materials covering the entire period of Professor Tauber's teaching career and related professional library activities.

*Thompson gift.* Five literary editions have been presented by Professor Susan O. Thompson (M.S., 1963; D.L.S., 1972), including works by Benjamin Franklin, Victor Hugo, Edmund Spenser and Sir Walter Scott.

*Thomson gift.* To the collection of his papers Mr. Virgil Thomson (Mus.D., 1978) has added the manuscripts, proofs and notes for *A Virgil Thomson Reader*, published in 1981.

*Wertheim gift.* Professor Stanley Wertheim has donated a series of four letters that he received in 1971 from the poet Louis Ginsberg, father of Allen Ginsberg. Enclosed in the May 19 letter is a typewritten manuscript of Louis Ginsberg's poem "My Garden."

*Wilbur gift.* For addition to the Tennessee Williams Collection, Mr. and Mrs. Robert L. Wilbur have donated the carbon typescripts of two short stories, "Desire and the Black Masseur," 11pp., and "The Kingdom of the Earth," 12pp., which were probably prepared by the novelist and critic Hubert Creekmore.

*Witmer gift.* Miss Eleanor M. Witmer (A.M., 1925) has donated three hand-colored Cuala press broadsides and a group of seven Christmas books, including several written by Christopher Morley and Rockwell Kent.



"The Unicorn," printed from the original 1930 wood-engraving block by David Jones. (Sheehy gift)

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## Current Exhibitions

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## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

ANN CHARTERS is a professor in the English Department at the University of Connecticut, Storrs, and is general editor of the two volumes, *The Beats*, recently compiled for *The Dictionary of Literary Biography*, which also features her photographs.

KENNETH A. LOHF is Columbia's Librarian for Rare Books and Manuscripts.

ENE SIRVET is associate editor of the John Jay Papers.

STANLEY WERTHEIM is a professor of English at William Paterson College of New Jersey and is editing the complete letters of Stephen Crane.

\* \* \*

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

# Columbia Library Columns

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NUMBER 3

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*So with money and  
Stephen Crane*

*Athens  
May 20 / 97*

*C. Boehringer*  
**ATHEN.**



# Stephen Crane in the Shadow of the Parthenon

STANLEY WERTHEIM

**F**OLLOWING a mysterious explosion in its engine room, the filibustering steamer *Commodore*, carrying men and munitions to the Cuban rebels, foundered fifteen miles off the coast of Florida on the morning of January 2, 1897. Stephen Crane, en route to report the insurrection for the Bacheller-Johnson Syndicate, was among four survivors who battled heavy seas for almost thirty hours in a ten-foot dinghy until it capsized in the breakers on the beach at Daytona. Ironically, Billy Higgins, the most able seaman and best swimmer aboard the tiny craft, drowned in the surf. For Crane, this struggle for survival with the elements and its irrational denouement came to symbolize the essential condition of life itself and was fictionalized, with little alteration of the actual circumstances, in his finest short story, "The Open Boat."

The sinking of the *Commodore* left Crane without a place to which he could return. On September 16, 1896, in New York City's Jefferson Market Police Court, he had defended Dora Clark, a known prostitute, because she had been falsely arrested for soliciting while in his company. This incident and the legal complexities resulting from it precipitated front-page stories in newspapers throughout the United States which exploited the seamier aspects of Crane's Bohemian life in the Tenderloin. The New York police force was extremely powerful in the nineties,

*Opposite:* Cabinet photograph of Stephen Crane during his assignment as a war correspondent in Athens in 1897, inscribed to Samuel S. Chamberlain, managing editor of the *New York Journal*. (Author's collection)

despite the corruption in its ranks revealed by the Lexow Commission report of 1895, and Crane suffered the consequences of having brought it into further disrepute. He was harrassed, persecuted, and subjected to arrest on sight. His career as an effective investigating journalist in the City was clearly at an end, and when the Bacheller-Johnson Syndicate offered to send him to Cuba to cover the rebellion, he eagerly seized the opportunity.

The wreck of the *Commodore* considerably damaged Crane's chances of reaching the scene of the insurrection. Revenue cutters enforced American neutrality laws by a relatively effective blockade of the Florida coast. When Crane boarded the ill-fated *Commodore*, she was making her fifth attempt to avoid interception. Unable to find another ship to take him to Cuba, Crane languished in Jacksonville, relieving the tedium by congregating with other correspondents and adventurers at hotel bars and frequenting the "pleasure resort" kept by the flamboyant Cora Taylor, with whom he had begun a love affair shortly after his arrival in mid-November. Cora was thirty-two years old, the veteran of two unsuccessful marriages, and the proprietress of the Hotel de Dream, the finest house of assignation in the Jacksonville area. Crane could no more bring her home to his staid, conservative Methodist family than he could challenge the wrath of the New York Police Department. Clearly, another flight was essential. On March 11, he wrote his older brother, William Howe Crane, with considerable hyperbole, that "I have been for over a month among the swamps further south wading miserably to and fro in an attempt to avoid our derved U.S. navy. And it cant [sic] be done. I am through trying. I have changed all my plans and am going to Crete."<sup>1</sup>

Crane signed with Samuel S. Chamberlain, Managing Editor of Hearst's *New York Journal*, as a correspondent to report the impending Greco-Turkish War. He also negotiated an independent contract with the McClure Syndicate which sold his dispatches to other American newspapers and to the *Westminster Gazette*. He could not marry Cora since she was unable to secure a divorce

from her aristocratic British husband, Captain Donald William Stewart, who was on Colonial service in Africa and who, in any event, held strict Anglican convictions about the sanctity of marriage. Stephen managed to persuade Chamberlain to send Cora to Greece with him as the *Journal's* first woman war correspondent, although some aspects of the style and imagery of the articles she submitted under the pseudonym "Imogene Carter" suggest that they were written or at least recast by Crane. In October, 1897, referring to a series of London columns on which he and Cora were collaborating, Crane advised his American agent, Paul Revere Reynolds, to tell Curtis Brown "that a lady name Imogene Carter whose work he has been using from time to time is also named Stephen Crane and that I did 'em in about twenty minutes on each Sunday, just dictating to a friend."

An important holograph letter in the Solton and Julia Engel Collection from Stephen to William Howe Crane (first published by William Weatherford in *American Literature*, 48 [1976], pp. 79-81) contributes significantly toward the resolution of a prolonged and sometimes acrimonious teapot-tempest controversy between Cora's biographer, Lillian Gilkes, and Stephen's most comprehensive biographer, R. W. Stallman, concerning the question of how the Cranes reached the battlefields of Greece.<sup>2</sup> Although the forest of meaning is occasionally obscured by the scholarly trees, the central focus of the disagreement seems to be Stephen's attitude toward his illicit relationship with Cora. The letter is also extremely revealing about the nature of Stephen's ambiguous and enigmatic dependency posture toward William, the dour, parsimonious Port Jervis lawyer and magistrate who became head of the Crane family following the death of the matriarch, Mary Helen Peck Crane, in December, 1891.

According to Miss Gilkes, Stephen and Cora travelled to the front lines together, in defiance of priggish Victorians such as Richard Harding Davis who knew Cora's past and turned his back when he recognized her on the dock at Dover, or in London, as

Stallman would have it. Stallman infers that Crane attempted to disguise the nature of his relationship with Cora by ensuring that they took separate routes from France to Greece. Conversely, he maintains that they sailed together on the initial part of the journey from New York to Liverpool aboard the *Etruria*, while Gilkes asserts flatly, "They did not sail together." Neither provides documentation for these contradictory allegations.

Stallman and Gilkes do agree that the Cranes crossed the Channel together, accompanied by Mrs. Charlotte (Mathilde) Ruedy, Cora's companion from the Hotel de Dream. On the basis of Cora's fragmentary and often disjointed loose-leaf diary, Gilkes conjectures that, after a few days in Paris, Crane with Cora and Mrs. Ruedy entrained for Brussels on April 3 or 4, visited the art galleries there and in Bruges, and boarded the Orient Express at Munich, which Gilkes incorrectly identifies as its western terminal—it was Paris in 1897. The party setting out from Munich ostensibly included two other people: a young Englishman named Ferris and an American journalist, distinguished in Cora's notes only as "S.S.," who Gilkes assumes was Sylvester Scovel. They stopped in Vienna and Budapest before continuing via the Orient Express for Varna on the Black Sea. From there, they embarked on the Austrian Lloyd *Danae*, a leaky old tub that took three full days to accomplish what should have been a seven-hour passage to Constantinople. The final stage in the journey to Athens was presumably made by rail. The individual in Cora's journal identified as Crane by Miss Gilkes is referred to only by the initial "S.," except at one point in a fragment concerning a guide which she quotes as "Steve named him 'Alabasta Sebastopole.'" Stallman, however, reads "Have" for "Steve," and his reading, which is apparently correct, was confirmed by the late Roland Baughman, former Head of Special Collections.

Stallman contends that Crane did not accompany Cora on this journey but sailed directly to Greece from Marseilles on April 3 aboard the *Guadiana*. He had written William that he was going



to Crete but arrived off the coast of that besieged island only by chance when the ship changed course to deliver mail to the Allied Fleet—"The Concert of Powers," as Crane called it—anchored in Suda Bay which had bombarded and blockaded the Cretan ports. Stallman's primary evidence is Crane's first report of the Greek-Turkish War, "An Impression of the 'Concert,'" which is dated "On Board French Steamer *Guadiana*" but, consistent with Crane's practice as a feature writer rather than on-the-spot reporter, was almost certainly written after he had arrived in Athens. According to this dispatch, "Leaving Marseilles, the passengers of this ship had no intention of anything more than a tedious voyage to Athens without pause, but circumstances furnished us with a mild digression. In the early morning of the fourth day a ponderous headland appeared to the north and we knew it to be the expected glimpse of Greece. Nevertheless, some hours later another ponderous headland appeared to the southward, and we could not arrange our geographical prejudices to suit this phenomenon until a man excitedly told everyone that we had changed our course, that we were not bound for Pirée, but for the Bay of Suda in Crete."<sup>3</sup>

In order to counter this evidence that Crane sailed directly to Greece from Marseilles and did not accompany Cora on the overland rail trip, Miss Gilkes suggests that the dispatch from Crete may have been a hoax. Indeed, Crane was not averse to journalistic spoofery. His "Great Bugs at Onondaga" article in the June 1, 1891, issue of the New York *Tribune* reported that a locomotive had been brought to a stop between Jamestown and Syracuse by the grease from crushed electric bugs swarming along the tracks. His sketch, "When Every One Is Panic Stricken," in the New York *Press* of November 25, 1894 gave a highly impressionistic account of a tenement fire on a side street west of Sixth Avenue which never occurred. But, in sharp contrast to these pieces, "An Impression of the Concert" presents a specific and detailed description of the ships and sailors of the Allied Fleet gathered in Suda



ELECTRIC LIGHT  
THROUGHOUT THE BUILDING

April 10

My dear Will: I arrived in Athens three days ago and am going to the frontier shortly. I expect to get a position on the staff of the Crown Prince. Wont that be great? I am so happy over it I can hardly breathe. I shall try — I shall try like

admission of foreign war-ships was great. The reputation of my poor old books had reached a few of the blooming Greeks and that is what has done the Crown Prince business for me. If I get on the staff I shall let you know at once. They say I've got a sure thing. They like Americans very much over here anyhow, or rather they hate all the others and so we have an advantage. It really isn't so much for a foreigner of standing to get on the staff but then it sounds fine and it really is fine too in a way and I am so happy tonight I can hardly remain silent and write

flays to get a decoration out of the thing but that depends on good fortune and is between you and I and God. Athens is not much ruins, you know. It is mostly adobe creations like Mexico although the Acropolis sticks up in the air precisely like it does in the pictures. I was in Crete but saw no fighting. However the



ELECTRIC LIGHT  
THROUGHOUT THE BUILDING

I hope and pray that you are all well and that I see you all again. Love to everyone  
Yours affectionately  
S.

Write to me here

Bay. Crane's remark in the Engel Collection letter to William that he "was in Crete but saw no fighting. However the exhibition of foriegn [sic] war-ships was great" and the April 10 date of the letter supports Stallman's claim that Crane was aboard the *Guadiana* on her voyage to Greece, although his April 8 dating of the ship's sojourn off the coast of Crete is incorrect by a day.

French shipping records show that the *Guadiana* left Marseilles at 5 P.M. on April 3. She reached Suda Bay at noon on April 7 and departed three hours later. Most probably, the ship arrived at Piraeus, the port of Athens 150 miles to the northwest of Crete, late that night or early the next morning, which is in approximate accord with Crane's opening remark in his letter to William that he "arrived in Athens three days ago." In an article published nine years after her biography of Cora Crane, Miss Gilkes, makes a volte-face to the effect that Stephen reached Athens "with Cora, Scovel, and Mrs. Ruedy from Constantinople, not by the last leg of the Balkan route—as I earlier thought—but *aboard the Guadiana on the return from her last port of call, Batum*. . . . And if she changed course for a mail delivery to the Fleet in Suda Bay, as Crane alleges in his dispatch, it happened then—not on the trip out from Marseilles." Since Crane twice mentions that his ship sailed from Marseilles to Crete, this, once again, would make his Cretan dispatch a hoax, which Miss Gilkes now paradoxically acknowledges it is not. In any event, the new Gilkes claim is disproved by the shipping records. The *Guadiana* left Batum on April 15, a week after Crane told William he had arrived in Athens, but followed a different itinerary from her outward voyage and did not call at Crete before reaching Marseilles.

Consequently, Crane's April 10 statements to William that he was spending his third day in Athens and that he had seen the Powers' fleet in Suda Bay seem quite accurate. His breathless,

*Opposite:* Letter written by Stephen Crane to his brother William at the time he was covering the war between Greece and Turkey.  
(Engel Collection)

jejune assertion that he expects to obtain a position on the staff of Crown Prince Constantine ("I am so happy over it I can hardly breathe.") should be viewed with a great deal more skepticism. Crane was sent to report the Greek war largely on the strength of his authorship of *The Red Badge of Courage*, widely acclaimed on both sides of the Atlantic as the most realistic war novel ever written from the point of view of the common soldier. Yet, as Joseph Conrad later reminded him, Crane had no previous experience of combat, to which he replied, "No. But the 'Red Badge' is all right."<sup>4</sup> Considering Crane's lack of military qualifications, it is most unlikely that he would have been considered for a position on the Greek general staff, and there is not a shred of evidence to support his sanguine expectations that such an ambition would be fulfilled through what he refers to in his letter to William as "The reputation of my poor old books." It is also ironic that a writer who had exposed the futility of war and expressed such cynicism about the virtues of heroism should lust for battle and "try like blazes to get a decoration out of the thing."

Crane's vainglorious boasts were apparently an attempt to ingratiate himself with William, the stern paterfamilias, seventeen years his senior and a community leader in Port Jervis who was always known as Judge Crane. Stephen's pretensions should be evaluated in the perspective of his guilt feelings over his youthful Bohemianism, his dependency relationship to his brothers, and his awareness that the Crane family's attitude toward his liaison with Cora would be disdainful. From the spring of 1891, when he aborted his brief flirtations with higher education at Lafayette College and at Syracuse University, until the publication of *The Red Badge* projected him into fame, Crane made excursions into the slums of New York City from sanctuaries provided him in his brother Edmund's homes in Lake View, New Jersey and later Hartwood, New York and from seedy studios and lofts he shared with his artist friends in lower Manhattan. Hartwood remained Stephen's only established residence in America, even after he became a successful author.



It was, therefore, not as a stranger that Crane wrote about the City's poor in such works as *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets*, "The Men in the Storm," and "An Experiment in Misery," for he often shared their condition. William's door was also never closed to him, but the provincial and tightfisted attorney maintained a stern disapproval. Especially, he resented Stephen's continuous requests for loans which were never repaid. Crane's awareness of this is revealed in a half jesting letter to William written in October, 1897, a few months after the Greek war had ended and he was attempting to establish himself in England. "I am just thinking," he reflected, "how easy it would be in my present financial extremity to cable you for a hundred dollars but then by the time this reaches you I will probably be all right again. I believe the sum I usually borrowed was fifteen dollars, wasn't it? Fifteen dollars—fifteen dollars—fifteen dollars. I can remember an interminable row of fifteen dollar requests." The deprecatory tone notwithstanding, he continued to solicit money from William almost to the end of his life and disguised the extravagances which made the requests necessary with dissimulations and evasions which only reinforced his feelings of guilt.

Crane never attained the military honors in the comically short bathtub war between Greece and Turkey which might have impressed William. The whole thirty-days' struggle consisted of a series of retreats and rear-guard actions on the part of the Greeks at Pharsala, Velestino, and Domoko and ended in their complete humiliation. Hampered by illness, Crane witnessed only the second battle of Velestino. Unlike the protagonists of his fiction, he at first found combat curiously exhilarating. The crash of musketry was "a beautiful sound—beautiful as I had never dreamed. It was more impressive than the roar of Niagara and finer than thunder or avalanche—because it had the wonder of human tragedy in it. It was the most beautiful sound of my experience, barring no symphony. The crash of it was ideal." Crane acknowledged that the men who died there would have taken a less enthusiastic view,



and in his finest Greco-Turkish War story, "Death and the Child," he presents a more characteristically sardonic attitude toward the slaughter of Velestino. For the most part, his reporting of the conflict lacked distinction, and *Active Service*, the domestic potboiler based upon his experiences in Greece, was perhaps his poorest novel.

For at least three days after the May 19 armistice Stephen and Cora remained in Athens. Obviously Crane had little appreciation of classical antiquities. "Athens is not much [,] ruins, you know" he had reflected laconically to William in the Engel Collection letter, noting only that "the Acropolis sticks up in the air precisely like it does in the pictures." Along with John Bass, the *Journal's* chief correspondent, the Cranes had cabinet photographs taken at the studio of C. Boehringer, splendidly attired in the costumes of what well-dressed war correspondents will wear. They then departed, again separately, for refuge in England. It was not an act of expatriation but of exile. Stephen's brothers and their prudish wives would never welcome the former "hostess" of a Jacksonville pleasure resort to Hartwood or Port Jervis, but the literary group among whom Crane settled in England had less stringent mores in regard to marriage. Harold Frederic, Ford Madox Ford, and H. G. Wells lived with women who were not their wives, and Henry James was tolerant, if not approving, of deviations from Victorian propriety. In his correspondence with William, Crane avoided mention of Cora's existence until circumstances forced his hand.

In the fall of 1898, exhausted from having covered the Cuban and Puerto Rican campaigns for the *New York World* and the *Journal*, Crane secreted himself in Havana and cut off all communication with his English friends and the debt-ridden Cora. When Cora telegraphed William inquiring about her husband, it was the first time he heard that Stephen ostensibly had a wife. Upon his return to England in early January, 1899, Crane dunned William for another loan, again aggrandizing his position with the distorted admission that "Yes, it is true I am married to an English

lady and through her connections we have this beautiful old manor but we are beastly short on ready money owing to my long illness." It was only after Stephen's death that William discovered that Cora was neither Stephen's wife nor, despite her marriage to Captain Stewart, a proper English lady. Provincial squire that he was, he cruelly severed the Crane family's personal associations with her and employed his legal skills to deprive her of her just share in Stephen's meager financial legacy.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Katz, "S.C. to William Howe Crane: A Recovered Letter," *Stephen Crane Newsletter*, 1 (Winter, 1966), 8. Katz refers to this letter in the Newark Public Library as a "typewritten original with corrections that may be in Crane's hand," but it is apparently a later transcription, and it had been previously printed in the *Newark Evening News*, November 3, 1921 before it was partly quoted by Thomas L. Raymond, *Stephen Crane* (Newark: Carteret Book Club, 1923), p. 11. The holograph original is in the University of Virginia Library.

<sup>2</sup> Lillian Gilkes, *Cora Crane: A Biography of Mrs. Stephen Crane* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1960), pp. 71-91; Lillian Gilkes, "Stephen Crane's 'Dan Emonds': A Pig in a Storm," *Studies in Short Fiction*, 2 (1964) 66-71; R. W. Stallman, "Was Crane's Sketch of the Fleet off Crete a Journalistic Hoax?" *Studies in Short Fiction*, 2 (1964), 72-76; Lillian Gilkes, "No Hoax: A Reply to Mr. Stallman," *Studies in Short Fiction*, 2 (1964), 77-83; R. W. Stallman, *Stephen Crane: A Biography* (New York: George Braziller, 1968), pp. 268-271, 537-539; Lillian Gilkes, "Stephen and Cora Crane: Some Corrections and a 'Millionaire' Named Sharefe," *American Literature*, 41 (1969), 270-277; R. W. Stallman, "How Stephen Crane Got to Crete," *American Literature*, 44 (1972), 308-313; R. W. Stallman, *Stephen Crane: A Critical Bibliography* (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1972), pp. 446, 494-496, 585-588, 620.

<sup>3</sup> *The University of Virginia Edition of the Works of Stephen Crane*, ed. Fredson Bowers, Vol. 9, *Reports of War* (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1971), p. 5. At another point in this dispatch, Crane refers to "the thin wail of a baby that had objected without pause from Marseilles [emphasis mine] to the roll and heave of the ship" (p. 6).

<sup>4</sup> Joseph Conrad, Introduction to Thomas Beer, *Stephen Crane: A Study in American Letters* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1923), p. 11.

# The District Attorney and His Family

## *The Harisons of New York in the Eighteenth Century*

ENE SIRVET

THE life style of a prosperous urban family, a literate woman's role in the family, a prominent lawyer's involvement in political and legal affairs, and a warm and loving relationship between husband and wife are revealed in a charming set of letters between Frances Duncan Ludlow Harison (1766-97) and Richard Harison (1747-1829), a King's College alumnus (A.B., 1764; A.M., 1767) and trustee (1788-1829), loyalist during the Revolution, and an important figure in American law in the new republic. The thirty-nine letters presented to the Libraries by Harison's great-great-great-grandson Richard Harison of Aurora, Ontario, date from the 1780s and 1790s. Frances's nineteen letters (six undated) were written during 1784-90, three in early 1784, one in 1790, and fifteen in 1788 when Richard was a delegate to the eleventh session of the New York State Assembly held at Poughkeepsie. Richard's twenty letters to Frances were written during 1791-94, when he served as federal District Attorney of New York State and was engaged in private law practice. Alas, this correspondence is not complete for the period, but the letters that have survived reveal family life in New York City during the last decade of eighteenth century and the first decade of the new republic.

The Harisons had English ancestors who settled in America in the seventeenth century, becoming prominent as wealthy merchants, landowners, political officeholders, and churchmen. Richard's descent on his maternal side is from Colonel Richard Nicholls, who, among others, under a commission from the Duke of York in 1664, supplanted the Dutch and established English rule in New

Amsterdam, which he renamed New York. On his paternal side, Richard's grandfather Francis Harison came to New York in 1709 in the entourage of its new governor, John, Lord Lovelace, to whom he was distantly related.

Richard was the fifth of nine children of George and Jane Nicholls Harison. He was baptized in Trinity Church, of which his father, a merchant and Custom House official, was a member of the Vestry. Richard studied law after college, obtaining law licenses in both New York (1769) and New Jersey (1771). He was in practice in the pre-Revolutionary years, relying on his extensive family connections for clients; as a member of the select New York law society, the Moot, he debated points of law with, among others, his King's College classmate John Jay. At the start of the Revolution he was settled on Long Island, humorously writing to his brother-in-law, Dr. John Jones, two months after the adoption of the Declaration of Independence: "I reap no small consolation in the course of my Labour from considering that other great Men have retired to the Plough. I thought their dignity not impaired by rural occupations." In 1778 he refused to take the oath "to the rebel cause," and thus was "banished" behind British lines by the patriot New York Commission for Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies. In 1780 he secured appointment as a New York City public notary from the British military Governor James Robertson, and he entered into law partnership with his cousin Robert Nicholls Auchmuty. The Harison family genealogical notes record that Harison had married Maria Jones, daughter of a New York medical doctor, Evan Jones, probably in 1774. When Maria died from childbirth complications in 1782, Richard became a widower with three small children. A year and a half later, on September 4, 1783, he posted bond to marry seventeen year old Frances Duncan Ludlow "of Queens County, spinster."

Frances was one of two daughters of Frances Duncan and George Duncan Ludlow, who were cousins and whose English ancestors had settled in New York in 1694. The Ludlows became

especially prominent in mercantile affairs, establishing a connection with a notable Dutch firm, Daniel Crommelin and Son. Frances's father, a distinguished judge on the colonial New York Supreme Court, remained loyal to the British Crown. As a Royal



Miniature portrait of Frances Duncan Ludlow Harison, ca. 1795-97, attributed to Benjamin Trott.  
(Harison gift)

officeholder and an avowed tory, he had been placed under penalty of death and had had his lands confiscated under the patriot State Assembly's 1779 Act of Attainder, whereas the British military governor the following year appointed Judge Ludlow Superintendent of Police on Long Island.

Harison and the Ludlows resided in the same area, were involved in the legal profession and mingled in the same social circle. It is



not surprising, therefore, that Richard and Frances were brought together. From their later letters it would seem that mutual attraction and romantic love had led Richard, nineteen years her senior, to ask for Frances's hand. He was serious, responsible, and urbane; she was spirited, witty, and fashionable, as the portrait miniature attributed to Benjamin Trott attests. Frances had had the prescribed education of a well-to-do young woman. She was proficient in reading, writing and arithmetic, and had had the requisite religious instruction and training in the "accomplishments," needlework, music, dancing, and drawing. Marriage was held to be the accepted goal for women, whose "proper sphere" was believed to be in the home as wife and mother.

In November 1783, the time of their nuptials, the British military evacuation of New York and the loyalist exodus took place. Frances's parents left for England, settling permanently with other loyalists the following year in New Brunswick, Canada, where Ludlow served in the newly formed government and then as the first Chief Justice. Richard, although among the disaffected, had no wish to emigrate and was ready to embrace republicanism, but he cautiously removed to New Jersey at that time and joined with twenty-six other former loyalists in petitioning for the restoration of their rights. His legal status—Frances, as a married woman, had none separate from her husband—was to be clarified in May 1784 by an act of the New York legislature allowing the petitioners to "remain within the state without molestation" and to vote and hold office. He at once availed himself of his new freedom, which in 1786 was extended to his law practice with the removal of restrictions on former loyalist attorneys. Public acceptance was signified by his election in 1787 and 1788 to the state Assembly.

The eleventh Assembly session in Poughkeepsie from January 9 to March 29, 1788, was the first of Richard's many lengthy absences from New York City as a public official and as an advocate at the bench and bar. Frances was left in charge of a household of some dozen persons, including children, servants, and slaves. She

fulfilled the woman's role in marriage as set down by Abigail Adams in an 1809 letter to her sister, Elizabeth Smith Shaw, which was to perform the "useful and domestic duties of life . . . to order and regulate her family . . . govern her domestics, and train up her



Watercolor drawing by John Joseph Holland, 1799, of Trinity Church where Richard Harison was baptized and where his father served as a vestryman.

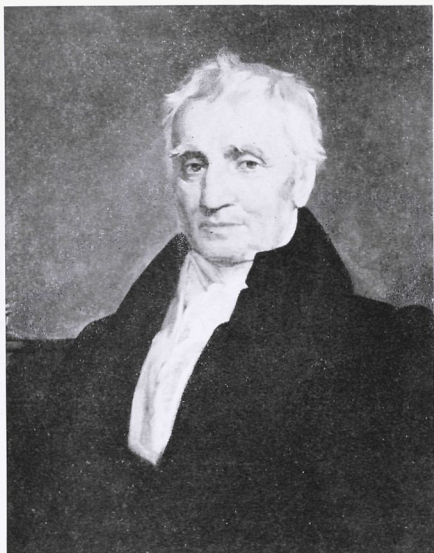
children." Further, Abigail advocated "separate but equal" roles for husband and wife at a time when the social and legal institutions and the male-dominated family structure relegated the wife to a subordinate role. The letters attest that Frances's role was not a wholly subordinate one because Richard's absences required activities and initiative beyond her "sphere."

Twenty-two year old Frances discovered that "being responsible for every thing is as painful a situation as it is a new one." We learn she had five children, "dear little rogues," under her care and supervision, including three from Richard's previous marriage. Two of the sons were in school, and one of the daughters was taking dancing and piano lessons; it was necessary for Frances

to hire a nurse for their youngest, Richard Jr. Moreover, she was pregnant, noting "I must then [after his return] look forward to a scene of pain, perhaps danger, and a tedious confinement." Among her responsibilities, which are described in her letters to Richard, she had to entertain and amuse her children, attend to her elderly mother-in-law who lived with them, discharge a male slave who had been "turned over" to her by her father in 1783, increase the wages of their cook, acquire sufficient wood and coal for heating their Broadway residence, purchase linen for the children's clothing, and obtain additional riding equipment. She also forwarded and distributed mail, messages and necessary documents to and from Richard; reported on his clients' letters and requests and the family's real estate holdings; obtained receipts for notes; paid bills; and corresponded with her parents in Canada, where their children later would pay visits. Her social life included calls and visits, "chattering about furniture, Politicks, [the Dancing] Assembly and Deaths." There were: teas and dinners—"Mrs. Goold [family friend] has a large Party on Saturday next, all the great folks will be there"; sewing circles—"at our work"; and evenings at the John Street Theater, such as the one at which "The Maid of the Mill" was performed, when "Mrs. [Patrick] Henry and Mrs. [Lewis] Morris were in all their glory." And all of her informative letters contain ruminations and longing for her "beloved Richard." Their "union" had made her the "happiest of little women," but she wrote of being melancholy and forlorn for her "companion and confidant" when he was away and was "very impatient" for his return. "We have been married four years," she reminded him in an early letter, and this my Dear Husband is [the] first time we have been seperated [sic]. I should love but little if I did not feel it severely."

Richard's term in the eleventh Assembly was followed by his election in April 1788, along with that of his friends John Jay and Alexander Hamilton on the Federalist slate, to the state convention for the ratification of the federal Constitution, of which he

was a strong supporter. After the Constitution was adopted and the 1789 Judiciary Act created the federal judicial system, President George Washington appointed Harison United States Attorney for the District of New York, a post he was to hold until



Portrait of Richard Harison based on a miniature by Henry Inman.

1801. A federal district attorney was responsible for prosecuting “delinquents” for crimes and for all civil actions in which the United States was concerned. As the first in this office, Harison was involved in laying the foundations of admiralty and maritime law, original jurisdiction of the district courts.

New and developing political, commercial, and financial institutions led to the rapid growth of the legal profession and Har-

ison's private practice thrived. He had cases in four different courts, in such areas as arbitration, contracts, illicit trade, inland commerce, interstate boundary disputes, and marine insurance, as well as cases resulting from state laws in violation of the 1783 Definitive Treaty of Peace which ended the Revolutionary War. Along with Alexander Hamilton, James Kent, Aaron Burr, Robert Troup and Egbert Benson, Harison achieved a distinguished reputation for his knowledge and practice of law. His opinions were sought by government officials, and, at the end of his life, the New York Bar acknowledged him as "the Ornament and Father of the New York Bar," unanimously "holding in high veneration his preeminent attainments, as a Jurist and a scholar, and the undeviating rectitude and consistency which have marked his long and useful life."

He took his practice seriously, writing to Frances in 1793: "I feel a Consciousness of discharging my professional Duty in a Way that I need not be ashamed of. . . . It is my Duty to do every Thing in my Power for the Advantage of my Client that is consistent with Truth." He also reported to Frances on what was to be his precedent setting case pertaining to the settlement of boundary disputes.

Richard often commented about politics. The French Revolution and the war between Great Britain and France was the divisive national issue in 1793—the Federalists being pro-British, the Jeffersonians pro-French. Nine months after Washington's Neutrality Proclamation Richard noted in January 1794 that Citizen Edmond Charles Genet's "Designs are becoming every Day more apparent. . . . I fear for the express purpose of embroiling us with our Neighbors." The schemes of the Girondist minister almost precipitated a crisis in American foreign relations. Richard cautioned Frances concerning their sons' political behaviors: "I wish that little Rascal Frank to drop his national Cockade. None of my Family ought to wear any Badges of Party at the present Time, and I wish to acquaint George that he will oblige me by keeping



himself totally quiet. It will be Time enough when I return to take a Part if it should be necessary."

While on circuit, Richard longed for Frances, "the Person whom I most tenderly love," and his family: "It is a Mortification to be so long absent, and I should be sorry that my dear Wife and Family should be unhappy during that Time, though I am selfish enough to wish that they should remember me with Regret. . . . Blest in our mutual love and mutual Confidence, every Moment that I am detained appears to bring with it a loss of Happiness that can never be repaired, and would certainly not be endured but from a conscious Sense of Duty."

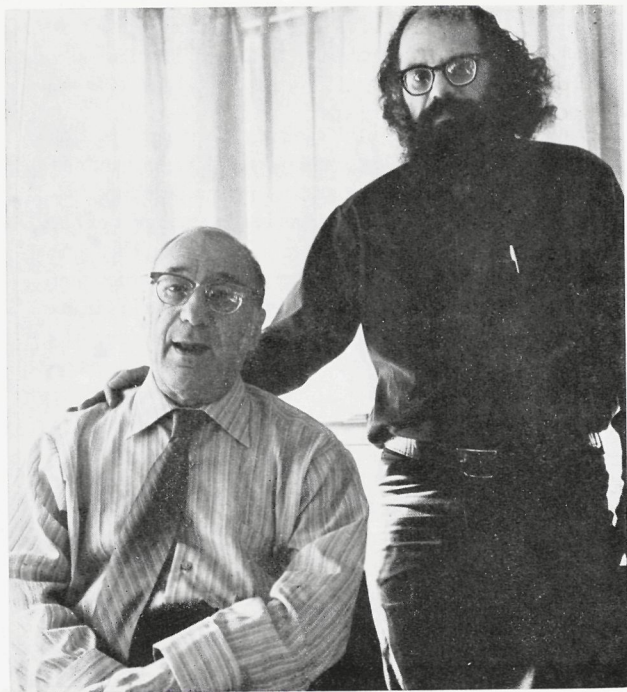
Their affectionate letters to one another, now in the Libraries of Richard's alma mater, are evidence of their deep personal concern for the family and for each other, and an equally important concern for the well-being of the emerging nation. In 1793 Richard wrote to Frances so succinctly of these mutual feelings:

The Business of the Term appears to be considerable, but it is very probable that a great Part of it will be deferred. If this Circumstance would contribute to expedite my Return I should view it without Regret, for there is no Satisfaction to compare with that which I feel in the Society of my Family; no Recompence that can atone for the Absence from them, and a Wish to promote their permanent Interests, I should scarcely submit to what I consider as a Deprivation of all Happiness.

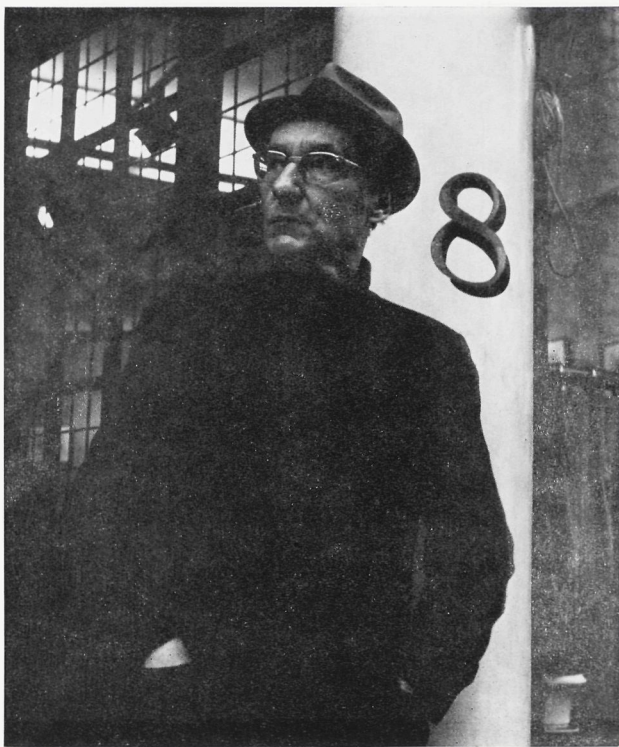
## Faces of the Beats and Others

PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANN CHARTERS

Ann Charters has used the camera as an integral part of her research into the lives and books of American authors since 1965 when she photographed the landscape and historical background of the Berkshire writers as part of her doctoral dissertation *Writers in a Landscape*. Throughout the 1960s she chose the writers of the Beat generation as her subjects; she photographed Jack Kerouac in Hyannis as part of her research on a bibliography of his publications, and she took an extensive series of photographs of Charles Olson in Gloucester for her book *Olson/Melville: A Study in Affinity*. While working on her exhaustive biography of Kerouac in 1969 and 1970, she made several trips to California to interview and to photograph those writers who had known the novelist and poet, now recognized as among the leading Beat authors. In recent years Ann Charters has continued to photograph her friends, including the authors Diane di Prima, William Burroughs, Allen Ginsberg, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Gregory Corso, and others whose portraits appear on the following pages.



Allen Ginsberg and his father Louis, Paterson, 1970.



William Burroughs, London, 1972.

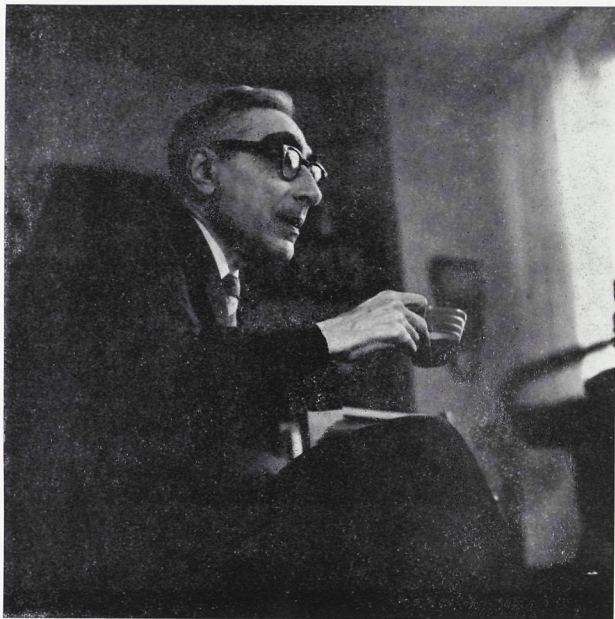


Lawrence Ferlinghetti, San Francisco, 1969.

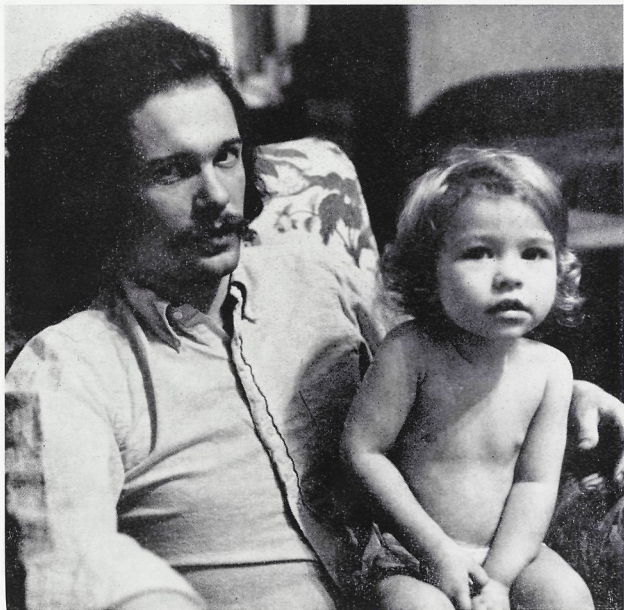




Jack Kerouac and his mother Gabrielle, Hyannis, 1966.



Louis Zukofsky, New York, 1970



Ed Sanders and his daughter, New York, 1966.



Diane di Prima, Boulder, 1982.



Gary Snyder, San Francisco, 1969.





Gregory Corso, San Francisco, 1969.



Peter Orlovsky, New York, 1966.

# Our Growing Collections

KENNETH A. LOHF

*Anshen gift.* To the collection of her papers Dr. Ruth Nanda Anshen has added nearly four hundred letters and manuscripts, among which are a number of important letters from Gershom Scholem and Roger Sperry. Also in Dr. Anshen's gift are several hundred books from her library, as well as volumes which she has edited.

*Butcher gift.* Professor Philip Butcher (Ph.D., 1956) has established a collection of his papers and writings with the gift of approximately one hundred items including: printed materials relating to George Washington Cable about whom Professor Butcher has written several books and articles; first editions by Paul Leicester Ford, Lydia Maria Child, Mayne Reid and other authors; the journal kept by Adelene Moffat, secretary of the Home Culture Clubs, during her extensive foreign travels in 1928; and four cabinet photographs of Adelene Moffat, Cable and his wife, and James M. Barrie and his wife.

*Cahoon gift.* Mr. Herbert T. F. Cahoon (B.S. in L.S., 1943) has donated letters and ephemera of the poet and artist Weldon Kees among which are thirteen letters and one postcard, twelve exhibition announcements and prospectuses, and several clippings. The letters, dating from 1943 to 1954, relate primarily to the writing and publishing of poetry, other writers and critics, and personal activities.

*Chase gift.* The correspondence, manuscripts and library of the late Professor Richard Volney Chase (Ph.D., 1946) have been presented by his widow Mrs. Frances Walker Chase. There are letters from Saul Bellow, Robert Lowell and Lionel Trilling; manuscripts and proofs of Professor Chase's writings on Herman Melville,



Cabinet photograph of James M. Barrie (left) and George Washington Cable. (Butcher gift)

Walt Whitman and other American writers; materials relating to his lectures and courses; and a long series of letters from his wife, dated 1938 and 1949–1961. Among the nearly four hundred books and periodicals in the collection are inscribed books, copies of Professor Chase's own writings, and several first editions, the most important of which is Robert Lowell's *Land of Unlikeness*, Cummington Press, 1941, one of 26 numbered and signed copies on Dacian paper.

*Clifford gift.* An addition to the papers of the late Professor James L. Clifford has been received from Mrs. Virginia Clifford, including lengthy files of letters from scholars James Osborn and George Sherburn, and publications of Johnson societies in England, the United States, South America and Norway.

*Coggeshall gift.* Several groups of papers and related materials have been presented by Mrs. Susanna Coggeshall for addition to the papers of her mother, the late Frances Perkins: manuscripts and documents relating to the genealogy of the Perkins family, the Perkins home in Newcastle, Maine, and financial matters; photographs of Frances Perkins and her family; and miscellaneous books and items of memorabilia belonging to the family.

*Cranmer gift.* Seventy-five volumes have been presented by Mrs. W. H. H. Cranmer for the John Erskine Collection, including: first editions of Erskine's *Actaeon & Other Poems*, 1907, and *Tribute to Women*, 1965; foreign translations of Erskine's novels and biographies; and books from his library primarily in the fields of literature and travel.

*Feinberg gift.* Mrs. Anne Feinberg has donated a collection of approximately four hundred letters, manuscripts and printed materials pertaining to the poet, editor and critic, Joseph Freeman (A.B., 1919), who was the author of *An American Testament* and *Never Call Retreat*, and a founder and editor of *New Masses*. Included are manuscripts of Freeman's poems and essays, as well as



letters written to him from Erskine Caldwell, Lewis Gannett and Josephine Herbst.

*Fleming gift.* A rare fifteenth century work has been added to the Incunabula Collection as the gift of Mr. John F. Fleming: Omnibonus Leonicensus, *Commentum in Ciceronis Oratorem*, printed in 1476 in Vicenza by Johannes de Reno. The volume, bound in early eighteenth century English red morocco and elaborately gilt, was once owned by the notable scholars and collectors, Michael Wodhull and Anthony Askew, as noted by the former on the front free endpaper. The handsome English binding was done by Christopher Chapman for Askew's extensive collection of classical books and manuscripts.

*Gorn gift.* Six letters written by Professor Gilbert Highet (D. Litt., 1977) to Professor Janice L. Gorn, as well as two carbon copies of her replies, have been presented by her for inclusion in the Highet Papers. Written from 1964 to 1977, the letters concern Professor Highet's books, lectures, Professor Gorn's *Style Guide* and other subjects of mutual interest. Attached to the letter of April 27, 1964, is a five page outline "Teaching Ph.D.'s How to Teach."

*Hare gift.* Ambassador Raymond Hare has presented the handwritten diary that he kept in South Asia from April to July 1947 at the time he was serving as chief of the State Department's Division of South Asian Affairs. Included among its more than two hundred pages are detailed and perceptive notes of the interviews and meetings that he had with Lord and Lady Mountbatten, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, Jawaharlal Nehru, Mahatma Gandhi and other officials of India and Pakistan at the very critical period immediately preceding independence for these two countries.

*Kraus gift.* A handsome and colorful manuscript of an eighteenth century French prayer book, illustrated throughout by means of the pochoir process, has been presented by Mr. and Mrs. T. Peter



*AD VESPERAS DEFUNCT.*

Ÿ. Et ne nos inducas in tentationem.

Ÿ. In memóriâ æternâ erunt iusti.

Ÿ. Aportâ inferi.

Ÿ. Credo vidére bona Dómini.

Post Pf. Lauda ánima mea Dñm.

Ÿ. Requiescant in pace.

Ÿ. Dómine exaudi orationem meam.

Ÿ. Dóminus vobiscum.

OREMUS

FIdélium, Deus, ómnium cónditor  
& redemptor, animábus famulórum  
famulárumque tuárum remissionem

The design at the top of this page, from a French eighteenth century manuscript prayer book, was produced in several colors by means of stencils.  
(Kraus gift)

Kraus. Bound in full red morocco elaborately gilt with the symbols of St. Peter, the folio volume was produced in Paris in 1779 by Joannes De Grouchy. Intricate stencil designs in a variety of colors, primarily of floral and ecclesiastical subjects, appear on virtually every one of its 383 pages.

*Lissim gift.* Mrs. Dorothea W. Lissim has presented to the Bakhmeteff Archive the papers of her husband, the late Simon Lissim, artist and theater designer in Russia, France and the United States. Among the fifteen hundred items are photographs of Sèvres porcelain and Lenox china that he designed, manuscripts of his lectures and memoirs, articles about his exhibitions and career, and letters from the painters Mikhail Larionov and Alexander Benois.

*Lorwin gift.* Mr. Boris Lorwin has established a collection of the papers of his father the late Lewis L. Lorwin (Ph.D., 1912), teacher, economist and author of numerous books on economic planning. Included among the more than ten thousand letters, manuscripts and reports are files relating to his work as a consultant to the government, the Brookings Institution, the Institute of Pacific Relations, the International Labor Office in Geneva and the United Nations. Among the correspondents are Louis D. Brandeis, Felix Frankfurter, Ben W. Huebsch, Paul U. Kellogg, Harold J. Laski and Frances Perkins.

*Meyer gift.* Mr. Gerard Previn Meyer (A.B., 1930; A.M., 1931) has donated five American first editions of English literary works by John Stuart Mill and Thomas Hardy, including Mill's *Autobiography*, 1873, and Hardy's *The Return of the Native*, 1878.

*Palmer gift.* A group of 210 books of biography, history and literature has been donated by Mr. Paul R. Palmer (M.S., 1950; A.M., 1955). Included are a number of first editions, some inscribed, and books on films, Hollywood, show business and theater.

*Polf gift.* Mr. William A. Polf has donated Jephtha R. Simms, *History of Schoharie County, and Border Wars of New York*, Albany, 1845, with a letter from the author, dated March 13, 1879, laid in the volume.



Vignette of Candide in his garden from the first edition of Voltaire's philosophical novel, 1759.  
(Rice gift)

*Rausa gift.* Mrs. Mary Torres Rausa (B.S., 1937; A.M., 1939, T.C.) has presented the library of her late husband, Narciso C. Rausa (B.S., 1933; A.M., 1938, T. C.). The 2,750 volumes in the gift relate primarily to Greek and Roman philosophy, archaeology, literature, cosmology, metaphysics, scientific thought, mathematics and economics.

*Reynolds gift.* The literary agency Paul R. Reynolds, Inc., has added to its collection approximately fifty-five thousand letters, manuscripts and documents, including files relating to Margery Allingham, Thomas Burke, Sir Francis Chichester, Howard Fast, James T. Flexner, Sir Edmund Hillary, Eliot and Elizabeth Jane-way, MacKinlay Kantor, Sax Rohmer and numerous other fiction and non-fiction writers. While some materials date from 1916, most of the files in the gift are from the period of the 1960s to the early 1980s.

*Rice gift.* In memory of his wife, Charlotte, Professor Eugene F. Rice has presented a first edition of Voltaire's *Candide, ou l'optimisme*, 1759, the most famous of the author's writings, which was written to satirize the optimistic creed that "All is for the best in this best of all possible worlds." This edition, which can be identified by the vignette on p. 228 depicting Candide in his garden, as well as by numerous other bibliographical variants, is considered by the latest research to be the true first edition, possibly printed in London. Professor Rice has also donated *The Works of Sir John Suckling*, printed in London in 1709 by Jacob Tonson.

*Saffron gift.* Several rare and handsomely printed editions have been presented by Dr. Morris H. Saffron (A.B., 1925; A.M., 1949; Ph.D., 1968) including: *The Canterbury Tales of Geoffrey Chaucer*, New York, 1930, two volumes, illustrated by Rockwell Kent, one of seventy-five numbered copies signed by the artist; John W. Francis, *Old New York: or, Reminiscences of the Past Sixty Years*, New York, 1865, extra-illustrated with numerous engraved portraits and views, and with four original pen-and-ink sketches; and two works printed by John Baskerville, *Catulli, Tibulli, et Propertii Opera*, 1772, and *The Book of Common Prayer*, 1761, the latter bound in contemporary red morocco elaborately gilt on the spine.

*Schang gift.* Seventeen visiting cards have been donated by Mr. Frederick C. Schang (B.Litt., 1915) for addition to the collection which he has established. Among them are the calling cards, autographed or with notes, of Satchel Paige, John B. Connally, William T. Sherman, Edwin Booth, Dmitri Kabalevsky, Alfred Jarry, Jerome K. Jerome and other writers and artists.

*Schapiro gift.* The past gifts of University Professor Emeritus Meyer Schapiro (A.B., 1924; Ph.D., 1931; D.Litt., 1975) have strengthened the research holdings of the Libraries, and his recent series of benefactions are not exceptions: a collection of thirty-eight autograph letters, dated 1898-1934, from European physi-



cists and mathematicians to the German physicist Arthur Korn, including letters from Albert Einstein, Max Planck and Wilhelm Roentgen; a handsome folio edition, Anatal Petrizky's *Theatre-Trachten*, published in 1929 by the Staatsverlag der Ukraine, which contains fifty-six mounted plates of highly inventive costume designs for the theater; a group of eight Futurist manifestos and leaflets on art, literature and the theater, printed in Milan, 1911-1919; and a collection of 405 letters written to Professor Shapiro by James T. Farrell from 1937 to 1979, in which the novelist discusses his writings, especially the Studs Lonigan trilogy, current events, other writers and their publications, and his personal life.

*Sherwin gift.* Mr. James T. Sherwin (A.B., 1953; LL.B., 1956) has presented the papers of his father, Oscar Sherwin (A.B., 1922; A.M., 1928), professor of English at the College of the City of New York and author of numerous critical and biographical works. Included in the collection are correspondence, manuscripts, notes for courses and printed materials.

*Van Ravenswaay gift.* Mr. Charles van Ravenswaay of Wilmington, Delaware, has presented a volume that was once owned by the first president of King's College, the Rev. Samuel Johnson, and as such has special significance. The volume, the collected edition of the works of Lucius Coelius Firmianus Lactantius published in Basle in 1524, has Dr. Johnson's signature and the date 1725 written at the head of the title page. Enclosed in a handsome case, the volume is in a binding by Jehan Norvins done in Paris, ca. 1525.

*Woods gift.* Mrs. Louise T. Woods has established a collection of papers of her husband, the late George D. Woods (LL.D., 1966), a founder of the First Boston Corporation, an investment banker, and president of the World Bank, 1963-1968. The papers deal almost exclusively with his presidency of the World Bank, and consist primarily of volumes of speeches and articles, world economic briefs and scrapbooks of clippings and photographs. There are let-



Anatol Petrizky's costume designs for the 1922 ballet "Exzentrischer Tanz" from his *Theatre-Trachten*. (Schapiro gift)

ters and inscribed photographs from Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson, as well as inscribed photographs from Mohammad Ayub Khan, Hassan II of Morocco, Ferdinand E. and Imelda R. Marcos, and Gamal Abdul Nasser.

*Young gift.* The papers of the late Whitney M. Young (LL.D., 1971) have been strengthened by the gift from Mrs. Young of nearly three thousand letters, manuscripts, memoranda, photographs, awards, diplomas, portraits and other memorabilia covering all aspects of the career of the distinguished civil rights leader and executive director of the National Urban League. There are important letters in the gift from Lyndon and Lady Bird Johnson, Dean Rusk, Richard M. Nixon and Roy Wilkins.

### *Recent Notable Purchases*

*Berg Fund.* The rare first American edition in the original parts of William M. Thackeray's *The History of Pendennis* has been acquired on the Aaron W. Berg Fund. Containing all of the text woodcut illustrations by Thackeray that appeared in the first English edition, the eight parts were issued in New York by Harper & Brothers in 1849 and 1850. An important collection of twenty-one letters written by the nineteenth century American novelist and poet Charles Fenno Hoffman was also acquired. Written to his niece Matilda Nicholas Whitman, and to his half-sister, Ann Hoffman Nicholas, the letters relate the literary and social life in New York and the activities of the Hoffman family during 1824-1843.

*Engel Fund.* The Solton and Julia Engel Fund has enabled us to acquire three fine James Fenimore Cooper letters: one to his wife, Susan Augusta Cooper, written from New York on May 15, 1838, to announce his safe arrival there and to detail his business activities; another, the draft of a letter regarding a libel suit against Park Benjamin, addressed to the editor William Cullen Bryant of *The*

*Evening Post* where it was printed on October 27, 1841; and the third to his daughter, Caroline Martha Phinney, also written from New York, June 6, 1850, in which he discusses the various "commissions" he has performed for her, the sale of his copyrights, travel plans and the New York weather which he finds "hot, hotter, hottest."

*Friends Endowed Fund.* In addition to autograph letters by Wilkie Collins, Benjamin Disraeli and Anthony Trollope, two manuscripts were acquired on the Friends Endowed Fund: a heavily revised manuscript leaf from Chapter II of James Fenimore Cooper's *The Water Witch*, written ca. 1828, along with a signed note from his daughter, Susan Fenimore Cooper; and the autograph manuscript of Carl Sandburg's third book, *The Plaint of a Rose*, a pamphlet privately printed at The Asgard Press in Galesburg, Illinois, in January 1908. Among the printed items acquired was a proof copy in yellow wrappers of D. H. Lawrence's *Glad Ghosts*, 1926, inscribed by the author to Catherine Carswell.

*Mixer Fund. Drum-Taps*, one of the few Walt Whitman publications hitherto lacking from the Whitman collection, has been added by means of the Charles W. Mixer Fund. Printed in New York in 1865, the volume obtained is one of the very few copies of the first issue without the "Sequel." Also purchased was a group of twenty-four matted portrait photographs by Ann Charters of contemporary authors, primarily those of the Beat generation, dating from the 1960s to the 1980s; a selection from the photographs is reproduced in this issue of *Columns*.

*Ulmann Fund.* Among the press books acquired on the Albert Ulmann Fund are two volumes printed in 1915 at the Omega Workshops in London: A. Clutton-Brock, *Simpson's Choice: An Essay on the Future Life*, with woodcuts by Roald Kristian; and Pierre Jean Jouve, *Men of Europe*, translated by Roger Fry. An exceptionally fine copy of Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild's *Livre d'Or*, edited by James Pope-Hennessy, was also acquired. Printed

in 1957 at the University Press, Cambridge, for presentation to members of the Roxburghe Club, this impressive *liber amicorum* includes verses, aphorisms, quotations or drawings by fifty-seven well-known persons during the period, 1873-1896, among whom are Queen Victoria, Robert Browning, Henry James, Anthony Trollope, Guy de Maupassant, Alexander Dumas, Bret Harte and Benjamin Disraeli.



## Activities of the Friends

*Winter Reception.* Guests from Sleepy Hollow Restorations and the Irving Trust joined the Friends and members of the library staff at a reception in the Rotunda of Low Memorial Library on Thursday afternoon, February 3, which opened the exhibition "The Bicentenary of the Birth of Washington Irving, A.M., 1821, LL.D., 1829." Based on the Libraries' extensive holdings of first editions, manuscripts and drawings, the exhibition also included items of memorabilia loaned by Sleepy Hollow Restorations. The exhibition was moved in March to the third floor of Butler Library where it remains on view through May 23.

*Bancroft Awards Dinner.* The Rotunda of Low Memorial Library was again the setting for the annual Bancroft Awards Dinner, which was sponsored by the Friends and held on Thursday evening, April 7. Dr. Gordon N. Ray, Chairman of the Friends, presided. President Michael I. Sovern announced the winners of the 1983 awards for books published in 1982 which a jury deemed of exceptional merit and distinction in the fields of American history and diplomacy. Awards were presented for the following: John P. Demos, *Entertaining Satan: Witchcraft and Culture of Early New England*, published by the Oxford University Press; and Nick Salvatore, *Eugene V. Debs: Citizen and Socialist*, published by the University of Illinois Press. The President presented to the author of each book a \$4,000 award from funds provided by the Edgar A. and Frederic Bancroft Foundation; Dr. Ray presented citations to the publishers.

*Future Meetings.* Meetings of the Friends during 1983-1984 have been scheduled for the following dates: Fall meeting, Thursday evening, November 3; Winter exhibition opening, Thursday afternoon, February 2; and Bancroft Awards Dinner, Thursday evening, March 29.

# THE FRIENDS OF THE COLUMBIA LIBRARIES

## AN OPPORTUNITY

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

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