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COLUMBIA LIBRARY COLUMNS

THE SPRING 1997 ISSUE | ROBERT SCOTT, GUEST EDITOR

In 1986, recognizing the revolutionary potential of electronic technology for humanities research, Anita K. Lowry of Butler Library's Reference Department created the Electronic Text Service (ETS), the first library department anywhere in the United States (and perhaps the world) devoted specifically to the collection and use of full-text source materials in electronic format for research and analysis. In the decade since, outstanding electronic text centers have sprung up at a number of other libraries, a national organizational structure has grown up around the Center for Electronic Text in the Humanities, and the body of available material has burgeoned, but the ETS has continued to grow along with the field. Its collections today include tens of thousands of texts in more than twelve languages and a variety of software tools for complex searching, making concordances, collation of variant versions, markup of structure and content, and other authoring and analysis tasks. The scope and programs of the department are also extending in new directions. From a collection primarily accessible via individual on-site workstations, it is moving toward one providing a maximum number of resources over the campus networks to individual offices and desktops. From an initial emphasis on formally published materials, it has broadened its mission to include assistance to users in acquiring reliable copies of more informally produced materials or creating their own electronic versions of texts. And finally, from a center whose early users were drawn primarily from the faculty and graduate student population, it is working to reshape itself into one providing more active support for undergraduate instruction as well, beginning with a collection of searchable online electronic versions of many

of the works read in Columbia College's Contemporary Civilization course. (More information about the resources and programs of the ETS is available on its web pages, located at <http://www.columbia.university/cu/libraries/indiv/ets.>)

In an effort to provide greater visibility to its programs and resources, the ETS recently inaugurated a series of lunchtime talks on electronic textual research at Columbia. The essays appearing in this issue are based on some of those presentations. The subject areas they represent—classics, medieval studies, and early American history—reflect areas of particular strength in the department's collections. They also illustrate the wide range of uses to which electronic materials may be put.

Anders Winroth's account of his discovery of a hitherto unknown recension of one of the key works of medieval canon law reveals the way in which the computer can help to identify structural peculiarities reflecting stages in the history of a complex text, as well as to identify earlier sources on which an author has drawn. Elias Theodoropoulos's discussion of his study of Euripides' *Hecuba* demonstrates how the use of electronic tools for the close philological analysis of a single work of literature can generate interesting new interpretive insights. Thea K. Hunter's research on indentured servants in eighteenth-century America illustrates how a large and complex electronic textual database such as that of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* can serve as a rich source

of factual material, while Michael Zakim's use of the same and other early American texts for his investigation of sartorial culture in the early American republic indicates how this same type of material may be mined for evidence of implicit social attitudes. Finally, Consuelo Dutschke's reflections on her cataloging of Columbia's Plimpton Collection of medieval manuscripts and on the Rare Book and Manuscript Library's ongoing project to digitize selected medieval manuscripts testify to the value of large textual corpora for identifying anonymous or misidentified manuscript texts and the relatively less explored opportunities of computerized textual images.

The variety of approaches represented by the projects described above suggests, I hope, the extent to which electronic resources of this kind can be of assistance not only to scholars engaged in classic "computer analyses" of texts but to nearly any type of text-centered research for which electronic source materials are available. A somewhat related point, of equal importance and made by each of the writers here, is that these types of electronic textual resources do not so much supplant as supplement the great collections of printed source material that our research libraries have spent so many years in assembling.

*Robert Scott is the head of the Electronic Text Service, 504 Butler Library.

p tota p[ar]te thalim. quid p rectu p[ar]te signet.
 q[ui] h[ab]et thalim[us] rectum q[ui] opta est recto am[an]
 eam mens. r[ati]o h[ab]et feruoz a mozi i occulto e.
 h[ab]et r[ati]o p[ar]te rectum. q[ui] s[e]p[ar]ata facit tota quidem
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 parimulos. quodam n[on] obscuro lib[er]is sentencijs
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 ut d[omi]n[us] ea n[on] intelligim[us] agnoscetes i[st]a ma i[n]e
 cecitas. ad h[um]ilitate magis q[ui] ad intelligencia
 am p[er]ficiam[us]. s[un]t e[st] quodam q[ui] ita d[omi]n[us] s[e]p[ar]atib[us]
 locuntur. ut s[e]p[ar]at[us] s[un]t s[un]t aulib[us] i p[ar]te sua
 p[er]sistentib[us] p[ar]te. nec dum n[on] p[er]egnantib[us]
 referantur. Nam si quis ad urtem i cogitatu
 p[ar]te. multa de illa i sua audiat. q[ui]dam p[ar]te
 ex t[em]p[or]e colligit. q[ui]dam n[on] q[ui] i d[omi]n[us] audiat. nullo
 modo cognoscit. I[st]i n[on] aulib[us] q[ui] ita s[un]t. r[ati]o de il
 lara cen[us] uident r[ati]o de illa dicent intelligit.
 Nos q[ui] adhuc i sua s[un]t multa de illa celest[is]
 patri audimus. alia ita p[ar]te s[un]t r[ati]o i d[omi]n[us] i d[omi]n[us]
 s[un]t. q[ui]dam n[on] n[on] intellecta uen[us]. m[us] m[us]
 r[ati]o de eadem sacro eloquio s[e]p[ar]at[us] est. Exen
 t[em]p[or]e celum sicut pellem. q[ui] t[em]p[or]e r[ati]o s[un]t s[e]p[ar]at[us].

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MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS
AND THE MODERN DATABASE:
Mirabile Dictu

CONSUELO W. DUTSCHKE

This paper recounts an episode that began as does all research: an impetus, questions, search. The impetus was provided by a single leaf of a medieval manuscript that I bought a year ago. The questions are those that arise almost naturally in looking at such a fragment: What does it say? How old is it?

I use this small leaf as a stand-in for vast numbers of surviving medieval manuscripts, our single greatest legacy from the pre-print era and the key factor in the intellectual continuum from antiquity through to the sixteenth century, when manuscripts' contents were transferred to printed form. It is important to recognize the double aspect of medieval manuscripts: had there been no physical survival, there could have been no intellectual survival. Conversely, without a text there is no manuscript. Thus, identification of a manuscript's text is the answer to the first question, placing value on the intellectual content. To discover a manuscript's place and date of origin is to answer the second question in a response that privileges the physical over the textual aspect. Without precise answers to questions of textual identity and textual circulation, we can only guess at the steps that lead us from the thinking of earlier times to our present condition.

When I first acquired this leaf, I paid a visit to the Electronic Text Service (ETS) in Butler Library and obtained the answer to my first question with remarkable ease. I began by isolating a string of several words, "quia operta est"; then, using the *CLCLT: CETEDOC Library of Christian Latin Texts* on CD-ROM (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1991-), I searched the chosen words. The reward was the textual identity of this fragment: Gregory I, *Homilies on Ezechiel*, Book 2, homily 5. Seven years ago we could not have

done that. Seven years ago, we would only have “identified” the fragment as patristic (if such can be termed “identification”) and abandoned hope of accuracy. *CLCLT*, now occupying two CDs, contains all the texts published in the *Corpus Christianorum* series plus various major authors (e. g., Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome) drawn from other series such as the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* and the *Acta Sanctorum*.

I have had frequent occasion to use two other databases in ETS that work with the same methodology as *CLCLT*—in the sense of free word searching through a discrete body of complete texts: Chadwyck-Healey’s *Patrologia Latina* (Alexandria, Va.: Chadwyck-Healey, 1995) and *PHI 5.3* from the Packard Humanities Institute (Los Altos, Calif.: Packard Humanities Institute, 1991). The first database fills 5 compact discs and contains all 221 volumes of J. P. Migne’s *Patrologia Latina*, a collection of the Latin church fathers from the early years through the twelfth century. The second database, *PHI 5.3*, focuses on classical Latin literature.

I now temporarily abandon my little fragment to talk about the larger use of these databases. I came to Columbia on a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities to catalogue the approximately 300 medieval and Renaissance manuscripts bequeathed to Columbia University in 1936 by George Arthur Plimpton. One of the salient features of this collection is the excellent sampling of early

scripts: fifteen Plimpton call numbers stand for items dating from ca. 700 to the year 1000. The scripts represented include several versions of Irish minuscule, one pre-Caroline script, one Visigothic, and a goodly variety of the script that came into being during the latter part of the eighth century: Caroline Minuscule itself. To this profile of Columbia’s early holdings I add that with one exception these items are all fragments. It is easily seen how useful the CD-ROM databases I have just mentioned are to the cataloguing of such fragmentary material. Of Columbia’s fourteen early fragments (the fifteenth early item being a complete codex), two are from Bibles, so their identification posed no problem to the early twentieth-century cataloguer Seymour de Ricci¹ (after all, the first concordance to the Vulgate Bible had been compiled during the thirteenth century); one fragment is liturgical, so its identification was also, at the basic level, quite simple; two of the Plimpton fragments were missed altogether by the collection’s first cataloguer. We are thus left with nine previously-catalogued fragments of texts: I have corrected the author attribution in four cases. De Ricci, after all, did not have the *Patrologia Latina* on CD-ROM.

Most of Columbia’s manuscripts are thankfully complete copies; a goodly number of these are neither classical texts nor treatises by the church fathers. When one is faced with a complete text of late medieval authorship, ETS offers another special tool: the *In*

Principio CD-ROM (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1993–). I am very fond of *In Principio*, starting with its name: a pun on the beginning of the Bible and on the database's own contents: Latin incipits. Incipits are the opening words of a text; they are to the Middle Ages what title pages are to the printed-book world: the authentic identifier of a specific text. It is the same system whereby we today might refer to a certain prayer as the "Our Father" (using its opening words) rather than calling it by its "title," the Lord's Prayer.

In Principio provides an advantage that traditional printed incipit lists cannot: free word searching internal to the incipit itself. Strict alphabetization is not an issue in this database; if you cannot read the first word, you may search on the second or on an alternative or truncated form. I do not need to explain the advantage of such flexibility in working with medieval texts. As has been recently pointed out, medieval texts do not have variants—they are variance itself.²

A bit of creative manipulation on the part of the user makes this Latin incipit database yet more flexible, especially if we remember that the barrier between Latin and the vernacular languages was more porous then than it is now. Allow me to propose the example of Plimpton MS 170. It begins, in Italian, "Conputo si e una scienza per sapere ciertificare del tempo . . ." I translated several key words into Latin as "scientia certificandi" and searched them on *In Principio*; presto, an author attribution that

I did not have before and might never have discovered on my own: "Bene Luccentis"; it was only a short step from the typographical error of this seemingly bizarre name to "Bonus Luccensis." The author is Bonus of Lucca, as further investigation proved.

To this point I have discussed my use of some of ETS's tools for the cataloguing of medieval manuscripts; these CD-ROMs were, however, not developed as cataloguing tools. Specifically, as the name of its home institution (Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes) reminds us, *In Principio* is intended to aid research in the history of texts. To this end we need to recall what classical scholarship has traditionally seen as its goal: the edition of the text; such scholarship tells us, presumably, what the author wrote. The IRHT approach is to determine what people read, when they read it, and where they read it, hence the necessity of pinpointing all surviving copies. The application of *In Principio* to studies of textual reception and circulation was its original intent.

The CD-ROM version of the *Patrologia Latina* lends itself to forms of scholarship that would be much more laborious in a straightforward reading of the printed text. Two examples come to mind, the first at the level of a simple word search. A friend, interested in commercial book production in the Middle Ages, remarked to me that there seemed to be rather few references to book sellers in the late antique-early medieval period, with the excep-

tion of Martial's often repeated comments about that exciting new book form, the codex.³ To move this observation from impression to evidence, one performs a word search on the *Patrologia* CD-ROMs and on *PHI 5.3*, looking up the word "librarius" and its Greek variant, "bibliopola": 487 hits. I did not call up the texts to verify each citation, but the point is made. Words are not reality, but in dealing with past eras they are what we have. Potentially this and many other single-word searches could lay the groundwork for interpretive scholarship based on the evidence of lexicography.

The CD-ROM *PL* and its counterpart, *CLCLT*, have surprised me with another type of search result that occurs with intriguing frequency. I cite one example: a search on the phrase "quae populus admiretur" produces four hits in the *PL* database. We open the four texts to find that all have exactly the one complete sentence, set in different contexts. By reading above and below the citation, it is possible to select the single correctly matching text to our manuscript: not Julianus Pomerius (*PL* 59:489), not the "auctor incertus" queried as Alcuin (*PL* 101:1193), not Rabanus Maurus (*PL* 112:1357); the matching text is Halitgarius, bishop of Cambrai (*PL* 105:661). Identification of the fragment only opened a larger question about the nature of authorship and citation in Carolingian times: why do four texts incorporate the same phrase with no signals of conscious quotation? Here, too, is a

potentially fruitful form of scholarship that would not have presented itself as vividly in a standard reading of a printed text. There is some risk that the ease of reference offered by electronic tools will make such research seem their sole function; "reference" is indeed how I use them in building another reference tool, a catalogue. But, as suggested, they offer many opportunities beyond reference to understanding, if the user manipulates them to his or her purposes.

At the beginning of this essay, I mentioned a manuscript leaf and asked the obvious questions on its textual identification and on its date of origin. ETS answered the first question. Another form of electronic tool will soon answer the second. In October 1996 the Mellon Foundation gave jointly to the University of California, Berkeley and to Columbia University a grant to build, on the World Wide Web, a database of digitized images of medieval and Renaissance manuscripts using the combined holdings of the two institutions. The intellectual backbone that I have given to this enterprise is that of the Catalogues of Dated and Datable Manuscripts. Medieval manuscripts, not possessing a title page with author/title information, also do not have "title pages" that state place/date information. The origin of a manuscript is almost always determined paleographically, in the same way in which connoisseurship functions for art historians, by the educated eye's comparison of hitherto unknown materials

against a recognized body of established origin. For paleography, compilation of the corpus of known material began officially in 1953, when the Comité International de Paléographie Latine established as a goal the photographic publication of every dated manuscript. To date, twenty-five volumes exist in the series, representing European libraries from Sweden to Rome. The United States has not participated, because our collections are too small and too scattered; for example, the Huntington Library has some 400 codices; of these only 26 (up to the year 1500) are dated. The cost of publication and distribution of numerous small fascicules would be prohibitive.

With our Berkeley-Columbia project, "The Digital Scriptorium," we can flag the images of dated manuscripts, we can at any point mesh new entries from other institutions into the chronological sequence, we can afford to put up multiple images of each dated book, and all the images will be in color.⁴ A user will be able to call up both dated and undated images and sort them one against the other or against his or her own material. In a few years time I, too, will be able to compare my fragment against an entire series of dated manuscript on the web, and I will probably decide that it is from northern France or modern-day Belgium, copied toward the end of the thirteenth century. I cannot do that yet; Digital Scriptorium in only in its initial phases.

In a few years time this new electronic database will provide yet another tool to sort out the past with a view to the future.

Notes

1. S. de Ricci, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York: H.H. Wilson, 1935–37).
2. Bernard Cerquiglini, *Eloge de la variante: histoire critique de la philologie* (Paris: Seuil, 1989).
3. Colin H. Roberts and T. C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (London: Oxford University Press, 1983), 24–29.
4. Columbia has a test project of 100 images now available at :<http://www.columbia.edu/cu/libraries/indiv/rare/images>

STolen or stray'd on Saturday the 19th.

Instant, from John Ogden of this City, Tagger, a grey Horse, about 4 Years old, trimm'd Mane, switch Tail, God before, branded in the near Buttock AH.

Also R U N away: eſterday from the ſame Perſon, a Servant Man named Philip Brown, aged about 21, luſty made but goes ſcoping, has ſtraight black Hair, and talks the Weſt-country Dialect. Dressed in a new Felt Hat, dark cloſe Coat full trimm'd, ſtriped Linnen Jacket, white Linnen Breeches, white Thread Stockings and ſtrong Shoes. Whoever ſecures the ſaid Horſe and Servant ſo that they may be had again, ſhall have Ten Shillings Reward for the former, and Twenty Shillings for the latter, with reaſonable Charges paid, by

John Ogden. May 28.

FIG. 1—Advertising facsimile. Facsimile of an advertisement placed by owner John Ogden in the Pennsylvania Gazette in May 1733. It contains the important description of his missing livestock and his missing servant. Notice the similarity of language used in describing both.

"SO THAT HIS MASTER
MAY HAVE HIM AGAIN":

*The Pursuit of Indentured Property
in the Pages of the Pennsylvania Gazette*

T. K. HUNTER

A degree of infamy brings indentured servants to our attention in the form of runaway advertisements taken out by masters seeking to recover them. The notices are a point of intersection for apprentices, indentured servants, convicts, and slaves; it is in the advertisements that the status of indentured servants as property becomes evident.

Manually searching the pages of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for runaway notices in the twenty-one-year period between 1729 and 1750—an undertaking of tremendous proportions—is both time consuming and painstaking. It requires reading each issue of the *Gazette* in full without the benefit of the indices and regular sections present in modern-day newspapers such as the *New York Times*. With its multicolumn format, the *Gazette* was a disorganized jumble of news, opinions, and classifieds: no index, no sections. An advertisement for a runaway could be placed adjacent to, above, or beneath an announcement of the newest ship to enter port from foreign parts, of a woman who left her husband, or of an attempt to clear one's name from being ill-used. The possible embedding of a runaway notice within another announcement further complicates such an investigation.

However, a fully searchable electronic text of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Malvern, Pa.: Accessible Archives, 1991–) is a boon to the scholarly researcher. It allows for the extraction of information in ever broader or

more focused ways. Searching for runaways initially garnered over 1,430 matches. Though the yield included slaves, apprentices and convicts, the inquiry could be further focused by searching for “servant” within the context of “runaway.” Nevertheless, the larger search proved to be crucial to examining eighteenth century language. A word search for “entertainment” that began purely as an exercise, provided an important lesson: sensitivity to the changes in language use is essential.

For the Entertainment of our Readers, we shall give the Publick the following Account of the Greenland Gear, as reported by Captain Atkins, who has lately brought one to this Place . . . a Large White Greenland Bear, with a Cub sucking Her: the Cub suppos'd to be then about Three Months old. They generally keep near the Edges of the Cakes of Ice on the Greenland Seas, to catch Seils [sic], which they chiefly live on. This is the first of the Kind that ever was brought into this Country. (*PG*, Feb. 28, 1733)

A general search for “entertainment” yielded this entry—one among various diversions being offered to the Philadelphia public near the middle of the eighteenth century. Other items such as a tragedy called *Tamerlane* alongside a farce called *A Wife Well-Managed or a Cure for Cuckoldom* (*PG*, June 6, 1754), a

demonstration of the “newly discovered Electrical Fire” (*PG*, May 2, 1751), a roasted ox on the third day of an autumn fair, an opportunity to see the “Solar or Camera Obscura MICROSCOPE . . .” (*PG*, Aug. 2, 1744), despite their diversity, were forms of entertainment. The disparate matches returned by such a search might appear to obscure the results; in fact, they are each potential sources of great clarification.

Electronic texts allow the scholar to trace the occurrence of words and reveal meanings previously unconsidered. In the case of “entertainment,” the accretions of time that constructed its twentieth-century meaning were gradually eradicated, yielding a recontextualized “entertainment” in its richly varied eighteenth-century sense: it denoted theater performances, scientific demonstrations, exhibits of unusual scientific instruments and even the occasional display of exotic animals. This proved invaluable to understanding the texture of eighteenth-century life in and around the areas where the *Gazette* circulated. That life formed the backdrop for runaway indentured servants who left their trails, in the form of advertisements taken out by their masters, in the pages of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*.

“Run away.” Virtually all of the notices in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* concerning the disappearance of servants began with those words. For the reader or the hearer of the advertise-

ment, it stated the quarry in no uncertain terms.¹

Run away from John Matlack. . . . a Servant Man named Neal Macneal, an Irishman, aged about 20, wears an old Felt Hat, a dark colour'd home spun Coat and Jacket, Leather Breeches, grey Yarn Stockings, pair of old Shoes new mended, and one of 'em capp'd, or a pale Complexion, very much freckled. . . . (May 22, 1729)

Run away on the 15th of March from John Philips . . . an Irish Servant Man named John Macguire, middle Stature, thick and well-set, fresh coloured likely full Face, dark brown Hair somewhat curl'd; As to his Apparel a good Felt Hat, blue homespun cloth Coat trim'd with brass Buttons, a good pair of Buckskin Breeches with brass Buttons, blue yarn Stockings. . . . (March 26, 1730)²

Of the various notices in any given issue of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* runaway advertisements declared to the reader: there is someone among you who does not belong. Run away. The words detailed both the action and the actor. Yet the declaration of what was tantamount to a "fugitive in your midst" was not the modern equivalent of "armed and dangerous." Even those men who had made their escape from a local gaol, eluded their

sheriff captors, or took a gun with them, were not described as desperate, dangerous men who might threaten the community. A search for the terms "dangerous," "armed," "highwayman/men" (the villains of the eighteenth century) generated surprising results.

In this City, when the People of City and County were assembled in the Market Place, and had just begun the Choice of Inspectors, a Body of Sailors, suppos'd to be about 70 or 80, collected from several Ships in the Harbour, appear'd at the Foot of Market Street, arm'd with Clubs, and huzzaing march'd up in a tumultuous Manner towards the People. As they were mostly Strangers, and had no kind of Right to intermeddle with the election . . . (Oct. 7, 1742)

A Caution to the Paper-Money Colonies. TO beware of one Joshua Dean, who having been convicted of counterfeiting the Paper Stamps at Home, has been transported to the Plantations for Life. . . . he is a very sly artful Fellow, discourses well upon most Subjects of the Mechanicks, and is a Jack of all Trades. . . . the utmost Care will be taken to keep him closely to honest Labour, to prevent so dangerous a Fellow from injuring the Publick . . . (June 15, 1738)

It was privateers, highwaymen, and unruly general election crowds who were described as armed; with them the public were enjoined to exercise caution. Privateers took prisoners, highwaymen waylaid fellow travelers, relieving them of money and clothing, and election crowds marched in a tumultuous manner, shouting and brandishing clubs. Counterfeiters were considered “dangerous fellows” who must be kept from “injuring the Publick.” Indentured servants could become highwaymen, privateers, counterfeiters, or add to the numbers of an unruly election crowd, but they were not inherently dangerous in their runaway state—presence of arms notwithstanding.

That runaway indentured servants were not considered to be threatening suggested that the purpose of the advertisements was not primarily to announce the presence of a societal menace at large. Instead, it implied that the notices were a different type: they indicated indentured servants’ status as property.

By the eighteenth century the basic form for indenture could be purchased at the printer or stationer complete with blank spaces for the prospective servant and master to fill in. The transaction, though not complex, bound a man, or less frequently, a woman, for a specific term. Servants agreed to serve faithfully, honestly, and obediently and masters agreed to provide sufficient food, drink, apparel, lodging, and freedom dues

“according to the custom of the country.” Their signatures bound both by a legal contract sealed by the local magistrate. The subtleties of that binding must not be overlooked. Traditionally, attention focused on the voluntary aspect of the transaction while the transformative effects remained unexamined: the servant was recast from a man who owned his own labor to a bound laborer who became property of someone else.

The presence of a legal contract notwithstanding, when servants fled from their circumstances, violation of contract was not at issue. Indeed, not a single runaway notice for an indentured servant appearing in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* in the period between its founding in 1729 and 1750 made reference to an infraction of a legal contract. Bondspeople who ran away were property—the advertisements were unequivocal on that score—and their masters wanted to regain them.

When indentured servants came to the public’s attention through descriptions in runaway notices, they ceased to be the unobtrusive source of labor they were presumed to be. And as a source of labor—like horses or cattle—their straying was noteworthy to the local community as well as a farther-reaching regional colonial public. When runaways appeared in newspaper ads—like the chestnut horse with a white blaze between his eyes, or the cow with a notch in his left ear—they were described in close detail as strayed property.

Taken out of the Stable of the Bear Inn in Market street, on Monday Night last, a young black Horse about 5 Years old, branded with IK upon the near Buttock, a Star in the Forehead and a snip upon the Nose . . . At the same Time was taken a breasted Saddle, almost new with double stamp Housens bound round with white, the Sweat flaps single, one of the foremost brass Nails is lost . . . (March 26, 1730)

Strayed or Stolen on the 2d of this Inst. from Daniel Rodney's Pasture in Dover, two Horses. The one branded with I H on the near Shoulder, and a Scar of a Fistul on the off Shoulder, large Main and long Switch Tail. The other branded with L T on the near Buttock. . . (Sept. 25, 1735)

Clustered word searches for "lost" or "stolen" with "reasonable charges" produced numerous advertisements for lost, strayed, or stolen property, all of which followed a particular form: the supposition of how, where, and when the property was removed and who sustained the loss. A description of the property followed, e.g., "a young black mare marked with IK on the near buttock, together with a new russet saddle . . ." Each advertisement ended with the refrain "whoever secures the said [property] so that it/they may be had again" would receive a reward plus reasonable charges paid by the advertising owner. When, for example, an owner described a black breasted saddle, with a brass pommel and buckles of a breast plate, such a saddle was not to be confused with any other similar saddle missing. The detail of description suggested a number of things, not the least of which was

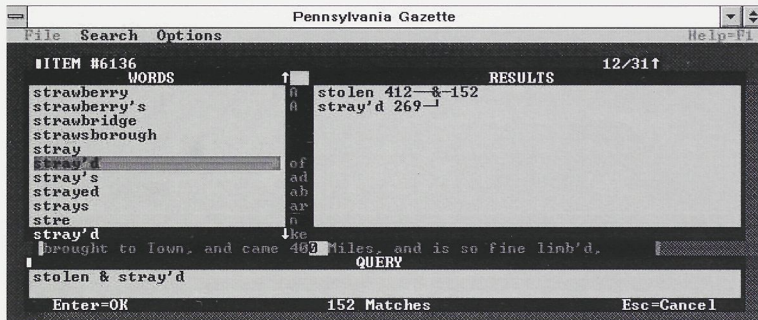


FIG. 2—"Stolen & Stray'd." Search screen indicating the number of folios containing the words "Stolen" and "Stray'd." In each case, the first number is the word's appearance in isolation, and the number after the ampersand is the word's appearance in combination.

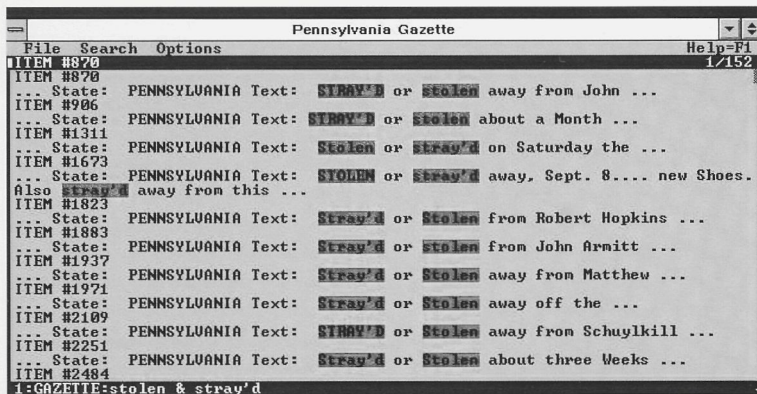


FIG. 3—"Stolen & Stray'd" Search screen results using the "focused" feature. This allows the user to see, at a glance, part of the phrase in context in list form. The screen can be easily expanded to read the text of each result in its entirety.

the deep familiarity the owner had with his property. Particularity indicated two important points stressed by the owner: the property should not be confused with something initially similar in form, and "I know this thing—this property is irrefutably mine." In those instances, intimate knowledge, more than possession, weighed heavily in favor of the owner.

The stolen and lost property advertisements bear an unmistakable resemblance to runaway advertisements in their form, detail, and suppositions. When, for example, on May 31, 1733, John Ogden placed an ad concerning both his strayed or stolen horse and his runaway indentured servant, the comparison was firmly established. Ogden reported "a grey horse, about 4 years old,

trimm'd mane, switch tail, shod before, branded on the near buttock AH," and in the next sentence described his servant man "Philip Brown, aged about 21, lusty made but goes stooping, has strait [sic] black hair, and talks the west country dialect." Ogden's sketch included an inventory of Philip Brown's clothing: "a new felt hat, dark cloth coat full trimm'd, stripped linen jacket, white linen breeches, white thread stockings and strong shoes." The advertisement ended as follows: "Whoever secure [sic] the said horse and servant so that they may be had again, shall have 10 shillings reward for the former, and 20 shillings for the latter, with reasonable charges paid by John Ogden."³

Ogden's horse, a beast of burden incapable of making agreements or its wishes

known, was non-sentient property whose dimensions were delineated in the ad; the horse could be rendered in terms of color, age, type of hair, accoutrements, and bodily markings. Ogden's servant, Philip Brown, was not a beast incapable of making agreements. As a servant Brown had once asserted he was capable of binding himself without infringing upon the rights of someone else—a necessary component of the legal indenture contract.⁴ The contract that Philip Brown signed made him property—supplanting self-ownership and completing his transformation to another state. In the pages of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Philip Brown was so much property, sharing a status with a four-year-old grey horse with a brand on its near buttock.

For indentured servants to have been recast as property in the act of making a contract was ironic; it was, in effect, their last free act until such time as the terms of the contract were fulfilled or the contract itself is dissolved. Prior to the transformative signing, the prospective servant was free enough—and equal enough—to be considered a partner in a legal transaction.

When he signed a form of indenture, the servant's freedom and equality vanished, along with the opportunity to be self determining. In addition, the law called for extending the term of servitude, should various portions of the contract not be met by the servant. Nevertheless, in runaway notices

of indentured servants, the point of contention did not pivot about breach of contract.

That servants were transformed into property argues against the benign nature of indentured labor and reveals the lacunae in our understanding of eighteenth-century bound servitude. For in binding his labor the servant bound himself beyond labor. When he sought freedom, it became evident that his binding had altered his state and for a time changed him into another man's property, ready to be sought and found so that his master might have him again.

The need for well-designed, searchable electronic texts for scholarly use cannot be overemphasized. However, such texts do not eliminate the necessity of working with documents either in their original or in microfilm. True, some electronic texts provide facsimiles of the original, viz., the figures illustrated here, but they are of a certain limited value. A reproduction of an article in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* does not indicate such important information as where it was placed in the newspaper or the relative size of the type in relation to articles or advertisements around it. For those factors to be determined, the scholar must consult original documents.

Electronic texts do not substitute for the unmistakable thrill of handling historic documents—rare or less so—nor are they meant to. Few, if any, would forego the opportunity to

work with the original document in favor of working with the electronic version. Nevertheless, when properly developed, in partnership with academic specialists and with an understanding of the needs of the scholarly researcher, searchable electronic texts have the potential to increase the accessibility of information and promote better, more thorough scholarship—uncovering previously undiscovered layers of the past and making them apparent in the present for the future of the field.

Notes

1. Roy Porter notes that there were still many who were illiterate in eighteenth-century England—thus they were unable to read newspapers that informed them of the current goings-on. Information was nonetheless passed on via what Porter calls a “bridging” process. Men gathering at taverns would read aloud from newspapers the events to all and sundry, enabling even the illiterate among them to keep abreast of a variety of situations both social and political. Similarly, information concerning runaways would have certainly been accessible to the male tavern-going populace in eighteenth-century Philadelphia and runaways themselves would have known their own descriptions were in circulation. See *English Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Penguin Books), p. 167. Though writing much later, Nathaniel Hawthorne illustrates the presence of runaway notices posted in taverns when an innkeeper, wishing to rid his public house of an undesirable patron, referred to the notice while assessing

the figure and dress of the man he wanted to leave. See “My Kinsman, Major Molyneux,” in *Nathaniel Hawthorne’s Tales*, James McIntosh, ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1987), p. 7.

2. *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, CD-ROM Edition (Provo, Utah: Accessible Archives, Inc., 1991) Folio 1, 1728–1750.

3. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 31, 1733.

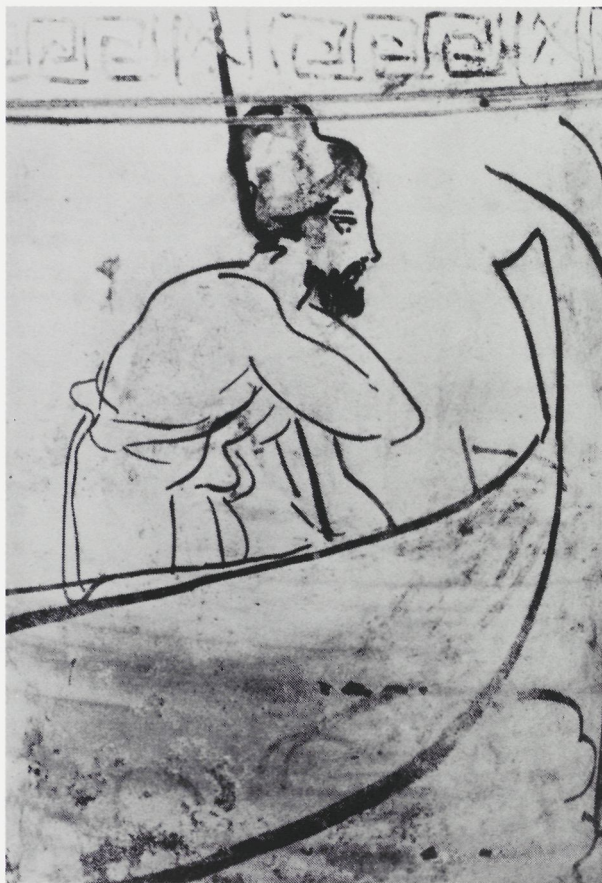
4. William Moraley gives an account of the process of becoming indentured in England and includes the fact that he had to swear he was unmarried or already apprenticed by another indenture. See *The Infortunate: The Voyage and Adventures of William Moraley, an Indentured Servant*, Susan E. Klepp and Billy G. Smith, eds. (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania University Press, 1992), 52.

“WHAT’S HECUBA TO HIM,
OR HE TO HECUBA . . .?”

ELIAS J. THEODORACOPOULOS

I am currently engaged in writing a philological and literary commentary on Euripides’ tragedy *Hecuba*, which was first performed in the Theater of Dionysus in Athens in 424 B.C. The function of such a commentary is to provide the advanced reader of the play with help in the following matters: the author’s use of language, both within the confines of the specific work and in the context of his entire extant oeuvre; the similarities and differences between this author’s style and the style of other contemporary practitioners of the genre of tragedy; the author’s place in the development of the Greek language and thought of the classical period, both before and after him; and, no less importantly, help in understanding Euripides’ imaginative world within the play itself and in its relation to the contemporary realities of life in fifth-century Athens.

For this commentary electronic resources have been invaluable, although they have their limitations. The primary electronic database that I use is the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (TLG) on CD-ROM, a full-text database that ultimately aims to contain all of Greek literature from Homer to the fall of Constantinople in 1453. It is published by the University of California at Irvine and in its current form consists of one CD-ROM, version D of which became available in early 1996. Accompanying it in book format is the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae: Canon of Greek Authors and Works*, 3rd ed., by Luci Berkowitz and Karl A. Squitier (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), which lists alphabetically by author the ideal table of contents of the completed *Thesaurus* and provides *inter alia* full bibliographic information on the editions of individual works used in compiling the *Thesaurus*. However, not all authors or works listed in the *Canon* are at present



Athenian white lekythos by the Reed Painter, last quarter of the fifth century B.C. Charon, the ferryman of the underworld, draws his ἄκατος over the river Acheron. Athens, National Museum 1759. Cf. J. D. Beazley, Attic Red-Figured Vase-Painters, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 1376, no. 1. For more information, see Donna C. Kurtz, Athenian White Lekythoi (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 58–65.

contained in the current CD version; newer versions will have more texts until, probably early in the next century, a semblance of the Platonic ideal will be reached. The *TLG* is fairly complete for the archaic and classical periods and includes all the major authors and works of the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods. Both primary texts and scholia are included, but some authors whose work has been preserved only in fragments are not. The *TLG* is therefore a work in progress.

Pandora, the program I use to read the *TLG* CD-ROM on the Apple Macintosh, runs under Hypercard 2.1 and with some minor variations is similar to a comparable program run on Windows for the PC. Pandora enables me to search for individual words and phrases, in close proximity or at some distance, in single authors or in a group of authors or works. The program prompts the formation of specific subsets of the database but also enables me to form my own more limited group of texts by allowing the manipulation of lists. I have therefore formed permanent lists of primary texts arranged by century, such as 8 B.C., 7 B.C., etc., up to the first century B.C. I search these lists regularly for comparative linguistic material. Once a specific word or phrase has been searched in, say, the fifth century B.C. list of authors, the program enables me to export the citations of all relevant passages, with ample context, to a word-processing file, with the result that I may have at my disposal, on diskette or hard drive,

a comprehensive collection of texts illustrative of the problem that I was seeking to elucidate in the first place.

The main limitations of the *TLG* are two: first, that the texts included in the CD-ROM are not accompanied by any information on manuscript textual variants, which are always included in critical printed editions; and second, that the editions used as basis for each author are, primarily for copyright reasons, not necessarily the best available to the world of scholarship. Texts that are frequently re-edited, such as those of the Athenian dramatists, are improved with each generation, whereas texts by philosophers, such as Aristotle, which are not (despite the need), remain much as they were in the late nineteenth century. Hence the *TLG* usually includes the best available texts of the less worked-on authors, but not necessarily the converse. There are exceptions, naturally. But even knowing which edition is used in *TLG* is by itself not enough to obviate the need to check the results of *TLG* searches against printed editions, since the lack of any information on the evidence of manuscripts leaves the reader at the mercy of editors. The printed book, therefore, has not been replaced yet; it has only been supplemented by the existence of electronic texts.

To illustrate the usefulness of an electronic full-text database such as the *TLG*, I shall focus on one example from Euripides' *Hecuba*, lines 444–483. The chorus dances and

sings a song, which consists of two pairs of strophe-and-antistrophe, written in aeolic meters. Troy has fallen. The song comes after Polyxena's decision to let herself be sacrificed at the tomb of Achilles and her being led off to her death by Odysseus, and before the Greek herald Talthybius arrives to narrate young Polyxena's noble death. During the song the captive Trojan women wonder where they might be headed when the Greek army leaves Troy: to Sparta, to Phthia (Thessaly), to the islands (such as Delos), or to Athens, there to weave the peplos for Athena. They are slaves moving from Asia to Europe.

Keeping in mind that for Euripides the *TLG* uses the old text of Murray ("corrected": but by whom, based on what?), whereas the standard printed texts today are by Diggle (1984) and Daitz (1973), one reads the word *akatos* in line 446, in the accusative plural form *akatos* (= "vessels" in Collard's translation). The word is odd. The chorus refers to the mighty Greek armada. Is it simply an extravagant use of the word, as Collard writes in his commentary (1991)? Checking the standard Greek-English dictionary, by Liddell-Scott-Jones (LSJ; 1940) one finds under *akatos* (fem.): I. "light vessel," "boat," Theognis, line 458, Pindar, *Pythian* 11, line 40, Herodotus book 7, chapter 186 (masculine), Thucydides book 7, chapter 25, etc.; used in the mysteries, *[Inscriptiones] Graecae* 1. 225c; generally "ship," Euripides, *Hecuba* line 446, *Orestes* line 342. II. "boat-shaped cup," Theopompus

comicus, fragment 3 (= Telestes frag. 6), Antiphanes comicus, fragment 4. No Greek text is cited, only the references. One therefore needs more context in order to understand Euripides' choice of language here.

A *TLG* search for ἄκατο- and ἄκατω-, i. e., a search for fragments of the word, to allow for changes due to inflection, done separately by century (8th B.C. to 4th B.C.) according to my own compiled lists of authors, yields the following hits:

for the 8th cent.: 15 hits: none usable

for the 7th cent.: 0 hits

for the 6th cent.: 2 hits: 1 usable

(Theognis 458)

for the 5th cent.: 50 hits: 25 usable, plus (26)

a new word βλασφημακάτους from the scholia

for the 4th cent.: 26 hits: 16 usable.

The discrepancy between those hits that are pertinent to the inquiry and those that are unusable is the result of Pandora's finding all words in the database that contain the sequence of letters "-akato-." Unfortunately, such a search cannot be limited more precisely at present. Therefore one must go through the results and eliminate the superfluous finds, which, if the original search is formulated narrowly enough, are not very many and can be easily deleted. Furthermore, since my lists of authors contain not only primary texts, according to century, but also scholia pertaining to these authors, which, however,

commonly date from late antiquity and the Middle Ages, some hits (whether pertinent or not) will date from a much later period than Euripides' own. With adjustments the results are as follows:

- for the 8th–7th cent.: no instance of the word ἄκατος
- for the 6th cent.: 1 instance only
- for the 5th cent.: 25 instances, of which 12 are genuinely 5th cent.
- for the 4th cent.: 16 instances, of which only 4 belong to the 4th cent.

A total of seventeen instances, then, of the word ἄκατος can be securely assigned to the sixth-fourth centuries B.C., including four from Euripides himself. Contrast this number with the ten references, without text, given by LSJ. Notable also is that LSJ refers to inscription IG I. 225c from Athens, which the *TLG* does not yield, since it contains no epigraphical material: for that one must use the Packard Humanities Institute *PHI 7* CD-ROM (Los Altos, Calif.: Packard Humanities Institute, 1996) that contains inscriptions. The gain, even with this limitation, is significant. The literary passages, then, are the following: Theognis 1. 458, Pindar *Pythian* 11. 40 and *Nemean* 5. 2, Euripides *Hecuba* 446, *Trojan Women* 1100, *Orestes* 342, fragment 773. 35 (= *Phaethon* 79), Herodotus 7. 186. 3, Thucydides 7. 25. 6 and 7. 59. 3, Aristophanes *Knights* 762, Critias fragment B2. 11 Diels-Kranz, and Telestes fragment 7.1 Poetae Melici Graeci,

Antiphanes fragment 3 Kassel-Austin, Theophilus fragment 6 Kassel-Austin, Theopompus comicus fragment 4 Kassel-Austin, and Theopompus historicus fragment 398. 1 (Jacoby).

A comparison of these seventeen passages is revealing. Since the Pandora program can export the full text of citations into a word-processing file, study of the relevant passages is a relatively easy task, after irrelevant or duplicate quotations have been eliminated. What does one observe then? Starting with Theognis I. 458: οὐ τι σύμφορον ἔστι γυνὴ νέα ἀνδρὶ γέροντι· οὐ γὰρ πηδαλίω πείθεται ὡς ἄκατος ("a young woman is not suitable for an old man; for she is not persuaded [easily] with a rudder like a boat"). The language is repeated, almost word-for-word, by the comic playwright Theophilus, in an identical context. Clearly ἄκατος connotes something light and fickle that can be maneuvered easily. Moving to three other comic poets, Aristophanes, *Knights* 762: τὴν ἄκατον παραβάλλου ("make the boat ready"), is using the word in a metaphorical sense taken from seafaring, whereas Antiphanes and Theopompus comicus (the latter quoting a near contemporary of Euripides, Telestes) use the work in a still further extension of its meaning, namely to refer to a boat-shaped cup used in libations at dinner for Zeus (a common type of transferred meaning). The quotation from Theopompus the historian is probably due to an ancient error in attribution (see Jacoby).

Of the remaining instances, both Herodotus and Thucydides (3 instances) use the word to name auxiliary vessels accompanying a fleet, in contexts that describe present or suggest future disasters. Critias' passage is concerned with the first builders of such support vessels. Pindar compares himself to a skiff blown off course (*Pythian* 11. 40), and in *Nemean* 5. 2 he evokes the image of a boat-lift à la Dunkirk, teeming with vessels unsuitable for the occasion, to convey the urgency of the news he must deliver.

Excluding Euripides, so far the semantic range of the word, both literal and metaphorical, is clear and confirms the outline given by LSJ. What about context? ἄκατος is used by didactic and comic poets in lighthearted contexts and, similarly, by lyric poets; the historians employ it matter-of-factly but suggest an incongruity between a major naval enterprise and the flimsiness of the vessel. Critias, who wrote in verse, falls somewhere between the didactic poets and the historians.

Finally, we are back to Euripides, whom this exercise seeks to understand. In *Trojan Women* 1100 ff. the chorus of Trojan slave women wishes that the ἄκατος of Menelaus be struck by a thunderbolt on its return home from captured Troy. In the epic cycle that was ascribed to Homer in antiquity most Greek ships met disasters at sea such as the chorus wishes here, although Menelaus (carrying Helen home) escaped. The chorus's wish strikes an ironic tone on several levels: it belit-

ties the mighty warship piloted by Menelaus, and hence the entire war effort, and plays with the audience's knowledge of future "events." In *Orestes* 340 ff. the chorus of women of Argos contemplates the transience of human prosperity by evoking the image of some god striking the sail of a swift skiff (ἀκάτου) and making it sink without a trace. A serious moment that expresses a familiar sentiment in an image familiar from Aeschylus, but with the added touch, not in Aeschylus, that the boat itself (= prosperity and wealth) is inconsequential. In *Phaethon* 79 (Diggle) the female chorus sings of ἄκατοι being rowed by winds, not rowers, on their voyage, and prays for a favorable breeze: a context of peace, almost idyllic in tone, with a suggestion of lightness and speed.

Irony, pity, and lightness are qualities that Euripides evokes in these three passages. What about in the passage from *Hecuba* 444 ff.? All of the above applies, and then some. Especially in conjunction with a repeated apostrophe to "breeze," the chorus ask, where would the ἄκατοι convey them, now that they are slaves? The word here suggests several things, all in a seafaring context: fickleness, frailty, transitoriness, fragility, danger on the voyage home, and a touch of condescension toward the mighty armada that just completed its conquest of Troy and is about to be lost at sea. When we remember that at the time of writing this tragedy Euripides' native city Athens was engaged in an all-out war with the Spartans,

and that Athenian military strength was primarily naval, the description of naval ships as light "boats" or "skiffs" becomes important for understanding his attitude toward war.

In conclusion, I would say that in order to study the context, style, tone, and especially the different registers of language in a work of literature that is both distant in time and alien in thought, such as Euripides' *Hecuba*, it is necessary to have easy access to huge amounts of text for purposes of comparison and evaluation. The *TLG* helps to provide the context in which the tone and register of the language can be detected and the literary quality of the work judged. In other words, the *TLG* in electronic form is a tool of crucial importance for the stylistic analysis of texts.



Gratian. An idealized portrait from the eighteenth century. Columbia Law Library.

UNCOVERING GRATIAN'S ORIGINAL
DECRETUM WITH THE HELP
OF ELECTRONIC RESOURCES*

ANDERS WINROTH

Gratian's *Decretum* is one of the most influential law books ever produced. Written around 1140, it was soon employed in law courts all over Europe and remained in use in Catholic church courts until 1917. Together with the Roman law books promulgated by the emperor Justinian, the *Decretum* formed an international legal system, a European common law, which during the rest of the Middle Ages provided a framework and a language for national and regional legislation.

The success of Gratian's work was due to its being the right book at the right time. The rapidly developing European societies of the eleventh and twelfth centuries required more sophisticated laws than were readily available. This explains why these centuries were characterized by intense efforts to explore, interpret, and codify law. Gratian's contribution was to collect the laws of the church and synthesize them into a coherent system. His *Decretum* contained almost 4,000 chapters and was also the first ecclesiastical law collection to contain a commentary. Some laws seemed to contradict others, but Gratian used scholastic methods to show that there was always some way to reconcile such laws with each other. No canon lawyer had tried to do this before, at least not on as wide a scale. Gratian brought order into canon law, and his work made it possible to study this subject systematically and as an academic subject. Thus, he helped create the University of Bologna, often considered Europe's oldest university. The *Decretum* became a bestseller, as is evident from the more than 600 extant medieval manuscripts that contain the work.

In my Columbia Ph.D. dissertation (1996), I examined the text of the *Decretum* to explore how Gratian went about writing his massive work. To that end, I investigated two things: which sources he employed and how he used the texts he found to build a coherent legal system. I looked for clues that would, as it were, give a picture of Gratian in his study working on the *Decretum*. During my work, the resources of Butler library's Electronic Text Service (ETS) helped me in many ways.

One type of clue is what the eminent scholar Stephan Kuttner, in a happy turn of phrase, called "untidy seams." When one reads the text of the *Decretum*, it quickly becomes clear that it is a work that outgrew its original plan. An example of the textual details that give this impression is the common heading or rubric, "de eodem" ("about the same thing"). When this rubric appears over a chapter, Gratian indicates that its subject is the same as that of the preceding chapter. But sometimes this heading is found over a chapter that is not about the same thing as the one that immediately precedes it. If one looks carefully, it appears that the rubric refers to an earlier chapter. I believe this means that the intervening chapters were added after Gratian wrote the rubric.

How is one to find such rubrics so that one can study them systematically? Gratian's *Decretum* is a large book, occupying over 700 densely printed pages in large format in the modern edition. There is a printed concor-

dance (i. e., a list of the words of the text in alphabetical order), but it is not likely to contain such common words as "de" or "eodem." One solution is to get a computer file containing the full text of the *Decretum*. The Monumenta Germaniae Historica in Munich, who published the concordance, was kind enough to let me have a copy of the computer file that was used in preparing the concordance. At the ETS I ran this file through a text-analysis program called TACT, which created a textual database that has since been a great help for my research. In a matter of seconds it told me that Gratian used the phrase "de eodem" 398 times, and it gave me the immediate context of each occurrence.

Similarly, when Gratian makes a general reference to a subject that he had discussed earlier, the concordance is usually of little help, since it only allows searching for one word at a time (or, rather, for one grammatical form of one word at a time). The TACT database, on the other hand, makes it easy to trace such references, since it allows me to search for combinations of words and the different grammatical forms of the appropriate words.

Also, when I attempted to identify the sources of the *Decretum*, the ETS was able to provide invaluable help. In one respect, Gratian's sources are obvious: When he says that he quotes Jerome, for example, then Jerome was his source. Unfortunately, things are often more complicated: Gratian never read Jerome's works. He took his texts from

earlier canon law collections, which in turn had taken them from other collections, and so on. What once was Jerome could easily, through some misunderstanding, become Augustine. Once a mistake got into the transmission, it was not readily corrected. Obviously, one must distinguish between Gratian's immediate sources (usually called "formal sources") and the ultimate or original ("material") sources.

Generations of scholars have worked on identifying the material sources of Gratian's *Decretum*. The result is that the sources of almost all 4,000 canons have been identified, with the sources of only about 50 canons still unidentified. One of the databases available at the ETS helped me reduce the number of unknown sources further. Gratian claims that one of his chapters (C. 11, q. 3, c. 45) is an excerpt from Augustine's commentary on the Gospel of Matthew. Scholars have long known that this is not true, but they have not been able to find the actual source. I searched for keywords from this text in a database called the *CLCLT: CETEDOC Library of Christian Latin Texts*. This database contains numerous patristic and medieval texts, most of which are drawn from recent, good editions. My search uncovered a reference to a work by the theologian Paschasius Radbertus, who lived in the ninth century. Scholars should be careful, however, not to jump to the conclusion that Paschasius was the true author of the mysterious chapter. I checked the edition of his

work (easy to find and use in the collections of Butler Library's excellent Ancient and Medieval Studies Reading Room) and discovered that Paschasius, too, was quoting another author, namely, the second-century theologian Origen. The footnotes in the Paschasius edition sent me to the edition of the Latin translation of Origen's commentary on Matthew. Here was the text that Gratian had quoted and that has escaped scholarly attention for centuries.

In my project, Gratian's formal sources were more important than the material sources. After all, the formal sources were the books that Gratian had in front of him on his desk while working on his *Decretum*. The legal historian Peter Landau has recently established that Gratian used six main sources, so I could concentrate my attention on those six. Two of them, the *Panormia*, compiled by Bishop Ivo of Chartres, and a treatise written by the canonist Alger of Liège, are available in poor editions in the *Patrologia Latina* (*PL*, a large series of reprints published in the middle of the nineteenth century by an industrious French abbot, Jacques-Paul Migne). The editions may be bad, but their inclusion in the *PL* has a nice bonus: There is a *PL* database by Chadwyck-Healey that contains the full text of all 221 volumes of this collection. Whenever I suspected that Gratian had taken a chapter from either Ivo or Alger, I could very easily search for that chapter in the electronic version of their works. This frequently paid off,

as the indices available in traditional (i. e., printed) form turned out to have overlooked some relevant chapters. Because of the great size of the *PL* database, I was able to check whether Gratian in specific cases might have used a source other than the six listed by Landau. The *Patrologia Latina* may be a less than perfect collection, since it contains so many bad editions, but the *PL* database is nevertheless an extremely useful tool.

When I systematized my observations about Gratian's "untidy seams" and about his use of sources, distinct stages in his editorial work began to emerge. My most unexpected finding was that there seems to have been a stage at which most of the commentary had already been written, but not all the chapters were yet present. A hypothetical earlier version of the *Decretum* seemed to materialize. If I wanted to argue in earnest that such a shorter version existed, I needed, however, clearer and more tangible evidence, preferably in the form of medieval manuscripts containing this version. The ETS was also of assistance in my efforts to map the manuscripts of the *Decretum*. The CD-ROM called *In Principio* contains information about thousands of manuscripts. A search for Gratian manuscripts in this source yielded dozens of shelf-marks. Further, there are some databases of manuscripts available on the Internet, including the excellent DBI-LINK for manuscripts in German libraries, a web site devoted to Austrian manuscripts, and the listings of

microfilms in the collections of the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library in Collegeville, Minnesota. I have found many Gratian manuscripts with the help of these resources, although I came across the four most interesting ones in more traditional ways, through the specialized literature. It turned out that the earlier version of the *Decretum* in fact is found in four manuscripts, which are preserved in libraries in Barcelona, Florence, Paris, and Admont in the Austrian Alps. These manuscripts have been known for some time, but their significance had not been recognized. A close study of their contents shows clearly and unambiguously that this is the first recension of Gratian's *Decretum*.

The discovery of the first recension explains an aspect of the *Decretum* that often confuses readers: Frequently, it is difficult to figure out Gratian's opinion on any given issue, since his text seems contradictory and inconsistent. This holds true for the second recension but is less so for the first, which contains most of the commentary found in the second recension but only about half of the canons. Most of Gratian's arguments and conclusions, therefore, were present already in the first recension, while each section of the text was shorter. Gratian's discussion appears more tightly argued and easier to follow. Let me give an uncomplicated example: It has often been remarked that the section labeled D. 6 fits its context poorly. Gratian here interrupts his discussion about the sources and

theory of law in order to examine the legislation concerning nocturnal emissions. This digression is missing from the first recension, in which Gratian keeps to the subject of the theory and sources of law.

To me it seems unlikely that the author of the tightly argued first recension would disturb his work in this manner. Additionally, I believe there are clear differences in approach and method between the two recensions. I have therefore suggested that the two recensions have different authors. Which of them was Gratian? Since the only thing we seem to know for sure about Gratian is that he wrote the *Decretum*, this question is somewhat disingenuous. As Charles Homer Haskins reminds us, "nothing is gained by the process which ascribes the Homeric poems to another poet of the same name." In any case, I prefer to think of the author of the first recension as the real author of the *Decretum*. It was he who first brought the methods of early scholasticism to bear on canon law, thereby creating the concord of dissonant canons that gave the work its original title. I like to think that the author's name was Gratian.

programs mentioned are available in the Electronic Text Service of Columbia's Butler Library.

*The results of the research described in this article are presented in the author's "The Two Recensions of Gratian's *Decretum*," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung* 83 (1997): 22-31, and in his forthcoming book *The Making of Gratian's "Decretum."* The databases and



John Singleton Copley, "Nicholas Boylston," 1767. Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. Copley was the Revolutionary era's outstanding portraitist. His real subject was the rich textures and colors of the gentry's clothing.

WHAT IS A POLITICAL HISTORY OF CLOTHING?

MICHAEL ZAKIM

The history of clothing unfolds at the center of politics. It is inseparable from social power, labor relations, political conflicts, and ideological justifications. In fact, two distinct moments in this history, divided in time by a hundred years, help to illuminate one of the great issues of American politics, namely, the relationship between capitalism and democracy.

Homespun clothing became a means of revolutionary agitation in America in the 1760s, a response to British trade reforms. A patriot donned these unrefined products of household labor to renounce imperial hubris and augment its antithesis, domestic manufactures. As Benjamin Rush, president of the United Company of Philadelphia for Promoting American Manufactures, argued, "A people who are entirely dependent upon foreigners for food or clothes must always be subject to them."¹

Thus, when "thirty-three respectable ladies . . . met about sunrise, with their wheels, to spend the day . . . in the laudable design of a spinning match," they became actors in the great revolutionary drama. Reports from Providence, Salisbury, Byfield, Newbury, Rowley, Ipswich, Beverly, and Boston told of Daughters of Liberty gathering to spin in coordinated displays of "industry" designed to "save their sinking country." The *Massachusetts Gazette* admonished "young ladies in town and those that live round" to "wear none but your own country linen. Of economy boast, let your pride be the most to show cloaths of your own make and spinning." Harvard College's graduating class wore homespun at their commencement ceremonies in 1768. So did the students at Yale and the College of Rhode Island. The *South Carolina Gazette* noted the appearance in Charleston of a gentleman "completely clad in the Product and

Manufacture of his own Plantation.” At the Burgesses’ ball in 1769 men and women made “a genteel appearance . . . chiefly dressed in Virginia cloth.” A Virginian declared: “The Whirling of our Spinning Wheels afford us the most delightful Musick, and Man is the most respected who appears clad in Homespun; as such a Dress is a sure Evidence of Love to his Country.” In the *Pennsylvania Gazette* a free-born American was even more adamant: “The skin of a son of liberty will not feel the coarseness of a homespun shirt! The resolution of a Pennsylvanian ‘should be made of sterner stuff’ than to be frightened at the bug bear—fashion!”²

“Fashion” was the thoughtless emulation of metropolitan style. It was fueled by love of luxury, which was inimical to liberty. As Brutus explained in 1769, luxury bred immorality and excess, which consequently made persons vulnerable to corruption. According to the *Virginia Gazette* in 1778, luxury had even precipitated the war. It “begot Arbitrary Power,” which “begot Oppression,” which, in turn, begot resentment and revenge. It was a credible syllogism. John Adams later recalled how “scarlet and sable robes, of broad bands, and enormous tie wigs” became the sartorial standard in Massachusetts’s imperial courts exactly in these years when popular discontent with British rule intensified.³

“Stern stuff,” in contrast, was now required of Americans, for to preserve their liberties they would have to forsake the “conve-

niences and superfluities” (Franklin’s categories in testimony to the House of Commons in 1766) regularly imported from Britain. Were colonials capable of such sacrifice? Did they have the requisite virtue to “consider their interests as [in]distinct from those of the public?”⁴ Washington assured his London merchant in 1765 that once domestic manufacturing became widespread in the colonies, “the Eyes of our People will perceive, that many of the Luxuries which we have heretofore lavished our Substance to Great Britain for can well be dispensed with whilst the Necessaries of Life are to be procured . . . within ourselves.” Franklin, polemicizing under the pseudonym of “Homespun,” promised that Americans would be able to give up their English tea and would breakfast instead on Indian corn, which was no more “indigestible [than] the Stamp Act.”⁵

A homespun economy, then, was the antipode of European corruption, reflecting a tradition of American material modesty untainted by either poverty or riches. It was an economy monopolized not by an interested government but by a civil society that rested on the energies of independent householders and was, thus (or so it was believed), invulnerable to monopolization by anyone.

The homespun imbued this American public sphere with another unique characteristic: democracy. When sophisticates appeared in Boston and Charleston bereft of their figured silks and broadcloth woolsens, they

made simplicity and even coarseness components of revolutionary virtue. They leveled civic membership. "Rich and Poor all turn the Spinning Wheel." The "indifferently clothed," those heretofore considered incapable of virtue precisely because of their destitute and, consequently, dependent status, were promoted to full citizenship.⁶ Such democracy was without precedent. Only a generation earlier, when the Pennsylvania Associators sought to express "the Union of all Ranks," they depicted three arms in brotherly embrace, respectively clad in ruffled, plain, and checked sleeves, or three Associators marching abreast with shouldered muskets "and dressed in different Clothes, intimating the unanimity of the different Sorts of People in the Association."⁷ The homespun version of such unanimity was no longer stratified. Quite the opposite. It joined all ranks in sartorial equality. It abolished the once-axiomatic division of society between the polite classes and the meaner sorts. As such, the homespun was a most prosaic expression of what Jefferson would, more abstractly, soon call the equality of all men.

A century or so later this homespun ideology was still in evidence. We espy it, for instance, in Cornelius Mathews's *Man in the Republic*,

With plainness in thy daily pathway walk—
And disencumbered of excess . . .⁸

In fact, the virtuous celebration of simplicity and material modesty might have become

even more important to Americans' political self-definition. In 1853 William Marcy, the Secretary of State in Franklin Pierce's new administration, issued a circular ordering American ambassadors to don "the simple dress of an American citizen." Such a presentation would best express their "devotion to republican institutions." Marcy's instructions were intended principally for domestic consumption. Letters of support poured into the State Department from all over the country. The *New York Herald*, contemptuous of a foreign policy carried out by symbols and gestures, nevertheless recognized the measure of public approbation "from Cape Cod to California" that such patriotic pronouncements were sure to elicit. And, in fact, one such expression could be read the same day in the pages of the *New York Post*, which applauded Marcy's contribution to the creation of a "national individuality" resting on the rejection of livery and all the other badges of "servility," "barbarity," and personal inferiority characteristic of despotism, and markedly absent from the American style of governance.⁹

Prescribing the "simple dress of an American citizen" as the country's official diplomatic uniform showed that popular taste ruled in America. In a republic, style was not handed down from social elites to a sycophantic public but issued from the bottom up, like social power in general. This was the difference between the "freaks and follies of

foreign fancy,” as the men’s tailoring journal *Mirror of Fashion* defined European manners, and those fashions “strictly consonant with American feelings and predilections.”¹⁰ In the United States, Thomas Gratton, an English visitor, wrote in 1859 that everyone was “as might be said, ‘his own gentleman’ [and] there is no standard for them, from the want of a permanent class in society to be looked up to and imitated.” Dickens, after attending a reception at the White House with “persons of very many grades and classes,” was impressed that even in such a setting no “great displays of costly attire” were in evidence.¹¹

This social leveling took place, however, not on the coarse, homemade terms of the homespun but on those of a fine suit of factory-manufactured broadcloth cut in the most up-to-date styles (that invariably originated in England or France). Horace Greeley, reviewing the exhibition of industrial arts at New York’s Crystal Palace in 1853, wrote: “Every sober mechanic has his one or two suits of broadcloth, and . . . can make as good a display, when he chooses, as what are called the upper classes.” The *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, Greeley’s partisan rivals, proclaimed it no less than a “clothing revolution” and continued: “Articles of clothing are now at the command of the lowest members of society, which, but a century since, were scarcely within the reach of crowned heads.” Sartorial virtue, in other words, was no longer a paean to scarcity and self-sacrifice but,

rather, to male refinement and that refinement’s availability to all citizens. *Putnam’s Magazine*, in 1857, said: “We reject the Spartan theory of republican life which simply leads us back to the barbarities of Spartan or Puritan despotism.” And Reverend Henry W. Bellows delivered an oration on “The Moral Significance of the Crystal Palace,” in which he declaimed that “luxury is debilitating and demoralizing only when it is exclusive. . . . The peculiarity of the luxury of our time, and especially of our country, is its diffusive nature; it is the opportunity and the aim of large masses of our people; and this happily unites it with industry, equality, and justice.”¹²

Civic equality now rested on dressing everyone up. Public happiness was attained not by means of ad hoc frugality but by its opposite: mass production. The result was an “industrial luxury” within the reach of all. If the federal Constitution, in first integrating self-interest into political life, had thus resolved the dichotomy between luxury and republicanism, the Industrial Revolution now gave this synthesis a democratic veneer.

It was a uniquely American democracy. The *Scientific American* explained in 1851: “Objects of utility rather than objects of ornate ability, are the characteristics of American genius.”¹³ The *Mirror of Fashion* described men’s styles in similar terms. “Our dress . . . yields to the conveniences of locomotion without restraint to limb, muscle, or joint, and yet without the inconvenience of carrying a

surplus of cloth."¹⁴ Such surpluses, of course, were the stuff of hoop skirts. Utilitarianism, in contrast, was a distinctly male trait. Men's clothing now embodied an ethos of simplicity and industry and eschewed the superfluities of fashion, much as the homespun had. Thus, we read about the self-made man:

[He] needs but to show [himself] to command at once respect, confidence and success. [He] needs no golden helmet or other blazon of wealth to win the public gaze; in the shock of the conflict, fierce though friendly, the unknown knight, with his plain unostentatious black armor, without page or esquire, proved himself the victorious champion.¹⁵

Is it any wonder, then, that the "simple dress of the American citizen" had become a business suit?

And so, the homespun and the ready-made both symbolized, in their respective centuries, what Americans considered to be a transcendent tradition of civic virtue and democratic equality. The homespun and ready-made also illustrate how that tradition was inverted during the first century of American industrialization. Sartorial virtue changed from homemade to mass produced. It moved from a Malthusian world of scarcity to a machine-driven cornucopia of plenty. In place of the self-sacrifice of elites, it signaled the propertied mobility of all. And having once been a pan-gender project, republican dress now became a male prerogative. Thus, a

history of men's clothing, marginal though it may seem to be, suggests how democracy became consistent with capitalism and how America's great transformation into an industrial nation-state was then credibly presented by contemporaries as the legacy of the country's republican beginnings.

Notes

1. Rush is quoted in John F. Kasson, *Civilizing the Machine: Technology and Republican Values in America, 1776-1900* (New York: Penguin Books, 1977), 9-10.

2. It is interesting to note that two centuries later Ghandi made homespun cloth and the woman's spinning wheel the unifying symbol of another national struggle against British imperial rule. See Edmund Morgan and Helen M. Morgan, *The Stamp Act Crisis: Prologue to Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953), 86; William R. Bagnall, *The Textile Industries of the United States* (Cambridge, Mass.: Riverside Press, 1893), 37-38, 58-59; *Boston Gazette*, January 18, 1768; Gail Gibson, "Costume and Fashion in Charleston, 1769-1782," *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, 82/3 (1981), 240; Bruce Allan Ragsdale, "Nonimportation and the Search for Economic Dependence in Virginia, 1765-1775" (Ph.D., University of Virginia, 1985), 101, 137; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 19, 1770; May 12, 1768. This last, and best, quote was found by means of a keyword search for "homespun" in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, an eighteenth-century Philadelphia newspaper that has been put onto a CD-ROM.

3. Brutus is quoted in Jack P. Greene, ed., *Colonies to Nation: 1763-1789* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), 157; Kenneth Silverman, *A Cultural History of the American Revolution* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 505-6; Gordon S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992), 16-17.

4. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 12, 1768 (keyword search for "virtue").

5. Washington is quoted in Ragsdale, "Nonimportation," 100; Franklin in *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, January 2, 1766. *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* was a London paper. I found this quote by means of a keyword search for "homespun" in the Library of America edition of Franklin's writings, which, like Jefferson's, are available on CD.
6. J. Leander Bishop, *History of American Manufactures from 1608 to 1860* (Philadelphia: E. Young, 1968; repr. 1967), 331; Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons. Houses. Cities* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 71–72.
7. "Devices and Mottoes of the Associators," *Pennsylvania Gazette*, December 29, 1747, supplement, on the *Wordcruncher CD-ROM*. The description of the Associators' images was found by a keyword search for "clothes" in Franklin's writings. Keyword searches of Franklin's writings, in fact, unearthed discussions of the political meaning of homespun clothing already in the 1720s, which I would have never otherwise known to look for but which proved important in making sense of the Revolutionary use of the homespun as political symbol.
8. Cornelius Mathews, *Man in the Republic*, a series of poems (New York: Paine & Burgess, 1843). The dearth of electronic sources for the nineteenth century explains why the next section of this essay does not cite any. There are major prose works of the era on CD-ROM (for instance, Melville's novels and Poe's stories) that, I am happy to report, I had already read in non-electronic form. A more helpful source for the historian searching for thick descriptions of nineteenth-century life would be the reams of sentimental fiction that began to appear at that time but which have a modest literary value and, for that reason, apparently, have largely not yet been digitized.
9. *New York Herald*, June 15, 1853; *New York Post*, June 15, 1853; 36 Congress, 1 Session, Ex. Doc. 31, 6; Robert Ralph Davis, Jr., "Diplomatic Plumage: American Court Dress in the Early National Period," *American Quarterly*, 20/2 (Part 1, summer 1968), 174.
10. The *Mirror of Fashion* is quoted in the *New Mirror*, Jan 13, 1844.
11. Thomas Colley Grattan, *Civilized America* (New York: John Reprint Corporation, 1969, originally published in 1859), vol. I, 190; Charles Dickens, *American Notes for General Circulation* (London: Penguin, 1972, originally published in 1842), 173.
12. *Putnam's* is quoted in Peter Buckley, "To the Opera House: Culture and Society in New York City, 1820–1860" (Ph.D., SUNY Stony Brook, 1984), 602–3. Bellows is quoted in Kassoon, *Civilizing the Machine*, 40; Horace Greeley, *Art and Industry as Represented in the Exhibition at the Crystal Palace* (New York: Redfield, 1853), 231, *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review* (New York), XDC, no. 100 (October 1846): 305.
13. Quoted in Kassoon, *Civilizing the Machine*, 151–55.
14. *Mirror of Fashion*, January 1855, 1–2
15. *Cohen's New Orleans Directory*, 1855.

OUR GROWING COLLECTIONS

THE C.V. STARR EAST ASIAN LIBRARY

Cooperative acquisition: Starr Library has entered into a cooperative arrangement with the Humanities Division of New York University's Bobst Library. Aided by an eighty percent subsidy Starr has been able to order several expensive sets that it otherwise would not have been able to afford. The first of these sets has recently arrived in the Library. It is the Hong Kong Annual Administration Reports 1841–1941 (London: Archive Editions, 1996). This is a six-volume set containing facsimile reprints of administration and related reports, including handwritten ones, covering the first 100 years of British rule in Hong Kong. Some of these reports were never published before. The editorial introduction by Robert L. Jarman includes archival references for each document.

Keene gift: The discovery of a copy of Oku no Hosomichi in Matsuo Bashō's own hand was made public in Japan this past November. The importance of the text is enormous, and an annotated edition—soon to be acquired—has become a bestseller in Japan. Professor Donald Keene has donated a limited edition facsimile edition, likely to be the only such copy available in the United States. It is available for scholars and students in Special Collections.

Sheng Yen gift: The Venerable Master Sheng Yen, lineage holder of both the Ts'ao-tung (Soto) and Lin-chi (Rinzai) traditions of Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism, and a world authority on Ch'an, has donated a set of his complete scholarly works on the Ch'an Buddhist scriptures in more than forty volumes to the Starr Library. Master Sheng Yen is abbot of the Nung Ch'an Monastery and president of the Chung-Hwa Institute of Buddhist Studies and Dharma Drum Mountain Buddhist Foundation in Taiwan. He and Fran LaFleur (of the Starr Library) met when they both appeared as guests on a talk show on Taiwan television (TTV) aired last June. The show was moderated by Shih Shu-chiing, a contemporary writer of fiction and drama in Taiwan (many of whose works are available in Starr) and the hour-long discussion focused on contrasting attitudes toward life, death, and religious practice in the Buddhist and Judeo-Christian traditions.

RARE BOOK AND MANUSCRIPT LIBRARY

Baker gift: During the Second World War, faculty from the Columbia University School of Journalism traveled to China to instruct young journalists there in the techniques of writing and reporting the news. Under the instruction of Richard Baker, longtime asso-

ciate dean of the Journalism School, a newspaper was produced in Chungking. Numbers 1 to 10 of the newspaper have survived and were presented to the Library by Dean Baker's son, Coleman Baker. They have been added to the collection at Starr East Asian Library.

Barzun gift: Professor Jacques Barzun (B.A., 1927; M.A., 1928; Ph.D., 1932), long a supporter of the Columbia University Libraries, recently donated his working library to the University. Although we were sad to see Professor Barzun depart for warmer climes, we are happy to report that his papers and books will be put to good use in the Library collections. Along with over 2,700 books, the gift included a large group of audio cassettes and LP albums.

Beckmann bequest: The German Expressionist painter Max Beckmann (1884–1950) left Germany in 1937 after his art had been declared “degenerate” by the Nazi regime. The Rare Book and Manuscript Library has just received from the estate of Beckmann's widow, Mathilde Q. Beckmann, eleven manuscript diaries kept by Beckmann in Amsterdam and the United States from 1942 until his death in 1950. The small diaries in German are densely packed with text and include occasional sketches as well as lists and miscellaneous notes. Along with the diaries, the Library received two manuscript drafts of plays in Beckmann's hand: *Der Damenfreund*,

dated 1922–1924 and *Ebi*, dated 1922. This exciting acquisition promises to cast new light for scholars on Beckmann's years in post-World War I Berlin and especially on the final period of his life.

Levi gift: A carefully bound modern reproduction of the Peutinger Tables, *La Tabula Peutingeriana: itinera picta*, an early chart that is purported to be the first European map, was presented to the Library by Annalina Levi.

Lorentz gift: Mrs. Elizabeth Lorentz has continued to add items to the collection of papers relating to the professional career of her late husband, Pare Lorentz, the documentary filmmaker. The current gift includes the production and post-production archive relating to the film *The Fight for Life* (1940) and research materials for two important unfinished films, *No Place to Hide*, about the atomic bomb, and *Ecce Homo*. The gift comprises scripts, correspondence, office files, still photographs, and miscellaneous documents. The Lorentz archives further strengthen the Library's resources for the Columbia's strong program in film studies in the School of the Arts.

Momjian gift: Mark Momjian (B.A., 1983; J.D., 1986) presented to the Library, in honor of President George Rupp's visit to Philadelphia to celebrate the Campaign for Columbia, a three-page signed autograph letter from Frederick Barnard, the President of Columbia

University from 1864 until 1889. The letter, dated 22 September 1866, to John Henry Alexander, an American scientist, discusses the difficulty of filling the vacancies for the post of honorary Commissioner to Paris and exhibits Barnard's close involvement with many of the prominent scientists of his day.

Page gift: The papers and manuscripts of the American novelist Dawn Powell (1896–1965) are on deposit at the Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Tim Page, owner of the Powell papers, has added to the Powell materials given by him to the Library in the past, letters to Powell from Malcolm and Muriel Cowley and from the writers Gerald and Sara Murphy. Included as well is a typed letter reputed to have been written to Powell by Ernest Hemingway but actually written by Powell herself.

Raymond gift: An addition to the Edwin Howard Armstrong Papers of seven boxes of miscellaneous papers and files was donated to the Rare Book and Manuscript Library by Dana M. Raymond (LL.B., 1939). Major Armstrong, an inventor and professor of electrical engineering at Columbia from 1934 to 1954, was the inventor of FM radio and a pioneer in the field of communication. His papers continue to excite the curiosity of scholars in many fields.

Saxon gift: Dr. Rogers Saxon of Florida donated to the Charles Saxon papers an original drawing, *The Day the Train Stopped*, by his father, the *New Yorker* cartoonist, along with twenty-three other drawings and sketches.

Schaeffler gift: Sam and Katalin Schaeffler continued their tradition of generosity to the Rare Book and Manuscript Library with a diverse group of rare materials that range in origin from eighteenth-century Germany to twentieth-century France. Included in the gift are two small but carefully finished portraits in pastel on board from the 1760s–70s, said to be of Johann Caspar Goethe and Katharina Elisabeth Goethe, father and mother, respectively, of the poet Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. The Schaefflers' gift also includes signed lithographs of two distinguished members of the Perry family: Oliver Hazard Perry (1785–1819), whose decisive victory over the British in Lake Erie in 1813 was announced by the phrase, "We have met the enemy and they are ours," and Matthew Calbraith Perry (1794–1858), head of the naval expedition that forced Japan to enter into trade and diplomatic negotiations with the West after two hundred years of isolation. Other treasures presented at the same time were a volume of engravings published in France shortly after the murder of the Duc de Berry, entitled *Le Duc de Berry, ou Vertus et belles actions d'un Bourbon* (Paris: Chez Papy Descabane, Rue Sainte-Marguerite, no. 37, 1822) and—for

Avery Library—a copy of Ambroise Vollard's *La Vie et l'oeuvre de Pierre-Auguste Renoir* (Paris: Chez Ambroise Vollard, 1919).

Schlesinger Foundation gift: Annalisa Cima, president of the Schlesinger Foundation of Lugano, Switzerland, began making donations to what will become a substantial archive of letters and literary papers from twentieth-century writers. The cornerstone of the collection will be the poetry of Eugenio Montale (1896–1981), and among the volumes presented to the Library are three posthumous volumes published by the Schlesinger Foundation (*Poesie inedite di Eugenio Montale*, 3 vols. [Lugano: Fondazione Schlesinger, 1987]), handsomely printed under the auspices of the Officina Bodoni. Additional gifts include a group of autograph letters and manuscripts by a variety of twentieth-century authors, including W. H. Auden, a nine-volume set of *L'Annuario della Fondazione Schlesinger* (Lugano: Fondazione Schlesinger), and, by Annalisa Cima, *Quattro Tempi: Poesie e traduzione* and *Quattro Canti: Postfazione di Pierre Van Bever, traduzioni di Christine Gugolz* (Lugano: Fondazione Schlesinger, 1986 and 1994).

Stern gift: University Professor Fritz Stern (B.A., 1946; Ph.D., 1953) presented to the Library his manuscript and research notes for the book *Gold and Iron: Bismarck, Bleichroder, and the Building of the German Empire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977); in addition,

he presented for the Rudolph A. and Catherine Stern papers, a collection established in honor of his parents, three letters written in the 1940s to Rudolph A. Stern by Albert Einstein.

Purchases: Distinctive additions to the collection obtained through purchase from the proceeds of the Rare Book and Manuscript Library's book and manuscript endowments include seventy-four letters, 1931–56, from Tennessee Williams to members of his family; a group of very interesting Graham Greene letters, 1953–90; additions to the Rockwell Kent and George Santayana collections; and a rare complete run of *The Intelligencer*, a London newspaper (1663–64) that reported news of the trans-Atlantic colony in New York, the plague, and the famous comet of 1664. Among the most exciting of the many new books added to the collections are two bound volumes containing seven rare editions of works by Aristotle on natural philosophy, all but one in translations by the Benedictine scholar Joachim Perion (1499–1559), with commentaries by Nicolas de Grouchy, one of Montaigne's private tutors at the Collège de Guyenne. The texts were printed in Paris between 1550 and 1558; the extensive manuscript annotations filling the margins suggest that the books were used in a contemporary classroom.

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ELECTRONIC TEXT
SERVICE RESOURCES
CITED IN THIS ISSUE

Pennsylvania Gazette, 1725-1783 [CD-ROM edition]. Malvern, Pa.: Accessible Archives, 1991-1996.

CLCLT: CETEDOC Library of Christian Latin Texts [CD-ROM]. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1991-.

Franklin, Benjamin, and Jefferson, Thomas. [Selections] in *Wordcruncher Disk* [CD-ROM]. Volume 1. Orem, Utah: Electronic Text Corporation, 1990. (Based on Library of America texts.)

In Principio (CD-ROM). Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1992-.

Patrologia Latina database [CD-ROM]. Final release. Alexandria, Va.: Chadwyck-Healey, 1995.

PHI: CD-ROM 5.3. Los Altos, Calif.: Packard Humanities Institute, 1991.

PHI: CD-ROM 7. Los Altos, Calif.: Packard Humanities Institute, 1996.

Presidential Papers (Washington-Clinton) [CD-ROM]. Provo, Utah: CDEX Information Group, 1995.

Thesaurus Linguae Graecae [CD-ROM]. Version No. D. [Irvine, Calif.?]: University of California, 1992.

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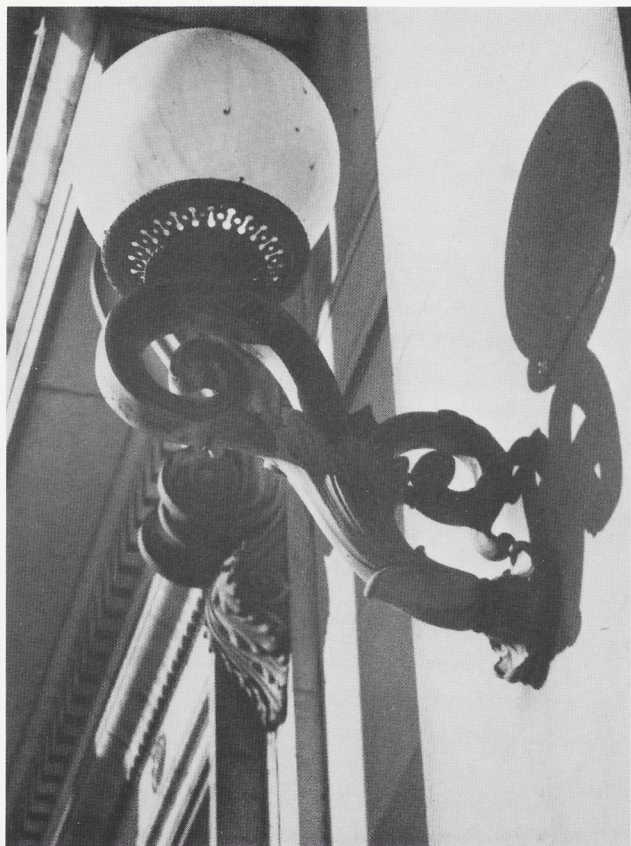
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THE AUTUMN 1997 ISSUE | MICHAEL STOLLER, EDITOR

This fall issue of *Library Columns* features two articles about two very different personalities, each of whom was briefly associated with Columbia. Rockwell Kent studied in the School of Architecture for several years in the early years of the century and then went on to an important career as a painter, engraver, lithographer, and illustrator. But his success as an artist was only one dimension of this unique individual, who worked as a lobster man on the Maine coast, sailed the waters of Tierra del Fuego, lived in Greenland, and went through three wives. Jake Wien, who has written widely on Kent's life and art, has drawn upon the artist's "letters of desire" in Columbia's Rare Book and Manuscript Library, providing us with an extraordinary glimpse into Kent's "daily life and intellectual sustenance," what Wien calls "a map of his shifting emotional terrain." Like Rockwell Kent, Dwight Eisenhower was only at Columbia for a short time, serving as the University's president from the end of 1948 until he left for the White House in January of 1953. It was a moment in Columbia's history some contemporaries hoped would be the beginning a new, golden era for the University. It was also a presidency many in later generations would look back on as a colossal error, an inexplicable interlude, when the Trustees chose a leader who knew little of the institution, its faculty, its mission, and its needs following the disastrous last years of Nicholas Murray Butler's reign. Travis Jacobs, whose youth was intimately associated with the University and its leaders during those years, provides a fascinating account of the little-known circumstances that led to the Trustees' choice of a retired army commander as Columbia's thirteenth president.



F o x I s l a n d .

October 9th 1918.

Sweetheart :-

It is bright straight out of doors! Soon, soon, if only the macker birds clear and undertake my letters go to you and you come to me. You write to me continually do you not? Write, write, write. I do my best for you and I am brag beyond anything that you can picture. Think of my dogs here, cooking, sawing, and splitting wood, falling trees, clearing the forest, carrying water, leading to Rockwell, writing my diary, my letters; and praise all that the great work that I have come here for, that which should, and, in spite of all else I do, almost done, occupies all my thought. I'm sure quite rid of the fear that somehow, dear sweetheart, you'll grow careless. Think of the few steamers that come here and of the few times I go to Seeward and finally

FIG. 1: Kent's log cabin on Fox Island. Ink drawing heading Kent's letter to Hildegarde from Fox Island, Alaska, October 9, 1918. Rockwell Kent Collection.

HIS MIND ON FIRE:
*Rockwell Kent's Amorous Letters to Hildegarde Hirsch and
Ernesta Drinker Bullitt, 1916–1925*

JAKE MILGRAM WIEN

“A great piece of paper . . . is as stimulating as a great canvas; my thoughts become magnificent and brave.”

Rockwell Kent to Ernesta Drinker Bullitt, 1924¹

Rockwell Kent, voyager to and painter of remote places, conquered the desire brought on by the distance and silence of isolation through the writing of letters. Over the course of a lifetime, Kent would put pen to countless pieces of stationery, committing to posterity his innermost thoughts, some “magnificent and brave,” some not. Letter writing also provided Kent with a means of temporal escape to a romantic world of his own construct. For much of Kent’s midlife (his mid-thirties to mid-forties), the *letter of desire* occupied a strategic place in the arsenal of his heart.

The two primary recipients of his amorous letters during these years were, first, Hildegarde Hirsch (“Hildegarde”), and, several years later, Ernesta Drinker Bullitt (“Ernesta”). Against the backdrop of his weakening first marriage, Kent sent his *inamorata*² accounts of his frequent daydreams and nocturnal yearnings, some of which he characterized as “little interludes for love making.”³ Since 1995 these letters and cards, over 180 in all, have enriched the largely unmined materials that comprise the Rockwell Kent Collection of Columbia’s Rare Book and Manuscript Library (the “Rockwell Kent Collection”). Together with the original sources of his artwork—hundreds of preliminary sketches, drawings and proofs in the Rockwell Kent Collection—the handwritten correspondence contributes to an understanding of his larger artistic vision. The amorous

letters, in particular, provide reliable documentary evidence of the artist's daily life and intellectual sustenance and a map of his shifting emotional terrain. They are invaluable pieces of the puzzle that is Kent—a life and achievement no full biographer or art historian has attempted to reconstruct because the pieces are so numerous and scattered.

Some of the amorous letters are visual gems, stunning in their impeccable penmanship and often sprinkled with inventive, light-hearted pen and ink drawings. They are not uncharacteristic of the high standards this Columbia-trained architect and draftsman maintained. Most are on high-quality, watermarked stationery, a few accompanied by envelopes bearing canceled stamps. Their tender charm and intelligent wit partly account for their having been safekept to resurface some seventy to eighty years later. Though there is in Kent's seductive entreaties, as there is in the genre of the love letter generally, a dull predictability—a facility with which he composes his sweet talk, the monotony of the superlative, and the repetitive pleas for reciprocated physical love—the quality of spontaneity is pervasive. The intrigue with which he sends his secret letters and the delirious urgency with which he shares his inconsolable sensual feelings demonstrate the generally less self-conscious nature of the letters.

The letters paint an elaborate picture of Kent the ardent romantic in quest of the one, profound, timeless love. He articulated his aspirations with grandiosity: He hoped his love for Hildegard would contribute to the “love story of mankind” and would serve “as an inspiration to all lovers of the true and beautiful: Dante and Beatrice, Shelly and Mary Godwin, Wagner and Mathilde Wesendonck, Rockwell and his Hildegard.”⁴ The infinity sign would close a few of his letters to Hildegard, as would a reverse “E” joined with an “R” symbolizing Ernesta and Rockwell bound in love together (as well as Ernesta Regina) in his letters to Ernesta.⁵

Astonishingly, Kent found his one true and eternal love time and time again. Early in his first marriage, the sincerity of his quest was tarnished by the birth of a child out of wedlock,⁶ though Kent claims to have searched “hard” with Kathleen “for the Great Happiness.”⁷ After Hildegard and Ernesta came Frances and Sally, his second and third wives. And midway through his marriage to Frances came Salamina, his devoted Greenlandic housekeeper and companion, after whom he named his published Greenlandic memoirs of 1935.⁸

Kent's pursuit of the grail of perfection in love filled his life with passion just as paint filled the void of his canvas. But once having found his erotic fix, Kent initiated a cycle invariably turning toward disillusionment and

blame. His emotionally charged letters to his *inamorata* reveal a troubled soul afflicted with a tangle of desires, emotional imbalances, and feelings of inadequacy.

Letters to Hildegarde Hirsch

Most of the newly-acquisitioned correspondence—some 162 letters and cards—were written to Hildegarde, perhaps Kent's most enduring *inamorata*. Kent, then thirty-five years old and the father of four children, nonchalantly picked her up on the corner of 41st Street and Seventh Avenue in the summer of 1916. He memorializes this chance encounter in his autobiography, where he disguises her identity (in order to protect her) as "Gretchen."⁹ The young Hildegarde had come from Germany to New York City where, the letters reveal, she performed as a dancer in the Ziegfeld Follies,¹⁰ and on at least one occasion at the Apollo Theatre, where Kent sent her a gift.¹¹ During some of her stay in New York City, she shared an apartment with two German girls, including a Miss Kohler and, at times, Frieda, to whom Kent refers as "sister," perhaps Hildegarde's younger sister.

The provenance of the Hildegarde letters is intriguing. Upon her death around 1960, the letters and artworks were inherited by her nephew, who in the early 1980s sold them. (Hildegarde left no direct descendants; though she may have been in a marriage prior

to her meeting Kent, it apparently ended, and she never remarried.)¹² More than 160 of the Hildegarde letters were eventually purchased by collector Frederick R. Koch, "the reclusive scion of a Kansas oil family,"¹³ placed in his Sutton Place Foundation, and made available to researchers. Koch anonymously sold much of his Kent holdings, including the letters, at Christie's East on May 24, 1995. The letters then entered the Rockwell Kent Collection.

On the level of strict documentation, the letters provide a chronology of the nomadic existence of Kent and his family from 1916–1921. In New York he divided much of his time between his home on Staten Island (1262 Richmond Terrace, West Brighton), his studio apartment (No. 7—their "little house"), to which Hildegarde apparently had a key,¹⁴ his place of part-time employment at Ewing and Allen Architects or George S. Chappell Architect (101 Park Avenue), and, as of September 1917, his studio at No. 23 West 12th Street. His wife and young children moved from Staten Island to Monhegan Island, Maine, to the Connecticut shore, and to Arlington, Vermont, where they lived in a barn and cooked outdoors before their farmhouse was built.

The Early Letters, 1916–1918

Much of the early correspondence with Hildegarde is written on stationery headed by

a 3/4 inch square mark printed in black depicting a naked man hugging a resting deer. Kent created this mark especially for Hildegarde, and the deer motif recurs on the Jewel Box and other artworks presented to Hildegarde. He adored this stationery: "I love to lay a sheet of our paper before me and see us two clinging together in the starry night. Oh wonderful Hildegarde!"¹⁵ Kent referred to Hildegarde as the "half wild, only half conscious deer."¹⁶ This portrayal of the spirit life of animals confirms Kent's receptivity to folk themes and folk media (including reverse painting on glass) undergoing a revival in Europe (especially Germany) and New York. Kent's friend and fellow Germanophile, Marsden Hartley, also experimented with reverse painting on glass in 1916–1917.

That spirituality could be achieved through the physical beauty and solace of nature and through the adoration of a beloved is the fundamental theme unifying Kent's letters to Hildegarde. To reach this higher understanding, Kent's religiosity had evolved away from ritual and convention.

Religion is not the church; it is the ardent, reverent spirit that is more or less in every human soul. . . . see with me how . . . any rule of conduct or life that denies us the love that God has given us is worse than false . . . I have tried and believed so devoutly! . . . For years I

prayed on my knees to the amusement and derision of whoever saw me. Then I went to Maine and, still in my heart a devout believer, came to know the little congregation there intimately. Finally I left the church, not through carelessness but deeply disturbed, and freed by my conscience to tell them in the church the heavy faults I found in their worship.¹⁷

Often closing with "May God and Rockwell be with you," Kent's letters to Hildegarde remain prayerful and the mention of the higher authority frequent:

Hildegarde . . . I am growing in wisdom, in strength, in love for you, and in the fear of God, to whom, for your sake and our happiness, I pray so fervently that nature, if there were no God, would, for very pity, make one to hear me and to bless us both. See! I send you the prayer I made the other night and put away.¹⁸

Another theme pervading Kent's letters to Hildegarde is a profound identification with German culture. This is not surprising, as the young Kent was imbued with a passion for German language and literature, particularly its expression in poetry and song. His father had studied at a college in Germany, learned to love the German language, and raised his children to speak German. Kent bonded early on with Rosa, his German nurse,¹⁹ and when

he was thirteen years old, Kent traveled with his maternal aunt Jo to Germany, where they spent several weeks. Kent hoped to imbue his own children with Germanic culture; he brought to Alaska songbooks containing Volkslieder with words in English to teach to his young son.²⁰

America's anti-German fever after 1914 did not diminish the fires of Kent's Germanophilia or his "insane" passion for German women.²¹ Throughout his letters Kent devotedly incorporated the poetic lyricism of Heinrich Heine's German verse. Kent identified with Heine's fairy-tale fantasy and Romantic literary imagination provoking the soul to aspire to greater emotional depth and intensity. As with Kent's love letters, Heine's poems resonate with physicality and erotic ardor. Kent also seized any opportunity to mention to Hildegarde whatever German cultural leanings his acquaintances might have, and the instances that he would dine in New York at, for example, the Kaiser Keller.

Hildegarde became a model and a muse for Kent. In late 1915, a year prior to their initial encounter, Kent began submitting fanciful, often irreverent ink drawings to *Harper's Weekly*, *Puck*, and *Vanity Fair* to supplement his income as an architectural renderer. In these drawings, especially his outdoor idylls conveying the beauty and wonder of the natural world, Kent began to feature Hildegarde.²²

Kent's sense of artistic integrity rendered him incapable of taking his fashionable ink drawings to heart. He hid behind the alias signature, "Hogarth Jr.," to avoid sully his budding reputation as a great painter of land and sea. To Hildegarde, Kent mocked his own creations:

My drawing is finished and looks just as slick and commercial as if the maker of it had possessed not one atom of brains to trouble him. I look at it with pride and amazement—and shame. Oh God—that a man at thirty five—with all the wisdom and brains that I have—be making these fool things!²³

Again, Kent lamented:

I went to see Crowninshield—the arch enemy of all sturdy women—for he always urges me to make mine thin and long and very silly!²⁴

Yet Kent did take pride in having successfully gained commissions over his fellow artists/cartoonists. He boasts, for example, at "having beaten Boardman Robinson."²⁵

In late 1917 and into 1918 Kent used Hildegarde as a model in his reverse paintings on glass. The Rockwell Kent Collection contains numerous preparatory drawings in graphite for the glass paintings, many of which were encased in gilded frames containing vertical mirrors. Most of the glass paintings feature the golden-haired Hildegarde amidst



FIG. 2: "Mirror Mirror On the Wall, Who's the Fairest Of Them All." Preparatory drawing in graphite for reverse painting on glass. 1917–1918. Rockwell Kent Collection.

the verdant meadows and mountains of Vermont where "Hildegarten"—the couple's idyllic retreat—would have been. Hildegarte is also the protagonist in the fairy-tale manuscript Kent gave her in the winter of 1917, to which he makes brief reference as the "Hildegartenbuch."²⁶

Hildegarte preserved the bound thirteen-page holographic manuscript with ink drawings dated November 6, 1917—*The Jewel, A*

Romance of Fairyland. Her nephew inherited it and sold it in the early 1980s. In 1990 the Baxter Society of Portland, Maine, published it in facsimile.

The Hildegarte letters enrich our understanding of the sources of Kent's art, especially his reverse paintings on glass. Kent shares with Hildegarte his affinity for Maurice Maeterlinck's play *Pélieas et Mélisande*, a story of young love and death that evokes "how profoundly

wonderful true love is." He also refers to Maeterlinck's essay "On Women" and his mystical notion of "true, pre-destined love."²⁷ Many of the reverse paintings on glass include flying birds, perhaps inspired by Maeterlinck's play *The Blue Bird*, which was widely published and read in the United States. Kent shared Maeterlinck's dramatic intention to show the invisible and express the ineffable in an artistic fashion.

Character flaws surface throughout Kent's amorous letters, most notably jealousy. Though he is aware of his possessiveness, Kent repeatedly asks for forgiveness for his bouts of temper and moodiness. "Make of the little tactless things I do as little as possible," he writes Hildegarde.²⁸ He acknowledges his "over-sensitiveness" to her "flirtation" with other men on another occasion.²⁹ "I don't justify the vagaries of my moods. I am ashamed of them," Kent wrote to Hildegarde.³⁰ He believed that his jealousy was the result not of his low self-esteem but of his having too much love and romance for Hildegarde.³¹ He also confesses his "self-centered" nature and blindness "to the quiet things in others."³²

Kent's flair for the romantic included several references to children with which he and Hildegarde would be blessed. He fantasized: "Dream . . . of the dear children we will have"³³ and "may we have three children Tristan, Siegfried and Frieda, as beautiful

as Rockwell, Kathleen, Clara and Hildegarde."³⁴ To the probable displeasure of his wife, Kathleen, Kent went so far as to give the familiar name of "little Hildegarde" to their fourth child, Barbara.³⁵

The Letters from Alaska, 1918–1919

Kent journeyed by train to Alaska with his young son, Rockwell III, and their trip is described in rich detail in some thirty-five letters and picture postcards dating from late July to December 1918. Even though Kent had been contemplating a sojourn in either Iceland or Alaska as early as 1916, he departed only in late July 1918.³⁶ This is perhaps why Kent, who had rented his house for a year starting in the late spring of 1917, relocated his family to a "little cottage in New London" Connecticut, "on the beach," and found himself for much of August 1917–July 1918 in Manhattan.³⁷ From Monhegan Island in the summer of 1917, Kent had written to Hildegarde with the hope she would find them an apartment in Manhattan.³⁸

The anxiety of separation from Hildegarde spurred Kent to commence writing to her soon after he and young Rockwell boarded the westbound Canadian Pacific train. En route, Kent shared the unfolding adventure with shaky hand. From Vancouver the two reached Seattle, where they boarded a boat to Juneau, Alaska. Their arrival in Yakutat was

marked by a good degree of resourcefulness. With nowhere to sleep, the two were put up by the superintendent of the cannery. In darkness they ascended a hill to a cabin, where they encountered four sleeping Norwegian fishermen. There the two shared a plank only two and a half feet wide, with makeshift pillow and few blankets.³⁹ Clearly, Kent did not know his ultimate Alaskan destination. At first he thought it might be Seldovia, though the Swedish missionary in Yakutat recommended “Night Island” at the foot of mountains some fifteen miles from Yakutat.⁴⁰ Only after journeying to Seward did Kent determine Fox Island, with its secluded log cabin, “several peaks over a thousand feet high,” “unexplored forests and caves,” and “mysterious lakes” to be their winter home.⁴¹

With his son, flute, and paints, Kent reached Fox Island in late August, when he immediately set about to realize his dream. “I work with all my energy, with all my heart; I want success, I want greatness and fame, and I want somehow that these shall contribute to the happiness of you [Hildegarde] and Kathleen and my beloved family.”⁴² Kent wrote avidly of his new pioneer’s life in their new home, the desolate log cabin that previously had been inhabited by rabbits. The island’s only other inhabitant—Olsen, the old Swede—tended “two pairs of blue foxes and a nanny goat.”⁴³ Only a few weeks after having arrived on the island, with the motor for their

boat in disrepair, the Kents pulled themselves to Seward after four a half hours of hard rowing and blistered hands.⁴⁴

Kent kept an intimate diary of his observations and activities while on Fox Island, with the intention that it be bound as a future gift to his co-pioneering son Rockwell III.⁴⁵ The diary entries were sent to Kathleen and were published in 1920 as *Wilderness: A Journal of Quiet Adventure in Alaska* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, Knickerbocker Press, 1920). Kent’s aggressive letter-writing campaign to Hildegarde explains why the Kent of *Wilderness* is in constant anguish for the mail boat to arrive—to alleviate the ache of awaiting reply letters from his *inamorata* and to send on more letters to her!

In his first letters from Alaska Kent implores Hildegarde to join him. He plots for her to come as his wife. But he believes that, as his wife, Hildegarde would be called before the Seward draft board, so he suggests that she disguise herself as his sister.⁴⁶ By early December, even as he wears the ring she gave him, Kent has a change of heart and writes:

I have chosen to go back to Kathleen and to the children to leave New York and leave it forever maybe and go far into the country somewhere where no other people will be, to live on the least it can be done for and dedicate my time to work without end. I do this of my

own free will. I have no defense. I have not been urged or threatened by Kathleen of whose love I am far from being certain.⁴⁷

Kent's amorous letters provide no insight into any serious political convictions he might have held and seem to confirm—as does the art from his middle years—their absence. In his travels Kent seizes every opportunity to fraternize with Germans (“splendid fellows”),⁴⁸ but this is more out of cultural sympathy than defiance against the Allied war effort. As a dutiful citizen Kent presents him-self in Seward for “registration” for the draft (the age had just been increased to forty-five), deferring his physical examination for a future visit.⁴⁹

One learns from the letters to Hildegarde that the rolls of canvas Kent had asked her to send to him in Yakutat, Alaska⁵⁰ never reached him.⁵¹ This may explain why there are fewer Alaska oil paintings on canvas by Kent that date to 1918–1919 than one might expect, and of those that do exist, many may have been completed between Kent's return to New York in April 1919 and the opening of the exhibition of his Alaska paintings at M. Knoedler & Co. (“Knoedler”) in March 1920.⁵² A shortfall in canvas, together with the rotten weather, may account for the prodigious group of accomplished ink drawings Kent created on Fox Island, often inside by the light of a lamp. His prior painting trips

to Monhegan Island and his subsequent painting trips to Tierra del Fuego and Greenland did not produce a comparable group of ink drawings.

Though a half dozen letters to Hildegarde survive from 1919, all are written subsequent to the Kents' spring return from Alaska. A few convey the impression of an amicable disengagement and the return to Kent of clothing and belongings from their shared studio. Kent wrote his last letters to Hildegarde from his studio (at 139 W. 15th St.) and his family's new Vermont farmhouse (“Egypt”) in Arlington. Five letters from 1920 and a final one from 1921 conclude his correspondence with her.

**George Chappell, Carl Zigrosser,
Marie Sterner**

Of the many artists, writers, publishers, and galleries with whom Kent collaborated during these years, three in particular are mentioned with relative frequency in the Hildegarde letters. Humorist and fellow architect George S. Chappell was perhaps Kent's closest friend. The two shared an irreverent, literary spirit—Chappell composing satirical verse and Kent its visual counterpart in light-hearted, “Hogarth Jr.” ink drawings. *Harper's Weekly*, the *New York Tribune*, *Judge*, and *Vanity Fair* regularly published their collaborations.⁵³ On one occasion Chappell sent Kent a

check for \$2,000,⁵⁴ presumably for published “Hogarth Jr.” drawings.⁵⁵ The editor of *Vanity Fair*, Frank Crowninshield, once gave Kent a book to take to Chappell.⁵⁶ The two played tennis together,⁵⁷ and Chappell often acted as a go-between for Kent, who treated Chappell’s architectural office as a second home and address for reply letters from his *inamorata*.

Carl Zigrosser, Curator of Prints, Drawings, and Rare Books at the Philadelphia Museum of Art from 1941–1963, early on earned Kent’s respect as an intellect and, as director of Weyhe Gallery, became a pivotal promoter of Kent’s career as a printmaker. Kent contributed articles and artwork to “Zigrosser’s little magazine,” a reference to *The Modern School*, the progressive journal of the Francisco Ferrer Association that espoused principles of libertarian education.⁵⁸ Zigrosser wrote to Kent in Alaska “regularly and beautifully.”⁵⁹

Marie Sterner was the major catalyst for Kent’s success in the commercial arena. As gallery director of Knoedler, Sterner organized an exhibition of Kent’s Alaska ink drawings in early 1919 and another exhibition of Kent’s Alaska paintings in early 1920. Not only was she Kent’s dealer and devoted promoter; Sterner became as well his confidante, well versed in his “triangle” problems. Kent mentions more than once to Hildegarde how highly Sterner had regarded her.⁶⁰ Sterner’s departure “for Europe on May 1st,”

1920,⁶¹ is most likely the “voyage” over water alluded to in a small manuscript Kent dedicated to her in 1920 that was decorated with his ink drawings.⁶² Kent writes of Sterner’s Junior Art Patrons of America and his assistance toward organizing its inaugural exhibition in 1921. Kent boasted that one of his paintings occupied “the place of honor” and that all his paintings together “dominate the show”—a sight that naturally gave him great pleasure.⁶³

The Letters to Ernesta Drinker Bullitt, 1924–1925

The second group comprises some twenty-one letters written to Ernesta Drinker Bullitt that join a group of nine letters from Kent to Ernesta of the same vintage that are already in the Rockwell Kent Collection. There exist other, uncatalogued Kent letters to Ernesta, including four known to this author in the collection of John Deedy of Rockport, Massachusetts. All the known Ernesta letters date from late 1924 to early 1925.

Ernesta was of an altogether different nature from Hildegarde: wealthy, highly educated, cosmopolitan, and a published writer of distinction. She would marry two distinguished writers—first, the foreign correspondent William Bullitt, and later, the composer Samuel Barlow. Ten years Kent’s junior, she came from a distinguished

Philadelphia family. Her father at one time was president of Lehigh University and her maternal aunt, Cecilia Beaux, a leading portraitist.⁶⁴ In her mid-twenties Ernesta accompanied her first husband on his extended tour of Central Europe as a foreign correspondent, just prior to the United States entry into World War I.⁶⁵

In 1924, recently divorced from Bullitt,⁶⁶ Ernesta moved into Kent's orbit. How they met or the length of their relationship is somewhat of a mystery. Kent's career was on the rise, with his second autobiographical adventure, *Voyaging: Southward from the Strait of Magellan* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1924), recently published. He was at work on drawings for frontispieces for each of the twelve volumes of the 1925 edition of *Casanova (The Memoirs of Jacques Casanova de Seingalt)* and had just exhibited his Tierra del Fuego canvases at Wildenstein Galleries in the spring of 1924.

The Ernesta letters clearly point to many shared interests—the arts and design, horseback riding and jumping, dogs, and southwestern Vermont, where each had a country home.⁶⁷ Kent wrote most of his letters from Arlington, Vermont, to Ernesta who, during the week, lived and worked in Manhattan as an interior decorator.⁶⁸ Kent referred to their jointly undertaking a job to build and design a Vermont farmhouse for a “Mrs. Bingham.”⁶⁹ In another letter to Er-

nesta, Kent wondered aloud: “Do you think we’ll land the job? I have a notion that you’ll be an encumbrance to me!”⁷⁰

The tone of the Kent-Ernesta letters reflects a relationship, as Kent would assess it, of “equal” partners.⁷¹ Kent saw a kindred spirit in Ernesta—her weaknesses and strengths, her likes and dislikes, her loves and hates—all were his.⁷² Perhaps Kent admired most her independent, strong-willed temperament and her “fine disregard for established values.”⁷³ She insisted that Kent stop smoking and chided him for being a “loafer” in his work.⁷⁴ What Kent did not admire, however, was the propriety with which she conducted herself. Toward the married Kent she remained circumspect, eschewing his bohemian lifestyle and rebuffing his entreaties to taste “all the great grand stuff of the romantic freedom of today.”⁷⁵ She was reluctant to be seen in public with him, though Kent insinuates that their geographical proximity facilitated liaisons in the privacy of his Vermont studio. Soon after the correspondence began, Ernesta could not be moved to speak of “love” toward him, which prompted Kent to write, sarcastically, that she would feel “wild, passionate, not-to-be-restrained, devouring, and eternal LOVE” for him were he not to lack wealth, a good reputation, and the freedom to marry.⁷⁶ As Ernesta wanted no fingers pointed at her for precipitating his divorce from Kathleen, Kent reassured her that the plans for his divorce in

the south of France might escape detection but at any rate would “in no way [be] connected with” her.⁷⁷

The early letters to Ernesta reflect a head-over-heels infatuation for her:

Sweetheart, I cannot write. For nearly two hours I have sat here, abandoned to my thoughts of you. I am drunk with the memory of you—and the hope. “Ernesta,” “Ernesta!” I cry, as if my cry for you might bring you to me; and you, dear heart, dear sweet, sweet love of mine, are of my hands, my lips, my eyes, of every sense awakened into consciousness, and of my ardent spirit, the whole and last desire. Dear girl—I am enveloped by your loveliness.⁷⁸

He wrote of his worship of her⁷⁹ and that his “mind [was] on fire with thought of” her.⁸⁰ The cycle of hyperbole recurs: “I have no desire to work or to live but that my life and my work may be yours.”⁸¹ Again, “yet but for you I would never have known in all my life what could bring me happiness.”⁸²

To win Ernesta’s heart Kent ingratiated himself by taking care of her dog, “Wolfie,” and her horse, “St. Peter,” and by showering her with affectionate letters, gifts, and flowers. He also participated in exercises toward mutual self-improvement such as abstinence from smoking cigarettes. But as Ernesta retreated, Kent’s frustration mounted:

I fear that I have been carried away by my own ardour into reading a love for me even into the utter coldness of your letters. And, dear love, I am just suddenly ashamed. What is more disgusting than to be loved too much!⁸³

Kent respected Ernesta’s truthfulness, but his pride could not suffer her cold shoulder:

Ernesta . . . [f]or God’s sake be human; not, of course, by loving me, but by acting feelingly toward me, be it love or hate or indifference. I can’t bear your letters anymore.⁸⁴

Perhaps the most poignant episode of the Ernesta letters is the fairy tale Kent told her of a heart that, “because it was never given away,” abandons its owner and leaves her without one.⁸⁵

The one-sided relationship explains the brooding, melancholic nature of his letters, several of which were written in the span of a single day, and many at night. At times, Kent’s temper flared up such that he apologized the next day. Ashamed after a certain “debauch of the tea,” he sought Ernesta’s forgiveness.⁸⁶ His behavior bordered at times on the adolescent:

Yes I have smoked; once, but then wildly. It was yesterday. I was so unhappy! And like a child, I did it in defiance of you. I bought a pack,

smoked half of it: and then in disgust of myself I burned the rest.⁸⁷

As irony would have it, Kent was putting the finishing touches on his drawings for the new edition of *Casanova*. Despite the fact that he earlier had defended Casanova to Ernesta, he now grew disgusted with him.⁸⁸ He distinguished his behavior from that of Casanova who, Kent observed, had been swept “into the demoralization of heartless libertinage.”⁸⁹

The Open Marriage

Kent wanted to legitimize his extramarital activities by establishing what he called a beautiful relationship between his wife and the other woman in his life. This proclivity to enlarge his family began around 1910 with Janet, with whom he had fathered a child.⁹⁰ Just as he had wanted his wife, Kathleen, to get to know Janet and, some years later, Hildegarde, he wanted Kathleen to meet Ernesta, so that she could “have the faith” (as he had) “in the wisdom” of what he and Ernesta were doing. “It is horrible when people who have loved each other turn to hating!” Kent wrote to Ernesta.⁹¹ He did not want to divorce Kathleen in anger, but, rather, in understanding: “it is only out of the real affection between us that I would ask for my freedom.”⁹²

Marital fidelity was not Kent’s strong suit, and it was an issue which later in life strength-

ened his bonds of friendship with the scholar and defender of civil liberties, Corliss Lamont. Lamont, one of the founders of the Rockwell Kent Collection, wrote about the open marriage in his autobiography. Extramarital sex for both the husband and the wife was to Lamont “a legitimate, life-enhancing activity.” He advocated “taking the lock out of wedlock.”⁹³

In considering marriage to Ernesta, as he did with marriage to Hildegarde, Kent pondered the future of his wife and children. He promised he would share his children with the barren Ernesta: “Certainly that I have children is like God’s special gift of atonement to you.”⁹⁴ He even wrote about dividing his children up, wondering aloud which of them Ernesta would want: “Barbara, my little pet, you’ll adore. Maybe it is Barbara that we may have.”⁹⁵

The Kent-Ernesta letters end as abruptly as they began. Kent’s 1955 autobiography makes no explicit mention of Ernesta,⁹⁶ though it conceals the identity of a love interest who might be Ernesta—“his little problem child” who would reenter his life with the intention of marrying him.⁹⁷ However, Kent describes his “problem child” as not “beautiful,” “quite plain,” infuriatingly moody (*her* initially unreciprocated infatuation with *him* causing her to smash china), and not yet divorced.⁹⁸ These characterizations run counter to the Ernesta of the Kent-Ernesta letters,

where Kent's infatuation with and devotion to this memorable woman are clearly demonstrated. Yet Kent's concomitant allusions to the wealth⁹⁹ of his "problem child" and her "wonderful old house in mountain country"¹⁰⁰ seem to point to Ernesta. Consciously or not, Kent may have altered the facts or fused his recollection of Ernesta with that of another of his contemporaneous *inamorata* in order to obscure the identity of each and to implicate himself in one less affair while still married to Kathleen.

The composer and writer Samuel Barlow knew both Kent and Ernesta. Kent's friendship

with Barlow predates 1924. Barlow and Ernesta married in 1929. During the summer of 1924 Kent paid a visit to Barlow's house in the south of France.¹⁰¹ Perhaps Barlow introduced the recently-divorced Ernesta to the soon-to-be-divorced Kent at that summer meeting. Kent began sending his amorous letters to her shortly thereafter. Or perhaps it was Kent who introduced Barlow to his future wife sometime in the late 1920s. What is certain is that Samuel Barlow remained married to Ernesta until her passing in 1981.¹⁰²

Notes

1. Letter from Rockwell Kent ("RK"), Arlington, Vermont, to Ernesta Drinker Bullitt ("EDB"), November 5, 1924. The Rockwell Kent Collection ("RKC").
2. The word *inamorata*, rather than *paramour* or *lover* or *mistress*, is used because it merely indicates that the recipients of Kent's letters were his love interests. Though Kent writes with the conviction of having been physically intimate with both women, the extent of intimacy is unclear, and the absence of reply letters from his *inamorata* further clouds this issue. Though chaste as an adolescent, according to the biography of David Traxel (p. 46), Kent did not shy away from creating a reputation as an amorous sort. For example, in 1914 Kent and/or his coauthor, Frederick Squires, identified by initials thirteen "loves of my lifetime" in the dedicatory page of their humorous book, *Architectonics, The Tales of Tom Thumtack Architect* (New York: The William T. Comstock Company, 1914).
3. Undated letter from RK to EDB, page beginning "After supper." RKC (acquired prior to 1995).
4. Letter from RK to Hildegard Hirsch ("HH"), January 3, 1917. RKC.
5. Letter from RK, Seward, to HH, September 24, 1918, and undated letter from RK to HH, headed by "Monday." Deedy collection.
6. See chapter 4 ("Rebellion") of David Traxel, *An American Saga: The Life and Times of Rockwell Kent* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980).
7. Letter from RK to Christian Brinton in the exhibition catalogue of M. Knoedler & Co., *Alaska Drawings by Rockwell Kent* (New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1919).
8. Rockwell Kent, *Salamina* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1935).
9. Rockwell Kent, *It's Me O Lord* (New York: Dodd, Mead, & Company, 1955), pp. 319–325.
10. Undated letter from RK to HH headed by "Tuesday morning," which begins, "My sweet and darling Hildegard: I wish you such happiness." RKC. HH performed in a production number featuring Fannie Brice on July 30, 1917, at The New Amsterdam Theatre, New York City. Together with twenty-three other women—including a "Miss F. Hirsch" [Frieda, perhaps her younger sister]—"H. Hirsch" is listed in the program of the *Ziegfeld Follies* as a performer in the sixth scene, act 1 number, "The Episode of the Ziegfeld Follies Rag." In fact, Hildegard and Frieda Hirsch danced for the *Ziegfeld Follies* at the New Amsterdam Theatre as early as August 3, 1914. Nils Hanson, administrator of the Ziegfeld Club, kindly provided the author with this program information.
11. Undated letter from RK to HH headed by "Tuesday afternoon," which begins: "Now I can write you. . . ." RKC.
12. During their five-year relationship Kent gave Hildegard several gifts, including five reverse paintings on glass, a Jewel Box he carved and painted, a holographic fairy-tale manuscript called *The Jewel, A Romance of Fairyland*, and several small, enchanting watercolors that feature her. Kent refers to Hildegard's "first" marriage in a letter to her from Staten Island dated "April 13th." RKC. The "Frank" referred to in several of the letters, toward whom Kent feels little rivalry, at one time was apparently Hildegard's husband. This author is indebted to the research findings of Eliot H. Stanley contained in the companion volume he edited to the facsimile edition of *The Jewel, A Romance of Fairyland* (Portland, Maine: The Baxter Society, 1991).
13. *The New York Times*, May 21, 1995, H 35.
14. Letter from RK to HH, March 30, 1917. RKC.
15. Undated letter from RK to HH headed by "Saturday night." Author's collection.
16. Letter from RK, Monhegan, to HH, August 9, 1917. RKC.
17. Letter from RK to HH, December 30, 1916. RKC.
18. Letter from RK to HH, June 20, 1917. RKC.
19. *It's Me O Lord*, pp. 21, 270.
20. Letter from RK, Seward, to HH, September 20, 1918. RKC.

21. Undated letter from RK, Staten Island, to Miss Kohler, which begins: "My dear Miss Kohler."
22. Undated letter from RK to HH, headed by "Monday night," where Kent refers to an ink drawing of Hildegarde destined for *Vanity Fair*. Author's collection.
23. Letter from RK to HH, September 26, 1916. RKC.
24. Letter from RK to HH, June 7, 1917. RKC. Frank Crowninshield was the editor-in-chief of *Vanity Fair*.
25. Undated letter from RK to HH, headed by "Wednesday morning," which begins: "My dearest sweetest Love." RKC.
26. Undated Letter from RK to HH, headed by "Sunday afternoon," which begins: "My darling Hildegarde." RKC.
27. Letter from RK to HH, November 24, 1916. RKC. Maeterlinck, the Belgian philosopher-dramatist who received the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1911, was a favorite subject of the literary forum of the Ferrer Center, a meeting ground for Kent and others, including Carl Zigrosser. In his memoirs, Zigrosser specifically recalled a lecture there by Leonard Abbott on *Pelleas et Mélisande*. See Zigrosser, Carl, *My Own Shall Come to Me*, privately printed in Haarlem, Holland, 1971, p. 70.
28. Letter from RK to HH, November 23, 1916. RKC.
29. Letter from RK, Staten Island, to HH, "April 13th." RKC.
30. Letter from RK to HH, June 12, 1917. RKC.
31. Letter from RK to HH, October 31, 1917. RKC.
32. Undated letter from RK to HH, headed by "Thursday night 8:30." RKC.
33. Letter from RK to HH, November 23, 1916. RKC.
34. Letter from RK to HH, July 26, 1917. RKC. Kent names their future children "little Frieda and Tristan and Masanissa" in an undated letter from RK to HH, which begins: "My own dear Hildegarde:—In two hours." RKC.
35. Letters from RK, Monhegan Island, to HH, August 8 and 9, 1917. RKC.
36. Kent refers to Iceland in his letter to Hildegarde, April 13, 1917. RKC.
37. Letter from RK to Miss Bessie Noseworthy, the Kents' maid in Brigus, Newfoundland. Reproduced in *The Kent Collector*, XVI.3.17.
38. Letter from RK, Monhegan, to HH, August 8, 1917. RKC.
39. Letter from RK, Yakutat, Alaska, to HH, August 1918. RKC.
40. Ibid.
41. Letter from RK, Fox Island/Seward, to HH, September ? [sic], 1918. RKC.
42. Letter from RK, Fox Island, to HH, October 15, 1918. RKC.
43. Letter from RK, Seward, to HH, August 27, 1918. RKC.
44. Letter from RK, Fox Island/Seward, to HH, September 1918. RKC.
45. Letter from RK, Fox Island, to HH, October 7, 1918. RKC.
46. Letter from RK, Seward, to HH, September 20, 1918. RKC.
47. Letter from RK, Seward, to HH, December 2, 1918. RKC.
48. Letter from RK, Alaska, to HH, August -, 1918. RKC.
49. Letter from RK, Fox Island/Seward, to HH, October 15, 1918. RKC.
50. Letter from RK, Seattle, to HH, August 2, 1918. RKC. Letter from RK, aboard *S.S. Admiral Farragut*, to HH, August 21, 1918. RKC.
51. Letter from RK to HH, April 15, 1919. RKC.
52. At Knoedler, Sterner exhibited fifteen of Kent's good-sized Alaska paintings on canvas along with twenty-two paintings of lesser scale, many on wood panels.
53. Chappell lived in Pelham with his wife and four children, including a daughter Jean (b. 1912). Letter from RK to HH, June 7, 1917. RKC.
54. Letter from RK to HH, October 5, 1917. RKC.

55. Under the alias "Hogarth Jr.," Kent continued to collaborate with Chappell well into the 1920s, when their spirited novella *Rollo In Society: A Guide for Youth* was published (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1922).
56. Letter from RK to HH, June 7, 1917. RKC.
57. Undated letter from RK to HH, which begins "My own dear Hildegarde:—In two hours." RKC.
58. Letter from RK, Monhegan, to HH, October 17, 1917. RKC. Zigrosser had become editor of *The Modern School* by June 1917 and had sought Kent's ink drawings for the cover design, head, and tailpieces, "and a whole alphabet of decorative initials." See Zigrosser's autobiography, *My Own Shall Come To Me*, privately printed in Haarlem, Holland, 1971, p. 80.
59. Letter from RK, Fox Island, to HH, December 26, 1918. RKC.
60. Undated letter from RK to HH, which begins "Time flies. . . ." RKC.
61. Letter from RK to HH, April 24, 1920. RKC.
62. The 1920 manuscript—"A Rosary Of Prayer That Will Follow Her Over Land And Sea Forever"—forms part of the special collections at Princeton University Library, together with a first edition of *Wilderness*. Presumably, Kent gave both in gratitude to Sterner in 1920. Princeton graduate Daniel Weinreb kindly shared with me his research findings toward an as yet unpublished facsimile edition of "A Rosary."
63. Letter from RK to HH, May 12, 1921. RKC. This is the latest letter from RK to HH in RKC and was written to her in Germany, where she was visiting her family.
64. Beaux's portraits of Ernesta as a youth are in the collections of several museums, including the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (*Ernesta, Girl in White*) and the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. Ernesta's sister, Catherine Drinker Bowen, won the National Book Award for her autobiographical account of her accomplished family, *Family Portrait* (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1970). Chapter 8 ("Ernesta") reveals that Ernesta's extraordinary physical beauty was largely responsible for some fifty marriage proposals by the time she was twenty-two years old. Ernesta studied as a teenager at a conservatory in Paris.
65. Her diary of this tour, written during the summer of 1916 and published in 1917 as *An Uncensored Diary From the Central Empires* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page & Company), demonstrates her depth and breadth of culture. She converses ably on refugee issues, infant mortality rates, suffrage, and women's rights as factory workers. She also reveals a pungent taste for the macabre, the humorous, and the political. The author acknowledges his indebtedness to John Deedy, who not only shared his Ernesta letters with the author but also brought to his attention newspaper clippings and books by and about the Drinker family.
66. Bullitt divorced Ernesta in 1923 to marry Louise Bryant, John Reed's widow. (They divorced in 1930.) He became head of the Bureau of Central Information of the U.S. Department of State and its specialist on the Russian Revolution. In 1933 he became F.D.R.'s ambassador to Moscow.
67. Ernesta had a country house with an upstairs apartment in Ashfield. Letter from RK to EDB, dated November 15, 1924. RKC. "Egypt," Kent's home near Arlington, had a studio-cabin, his private space, well above the family house overlooking the neighboring Mt. Equinox, which he frequently rendered in his Vermont paintings.
68. The obituary for EDB in the *Gloucester Daily Times*, November 18, 1981, refers to her "flourishing business as an interior decorator" and her "travel and fashion articles" for *Vogue* and *Atlantic Monthly*. Ernesta lived at 132 E. 19th Street and worked at 2 West 47th Street.
69. Undated letter from RK to EDB, letter begins "Monday." Deedy collection.
70. Undated letter from RK to EDB, headed by "Tuesday" and begins "Ernesta, I love you so that I can hardly bear it!"
71. *Ibid.*
72. Letter from RK to EDB, November 15, 1924. RKC.
73. Undated letter from RK to EDB, headed by "Monday." Deedy collection.
74. Undated letter from RK To EDB, headed by "Tuesday afternoon." RKC.
75. Letter from RK to EDB, November 2, 1924. RKC.

76. Undated letter from RK to EDB, headed by "Friday" and beginning: "I say, my darling." RKC.
77. Letter from RK to EDB, November 16, 1924. RKC.
78. Undated letter from RK to EDB, headed by "Tuesday night" and beginning: "Sweetheart—I can write you nothing." RKC.
79. Undated letter from RK to EDB, headed by "Wednesday" and beginning: "Ernesta my Beloved: suddenly I am quite ashamed of my unworthiness." RKC.
80. Undated letter from RK to EDB, which begins: "Ernesta darling—it is madness—but I cannot sit here with my mind on fire with thought of you—and not write to you." RKC.
81. Undated letter from RK to EDB, headed by "Arlington. Sunday." and beginning: "My darling." RKC.
82. Undated letter from RK to EDB, headed by "Tuesday" and beginning: "Ernesta, my Beloved: Do not be unhappy about me." RKC.
83. Undated letter from RK to EDB, headed by "Saturday night" and beginning: "Ernesta—my darling—I have bravely put off writing you. . . ." RKC.
84. Undated letter from RK to EDB, headed by "Sunday" and beginning: "After breakfast." RKC.
85. The story of the runaway heart appears in an undated letter from RK to EDB, which begins: "And about your heart?" RKC.
86. Undated letter from RK to EDB. Page begins: "After supper." RKC.
87. Undated letter from RK to EDB headed by "Tuesday" and beginning: "Ernesta, I love you so that I can hardly bear it!" RKC.
88. Letter from RK to EDB, dated "Arlington—Nov 4th." RKC.
89. *Ibid.*
90. In his unsuccessful attempt to incorporate Janet and their newborn son Karl into his household with Kathleen, Kent is remembered as saying: "I tried to do what Shelley would have done." Traxel, *David*, op. cit., p. 65.
91. Letter from RK to EDB, November 16, 1924. RKC.
92. Letter from RK to EDB, Arlington, November 14, 1924. RKC.
93. See chapter 14 ("Marriage With Variety") of *Yes to Life*, rev. ed. (New York: Crossroads/Continuum Publishing Group, 1991).
94. Letter from RK to EDB, Saturday, November 16, 1924. RKC. Ernesta, who died childless, was apparently unable to bear children.
95. *Ibid.*
96. In fact, the only explicit reference to Ernesta in any book by or about Kent is the attribution of ownership to her of his 1919 painting—*Summer, Alaska*—reproduced in both *Rockwell Kentiana* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1933) and *Rockwell Kent* (New York: American Artists Group, 1945), where Ernesta is, respectively, "Mrs. Ernesta Drinker Bullitt" and "Mrs. Samuel Barlow."
97. *It's Me O Lord*, p. 409.
98. *It's Me O Lord*, pp. 400–1, 409.
99. *It's Me O Lord*, p. 402. Kent's "problem child" was under the care of a psychiatrist only the "very rich" could afford.
100. *It's Me O Lord*, p. 409.
101. *It's Me O Lord*, p. 385. Kent does not say whether Barlow owned or rented the "spectacular" house.
102. Ernesta's obituary, as recorded in the *Gloucester Daily Times*, Gloucester, Massachusetts, November 18, 1981.

EISENHOWER COMES TO COLUMBIA

TRAVIS BEAL JACOBS

Amid the pomp and splendor of a medieval pageant, General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower, the leader of the victorious Allied crusade against Nazi Germany in World War II, was installed as the thirteenth President of Columbia University in the City of New York on October 12, 1948. Nearly 20,000 persons had assembled in front of Low Memorial and Alma Mater to witness the ceremony and the beginning of his second crusade, this one for youth and democratic citizenship. Never had there been such a gathering of American college and university presidents to pay tribute to a new colleague, and they were joined by representatives of thirty-eight foreign universities, including ancient Bologna, Padua, Oxford, and Cambridge, delegates from thirty learned societies, and Columbia's trustees and faculties. Forty-six years earlier Nicholas Murray Butler, in his inaugural address in front of Low Memorial, had declared: "Great personalities make great universities," and he went on to become the greatest university president of the twentieth-century, fulfilling his own prophecy.¹

The dignitaries marched under overcast skies from Nicholas Murray Butler Library across South Field and 116th Street to the platform, and that afternoon Columbia's prominence was unchallenged in an awesome display of academic brilliance and media attention. Eisenhower, World War II's most popular and widely acclaimed general, had an infectious grin, and his expressive blue eyes conveyed his intensity and vitality; grim and without any trace of his famous smile on the day of his installation, however, he walked in the solemn and slow procession with the University's Provost through the center of the campus and the huge crowd.

In the spring of 1945 Nicholas Murray Butler, eighty-three years old, blind, and almost totally deaf, had been asked by the Trustees to retire. His last Commencement address evoked deep emotions. A colleague movingly described the “noble figure, rising from his chair, thrusting aside the professed arm of a friend, stepping forward for the previously calculated number of steps and delivering his speech, erect and confident as ever.” The thousands of graduates, families, and spectators could glance in every direction and see the University he had created, physically and intellectually, over four decades. In Butler’s day, Dean Young B. Smith of the Law School recalled, he had been a great, able leader who had raised money, attracted outstanding persons to the faculty, built buildings, and had “the dream.” His brilliant leadership had made Columbia one of the world’s most prestigious universities, but the last years of his forty-three-year tenure were tragic and badly weakened the large, complex, urban institution with troubling financial problems.²

The Trustees promptly appointed a Special Trustees Committee under Tom Parkinson, president of Equitable Life Assurance, and authorized a faculty committee to suggest names. The search continued, unsuccessfully, through 1946 and into 1947, and Columbia’s failure to name Butler’s successor graphically illustrated the

University’s plight. During this period Butler, who had appointed every member of the Board, remained adamant that Acting President Frank D. Fackenthal, former Secretary and Provost of the University, not be named President. By 1947 even a casual inquiry on the Morningside Heights campus revealed disaffection with the Trustees Committee and its lack of progress in selecting a president to lead Columbia in the postwar world.

Why, then, did General Eisenhower even consider the Columbia presidency? He was one of the dominant figures of his age, and he had other opportunities; moreover, he did not have experience in the field of higher education. Why did the Trustees appoint him? When had he first expressed an interest in coming to Columbia? What interests and educational philosophy would he bring to Columbia? He had demonstrated his administrative skills in the Army, but would they work on the Morningside Heights campus? How did the General view his role as President, and what were his goals? Perhaps the Parkinson Committee assumed that Eisenhower’s immense popularity and prestige would solve easily the financial and leadership problems; perhaps, as Eisenhower’s successor, Grayson Kirk, suggested, “The Search Committee may actually have been unaware of the horrendous financial and other problems that had accumulated during Butler’s last years.”³



FIG. 1. General Eisenhower at his installation as Columbia's president, October 12, 1948. He is accompanied by University Provost Albert C. Jacobs. Seated to the General's right are Mamie Eisenhower and John S. D. Eisenhower. The Papers of Dwight David Eisenhower, vol. 10, p. 409.

On June 19, 1947, syndicated columnist Walter Winchell made the startling announcement in the *New York Daily Mirror*: Columbia wanted Eisenhower, and there was little doubt about the General's decision to leave the Pentagon and accept the University's presidency. Winchell, who knew Eisenhower, declared that he had been "informed by an indisputable source that the resignation

already is in the hands of the President." The following morning *The New York Times'* front page declared that the Chief of Staff would accept the position and that President Harry S. Truman did not object. Frederick Coykendall, Chairman of the Board of Trustees, refused to comment on the report; he indicated, nonetheless, that the Trustees might take some action the next week.⁴

At the Trustees Committee's first meeting in June 1945, only a few weeks after V-E Day and as the country was preparing for General Eisenhower's triumphant return to the United States, "his name spontaneously suggested itself." It seemed "wishful thinking" for, among other things, the Battle of Okinawa still raged in the Pacific, and the proposed invasion of Japan was months off. Journalist Alden Hatch, who during World War II had written *General Ike*, reported shortly after Eisenhower accepted the position that his name kept reappearing before the Committee. In early 1946, Hatch added, the Trustees approached the Chief of Staff through a friend in the War Department, and the General had replied that he had an obligation to fulfill at the Pentagon. Hatch declared that both Mamie Eisenhower and the General's brother, Milton S. Eisenhower, President of Kansas State University, had read "every word" of the article before publication. In March 1946, IBM's Tom Watson, a Trustee but not on the Special Committee, traveled to the Pentagon to ask the Chief of Staff to speak at the Diamond Jubilee opening at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City. The General accepted, later observing, "it does seem a bit ridiculous that they should want a soldier in such surroundings."⁵

The Faculty Committee, meanwhile, under the leadership of Dean George B. Pegram of the Graduate Faculties, began the

arduous task of considering nearly 200 nominations. Over Labor Day weekend, 1945, the Committee completed its report on the eight "most promising" candidates and, as Fackenthal specifically commented, "the faculty pretty much preferred somebody with an academic background." The list was impressive, and each of the eight would continue to enjoy a long, successful, and distinguished professional career, but, as Columbia College's Dean Harry J. Carman recalled, "In due time the Trustees advised us that no one of the eight seemed satisfactory." The Committee's second report in May 1946 included the recommendation of Fackenthal, even if for "only a short time" before his retirement. The Trustees, however, essentially "disregarded completely" the work of some of the University's most respected leaders, and the role of the Pegram Committee came to an end.⁶

During that summer individual Trustees began their own search, and Watson again mentioned the General's name after the Metropolitan Museum's celebration. That fall President James Phinney Baxter III of Williams College declined the presidency, and then President Robert G. Sproul of the University of California at Berkeley embarrassed Columbia by publicly doing so. Watson again talked with Eisenhower in early 1947, and the General was honored in February at Columbia's Special Convocation for America's World War II heroes.

The Trustees also approached Milton Eisenhower during this period. For years a favorite story on campus was that the Trustees, meaning Watson and Parkinson, chose the wrong Eisenhower. The legend, as the distinguished international law professor and diplomat Philip Jessup commented, held that the Trustees were discussing candidates and someone suggested a call to Robert M. Hutchins, the brilliant Chancellor of the University of Chicago. "He in his usual abrupt way said that Eisenhower was the best man, meaning Milton of course, and this was immediately picked on by Tom Watson, who thought this was marvelous and forthwith went and asked Ike." Trustee Dodge, indeed, talked with the Kansas State University President, who expressed no interest, since other Trustees already had mentioned the Columbia position to his brother. By this time the General, after "months" of pressure, had agreed that "if and when I left the military service, I would at least confer with the Board of Trustees before I made any move." While he had been worrying about his post-Chief of Staff career far more than his recollection in *At Ease* (1967) implied, pressure on Parkinson's Committee to act. As the search ended its second year, two prominent educators had declined the position, and the search for an Eisenhower seemed to be at an end. Helen Reid, president of the New York

Tribune, Inc. and a Trustee of Barnard College, saw the University "drifting"; a top administrator reflected that, in spite of Butler's aversion, the situation "would have been much better" for Columbia, if Fackenthal had been "appointed President until a permanent selection was made."⁷

Soon, Parkinson Committee members began approaching candidates simultaneously, and its efforts for a new president fell into disarray. As the impatience and concern of other Trustees grew, they requested a Special Meeting of the Board before Commencement; the Committee also agreed to report on Professor Jessup, recommended on the original faculty list. It is difficult to reconstruct the sequence of events between the agreement in early May for a special meeting, soon scheduled for May 27, and the decision of the Board on June 2 to offer the presidency to General Eisenhower. It is extremely unlikely that the Parkinson Committee itself had mentioned Jessup. Dodge knew that "a quarter of the Board" was "not ready to vote definitely for Dr. Jessup at this time," and he was particularly concerned that "whatever we do it will not be embarrassing," because of Jessup's prominence.

When twenty Trustees gathered in Low Memorial on May 27, they learned that Committee members would meet in the next twenty-four hours with Eisenhower—Watson knew that this would be his last chance to

persuade the General—and Arthur Compton, a Nobel Prize recipient and President of Washington University in St. Louis. The Committee had put itself in a position where either a “yes” or “no” vote on Jessup would be awkward and terribly embarrassing; consequently, it proposed that no formal discussion take place.⁸ When Committee members met the next noon at the Downtown Association, several Trustees indicated to Assistant Treasurer Joseph Campbell their understanding that Compton would be offered the position. The Trustees at the luncheon, knowing that Watson already had pressed Eisenhower for an answer, should have been terribly uneasy.⁹

“Watson came to see me and this time seemed to be speaking with somewhat more authority,” Eisenhower confided to Milton Eisenhower, saying that Watson had urged him “to take over the job once I have been relieved as Chief of Staff.” The IBM president emphasized “the importance of public service” and “built up the rosiest picture of what I would be offered in the way of conveniences, expenses, remuneration and so on.” While insisting that he lacked experience and “was *not* the one in the family best qualified,” Eisenhower’s comments—and Watson’s hopes—sufficiently encouraged the Trustee. Watson soon learned that the General and Mrs. Eisenhower would be at West Point for Reunions and to deliver the Commencement address on June 3, and

he informed Eisenhower’s Pentagon office that he would drive to the Academy on June 2. Parkinson, meanwhile, called for a Special Meeting of the Board for that morning.¹⁰

Sixteen Trustees met and “counted noses and voted” to authorize Parkinson and Watson to go to West Point and offer the presidency to Eisenhower. Five members expressed their opinion that the General should not be the next President of Columbia and, significantly, three of them were on Parkinson’s Search Committee of Five: the Chairman of the Board, Coykendall; the Clerk of the Board, Dodge; and Rector Frederick Fleming of Trinity Church; the other two were Doubleday’s Douglas Black and Albert G. Redpath, a long-time director of the *Columbia Law Review* and founding partner of a stock brokerage firm. Ultimately, Watson, who did not have the authority of a Search Committee member, had made too many commitments on behalf of the Board for the Trustees to say, “No.” Thus, Watson and Parkinson, in spite of the opinion of a majority of the Search Committee, received the authority they coveted, and they departed immediately for West Point. The Board did attach one condition: If Eisenhower accepted, he would have to assume office within twelve months.¹¹

The rosy picture Watson had painted about Columbia for Eisenhower became even more beautiful at West Point, when he and Parkinson talked with the General. “In a

moment of weakness," Eisenhower later confided to Dean Carman, "I listened to the blandishments of a couple of your Trustees." When the Chief of Staff told them that "the President of Columbia should be a scholar of renown, one who knows his way around the academic world," the Trustees replied that they were "seeking a leader. . . . We have many fine scholars on campus." They added that he "wouldn't have anything to do with curriculum, or faculty, or any of that sort of thing."¹²

During the next two weeks Watson gave even more assurances, and for some reason the General seemed willing to listen seriously and uncritically. Neither he nor his brother, the president of a large state university, questioned them; indeed, Milton expressed his happiness "about the general direction things are taking." Grayson Kirk has found it "difficult to understand how Eisenhower, with Milton as an academically experienced adviser, could have been so naive to believe the Trustees' assurances." Soon Eisenhower agreed to meet at Columbia with the Trustee Committee and then with the University's deans and directors.¹³

Late Friday afternoon, June 20, and into the early evening, Fackenthal telephoned the deans and directors and asked them to be in the Trustees Room in Low Memorial on Saturday afternoon—it was an unusual request, and many had departed for the

weekend or summer. The Acting President opened the meeting by stating that Eisenhower would be elected President on the 24th, and then Coykendall, Parkinson, and Watson led the General through the double doors into the Trustees Room. An informal conversation followed and, when Eisenhower began smoking, contrary to custom, one dean found a metal wastepaper basket for an ashtray. Toward the end of the meeting Mrs. Watson and Mrs. Eisenhower joined the group.¹⁴

Earlier General and Mrs. Eisenhower had met with the Trustees Committee, and he had said, "Yes." At the same time the Trustees decided that Professor of Law Albert C. Jacobs, who had been recommended in the Pegram Committee's second report and had been the Assistant to the President for a year, should become Provost. The decision had been discussed "very carefully" with Eisenhower, and Jacobs was told he would have "complete charge of the whole academic program at Columbia." As Arthur Hays Sulzberger, publisher of *The New York Times* and an influential Trustee, subsequently stated, the Trustees considered Eisenhower and Jacobs a "team."¹⁵

The reasons for Eisenhower's sudden willingness to accept the presidency are complex and, in light of his career, perplexing. He knew he would retire from the Army when his term as Chief of Staff ended in 1948.

According to Doug Black, who would become one of Eisenhower's closest and most trusted friends, the salesmanship of Watson had led him to Columbia. He "wanted to be close to Ike . . . the biggest figure of the day . . . to be in on the whatever." The IBM president, an ardent Democrat, harbored presidential ambitions for Eisenhower and knew that the prestige of an academic position offered innumerable advantages for a general. In any event, Watson had discovered the perfect way to approach Eisenhower by emphasizing "an opportunity for real service" and by specifically minimizing fund-raising and the presidential responsibilities of leading a large university. "The Trustees misled him badly," Grayson Kirk has emphasized, and he remained "grumpy about it" for several years.¹⁶

In fact, he had doubts within hours of leaving the Low Memorial meeting and, the day before the Board was to meet and formally elect him, he expressed his concerns in a long letter to Parkinson. "I have been assured by all of you that in undertaking this task I would have a minimum of concern with details and that I would be largely master of my own time and activity." Mincing no words, the General asserted: "I am anxious that before the Board meets tomorrow, all of its members understand very clearly the general picture you, Mr. Watson, and the others have painted to me of the basic purpose lying behind my selection."

That basic purpose was "to devote my energies in providing internal leadership on broad and liberal lines for the University itself and to promote basic concepts of education in a democracy." He wanted "no misunderstandings of any kind."¹⁷

An amazing letter. Had he, perhaps during the meeting with the deans and directors, begun to sense the dimension of the task? Had he unrealistically expected to be merely a presiding officer, and was he beginning to understand that the demands were far greater and more complex than he had been led to believe? Had he recalled over the weekend a three-hour luncheon he had had earlier in the year at the Pentagon with Columbia's Eli Ginzberg? Before Professor Ginzberg had had a chance to discuss a proposed military manpower study, the General mentioned that Columbia's Trustees were talking with him. When Eisenhower added that it would be attractive not to have to raise funds, Ginzberg bluntly replied: "I don't know how stupid those trustees are but I think they are not so stupid, they are just lying in their teeth. . . . We're in very bad shape." Ginzberg described "a not altogether pretty picture about Columbia for him" and had given the General a clear warning.¹⁸

The General expressed clearly his terms for Columbia and was, in effect, issuing an ultimatum to the Board. Yet, as hard a bargain as he might drive—and he literally gave

Parkinson the choice of agreeing or subjecting the University to a monstrous embarrassment after all the publicity—he was missing the point as much as Watson and Parkinson had missed it. The type of presidency they offered in no way could meet the challenges Columbia confronted. The Chief of Staff and former Supreme Commander, who had skillfully forged a wartime coalition, should have known, in spite of what he had been told, that one cannot run such an organization and be master of his “own time and activity.”

Parkinson decided to read only “some parts” of Eisenhower’s letter to the Board of Trustees on June 24; he deliberately misled them, just as he and Watson had misled Eisenhower about his responsibilities as President. Only he and Watson knew the extent of the assurances they had given the General; nonetheless, he asserted that the Committee was in full agreement with Eisenhower. The Trustees voted by secret ballot, and the Minutes do not indicate that he was elected unanimously; interestingly, however, the Bylaws for the election of new Trustees were suspended “unanimously,” and the Clerk was “instructed to cast one ballot for General Eisenhower.” The five Trustees who had not supported his selection on June 2 were present. Black remained annoyed, “miffed,” about the way it was “rushed in on about two weeks’ notice,” and he knew “there would be resentment among the faculty,

because they hadn’t been consulted. They weren’t carried away, as all the Trustees were.”¹⁹ Only a few of the Trustees had even met Eisenhower.

The extensive media coverage of Eisenhower’s appointment gave Columbia a publicity coup throughout the country and the world—a fantastic recovery after an almost disastrous presidential search. Columbia’s President-designate, moreover, had the energy and administrative skills that could rejuvenate the University and meet the postwar challenges, and his charisma and commitment to the youth of America could bring to Columbia a vitality missing for nearly two decades. The appointment “greatly pleased” Butler; although it went against his principles to name a nonacademic person, it appealed immensely to his pride to have such a distinguished successor.

On Morningside Heights, however, the news did not always receive positive endorsement. It was known that Deans Pegram and Smith had little enthusiasm; Carman, not disagreeing, observed that if the faculty’s response had been sought, “there would have been lifting of eyebrows and wonderment on the part of some.” One day, soon after the announcement, Professor Harry Morgan Ayres listened to the doubts some of his colleagues were expressing. After a few minutes, he said thoughtfully, “You have forgotten one thing, gentlemen—the Guildhall speech General

Eisenhower delivered in London” after V-E Day. The highly respected literature expert continued: “I believe that to be one of the greatest speeches ever made in the English language. Only a fine scholar could have written that.” That fall Columbia opened its 194th academic year with a sense of relief. The long interregnum would end soon with Eisenhower’s arrival. The *Columbia Spectator*, calling his appointment “the happiest event in many years” at the University, concluded: “Columbia was fortunate, indeed, in obtaining the services of Dwight D. Eisenhower.”²⁰ Few seemed to worry that a definite date for his arrival had not been set.

The Eisenhowers visited the campus briefly in September, and that fall the General worried about Columbia, in spite of widespread interest in him as a possible 1948 presidential candidate, the intensifying Cold War, and proposals for publishing his wartime memoirs. The horrible demands of his new position dismayed the General, according to the *New York Herald Tribune’s* Bill Robinson, who would be instrumental with Doug Black in publishing *Crusade in Europe*. “Eisenhower was, consequently, not very pleased about his decision. He then was startled to learn that Chairman Coykendall had not seen his blunt letter to Parkinson; yet the General still refused to acknowledge, even slightly, that he himself had not done his homework and had gone into battle unprepared. When

Eisenhower finally realized his predicament, probably only the continuous efforts of Watson and Parkinson kept him from changing his mind about Columbia that fall. When once again personally reassured, he told Coykendall that the University could announce that he would arrive around May 1, 1948.²¹

In January the Eisenhower boom for President in 1948 erupted, and the possibility of Eisenhower’s political availability, commented upon almost daily by the media, was unsettling for Columbia. Leonard Finder, the *Manchester Union-Leader* publisher, proposed that a slate of Eisenhower delegates would be entered in the March New Hampshire presidential primary, and public opinion polls indicated that he had “more popular backing than any other Republican and actually more than Truman.” Eisenhower ended the speculation by declaring that “he could not accept nomination,” and CBS’s Eric Sevareid emphasized that now “the whole political situation is radically different.”²² A few days later Eisenhower went on leave from the Army and, avoiding public appearances, began writing his memoirs at breathtaking speed; on May 2, after completing the draft and a golfing vacation at Augusta National, General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower received a farewell salute at Fort Myers and departed for his new residence, the President’s House at 60 Morningside Drive.

When President-designate Eisenhower walked into his office on May 3, he had to have sensed, quickly, that the academic year, 1947–1948—the year the University had waited for his arrival—had been difficult. In addition to the mounting budget deficit and the need to reorganize the administration, the issue of freedom of speech on the Columbia campus had stirred up critical publicity in the Cold War atmosphere of 1948. The former Chief of Staff suddenly became associated with academic freedom controversies at a time when members of both the Republican and Democratic parties were intensifying their pressure on him to become a presidential candidate.

The Eisenhower “boom” rapidly regained strength with the publicity generated by his arrival at Columbia—and by a series of speeches in and around New York City—and it overshadowed nearly everything he did at Columbia and disrupted the University. On Sunday, June 6, the fourth anniversary of D-Day, the *New York Herald Tribune* featured an article on Eisenhower, D-Day, and Columbia. That same day Pulitzer-prize winning historian Allan Nevins predicted in *The New York Times* that with Eisenhower’s arrival Columbia’s “greatest years lie before her.” Also on the 6th a Roper Poll showed that Eisenhower could win the presidency as either a Democrat or a Republican and that voters in both political parties preferred him over any other candi-

date. Some 20,000 letters, postcards, and telegrams urged his candidacy and overwhelmed his staff in Low Memorial Library.²³

With the Republican Party’s nomination of New York Governor Thomas E. Dewey in late June, many Democrats and New Dealers desperately turned to General Eisenhower. Few believed that the badly divided Democrats could win with Truman, and politicians “made the pilgrimage” to his office; Trustees Parkinson and Watson, who saw Columbia as “a stepping stone” for him, as a Democrat, to the White House, did not need to line up to see him. With a crowd outside 60 Morningside over the July 4th weekend shouting “We Like Ike,” he issued a statement that, “I will not, at this time . . . accept nomination for any public office.” Still, the pressure continued, and four days later he added: “No matter under what terms, . . . I would refuse to accept the nomination.”²⁴

During these distracting weeks he had checked the final stages of his manuscript, opened the University’s 49th summer session, introduced Eleanor Roosevelt at the Summer Session Institute, and told some 600 alumni that the University “needs lots of money. . . . Why should \$170,000,000 scare us?” On July 15 he held an informal stag dinner for sixteen Trustees at 60 Morningside, and he particularly emphasized a proposed development plan and recommendations for reorganizing the administration. Afterward, he asked

Provost Jacobs to have material ready for discussion with the Trustees when he returned in September from an extended vacation in Colorado. "That summer, I admit," Jacobs later commented, Eisenhower "should have been around and he wasn't."²⁵

A sense of excitement permeated Morningside Heights, as Eisenhower opened Columbia's 195th academic year. He welcomed a capacity audience in McMillin Theatre, addressed the opening exercises at Barnard, spoke at Columbia's first all-College assembly since the outbreak of the war, and attended the traditional dinner for freshmen in John Jay Hall, which *Spectator* called "the most outstanding of its kind since World War II." He had a number of important matters to prepare for the Trustees at his first official Board Meeting. He went to Baker Field and was photographed with football coach Lou Little at practice; a week later *The New York Times* reported that "a famed new rooter" joined 28,000 fans in "the largest gathering" to watch the launching of a new season—and Columbia won. Then in late September, at the end of an extremely busy day in Low Memorial, he made one of his remarkable speaking appearances. He had had no time to read the notes prepared for him for the opening convocation at the Jewish Theological Seminary, and the Provost recalled with admiration that Eisenhower delivered "a brilliant address without a note."²⁶

It was an auspicious beginning that September for the eminent institution approaching its Bicentennial in 1954, and Eisenhower's actions sharply illustrated the change in atmosphere and the prominence he brought to his new position. His enthusiasm and his pleasure in talking with students were obvious, and his presence infused a vitality and a spirit of optimism unknown on Morningside Heights since the heyday of Nicholas Murray Butler. "His marvelous smile, humor, humility, downright honesty, and great wisdom," Dean Carman wrote, "combine to make him an almost perfect fit for mid-twentieth century America." On the eve of his installation, *The New York Times'* education editor reported that Columbia under Eisenhower would launch "the most ambitious expansion program ever undertaken by any college or university. . . . It is almost staggering."²⁷

That weekend Eisenhower and Columbia completed preparations for his installation on Tuesday. Columbia had offered him a public forum in the cultural, business, and communications center of the world and, while he was not an academic and made no pretense of being one, a strong speech could show his determination and ability to lead the great University. It could, moreover, convey his passionate concern about the challenge America faced in the growing Cold War. Columbia, furthermore, had given him in his first few months some important

issues to discuss, such as academic freedom. That morning the *Spectator* declared: "Columbia is aware it must grow and improve to meet the need of the nation and the world. . . . No man is better suited to meet that challenge."²⁸

The tolling of bells in St. Paul's Chapel began shortly before two o'clock on October 12, and the gray, overcast skies could not mute the richly colored robes and hoods of distinguished scholars and educators from throughout the country and the world. Between the great columns of Low Memorial hung pendant blue banners, and other University buildings were decked with blue-and-white banners and the Stars and Stripes. After the procession had climbed slowly the steps to the platform in front of Alma Mater and Low Memorial, the installation began. As Chairman Coykendall rose for the traditional presentation of the University's Charter and Keys, the sun burst through the clouds, and blue skies appeared. "The cloud rack dispersed," a reporter wrote. "Skylike blue water showed through the openings. The sun hit on edges of clouds. It burnished the crown and eagle perched on the flagpoles." As Eisenhower grasped "the giant-size ring with the giant-size keys, the sun pounced on them and set them afire."²⁹

"The soldier who becomes an educator," he began, "finds himself . . . engaged in a new

phase of his fundamental life purpose," and he asserted that in "today's challenge to freedom . . . every institution within our national structure must contribute to the advancement [of] democratic citizenship." He continued:

From the school at the crossroads to a university as great as Columbia, general education for citizenship must be the common and first purpose of them all. . . . To assign the university the mission of ever strengthening the foundations of our culture is to ennoble the institution and confirm the vital importance of its service.

As he neared the end of his twenty-minute address, he declared:

There will be no administrative suppression or distortion of any subject that merits a place in this University's curricula. The facts of communism, for example, shall be taught here. . . . Ignorance of communism, fascism, or any other police-state philosophy is far more dangerous than ignorance of the most virulent disease.

"Columbia University," he specifically concluded, "will forever be bound by its loyalty to truth and the basic concepts of democratic freedom." From the University will come scholars, statesmen, skilled professionals, and



FIG. 2. *Eisenhower chats with the Columbia football team. Coach Lou Little is in the foreground at left.* The Papers of Dwight David Eisenhower, vol. 10, p. 409.

great leaders in every area, “but Columbia shall count it failure, whatever their success, if they are not all their lives a leaven of better citizenship.”³⁰

That evening Edward R. Murrow reported on CBS News that Eisenhower, among “the colorful robes and hoods of the Universities of Rome, Oxford, Paris, San Marcos, Iran and all the rest,” at first, “seemed rather out of place in that colorful academic setting.” And, when he began speaking, “you realized that this was something considerably out of the ordinary

for a speech by a College President. Here was no display of synthetic erudition, no labored effort to be complicated.” Eisenhower, the prominent broadcaster declared, was “laying it on the line, so that all could understand,” emphasizing “those fundamentals that make our society free.” It was “quite a speech. . . . Those words, spoken in the Cold War atmosphere by a lesser man would have produced the cry of ‘subversive’ or ‘un-American’ in some well-advertised quarters. That charge is not likely to be leveled against Eisenhower.”

Others agreed with Murrow's positive assessment, from the *New York Daily Mirror* to *The Times* and *Newsweek*, which suggested that even the recently deceased Nicholas Murray Butler "seemed to feel that the irresistible Eisenhower could replace the irreplaceable Butler."³¹

Eisenhower's whirlwind schedule continued throughout the fall, generating enthusiastic responses from Homecoming with 35,000 fans at Baker Field to dinners downtown and the publication of *Crusade in Europe*, which received critical acclaim. As hard as it was to believe, his installation and the publication of his wartime memoirs had made him even more popular, and Truman's stunning upset over Dewey had thrown the General back into the spotlight of political speculation. Warning signs, however, had started to appear on the horizon at Morningside Heights. It was becoming known that his staff was making him inaccessible for the Columbia community and that he had appeared very uncomfortable at academic functions. It was not known that he had been promised he "would be largely master" of his "own time and activity" and that responsibility for the University's academic program had been delegated to the Provost. The General knew, moreover, that President Truman wanted to call him back to duty at the Pentagon because of the growing Cold War tensions and the problems of military unifica-

tion; he did not know whether it might be "a temporary assignment" or "short term" and how disruptive it would be for Columbia—no one could foresee that he would miss the entire spring semester.

Still, the fall had been exhilarating and rewarding for both him and Columbia. When he finished his installation address, the sun was still shining, and Mamie Eisenhower, who later recalled the ceremonies as "touching" and "inspiring," considered the sun's appearance a "very good omen."³² In the fall of 1948 few doubted Columbia's greatness or her bright future under President Eisenhower.

Notes

1. *The New York Times*, October 13, 1948. Middlebury College and the Earhart Foundation have generously supported my research on Eisenhower at Columbia.
2. Albert Marrin, *Nicholas Murray Butler*, (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1976), p. 52; Young B. Smith, personal interview, April 26, 1959, Columbia University.
3. For years it was understood that the *Minutes* and records of the Faculty Committee had been destroyed. See Carl W. Ackerman MSS, August 5, 1947, Library of Congress (LC). During research for my manuscript on Eisenhower's presidency, the records of the Faculty Committee and correspondence of the Trustees Special Committee were located in Columbia's Central Archives (CACU) in Low Memorial. Grayson Kirk to author, March 13, 1992.
4. *Daily Mirror*, June 19, 1947; *The New York Times*, June 20, 1947.
5. Alden Hatch, "The Prexy Plan of General Ike," *Collier's*, September 23, 1947; unmarked folder, Trustees Special Committee (TSC), CACU; Eisenhower to Milton Eisenhower, March 15, 1946, *The Papers of Dwight David Eisenhower: Chief of Staff (PDDE)*, vol. 7, ed. Louis Galambos (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1978), 942-44.
6. "Report of the Special Committee," September 5, 1945, and Pegram Committee Report, May 17, 1946, CACU; Frank D. Fackenthal, Columbia Oral History Project (COHP), 1956; Harry J. Carman, personal interviews, January 30, 1958, and December 1, 1961, Columbia University. Ironically, the Committee's only recommendation that was accepted was its negative report on Butler's candidate.
7. Philip Jessup, personal interview, June 17, 1977, Norfolk, Connecticut; Milton S. Eisenhower, personal interview, July 26, 1972, Baltimore, Maryland; Eisenhower, *At Ease* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1967), p. 336; Helen Reid to Dodge, May 5, 1947, TSC Folder, CACU; Albert C. Jacobs, personal interview, February 5, 1965, Hartford, Connecticut.
8. Dodge to Parkinson, May 12, 1947, TSC folder, CACU; The Trustees of Columbia University in the City of New York, *Minutes*, May 27, 1947, *ibid.*, Eisenhower to Milton Eisenhower, May 29, 1947, *PDDE*, vol. 7, 1716, 1737-38; Douglas Black, personal interview, June 6, 1973, New York, New York.
9. Joseph Campbell to author, February 2, 1964.
10. Eisenhower to Milton Eisenhower, May 29, 1947, *PDDE*, vol. 8, 1737-38; Black, interview, June 6, 1973.
11. Trustees, *Minutes*, June 2, 1947, CACU. The *Minutes* do not mention the vote. Black, interview, June 6, 1973.
12. Carman, interview, December 1, 1961.
13. Eisenhower to Milton Eisenhower, June 14, 1947, *PDDE*, vol. 8, 1759; Kirk to author, March 13, 1992.
14. Harry Morgan Ayres, "Recollections of June 21, 1947," Eisenhower Files, Columbiana, Low Memorial, Columbia University.
15. Albert C. Jacobs, "Memorandum" to author, March 10, 1958; Arthur Hays Sulzberger, personal interview, March 27, 1958.
16. Black, interview, June 6, 1973; Kirk to author, March 13, 1992.
17. Eisenhower to Parkinson, June 23, 1947, *PDDE*, vol. 8, 1775-76.
18. Eli Ginzberg, personal interview, December 11, 1990, New York, New York.
19. Trustees, *Minutes*, June 24, 1947, CACU; Black, interview, June 6, 1973.
20. *The New York Times*, June 25, 1947; Fackenthal, 1956, COHP; Carman, interview, December 1, 1961; Ayres, "Memorandum," Columbiana; editorial, "President 'Ike,'" *Columbia Spectator*, September 25, 1947.
21. *The New York Times*, September 12, 1947; William E. Robinson, "Confidential Notes," October 17, 1947, Robinson MSS, Dwight D. Eisenhower Library (DDEL); Eisenhower to Coykendall, November 12 and 22, 1947, *PDDE*, vol. 9, 2055-57, 2078-80.

22. Eisenhower, *At Ease*, pp. 334–35; *PDDE*, vol. 9, footnote 1, 2193; Eric Sevareid, CBS News, Eisenhower MSS, DDEL.
23. William Zinsser, “Columbia Confronts Eisenhower with a Complex, Difficult Job” and Roper Poll, *New York Herald Tribune*, June 6, 1948; Allan Nevins, “University City within a City,” *The New York Times*, June 6, 1947; “Political Mail,” August 9, 1948 and Robert K. Merton to Eisenhower, Jacobs, and Pegram, memorandum, September 1949, Eisenhower MSS. DDEL.
24. Marquis Childs, *Eisenhower: Captive Hero* (New York, 1958), pp. 112–13; Childs, “Why Ike Said No,” *Collier’s*, August 28, 1948, pp. 14–15, 76–77; Jacobs, interview, February 5, 1965; *The New York Times*, July 5, 1948; Eisenhower to James Roosevelt, July 8, 1948, *PDDE*, vol. 10, 129–31.
25. *The New York Times*, June 12, 1948; Jacobs to Eisenhower, memoranda, July 14 and 15, 1948, CACU; Eisenhower to Jacobs, July 19, 1948, *PDDE*, vol. 10, 152–56; Jacobs, interview, February 5, 1965.
26. *Columbia Spectator*, September 23, 24, and 29, 1948; *The New York Times*, September 23 and 26, 1948; Jacobs, memorandum, March 10, 1958.
27. Harry J. Carman to Father Ford, November 2, 1948, Carman MSS, Butler Library, Columbia University; Benjamin Fine, “Education in Review,” *The New York Times*, October 10, 1948.
28. Editorial, “A Great Man . . . Meets a Great Challenge,” *Spectator*, October 12, 1948.
29. Meyer Berger, “Rich Color and Solemn Pageantry of Middle Ages Greet Eisenhower,” and Russell Porter, “Eisenhower Takes Office at Columbia: Stresses Freedom,” *The New York Times*, October 13, 1948.
30. “Text of Eisenhower’s Speech,” *The New York Times*, October 13, 1948.
31. Edward R. Murrow, “With the News,” October 12, 1948, DDEL; *New York Daily Mirror* and *The New York Times*, October 13, 1948; *Newsweek*, October 18, 1948. Butler died on December 7, 1947.
32. Mamie D. Eisenhower, personal interview, December 17, 1975, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.

OUR GROWING COLLECTIONS

RARE BOOK AND MANUSCRIPT LIBRARY

Butcher Gift: Philip Butcher, a scholar and literary historian who has written extensively on George Washington Cable, Adelene Moffat, Sterling A. Browne, and William Stanley Braithwaite added several boxes of books, manuscripts, and correspondence to the personal papers already in the Library. In addition, he donated typed copies of the diaries and journals he kept during his military service in World War II, along with supporting correspondence and clippings, some 300 pages in all of documentation of the war experience.

Lawrynenko Gift: The Rare Book and Manuscript Library was pleased to add to its collections more than twenty-eight linear feet of papers and records from the Ukrainian literary historian and critic Yuri Lawrynenko, a gift of Maria Lawrynenko through her daughter Larissa Lawrynenko. Along with copies of his many articles and his 1985 memoir, *Chorna purha* (The Black Blizzard), the personal archives include audio tapes of his broadcasts for Radio Free Europe and materials deriving from his documentation of Displaced Person camps in the years following World War II.

Kelleher Gift: Mary Moore Kelleher added to her earlier donations of the papers and artifacts of her father, the composer and Columbia professor Douglas Moore, several amusing programs and documents recording Moore's participation in amateur summer theater as a high school student, as well as his handwritten log, or record book, written as an adult, of the performances of his early works.

Kennedy Bequest: The late Sighle Kennedy bequeathed to Columbia her research and study collection of items related to Irish literature in general and Samuel Beckett in particular, including several autograph letters to her from the novelist-playwright. Ms. Kennedy spent much of her life investigating the impact of Dante on Beckett. Her legacy, which included as well the books, monographs and correspondence about the topic she had assembled since her years as a graduate student at Columbia, promises to provide a useful resource for those engaged in similar topics of study in modern literature.

Latouche Purchase: Proceeds from the endowment established in memory of the late Brander Matthews, a member of the Columbia English Department faculty from 1891 until 1924 and the first professor of drama in the United States, allowed the Library to purchase an important group of papers and diaries of the lyricist John

Latouche, who died at the age of thirty-eight in 1956. Latouche, who left his native Richmond to attend Columbia on a scholarship, wrote a series of Broadway musicals including *Cabin in the Sky*, *The Golden Apple*, and *Banjo Eyes*. He won national prominence in 1939 as the co-author, with Earl Robinson, of *Ballad for Americans*, later recorded by Paul Robeson. At the time of his death, Latouche had just completed revisions of the book for Douglas Moore's opera *The Ballad of Baby Doe*.

Lorentz Gift: Mrs. Pare Lorentz has added to the growing collection of papers, scripts, and archival materials from the files of her late husband, the documentary filmmaker Pare Lorentz. Lorentz, who was the subject of an exhibition held in the Rare Book and Manuscript Library this summer, was the controversial and gifted director of *The Plow That Broke the Plains*, *The River*, *Ecce Homo*, and other films recording the look and mood of America in the 1930s and 1940s. The latest batch of papers includes correspondence and office files from his later years, as well as a group of thirty books on nuclear energy, one of his last concerns.

Perkins Family Gift: Anne Perkins Cabot, Penelope Perkins Wilson, and George W. Perkins Jr. gave to the Rare Book and Manuscript Library a substantial collection of papers relating to the career of their father, George Walbridge Perkins III (M.A., 1921), a diplomat and civic leader who spent many years in public service. Perkins, an executive vice president and director of Merck & Co.,

Inc., from 1927 until his death in 1960, was Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs from 1949 until 1953. He also served from 1955 until 1957 as the United States Permanent Representative on the North Atlantic Council and Organization for European Economic Cooperation with the rank of ambassador.

Much of Perkins' life was devoted to carrying on the family legacy of interest in the Palisades Interstate Park, founded early in the century by his father, George Walbridge Perkins (whose papers also reside at Columbia). George W. Perkins III served on the Palisades Interstate Parkway Commission for forty years, holding the position of president from 1945 until his death in 1960.

Saxon Gift: The cartoons and drawings of the late Charles Saxon (B.A., 1940), have long added luster to the Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Mrs. Nancy Saxon, the donor, has enhanced the Saxon collection once again by a recent gift of 208 watercolors and sketches.

Stark Gift: James Stark arranged for the gift of three linear feet of books, articles, clippings, and reviews by and about Eugen Loebel, whose earlier papers are included in the Bakhmeteff Archive of Russian and East European History and Culture. The Czech Minister of Foreign Trade in 1948, Loebel was arrested, tried, and imprisoned in 1951. He came to the United States in 1968, where he taught economics and wrote extensively on economics and world affairs.

CONTRIBUTORS
TO THIS ISSUE

JAKE MILGRAM WIEN, graduate of Stanford (A.B., 1974), Oxford (M.Phil., 1976) and Berkeley (J.D., 1984), has written extensively on the life and art of Rockwell Kent. He is working on a study of Kent's reverse paintings on glass and on a full account of Kent's artistic achievement in Greenland, 1929–1935. Wien organized and curated *The Vanishing American Frontier*, an exhibition of the historical lithographs of Bernarda Bryson Shahn which concluded its museum tour at Bryn Mawr College in April 1996.

TRAVIS BEAL JACOBS received his Ph.D. in history from Columbia University (1971) and is Fletcher D. Procter Professor of American History at Middlebury College. His publications include coediting the diaries of Adolf A. Berle Jr., *Navigating the Rapids*, and he is completing a manuscript of Eisenhower's Presidency at Columbia.

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