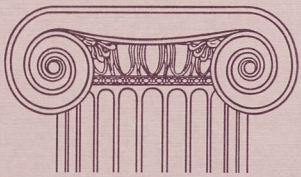

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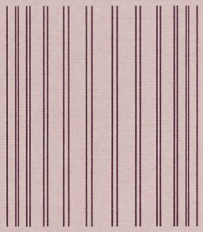

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Photography by Martin Messik

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Columbia Library Columns

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Ceres
Pomona
Ecce dedi vobis omnes herbas sementantes semen, quæ sunt Gen. 1.29.
Excideret ne tibi diuini muneris Author
Præsentem monstrat quælibet herba Deum.
THE
HERBALL
OR GENERALL
Historie of
Plantes.
Gathered by John Gerarde
of London Master in
CHIRVRGERIE
Very much
Enlarged and Amended by
Thomas Johnson
Citizen and Apothecarye
of
LONDON
THEOPHRASTVS
DIOSCORIDES
London Printed by
Adam Islip Joice Norton
and Richard Whitakers
Anno 1633.

The Library of Alan H. Kempner

KENNETH A. LOHF

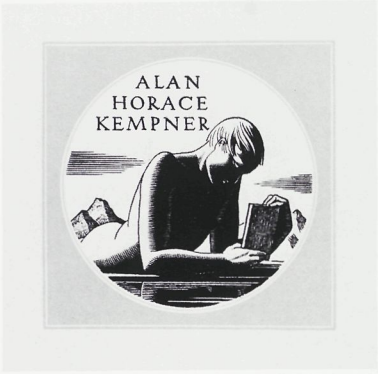
In his memoirs, the late Alan H. Kempner wrote, "I've always read books and accumulated them wherever I could." Booksellers in Paris and London, rare book shops in New York, Pittsburgh, or wherever the Kempners were traveling and living, catalogues of dealers throughout the country, these were the sources for the first editions and *beaux livres* that Alan collected from his childhood on the upper west side of New York, through his years as an undergraduate at Columbia where he majored in Latin, and to his last years in the comfortable home on Kempner Lane in Purchase that he and his wife built in 1929. His library and collection of old master prints have now come to the University as the generous gift of his widow, Margaret L. Kempner, and are housed and maintained in the Rare Book and Manuscript Library as a memorial to his long associations with the University and the Friends of the Libraries.

The library room on the first floor of the Kempner home, an intimate and welcoming room with books shelved from floor to ceiling, was the room to which Alan invited guests to be shown his treasures, and to be encouraged to handle them. He knew his books intimately, like old friends, because he read them and continued to reread his favorite authors—Gibbon, Dickens, Thackeray, Lewis Carroll, and Conan Doyle, among countless others. Characteristically, his bookplate, designed for him by Rockwell Kent, depicts a young man, propped on his elbows and deep in concentration, reading a book.

Alan's interest in old master prints dates from 1920 when he and Margaret, traveling abroad, began acquiring etchings and engravings at the shop of Paul Prouté on the rue de Seine in Paris. The

Opposite: Among Alan Kempner's favorite books was John Gerard's *The Herball or Generall Historie of Plantes,* 1633, with its impressive engraved title page.

occasional purchases, reflecting Alan's sensibility and personal taste, quickly grew to a collection, one that gave him great satisfaction over the years and, as he wrote, "has enriched my life." He acquired those prints that had special appeal for him, independent of passing fashions, a premise that always guided his collecting;



Bookplate designed by Rockwell Kent.

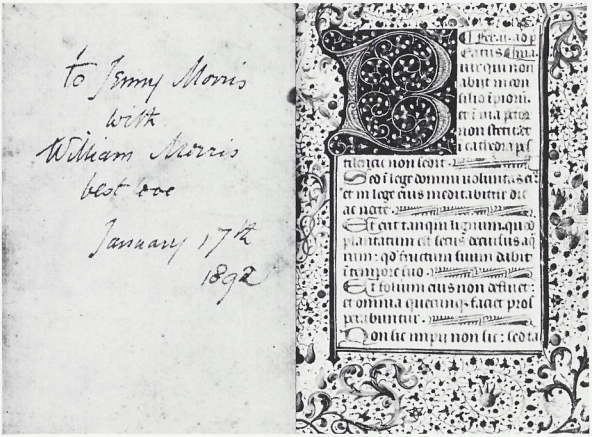
so it is not unusual to find alongside one another examples of the neglected printmakers of the nineteenth century, Legros, Bracquemond, Buhot, and Helleu, who were overshadowed by the Impressionists, and the fresh and crisp examples of the work of the acknowledged masters, Callot, Canaletto, Daumier, Dürer, Goya, Rembrandt, Tiepolo, and Whistler. Among the several twentieth century prints are two evocative and stylized 1937 lithographs, "Tree Planting Group" and "July 15," by Grant Wood, known for his "American scene" works depicting the people and landscapes of the rural Midwest. A framed collection of favorite prints has always lined the staircase and second floor hallway of the Kempner home, forming an intimate and personal gallery.

The appeal of the graphic arts to Alan is amply reflected in his library by the ten illustrated and decorated Arabic, Coptic, Javanese, and Western Medieval manuscripts; the five fore-edge paintings on works by Ruskin, Scott, Tennyson, and others; and

Etching by Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, "Woman with Her Arms in Chains," from the *Vari Capricci*, 1749.

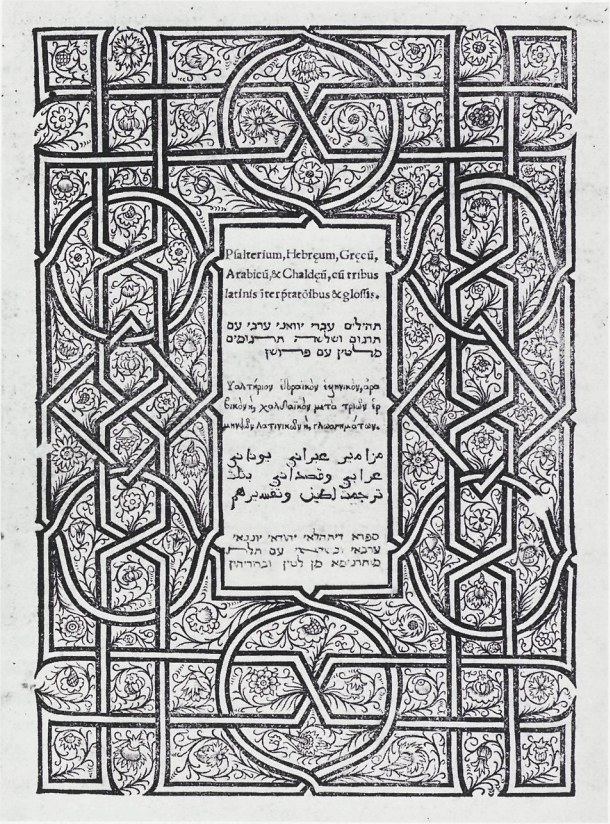
the abundance of illustrated editions, primarily Italian and English, ranging from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries. Closely allied are the numerous exemplars of fine printing, prominent among which are the 1501 Aldine edition of Martial, John Pine's 1733 engraved edition of Horace, the 1792 Bodoni printing of Theocritus in Greek and Latin, and handsome volumes bearing the Kelmscott, Nonesuch, Baskerville, Elzevier, and Grabhorn imprints.

Apart from the graphic arts, the major holdings of manuscripts and rare editions, acquired over more than six decades, illustrate not only Alan's developing interests, but also his delight in owning individual books with unique and unusual aspects. Of the early manuscripts, the French fifteenth century Psalter for the use of the



Fifteenth century Psalter inscribed by William Morris to his daughter Jenny.

Order of Celestines, with seventeen gold-embossed letters with floral borders, is of special interest in having once belonged to William Morris. The volume is affectionately inscribed by him on the flyleaf to his eldest daughter Jenny (Jane Alice Morris) with his "best love." The earliest of the three incunabula in Alan's library, the 1476 edition of St. Bonaventure's *Breviloquium,* is printed in Gothic letter by Anton Sorg, one of the early printers at Augsburg. The renowned *History of Florence* by Poggio, printed by Bartolommeo di Libri in 1492, appealed to Alan because of its date of publication; the volume also incidentally belonged to the notable



The Genoa Psalter, printed in 1516, is the first polyglot work ever published.

late eighteenth century English collectors Michael Woodhul and Richard Heber.

Outstanding among the library's sixteenth century books is the first polyglot work ever published, the Psalter of Genoa, printed in 1516. The work presents in eight columns versions in Hebrew, a literal Latin version of the Hebrew, the Latin Vulgate, the Greek Septuagint, the Arabic, the Chaldee (in Hebrew characters as well as literal Latin), and Scholia. The striking title page, printed in two colors, has an ornamental woodcut frame with an intricate design of lines and flower motifs. The publication, as a lengthy marginal note to Psalm XIX, of the first printed biography of Columbus is one of the Psalter's most important features.

Two of the specialized rarities stem from Alan's lifelong hobbies, fishing and gardening. Representing the former, there is the first Aldine edition of Oppian, printed in Venice in 1517, which includes the classic text on fishing, *De piscibus libri V.* Among the numerous books on gardening and flowers in the collection, surely John Gerard's *The Herball or Generall Historie of Plantes,* printed in London in 1633, is the most precious. Amusing, delightful, glowing, fragrant, refreshing, unchallenged, are just a few of the adjectives that have been applied to this compendium of science and folklore, written in glorious Elizabethan prose and illustrated with some 2,766 woodcuts. It is no wonder that the collector considered the Gerard high on his list of favorite books, for, as Alan wrote in his memoirs, gardening, especially the raising of orchids, gave him "an enormous amount of happiness and satisfaction," sentiments with which all who have visited the greenhouses at the Kempner home in Alan's company were well aware.

Beginning with the seventeenth century the literary focus of the library begins to emerge. He most enjoyed reading the poetry and prose of English authors, and this predilection among the rare editions begins with the 1619 edition of Michael Drayton's *Poems* and continues to the 1961 limited edition of T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land,* printed at the Officina Bodoni in Florence and signed by the

poet. John Donne is represented by the 1650 edition of his *Poems,* and Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher by the 1679 folio, *Fifty Comedies and Tragedies,* the second edition but the first complete one, containing eighteen plays not in the 1647 edition.

Among the eighteenth century books is a highly prized edition printed at Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill Press which has been called the most distinguished piece of printing to come from the press: Lucan's *Pharsalia,* 1760, with a fine cartouche engraved by Grignion on the title page. The major novelists and biographers of the century are represented by first editions of their most important works: James Boswell by *The Life of Samuel Johnson,* 1791; Henry Fielding by *The History of Tom Jones,* 1749; Samuel Johnson by *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland,* 1775; Tobias Smollett by *The Adventures of Roderick Random,* 1748; and Laurence Sterne by *A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy,* 1768. Special mention must also be made of the fine copy, bound in contemporary calf, of Jonathan Swift's famous *Travels Into Several Remote Nations of the World,* published in 1726 under the pseudonym of Lemuel Gulliver.

Alan's library has a representative selection of poetry of the Romantic period, including first editions of Byron, Shelley, and Wordsworth. When considering a gift to honor the opening of the new quarters for the Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Alan, determined to select the most appropriate book to mark the occasion, presented the imposing Shelley family Bible, signed by Percy Bysshe Shelley's father, Sir Timothy Shelley, on the title page of *The Book of Common Prayer,* 1638, the first part of the volume. It was a splendid commemorative gift, a highlight of the Library's opening exhibition, and a volume that was consulted almost immediately by Shelley scholars.

By far the largest group of first editions, some 147 titles, are those of the novelists of the Victorian period. Much of the best-selling fiction of the period was issued in parts, and Alan collected representative examples: Charles Dickens's *Little Dorrit,* 1855–57,

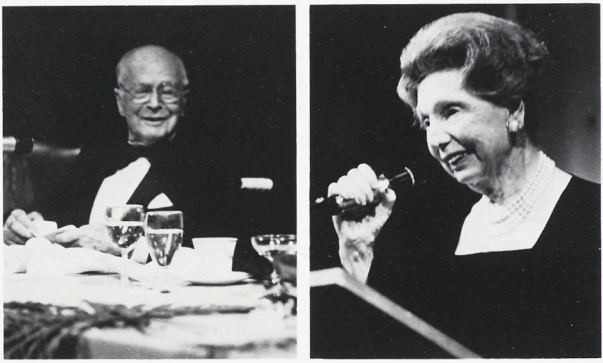
illustrated by H. K. Browne; William M. Thackeray's *The Newcomes,* 1854–55, illustrated by Richard Doyle; and Anthony Trollope's *Orley Farm,* 1861–62, illustrated by John E. Millais. The popular poets of the age are less well represented, but Alan did own a fine copy of W. S. Gilbert's illustrated collection of humorous

Lithograph by Grant Wood, "Tree Planting Group," 1937.

poems, *The "Bab" Ballads: Much Sound and Little Sense,* 1869, a volume that spawned the ideas for several of the Gilbert and Sullivan operas.

Alan always took special pride in showing to friends two unusual nineteenth century volumes. A book that once belonged to Lewis Carroll, and which he annotated with lengthy, thoughtful notes, would be coveted by any collector; Alan acquired such a volume for his own collection, T. H. Moody's *A Complete Refutation of Astrology,* 1838. On the endpaper Carroll, the author of those whimsical Alice fantasies, has written his terse review of the

volume: "The great objection to this work is that it assumes in part that Astrology is false, because unscriptural." The second volume that he cherished was Charles M. Doughty's *Travels in Arabia Deserta,* published in two volumes in 1888. Written by the English traveler and Arabist, the work is one of mysteries, obscurities, and



Alan and Margaret Kempner at the Friends dinner on October 29, 1981, at which they were awarded the Libraries' Citation for Distinguished Service.

fascinations, and in keeping with this spirit and style, the author inscribed the copy that Alan owned in Arabic at the end of the first volume.

This survey of the highlights in Alan's library does not touch upon the breadth of his collecting in other areas—eighteenth century French literature, nineteenth century American authors, contemporary English writers, and the history of printing and illustration, to single out a few of the more prominent subject areas. As we in the Rare Book and Manuscript Library continue our cataloguing of the collection and as students and scholars begin to consult the rarities in the course of their researches, we begin to fully understand the importance of the individual collector, such as

Alan, to the purposes of scholarship in a large research institution. When Alan and Margaret received the Libraries' Citation for Distinguished Service from President Sovern at the Friends dinner on October 29, 1981, Alan in his acceptance speech said that he hoped that his library would someday "be the means of stimulating young students, their interest in and love of fine books. . . ." Shortly after his death nearly a year ago, Margaret made that wish a reality when she presented in Alan's memory the 1,159 volumes and 139 master prints that comprise the library, which in its totality and in its range sums up a lifelong dedication to reading and collecting.

Michel Butor: Text and Graphics

LEON S. ROUDIEZ

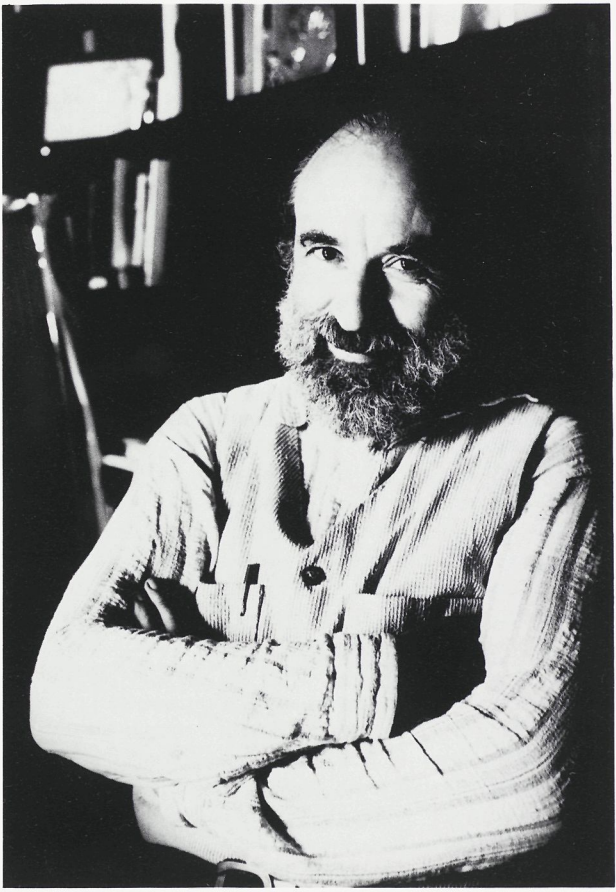
The vital statistics are simple. Michel Butor was born on September 14, 1926, in a suburb of the northern French industrial center of Lille; his father was a white-collar employee of the Compagnie des Chemins de Fer du Nord, a private railroad company that then served the area; there were seven children (there would have been eight but a girl died before Michel was born), two older sisters, four younger brothers and sisters. Such facts, however, have little meaning in themselves.

As Butor told one of his many interviewers, Madeleine Santschi, his father essentially was an artist. Whatever free time he had was spent drawing, doing watercolors or woodcuts; he even showed the latter at the Société Nationale des Artistes Français. His friends were also artists, and the young Michel learned a great deal from them. Furthermore, both his mother and grandmother played the piano; so did his sisters and soon he, too, started to take lessons. The sound of the violin appealed to him more, perhaps on account of a sentimental, romantic disposition; hearing that instrument, he recalls, drew tears from his eyes. His parents apparently indulged his wishes, and he began playing on a small violin at age seven. Eventually he was allowed to play on the full-size family violin that the grandfather of one of his grandmothers brought back from Vienna at the beginning of the nineteenth century. He was told that it had been selected by Karl Maria von Weber for that ancestor, who played chamber music in a group Weber was interested in. While Michel Butor never excelled at violin playing and had to abandon practice when university studies preempted his time, this experience clearly sensitized his ear for music in addition to making him learn its rudiments. Thus music and art provided a more significant ambiance than railroad operations in his family life. Thirty years after he had to give up the violin his youngest daughter began to play and he picked it up again so he could

accompany her when she did her exercises. More recently, another daughter (he has four) obtained a position as a harpist with a German orchestra in Detmold.

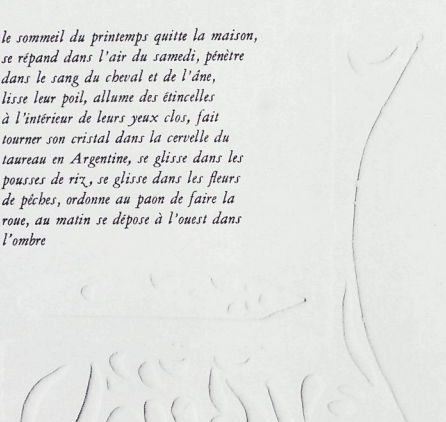
Butor holds a degree in philosophy from the University of Paris; in 1973 he obtained a doctorate in literature, defending not an academic dissertation but the body of his critical works. He has taught in many places, beginning as a substitute teacher at the *lycée* of Sens, in France, and moving on to Egypt, England, Greece and Switzerland. In 1960 he came to the United States for the first time as a visiting professor at Bryn Mawr. Since then he has taught at a number of American universities: Buffalo, Northwestern, New Mexico, Seattle in the summer of 1973, Middlebury, Oklahoma, and Louisville. He has also journeyed extensively, lecturing in all five continents, and has been dubbed a traveling salesman for French culture. In Europe, after teaching at the University of Nice for a couple of years, he has been on the faculty of the University of Geneva since 1975.

University teaching is a full-time occupation; nevertheless, Michel Butor's literary activities are at the core of his being. His writings are well known and well documented; numerous books in French and in English have dealt with them. His second novel, *L'Emploi du temps* (1956), received the Prix Fénéon and his third, *La Modification* (1957), obtained the coveted Prix Renaudot, while his first volume of critical essays, *Répertoire* (1960), was awarded the Prix de la Critique Littéraire. A substantial number of his essays are actually art criticism: he has written about the work of, to name just a few, Monet, Hokusai, Mondrian, and Rothko; he has also published separate studies on Jacques Hérold (1964) and Vieira da Silva (1983). Furthermore, it is hardly an exaggeration to suggest that few of Butor's writings can be totally divorced from graphic art. He is, of course, not the first novelist to have made reference to known works of art or have his characters produce imaginary paintings; he has, in addition, suggested analogies between the writing and the painting process, analogies that may be subsumed



Michel Butor in the early 1980s. (Photo by André Villiers)

le sommeil du printemps quitte la maison, se répand dans l'air du samedi, pénètre dans le sang du cheval et de l'âne, lisse leur poil, allume des étincelles à l'intérieur de leurs yeux clos, fait tourner son cristal dans la cervelle du taureau en Argentine, se glisse dans les pousses de riz, se glisse dans les fleurs de pêches, ordonne au paon de faire la roue, au matin se dépose à l'ouest dans l'ombre



dans l'ombre bénie de la maison à midi un dimanche d'été au Mexique, l'écureuil des États-Unis perché sur un bassin de zinc dit à la petite femelle de lynx : pourquoi vous plaignez-vous si tristement? N'avez-vous point ici des déserts d'étincelles et de sang, des carrières d'argile et de gypse, des mangues exquises, tout un paysage de cris, l'air le plus vif, le plus beau ciel? Ah, c'est que justement mon ami le corbeau du Canada est en exil au sud loin de moi dans la brume

Butor collaborated with the Rumanian-born artist Jacques Hérold in the 1967 *Dialogue des Regnes.*

under the metaphor of the rectangle, for a writer's page, a painter's canvas, a window, and a mirror commonly constitute rectangular shapes.

The metaphor is Butor's own. A character in his first novel, *Passage de Milan,* notices that by nightfall his window changes into a mirror; the narrator of his second novel, *L'Emploi du temps,* notices that at night the only thing he can see through his window-pane (the French word is "carreau," which suggests a square) is the reflection of his lamp and the desk at which he pens his diary. Toward the end of the same novel, the narrator likens the whiteness of the page he is writing on to a canvas, then to a thick coat of white paint, which, as he writes, is flaked off as if his pen were a knife, slowly revealing his own likeness and, in the background, the city in which he is struggling to find his way. The image is rather similar to one proposed by Georges Braque; the painter said that when he started he had the impression that his painting was on the other side, hidden by the white dust of the canvas; he needed to use a variety of brushes to uncover the different colors; when he had completed his cleaning job, the painting was done. Butor, however, makes it sound more arduous. In an essay on Mondrian entitled "Le Carré et son habitant," Butor wrote, in connection with a non-figurative canvas, "The spectator's eye, as it leaps through such a window opening out to the future, suddenly finds itself deep in darkness, faced with an ordeal to go through." There are thus correspondences between what one reads on a page, sees on a canvas, out of a window, or in a mirror. This points to a constant attitude on his part: a refusal to accept the boundaries that enclose literary genres or separate literature from the other arts.

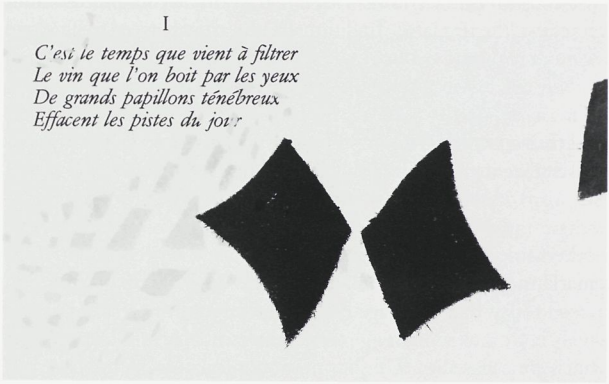
There are texts by Michel Butor that have their source in works of art but cannot be described as either art criticism or commentary. I do not refer to such items as *Description de San Marco,* which obviously finds its point of departure in the Venetian basilica. Rather, I have in mind texts like *Matière de reves,* of which there are five volumes (as there are with several of his groupings: five

Répertoires, five *Illustrations*). The point is that the collective title of these texts suggests an analogy with dream narratives; the analogy is there, especially in the first volume. The relation to painting, however, is well hidden—not completely, for the reader is almost always provided with clues. The superficial browser is apt to miss them, but Butor is a writer who needs to be read with care. When one does, one discovers in back of a number of texts in this series, as a kind of watermark, graphics by Pierre Alechinsky, Paul Delvaux, and others.

At the outset of an important essay, *Les Mots dans la peinture,* we find the following statement: "The presence of such words [in painting] indeed dismantles the fundamental wall that our education has erected between arts and letters." That wall is probably more substantial in France than in the United States, but Butor's remark applies to most Western cultures with varying degrees of appositeness. In that book he studies a number of paintings in which words, phrases, and even complete sentences appear, and what effect those words have on our appreciation of the work of art. He also begins by pointing out the obvious, and therefore usually overlooked, fact that the paintings we see are submerged in words. Seldom does one view a painting without having read a description of it, or perhaps a commentary, sometimes even a critical analysis; or if we do so, and read the commentary later, we have two different experiences of that painting. The title alone is already a kind of interpretation; what if Bruegel's "The Fall of Icarus" had been called "Seaside Landscape at Sunrise"? What a text can do to a painting or what a graphic image can do to a text are questions that lie at the heart of the matter where books that include both text and graphics are concerned.

"A painting intrigues me," Butor said in 1962 in response to questions by the editors of *Tel Quel,* "I come back to it; I want to wrench away the secret of its power. . .Thus, it is my advantage that I seek—and yours. . . .Painters teach me how to see, to read, to compose, hence to write, to lay out signs on a page." For him, then, a painting is first an object of desire. For a writer, desire

manifests itself through the elaboration of a text. In 1957, for instance, Butor happened to see, in a Left Bank gallery, drawings by the American artist Gregory Masurovsky who resides in Paris; at once, he felt that he had something to say about them. But it was



Graphic designs by Pierre Leloup form a dialogue with Butor's text in *Interventions pour le Pierrot lunaire,* 1982.

only three years later that the owner-editor of La Hune, Bernard Gheerbrant, offered to publish a book for which Butor and Masurovsky would collaborate. The writer suggested that Masurovsky compose a set of engravings; these would then inspire a text. Masurovsky was at the time working with the theme of wave motions and sea horizons, and over a period of two years he produced a set of fifteen oblong engravings based on such themes and sent them along as soon as each was completed. When all were at hand, Butor began seriously contemplating and meditating, and slowly the vocabulary of his eventual text started to emerge. (Further details about the process, such as the proliferation of words referring to colors in order to compensate for the black and white nature of the engravings, may be found in the February,

1976, issue of the French review *Obliques* featuring the collaborative work of Butor and Masurovsky.) La Hune published the result under the title *Litanie d'eau* (1964) in an edition limited to ninety copies. The crucial aspect of this collaboration, one that it shares with most of Butor's work with artists, is that the graphic element came first, the text later. Traditionally, the artist is asked to illustrate a preexistent text, as when Van Dongen provided seventy-seven watercolors for a 1947 edition of Proust's *A la recherche du temps perdu;* here, on the contrary, it is the writer who "illustrates" the preexisting work by an artist.

Whether the "illustration" is performed by an artist or a writer, the word itself raises problems unless we return to some of its archaic meanings, one of which is "elucidation." That, too, is bothersome, for it implies that the work has a single meaning, and the "illustration" is there to bring it out. Most of us are probably agreed today that language does not represent the real but rather organizes it into something more understandable and manageable, which we call reality. This has necessary links to the real, but it is nevertheless a creation of language that can be further modified by language, particularly by the powerful language of literature, the most powerful of which is poetic. In other words, whatever poetry deals with becomes changed. Had poets not intervened, for instance, Naples might not have been considered an attractive city.

Butor's poetic meditation in *Litanie d'eau* has modified the original engravings; these were the "real" he was confronting and attempting to account for. Having read his text, we cannot see them as Masurovsky composed them; they have been opened up to new possibilities of interpretations that the artist can do little to control.

The process may be carried one step further: if the writer is able to modify our reception of a drawing or painting, the artist in turn might change or add something to his work in order to affect the text, countering or enhancing it. This took place in the instance of Butor's work with Jacques Hérold, a Rumanian-born artist who

emigrated to Paris in 1930. The resulting *Dialogue des règnes* (1967) represents a fuller degree of collaboration than *Litanie d'eau,* for here text and graphics are no longer physically isolated from each other. While the text and engravings of the earlier work were enclosed within simple rectangular shapes that did not overlap,

Butor writing in the early 1980s. (Photo by André Villiers)

there is no set form for either the etchings or the text of *Dialogue des règnes.* On some pages the text runs from left to right margins in blocks separated by graphics, on others there are short lines of text beginning on the left margin with graphics occupying the right side or vice-versa; elsewhere short lines of text are centered and graphics are found on both sides. In other words the text seems to fill whatever blank space has been left free by the artist, but that is only a superficial impression, for Butor has said that the place where one puts a word is as important as the word itself. Apparently Hérold would make a preliminary sketch, Butor would then write a text that he carefully inserted in the available space; Hérold might then modify sections of his work, presumably taking into account the suggestive connotations of Butor's words and the mass

of his text; when both artist and writer were satisfied the etchings were made and the type set. The title suggests a dialogue between the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, but the book is truly a dialogue between Butor and Hérold, between text and graphics.

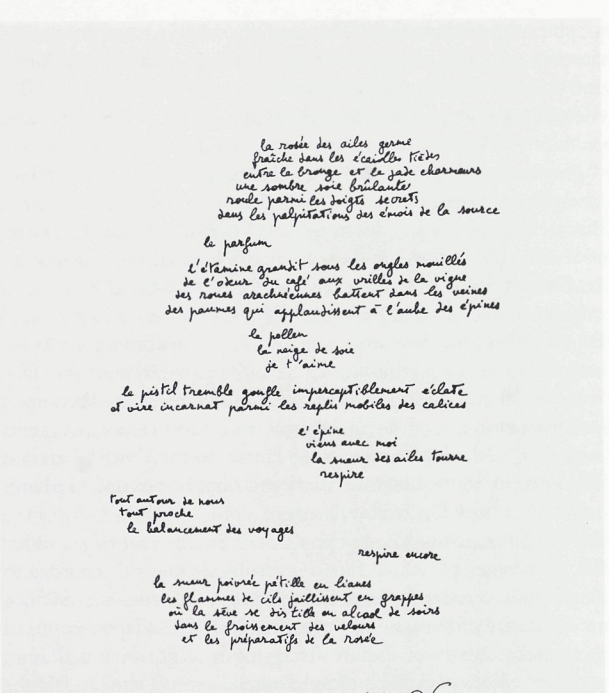
There is actually no reason why the collaboration should be limited to artist and writer. Already in *Litanie d'eau* the compositor had, with Butor's approval, played an important part in spacing words and phrases of the text and giving it a visual rhythm that is in harmony with the waves of Masurovsky's engravings. But there are also other matters that, if not exactly taken for granted, are deemed to be beyond the writer's competence. Michel Butor, however, is no ordinary writer. On one occasion at least, he was involved in all the operations of a book's manufacture in cooperation with specialized artisans in addition to the artist. The product was *Une Chanson pour Don Juan* (1972) with copperplate etchings and gouaches by Ania Staritsky, a Russian-born artist who found a haven in Belgium in 1925 and settled in France after World War II. The paper was handmade especially for this book, according to Staritsky's specifications, with holes "designed" in the very manufacturing process, the idea of which affected Butor's text; two different colors were chosen for the inside pages and a heavier off-white paper used for the cover (the book is unbound and comes in an elegant box). The pages were set by Staritsky according to the model she and Butor had agreed upon. The text was hand set in a font selected for this particular work.

Such a signal instance of collaboration in every step of the production of a book was of course not repeated in each and every case. On the other hand, only when paintings of the past were the source of a text—those of Alessandro Magnasco, for example—does Butor work in isolation. Even when he works independently, so to speak, as was the case with *Litanie d'eau,* he needs to know that the painter will respond sympathetically to his text and accept interpretations he might never have envisioned. Furthermore, since the early sixties, and even for standard editions of books where no

graphics were involved, he has carefully specified and supervised the page-setting of his books, under the influence of both Mallarmé and painters who have taught him "how to compose." Works like *Mobile* (1962) and *Illustrations* (1964) marked the beginning of this practice.

Bicentenaire Kit (1975–76) is a collaborative work of a different kind; it was intended both as a celebration of the United States Bicentennial in 1976 and homage to Marcel Duchamp. The result of a collective effort on the part of Philippe Lebaud, editor of Le Club du Livre, the artist Jacques Monory, Michel Butor, and others, it comes in a blue box made of heavy plastic, calling to mind Duchamp's *Green Box*, and contains a text by Butor, *USA 76*, basically a list, description, and/or commentary on the fifty "objects" that make up the kit, twenty silkscreens by Monory, a number of variegated documents or reproductions of documents pertaining to the conception of the kit and to the United States, as well as what we would commonly call objects. Among the latter one finds a New York subway token, a crushed Coca Cola can, a sheriff's badge, a small bag of popcorn, a Shaker coat peg, a dollar bill, an adapter to enable French persons visiting this country to plug in their electric appliances into local outlets, etc.—all of which are suggestive of Duchamp's "ready-mades." The adapter points to a significant aspect of the kit: its aggregate is not intended as an accurate, objective portrait of the United States at the time of the bicentennial. Rather, it manifests the American myth as imagined by the French and interpreted by one particular Frenchman; in a way, it is an ironic work, and also one that exemplifies what I have been stressing all along—the ability we have to change reality. There is no "real" United States, there are any number of realities that have many points in common and vary according to the nationality, culture, and ideology of the viewer. The United States are like a text that may be interpreted in a number of ways, a text or a work of art.

There is obviously a problem with limited edition books, especially when, as is the case with several by Michel Butor, they have



A fleur de peau, 1985, reproduced Butor's holograph, shaped poems in facsimile.

been issued in editions of less than fifty copies, in some instances twenty-six (*Interventions pour le Pierrot lunaire,* with Pierre Leloup, 1982), eight (*Signaux de fumée,* with Alex Cassel, 1982), and even three (*Imprécations contre la fourmi d'Argentine,* with Ania Staritsky,

1973). Reproducing paintings, with an increasing degree of quality, has become accepted practice, and we may go through, say, Franz Meyer's book on *Mark Chagall* (Abrams, 1971) and look at the color plates without feeling too much of an esthetic loss. The idea of reproducing limited edition books, however, seems unacceptable. F. C. St. Aubyn's listing of such items by Butor in the fall, 1985, issue of the *Review of Contemporary Fiction* (devoted in large part to Butor) includes 158 items that have come out between 1956 and 1983. I know of eighteen that have appeared since, and as of this writing Butor is working on a project with Paul Jenkins. How is the scholar or the amateur to become acquainted with all that material? Collections such as those of the Rare Book and Manuscript Library have a role to play that is even more crucial than the art museum's; if, for an art scholar, nothing can replace the actual examination of the painting itself, there are reproductions to guide one to objects of interest and later refresh one's memory. For the rare book lover, aside from private collections often difficult of access, there is only the library.

Cora Crane's Thwarted Romance

STANLEY WERTHEIM

Stephen Crane and Poultney Bigelow, controversial American journalist, historian, and political commentator, may have met as fellow members of The Author's Club, in New York City, in 1896 or as correspondents in the Cuban War during the spring or early summer of 1898. Crane was on the staff of Pulitzer's New York *World*, while Bigelow was reporting for the *New York Herald* and the London *Times*. In 1899–1900 Bigelow and his novelist wife, Edith Evelyn, occasionally visited the Cranes at Brede Place, the rambling, decayed country manor in Sussex which they leased from Moreton and Clara Frewen. Cora and Edith Bigelow were members, with Lady Randolph Churchill, of the Society of American Women in London, and Crane and Bigelow wrote about their Cuban War experiences in consecutive numbers of Lady Randolph's *Anglo-Saxon Review*. Crane's poignant "War Memories" appeared in the December, 1899 volume, while Bigelow's "The Latter-Day Fighting Animal" was published in March, 1900.

Of mutual concern to Crane and Bigelow was the apotheosis by the press of exploits by volunteer regiments such as Lieutenant Colonel Roosevelt's Rough Riders, while the routine bravery of the common soldier was ignored. In "Regulars Get No Glory," published in the New York *World*, July 20, 1898, Crane deplored the voracious public interest in "the gallantry of Reginald Marmaduke Maurice Montmorenci Sturtevant, and for goodness sake how the poor old chappy endures that dreadful hard-tack and bacon" at the expense of the infantry regular, whom Crane names Michael Nolan: the ungodly Nolan, the sweating, swearing, overloaded, hungry, thirsty, sleepless Nolan, tearing his breeches on the barbed wire entanglements, wallowing through the muddy fords, pursuing his way through the stiletto-pointed thickets, climbing the fire-crowned hill—Nolan gets shot. In "The Latter-Day Fighting

Animal," Bigelow expressed regret that "the papers rang with the heroic doings of volunteer organizations, while as to the regulars, the average American citizen scarcely regarded his [sic] existence. If a volunteer did something, his picture went the rounds of the Press,

Cora and Stephen Crane at a party held in the Brede Rectory Gardens, August 23, 1899.

and he was rated with the great commanders. It is not too much to say that the single regiment of 'rough riders' engrossed more newspaper space than the whole of the regular army during the war—and subsequently."

After Crane's death in Badweiler, Germany, on June 5, 1900, Bigelow developed a close friendship with Cora, and he engaged his own literary agents, G. H. Perris in London and John Russell Davidson in New York, to assist her in publishing Stephen's posthumous work and her own burgeoning literary efforts. Nevertheless, in a hurried sequence of extenuating letters to Cora in late July, Bigelow attempted to mitigate his reluctance to visit her.

Characterizing himself as "a beast of burden" whose "work is [his] existence—or rather pretext for existing at all," he insisted that he must "pack up and hurry to the Continent" because of "a cable from America which dashes all my schemes of a Sunday at Brede—its [sic] hard on me—I shall think of you amidst the flowers and trees of that lovely place. . . ." On July 31 when Cora had already left Brede for temporary quarters at 47 Gower Street, Kensington, in the western part of London, Bigelow hinted at a deeper reason for his misgivings:

July 31
10, Elm Park Gardens,
S.W.

My dear Mrs. Crane.

Goodbye for I am packing and am off tomorrow early to the Alps for a month or so. I shall not see you, and regret very much having lost so much pleasure as was involved in seeing you at Brede Place—but it was best after all;—best for you and me, as the old song has it.

I hope you will think kindly of me and believe me—wherever I may be, always your friend

Poultney Bigelow

Bigelow had gone to a pension in Switzerland's Zimmerwald for a vacation with his family rather than on the essential business trip implied in his letters to Cora, at least in part to avoid an emotional entanglement for which he felt a simultaneous attraction and aversion. But Cora was not to be so easily evaded. Almost immediately, she took up the correspondence, on her black-bordered mourning stationery, under the pretext of reminding Bigelow of his offer to act as her literary adviser:

Aug. 9th
47, Gower St.

Dear Mr. Bigelow:

I remember your saying that you would help me with my work if you could. Look over the enclose [sic] to see if you

think it could be worked into a short story—the study of a woman's mind under certain conditions.

Faithfully Ever
Cora Crane

The neutral tone of this covering letter was shattered by the enclosed "short story," whose third-person form of address did not in the least disguise the fact that despite her genuine grief and mourning for Stephen Crane, Cora had rapidly succumbed to a compensatory infatuation with Bigelow:

> There was a woman deep in the valley of misery; left absolutely alone by the death of a man whom she adored and into whos [sic] life she had so deeply entered, that now there seemed no life to her, since *he* had gone. This woman drifted through a series of grey-like days and nights for years?—Yes, an eternity—so it seemed to her—less than two months!
>
> Then she met another man and though she had known him a day, she had known him always. Now *he* was ever in her mind and heart. It was horrible: There was no understanding of it, but so it was. The woman prayed and fought against this force—but it was stronger than her will. She was so alone! The friendship of this man seemed the one thing left, the one thing to make life possible for her. She wanted to share this mans' [sic] thoughts, to be ever so small a part of his life [.] All this was unnatural, wrong—but she was so alone, you see. She was not a weak or silly woman. She was alone and she was what she was and there is no help for her but the friendship of this man.

Bigelow's response was suggestive. He did not disguise his dissatisfaction with his marriage, which ended in divorce in 1902, and indicated that he too was given to seemingly irrational impulses and might be willing to flee to South America, perhaps with Cora as his "secretary," but only, not to be entirely imprudent, after he had

finished writing his latest study of European colonization, *The Children of the Nations* (1901):

> 9/1
>
> Dear Mrs. Crane. Had I not a weak right hand—a sort of cramp—I'd write you till you ached. I'm reading your letter again—I too am alone—a solitude tempered only by the oblivion of labor, which is the sweetest drug I know. I can't write much—my arm aches. What are you doing—here I am until the end of this month with my wife & 2 daughters—and I'm mighty lonely—t'is not reasonable but a fact which like many facts is unreasonable.
>
> What are you doing? Are you happy in your work? When this book of mine is finished I dream of a long sea trip around South America—and I shall be helpless without a secretary! my work would be political articles for magazines. But first I must secure a secretary!
>
> I dont [sic] know yet the cost; I could not afford to do it unless a market for my "stuff" was ready.
>
> You could write a Romance! that is much more profitable.
>
> But what are you doing? My address is Zimmerwald near Bern—where the air is delicious, food good, rooms excellent & the price (for everything) 4½ fr. a day [.] Can you beat that?
>
> Goodbye—I wish you were here.
>
> Poultney Bigelow

From her new home at 6, Milborne Grove, the Boltons, which she was sharing with Mrs. L. Brotherton who had accompanied her back to England after her four-week stay in the United States following Stephen's funeral, Cora replied with a cautious interspersion of reticence and desire. Evidently, she wished to maintain the pose of a struggling literary widow, grateful for Bigelow's offer to be her mentor, but she was also eager to assure him that she was not disinclined to the extended sea voyage he proposed, although, she ingenuously protested, emotionally and professionally unqualified to function as his secretary:

6 Milborne Grove
The Boltons
South Kensington

Sep. 7th

Dear Mr. Bigelow:

Here I am! I've taken this place. It's very trying after Brede Place but still it is *home* or will be, if I can ever get the tables and chairs to fit. Mrs. Brotherton and I are camping, with only an old slavey in attendance, and we are working, at all sorts of domestic things, from the fine art of cooking to the—well the charwoman's work. I found my affairs in a sad state and have to depend upon my own very slender income and my work, until Stephen's small estate is fully settled. So economy is the order of today, but Heavens! T'is bliss after lodgings.

You can fancy how I long to be settled; how I long to try to work. I've no conceit in my work but still I shall *try.* I have written a short story for Harper's Bazar [sic], (*if* they think it good enough.)—I was afraid to send it, for they asked me to continue the Whilomville Stories. No one can repeat or continue these stories. It's impossible and it means failure for any one attempting it. In spite of knowing this to be true, I've written one. I sent it first to Robert Barr to read. He said that *as a story* it was good enough to stand upon its own merits. Indeed he said that it was better than the average magazine production—& so I sent it! Then, I've finished a story. Stephen had written 300 words and I finished it. I called it "The Squir's [sic] Madness." & have sold all serial rights. So now you know where I am and what I've been doing.

I am not very well and I long for the impossible. It seems so idiotic to live on and on without an object, or without any one caring. Within six months I hope I can take a long sea voyage. What miserable things letters are anyway, there are endless things that I could say to you, dear friend, endless things. At the end of this month I shall see you! Then you will be off to U.S. [sic] again and then I shall see you again!

At least there is this in life for me. Some one who is interested and who will help me with my work. The long journey you write of seems the best thing life could offer. I wish could [sic] be useful enough to ask to be your secretary. But I'm so sadly stupid. I've been ill, too, ever since I saw you last and wretchedly lonely and depressed. The human desire for life, even under these conditions, seems so sordid. If there was only work for me to do which I could do well but it seems so hopeless trying to write stories. I am sending you some of the work I have done since I saw you—ages ago! Read it and tell me if you think it very very bad. And please be an honest critic. It always helps one more.

Your letter wandered about before it reached me. Do let me know on what date "this month" will end? I've so much to say to you, so many things to ask you and yet—I know now that—I shall say nothing. I shall sit quietly & *you* will talk. Tis impossible to say how much I long for the passing of this month of September. Ah! Come back! And tell me of this long sea voyage!

Cora Crane

Cora ventured upon a Whilomville story, despite her misgivings, because Crane had agreed to a request by Elizabeth Garver Jordan to write stories centering around little Cora of "The Angel Child" for *Harper's Bazaar.* When his fatal illness prevented him from undertaking this assignment, Cora attempted to continue the series with her own contribution, "The Lavender Trousers," but the story was rejected by Harper's and other publishers. A copy of the typescript, along with typescripts of most of Cora's other short stories, is in the Rare Book and Manuscript Library's Crane Collection. The untitled draft of "The Squire's Madness," also at Columbia, reveals that Crane wrote approximately 1,300 words and dictated over 400 more. The story was first published in *Crampton's Magazine,* October, 1900. Cora completed Crane's "The Man from Duluth," which appeared in the February, 1901 *Metropolitan Magazine,* and perhaps put finishing touches on two

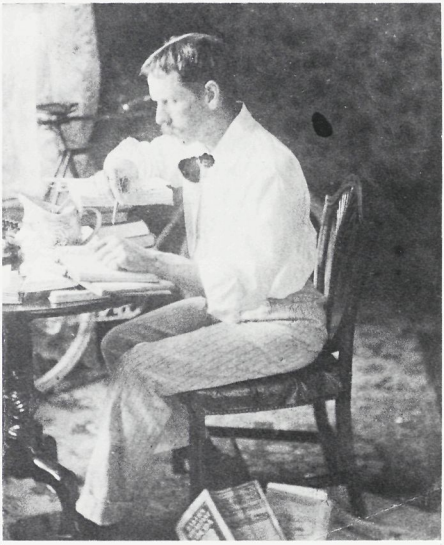
of Crane's Wyoming Valley Tales, "The Battle of Forty Fort" and "The Surrender of Forty Fort."

Apparently feeling that she had understated her affection for Bigelow in the confused and prosaic September 7 letter about her writing, Cora sent him a more fervent follow-up note, without salutation or subscription, four days later:

> Yesterday was your birthday and I wanted to write you but would not. I have fought against this desire until it has mastered me and now I find that all I want to say is, that I want to see you so much that your eyes look at me from every page I try to read and from paper on which I try to write, your voice is so clear to my memory that I shut my eyes and *try* to hear nothing else! There is but one cure—"the end of this month"!

Cora had entitled the story she sent Bigelow "The Christians." He proposed a number of alternative titles, one of which, "José and the Saints," Cora accepted. Bigelow was extremely enthusiastic about this story: "It made me weep—it has just arrived & I have devoured it—it makes me creep—I post it at once to be retyped in 2 copies & shall do my best." He forwarded "José and the Saints," "The Lavender Trousers," and "The Red Chimneys" to Perris and Davidson. There was much confusion about the publication of "The Red Chimneys." On February 21, 1901, Bigelow wrote to Cora that "José and the Saints" had been accepted by a Chicago short-story syndicate, but the following day he apologized for his mistake and explained that it was "The Red Chimneys," a maudlin tale of a young woman who, caught between her fidelity to a dying husband and an importunate lover, chooses death before dishonor, which the syndicate had taken. "José and the Saints" remained unpublished, and the manuscript has been lost. Cora acknowledged a letter of February 28, 1901, from Bigelow and thanked him for informing her that "The Red Chimneys" had been accepted by the *Smart Set,* but what the *Smart Set* published was Cora's prose poem of romantic love on earth denied in heaven, "What Hell

Might Be" (November, 1901), written in the uncertain period following the Cuban War when she feared Crane might not return to England. Perris secured acceptance of her incoherent story of the Brede ghost, "Cowardice," by the Northern Newspaper Syndicate,



Poultney Bigelow at his desk, ca. 1900.
(Photo courtesy of New York Public Library)

and he gradually replaced the harried James B. Pinker as English agent for Stephen's posthumous work. But as Bigelow became more involved in advancing Cora's career as a writer, he seems to have developed second thoughts about becoming emotionally entangled with her. "Do you thing [sic] I am a brute," he wrote shortly before he returned to England from Switzerland at the end of September, 1900, "because I treat so brutally the noblest things in this world—friendship!" While Bigelow was in the United States

later that fall, Cora wrote him a transparent letter which valiantly attempted to exculpate her venture into seduction, but she was clearly depressed over the failure to transmute friendship into intimacy:

6, Milborne Grove,
The Boltons,
South Kensington.

Nov. 19th 1900

Dear Mr. Bigelow:

Lately I listened to a polite but firm lecture on the immorality of a woman having any sort of friendship with a married man. I have been asked if I did not consider it quite as wicked to seduce a married man's thought by platonic friendship as to steal him bodily away from his own fireside. My reply was, that the fireside must have been too hot or the owner of the man too much a mustard plaster sort of female if he had been seduced by mere platonic affection—that one must at times be generous to the man. This was not very brilliant, as you know Im [sic] never anything but goldarned dull, but the lady was silent for two minutes—which is a long time for her to be silent—and then she said: "Do you think so?" and I said: "I do." And both the lady and myself were much pleased with ourselves and not a bit the wiser than you will be when you read this, and I don't know why I write it anyhow. There is no use my ever writing to you. You know without my letters all the infernal tangle and misery of my life. If I had only the wit or independence to be amusing but Ive [sic] not, and I don't see what good I am in the world anyway. My usefulness is at an end.

I wonder if you will spare the time to write to me? Don't bother about it. I don't want to bore you as I care too much for your friendship and your [sic] not the temperament to be bored—long at a time.

London is soaked with rain and the drizzle and dreariness of it seems to get into ones [sic] heart. I shall go on with the

madly exciting life in which you left us; scribbling now and again the same bad scribble. Sometimes when Im [sic] real devilish I go to the Pioneer Club and hear the wise (?) women tell of the wrongs of our sex. Why don't men shout about their wrongs, dont [sic] you have any? Perhaps those of you that are any good are too busy earning money for the wronged women.

Be good to yourself and come to see me on your return.

Faithfully Ever

C.C.

P.S. You might ask your agent to show Jose and the Saints to Stokes & CO. for the "Pocket Magazine"?

The correspondence between Cora Crane and Poultney Bigelow continued in a subdued commonplace manner until shortly before she took ship for America on April 28, 1901, to escape her memories and her creditors, and they enjoyed a normal social relationship, apparently undamaged by their abortive love affair. From his home near Saugerties, New York, following his separation from his wife, Bigelow wrote her a final, melancholy note:

Malden on Hudson.
N.Y.

There [A pen stroke connects "Malden on Hudson" with the initial line of this letter] is my permanent home, dear lost wandering lady! and there lives alone

Yours faithfully

Poultney Bigelow

who is at this moment on a little driving trip & will be back there in time to meet yr. reply which will, I hope, be full of yr. news.

Century Club (7 w 43^{d} st.) N.Y. is also a safe address.

Most likely, Cora did not reply. The course of her life diverged sharply from Bigelow's after her return to Jacksonville, Florida, in

the spring of 1902. She opened a bordello, the Court, larger and grander than the Hotel de Dream, the house of assignation where she had met Stephen Crane in December, 1897, and embarked upon a new series of bizarre adventures. Not the least of these was her bigamous marriage, on June 1, 1905, to Hammond P. McNeil, a railroad conductor whom she set up in business as the proprietor of a saloon and who two years later shot and killed a man he believed to be her lover. When Cora died, on September 4, 1910, at the age of forty, few who knew her in Jacksonville only as Cora Taylor were aware of her past as the "wife" of a distinguished American author. Bigelow continued his career as a writer of voluminous historical tracts and an outspoken critic of governmental and political situations. While studying in Germany as a young man, he had formed a strong friendship with Prince Wilhelm (later Kaiser Wilhelm II), and he remained a lifelong Germanophile. The Kaiser interested him in the study of colonial administrations in tropical countries, and he wrote and lectured extensively upon this subject and on international relations. A confirmed anti-Semite who was not averse to dictatorships, Bigelow praised Hitler and Mussolini until their outrages began to alienate world opinion. He was ninety-eight years old when he died on May 28, 1954, the oldest living graduate of Yale, a distinguished member of many American and European scientific and historical societies, and a chevalier of the Legion of Honor.

Poultney Bigelow's letters are published with the permission of Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff and the Columbia University Libraries. Cora Crane's letters are published through the courtesy of the New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

Our Growing Collections

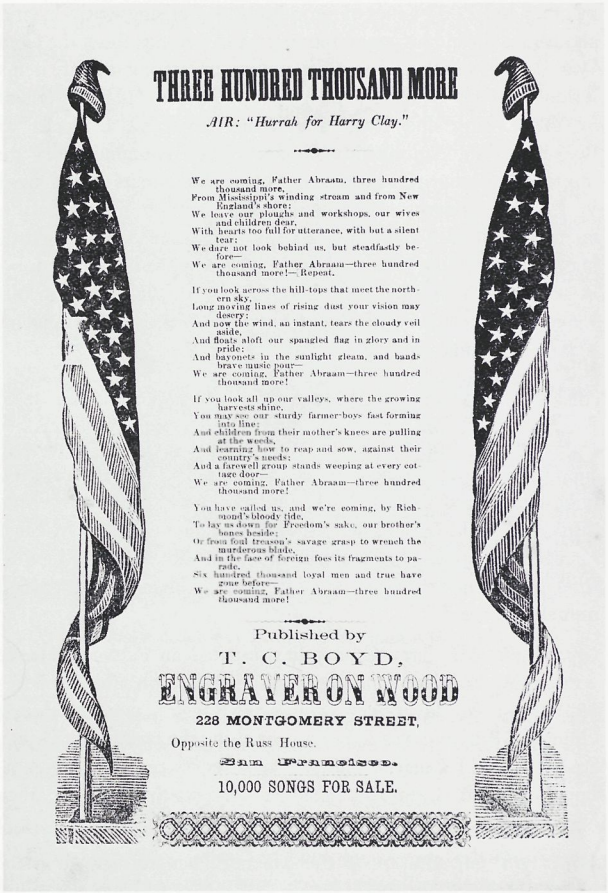
KENNETH A. LOHF

Battin gift. Mrs. Patricia M. Battin has donated, for addition to the Plimpton Collection, a copy of the 1824 Philadelphia edition of Murray Lindley's *Introduction to the English Reader,* one of the most popular schoolbooks of the time, whose compiler, also the author of numerous successful grammars, studied law with John Jay and practiced among the Quakers.

Butcher gift. Fifteen first editions and approximately four hundred manuscript items have been donated by Professor Philip Butcher (Ph.D., 1956) for addition to his papers and the George Washington Cable Collection. Included are inscribed copies of William S. Braithwaite's *Anthology of Magazine Verse for 1927* and *The Negro Caravan,* 1941, edited by Sterling A. Brown, Arthur P. Davis, and Ulysses G. Lee, as well as correspondence, manuscripts, and printed materials relating primarily to George Washington Cable, Adelene Moffat, and William S. Braithwaite.

Cantor gift. Mr. Eli Cantor has made a substantial addition to the collection of his papers that he established in the Rare Book and Manuscript Library two years ago. The recent gift includes more than fifty manuscripts and drafts pertaining to his recent fiction writing. Of special importance in Mr. Cantor's gift is the group of approximately 4,450 printed or mimeographed publications issued from 1942 through 1959 by the Research Institute of America, Inc., a New York based research organization devoted to business and financial affairs; Mr. Cantor served as editor-in-chief for the various series of the Institute's reports, policy memoranda and letters, and economic analyses.

Gordon family gift. The Abraham Lincoln Collection formed by the late I. Cyrus Gordon (A.B., 1924; LL.B., 1926) has been presented in his memory by his children, Mr. Donald J. Gordon and Mrs. Susan Gordon Ross. The printed materials include some 1,022



THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND MORE

AIR: "Hurrah for Harry Clay."

We are coming, Father Abraam, three hundred thousand more,
From Mississippi's winding stream and from New England's shore;
We leave our ploughs and workshops, our wives and children dear,
With hearts too full for utterance, with but a silent tear;
We dare not look behind us, but steadfastly before—
We are coming, Father Abraam—three hundred thousand more!—Repeat.

If you look across the hill-tops that meet the northern sky,
Long moving lines of rising dust your vision may descry;
And now the wind, an instant, tears the cloudy veil aside,
And floats aloft our spangled flag in glory and in pride;
And bayonets in the sunlight gleam, and bands brave music pour—
We are coming, Father Abraam—three hundred thousand more!

If you look all up our valleys, where the growing harvests shine,
You may see our sturdy farmer-boys fast forming into line;
And children from their mother's knees are pulling at the weeds,
And learning how to reap and sow, against their country's needs;
And a farewell group stands weeping at every cottage door—
We are coming, Father Abraam—three hundred thousand more!

You have called us, and we're coming, by Richmond's bloody tide,
To lay us down for Freedom's sake, our brother's bones beside;
Or from foul treason's savage grasp to wrench the murderous blade,
And in the face of foreign foes its fragments to parade.
Six hundred thousand loyal men and true have gone before—
We are coming, Father Abraam—three hundred thousand more!

Published by

T. C. BOYD,

ENGRAVER ON WOOD

228 MONTGOMERY STREET,

Opposite the Russ House.

San Francisco.

10,000 SONGS FOR SALE.

Broadside poem by James S. Gibbons, published in 1862, inspired by Lincoln's call for 300,000 volunteers for the Union Army following the defeat at Shiloh. (Gordon gift)

volumes and 2,033 issues of periodicals, comprising works by and about Lincoln and his contemporaries, and writings about the Civil War, slavery, and the abolitionist movement; among the rare items is a copy of Julia Griffiths's *Autographs for Freedom,* 1854, inscribed by the ex-slave and black abolitionist Frederick Douglass to Benjamin Fish. Among the fifty-five pieces of memorabilia are several manuscript slave deeds and other documents of the Civil War period, songsheets, lithographic portraits of Lincoln, commemorative medals and coins, reproductions of busts and the death mask of Lincoln, and an impressive plaster reproduction of John Rogers's famous statue, "The Council of War," depicting Lincoln seated with Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton and General Ulysses S. Grant standing behind.

Grand Street Publications gift. Through its president, Mr. Ben Sonnenberg, Grand Street Publications, Inc., has added to the papers of *Grand Street* the files of manuscripts, proofs, and correspondence pertaining to volumes 3 and 4 of the literary magazine published from 1983 to 1985. Included are letters and manuscripts of John Ashbery, Hayden Carruth, Gavin Ewart, Michael Hamburger, John Hollander, James Laughlin, W. S. Merwin, R. K. Narayan, Francis Steegmuller, and William Trevor, among numerous others.

Granat gift. Mr. Jerry Granat has donated an autograph letter written by William A. Duer, President of Columbia College, 1829–1842, to the lawyer Samuel B. Ruggles, who developed Gramercy Park and was active in promoting the creation of Union Square. Dated February 27, 1839, the letter concerns the presentation to the State Assembly of a bill pertaining to the University that both support.

Halper gift. For addition to the papers of her husband, the late Nathan Halper (A.B., 1927; Ph.D., 1973), Mrs. Marjorie Windust Halper has presented a file of correspondence relating to his James Joyce studies and research, files of *The James Joyce Quarterly* and *The Wake Newsletter,* issues of periodicals with articles by Nathan

Halper, and an attractive 1897 watercolor drawing by Jack B. Yeats, entitled "Push Boys."

Heineman gift. Mr. James H. Heineman has presented the editorial files of *The Biographical Encyclopaedia & Who's Who in the American Theatre,* which he published in 1966. Edited by Walter Rigdon, the

Watercolor drawing by Jack B. Yeats, "Push Boys," 1897.
(Halper Gift)

volume comprised some 3,350 biographical entries of actors and actresses, directors, playwrights, producers, scenic designers, and composers, and the files presented by Mr. Heineman include approximately 30,000 pieces of correspondence, biographical forms, documents, proofs, photographs, and printed materials relating to the 1966 edition and a proposed second edition. Nearly all of the biographical forms were completed by the biographees, who include such prominent theatre people as Fred Astaire, Josephine Baker, Truman Capote, Edward Gordon Craig, Katherine Dunham, T. S. Eliot, Ira Gershwin, Langston Hughes,

Anita Loos, Arthur Miller, Cole Porter, Elmer Rice, Virgil Thomson, and Mae West.

Kettaneh gift. From the library of her late distinguished husband, Francis Kettaneh, Mrs. Kettaneh has presented Max Rooses's monumental biographical and bibliographical work, *Christophe Plantin, Imprimeur Anversois,* published in Antwerp in 1883 by Joseph Maes. Bound in full brown morocco by Maclehose of Glasgow, the volume is illustrated with numerous plates depicting Plantin's several devices, borders, initial letters, and portraits.

Marshall gift. Approximately five hundred individual manuscripts, letters, and printed materials have been added to the papers of Lenore G. Marshall (A.B., 1919 B.) by her husband, the late Mr. James Marshall (LL.B., 1920). Included are letters from Lewis Galantiere, Stanley Kunitz, Erich Fromm, Alfred Kazin, and Irwin Edman.

Nikirk gift. Mr. Robert Nikirk has donated a scarce pamphlet written by Charles Ricketts, *A Century of Art, 1810–1910,* published in London in 1911 by Carfax & Co.; the pamphlet bears the bookplate of the noted education pioneer and art patron Michael Ernest Sadler.

Rothkopf gift. Mrs. Carol Z. Rothkopf (A.M., 1952) has made a significant addition to the House of Books Collection with her recent gift of 291 Robert Frost Christmas cards issued with the Frost imprint and numerous variant imprints; nineteen of the Frost imprints are inscribed by the poet to Marguerite and Louis Cohn, including *To a Young Wretch,* 1937, *Triple Plate,* 1939, *I Could Give All to Time,* 1941, *The Guardeen,* 1943, *Two Leading Lights,* 1944, *An Unstamped Letter,* 1944, and *On Making Certain,* 1944. Numerous pamphlets and issues of periodicals relating to Frost, several of which he inscribed for the Cohns, were also donated by Mrs. Rothkopf; among these, the most precious is the copy of Frost's one-act play, *A Way Out,* published in a limited edition in 1929, inscribed by the dedicatee Roland A. Wood, who acted in

the first performance, and further inscribed by Frost to Louis Cohn. In memory of the late James Gilvarry, Mrs. Rothkopf has also presented the first edition of Marianne Moore's *Like a Bulwark*, 1956, which the poet inscribed for Mr. Gilvarry in 1958.

View of the northern Italian city of Ferrara; woodcut from the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, 1493. (Salzer gift)

Salzer gift. Vice Admiral Robert S. Salzer, USN (Ret.) has presented three rare editions in memory of his father, the late Dr. Benjamin Salzer, who taught at the College of Physicians and Surgeons from 1928 until his death in 1956. Foremost among these is Hartmann Schedel's *Liber Chronicorum*, known as the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, printed by Anton Koberger in 1493; this outline of geography and history is notable for the 1,800 woodcuts of historical personages and cities by Wilhelm Pleydenwurff and

Michael Wolgemut. The gift also includes an association copy of Lord Cornwallis's *An Answer to that Part of the Narrative of Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Clinton Which relates to the Conduct of Lieutenant-General Earl Cornwallis, During the Campaign in North-America, in the Year 1781,* published in London in 1783, tipped into which is a letter from Lord Cornwallis presenting the volume to the Baron de Kutzleben. The last volume in Admiral Salzer's gift is Quirin Leitner's folio catalogue, *Die Waffensammlung des Österreichischen Kaiserhauses im K.K. Artillerie-Arsenal Museum,* published in Vienna, 1866–1870, containing sixty-eight full-page lithographic plates illustrating a wide variety of armour and armaments from the Museum's collection.

Towers gift. In memory of the late Gary Stephen Hooper, a member of the School of General Studies Class of '86, Mr. John C. Towers has presented funds to acquire a copy of the Centenary Edition of D. H. Lawrence's *The Man Who Loved Islands,* published earlier in the year by Bucknell University in a limited edition with handsome wood engravings by John DePol.

Von der Haar gift. Mr. Frank A. Von der Haar, Jr., has presented, in memory of the late Marguerite A. Cohn, a fine copy of Robert Duncan's *The Truth & Life of Myth: An Essay in Essential Autobiography,* published in 1968 by House of Books, Ltd. The work, issued in the Crown Octavos series, is one of 300 copies signed by the author.

White gift. Mrs. Ruth Bennett White has presented more than one thousand letters and papers of her late husband, Carl M. White (B.S. in L.S., 1934), who served as Director of Libraries and Dean of the School of Library Service from 1943 until 1953, and who continued as Dean until 1955. The correspondence files donated by Mrs. White document his career as the librarian of Fisk University, the University of North Carolina, and the University of Illinois during the period 1936–1943, and contain numerous letters from fellow librarians Louis Round Wilson and William Warner

Bishop, as well as from many other college and university librarians and presidents.

Wightman gift. Miss Julia P. Wightman has presented funds for the purchase of the monumental private library catalogue *Il Castello di Monselice: Raccolta degli Antichi Libri Veneziani Figurati*, hand-printed by Giovanni Mardersteig at the Officina Bodoni in 1941 in an edition of 310 copies, and illustrated with ninety-two impressive full-page photogravure plates and additional reproductions in the text. The work contains valuable and detailed descriptions by Dr. Tammaro De Marinis of the fifteenth and sixteenth century Venetian illustrated books that were formerly in the library of Prince d'Essling; the copy acquired is De Marinis's own copy, with his leather bookplate, specially bound for him by Gruel of Paris in full morocco richly blind-stamped in the fifteenth century Venetian style. Published during the war, this little known catalogue was only distributed to personal friends of Conte Vittorio Cini, the owner of Monselice, and the presence of a distinguished copy of the work in the Rare Book and Manuscript Library collection fills a significant lacuna in our extensive Officina Bodoni holdings.

Note: In the description of Mrs. Francis T. P. Plimpton's gift in last May's issue of "Our Growing Collections," we incorrectly identified the author of the diaries as Francis Plimpton; they were in fact written by Mr. Plimpton's mother, Frances Plimpton.

Activities of the Friends

Finances. An increase of 14.25% in general purpose contributions brought the total for the twelve month period ended on June 30, 1986, to $35,051. Special purpose gifts, designated for individual book and manuscript purchases and for the completion of the furnishings for the Rare Book and Manuscript Library, totaled $66,538 for the same period. Gifts in kind totaled $514,481, an all time high for the second consecutive year. The total of all gifts and contributions since the establishment of the association in 1951 now stands at $6,328,755.

New Council Members. Mr. R. Dyke Benjamin, Mrs. Margaret L. Kempner, and Mrs. Pauline Ames Plimpton have been elected to serve on the Council of the Friends.

Fall reception. The exhibition "Michel Butor: Text and Graphics" will be opened by a reception on Thursday afternoon, December 4. On view will be numerous limited editions of Butor's prose and poetry illustrated by such contemporary artists as Pierre Alechinsky, Baltazar, Alexander Calder, Alex Cassel, Bernard Dufour, Jacques Hérold, Pierre Leloup, Gregory Masurovsky, Ania Staritsky, Victor Vasarely, and André Villiers, among others.

Future meetings. The winter exhibition, "Designs for Living: The Decorative Arts of Rockwell Kent," will open with a members' preview on Thursday, March 5, 1987, in the Rare Book and Manuscript Library; and the annual Bancroft Awards Dinner will be held in the Rotunda of Low Memorial Library on Thursday evening, April 2, 1987.

THE FRIENDS OF THE COLUMBIA LIBRARIES

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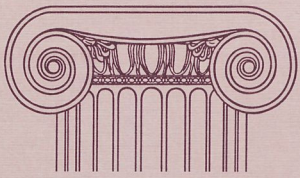

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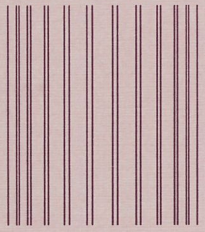

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Photography by Martin Messik

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Columbia Library Columns

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A Traveler in Japan Before the Bullet Train

MIWA KAI

The travelogue is a favorite genre in Japan, both in literature and painting, the most widely known being that of the Tōkaidō wood-block prints by Hiroshige (1797–1858), which depict the fifty-three stations of the Eastern Sea Route from Edo, present-day Tokyo, to the former capital, Kyoto. A recent gift by Mr. and Mrs. Sam Schaefler to the Rare Book and Manuscript Library, a Japanese folding book, hand-painted in color, depicts scenes and places visited on such a journey covering three of the four main islands of Japan, a considerably longer route extending from Tokyo to the southwestern islands of Kyushu and Shikoku. Although untitled and undated, the work was probably painted in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

The book, when closed, measures 20¼ × 11¼ inches and contains thirty-two full-spread illustrations composed to form one continuous pictorial record. There is no accompanying text, which is not unusual for this kind of work. However, towns, castles, temples, rivers, islands, and other landmarks are identified by some 250 place names inserted at appropriate points throughout the book. These "signposts" are helpful, not only as aids in following the route traversed by the travelers, but as indications of their focus of interest as expressed through emphases placed in portraying the different sites visited. If opened in its entirety, the book would measure some fifty-six feet, presenting an artistically rendered panorama of the central and southwestern parts of the country; this type of work, however, was designed to be viewed section by section in much the same manner as when one opens a handscroll horizontally a couple of feet at a time.

Opposite: Travelers approaching the two-span bridge which crosses the Seta River in an eighteenth century Japanese pictorial travelogue; in the background rises Mt. Hiei where the Enryakuji Temple is located in a thick grove of cypresses.

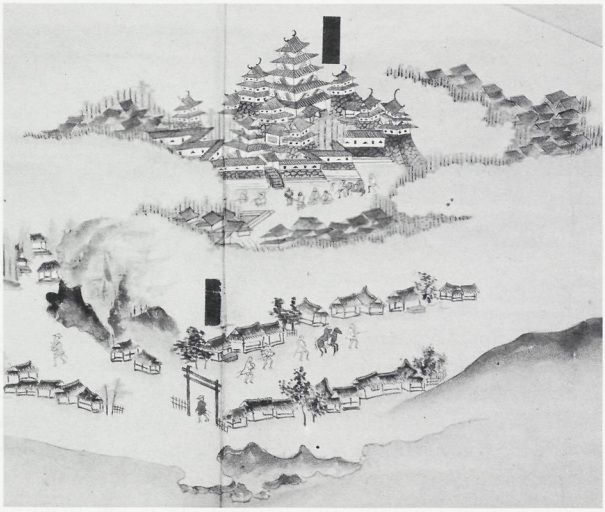
This journey is no hurried business trip made on a bullet train, nor is it a sightseeing tour aiming to take in as many sights as can be crammed into a limited and crowded schedule. Quite the contrary. We have here a journey showing no apparent constraints of time or budget, the purpose being to revel in the delights and wonders of nature, to recall and ponder over the events of the past, to reflect on and pay homage to historical figures memorialized in temples and shrines—a time for solitude and contemplation.

A lone traveler and his attendant commence their journey in Edo and travel in a southwesterly direction. Unencumbered by luggage, their only carry-along baggage is a small bundle slung on a pole over the shoulder of the attendant. Clad in the simple traveler's garb of the time with a conical straw hat to fend off the elements, they appear comfortable, carefree, and totally at ease.

The first major architectural structure depicted is that of Edo Castle, the seat of the Tokugawa government from 1603 until the restoration of the Imperial regime in 1868, at which time the name of the city was changed to Tokyo. The season would appear to be spring. While crossing a small bridge at Shinagawa, a busy traffic center in feudal days and one of the post-stations on the Tōkaidō, they catch a distant view of the temples at Ikegami, one of the principal centers of the Nichiren Sect of Buddhism. Mounted on a white horse, the attendant following on foot, they travel toward the Odawara Castle, which was the stronghold of the Hōjō clan that held sway over this entire territory toward the end of the fifteenth century. From here, a climb up the Hakone Mountains enables them to get a bird's-eye view of the surrounding countryside. Beyond hills and dales, they catch a glimpse of a lake and, far below, the shimmering flow of a meandering stream. After changing his mount, our traveler and his attendant make their way down the mountainside.

On foot now, and at a leisurely pace, they pass Numazu and Yoshiwara and pause to admire the breathtaking view of the snow-capped peak of Mt. Fuji rising majestically over the mist and

clouds. In awe and reverence, they gaze in silence at the perfect proportions of this magnificent mountain considered sacred by the Japanese. The city of Yoshiwara is known as a center of the paper and pulp industry. Further along, farmers are working the fields



The travelers leaving Edo, modern-day Tokyo, unencumbered with luggage.

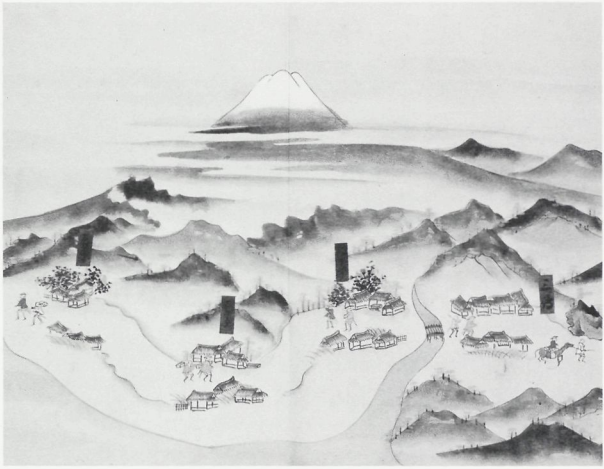
while fishermen with baskets slung over their shoulders are headed toward the shores of Suruga Bay. Waves dash against the rocks not far from the natural breakwater created by the sandy spit of Miho. At Seikenji, a temple of the Rinzai Sect of Zen Buddhism, and again at Shimizu, they enjoy a view of the pine groves of Miho. The avenue of pine trees makes a striking contrast against the banks of white sand, a favorite theme for poets and painters since ancient times. It is in this grove that the legendary tree featured in the Nō drama *Hagoromo*, or *The Feather Robe*, is to be found.

On horseback they ford the Ōi River where attendants stand ready to lead the horses to the far shore. They pass through Kakegawa, another post-station of the Tōkaidō, and approach the castle at Hamamatsu. Today this city is noted for the production of pianos and motorcycles as well as for its weaving and dyeing industries. Overnight accommodations at modest wayside inns and occasional periods of rest in the precincts of temples and shrines refresh the travelers. Passing through a number of towns and villages and visiting shrines and temples along the way they reach Nagoya. Here they make a brief detour to the north to visit Ōgaki Castle and then south to Kameyama Castle after which, mounted again on a white horse, the attendant still following on foot, they climb up a mountain path to view a cascading waterfall.

At Seta they cross a two-span bridge whose center support is anchored on an islet. The Seta River, which flows out of Lake Biwa, changes its name in Kyoto to become Uji River and flows past the town of Uji, noted for its beautiful scenery and fine quality of green tea. They turn to view the verdant heights of Mt. Hiei, where in a thick grove of Japanese cypress Enryakuji, one of the most important temples, is located. It was founded in 788 by Saichō (767–822), known also by his posthumous title Dengyō Daishi, founder of the Tendai Sect of Buddhism.

Before proceeding further they take a brief break, sipping tea and enjoying refreshments at a small tea house in Ōtsu, and watch the small boats ferrying passengers across the Seta River. A short walk takes them to Miidera, which is the popular name for Onjōji, founded in 674, one of the head temples of the Tendai Sect of Buddhism. It is in a cemetery near this temple that Ernest Francisco Fenollosa (1853–1908), an American educator and art critic, is buried. Born in Salem, Massachusetts, Fenollosa first went to Japan in 1878 and taught philosophy, political economy, and logic at Tokyo (Imperial) University. A great admirer of Japanese aesthetics, he studied Japanese art and Buddhism. Although he died in London, by his own request his remains were interred here. In this

area, temples, historic sites, and places of particular scenic beauty abound. Unable to visit all of them, those within sight are depicted and identified, among them Ishiyamadera and Tōji, temples of the Shingon Sect of Buddhism.



The traveler and his attendant passing beneath Mt. Fuji; they are also depicted returning from their sojourn.

After a visit to the castle in Kyoto, a wide bridge takes them across the Yodo River and thence in the direction of Osaka, where Shitennōji, a temple founded by Prince Shōtoku (574–622) in 593, and Tenmangū, a shrine dating from 947 and honoring Sugawara Michizane (845–903), are visited. Michizane's life as statesman, scholar, and literary figure is vividly recalled. A victim of slander and intrigue, he was banished to Kyushu in 901 and died there an exile. Some of the people encountered are going about in palanquins, a means of transportation far from comfortable. The season advances. A short distance further, and Osaka comes into view.

Boarding a small boat they circle a portion of the Inland Sea to view Himeji Castle, a fort built in the fourteenth century and located on Shikoku Island to the south. This castle, considered to be one of the outstanding of its kind both in design and in architectural features, is also known as the Egret Castle, for at a distance its

Now traveling on horseback, the voyagers cross the Ōi River on their way to Kakegawa.

plastered structure resembles the silhouette of an egret in its tall, white elegance. A boat is the vantage point from which to view the more than one thousand islands of the Inland Sea. These islands and islets appear to be afloat, green with pine trees whose branches reach out and down toward the sea. An ever-changing vista unfolds as the travelers sail around and among the variously shaped islands.

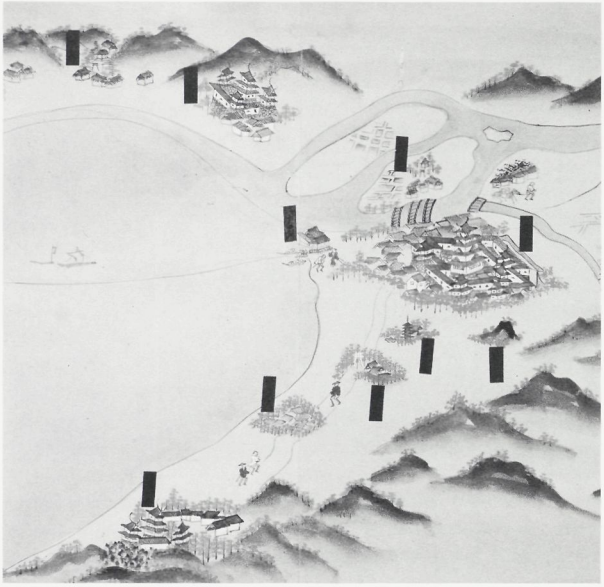
Turning back westward and skirting the northern and western shores of Kyushu, the Tsushima Islands across the Tsushima Strait and Iki and Gotō Islands come into distant view. Closer at hand is Hirado Island, where the city of Hirado covers the entire island.

This was formerly an important castle town and trading post and the first port to be opened to foreign trade in the middle of the sixteenth century. The boat then lands at Nagasaki, where many historical traces remain from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when Dutch merchants lived there. During some 250 years of seclusion, the island of Dejima, constructed in Nagasaki Bay from 1634 to 1636, was the only port open to foreign trade. The country remained closed until 1853 when Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry (1794–1858) arrived with his Black Ships, and, upon the signing of the United States–Japan Treaty of Peace and Amity in 1854, the country was once again made open. Wending their way along rivers and villages interspersed with rice-paddy fields, the travelers reach Kumamoto, where they stop to visit the castle. A large part of this castle was destroyed in internecine warfare, but the main structure was reconstructed in 1960.

Fukuoka and Dazaifu to the north are historic towns not to be missed. Here also is located Dazaifu Shrine constructed in 919 and dedicated to Sugawara Michizane, mentioned above, who spent the last three years of his life in exile. The travelers linger to view the thousands of Japanese plum trees planted on the shrine grounds. One tree in particular, "The Flying Plum Tree," is sought out for special attention for, according to tradition, it was this tree that is said to have uprooted itself in order to fly and accompany its master into exile. One of the best known poems composed by this political figure and scholar would have been recited on this occasion. As translated by Ivan Morris (1925–1976), professor of Japanese at Columbia from 1960 until his untimely death, and included in his *The Nobility of Failure* published in 1975, this poem reads:

> If the east wind blows this way,
> Oh blossoms on the plum tree,
> Send your fragrance to me!
> Always be mindful of the Spring,
> Even though your master is no longer there!

From Saganoseki, our travelers sail back across the Inland Sea along the northern shore of Shikoku Island. Passing Imabari and Kawanoe they approach Marugame, an old castle town that is the principal landing place for pilgrims who come to visit Kotohiragu



Leaving Osaka in a small boat, the travelers circle through the islands of the Inland Sea.

Shrine dedicated to a Shinto deity believed to protect seafarers and voyagers. Next to come into view is Takamatsu, the chief port and administrative center of this island since feudal times. In 1961 this city was designated sister-city of St. Petersburg, Florida.

Pursuing a northeasterly course across the Inland Sea, their boat is swept along and into the rushing waters of Naruto Strait, a

turbulent, narrow passageway between Shikoku and Awaji Island. The travelers hold on for dear life and thrill at the overpowering force of nature. With the roaring of the sea still resounding in their ears, the boat swerves northward in the direction of Osaka.

The passage across the sea as delineated in the book then runs off the lower edge of the page and it is not known at what point the travelers disembark, but it may be assumed to have been in the vicinity of Arita, some distance south of Wakayama, an area noted for the luscious tangerines grown there. Following a visit to the castle at Wakayama, built in 1585, they pass through Sakai, an ancient trading post, which now thrives as an industrial complex producing iron and steel. The travelers then find themselves once again in Osaka from where, following a southern route, they return to Edo at Shibaguchi, known today as Shinbashi, located at the southern end of Ginza, the Fifth Avenue of Tokyo.

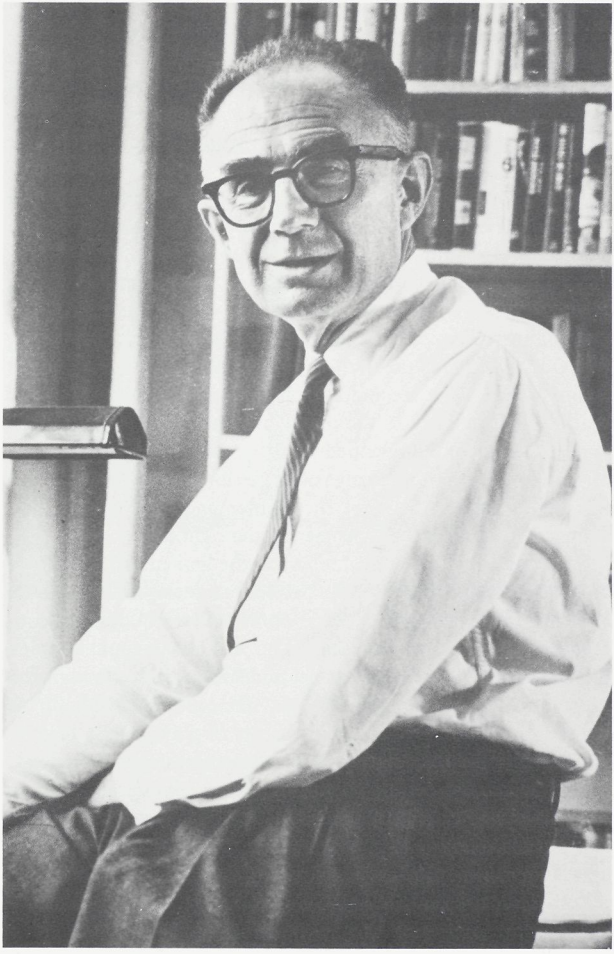
The Book Designs of Ernst Reichl

CATHERINE TYLER BRODY

During his professional career of half a century, Ernst Reichl achieved a reputation for excellence as one of America's leading book designers. Now seven years after his death, it becomes easier to evaluate his historical importance. His innovations in design have left a permanent influence on the appearance of the contemporary printed book, and his calm, reasoned approach to creating designs and solving design problems made him a key figure in the development of American book typography during a crucial time.

At his death in 1980, Reichl left not only a heritage of over 2,500 book designs, several publications of his own, and the fruits of a dedicated teaching career, but also an extensive collection of private papers, correspondence, scrapbooks, diaries, clippings, and photographs. The materials include a file of some thousand cards, carefully written out by Reichl in the years before his death. On each card he comments critically on one of his book designs, recalling the circumstances under which it was created and supplying autobiographical detail and analyses. Miriam Brudno Reichl, the designer's widow, donated this material, comprising more than 2,200 items, which include manuscripts, dummies, mock-ups, about 1,100 of the books he designed, and examples of his trademarks, letterheads, and other commercial art, to the Rare Book and Manuscript Library. The collection gives an inside view of the complicated and subtle process by which book designs are created. In many ways, the collection constitutes Reichl's artistic autobiography.

The historical significance of Reichl's work lies in its documentation of the transition from the traditional methods of book design to the new methods necessitated by the revolutions in book production. By the late 1960s, photocomposition and offset printing gradually replaced metal type and letterpress almost completely.



Ernst Reichl, ca. 1961.

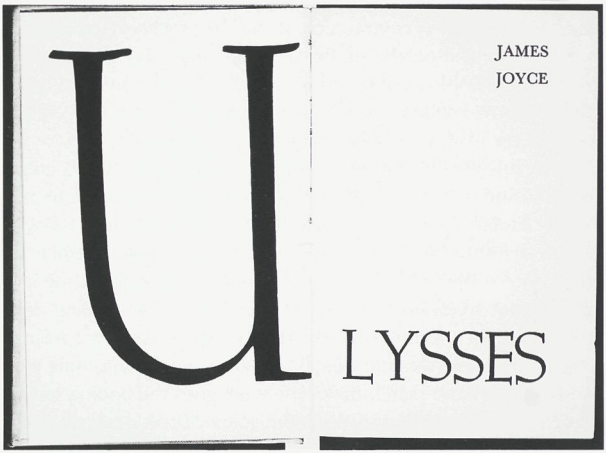
Reichl's manuscript accounts clearly chart the painful process of change. His concern was with the result rather than the process of printing. The tools of a designer, Reichl wrote in *Books for Our Time* (Oxford University Press, 1951), are not type and ink and paper, "but words and pictures and ideas . . . and the space in which to coordinate them." To put it simply, "the purpose of a book is . . . to be comprehended."

Throughout his career, Reichl eagerly adapted the advances of technology to his purposes. The flexibility of photocomposition methods was a springboard to innovations in design. With photolithography, Reichl created imaginative approaches combining typography and illustration. Thus, he was able to bring forth fresh relationships between type and illustration, paper and binding methods, making full use of the freedom granted by the techniques of production. The technology, in fact, made possible many of Reichl's innovations. It should be remembered that until the second quarter of the twentieth century, when technical developments allowed for a wider range of expression in book design, there was no distinction between the printer and the typographer/designer. Reichl was the right man at the right time.

From the corporate annual report to the limited edition, Reichl designed just about every type of publication during his long career, including trade catalogs, reference works, and textbooks. His concept of what a modern book should be, and how it could be made more contemporary, more legible, and more usable through the adaptation of available machinery, was demonstrated by him in his use of the double-page title page, the use of photography for title page illustrations, offset printing of illustration on bookbindings, the observance of inner consistency of typographic design within a particular book, and the use of unified design themes for identification of publisher series and the work of individual authors. These innovations influenced the course of American book design.

Born in Leipzig in 1900, Reichl was educated at the University, earning his doctorate in art history. For a time he worked for the Munich publisher Kurt Wolff. When he first arrived in New York

in 1926, he sold German books; in 1928, Reichl began designing books for Alfred A. Knopf and continued steadily as a designer until his death in 1980, working for almost 150 American publishers, as well as for many associations, companies, and individual



Reichl made design history in 1934 with this double-page title page.

customers. He was briefly foreign editor for Doubleday, Doran in 1930, and then joined the H. Wolff Estate Book Manufacturing Co., one of the largest organizations of its kind at the time. He became house designer for many publishers, and in 1945 he established his own design firm. From 1945 to 1963, he also headed Archway Press, publisher of gift and art books. Twenty-six of Reichl's book designs have been included in the annual Fifty Books shows of the American Institute of Graphic Arts as representing the best of American book design. Desiring to share with others the fruits of his long experience, Reichl taught graphic design at New York University; this aim led to his careful analyses

of design problems through extensively annotating and criticizing his own work.

Reichl once referred to his job as "book directing," embodying the concept of the integration of functions in the production of books, combining art direction and production management; he realized that the design of a book has powerful impact on how the author's message is communicated, on the psychological aura of a publication, and on the subtle subjective and subliminal connotations of the book's aesthetic appearance. His objective was to find the one correct expressive way of presenting a particular book so as to preserve its distinctive character.

Sympathetically responding to the author's text, Reichl created original and innovative designs that reflect an essential relationship to the literary content of the book itself. For William Saroyan's *Inhale & Exhale* (Random House, 1936), for example, Reichl placed the type for the section titles as they appear throughout the book at different levels horizontally on the page, in descending order, giving the very feeling of exhalation, of space and time relationships. "The way the title page is split horizontally into nine parts, and the part titles march down the stairs gives the book a sense of time passing while you read—a principle of book designing I have repeatedly tried to pursue—here for the first time," Reichl wrote. The use of this device as a unifying element was developed into new ways of treating chapter heads and front matter. In *Night Man,* by Alan Ullman (Random House, 1951), a suspense novel about an elevator operator, the position of the chapter headings moves upward, chapter by chapter, suggesting an elevator's ascent in graphic fashion. In Graham Billing's *Forbush and the Penguins* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), Reichl's last book to be among the AIGA Fifty Books, Reichl replaced the chapter numbers with a row of penguins "in easy company and conversation with each other."

Although the essential unity of the double-page spread is not a new concept, Reichl used the technique with such artistry and aware-

ness that he has become identified with this development. His design for James Joyce's *Ulysses* (Random House, 1934) made design history with its dramatic double title-page spread. The enlarged initial letter "U" takes up one entire page in memorable fashion. In *Ulysses*, typography becomes design; ornamentation is not used.

The designer depicted "the past bicycling into the present" across the double page of this 1949 social history dealing with the effect of the automobile, the radio, and the movies on American culture.

Chapters carry neither number nor title; each section break is indicated by a huge initial letter in black which fills the whole page. Reichl's unforgettable treatment transforms the simple elements of author's name and title into a strong design that epitomizes the spirit of this modern classic. Strangely, this classic title-page design was dropped from later reprints of *Ulysses*, although the enlarged initials for the part titles remain.

Reichl had been working on the design during the time when Judge Woolsey was deliberating as to whether the book could legally be published. His decision was expected shortly, so everything had to be coordinated so that the book could be set, proofread, paged, read again, plated, read for a third time, printed, bound, and delivered within five weeks. Materials were selected and work scheduled so that production could proceed in relays. While the last part was still being set, preceding chapters were being made into pages, the middle of the book was being plated, and the beginning was actually on the presses; the initials were also drawn and the wrapper was marked-up for type. Reichl told how "on December 7, 1933, at 10:15, Mr. Klopfer [of Random House] called me up at the H. Wolff Estate and said, 'Go ahead!' Five minutes later, after a wait of fourteen years, the first American edition of *Ulysses* was on its way."

Reichl sometimes combined the double-page spread with photography. *Blood and Oil in the Orient* by Essad Bey (Simon and Schuster, 1932), for example, uses a double-page photograph of oil wells, white on black, for dramatic effect on the title. This volume, probably Reichl's first double-spread title page, was chosen as one of the AIGA Fifty Books of the Year.

Later outstanding examples of the double title-page spread are *Not So Long Ago* by Lloyd Morris (Random House, 1949) and *The Disenchanted* by Budd Schulberg (Random House, 1950); in the former he depicted "the past bicycling into the present," across the double page; and in the trade edition of the latter, he employs two colors with the dark blue word "disenchanted" being drowned in a black river that flows across the pages.

Quality photo-offset printing, as Reichl recognized, gave the designer a much greater freedom of layout. "All these technical advances—typefaces, new printing methods, photographic technologies—played an important role in the appearance of a new style of book typography. But basically, there suddenly was a new way of seeing and a change of climate." In addition to using photog-

raphy on the title page, he also used photoengraving techniques to achieve fresh effects even without halftones. Type reversals, for example, were effectively used for George R. Stewart's *Storm* (Random House, 1941) and *Man: An Autobiography* (Random House, 1946).

Another innovation was the use of photography as an element of the binding. For Gertrude Stein's *Portraits and Prayers* (Random House, 1934), Reichl used a photograph of Stein by Carl Van Vechten on the front cover. This was the first American book to have a black- and-white halftone photograph printed directly on the cloth binding by offset lithography. Because of the personal nature of this book, with Stein actually creating a portrait of herself, as it were, Reichl considered the photographic portrait essential to the design theme. He had, in fact, hoped to show Gertrude Stein from the rear—by retouching the front photograph—on the back cover, but Bennett Cerf forbade it. Columbia's copy is a presentation copy from Gertrude Stein: "For Ernst Reichl/ who designed this book/ which makes a book/ I like so much even/ more than I can tell."

Consideration of the book as a complete artifact necessitated careful treatment of the binding and the book jacket as part of the concept. When Reichl was able to design the book jacket himself, or work closely with the jacket designer, he could achieve his aim of unity. An example is Saroyan's *The Daring Young Man on the Flying Trapeze* (Random House, 1934), for which he also designed the book jacket, his first. Reichl used the binding label, extending over the front cover from the spine, as an integral part of the design. "Tall books were unusual at the time, the wrap-around label of copper-faced paper still more so," he noted; he also used copper printing on the title page to match it. Reichl remembered "how Saroyan, the slim twenty-six year old kid, took the first copy of his first book from me, looked at it, opened it, and started to dance in the narrow hall in front of the elevator of Random House, then at 57th Street."

Another example of the subtle effect a binding design can achieve is the first cloth-bound edition of Joanne Greenberg's *I Never Promised You a Rose Garden* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964). The book cloth of the cover was divided in half, both halves of the same color but in different finishes, emerging from the rough to the

Gertrude Stein's portrait was the first use of a half-tone photograph printed on a cloth binding.

smooth, suggesting the mental illness that is the novel's theme. For the same book Reichl designed a "precariously balanced" title page, reflecting the heroine's state of mind.

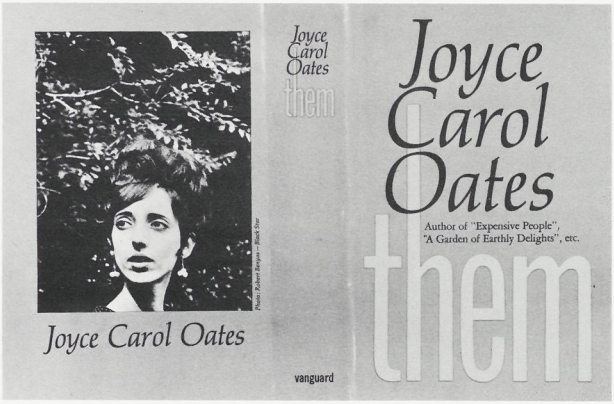
When designing several successive books by the same author, Reichl created an "author series," using consistent design features for identification. He did this for the novels of D. E. Stevenson, beginning with *Fletcher's End* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962). "The type invariably was Electra with Perpetua Italic for display, . . .one of Haddon Craftsmen's available ornaments, and a shapely title page. Pastel colors for the binding material, the stamping, and the endpapers completed the picture." The style was applied to an additional half dozen Stevenson novels, but when Reichl left Holt, the style quickly fell apart. Reichl also created an "author series"

for the books of Joyce Carol Oates. *Them* (Vanguard, 1969) was the first Oates novel thus treated, and probably the most successful, according to Reichl. "The part titles, the title page, the binding layout and the book jacket, unified as they are, gave me great pleasure to devise." Reichl especially remembered *Marriages and Infidelities* (Vanguard, 1972) for breaking one of the most sacred of graphic arts taboos: letterspacing lower case. *Unholy Loves* (Vanguard, 1979) was the last Oates novel designed by Reichl, since she left Vanguard for another publishing company after this book. It was also one of the last designs Reichl lived to complete.

Another of Reichl's experiments was in the use of diagonal rather than horizontal type lines. This was in his own book *Legibility: A Typographic Book of Etiquette* (George McKibbin, 1949). Reichl maintained that this layout was appropriate for this particular book, where it was used as a device to set off the comment from type samples the book included. The experiment was definitely not a success, and he notes in disappointment that his "recommendation . . . to handle type more freely has found little acceptance and no imitators."

Twice during his career, Reichl became a publisher, giving him the opportunity to produce books that he himself was interested in. In 1932, he published Flaubert's *November* as his first publishing venture. "Everything I like to do with a book I did here, it turned out well and I was happy with it." The book, designed by Reichl and illustrated by Hortense Ansorge, printed and bound by H. Wolff, published by Roman Press, was selected by the AIGA as one of 1933's Fifty Books. This publishing venture was short lived. In the mid '40s, Reichl tried publishing again, at the Archway Press. Five "Scribe" books were the first publications, printed in two colors on the best paper then available and bound in the only color cloth they could get. Some of the best calligraphers of the time contributed to his series of handwritten volumes—George Salter, Jeanyee Wong, Philip Grushkin, Ray Biemiller. The books were charming and beautifully produced, but unfortunately were not

successful. As Reichl wryly notes, quoting Governor Alfred Smith, "the man who is two blocks ahead of the parade is no longer in the parade." The little books are now prized by collectors, but at the time Reichl and his partner, Carl Selden, were greatly disappointed.



In 1969 Reichl designed the first in his series of books by Joyce Carol Oates.

In August 1945, Reichl designed the first "instant book." A few days after the first atomic bomb fell, Reichl received a phone call from Donald Geddes, asking him to collaborate with him on a book on the bomb for Pocket Books. They went to Chicago the following day. "In the office of the Chicago *Sun*, owned, like Pocket Books, by Marshall Field, Don and his secretary put the manuscript together from many different sources: radio reports, newspapers, magazine articles, ministers' sermons, anything they could get hold of immediately, and sent it over to me in the composing room of the W. F. Hall Printing Company. I marked it up for composition, proofread it, scaled the illustrations, and counted up how many pages we had. After Sunday's sermons and editorials that was much. Don had to start cutting. We communicated by

telephone (neither of us had left his office, for eating or sleeping) and the book began to take shape. When Japan threw in the towel, the front page of the Chicago *Sun* brought the news of COMPLETE VICTORY, I wanted to use it at the foot of the Contents page but had neither retouching white nor a brush: a pair of scissors and a fountain pen had to do it. My telephone was the only open wire at night, now it began to ring, 'Tomorrow is Victory Day, are we working?' 'In which department do you work?' 'The bindery?' 'We're closed.' Boing. Next call: 'Are we working?' 'Which department?' 'Composing room.' 'Of course we work.' The book was off press on Friday, with us safely back in New York." From start to finish, the job was done in just one week.

Although his primary interest was always in trade editions, Reichl did design a number of handsome limited editions, such as Lillian Hellman's *Watch on the Rhine*, sponsored by the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee and privately published in 1942, and, for the Limited Editions Club, Albert Camus's *The Stranger* (1971) and Ray Bradbury's *Martian Chronicles* (1974). For *The Stranger*, Reichl used an unconventional square format with Bodoni as the typeface because "it reflects that abstract, pitiless impersonality of the Mediterranean sky." The lack of paragraph indention in the text emphasizes the uncompromising mood of the Camus novel. On the spine, the lettering for the author's name and for the title run in opposite directions, reflecting the tale's dichotomy. Reichl was perturbed by the fact that the Heritage Press reprint misses the point by having the spine lettering run in only one direction.

Reichl gladly took advantage of the possibilities of lowering production costs by using the typesetting computer. His most extensive use of this new technology was in putting the Bible on computer for at least four publishers, a project to which he devoted four years. In 1973, he prepared the *Layman's Parallel Bible*, which offered four translations in parallel form: King James, Revised Standard, Modern Language Bible, and Living Bible versions. This was a difficult production, complicated by many design problems

and objections. "On the other hand, they let me do much they were not accustomed to, for instance, the long typeline and the wide leading. It was set on the Videocomp. . . the original undistorted Zapf Linofilm Palatino typeface was transferred to this machine just for this Bible," Reichl notes. "The AIGA 50 Book jury rejected the book, probably considering it too traditional & not realizing how revolutionary it is—for a trade Bible; but the Layman's National Bible Committee gave me a citation for improving the legibility of the Bible."

Reichl continued to take risks, to do the unexpected, right up to the end of his career. In 1977, he designed *Nadia: the Success Secrets of the Amazing Romanian Gymnast* for the K. S. Giniger Company. Taking his inspiration from the marvellous grace and agility of his subject, Reichl designed a cover and title page with similar rhythm and flow. The double-page title-page design, nonetheless, uses conventional typesetting in harmony with the gymnast's body. The result is lively and contemporary, reflecting his continual desire to find fresh ways of achieving his effects. Unlike many artists and designers who became ultra-conservatives as they grew older, Ernst Reichl experimented as long as he lived. His secret was never to adhere to a rigid theory of design. Reichl began by following the traditional methods of classical book design but then came to realize that such set principles could not do justice to the book's individuality. "Each book is a self-contained unit," he once said, "and must be true to itself. There can be no set principles."

Hopalong Cassidy: Knight of the Frontier

FRANCIS M. NEVINS, JR.

It began in the waking dreams of a meek and scholarly-looking young man, a low-ranking municipal paper-pusher with bifocals and a slight but muscular build, who visualized a frontier world he had never seen, and put words to his imaginings at the end of each day's drudgery. Of all the couples who applied for marriage licenses from the Borough of Brooklyn in the early years of the century, few could have suspected that the mind of the introverted young clerk who processed their paper work was not in the teeming streets of the city but out on the open range, among the great cattle herds, in the flimsy shantytowns, roaming across a vast imagined West whose geographic center was a Texas ranch called the Bar-20 and whose human center was a red-thatched, gimp-legged, liquor-swilling, tobacco-spitting young puncher called Hopalong Cassidy.

The only child of German-American parents, Clarence Edward Mulford was born on February 3, 1883, in Streator, Illinois, a town ninety-eight miles southwest of Chicago. His father designed and manufactured low-pressure boilers for hot-water heating plants, and at the time of the boy's birth was operating his own steam heater factory in Streator. During Clarence's childhood his father's business kept the family on the move, but they were back in Streator for the boy's junior year in high school. A dedicated student he wasn't. He kept his school desk so crowded with five-cent Wild West paperbacks that there was scarcely room for anything else, and he would spend study periods reading some lurid exploit of Buffalo Bill or Kit Carson, which he kept hidden in his textbook.

In 1899 Mulford's father gave up the risks and rewards of being his own boss and moved himself, his wife, and sixteen-year-old

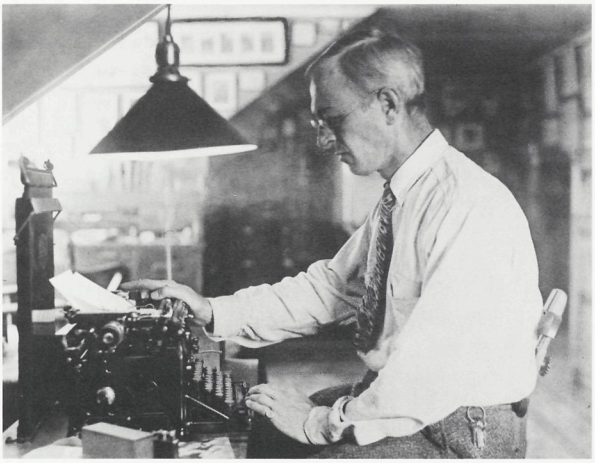
Clarence to Utica, New York, to accept a job with the International Heater Company, which he kept until his death eleven years later. When the Mulfords' Utica landlady gave a party for Clarence and invited the neighborhood's young men and women to meet him, the boy locked himself in his room and refused to come out. He preferred solitary pursuits like reading and working out with a punching bag in the barn. As early as his mid-teens he seems to have retreated from the real world to the universe inside him.

After graduating from Utica Academy in 1900, Mulford decided to forego college and strike out on his own. He moved to Brooklyn and found a $10-a-week job with a monthly technical magazine, the *Municipal Journal and Engineer*, where his first assignment was to go to Manhattan and report on the construction of the Flatiron Building. Soon after settling in Brooklyn, he joined the Central YMCA on Fulton Street and spent much of his spare time punching the bag, running one to eight miles a day, lifting dumbbells and barbells until, despite his small size (5′5″ and 130 lbs.), he had made himself into a powerhouse. The rest of his spare time he devoted to creating on paper a world that he much preferred to his humdrum Brooklyn life.

Shortly after turning twenty-one, Mulford started building the vast imaginary rangeland empire with which he'd be identified for the rest of his creative life. In April 1904 he wrote "The Fight at Buckskin," a short story that became the first piece of the sprawling saga of the Bar-20. Thirteen months later it was purchased for a quite generous $90 by Caspar Whitney's Outing Company, a house that published several sports and outdoors magazines as well as hardcover books in the same vein, and the tale appeared in *Outing Magazine* for December 1905. For the twenty-two-year-old Mulford that Christmas must have been merry indeed.

And not just because of a single sale. By then he had written several more short adventures of the men of the Bar-20, and *Outing* had accepted every one of them for publication. By May 1907 the magazine had published eight Bar-20 thrillers, with five illustrated in color by Frank Schoonover and two by N. C. Wyeth, the father

of Andrew Wyeth. Each month that *Outing* ran a Bar-20 tale, Mulford promptly received a check. But the life of a full-time writer was not for him: his father had been self-employed, and the family had gone through its share of hardships as a result. Mulford



Clarence Mulford, originator of Hopalong Cassidy, ca. 1930. (Courtesy Fryeburg, Maine, Public Library)

took the Civil Service examination, and by the end of 1907 he was a marriage license clerk in the Kings County Clerk's office, with a starting salary of $1,500 a year. He was to hang onto that or another civil service slot for almost twenty years, and by the time he gave up public employment his fiction had made him famous.

After running the first eight Bar-20 stories in its magazine, Outing contracted to publish them in hardcover as an episodic novel, *Bar-20*, which was released on July 10, 1907, with four illustrations by Wyeth and Schoonover taken from the magazine printings. The 382-page volume was priced at $1.50. Reviews were few and reactions mixed. *The Nation* described the book as

"twenty-five chapters of gunpowder smoke, of shanty towns in New Mexico or Texas, thick with dust, pierced with bullets, strewn with prostrate forms of cowboys," and full of "terse descriptions of alkali plains, of Gila monsters, cayuses and the playful manners of the Bar-20 outfit." No one in 1907 could have foreseen that this book had painted the first strokes in what was to become the vastest canvas of the West ever created.

Clarence E. Mulford was a competent if undistinguished writer, with a style only slightly more vivid than the stiff Victorian English common in American fiction at the turn of the century. His plots are almost never unified but sprawl every which way over the terrain. His skills at drawing character and relationship were weak, and especially feeble whenever he had to create a woman. His notions of cowboy and ethnic dialect grate all too quickly on the nerves, but in grasp of detail and breadth of vision he was one of the most remarkable Western writers ever.

The key to his grasp of detail was research, not on the ground but in books. Early in his career he began assembling a huge library of materials on the history and development of the West, from Manuel Liza's expedition up the Missouri River to the death of the great cattle trails. He kept three second-hand book dealers supplying him with histories and military reports and maps and pioneers' diaries and would read them for hours at a time. His collection grew enormous, and he claimed to have discarded three times as many volumes as he kept. Among the books he consulted most often were Andy Adams's *The Log of a Cowboy* (1903), the Western studies in Bancroft's collected historical works, and Francis Parkman's *The Oregon Trail* (1901).

As if to show that he was born to be a bureaucrat, Mulford cross-indexed all this material in a system of handwritten 4×6 file cards, which at their peak filled thirty-four drawers, probably the largest organized collection of data about the West ever put together. The system consisted of about two dozen major headings—The Santa Fe Trail, The Oregon Trail, Western Towns, The Cattle Trade, Firearms, Military Posts, Indians—and each of these was broken

down into categories and subcategories. The Cattle Trade, for example, was divided into such major categories as Cattle, Ranches, Ranges, Round-Ups, Branding, and Drives, each then subdivided into narrower categories that in turn might consist of dozens of file cards. The twenty-eighth card under Old Western Cattle Trail, a subdivision of Drives under the major subject The Cattle Trade, reads as follows:

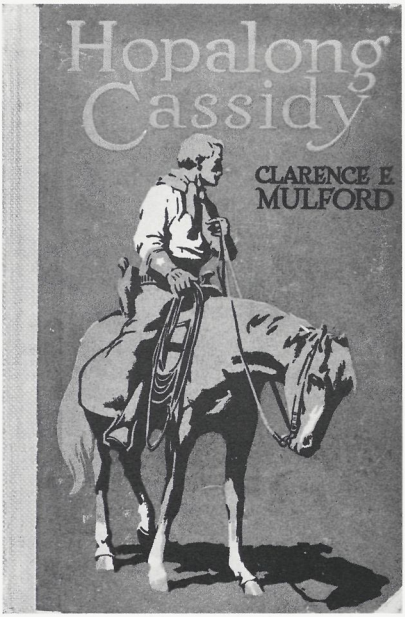
> OLD WESTERN CATTLE TRAIL 28 Adams
> ARKANSAS RIVER.
>
> The ford of the old trail crossed this river about a mile above the present city of Dodge. Stage of water was at this instance easily fordable and there was no trouble getting the herd over. Chuck wagon went down stream and crossed the bridge opposite the town. This was the first bridge they had seen on the whole drive. Camped for the night on. . . .

Visualize more than 17,000 file cards like this, and it becomes clear why all the events in the background of Mulford's books, the ranch life, the cattle drives, the poker games, the trail lore, the firearms, are described with such meticulous accuracy. Correctness in factual detail was Mulford's proudest boast as a writer, and he put in long hours to attain it.

Like thousands of intelligent young men and women of his time, Mulford was profoundly affected by Darwin's theories of evolution through natural selection, and he found the Darwinian vision of nature's vast and violent panorama hopelessly at odds with traditional Christian teaching. However intense the battle of ideas and values in his mind may have been, naturalism won an early victory. Throughout his life, Mulford considered himself a pagan and an unbeliever. His youthful obsession with muscle-building may have been rooted in a Darwinian desire to make himself a stronger animal, more fit for the struggle to survive. As a writer he found ways to integrate his views on philosophy and religion into the fabric of his fiction.

It was Darwin, and the social Darwinian thinkers like Herbert Spencer, and the documents of nineteenth century paganism like the Fitzgerald translation of Omar Khayyam, that shaped

Mulford's vision of the Western hero. Although the background and the interstitial events of his novels come from history, the people of his world are not at all like the workaday cowboys who actually lived in the West. Their ancestors are the brawling, larger-



Published March 12, 1910, the most widely read of Mulford's novels was illustrated with five color plates by Maynard Dixon, known for his portrayal of the western scene.

than-life heroes of the Greek epics and the Arthurian legends and Dumas. Their spiritual home, that mythical Bar-20 which was so real to Mulford that he drew a detailed map of the spread and kept it among his most prized possessions, is a sort of Camelot West, an idealized government-that-governs-least, the focus of free men's

loyalty to the death. Its men are good pagans one and all, uncorrupted by formal religion but imbued with natural piety, invested with the qualities of Achilles and Lancelot and d'Artagnan, standing together in good times and bad, one for all and all for one, through days of backbreaking labor in burning sun and seething storm, through hours of roughhousing and practical jokes and the exchange of elaborate insults. Like the epic heroes from whom they descend, they have an incredible capacity for suffering multiple wounds in battle, ignoring them, and fighting on. They are wild, boyish, undisciplined, full of sass and vinegar, Nature's Noblemen to the core. They make the reader want to be among them, playing squire to these knights of the frontier.

Besides the accuracy of his backgrounds and the wild energy of his community of protagonists, Mulford offers the crowning gift of scope. His fictional universe is a vast saga of more than two dozen interlocking novels, written over a third of a century, in which the main characters go adventuring, marry, procreate, grow old, and see their natural or symbolic children enter the saga as adults and have their own adventures; in which a bit player in an early exploit can become a key figure fifteen or twenty years later and fade back into a minor role ten years after that; in which the ambience of the West evolves from the stench of cattle and horses and unwashed men in squalid little trail towns to the comfort of clean beds in hotels where one can order fine meals and whiskeys. The saga of the Bar-20 is a bit like Galsworthy's *Forsyte Saga* played out in a less polite and far more violent society; but if you care nothing for these finer points and crave nothing but action, you'll find that at his best Mulford was also one of the best action-scene writers the Western novel has produced.

Those who know the names of the Bar-20 characters from the later Hopalong Cassidy movies know nothing of Mulford's people except their names. At the beginning of *Bar-20* (1907), Cassidy is a tough-talking, tobacco-spitting redhead of twenty-three—Mulford's age the year most of the episodic novel appeared in *Outing Magazine*—and doesn't look in the least like William Boyd.

He's in the bunkhouse, gobbling dinner and swapping insults with foreman Buck Peters and fellow ranch hands Johnny Nelson, Red Connors, Skinny Thompson, Lanky Smith, Pete Wilson, and Billy Williams. The first word he is heard to speak is "Gu—," which is Mulford's version of "Good" as spoken by a man with too much beef in his mouth. Before the end of the scene, Cassidy is in the middle of a food fight with his pals, for all the world as if they were characters in *Animal House*. Welcome to the Bar-20! Sanitized movie cowboys keep out!

Mulford's next book was *The Orphan*, published by Outing early in 1908. It was his first genuine novel but had no connection with the Bar-20 saga and stands up poorly today because of its loose structure, drippy Victorian sentimentality, and pervasive casual racism. Outing went bankrupt in 1909, around the same time Mulford completed his third book, one of the most ambitious he ever wrote. *Hopalong Cassidy* was accepted by A. C. McClurg & Co., the firm which was to remain Mulford's publisher until well into the 1920s. The book was issued in March 1910, for the still standard purchase price of $1.50. A review in *The New York Times* praised it as "one of the most faithful pictures of the cowboy militant that has ever been drawn in fiction." It's one of Mulford's longest and loosest works, 392 pages asprawl with character and incident and background, overflowing with large-scale action scenes and intimate character sketches and unobtrusively sketched-in socioeconomic background and romance and vengeance and poetic justice. Unfortunately, one of its key features—and this may reflect Mulford's own prejudice, or a realistic portrait of the views of Texas cattlemen of the time, or some of both—is a monumentally bigoted picture of Mexicans.

The H 2 ranch, which adjoins the Bar-20, has been acquired by Jim Meeker and his lovely daughter, Mary. In southwest Texas each rancher grazes his cattle only on his own property, but Meeker, following the open-range practice of his native Montana, lets his cattle wander freely onto Bar-20 land, creating tension between

himself and Bar-20's foreman, Buck Peters. Shaw, the head of a rustling ring headquartered on impregnable Thunder Mesa, and Antonio, Meeker's ruthless and greedy broncobuster, form a conspiracy to start a range war between the two ranches as a screen for their cattle stealing. After Buck forbids Meeker to graze H 2 cattle on Bar-20 range, Meeker advises Mary never to ride on his adversary's land. She disobeys him and in due course gets to meet Bar-20's top hand, young Hopalong Cassidy. Despite the tension between their ranches, boy and girl feel a strong mutual attraction and meet quietly several times. When Jim Meeker learns of the budding romance, he is furious.

Buck Peters and the other ranchers form a committee to patrol the range looking for rustlers. One day, while Cassidy and his pal Johnny Nelson are on patrol, they catch Antonio grazing H 2 cattle on Bar-20 range. Apparently Antonio is following Meeker's orders, but actually he's implementing his own scheme to cause trouble between the two ranches. Hoppy and Antonio have words—Cassidy's include: "You coffee-colored half-breed of a Greaser, I've a mind to stop you right now"—and then Hoppy lashes Antonio across the face with his quirt and drives him off, the wily Mexican swearing revenge. When Antonio returns to the H 2 and tells a false version of the incident, Meeker goes out to confront Cassidy, but is forced to back down because of Johnny Nelson's presence. Meanwhile, Shaw and his gang have been stealing cattle from both the Bar-20 and the H 2 and rebranding them on Thunder Mesa with their own mark, the HQQ.

Finally, Buck Peters visits the H 2 and tries to settle his differences peacefully with Meeker, warning him that if range war breaks out between them, only the rustlers will benefit. Meeker refuses to listen, and later orders his men to drive an H 2 herd up to but not across the boundary line between the ranches. Peters instructs Cassidy to hold the line against the H 2 herd. Hoppy deploys Bar-20's Pete Wilson to guard a strategically located line house overlooking the boundary. Meeker uses his daughter, who

wants to prevent violence at all costs, as bait to lure Pete out of the line house. While Antonio and some other H 2 men create a diversion by driving the herd across the line and provoking the Bar-20 hands to resist, Mary rides up to the line house, pretends to be

Actor William Boyd (center), who starred in nearly seventy Hopalong Cassidy movies, with Mulford and his grandson in Maine in 1950.

having trouble with her horse, and tricks Pete into coming outdoors so that H 2's Doc Riley can capture the cabin. Seeing that he's been tricked, Pete takes Mary prisoner and fires into the air for help. Cassidy and some Bar-20 men ride over and Hoppy gallantly releases Mary. A gun battle erupts with the H 2 men, and Jim Meeker is injured when his horse is shot out from under him. Using Meeker as a hostage, Hoppy forces Doc Riley to surrender the line house, and the H 2 hands slink away in defeat.

While Meeker is recovering from his wounds, he happens one night to catch Antonio prowling around without good reason, and

begins to suspect that the Mexican is in league with the rustlers. Realizing that he's been exposed, Antonio flees to Thunder Mesa like the coward he is. The next day, during a rainstorm, Hoppy and Red Connors find that a Bar-20 dam has been sabotaged, repair the damage on the spot, and discover one of Antonio's coat buttons nearby. Now Cassidy too realizes who's behind the range war. Subsequently he comes upon a stray cow wearing the HQQ brand, realizes that the brand is perfect cover for cattle stolen from either the Bar-20 or the H 2, and rides off to tell Meeker. On the way he encounters Juan, an H 2 hand and colleague of Antonio's, finds a rustler's running iron hidden in the Mexican's saddle gear, and shoots him dead after one more torrent of ethnic insults. Meanwhile Curley, another H 2 puncher, catches Antonio on the trail with some stolen cattle, but Antonio murders Curley in cold blood. The body is found by Curley's best friend, Doc Riley, who swears revenge on Antonio.

Now that everyone knows that Antonio has been working with the rustlers to keep the Bar-20 and the H 2 at war, Peters and Meeker launch a joint effort to wipe out the cattle thieves. The trail of the most recently stolen cattle leads Hoppy and Red Connors to the vicinity of Thunder Mesa and to some skirmishes with rustler sentries in which Red's beloved horse, Ginger, is killed. At length the men of the Bar-20 and the H 2 lay siege to Thunder Mesa, but they pick an unfortunate time, for the rustlers have just been reinforced by a band of toughs from the nearby town of Eagle. What follows is Mulford's first truly epic-scale setpiece of action writing. The siege goes on for weeks, with heavy casualties on both sides, but Hoppy finally breaks the stalemate when he and several others manage to climb to the top of the mesa under cover of darkness and attack what's left of the gang. After Johnny gains control of the rustlers' ammunition shack and Red prevents them from reaching their water supply, Buck and the rest of the siege force assault the mesa. Among those killed are Shaw, the rustler chief, and Buck's old friend and former partner Frenchy McAllister, who had played

a large part in Mulford's first book, *Bar-20*. Antonio manages to get off the mesa by using the same ropes on which Hoppy and his men ascended, but the evil Mexican is pursued and finally killed by Doc Riley in retaliation for his pal Curley's death.

With the rustlers destroyed, peace returns to the range. Meeker discovers sufficient water for his herd on his own property. Buck Peters decides to move to Montana and take over the ranch that he and Frenchy owned as partners many years before. Hopalong Cassidy is chosen foreman of the Bar-20 in Buck's place, and Mary Meeker prepares to become Hoppy's wife.

That's right, his wife. As the book closes, we leave Cassidy at age twenty-three, about to get married. In the next few novels in the Bar-20 saga, Mulford tells us that both Mary and the couple's baby died in an epidemic, and shows us a Hoppy who's despondent almost to the point of suicide. If none of this squares with your childhood memories of the Cassidy movies, and of William Boyd with his snow-white hair and black outfit and glistening horse Topper, it's because those movies had not the least connection with Mulford's saga except for using a few familiar character and place names and an occasional thread of plotline. But that, as the fellow said, is another story.

Hopalong Cassidy is by far the best known and most widely read of Mulford's early books, perhaps the best-known book he ever wrote. Among those who read it (or at least knew of it) and made use of it was none other than F. Scott Fitzgerald. At the end of his masterpiece, *The Great Gatsby* (1925), there is found a ragged copy of *Hopalong Cassidy,* which Gatsby had owned as a boy. On the flyleaf, Gatsby had drawn up an elaborate self-improvement schedule, which Fitzgerald reproduces in full in the novel. Unfortunately he also prints the date young Gatsby supposedly wrote the schedule, September 12, 1906, which is more than three years before the Mulford novel was published! Whether Mulford was told of the odd little contribution he made to mainstream American literature, and if so, what he thought of it, will never be known.

Our Growing Collections

KENNETH A. LOHF

Anshen gift. Dr. Ruth Nanda Anshen has presented a collection of nearly two thousand books from her library, comprising first editions and scholarly publications in the fields of moral philosophy, literature, cultural history, and general reference, primarily of the twentieth century, but including several rare eighteenth and nineteenth century books. Dr. Anshen has also donated a group of medical books and periodicals, mainly in the field of oral surgery, from the collection of her husband, the late Dr. Ralph Brodsky. More than 1,500 letters and manuscripts were also added by Dr. Anshen to the collection of her papers, including files of letters from Sir Bernard Lovell, Jacques Maritain, Lewis Mumford, Bill Naughton, and Roger Sperry, among numerous other distinguished philosophers and scientists.

Bédard gift. The papers of the late Pierre Bédard, noted diplomat and educator, have been presented by Mrs. Bédard. The more than 2,400 letters, manuscripts, photographs, and memorabilia document Mr. Bédard's career as assistant secretary to the American Delegation at the Versailles Peace Conference, radio news analyst with the Columbia Broadcasting System, American counselor to the French Military Mission in Washington, Director of the French Institute in New York, and President of the Parsons School of Design. Among the correspondence files are letters from a variety of public figures and celebrities, including Charles Boyer, Dwight D. Eisenhower, Paul Hazard, Cordell Hull, Alphonse-Pierre Juin, Rockwell Kent, Henry Cabot Lodge, André Maurois, Edward R. Murrow, and Thornton Wilder. Of special importance is the lengthy file of transcripts of Mr. Bédard's broadcasts to France, during the period 1937–1940, over the Columbia Broadcasting System and the French national network. The photographs in Mrs. Bédard's gift include an album from the First World War and a series from the Versailles Peace Conference in 1919.

Butcher gift. Professor Philip Butcher (Ph.D., 1956) has made a further substantial addition to the collection of his papers with the gift of approximately two hundred letters and manuscript items, as well as seventy-three first editions, pamphlets, and issues of periodicals, many of which are inscribed. Included among the papers are files pertaining to Professor Butcher's researches on George Washington Cable, Sterling Brown, William S. Braithwaite, Mark Twain, and other American writers and literary subjects, as well as files of correspondence with writers and academic colleagues.

Cohen gift. A collection of fifty pieces of Rockwell Kent ephemera has been donated by Mr. and Mrs. Herman Cohen. Among the items are bookplates, mailing labels, advertisements, photographs, and catalogues, dating primarily from the 1920s and 1930s. Mrs. Cohen has also donated four Russian books by Pushkin, S. I. Nadson, and Vladimir Astrov; the two volumes by Astrov are inscribed by the writer to Mrs. Cohen's parents.

Costikyan gift. Mr. Edward N. Costikyan (A.B., 1947; LL.B., 1949) has added approximately 750 letters to the collection of his papers. The majority of the correspondence relates to the 1977 New York City mayoral campaign of Edward I. Koch and includes letters from James A. Farley, Hubert H. Humphrey, and Mayor Koch, among others.

Dalton gift. Mr. Jack Dalton has donated William Camden's *Britain, or a Chorographicall Description of the Most Flourishing Kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Ilands Adioyning, out of the Depth of Antiquity,* London, 1637, the second edition in English translated by Philemon Holland. The copy comes from the distinguished collection of Philemon Holland formed by Dr. Herbert Silvette.

Fisher gift. A collection of 250 documents, papers, and memorabilia relating to Professor Michael I. Pupin has been presented by Mrs. Clark W. Fisher. Included are drawings and blueprints, photographs and portraits, letters and manuscripts, academic gown

and hoods, and awards and diplomas from scores of academic institutions and scientific societies in the United States, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Great Britain, Germany, and Yugoslavia. Prominent among the latter category are Professor Pupin's Columbia

Pierre Bédard (far left) at a meeting of the Supreme War Council at the Versailles Peace Conference, 1919. (Bédard gift)

Ph.D. diploma, dated October 31, 1904, signed by President Nicholas Murray Butler, and four scholarship awards in Greek, mathematics, and mechanics, dated 1880–1882, signed by President Frederick A. P. Barnard.

Friedman gift. Mr. Harry T. Friedman has donated three manuscript items for inclusion in the John Erskine Papers: an autograph letter written to Frank E. Ward, dated October 13, 1910, pertaining to musical corrections; a one-page manuscript note concerning Henry Morton Robinson's *Children of Morningside*; and a pencil portrait drawing of Erskine by W. Browne, signed and dated by the artist, December 1, 1928, and further autographed by Erskine.

Jaffin gift. Mr. George M. Jaffin (A.B., 1924; LL.B., 1926) has donated Thomas Gage's *A New Survey of the West-Indies,* published in London in 1699, and containing the handsome map of Mexico,

the Caribbean Islands, the Isthmus of Panama, and the coasts of Florida, Carolina, and Virginia. The author, the brother of the royalist officer Sir Henry Gage, traveled widely throughout Central America, and this book was based on personal observations and experiences, an important achievement since he was the first person to give to the world a description of vast regions from which all foreigners had been excluded by the Spanish authorities.

Kraft gift. The papers of the political commentator and syndicated columnist Joseph Kraft (A.B., 1947) have been presented by Mrs. Kraft. The approximately 9,600 letters, manuscripts, notes, speeches, diaries, news releases, and other materials document his career, dating from 1950 until his death last year, as a journalist writing for nationally important magazines and newspapers, among them *The New Yorker, Harper's Magazine, The New York Times, Los Angeles Times,* and *The Washington Post.* There are manuscripts for his magazine columns, radio and television scripts, interviews with prominent government officials such as George Schultz, lectures and speeches, and his unpublished history of the investment firm of Lehman Brothers Kuhn Loeb, Inc. There is correspondence with prominent editors, publishers, and public figures, including Joseph Alsop, Warren E. Burger, Gerald Ford, Hubert H. Humphrey, George McGovern, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., and Caspar W. Weinberger.

Muir gift. Mrs. Robert D. Muir has presented a collection of thirty letters written by William Samuel Johnson, who became the first President of Columbia College under its new name in 1787. The largest group, some twenty-one, dating from 1786 to 1796, were written by President Johnson to his son Robert Charles Johnson; he discusses family and personal business activities in Connecticut and gives advice to the young man on entering his law career. There are also nine letters written by President Johnson to John Anstey, George Berkeley, George Livius, William Ellery, Bishop of London Beilby Porteus, and other family members. Mrs. Muir has made the gift of these important letters in memory of her stepfather, Jarvis McAlpine Johnson.

Parsons gift. A group of 149 volumes of Scottish literature and history have been donated by Professor Coleman O. Parsons (A.B., 1928) for addition to the collection that he has developed over the past two decades. Several important editions stand out among this year's gift: Mark Akenside's *The Pleasures of Imagination,* 1775,

Frontispiece map from Thomas Gage's *A New Survey of the West-Indies,* 1699. (Jaffin gift)

printed in Glasgow by Robert and Andrew Foulis; two scarce anthologies, Robert H. Cromek's *Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song,* Paisley, 1880, and Joseph Ritson's *A Select Collection of English Songs with Their Original Airs,* London, 1813, 3 volumes; Hugh MacDiarmid's *On a Raised Beach,* printed in Preston by the Harris Press, 1967, in an edition of two hundred copies illustrated by Alan D. Powell; three rare editions of Allan Ramsay's *Poems,* 1723, 1780, and 1790, all published in Edinburgh; and eighteen scarce Jacobite pamphlets, comprising historical narratives, sermons, and individual essays, written by the adherents of the exiled branch of the house of Stuart who sought to restore James II and his descendants to the English and Scottish thrones after the Glorious Revolution of 1688. The latter group, including writings

by James Drummond, Andrew Henderson, and Michael Hughes, among others, adds a significant resource to the holdings of the Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

Schaefler gift. Mr. and Mrs. Sam Schaefler have presented a number of important and attractive works: a rare late eighteenth century

The philosopher and translator Norbert Guterman, seated on the table, is photographed with (left to right) Pierre Morhange, Georges Friedmann, and Paul Nizan, fellow members of the Groupe Philosophies. (Symington gift)

Japanese watercolor travelogue on paper, measuring some fifty-six feet in length (see Miwa Kai's article on this manuscript elsewhere in this issue); a fifteenth century printed work handsomely illustrated with twenty-nine woodcuts, Philippus de Barberis, *Discordantiae sanctorum doctorum Hieronymi et Augustini,* printed in Rome in 1481 by Joannes Philippus de Lignamine; a pen-and-ink drawing by Thomas Nast, captioned "Othello had a bouquet from Desdemona from a box," drawn in 1889 on the occasion of the

opening night of the New California Theatre in San Francisco; autograph letters written by Presidents James Monroe and Theodore Roosevelt; a late eighteenth century Burmese manuscript on laquered wood, of which the covers and two leaves are fully illustrated in gold on a red background; a first edition of Henri Barbusse's *Le Feu,* 1916, the author's best-known novel and one of the earliest books inspired by the First World War; and several other illustrated editions and pieces of printing ephemera.

Steegmuller gift. Nearly a hundred volumes and pamphlets relating to Guillaume Apollinaire, Jean Cocteau, Norbert Guterman, and the literary movements Surrealism and Dadaism have been presented by Mr. Francis Steegmuller (A.B., 1927; A.M., 1928). More than half the volumes in the gift are by, or relate to, Cocteau, and they include several rare first editions: the poet's first three books, *La Lampe d'Aladin,* Paris, 1909, *Le Prince Frivole,* Paris, 1910, and *Danse de Sophocle,* Paris, 1912; *Le Coq et l'Arlequin,* Paris, 1918, with a portrait of Cocteau and two illustrations in the text by Picasso; and several limited editions of books relating to Cocteau's films, most notably "Le Sang d'un Poète" and "Orphée." Mr. Steegmuller's gift also includes two volumes inscribed by the author and translator Norbert Guterman, as well as a copy of Paul Fort's *Anthologie des Ballades Françaises, 1897–1917,* Paris, 1917, autographed by the author.

Stern gift. Mrs. DeWitt Stern (B.S., 1967; A.M., 1968; Ph.D., 1976) has donated the fifteen-volume Subscriber's Edition of *The Works of Charles Sumner,* published in Boston in 1870 by Lee and Shepard, autographed by the American statesman.

Symington gift. Mrs. Leslie P. Symington has presented the papers of the Polish-born philosopher, author, and translator Norbert Guterman (1900–1984); the 3,250 letters, manuscripts, notebooks, and photographs in the gift pertain to his literary career, primarily his life in Paris during the 1920s and later in the United States. While in Paris he, along with Pierre Morhange and Henri Lefebvre, was part of the Groupe Philosophies, which was connected for a

time with the Surrealists, and the collection includes numerous letters from both Morhange and Lefebvre. Other correspondents from the Paris years include André Breton, Max Jacob, André Malraux, and Aleksei Remizov. Among Guterman's collaborators was Francis Steegmuller, who worked with him on several translation projects, detailed in the more than one hundred letters from Steegmuller to Guterman in the papers. There are also letters from Martin Buber, Kenneth Burke, Malcolm Cowley, Thomas Mann, Laura Riding, and Glenway Wescott. Several hundred books from Guterman's working library were also included in Mrs. Symington's gift, among which are first editions inscribed by Breton, Morhange, Gabriel Marcel, and others.

Wertheim gift. In a recent gift Professor Stanley Wertheim has presented several important literary manuscripts and first editions, including: a file of letters, one of which contains a brief holograph poem, written by Allen Ginsberg to Imamu Amiri Baraka (LeRoi Jones), dated from 1978 to 1981, relating to the FBI investigation into the activities of the New Left and Tom Hayden, his trip to Eastern Europe, and the Naropa Institute Conference on Jack Kerouac; first editions of Cornell Woolrich's suspense thrillers *Dead Man Blues,* 1948, *I Married a Dead Man,* 1948, and *Phantom Lady,* 1942, all published under the pseudonym William Irish; and a fine copy of one of the most famous of the Sherlock Holmes detective stories, Arthur Conan Doyle's *The Hound of the Baskervilles,* 1902, with its striking pictorial cover.

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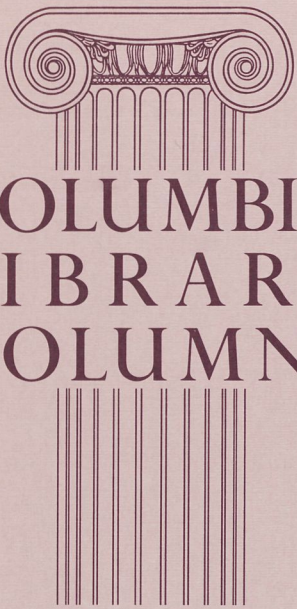

COLUMBIA LIBRARY COLUMNS

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Photography by Martin Messik

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Columbia Library Columns

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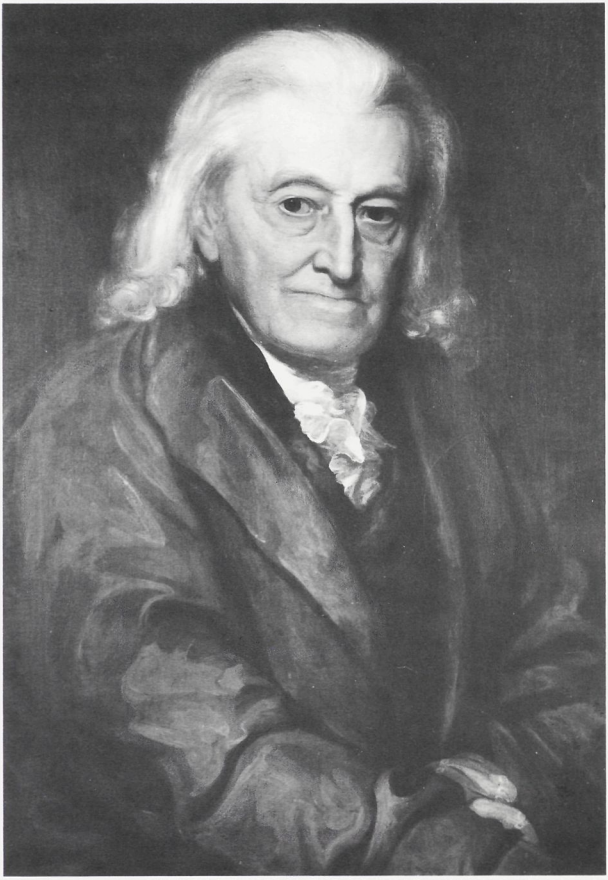


William Samuel Johnson, lawyer and first president of Columbia College, painted by John Wesley Jarvis in 1814.

When Johnson Spoke, Others Listened

RUDOLPH ELLENBOGEN

Columbia College's first president, William Samuel Johnson, was recalled by a contemporary as "the *tout ensemble* of a perfect man, in face, form, and proportion; his stature was above the middle height, say above five feet ten, his eye was dark, and beaming with intelligence, his features regular, and the whole expression of his face, that of benevolence and dignity; his complexion was clear; the hue healthful, not delicate, not robust, but between both; his hair was black with some intermixture of grey, and inclined to curl; his dress of black cut silk velvet. . . ." To this flattering description must be added that he was one of America's outstanding orators of his time. He also played a role in events, bicentennials of which we are celebrating this year: he was a member of the Constitutional Convention, affixing his signature to that document on September 17, 1787; and he was installed on November 12, 1787, to the presidency of the oldest institution of higher learning in New York.

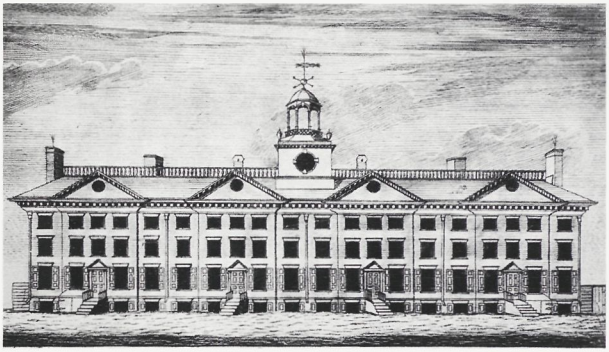
Johnson was a great man in a time of great men, and he was recognized by his peers. William Pierce, the delegate to the Constitutional Convention from Georgia, who wrote character sketches of all the delegates, noted that "Dr. Johnson is a character much celebrated for his legal knowledge; he is said to be one of the first classics [classicists] in America, and certainly possesses a very strong and enlightened understanding. . . . He was once employed as an Agent for the State of Connecticut to state her claims to certain landed territory before the British House of Commons; this Office he discharged with so much dignity, and made such an ingenious display of his powers, that he laid the foundation of a reputation which will probably last much longer than his own life." James Madison, who was on the Committee of Style which drafted the final version of the Constitution (and of which Johnson was the

chairman), expressed in 1816 that "I have always felt a large share of the respect acknowledged by all to be due to his [Johnson's] endowments and virtues. . . ." Just a few years earlier, on January 9, 1812, Johnson made a rare appearance in Fairfield while the Superior Court was sitting. Two newspapers, the *Connecticut Mirror* and the *Connecticut Courant,* reported the event: "The presence of this venerable and celebrated Counsellour, who has often been styled *the father of the Bar of Connecticut,* and who has probably not appeared in a Court of Justice for nearly 27 years before, attracted the attention of all who were present." On the adjournment, the lawyers present held a meeting and appointed a committee which presented a formal written address to him expressing their "high veneration" for his "professional and private character" in which they said he "has ever been considered the brightest ornament of the Connecticut Bar." Even English lexicographer Samuel Johnson, well known for his anti-American feelings, wrote on March 4, 1773, to the Connecticut-born William Samuel Johnson, "there is scarce any man whose acquaintance I have more desired to cultivate than yours. . . ."

The foundation of Johnson's great learning commenced early; at four he started on the primer, and at five he read a *Psalter* and *Catechism;* by eight he had read Aesop and Virgil in translation and was ready to start Latin; the study of Greek began at ten; and he entered Yale at thirteen, where he did not have much to do, his classmates being so far behind him. He continued to read extensively throughout his life in law, religion, history, science, and belles-lettres. Johnson was, however, not ostentatious in his display of learning, and he was, as William Pierce tells us, the type of man who "possesses the manners of a Gentleman, and engages the Hearts of Men by the sweetness of his temper, and that affectionate style of address with which he accosts his acquaintance."

After graduating from Yale, Johnson spent a short time as a lay reader and catechist, but was determined to seek a career in law and public life. His success was a result of the positive qualities men-

tioned above, a pacificatory nature, and a fine political sense. Johnson's career included representing Connecticut at the Stamp Act Congress, the Continental Congress, and the Constitutional Convention, as well as serving in the Connecticut House of Repre-



Columbia College on Murray Street as it appeared in 1790 during Johnson's presidency.

sentatives, the upper house of the Connecticut Legislature, and on the Governor's council.

Founded in 1754, King's College, rechartered and renamed Columbia in 1784, had had two presidents: the first, from 1754 to 1763, Samuel Johnson, William Samuel's father, and Myles Cooper, the second, from 1763 to 1775, an intemperate loyalist. In 1787, the charter of Columbia was again altered, and the trustees appointed Johnson as its president. Johnson's discreet and conciliatory behavior in matters of religion, his reputation as a scholar, his character as a gentleman, his role in the formation of the new government, and the prestige he would bring to the College made him a logical choice among the trustees. Once at Columbia, his widespread reputation as a man of integrity induced many fathers

of students to request the president to personally watch over their sons. Johnson taught, at one time or another, logic, moral philosophy, and rhetoric and belles-lettres; and he was an effective teacher, fondly remembered by his students, and able to help guide the small college peacefully during a period when others like Princeton, Yale, and Union were under bitter attack from the press and student rebellion.

Johnson was fond of little children also, especially those eager to learn; and when he was an old man, the children of his village gathered around him as if he were their companion. We know of his happiness at the birth of each new grandchild, and of his teaching his little grandson William to do his sums by candlelight at six in the morning and reading aloud with him before school, at noon, and in the evening.

As a lawyer, legislator, and public figure, Johnson's career was furthered by his abilities as an orator. In his obituary in the *Christian Journal and Literary Register* (December 1819), Johnson was recalled as "gifted with every external grace of the orator, a voice of the finest and richest tones, copious and flowing elocution, and a mind stored with elegant literature. . . ." He, the obituary continues, "appeared at the bar with a fascination of language and manner, which those who heard him had never even conceived it possible to unite with the technical address of an advocate."

William Pierce held a minority opinion about Johnson's speaking abilities. He wrote, "As an Orator in my opinion there is nothing in him that warrants the high reputations which he has for public speaking. There is something in the tone of his voice not pleasing to the Ear,—but he is eloquent and clear,—always abounding with information and instruction." Others, however, felt differently, and his ability was remarked upon even while he was still a young man. In 1747 he presented a Latin oration for his Master of Arts degree at Yale which was considered by Noah Welles, Congregational minister and former Dean's scholar at Yale, as the best ever delivered. The following year, the notable New York law partner of

William Livingston and former classmate at Yale, William Smith, Jr., wrote that eloquence was Johnson's "field," his "province," and his "Instrument"; Johnson was not yet twenty-three at the time. Eleven years later, another friend, Jared Ingersoll, who was acting as the London agent for the Connecticut government and who had heard the best English orators, wrote of Johnson that he could "Speak as *well as any* of Em." Wilkins Updike, in his *Memoirs of the Rhode-Island Bar,* quotes Senator Asher Robbins, who remembered Johnson in these words:

> I think that he was the most perfect orator I ever listened to, and I have heard most of the celebrated speakers of my time. In style and manner, if not in matter, he was strikingly superior to them all. In elocution, [in which I include articulation and intonation,] he was perfect. And his voice, though sonorous, was soft, and fell upon the ear like music. His delivery was deliberate, yet animated; not slow not rapid, but in a medium between both. His current and the current of the mind of the hearer kept pace with each other, and neither out-stripped the other. But his great perfection was his style; his sentences, though apparently prompt and unpremeditated, were all in the classical cast, which no meditation could improve, either in the choice or the collection of words. Long exercise had made this prompt and classical expression of his ideas habitual to him. His attitude and motions were full of dignity and grace, and his gestures, though not abundant, were always significant.

Abraham Jarvis, second bishop of Connecticut, who had studied for the ministry with Samuel Johnson, told his son, Samuel Farmar Jarvis, that he was present at a trial in which Johnson participated. He recalled, "the court was crowded to suffocation," yet "the attention of the whole assembly was so enchained that . . . 'you might hear a pin drop' "; and E. Edwards Beardsley in his *Life and Times of William Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* recounts an occurrence at the hearing in 1782 in Trenton on the Susquehanna case, a long-standing land dispute between Pennsylvania and Connecticut,

> . . . the opposing counsel, in the course of his argument, had read some ancient writing, recorded on a long roll of parchment, which was strangely interlarded with passages of Scripture, and with

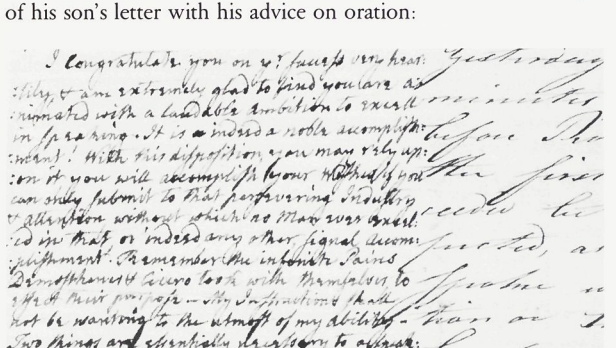
> which he made the Commissioners merry and jocose by denominating them puritanical fantasy. . . . Johnson rose to reply . . . and feeling the sting of the reflection upon his native State conveyed in the words puritanical fantasy, he seized the parchment, and reading with his silvery voice and in a tone of marked solemnity the same passages, he infused an awe into the whole audience; and then suddenly dropping it, and lifting his hands and eyes to heaven, he exclaimed, "Great God! is all this fantasy!" That moment the parchment, dismissed from his hands, rolled as by a spontaneous impulse to his feet; a chill went over the Assembly so perceptible that the narrator declared he could not, at the distance of twenty years, repeat the anecdote without experiencing the same sensation.

This dramatic performance is, no doubt, a reflection of the depth and sincerity of Johnson's religious beliefs as well as a demonstration of his immense love of theater.

Among a group of letters by William Samuel Johnson, written primarily to his son Robert Charles Johnson, presented recently by Mrs. Robert D. Muir, is one in which the elder Johnson sends his son advice on orating. It is of particular interest because of the elder's stature as an orator, and is a fine example of his style as an essayist. From it we may also glean something of the man and something of the teacher. The letter about oratory dated April 2, 1786, follows an interchange the course of which begins with Johnson sending on January 8, 1786, advice to the nineteen-year-old who was ill on the means of caring for the young man's health. The son replied on January 16 thanking his father for the "hints for the preservation of my health," and informing him he "will be careful to observe them." "I hope," he adds, "that my particular attention will be an inducement to give me your advice often, and correct me in every deviation from the line of prudence." In his March 31 letter to his father, Charles (as he was called by his father), who had graduated from Yale three years earlier and was pursuing a career in law, writes about speaking about the "Night Law . . . for the first time," about the pleasures of his success, his desire to improve, the difficulties he faces, and his fears that he may be "feeding my vanity and Self-Love . . . or raising in myself self

satisfaction & self-sufficiency, only to make myself an object of ridicule & contempt."

William Samuel Johnson replied on April 2, 1786, in the margin of his son's letter with his advice on oration:



Johnson wrote to his son Robert Charles on April 2, 1786, giving advice on oration; the father's advice was written in the left margin of the son's letter of March 31. (Muir gift)

I congratulate you on yr success very heartily, & am extremely glad to find you are animated with a laudable ambition to excell in speaking. It is indeed a noble accomplishment! With this disposition, you may rely upon it, you will accomplish your wishes if you can only submit to that persevering Industry & attention without which no Man ever exceled in that, or indeed, any other signal accomplishment. Remember the infinite Pains Demosthenes & Cicero took with themselves to effect their progress. My Instructions shall not be wanting to the utmost of my ability. Two things are essentially necessary to a speaker—Ideas—& Words—The first are to be attained by constant Study, & continually treasuring up in the mind every species of useful science to be ready for use when ask'd for & there is hardly anything in the whole circle of science & in the common affairs of Life that will not at one time or other be found useful to a public speaker, & more especially professional

> Knowledge. When the Mind is richly stored with Ideas, it is a just remark that of Horaces that *Words* will flow of cause. But it is not enough to express ourselves *properly* so as barely to convey our Ideas, we wish also to speak eloquently & forceably so as to engage, convince, & captivate the hearers. This is to be attain'd by a careful attention to our Language & the proper choice of words, even in common conversation, & in whatever we write. By studying the whole nature, extent, & Compass of Language. By observing carefully the stile & manner of the best Writers & Speakers, & imitating them, not serviley, but liberally forming ourselves upon the best Models—and by frequent Practice both in speaking & writing—When you are to speak upon any subject, that is then to be particularly study'd, to be examin'd on all sides, & view'd in every light, both for the purpose of argument & ornament, every step you take will render yr. future progress easier, & by Degrees you will be readily prepar'd for every occasion. In this way you cannot fail of success. It is generally true that every *Man is the former of his own Fortunes,* & it is almost inconceivable what Industry & application can effect even with very moderate abilities—God has graciously given you sufficient Genius, do but your part to Cultivate it properly, which I have endeavour'd & shall continue to give you opportunity to do so, as well as hereafter to display it; & I doubt not by God's blessing upon yr. Industry you will be able to make a conspicuous figure in Life, be highly useful to Mankind, as well as to your Friends, to yourself, & inexpressibily rejoice the heart of
>
> Yr most affectionate Father & Friend
> Wm Saml. Johnson

Johnson concludes his letter with a note to his son to be wary of both vanity and arrogance as well as bashfulness, mistaken modesty, and indifference which "magnifies every apparent danger & difficulty."

There is a postscript to this story which is found in Samuel Orcutt's *A History of the Old Town of Stratford.* Charles, we learn, was an able student. In November 1787, the town of Stratford, the Johnsons' home town, had a meeting to discuss ratification of the new United States Constitution. There was a powerful opposition in the town and, unfortunately, William Samuel Johnson was unable to attend, but his son was there. A motion was made that Charles speak in his father's absence since he had been frequently

with his father and was privy to his father's ideas. The motion was laughed at and rejected, causing the young man to have an even greater desire to speak. A certain Major Walker held the youth by the arm to prevent him from speaking, indicating that the young man would ruin everything. Just as the votes were about to be called, Charles broke from the Major, jumped over the seats, and mounted to the pulpit. Then, in his own words, he "chained down the attention of a numerous audience for upwards of three-quarters of an hour." His speech was a success, and the temper of the house was changed. Indeed, everyone he met shook his hand and congratulated him, and he was publicly thanked and asked to preserve his thoughts in print because "it was a pitty that they should be lost after making such an impression."

William Samuel Johnson resigned his seat as Senator from Connecticut when the new government moved from New York to Philadelphia, but he stayed on in the presidency of Columbia until July 2, 1800, when he resigned believing that he would not recover from a protracted illness. In this he was wrong, for he recovered, even remarried in December 1800; he outlived Charles, who died at the age of forty in September 1806, cutting short a successful career in business and law.

The greatness of William Samuel Johnson has faded from our collective memory; there are no published collections of his speeches; the power of his oratory is lost in the silence of the past. Johnson is not well remembered today for a variety of reasons, the chief being that he was not a leader during the revolution, but a conservative, a man who favored the rule of constitutional law and negotiated compromise to conflict; it was for this reason that he refused to serve in the First Continental Congress and withdrew from public life shortly thereafter during the Revolutionary War. That he was considered for the presidency of the University of Pennsylvania in late 1779 and was called upon to represent Connecticut at the Court of Arbitration in the Susquehanna hearings are signs of the great esteem in which his contemporaries held him,

an admiration which ultimately led to service in the Second Continental Congress, the Constitutional Convention, and the United States Senate despite his position during the Revolution. Johnson has left a legacy that has endured; when Johnson spoke, others listened. It was Johnson and his colleagues from Connecticut who proposed the "Great Compromise," a compromise which may have saved the Constitutional Convention from failure two hundred years ago.

Printing in the Medieval Islamic Underworld

RICHARD W. BULLIET

In 1894 the Orientalist Josef Karabacek discovered several Arabic amulets printed on paper in the Archduke Rainer Collection of medieval papyri in Vienna. Several years ago I identified a similar printed amulet in the David Eugene Smith Collection in the Rare Book and Manuscript Library. During the intervening ninety-or-so years a few additional printed amulets have turned up in various European and Egyptian libraries, as well as one tiny example on parchment at the University of Pennsylvania; but few specimens had been adequately published, and the scholarly literature on medieval Arabic printing amounted to fewer than thirty pages. The scholars who had given their fleeting attention to the materials, Karabacek, Adolf Grohmann, and Giorgio Levi della Vida, have determined the following: Judging from paleography and the eighth-century date of the introduction of paper into the Islamic world, Arabic block printing must have begun in the ninth or tenth century; it apparently persisted into, but probably not beyond, the fourteenth century, disappearing even from memory by the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the first printing press was established in Istanbul; and no descriptions of, or even references to, printing were known in any medieval Islamic texts.

As for the extant specimens of medieval Arabic printing, most were amulets, that is, long, thin strips of paper bearing quotations from the Koran, lists of the names of God, and other religious texts designed to ward off evil or bring good luck. They were intended to be rolled and enclosed in metal cylinders worn on chains around the neck. The Columbia specimen fits this description. Although provenance was sometimes unclear, it was assumed that all specimens came from Egypt, for some were excavated there and others were found in papyrus collections.

This slender base of knowledge may now be increased on the basis of the apparent references to amulet printing I have found in two medieval Arabic poems devoted to the slang of the Banu Sasan, the informal Islamic fraternity of beggars, street performers, and

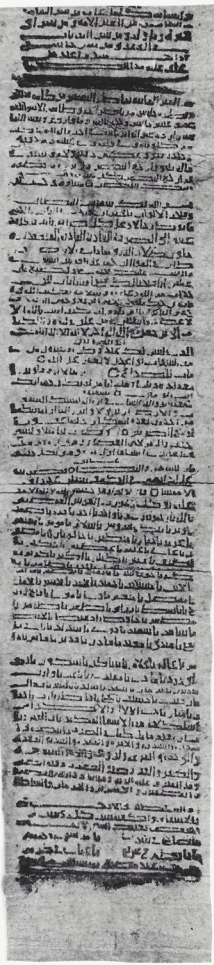
Banu Sasan trickster addressing the governor of Rahba; from a thirteenth-century Arab miniature painting in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

tricksters. The first reference is contained in the works of Abu Dulaf al-Khazraji, poet and vagabond, who frequented the courts of the tenth-century Iranian Buyid princes and who wrote two travel accounts, one totally bogus, the other replete with unlikely details. His poem on the Banu Sasan contains the line, "Among us, without publicity or boasting, is the engraver of *tarsh*." Abu Dulaf

comments on this line, saying, "The engraver of *tarsh* is he who engraves molds for amulets. People who are illiterate and cannot write buy them from him. The seller keeps back the design which is on it so that he exhausts his supply of amulets on the common people and makes them believe that he wrote them. The mold is called the *tarsh*." (All translations are mine. C. E. Bosworth, who edited and translated the poems in question in his book *The Medieval Islamic Underworld,* understands the lines differently and draws no connection to the extant printed amulets.)

Safi ad-Din al-Hilli is the other poet in whose work can be found a reference to amulet printing. He was an Arab from Hilla in Iraq who died around 1349. His poetry earned him favor at the courts of the Artuqid princes of northern Iraq and the Mamluk sultans of Cairo. More religious and more of a scholar than Abu Dulaf, his verse on *tarsh* is completely independent in content: "How many times has my hand written, by *tarsh* of tin, Syriac followed by the language of phylacteries." Interlinear glosses of a later date paraphrase the underworld jargon phrase "by *tarsh*" with "the striking of the mold like writing."

The verses of Abu Dulaf and Safi ad-Din, assuming they do refer to the extant printed amulets, confirm the tenth-to-fourteenth-century span of time during which Arabic blockprints were known, and they expand its geographical range as far as Iran. More important, they hint at the reason behind the remarkable lack of influence this potentially revolutionary technology had on Islamic society. If printing was invented by members of a vagabond underworld and used to trick gullible illiterates into buying amulets in the belief that they were efficacious because they had been handwritten by a holy man, the technology may have been beneath the notice of the scribes and scholars who shaped the high literate culture of the day. Only someone who was a vagabond himself, like Abu Dulaf, would know about such things; his poem simply reflects the medieval vogue for telling stories about impious tricksters and learning their curious jargon.



Safi ad-Din's verse, however, raises a possibility that has never before been considered in discussion of medieval blockprinting. It is normally assumed that the blocks used were of wood, but Safi ad-Din's verse has the word tin. Could some of the amulets, contrary to contemporary Chinese practice, have been printed from metal plates? The Columbia specimen, among others, suggests that they may. It contains 107 lines of writing, thirty-seven on one block and seventy on another, on a single strip of paper 2 by 11 3/8 inches in size, with Koranic verses in more ornamental calligraphy printed from a third block on a separate piece of paper, measuring 2 by 5 3/8 inches, glued to the top of the longer strip. The writing on both strips is in somewhat crude Kufic Arabic; the script and the use of circles to mark the end of passages suggest a possible tenth-century date.

The shorter strip of paper at the top has the writing left white and the background printed black. It appears to be a woodcut, since white-on-black writing is comparatively easy to render in wood, while the writing becomes illegible when the craftsman tries to leave small black letters in relief inside the teardrop shape at the top. The text is Sura 2, verse 256, of the Koran: "God, there is no god but He, the Living, the Everlasting. Slumber seizes him not, neither sleep; to Him belongs all that is in the heavens and the earth. Who is there that shall intercede with Him save by His leave? He knows what lies before them and what is after them, and they comprehend not anything of His knowledge save such as He wills. His Throne comprises the heavens and earth; the preserving of them oppresses Him not; He is the All-high, the All-glorious." (Arberry translation) This verse repeats in lines 11–16 of the text on the longer strip.

Opposite: The Columbia amulet is not only one of the rarest specimens of early printing, but lends support to the theory that medieval Muslims invented a method of printing from tin plates; the top left portion was printed from a woodblock.

The two blocks printed on the longer strip are quite different. Their 107 lines are squeezed eleven to twelve lines to the inch, and the thickness of the lines making up each of the thousands of letters is consistently one to two hundredths of an inch. The darker ink at the right edge of the upper text and the ink smudges at the top and bottom of both texts clearly indicate that they were printed from blocks. Since the right edge of the lower text is not heavily inked, the two blocks would seem to have been pressed on the paper separately. Given the difficulty of deciphering the minute characters, which lack the dots used on thirteen Arabic consonants to distinguish them from similarly shaped letters, the lower text is still unread.

The upper text, however, begins with the *fatiha*, the first Sura of the Koran, which forms part of every Muslim's daily prayers. Then lines 6 through 10 contain the last three Suras, 114, 113, and 112:

> Say: "I take refuge with the Lord of men, the King of men, the God of men, from the evil of the slinking whisperer who whispers in the breasts of men, of jinn and men."
>
> Say: "I take refuge with the Lord of the Daybreak from the evil of what He has created from the evil of darkness when it gathers, from the evil of the women who blow on knots, from the evil of an envier when he envies."
>
> Say: "He is God, One, God, the Everlasting Refuge, who has not begotten, and has not been begotten, and equal to Him is not any one."

The text continues with Sura 2, verse 256, quoted above, and quotations from Sura 41, verse 41; Sura 4, verse 164, somewhat altered; Sura 3, verse 16; Sura 10, verse 81; and Sura 7, verse 116, on line 26. The penultimate three lines, 34–36, repeat verse 113:4–5; the intervening lines are undeciphered.

Since Arabic amulet texts are seldom of great import and tend to repeat the same formulae, a complete reading of the text would probably not yield important new information. What is important about the two texts on the longer strip is not their message but the

size of the script. Given the unlikelihood of a sophisticated etching press being known in the tenth century, the letters on the print-block must have been in relief. Hence, a woodcutter would have to have been a consummate master of his craft to have cut around

The upper text, apparently printed from a tin plate, begins with the first Sura of the Koran.

them so precisely with so few errors. The circles ending the Koranic passages would have been a particular challenge, but even under high magnification one cannot discern in them any straight lines made by a woodcutter's knife. Indeed, the illegibility of the black-on-white letters in the teardrop design at the top of the shorter strip, which are so much clumsier than the much smaller letters on the longer strip, strongly supports the proposition that the former was printed from a woodblock and the latter from a metal plate. Specimens in other collections confirm these indications that the lower part of the Columbia amulet was printed from a metal plate, as suggested by Safi ad-Din's verse. The likely procedure would have been for the amulet-maker to inscribe a text with a stylus in a clay tablet and then harden the tablet by baking. Molten tin would have been poured on this mold to produce a

plate with the letters reversed and in relief, ready to be inked and pressed on soft, absorbent papers.

The Columbia amulet, therefore, is not only one of the rarest of specimens of early printing, but its tiny writing lends support to the idea that the medieval Muslims invented a method of printing from tin plates. However, two questions remain: Where did the technology come from? And why did it disappear? As to the first, metal plates must have been an independent Muslim invention. The basic idea of printing possibly came from China, as previous scholars have argued; but if so, it is hard to explain why it should have caught on only with the Islamic underworld. As to the second, one can only hazard the guess that the explosive rise in popularity of the Islamic Sufi brotherhoods in the fourteenth century caused the amulet peddlers of the Banu Sasan to disappear. The ubiquitous Sufi shaikhs, who traded on their saintliness by writing amulets by hand, may not have tolerated their competition.

It is tempting, of course, given the disappearance of Islamic printing in the same century that saw the beginning of woodblock printing in Europe, to speculate on the possible Middle Eastern origins of European printing, but the Columbia specimen can tell us nothing about this; it remains for future scholarship to confirm one way or the other.

Justice Holmes's Advice to a Law Student

J. D. S. ARMSTRONG

On March 1, 1899, Associate Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts wrote a letter from the Court House in Boston to one P. E. Mason, Esq., in Carthage, Illinois. At that time Holmes had already published his landmark treatise, *The Common Law,* which alone would have immortalized him in legal circles. He was five months away from becoming Chief Justice of Massachusetts and three and a half years from appointment to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Whoever Mr. Mason may have been, he left no trace behind in the standard annals of organized activity. We can infer from Holmes's letter, the recent gift of Stuart Schimmel to the Rare Book and Manuscript Library, that in 1899 P. E. Mason was about to embark on the study of law, that he had written Holmes a letter asking his advice on how best to go about it, and that the letter's tone had pleased the great man and moved him to respond in considerable detail.

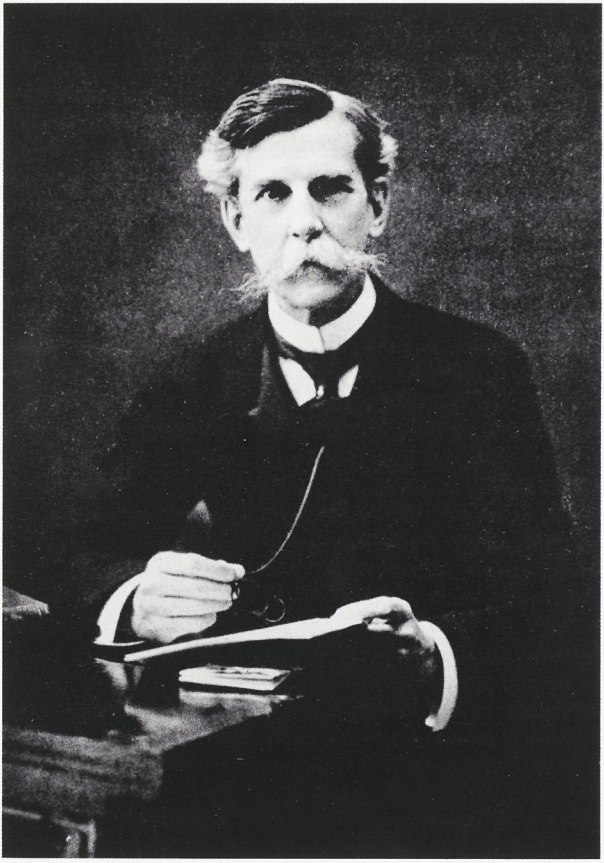
Holmes's own legal education had commenced with three terms at Harvard Law School. Although his studies there failed to convince him that his real calling was the law rather than philosophy, he graduated in 1866 and was admitted to practice in Boston the following year. The next fifteen years were to constitute the real legal education of Holmes as he combined intensive private study, editorship of the *American Law Review*, and lecturing at Harvard with an active practice. The fruit of his labors, *The Common Law*, was published in 1881 before he turned forty. A professorship at Harvard ensued, followed rapidly by his appointment to the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court.

Although he never returned to the formal teaching of law, Holmes was an informed and interested critic of legal education. While his own education at Harvard Law School had taken place under the old regime of traditional law study, his short tenure on the Harvard faculty coincided with the very height of Langdell's case method revolution, a revolution with which his convictions put him in much sympathy. Holmes's interest in and knowledge of the options in legal education informed his reply to Mason, which includes both general exhortations regarding the proper approach to the field and a list of specific books to read.

Holmes's primary advice to Mason recalls his most famous aphorism, from *The Common Law*, that "the life of the law has not been logic: it has been experience." "Don't forget actualities," he wrote to Mason, "Law is a practical thing. The first thing you want to aim at is to make it a practical weapon in your hands—not to begin by inventing a new jurisprudence or any of the fancy topics which amuse and delight the incompetent."

This emphasis on studying the law in the context of its concrete applications extends to Holmes's design of a reading list for the young law student that he considered an improvement over his own student reading. He advises Mason, "I should begin with books nearest to everyday life and common modes of thought. I think this a labor-saving truth—but it is directly contrary to what I used to hear. Blackstone, a very puzzling book to a beginner, in our days was thought necessary just as two generations before when Blackstone was new and illuminating, Coke and Littleton were recommended by true conservatives."

Holmes himself had devoted many years to producing the twelfth edition (1873) of the monumental *Kent's Commentaries*. This work, originally written in 1826 by former Columbia law professor James Kent, was a systematic survey of earlier American law along the lines of *Blackstone's Commentaries*, the survey of even earlier English law mentioned in the excerpt above. Yet despite having updated *Kent* to his own liking, Holmes steered Mason away



Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., in 1899 at the time he became Chief Justice of Massachusetts.

from comprehensive surveys altogether, preferring to select for him a list of specific books on the various basic legal subjects.

At the top of the list is Anson's book on Contract. William Reynell Anson (1843–1914), barrister at the Inner Temple and Fellow (later Warden) of All Souls College, Oxford, published his *Principles of the English Law of Contract* in 1879 with the stated aim of delineating for students "the general principles which govern the contractual relation from its beginning to its end." In this endeavor he was phenomenally successful: the 1984 *Biographical Dictionary of the Common Law* avers that Anson's book on Contract "largely shaped the modern law itself," and that it "did much to dispel the long-prevalent notion that English law could not be taught, but only learned through rigorous apprenticeship." Because of the dominance of judicially developed common law in the area of contract, Anson's *Principles* was able to cap its success in England with many years of recognition as a standard textbook in the United States, England's sister repository of the common law. The singular success of Anson's treatise outlived its author, as English editions continued to appear from the Clarendon Press, with, of course, an increasing proportion of non-Ansonian prose. The current editor, A. G. Guest of Gray's Inn and the University of London, produced a twenty-sixth edition in 1984 and further editions are anticipated.

As a supplement to Anson on Contract, Holmes recommended Pollock's treatise on the same subject. Sir Frederick Pollock (1845–1937), barrister of Lincoln's Inn, fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, professor of jurisprudence at Oxford, judge of the Admiralty Court of Cinque Ports, and close friend of Holmes, published his *Principles of Contract at Law and in Equity* over the imprint of Stevens and Sons in London in 1876. Pollock was particularly interested in exploring the relationship between the jurisprudence of contracts in common law and in equity, and in attempting to fill in the gaps resulting from the earlier division of the judicial system into two sets of courts. Pollock's book, though different in concept and orientation from Anson's, also enjoyed a

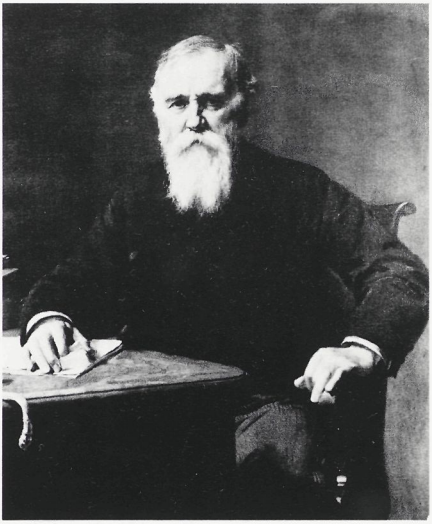
thoroughgoing success. Pollock completed the tenth edition in 1936, the year before he died. As with Anson, posthumous revisions followed, the twelfth English edition appearing in 1946 under the editorship of P. H. Winfield.

With Holmes's third recommendation to Mason, that he obtain Langdell's *Cases on Contract,* he introduces into his list a towering landmark in legal education. The most famous contribution of Christopher Columbus Langdell (1826–1906) to the study of law was his invention and promotion of the case method of legal study; his casebook *A Selection of Cases on the Law of Contracts* was originally published in 1871 for the use of his students in their contract law class at Harvard. Rather than memorizing systems of legal principles and rules in the abstract, students instructed by the case method were obliged to extract the operative legal principles from a progression of actual cases collected in a casebook. The selection of the cases was obviously critical:

> [T]he cases which are useful and necessary for this purpose bear an exceedingly small proportion to all that have been reported. The vast majority are useless, and worse than useless, for any purpose of systematic study. . . . It seemed to me, therefore, to be possible to take such a branch of the law as Contracts, for example, and, without exceeding comparatively moderate limits, to select, classify, and arrange all the cases which had contributed in any important degree to the growth, development, or establishment of any of its essential doctrines; and that such a work could not fail to be of material service to all who desire to study that branch of law systematically and in its original sources.

Despite a string of progeny extending directly from Langdell's original casebook down through the succeeding eighty-odd years, the influence of this work could hardly be measured in terms of succeeding editions alone. Indeed, it would be difficult to overstate the influence of Langdell's *Cases on Contract* on American legal education and hence on legal practice and jurisprudence. While the case method was initially transplanted to other academic American law schools by personal disciples of Langdell, earliest and most

notably by William Keener's move to Columbia University in 1890, it was the casebook that traveled most widely and provided a model for a method of instruction that virtually took over the leading law schools of the country.



This portrait of Christopher Columbus Langdell, whose case method of study caused a revolution in legal education, hangs in the Langdell Reading Room of Harvard Law School.

The case method sought to distance the study of law from the old apprenticeships served at the side of practicing lawyers, and to elevate the position of the university law school in legal education. In its scientific aspirations it reflects the positivist method prominent in all scholarly disciplines in Langdell's era. But while Langdell's "scientific" approach responded opportunely to the new demands put on law and lawyers in an industrializing America, it

destined the case method for criticism and rejection in the full measure eventually suffered by positivist movements in general. Not least of the criticisms which can be leveled at Langdell's science of law approach is that it failed to be scientific. Not all of the data underlying the development of legal doctrine can safely be assumed to reside in the judicial opinions that are the bread and butter of the case law method. Nor can the selection of significant cases from the irrelevant mass be freed from subjectivity. Modifications to Langdell's conceptual approach resulted in changes in the casebook format he had developed. Despite the modifications to his system, however, Langdell is generally regarded as the father of today's university-based legal education.

For the study of torts, Holmes suggested "Bigelow's little book, Student's series." Melville M. Bigelow's *Elements of the Law of Torts* (1878) was the first in the Students' Series of law books put out by Little, Brown of Boston. Bigelow's book is the only one on Mason's list in which Holmes's direct influence may be readily discerned. Bigelow had preceded his treatise with a casebook on Torts in 1875 for which he adapted for his own purposes the arrangement of the law set forth in Holmes's article "The Theory of Torts" in the *American Law Review* for July 1873.

By the eighth edition (1907), however, Bigelow found the world so changed that a rethinking of the book and its arrangement was in order:

> A new point of view has made its appearance out of the agitation of social movements, within the half dozen years since the last edition of this book was in hand. The struggle between equality and inequality—between the public and privilege, and between privilege as capital and privilege as labor—had not at that time proceeded far enough or long enough to make its meaning, much less the outcome, clear. . . . Since then the curtain has lifted somewhat and the social movement has found its place in the courts; though it is still uncertain whether equality or privilege will succeed in the end in making itself the will of the State. . . . [P]recedent is relaxing its hold under the pressure of the newer social energy. . . . The decisions of the past . . . are not wrong, they are past. . . . [T]hat law

> must be regarded as the resultant of conflicting social forces (less the conservatism of courts and legislature)—a point of view long hidden from sight in the faint stages of a social era of equality—is reflected on many pages of this book as it now appears.

This new way of looking at the law led him, he claimed, to abandon the earlier, Holmes-inspired arrangement of the book. The radicalism and profound social upheavals of the age, therefore, evidently had as one of their lesser fruits the transposition of the negligence section of Melville Bigelow's treatise from the back of the book to a position between deceit and slander of title.

For a Torts casebook Holmes looked to Langdell's chief disciple, James Barr Ames (1846–1910), another member of the Harvard Law faculty, who became its dean in 1895. In 1874, the year after Ames graduated from Harvard Law School and became associate professor of law there, the Harvard Law Review Publishing Company published his *Select Cases on Torts*, to which Jeremiah Smith added a second volume in 1893. The last edition appeared in 1929.

For the law of real property Holmes had another textbook of monumental stature to suggest. Joshua Williams (1813–1881), barrister of Lincoln's Inn, had first published his *Principles of the Law of Real Property, Intended as a First Book for the Use of Students in Conveyancing* in 1845. The treatise enjoyed remarkable success in England and America, in the latter through American editions edited by William Henry Rawle and published by T. and J. W. Johnson of Philadelphia. The thirteenth edition (1880) was the last prepared by the author before his death.

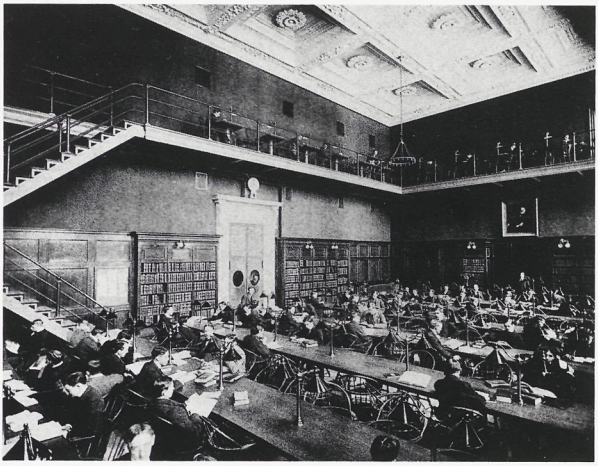
In suggesting in his letter that Mason read Williams's treatise, Holmes cautioned that he might want to reconsider this recommendation, "as the later editions probably have a good deal of late English statute law which would be a bother." As Joshua and later his son Cyprian Williams assiduously incorporated each newly passed British statute into the text of their book, the latter proportionally declined in appeal as an American textbook. Indeed, the changes wrought by the many new English statutes required extensive changes even to the English edition. After striving through

three editions to retain his father's work more or less intact, Cyprian Williams bowed to necessity in 1892 and essentially rewrote the work for its seventeenth edition. Gone was the pithy and melodious prose that had stood in print for almost fifty years, as in the line from the first page that had pointed out, "No man, be he ever so feloniously disposed, can run away with an acre of land." In exchange for his sacrifice of much of the original text, Cyprian Williams obtained the continuing success in England of the treatise bearing his father's name for over forty more years. But as the 1886 Philadelphia edition had posited, the utility for Americans of a treatise so dominated by English statute was problematic: after 1894 no further American editions appeared.

Holmes was somewhat vague on the Pleading book he wished to recommend, but the treatise to which he refers would appear to be the 1898 edition of Henry John Stephen's *Treatise on the Principles of Pleading in Civil Actions*, prepared by Samuel Tyler, professor in the law department of Columbian College in Washington, D.C., on the basis of an early London edition. Stephen on *Pleading*, first published in 1824, was a standard English text renowned for its clear explanation of the principles underlying the extremely complex rules of English common law pleading, i.e., of framing a case for formally correct presentation to the judge or jury. Tyler's preface is noteworthy for its impassioned defense of common law pleading against barbarian innovations such as New York's code pleading, a landmark reform in civil procedure which Tyler considered ill-advised.

Holmes had assembled quite a varied list of books to recommend to Mason. To be sure, the books shared certain characteristics. Of the nine, only one (*Williams on Real Property*) had been published by the time of Holmes's own student days, although all of the rest had been on the market during his brief teaching career or in the immediately preceding years. The stature of *Williams on Real Property* was obviously well assured by the time Holmes selected it for Mason, and of the others all save Bigelow's treatise and Ames's cases on Pleading went on to enjoy persistent demand long after

1899; but the books differed from each other in type, with Anson, Pollock, Williams, and Tyler's *Stephen* representing the older textbook format of the systematic treatise of doctrine, and Langdell,



The Columbia Law School Reading Room in Low Memorial Library as it appeared at the turn of the century while William A. Keener was Dean.

Bigelow, and Ames offering the new-model casebook, a difference which ostensibly reflected underlying theoretical differences. Subsequent analysis and evaluation may have revealed Langdell's doctrinal departure to have been superficial and unoriginal; but, at the time Mason sought guidance, the world of legal education was in turmoil over this apparent conflict.

In some respects Holmes's list and advice would seem very familiar to any student beginning the study of law today, almost ninety years after the letter to P. E. Mason. The subjects for which Holmes specified books—Contracts, Torts, Real Property, and

Pleading (now taught as Civil Procedure)— as well as Criminal Law and Evidence, for which he deemed no particular recommendation to be necessary, are those familiar to every first-year law student of the 1980s. Moreover, his suggestion that Mason borrow the treatises but *purchase* the casebooks has been adopted as policy by law schools around the country.

Where the list seems completely foreign, other than by virtue of the inevitable eclipsing of the Langdell ascendancy by newer, brighter theories of jurisprudence, is in its high proportion of English-origin books, and indeed in their inclusion at all. That Holmes's list represented the end of an era in Anglo-American legal textbook publishing is clearly suggested by the decline in the American fortunes of *Williams on Real Property*. While the divergence of English statutory law no doubt accounts in large part for the trend away from transatlantic law treatises, the seed may also have been rooted in the development of a Langdellian-inspired culture of legal education which was uniquely American and which sought its clarification from its own pioneers rather than from the jurists of old England.

While Holmes himself never wrote any textbooks for law students, his selection of books for Mason as well as his famous utterances on the importance of a practical perspective on the legal doctrine suggest his warm sympathy for the reformers at work in legal education in his day. In his advice to the young law student from Illinois, Holmes looks back on his own youthful formation, and his words reflect the realization that, after a hesitant start, his legal vocation had indeed caught up with him:

> All the pleasure of life is in general ideas. But all the use of life is in specific solutions—which cannot be reached through generalities any more than a picture can be painted by knowing some rules of method. They are reached by insight, tact and specific knowledge. If you have fire enough in your belly you will give the high romantic turn to your work—but you will not do it so as to count unless you know the school of the soldier as well as the least aspiring private with whom you may be called on to fight.

Our Growing Collections

KENNETH A. LOHF

Alaya gift. The papers of the historian, archivist, and social activist Henry Joseph Browne have been presented by his widow, Ms. Flavia Alaya. At one time a Roman Catholic priest, Browne taught at a number of colleges and universities, including Rutgers University, was active in community affairs in New York and in Paterson, New Jersey, and did extensive research on a life of John Hughes, first archbishop of New York. The papers received as a gift from Ms. Alaya comprise correspondence, manuscripts, photographs, and printed materials relating to his research on Hughes, and files documenting his work with the New York City Council against Poverty, the Catholic Committee on Urban Ministry, the Priests' Senate, the Stryckers Bay Housing Development, and numerous other organizations. Among the historical materials relating to Archbishop Hughes are letters from numerous nineteenth-century religious leaders and political figures, including Popes Leo XII and Pius IX, Abraham Lincoln, William Henry Seward, and Thurlow Weed; Browne's own correspondence files include letters from Cardinals Spellman and Cooke, Robert F. Kennedy, John V. Lindsay, George Meany, Philip Murray, and William F. Ryan.

Bleibtreu Foundation gift. The Jacob Bleibtreu Foundation, Inc., has presented a collection of eight Thornton Wilder letters written by the playwright and novelist to his friends Jacob and Helen Bleibtreu. Dated from 1955 to 1967, the letters contain comments on the playwright's lectures, travels, and reading, as well as on the writing and publishing of *The Eighth Day* and on seeing for the first time "Hello, Dolly!" the musical based on his *The Matchmaker.* The Bleibtreus' son, John, has added to the Foundation's gift the two final letters received by his parents from Wilder; dated November and December 1973, they relate to Wilder's health and his recently published book *Theophilus North.*

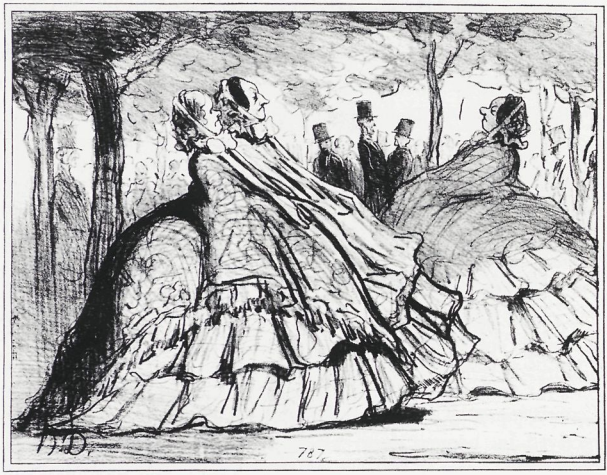
Braslow gift. Mr. Dean G. Braslow (LL.B., 1961) has donated, for inclusion in the Historical Collection of Children's Literature, a group of sixty-one volumes published in the "Better Little Books" series issued by the Whitman Publishing Company in the 1940s. Included are familiar stories about childhood heroes and heroines, such as Little Orphan Annie, Buck Rogers, Tarzan, The Shadow, Bambi, Mickey Mouse, and Flash Gordon, among numerous others.

Chase gift. Mrs. Frances Walker Chase has presented, for addition to the papers of her husband, the late Professor Richard Volney Chase (Ph.D., 1946), a group of 172 letters which he received from his colleagues and friends in the literary world. Dated from 1948 to 1971, there are significant series of letters from Lionel Trilling, Robert W. Flint, Irving Howe, Frederick W. Dupee, and Robert Penn Warren, as well as single letters from Newton Arvin, R. P. Blackmur, Elizabeth Hardwick, Dwight Macdonald, John Crowe Ransom, and Allen Tate, among numerous other writers and editors.

Coudert bequest. The papers of Frederic R. Coudert, Jr., have been received by bequest from his widow, Paula Murray Coudert. Numbering some 2,500 letters, manuscripts, and scrapbooks of clippings, the papers relate primarily to Coudert's law practice, his political campaigns, and his work as a New York State Senator, 1939–1946, and as a member of the U.S. House of Representatives from the 17th District of Manhattan, 80th to the 85th U.S. Congresses, 1947–1958; there is also an extensive file of papers pertaining to his important work on the New York Legislative Committee to Investigate the Education System, known as the Rapp-Coudert Committee. The correspondence files include letters from Jacob K. Javits, Henry Cabot Lodge, Richard M. Nixon, and Nelson A. Rockefeller.

Dzierbicki gift. In memory of Marguerite A. Cohn, Mr. Ronald L. Dzierbicki has presented a group of rare twentieth-century literary

editions, of which the following inscribed books are particularly notable: E. E. Cummings, *One Times One*, London, 1947, inscribed by the publisher, Cyril Connolly; Rhys Davies, *The Song of Songs and Other Stories*, London, 1927, inscribed to Paul Selver; Norman



"Ce ne sont plus des femmes, ce sont des ballons"; original lithograph by Honoré Daumier from the series *Actualités*. (Harley gift)

Mailer, *The Deer Park*, New York, 1955, and *The Naked and the Dead*, New York, 1948, both inscribed warmly to a friend; Beatrice Webb, *My Apprenticeship*, London, 1926, inscribed to the author's sister, Rosalind Heyworth Dobbs; and W. B. Yeats, *Plays in Prose and Verse*, London, 1926, inscribed to Raymond Marriott. There are also first editions of Hubert Crackanthorpe's *Sentimental Studies and a Set of Village Tales*, New York, 1895, and Sinclair Lewis's *Gideon Planish*, New York, 1943, as well as David Garnett's copy of Henry James's *The Two Magics*, London, 1898.

Harley gift. Mr. Robert L. Harley (Class of '26) has presented a number of important and attractive graphic works: a hand-colored exemplar of the French version of John Mitchell's influential map of the British and French Dominions in North America, *Amérique Septentrionale,* engraved in Paris in 1777, and issued in eight folio sheets which when placed together measure some 55 inches by 83 inches; and nine mid-nineteenth-century lithographs by Honoré Daumier, including fine examples from several of the caricaturist's series, *Actualités, Les Baigneurs, Croquis d'Eté, Croquis Parisiens,* and *Les Divorceuses*.

Higginbotham gift. Mr. Hal Ford Higginbotham and Mrs. Barbra Buckner Higginbotham (M.S. in L.S., 1969) have presented funds for the purchase of the 1497 Cologne edition of Aristotle's *Libri Politicorum* in memory of David Thompson (A.M., 1973; M.S. in L.S., 1978), who completed graduate work in the Classics Department and who served on the staff of the Libraries from 1975 to 1981. Printed by Heinrich Quentell and containing seven woodcut devices, the text is the Latin version and includes Johannes Versor's commentary. The Higginbothams' memorial gift adds an important edition to the Incunabula Collection, and has the added distinction of being the only recorded copy in America.

Jones gift. Mr. and Mrs. Dan Burne Jones have donated more than two hundred first editions of works written by and about Robert Frost, Walt Whitman, Ernest Hemingway, James Jones, and Peter Freuchen, and illustrated by Lynd Ward and Rockwell Kent. The gift also includes limited signed editions by Simone de Beauvoir, Kathleen Winsor, Sinclair Lewis, and Aaron Bohrod. Especially notable are Rockwell Kent's autobiography, *It's Me, O Lord,* New York, 1955, inscribed to the collectors, and Kent's edition of *The Canterbury Tales of Geoffrey Chaucer,* New York, 1930, one of seventy-five copies bound in full leather and signed by the illustrator.

Inscribed photograph of Gertrude Lawrence by Hal Phyfe, 1930.
(Palmer gift)

Palmer gift. Mr. Paul R. Palmer (M.S., 1950; A.M., 1955) has presented a collection of 165 signed or inscribed photographs of film stars from the silent screen era to the 1970s, including fine portraits of Heather Angel, Vilma Banky, Binnie Barnes, Madge Bellamy, Tom Brown, Mrs. Patrick Campbell, Eddie Cantor, Ruth

Chatterton, Katharine Cornell, Dolores Costello, Louise Dresser, Dorothy and Lillian Gish, Miriam Hopkins, Gertrude Lawrence, Ben Lyon, and Colleen Moore, among numerous other actors and actresses. The group also includes signed photographs of several notable dramatists and literary figures, among them Edward Albee, Cecil Beaton, Günter Grass, William Inge, and Rudyard Kipling. Mr. Palmer also donated 334 printed editions of works in the fields of literature and the performing arts, ranging in date from 1918 to the 1980s.

Pratt gift. Dr. Dallas Pratt (M.D., 1941) has presented a set of nine original photographs of Rupert Brooke from the renowned series taken in London in 1913 by the American photographer Sherril Schell. For the sitting, Brooke wore a blue shirt and necktie of the same color, "a long piece of silk wide enough for a muffler, tied like the ordinary four-in-hand"; Schell further noted that the poet had an extraordinary candor in his glance and his presence suggested vitality, qualities that are still apparent to the present-day viewer. The twelfth and last of Schell's photographs, present in Dr. Pratt's gift, became the most familiar, showing the poet's face in profile and with his neck and shoulders bare; it was published as the frontispiece to *1914 & Other Poems*, was used on the memorial plaque to Brooke in Rugby Chapel, and provided the poet's legend with a visual image that met the needs of a nation at a time of crisis.

Ray gift. Shortly before his death last December Mr. Gordon N. Ray (LL.D., 1969) made a substantial addition to the collection of autographs that he had developed over the years. Numbering 108 autograph letters and six manuscripts, the gift is especially notable for: the autograph letter written by the seventeenth-century English clergyman Jeremy Taylor to his ecclesiastical superior, The Bishop of Down, August 9, 1661, dealing largely with church matters and written in Taylor's elegant and engaging style; and a series of five letters written by Rockwell Kent to Albert and Charles Boni from 1928 to 1930, concerning Kent's publishing ventures

with Boni and his unavailing efforts to have the firm publish a manuscript about Eskimo life by Kent's friend Knud Rasmussen. The remainder of Mr. Ray's gift comprises a large file of letters and manuscripts from nineteenth-century poets, novelists, and other

Rupert Brooke photographed by Sherril Schell, 1913. (Pratt gift)

writers, including Sir Edwin Arnold, Alfred Austin, Sir Walter Besant, Hall Caine, Thomas Campbell, Eliza Cook, Marie Corelli, D. M. Craik, Sir Edmund Gosse, Mary Howitt, Jean Ingelow, Jerome K. Jerome, Charles Lever, Captain Marryat, Tom Moore, Samuel Rogers, Tom Taylor, Martin Tupper, and Charlotte M. Yonge.

Rothkopf gift. Two important works pertaining to Robert Frost have been presented by Mrs. Carol Z. Rothkopf (A.M., 1952): Lawrance Thompson's monumental biography of the poet, published in three volumes from 1966 to 1976, inscribed by the biographer to Marguerite Cohn; and the poet's *Selected Letters*, published in 1964 and edited by Thompson, with a card from the publisher and editor presenting the volume to Mrs. Cohn laid in.

Roudiez gift. To the collection of his papers, Professor Leon S. Roudiez (A.M., 1940; Ph.D., 1950) has recently added the original typescript and holograph manuscript, corrected throughout, for his book *French Fiction Today*, published in 1972 by Rutgers University Press. Professor Roudiez has also donated five first editions by Robert André, Claude Aveline, and Alfred Kern, inscribed by the authors to him and the late Justin O'Brien.

Schang gift. Mr. Frederick C. Schang (B.Litt., 1915) has donated, for addition to the collection of visiting cards that he has established in the Rare Book and Manuscript Library, the very rare visiting card of President James Madison, signed by the President for a Mr. James Lewis.

Schimmel gift. Mr. Stuart B. Schimmel has presented a group of thirty-three lithographs, manuscript items, and other graphic works, among which the following may be singled out for special mention: a leaf from a thirteenth-century French Bible; America's earliest income tax form, issued in 1866; a printed and manuscript document, dated July 14, 1735, appointing Thomas Stow and Henry Chapman as assessors for the Parish of Farnborough in England; two leaves from Arthur Szyk's Passover *Haggadah*, printed on vellum; a lithographic portrait of Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., by M. Hyman, 1939, signed by Holmes; and twenty-four lithographs of alphabets and specimens of texts by the English calligrapher David Kindersley, each one of fifty signed copies, dated from 1968 to 1971.

Signed lithograph by English calligrapher David Kindersley, January 1968. (Schimmel gift)

Schniewind gift. Mrs. Edith Low Bush Schniewind has presented a collection of papers and memorabilia relating to her great-great-grandfather, Daniel D. Tompkins (A.B., 1795), Governor of New York, 1807–1816, member of the New York Constitutional Convention of 1801, and Vice President of the United States under

James Monroe, 1817–1825. Included among the gift items are a letter from Tompkins to the Reverend Peter I. Van Pelt concerning the creation of a college on Staten Island, a contemporary manuscript copy of Tompkins's Columbia College valedictory address, various manuscript and printed biographical and genealogical items, and photographs of five portraits of Tompkins and his wife.

Sykes gift. A second installment of the papers of the novelist and critic Gerald Sykes has been received from Mrs. Claire Sykes. Included among the forty-three manuscripts are typescripts of notes and drafts relating to the author's first novel, *The Nice American*, as well as manuscripts for various other works of fiction.

Thompson gift. Professor Susan O. Thompson (M.S., 1963; D.L.S., 1972) and her husband, Professor John A. Thompson (A.M., 1947; Ph.D., 1957), have donated a collection of twenty-four editions of African poetry published in Nigeria; issued primarily during the 1960s, the pamphlets, many of which are illustrated, include the work of such prominent poets as Ulli Beier, Dennis Brutus, John Pepper Clark, Christopher Okigbo, Jean-Joseph Rabearivelo, and Felix Tchikaya U'Tamsi. Mrs. Thompson has also added to the Book Arts Collection more than a hundred pieces of printing ephemera, including pamphlets issued, illustrated, or designed by John De Pol, Gravesend Press, Ray Nash, Stanbrook Abbey Press, Stinehour Press, Reynolds Stone, and Walpole Press.

Yerushalmi gift. Professor Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi (A.M., 1961; Ph.D., 1966) has presented a rare seventeenth-century edition of the *Babylonian Talmud*. Published in Amsterdam by Immanuel Benveniste in 1644–1649, the set, complete in twelve volumes, contains the uncensored text with the commentaries of Rashi and the Tosafists, Rabbi Asher, Rabbi Nissim, Shimshon of Sens, and the commentary of the Rambam on the Mishna. The work is handsomely printed with woodcut printer's devices and floriated initials on individual tractate titles.

Activities of the Friends

Winter Reception. The Libraries' large collection of Rockwell Kent drawings formed the basis of the winter exhibition, "Designs for Living: The Decorative Arts of Rockwell Kent," which was opened with a reception sponsored by the Friends on Thursday afternoon, March 5. The more than one hundred drawings and paintings exhibited were drawn from gifts received over the years from Dr. Corliss Lamont, Mr. Dan Burne Jones, Mr. George M. Jaffin, Mrs. Iphigene Sulzberger, Mr. and Mrs. Alfred C. Berol, Mrs. Sally Kent Gorton, Mr. and Mrs. Herman Cohen, and Mr. and Mrs. George Spector. This first exhibition devoted to Kent's designs for the home, commercial advertising, and decorations for public buildings also includes pieces of dinnerware, fabrics with Kent's designs, wrapping paper, and other decorative objects, many of them specially lent for the exhibition, which will remain on view through July 31.

Bancroft Awards Dinner. Presided over by Elizabeth M. Cain, Chairman of the Friends, the annual Bancroft Awards Dinner was held in the Rotunda of Low Memorial Library on Thursday evening, April 2. President Michael I. Sovern announced the winners of the 1987 awards for distinguished books in American history and diplomacy published in 1986: Thomas M. Doerflinger, *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise: Merchants and Economic Development in Revolutionary Philadelphia*, University of North Carolina Press; and Roger Lane, *Roots of Violence in Black Philadelphia, 1860–1900*, Harvard University Press. The President presented to the author of each book an award of $4,000 from funds provided by the Edgar A. and Frederic Bancroft Foundation, and the Chairman of the Friends presented certificates to the publishers of the award-winning books.

Future Meetings. An exhibition of treasures from the library of Alan H. Kempner, presented by Mrs. Margaret L. Kempner, will open with a reception on Wednesday afternoon, December 2. The winter exhibition reception has been scheduled for March 2, 1988, and the Bancroft Awards dinner will be held on Wednesday evening, April 6, 1988.

THE FRIENDS OF THE COLUMBIA LIBRARIES

AN OPPORTUNITY

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

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

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