System and Schema: *Tabulae* of the Fifteenth to Eighteenth Centuries by Stephen Ferguson

Dora Marsden’s Feminism, the *Freewoman*, and the Gender Politics of Early Modernism by Carol Barash

The Return of Blue Lake to the Taos Pueblo by William F. Deverell

Anna Seward’s Annotated Copy of *Caleb Williams* by Aileen Douglas

Max and Mr. McCall Revisited: Halcyon Days at the Ballantyne Press by R. H. McCall and Lawrence Danson
ILLUSTRATIONS

Martin Meurisse, *Artificiosa totius logices descriptio* 8

Johannes Buno, *Memoriale juris civilis Romani* 14

Detail from Buno's *Memoriale juris* . . . 16

*Epitome of Gospel Mystery* 18

Louis de Lescleche, *La philosophie expliquée* 20

Jacobus à Sancto Michaelis, *Sacrorum Novi Testamenti* 23

Jean Boulaese, *Tabula chronographica* 25

Jean Joseph Lionnois, *Tables généalogiques* 27

C.F.W. Roth, *Versuch einer Mappemonde litteraire* 28

Arrest of Miss Dora Marsden 39

Title page, *The Freewoman* 42

Letter, Ezra Pound to Dora Marsden 50

Title page, *The New Freewoman* 52

Laura Gilpin’s photograph of “North Pueblo” 58

Rufus and Suzanne Poole 63

William C. Schaab 66
| On Board Air Force 2                      | 68 |
| In the White House Cabinet Room         | 70 |
| Taos Pueblo Indians and Friends         | 71 |
| President Nixon and Juan de Jesus Romero| 72 |
| Charles Home McCall                     | 81 |
| Fred May's caricature of Charles Home McCall | 83 |
| Japanese Prints: A Portfolio             | 94 |

**CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE**

**Carol Barash** has just completed her Princeton Ph.D. dissertation, *Augustan Women's Mythmaking: Gender, Language and Authority, 1660–1730*. She has published articles on women writers and feminist theory, including the introduction to *An Olive Schreiner Reader: Writings on Women and South Africa* (Methuen, 1987). She is Assistant Professor of English at the University of Michigan.

**Lawrence Danson** is Professor of English at Princeton University. He is the author of *Max Beerbohm and "The Mirror of the Past"* (1982), published by the Friends of the Princeton University Library. He is now writing a book on Beerbohm to be published by the Oxford University Press.

**William F. Deverell** is a doctoral candidate in the Department of History, Princeton University. He graduated from Stanford University in 1983 with a B.A. in American Studies, and is currently completing a dissertation on 19th-century California.

**Aileen Douglas** is a graduate of the University of Dublin, Trinity College, and a doctoral candidate in the Department of English at Princeton University. She is writing her dissertation on the fiction of Tobias Smollett.

**Stephen Ferguson** was appointed Assistant University Librarian for Rare Books and Special Collections on 1 July 1987. He will continue to serve as Curator of Rare Books, a post he has held since 1975.

System and Schema

Tabulae of the Fifteenth to Eighteenth Centuries

BY STEPHEN FERGUSON

Since 1977, Professor W. S. Heckscher, Agnes Sherman, and Curator of Rare Books Stephen Ferguson have been examining the Library’s distinguished collection of emblem books. Their work led to the 1984 publication, Emblem Books in the Princeton University Library: A Short-Title Catalogue, and to Mr. Ferguson’s interest in the relationship between emblem books and other printed materials of the Renaissance and Baroque which use text, image, and allegory. Among the examples of such forms are tabulae, several of which have been acquired recently by the Library. They were included in the Autumn exhibition, “Knowing Through Seeing: Diagrams, Schemata, and Tableaux in Early Printed Books, Medieval Manuscripts, and Prints,” in the Library’s Gould Gallery.

In the following article, Mr. Ferguson discusses a few of these new acquisitions.

At the bottom edge of the illustration on the facing page, a Franciscan monk gestures towards several novices. Behind him is a walled courtyard surmounted by a formal garden above which stands a grove of trees. Exactly what is the monk doing? Why such an exotic scene of trees, fountain, half-clad women, and numerous small objects?

The monk is Martin Meurisse (1584–1644), a Cordelier Franciscan who eventually became Bishop of Madaura. His duties included training novices, and toward that end he prepared three instructional charts. In 1583 Princeton University Library acquired the first in the series, “A technical and artfully-done depiction of logic in its entirety” (Artificiosa totius logices descriptio), published in 1614.1 In the Logices de-

1 It was followed in 1615 by the Clari totius Physiologiae Synopsis (“A clear synopsis of
scriptio, Meurisse is shown teaching the novices how the three chief operations or processes of the intellect—according to Duns Scotus and Aristotle, as interpreted by Meurisse—can be apprehended by studying the details of the chart.

The chart is divided into two principal parts: the three-tiered central feature depicting the operationes mentis, and a surrounding border of emblems. The three tiers of operationes are the traditional Scholastic processes of the intellect arranged in a hierarchy, with the lowest, Categories, at the bottom, followed by Judgment, and Syllogism at the top.²

Categories are represented by a walled-in courtyard entered by ascending five steps and going through a portal. The steps are the five predicables of Aristotelian logic as interpreted by Porphyry, among others: genus, species, difference, property, and accident. Within the courtyard are Aristotle’s ten categories (substance, quantity, quality, relation, action, passion, place, time, position, and state) flowing from the central source, the fons of being. The fons is a pool adorned with a statue of a half-clad man standing with one foot on a sphere. A banner over his head reads: “The first process of intellect refers to differentiating thinking, which explains the nature of an object.”

The second process of intellect, Judgment, is depicted as a formal, hedged-in garden at the gate of which sits a half-clad woman, perhaps Judgment personified. Like the man below, she has a banner over her head. Hers reads: “This is the dividing process in which the whole is distributed into its parts, or the manifold is separated according to the multiplicity of the whole.” In the garden behind the woman are inscriptions giving particulars concerning the process of judgment.

Syllogism is a grove of three trees that sit above the second realm. The central tree is the “Tree of Knowledge,” flanked on the left by the “Tree of Sophisms,” and on the right by the “Tree of Beliefs.” Each tree is ripe with its corresponding fruit; the Sophists’ tree bears the fruit “error” and “ambiguity.” In front of the central tree sits a gowned woman with outstretched arms. An inscription above her arms reads:

“This is argumentative process (syllogism) in which the one is concluded from the other.”³

Embedded in the border surrounding the three realms of operationes mentis are many emblems. Outside the first and lowest realm lie bits and pieces of reality (ens incompletus) separated from their completed form by the wall of carentia, or deprivation. Outside the second realm the Sophists pipe on their harmonicas, perhaps a reference to fools and their pipes. In the upper corners are miniature portraits of Aristotle (right) and Duns Scotus (left), whose doctrines Meurisse is explicating in his chart. In the uppermost compartment, the Logicaes descrip-tio is dedicated to Jacques Auguste de Thou, the great French bibliophile, a nobleman and member of the Third Order of St. Francis.

These are only a few of the most obvious readings of the chart. A full explanation would take many pages, just as Meurisse intended, and just as is entailed by the instructional form which he used, a tabula.

* *

Looking back over the history of printed books, one can see shifts in the forms and means by which mankind has sought to communicate large and complex bodies of knowledge. One of those changes occurred with the use of tabulae, which are charts, plans, maps, or tables summarizing an extensive body of information usually within the space of just one page. The intent of such a summary is quick reference, or to aid the memory, or to provide a ready means for seeing complex relationships.

The tabular form has ancient roots and it is even speculated that Aristotle’s works could have been “illustrated” by diagrams or tables.⁴ In the Middle Ages not only philosophy, but also theology, alchemy, astrology, astronomy, geography and several other divisions of human knowledge used tabulae. In early modern Europe, some of these uses withered away, as in the case of theology, while others proliferated, as in the case of astronomy and other natural sciences. Today, the tabular form seems mainly reserved for scientific, statistical, and technical in-

---

² I wish to thank Professor William S. Heckscher for assistance with the translations.
formation. But this was not always so; *tabulae* had much more varied forms and functions, especially during the centuries when they were used as devices designed to aid the memory and cultivate the mind.

Over the years, the Latin term *tabula* acquired a number of meanings, many of which were figurative or nonliteral. The most fundamental meaning of *tabula* was "wooden plank." This sense survives in our everyday term "table," which has replaced the less socially-prestigious Saxon term, "board." *Tabula* also took on the meaning of "a picture painted on a wooden panel."6

A related sense of the word in the singular was "an expanse of land,"6 and this sense probably led to the use of *tabula* to mean "landmap"; Ptolemy's *Tabulae Geographicae*, published during the Renaissance, come immediately to mind.

The *Tabulae Cebetis* was an ancient "map" of a different kind. It represented the journey of mankind on a moral "Pilgrim's Progress," ascending the mountain of purification and perfection. In the Renaissance, the *Tabulae Cebetis* was a popular text for teaching the Greek language to *studiosi adolescentes*. Thus, an abstraction, a schema of morality, is made concrete and memorable through a series of images.

For the learned of medieval and early modern Europe, *tabula* was a powerful descriptor. Like the *tabula* before the schoolboy, other kinds of *tabulae* were meant to provide a key to further and deeper knowledge. It provided a kind of "ante-knowledge." This meaning of *tabula* rests on the premise that knowledge is thematic and is arranged by connectives. Thus, in order to get more and other knowledge, we must have some knowledge already. This sense of the term survives today in our "table of contents," usually printed at the front of books.

*Tabulae* allowed immediate apperception; the mind was reached through the eye with ideas that normally would have been spoken or read. The means of transfer is vision; the structure of knowledge is intended to be seen. Moreover, the process of knowing through seeing stands in direct contrast to another analogue for knowing, namely, hearing.7

6 This term appeared in several ancient authors and is discussed in William S. Hecksher’s forthcoming Latin glossary for Alcali, Vol. I in the Princeton Emblem Project Series, published by the Princeton University Library.

5 For example, in the Scheide Library Collection of Documents, document 2098, dated Fabriano, 20 October 1212, the Consul of the town, Todius, promises that the next day he will give a *tabula* of land to the Abbot Morius and his brethren of St. Victor.

7 Walter Ong, *Orality and Literacy. The Technologizing of the Word* (London and New York: Methuen, 1982), p. 119. As Ong points out, "Ambrose of Milan [states] in his Commentary on Luke (iv, 5): "Sight is often deceived, hearing serves as guarantee.' In the west through the Renaissance, the oration was the most taught of all verbal productions and remained implicitly the basic paradigm for all discourse, written as well as oral. . . Writing served largely to recycle knowledge back into the oral world, as in medieval universitatis disputations, in the reading of literary and other texts to groups . . . and in reading aloud even when reading to oneself. At least as late as the twelfth century in England, checking even written financial accounts was still done aurally, by having them read aloud. [One scholar] describes this practice and draws attention to the fact that it still registers in our vocabulary: even today, we speak of 'auditing,' that is 'hearing' accounting books, though what an accountant actually does today is examine them by sight."


9 The Library’s call-number for the suite of plates is (Ex) KBD.B86 1675. The plates are extracted from Buno’s *Memoriale juris civilis Romani, quod tituli omnem et praecipuus legem, quae in quinquaginta Digestorum seu Pandectarum libros sunt, emblematibus & imaginibus iuxta flecta exhibebatur, ut una cum titulorum materiis eorum etiam numeri memoriae impressi, contineri
Buno’s engravings were to be used in accord with a specific program. First, the student had to discover the underlying image on a single tabula. In the engraving for Book II of the Code of Justinian, the principal image is the baptismal font of a church. The student was expected to know that the principal image of the preceding plate (Book I) was an altar, and that the following plate (Book III) carried the image of a cancelli ("lattice," or "grid-work"), and so on in exact alphabetical and numerical order.

Next, the student examined and memorized the series of small images fixed on the baptismal font itself. These images are arranged according to the numerical order in which the major subdivisions of a Book in the Code, called Titles, appear, all with mnemonic tags in alphabetical order. Each small, tagged scene depicts the gist of a Title. Thus Title I, "Concerning the bringing of an action," is tagged Adstans Act[or], "The plaintiff appearing in court"; Title II, "Concerning the summons to court," is labelled Bacchator, "Rantor," and so on throughout all 59 Titles of Book II. Clearly, the intent of Buno’s engraving was to provide a table of contents which the student could recall by seeing it in his mind’s eye.

The figural tabulae of Meurisse and Buno point to a technique of memorization called “artificial memory,” memory developed purposefully by an individual. The technique is actually quite ancient and was once considered to have been developed by Cicero. It rests on the common judgment that sight is the most powerful of the six senses and thus should be used for remembering. Just as the distinction between object and background is necessary for seeing to occur, so is this distinction central to the classical theory of memory.

In essence, the theory tells us that, to establish background, we must first memorize places. Go to a building, view the doorway, fix it in mind, move along, view a window, fix it and so forth. At this first stage, we build a storage system, an aggregation of niches into which something can be put. Secondly, we proceed to fill these places (topoi or loci) with images. The images (imagines agentes) represent specifics that are


rhetoric in his *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*,\(^\text{13}\) recommended that his readers follow

the Quintilian method of memorising through visualising the tablet, or the page of manuscript, on which the material is written—divided into clearly defined parts with some marks or *notae* on it at special points—which is to be committed to memory in a low murmur.\(^\text{14}\)

From the Middle Ages to the end of the Baroque period, tabular thinking, both figural and non-figural, focused on complex philosophical and religious matters. In *tabulae* like the *Epitome of Gospel Mystery emblematically illustrated* (London, ca. 1650),\(^\text{15}\) the major visual elements and their arrangement in space serve as an exposition of theological dogma. The central scene is flanked by two tall columns covered with text, and surmounted by open sky and clouds. A cherub floats over each capital and trumpets a banner on which a rhymed triplet is inscribed. Below the banner and filling the central space is a scene emblematic of the “Gospel Mystery.” Flowing from a fiery sun, a river runs through two hearts (one “of love,” the other “of stone”) and thence through wounds to irrigate the Tree of Life, beneath which is a portal to a holy place. In front of the door is a porch, which only a few figures have reached. In front of the porch is “The Broad Way to Destruction” on which figures in wigs and waistcoats walk toward a burning pit. To the left of the porch stand Adam and Eve exiting Paradise. All of the figures and scenes are labeled, usually in rhymed couples and triplets.

\(\ast\)

Towards the end of the Baroque period, non-figural *tabulae* appear which seem to presuppose a figural image like a tree. The trees, however, are horizontal rather than vertical, and schematic rather than

\(\text{13}\) This work “... preserved for the Middle Ages the outline of the ancient educational system based on the seven liberal arts (grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic, geometry, music, astronomy).” See Yates, *Art of Memory*, p. 50.

\(\text{14}\) Yates, *Art of Memory*, p. 52.

\(\text{15}\) The *Epitome* is a large-folio figural tabula engraved on a single sheet. It was purchased on the Reed Fund during 1964–1965 and its Library call-number is (Ex) N7710.E64.1650f.
top, as with standard tree diagrams. The utility of the tables, the author declares, is that many things can be compressed into a few words. Moreover, they show an orderliness that aids memory and reason, and they display the correspondence that one thing has with another. Here, philosophie is construed in a wide sense to include moral teaching, logic, and metaphysics.

In his Sacrorum Novi Testamenti librorum omnium analysis catholica, et oeconomia generalis of 1670, Jacobus à Sancto Michaele also used schematic trees turned on their sides to make systems of divisions and parallelisms. At the left, we read the single summarizing statement; as we progress from left to right, the divisions of the unity are explicated. In the tabula illustrated, an analysis of the Revelation of St. John, Jacobus says at far left that the book contains three parts: preface, tractate, and conclusion. In turn, each of these parts is subdivided yet again. Two of the other tabulae analyze the New Testament as a whole, and one sets out Roman Catholic doctrines in a hierarchy. All the remaining sheets tabularly explicate the contents of one or more New Testament books beneath a short prose synopsis in large italic type.

In the system of artificial memory, the images were the substance to be recalled and their place was important, but secondary. Over time, subject matter embodied in images became known by place in series—in other words, by topic, a word which comes from the Greek topos, meaning place. Similarly, arrays of topics were considered to be tabulae which in their entirety provided a key to further knowledge.

One example of such a tabula is a late 15th-century book of only 18 pages headed Tabula Christianae religionis. The closely printed text covers all the essential points of faith: the Apostles' Creed (complete with an Apostle's name next to a point to serve as a mnemonic), the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Seven Sacraments, the Seven Cardinal Virtues, the Seven Deadly Sins, the Seven Ages of Man, the Six Eras of the World, important feast days, and the like. No images are included. At least nine editions of the Tabula Christianae religionis are known, all undated and with no indication of printer. Most of them are thought to have been printed in Italy between ca. 1485 and ca. 1520.

---

16 Purchased on the Zabriskie Fund in 1989, its Library call-number is (Ex) B1889.L4 P5.1651.

17 Published at Lyon by Antoine Juliere, and purchased in 1987 on the Sanxay Fund. Its Library call-number is (Ex) BSE2455.185.

18 It was purchased on the Reed Fund in 1986. The Library call-number is (Ex) BX1754.T32.14954.
Given the simplicity of both content and language, this was just the sort of book appropriate for a wide and general audience. It could have been used by clergy for training new clergy or instructing the laity. Similarly, it could have been used by laity to help them learn the basics of the faith, or when teaching other laity, as a household master would have taught servants. Such a book was the companion to missal and breviary, both of which are essential for the outward demonstration of inward faith; it would also supplement Italian vernacular literature such as saints' lives, which played a major role in the religious life of ordinary clergy and laity alike. Because tabulae like the Tabula Christianae religionis were undoubtedly heavily-used, their casualty rate might have been high, much higher, perhaps, than the 10 to 25 percent estimated loss of all books produced during the 15th century.  

\*\*

Both figural and non-figural tabulae as understood in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance all had but vanished from the modern world, in part, perhaps, because the sheer quantity of knowledge has increased to the point where no tabular synopsis can pretend to present even one of its divisions. Nonetheless, earlier tabulae attempted ambitious synopses of large segments of sacred or profane knowledge. Jean Boulase's scope was nothing less than the entire span of time. His 16th-century Tabula chronographica ex collatione temporum Hebraeorum, Italorum, Chaldæorum, et Aegyptiorum is a peculiar chart, and probably unique.  

Boulase was born about 1540 in the parish of Arroulain. In 1611 one writer described him as the "fiery Boulase." His life seems to have been filled with strife. He entered the priesthood in 1556 and took vows of poverty in 1568. A professor of Hebrew, he became principal of the Collège de Montaigu, but the position proved difficult to hold. Between 1568 and 1571 Boulase seems to have been in Rome in order to present to Church officials details of the 1566 exorcism of a demon from a young girl in the Cathedral of Laon. Upon his return, Boulase learned that his position as principal had been challenged by one Jean Margot; the dispute was not settled until 1578 in Boulase's favor. Boulase then proceeded to impose a change on the Collège, ordering that it be a school for the religious who had taken vows of poverty, and calling himself "father of the religious poor." This action did not please the wealthy regents of the Collège. In the end Boulase lost, was condemned for obsinacy, and was excommunicated in 1579.  

Boulase published a number of books which were highly esteemed in their day. His mainstay was an account of the exorcism performed at Laon. This account first appeared in 1573 and again in an expanded edition in 1587.  

Apocalypsis Beati Ioannis Apostoli Analysis & Oeconomia Generalis.

Quod sit in hoc prophetae libro Apostoli seque, fata partes operire tempus Ecclesiae inperium & resurrectum futurum: sine quantum ad aitersa euntes: tunc, si fundatione Ecclesiae refugae ad consummationem facili & convenienter in tres partes liberi dividere; ut videlicet in professionem: qua continet praebulam; in narrationem, qua continet praecipuum; & in conclusione, qua declarat librum eorum et authentis eorum bine,

[Text continues with Latin script, not fully transcribed due to the nature of the image.]
form in 1578 and in 1598; Princeton has both versions of the story issued during the 1570s. In addition to this, Boulaeus published a commentary on Daniel, books on Hebrew, and another Biblical work. Unrecorded and published during Boulaeus's turbulent years of the 1570s is his Tabula chronographica.

Boulaeus's Tabula lays out in non-figural detail four time systems: the Biblical (based on the genealogy of Christ as given in Luke), the Roman, the Babylonian, and the Egyptian. He names his sources, including among them Philo, Berosus, Metasthenes,21 Manethos, Eusebius, and Jerome. According to Boulaeus's chartings, all systems demonstrate clearly that 3,960 years had passed from the creation of the earth to the birth of Christ. As Boulaeus points out at the end of the table's dedication to René de Birague,22 his chart is intended to aid Christians engaged in acquiring the "sacred things." In the dedication he also expresses his interest in eschatological matters (anagogicus).23

The eschatological import of the Tabula chronographica is of particular interest. It is known that Boulaeus was concerned with the Second Coming of Christ. In his Ad mysticos sacrae scripturae sensus varia dictionum significatio in commentaria collecta ... cum vera demonstratione Septuaginta, Hebdomadum Dan.9, published in Paris in 1575, he mentions the star of 1572: "From the 11th or 12th of November 1572 up to this day on which I write, the 22nd of November 1574, two entire years and 11 days have occurred since the day the new star appeared. It is not certain what this signifies, but it is possible, as the Scriptures say, that it indicates the Second Coming."24

---

21 The name Metasthenes is said to be a corrupt spelling of Megasthenes, a Greek who wrote ca. 300 B.C. about India.

22 Birague was Keeper of the Seals for the French Court, Bishop of Lavatur, cardinal, and one of the prominent Catholic leaders who agreed to the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day in 1572.


24 The passage quoted appears on page 70: "Ab undecimo aut 12 die novembris 1572 ad hanc diem qua haec scriptus vigesimam secundam mensis nov. 1574 sunt duo annis adhuc vulgo certum est, lect tamen quid significet adventum." Moreover, the 70-weeks material of Daniel 9 has long been considered to relate to the "End-Time." The "new star" was the supernova of 1572 described by Tycho Brahe in his Prognosticatio. Tycho observed the star from November 1572 until March 1574. His records of its variations in color and magnitude identify it as a supernova; Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970) Vol. 2, p. 493. Moreover, "... consideration of the absence of both parallax and retrograde motion, which [Tycho] established by careful observation, led him to conclude that the new star was neither sublunar nor attached to the planetary spheres. It lacked the proper motion of a comet (which, according to Aristotle, would have been sublunar), quite apart from its totally different appearance. Despite attempts he made in his book to ascertain the astrological significance of the nova, his account is, on the whole, greatly superior to contemporary accounts;" John David North, "Tycho Brahe" in Biographical Dictionary of Scientists (New York: John Wiley, 1984), p. 78.
In his *Tabula chronographica*, Boulaese is at pains to demonstrate that his estimate of the time that had passed from the creation of the world to the birth of Christ was correct. Why such anxiety over fixing the precise number of years? And why 3,960? As C. A. Patrides points out, during the Renaissance there was a distinct received tradition that the world would last no longer than 6,000 years. But determining where one was in that sequence of 6,000 years was not a simple matter. The learned of the age knew that the Second Coming was near, but how close? Over 100 writers of Boulaese’s period agonized over this question, presenting more than 40 separate solutions to the problem. Luther, for example, chose exactly 4,000 years. The learned Joseph Scaliger settled on 3,948. The variations depended in part on the source of one’s information. If one selected the Septuagint, then at the time of the Renaissance the world was at least 6,500 years old. This was some 500 years past the “due date” and the world had not yet ended. So, for some, the chronology of the Septuagint contained an error, and the answer to the question must lie elsewhere.

Boulaese, like others, chose Luke’s recounting of the forebears of Christ as his primary authority; the 42 generations listed there worked out nicely to 3,960 years. Moreover, given the authority of Luke, the chronologies of the Romans and others could all be shown to agree with the Bible. In Boulaese’s *Tabula chronographica*, columns two, three, and four to the right of the listing of Luke’s 42 generations show in detail the parallels as well as the sometimes arbitrary adjustments required to make the chronology work out.

The *Tabula chronographica* has its original imprint canceled by a pasted-over square of paper. Underneath it reads “Apud Thomam Belot, sub D. Barbarae signo, in via Iacobae.” Belot held a 10-year royal privilege granting exclusive rights to the works of Boulaese. Apparently Belot wished to disassociate himself from Boulaese; he sold the publication to Denis Duval, whose name as printer/publisher appears in the lower left corner. Exactly why Belot ended the relationship (he never published a Boulaese work again) is not known. Certainly Boulaese’s life was in turmoil in 1573, and he had his detractors.

---


And in the 16th century, as Anthony Grafton points out, chronology could make tempers flare. It was a subject fiercely argued. Moreover, the authenticity of one of Boulaeus's sources, Berosus, was debated by a number of scholars; perhaps Belot decided to distance himself from Boulaeus because of such doubts regarding his sources.

Whereas Boulaeus took the entire span of time as understood in theological terms, others sought to expand the tabular form to encompass all of human history, or the entire world of letters. Two 18th-century books recently acquired by Princeton provide examples of such an effort as well as a glimpse of the moment of transition, when an old intellectual age was dying and a new one was being born. Jean Joseph Lionnois' *Tables généalogiques et géographiques* cover established knowledge, such as Biblical history. Each plate is dedicated to Louis Philippe Joseph Orléans, Duke of Chartres. The entire book has all the marks of one produced in the age of patronage, and it is officially approved and licensed. Its contents are laid out in the well-known tree form, as shown in the genealogy of the Kings of France.

Christian Frederic Wilhelm Roth's *Versuch einer Mappemonde litteraire* (Erfurt, 1785) offers an interesting contrast. Roth covers the whole range of knowledge. He charts a *Mappo-monde Litteraire*—"Map of the World of Letters." He does so using a columnar arrangement, with each column filled with text and disposed left to right across the page. There are no images on the *tabula*, only text. In Roth's thinking, "Letters" is the total intellectual culture of humankind, not just philosophy, theology, and the genealogies of kings. Significantly, financial backing for the book did not come from a single patron, but from a group of subscribers. True, the list is headed by eight members of the German nobility, but they are far out-numbered by the more than 150 others on the list. These others are lesser men: merchants, booksellers, kappellmeisters, and so forth. From both the list of subscribers and Roth's ambitious attempt to represent all the new knowledge of his time, we get a glimpse of the democratic age arriving, an age when knowledge

---

78 Published at Nancy in 1771, it was purchased on the Sanxay Fund in 1985. Its Library call-number is D 11 L 76.
79 The Library's call-number for Roth is (Ex) Z 2000. R 67 1785 f. It was purchased in 1986 on the Theodore F. Sanxay Fund.
would be transmitted by means more accessible to the common man, unversed in the systems and schema of “artificial memory” and the often esoteric meanings of emblems.

Princeton’s recent acquisitions of complex visual arrays known as tabulae provide a glimpse into a vanished world—a world that depended on images and memory to teach, to remind, and to edify.

Dora Marsden’s Feminism, the Freewoman, and the Gender Politics of Early Modernism

BY CAROL BARASH

It is one of the quirks of women’s history that a woman’s name change through marriage can make her, seemingly, disappear. Along with a family name, important papers can also disappear. The early records of the Freewoman and the New Freewoman, feminist journals published in London between November 1911 and December 1913, were temporarily lost to view through just such circumstances.

A problem in the history of early modernist literature led to their rediscovery. According to a well-known story, Ezra Pound was responsible for transforming the New Freewoman’s concerns “from feminism to literature” when he placed Richard Aldington as the journal’s literary editor in the fall of 1913. Doubting the story’s veracity, I went in search of information about the two years prior to Pound’s takeover,

1 I am indebted to the Council for European Studies for providing a grant to complete research in England, and to Mrs. Elaine Bate who allowed me to read the papers of Dora Marsden and the Freewoman group in her personal collection. I would also like to thank Victoria Glendinning; Jane Lidderdale; A. Walton Litz; Dr. Peter MacNiven, John Rylands University Library, University of Manchester; Ellen Shipley, University of Arkansas Library; Elaine Showalter; Ann Van Arsdale, Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library; and Marjorie Wynne, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

and about the eclectic group of feminists whose energies produced the unorthodox Freewoman and its offspring, the New Freewoman and the Egoist. My search stopped at the door of Dora Marsden (1882–1960), who was by all accounts the driving force behind the Freewoman, but who had dropped out of sight after the publication of her first book, The Definition of the Godhead, in 1928.

Marsden, who lived much of her adult life with Grace Jardine, suffered an emotional breakdown in the 1930s, and lived in various rest homes in the Lake District from then on. What had become of her papers? Jane Lidderdale and Mary Nicholson’s Dear Miss Weaver: Harriet Shaw Weaver, 1876–1961 discussed the Freewoman papers and correspondence as being in the personal collection of Dora Marsden’s niece, Elaine Dyson. But Miss Dyson was nowhere to be found. It was not Dora’s marriage, but rather her niece’s—and her family’s reticence about their eccentric former suffragette of an aunt—that put primary documents relating to the early Freewoman temporarily out of reach.

As it turned out, Elaine Dyson had married Captain Reginald N. Bate. With the help of Jane Lidderdale, I found Mrs. Bate in Prestatyn, North Wales, her aunt Dora’s papers tucked away in a small wicker trunk on the second floor. And it was there, through the kindness of Elaine Bate, and interspersed with discussions about her stubborn and reclusive aunt, that I first read Dora Marsden’s papers, which now join a distinguished collection of letters and manuscripts at Princeton University relating to early 20th-century literature and culture.

The Marsden Collection dovetails with several other major manuscript holdings already in Princeton University Library’s Department of Rare Books and Special Collections. With letters to and from Richard Aldington, Storm Jameson, D. H. Lawrence, Ezra Pound, Rebecca West and others, the Marsden Collection further details the history of early modernism drawn from Princeton’s Sylvia Beach Collection. Letters to Marsden and Jardine expand our knowledge of Harriet Shaw Weaver (a.k.a. “Josephine”) and Sylvia Beach, the bold women who fought government censors and a hostile public to see the writings of Ezra Pound, James Joyce and other modernists into print.4 A 71-page

---

4 Enoch Arnold Bennett (1867–1931), English novelist, playwright and critic, best known for his novels of the “Five Towns,” including Hilda Lessways (1911), which the Freewoman reviewed; Theodore Dreiser (1871–1945), American journalist and novelist, who realistically portrayed the brutality of city life in novels such as Sister Carrie (1900); Henry Havelock Ellis (1859–1939), one of the founders of modern sexuality with his 7-volume Studies in the Psychology of Sex (1897–1928); Charlotte Perkins Gilman (1860–1935), American socialist feminist, author of fictional works which include The Yellow Wallpaper (1892) and the utopian Herland (1915) and theoretical works such as Women and Economics (1898) and Man Made World (1911); “Katherine Mansfield,” pseudonym of Kathleen Mansfield Beauchamp (1888–1923), one of the foremost developers of the early 20th-century Chekhovian short story in English; and Herbert George Wells (1866–1946), British novelist, historian, and social critic, author of numerous books, including the New Woman novel Ann Veronica (1900) and The New Machiavel (1911), a roman à clef about the Fabian Society.

---

5 Correspondents repeatedly refer to Marsden and her work in religious terms, calling her “inspirational” and her writing the “new gospel.”

ous, opposing factions of English feminism in the period just before World War I. In showing the relationship between this feminist history and the history of early modernism, the Marsden papers are truly unique.

*

The *Free woman* arose out of a period of conflict and reorganization among London's feminist community. It was felt by many feminists around 1911 that the WSPU was becoming authoritarian, no longer interested in what other women said or desired. Furthermore, the WSPU and its supporters were victims of intense public hatred. Dora Marsden believed that suffragettes were intentionally martyring themselves when they set themselves up to be carted off to jail by violent police officers, and she claimed that such martyrdom reinforced Victorian conceptions of women as weak. Thus the *Free woman* began in opposition to suffragettes' bold public acts of civil disobedience, claiming that feminist violence had taken on a life of its own, separate from the reality of the campaign to win votes for women and the more complicated problem of what would constitute modern women's freedom.

Numerous other feminist organizations were formed in London just prior to World War I. Those which sought to join forces with the *Free woman* usually favored socialist reforms in the workplace and the home: equal wages for working women, collective housekeeping, and eugenics. In contrast to many other feminist coalitions of this period, the *Free woman* is striking for its comprehensive approach to public policy issues, and its encouragement of debate around a wide range of feminist concerns.

The *Free woman* featured articles about the period's most controversial topics (birth control, homosexuality, wages for mothering and housework), emphasizing women's abilities to choose and, in spite of differences in their individual capacities, to demand and create social change. In order to foster discussion and the development of theory around these issues, the *Free woman* used its readers' correspondence as the core of a passionate "Notes and Letters" column, which often staged battles between contributors and subscribers who had never met. Here we find, for instance, a group of women "discussing" whether passion is good for the female psyche; and doctors, lawyers, and community specialists debating various aspects of the relationship between prostitution and marriage, as both institutions keep women economically dependent on men.

Demanding truth in art, as in journalism, the *Free woman* claimed that a radical restructuring of literature—as well as the role literature plays in society—was key to creating a new feminist culture. The *Free woman* favored experimental forms of writing, anything that broke through confining Victorian conceptions of the sexes as tragically and sexually at odds. The woman dramatist held a central place, as one who dared to speak new cultural truths on the public stage.

With this diverse set of political and literary goals, it is not surprising that the *Free woman* attracted a coalition of feminists, theosophists, socialists, and anarchists—poets, critics, and theorists who rarely agreed on editorial policy. Even Marsden and Mary Gawthorpe, the two editors originally listed on the masthead, were at odds about the purpose and strategy of the magazine. Both of them had been jailed for their civil disobedience on behalf of the militant suffrage campaign and both had hunger-fasted, but they disagreed fundamentally about everything from the efficacy of militant violence and feminist self-sacrifice to the proper language and audience for their new journal.

A fiery, lower-middle-class teacher from Leeds, Mary Gawthorpe grew up in the Labour Church and considered socialist politics "the new religion of practical Christianity." She chose not to marry, making both a career and a family out of Labour politics. An outspoken community organizer involved in a local Fabian study group, vice-president of the Independent Labour Party in Leeds, and editor of the women's column of the *Labour News*, Gawthorpe was just the kind of dynamic and committed personality the Pankhurts attracted to the WSPU. Gawthorpe first joined the WSPU when she was 13. She proved a dynamic public speaker on behalf of women's rights, most adept at controlling her opponents with verbal repartee. When Labour organizers attempted to diffuse Gawthorpe's concern for the plight of women's rights, she answered in kind, arguing that labour socialism and feminism were inextricably linked.


—Though slightly more well-to-do than the "radical suffragists" studied by Liddington and Norris, Gawthorpe shares their background in community organizing and politics; see Liddington and Norris, "One Hand Tied Behind Us," pp. 11-18 and 211-230.

working women into a socialist agenda that lacked a significant response to gender oppression; they actually catalyzed her movement towards the WSPU. Gathorpe had been speaking for the WSPU in Wales, when in 1906 Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence, one of the national organizers for the WSPU, invited her to join the national group in London.

Gathorpe's autobiography, *Up Hill to Holloway* (1962), ends shortly after this event, partly because it was so clearly the major transition of her adult life, but also because the rest of her life was part of official suffragette history, an account she never challenged in her public writing. With her skills as a speaker and organizer, it is not surprising that Gathorpe moved up WSPU ranks quickly. Almost immediately after joining the organizers in London, Gathorpe became an editor of the Pankhursts' journal, *Votes for Women*, as well as a regular on their nationwide speaking circuit. In 1906 Gathorpe was the first suffragette to address the public from the lobby of the House of Commons, a good example of her leadership within the WSPU, and of her ability to shape WSPU strategy so long as she did not challenge Christabel Pankhurst head-on. Although Gathorpe confided to Marsden her growing concern that WSPU propaganda reinforced constraining Victorian images of women, Gathorpe also believed that women's public martyrdom had potent symbolic value and that because WSPU members were really suffering—in the streets and in jail—their policies should not be attacked in print.

Gathorpe wanted others to carve out new feminist strategies without directly contesting the WSPU. She and others believed that Marsden was a woman capable of working out "the philosophy of the women's movement...in terms of everyday life." Gathorpe was in Devon, recovering from injuries suffered in demonstrations and from pneumonia, and near emotional collapse. One of her means of maintaining contact with the feminist community was by writing long, passionate letters to her friends. In addition, to establish a vehicle for feminists as a community to consider the larger ramifications of the vote, Gathorpe lent Marsden £500 to start the *Freewoman*. This money was drawn from WSPU funds intended for her own convalescence. Gathorpe later wrote: "I have always been acutely concerned with the maintenance of free speech, free opinion and free thought and was 'for' Dora and anyone else on these terms." But like most financial backers of the early *Freewoman*, Gathorpe believed she should be allowed some editorial sway, and this became a source of friction; Marsden became livid when expected to accept anything less than full control herself.

Although Marsden and Gathorpe were both teachers and only a year apart in age, their approaches to feminism were quite distinct. Marsden seems at times to have taken women's communities for granted, and had little sense of their importance to so many of her feminist contemporaries. She was concerned with feminists—men as well as women—as individuals. On the other hand, Gathorpe, who worked to support her family after her father became an alcoholic, found both emotional and financial relief in the women's community of the WSPU and was therefore more dependent upon the WSPU, and upon women's communities generally.

In their correspondence Gathorpe addresses Marsden as a younger sister: "Little One," "Love," "Little Sister." Marsden has predictable ambivalence about this loving and unself-conscious condescension. College-educated, self-supporting, and fiercely single-minded, Marsden was of a different class of women from "lovey Mary." From 1900 to 1903 she studied modern history and philosophy in the Department for Women at Owen College, then part of Victoria University, in Manchester. Like the women's colleges described by Martha Vicinus in *Independent Women*, the Department for Women was founded in the 1880s, providing both education and community for its students.

Many forms of feminist activity—everything from team sports to debating and community service—were in full-swing at Owen College

15 Lidderdale and Nicholson, *Dear Miss Weaver*, pp. 53–58 and passim; Pankhurst, *Suffragette*, pp. 98–99 and passim; and Andrew Rosen, *Rise Up, Women!* *The Militant Campaign of the Women's Social and Political Union, 1903–1914* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974), for Gathorpe's background in the early suffrage movement. See also *Votes for Women*, 1 (October 1907) and subsequent issues, for descriptions of Gathorpe's illness and recovery and her speech-making for the WSPU. In 1906, Gathorpe was one of the first to question the WSPU's break with the Labour Party and to challenge Christabel Pankhurst's seemingly authoritarian control of WSPU strategy (Rosen, p. 71).

16 Letter from the Society for the Promotion of the Economic Industry of Women to Dora Marsden, Marsden Collection, suggesting that they join forces. Unless otherwise noted, correspondence cited is from the Marsden Collection at Princeton University.

14 Mary Gathorpe, response to *Suffragette Questionnaire*, Museum of London Suffragette Collection, Group C., Vol. I. I am grateful to Judy Greenway for this reference.

15 The phrase is Rebecca West's; see *Victoria Glendinning, Rebecca West* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1987), p. 31.

when Marsden arrived in 1900. Among Marsden's classmates that first year were both single and married women, many of them Labour organizers, including Christabel Pankhurst, Rona Robinson, and Teresa Billington. Marsden's politics were shaped in this intellectual context, not in the Labour Church of Mary Gawthorpe and other working-class feminists. Marsden took her classmates' ideas seriously, considered them on a par with the leading thinkers of her day. It is indicative of Marsden's dual sense of purpose and audience that her first appeal for contributors to the Freewoman was sent both to her friends from Owen College—Amy Haughton, Nellie Hargrave, and Florence Hindshaw—and to controversial public figures such as Edward Carpenter, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, and H. G. Wells.

Before starting the Freewoman, Marsden had cut her feminist teeth with the WSPU. On 30 March 1909, her first major public appearance as a suffragette, Marsden was the standard-bearer for a march on Parliament. The women were attacked by the police before they ever reached the House of Commons. Marsden and others were jailed for a month, during which time she went on a hunger strike.

In October of the same year, Marsden and Rona Robinson wore their academic robes to the official opening of a new chemistry lab at the University of Manchester, in order to demand legal rights equal to their education. The women were promptly escorted to jail.

Principal of Altrincham Preparatory School for women teachers before becoming full-time WSPU coordinator for Southport in 1909, Marsden was accustomed to running her own show. She was an expert in the sphere of militant pyrotechnics, even suggesting a “political shooting gallery” where feminists could take shots at pictures of the men who refused to grant them the vote. As WSPU organizer for Southport, Marsden coordinated numerous fairs and speaking tours and once hid all night on the roof of the Empire Music Hall, drilling a small hole to sneak through the next day and disrupt a speech by Winston Churchill. Although Churchill agreed to listen to Marsden and her companions, the women were treated violently by male stewards and dragged off to jail for the night. It was perhaps this experience that finally suggested to Marsden the irrational nature of the forces opposing the WSPU's elaborate symbolic strategies and led her to pursue a more intellectual version of feminism in the Freewoman.

17 Like Gawthorpe, author and scientist Rona Robinson was a major figure in the early WSPU who became disillusioned with the Pankhursts' leadership around 1911; she also worked for a time as editor of the Freewoman. Teresa Billington (-Greig), who never wholeheartedly supported the WSPU, wrote about women and the law. Information about the Department for Women comes from material in the archives of the John Rylands University Library, University of Manchester, notably the class records and scrapbook kept by Edith Wilson.

Edward Carpenter (1844–1929), author of Toward Democracy (1884), The Intermediate Sex (1908) and numerous other books about socialism, free love and homosexuality; for Gilman and Wells, see note 5, above.


Pankhurst, Suffragette, p. 446.

Another suffragist, Ray Strachey, believed that the hatred leveled against the WSPU and the organization's response were neither rational nor about things that could be reasoned ("The Cause": A Short History of the Women's Movement in Great Britain (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1928), p. 904 and passim). See also Vicinus, Independent Women, pp. 262–280, for the symbolic strategy of suffragette martyrdom.
Although Gawthorpe continued to support the WSPU, she agreed with Marsden that the Pankhursts' commitment to votes for women, at whatever cost, was politically short-sighted. Gawthorpe's letters to Marsden suggest major conflicts between the Pankhurts and even their staunchest adherents. On WSPU stationery Gawthorpe sent letters to friends, describing the forthcoming Freewoman and seeking articles and contributions: “The journal is . . . to be essentially a thinking organ and will afford expression for all phases of feminism—not being politically inclined merely.” The veiled phrase “not . . . politically inclined merely” is used by many of the Freewoman's supporters to suggest issues other than the vote, an agenda separate from the WSPU's control of public images of feminism. Marsden went even further: Her growing philosophy of feminist individualism led her to attack the WSPU's religious rhetoric about women as a monolithic group.

By 1911 many suffragettes doubted the efficacy of symbolic martyrdom. Solidarity nevertheless grew around their shared victimization, and Gawthorpe urged Marsden not to attack this sense of community. In a letter to Marsden written several months before the Freewoman's first issue, Gawthorpe urges Marsden not to take a public stand in opposition to the WSPU: “The WSPU will do its own work and it will do work that you don't intend touching. See the moral in the N.A. [The New Age]. It can only do what it does by being independent of every movement.” Marsden, in contrast, wanted Gawthorpe to join her, in name if not in deed, in direct attacks on the WSPU. Gawthorpe refused: “I agree that this is the next step: judgment and responsibility. Your view that the right way of attempting this end is by way of undermining others' judgments is not however an intellectual judgment of the same class.” Gawthorpe's idea that Marsden's journal should be distinct from feminist “politics”—that is, separate from rather than attacking the WSPU—is echoed in letters from many other feminists.

It took Marsden nearly a year to get the Freewoman going, and by the time it appeared she had infuriated Gawthorpe. Because Gawthorpe was convalescing at a distance from London, Marsden often made decisions without contacting her. Whenever she wrote to WSPU members about the paper, she used Gawthorpe's name along with her own.

Gawthorpe was a major figure in the suffragette movement, her name one that would be recognized immediately. Marsden wrote, unabashedly, to Gawthorpe: “What we wanted was the use of your name to give [the Freewoman] a preliminary and quite artificial kick-off.” This was exactly what Gawthorpe didn't want: to make it seem that she was rejecting WSPU “high command” before she had a chance to resign officially. On 15 November 1911, just eight days before the first Freewoman was to appear, Gawthorpe wrote to Marsden, “No, I could not consent to be co-editor.” Three days later she repeated, “I could not accept [editorship] from you before my committee accepts my resignation.” Several times Gawthorpe's letters arrived too late to stop Marsden's plans, but more often Marsden ignored them. Gawthorpe's name appeared below Marsden's on the original masthead.

For its first year, the Freewoman emphasized discussion of women's sexual and economic subordination. Most often, a socialist understanding of women as a subordinate class rests uneasily beside a Darwinian model of the individual's moral evolution. A Freewoman proves herself free by acting free; she is slave to no law save her own evolving morality: “if she is an individual she is free, and will act like those who are free.” Marsden believed that women's economic independence was the only means to her moral liberation:

The Women's Movement then is the movement amongst women towards the acquisition of property—not as an end in itself, but as the mould of destiny. A woman wants property as a sculptor wants a chisel—to realise her soul by means of it. She seeks to become a complete human being. . . . As a complete human being she becomes her own master, master of her own free will, independent and free to make her own alliances and her own co-operations.

Woman's struggle to “find her place among the masters” often put her in conflict both with the established order and with men. The Freewoman challenged all opponents equally. To open almost any issue of

---

33 Drafts of several of Gawthorpe's letters, written in early 1911, are in the Marsden Collection, Box 2, Folder 1.
34 Mary Gawthorpe to Dora Marsden, 18 June 1911.
35 Gawthorpe to Marsden, 4 June 1911.

---

85 Marsden to Gawthorpe, 24 September 1911.
87 Gawthorpe to Marsden, 15 November 1911.
88 Gawthorpe to Marsden, 18 November 1911.
the journal is to find socialist arguments about cooperative housekeeping and Endowed Motherhood\(^{51}\) beside discussions of divorce, "sexual morality" and "Uranianism," the contemporary word for male homosexuality. Rather than advocating a single position on any of these issues, the *Freewoman* fostered public debates by publishing articles and correspondence from all sides.

The *Freewoman* was a forum for much debate, but in a crunch it was Dora Marsden's peculiar blend of political and epistemological strategies that guided the journal. In the entire history of the *Freewoman* and the *New Freewoman*, Marsden never signed her name to her articles, but in the feminist community people knew they were hers.\(^{52}\) Ezra Pound believed that many people bought the *Freewoman* solely for Marsden's writing.\(^{53}\) Marsden's strategies as a polemicist, and her inability to shape a cohesive, feminist community are both related to the collapse of the *New Freewoman* into the Egoist in 1913.

Marsden challenged lies and hypocrisy from all sides, attempting to keep the Left attentive to feminist concerns, and feminists from sliding to the Right politically with the approach of war. When feminists were attacked by "avant-garde" men, Marsden could defend them brilliantly. For example, when A. R. Orage, editor of the socialist *New Age*, printed a come-on—"We challenge any of the women's leaders (!) or thinkers to define in intelligible language the particular system or grievance, as distinct from men's, from which they desire to be emancipated"—Marsden took the opportunity to respond. She contends that if such a challenge had been printed in the *Freewoman*, "we make bold to assert it would have been unanswerable." But Orage has posed the question in the context of his own "slip-shod" and anti-feminist thinking:

While, very inconsistently, he maintains that there exists no distinction of cause, he proceeds to prove it by declaring men and women to be born different, having different out-

---

\(^{51}\) Endowed Motherhood was a Fabian Socialist policy favoring economic support of motherhood by the state, a policy not taken up by the Labour Party until after World War II; see Elizabeth Wilson, *Women and the Welfare State* (London: Tavistock, 1977). I am indebted to Polly Beals for this insight.

\(^{52}\) There are numerous letters between Gawthorpe and other feminists discussing Marsden's writing; when feminists had ideological differences with the *Freewoman* their correspondence was addressed to Marsden.

looks upon life, different activities, and different goals. According to him, industry is man’s natural sphere, as marriage is woman’s.54

According to Marsden, it is just such assumptions which must be discarded if women are to become “concerned with the development of Personality . . . [the] exercise of free will.” Marsden calls socialism the “Man Movement” because its leaders make no attempt to offer women access to the whole range of wage labor and thus deny women the chance to move beyond economic necessity to develop their souls. Marsden supports wswu members against Orage’s attack, as she had defended them against Sir Almroth Wright’s charge of “militant hysteria” several months earlier: “There is no moral argument against a ‘governed’ class of human beings using force, even violent force. Morally, they may use any means available until the governors cease to govern.”58 Under pressure from and in response to radical men who claimed to be her allies, Marsden shows how strongly she could still defend the militant cause, although the majority of her own essays stressed “internal” rather than legal liberation.

However, Marsden alienated many of her women readers with her equally harsh criticism of the wswu’s “hypocrisy” and “herd instinct.” Marsden’s abstract, philosophical language, coupled with her tendency to reject everyone else’s position without posing an alternate model or even addressing the possible strengths of their ideas, often left her readers angry and bewildered. Many friends wrote to Marsden asking her to write more simply, to give more concrete examples: “Some of the articles begin about nothing, twist and turn through a maze of words, and when I come to the end I wonder for what purpose it was written.”56 “The fact is,” Rebecca West wrote, “people were in a state of tumult when your ‘Ablest Socialist’ leader appeared, and you must give them a lead now.”57 Marsden did not come up with such a lead; she left coalition- and policy-building to others, and eventually gave the New Freewoman over to her opponent Orage’s friends.

Like Christabel Pankhurst, Marsden was strongest when, fired by her vision of moral superiority, she could attack others’ flawed ideas. Unlike Christabel, however, she made no appeal to women as women. The first subscribers were vehement that in attacking other feminists the Freewoman had simply gone too far, too soon: “The criticism of the policy of Miss Pankhurst [is] permissible, though it would always [seem] regrettable that it should appear in the very first number.”58 Most rank and file feminists never forgave the Freewoman for those initial attacks. Marsden seriously underestimated the power of the militants’ symbolic martyrdom, as well as the extent to which many women—even women who disagreed with the Pankhursts—would support the wswu as long as they perceived innocent women to be suffering at the hands of a ruthless government.

In attempting to produce a high-brow, politically radical weekly, Marsden took on an enormous project. Her supporters urged her to publish less often and to replace her pugilistic style with something more appealing and accessible to the middle-class reader, something less likely to appear libelous. Rebecca West realized early on that attacks on the Pankhursts would cause the demise of the Freewoman:

Can’t we stop attacking the wswu? The poor dears are weak at metaphysics but they are doing their best to revolt, and the discussion concerning the parish pump could be no duller than the discussion of the Pankhurst soul. It will plunge us into . . . interminable quibbling . . . particularly as your facts concerning their employment of Emily Davison [the suffragette who threw herself in front of a horse at Derby] are not strictly accurate . . . You have your constructive work before you, it seems a pity to waste the paper on Mamma P.59

Havelock Ellis withdrew his support from the Freewoman because he felt not only his ideas but his career under attack: “The Freewoman has displayed her vigour by attacking causes which I have advanced.”50 But the more Marsden felt besieged the more she stuck to her own principles. Between January and May 1912, Marsden found the printers tampering with her articles; she was enraged with “your deletion of my

55 See the Freewoman, Vol. 1, No. 20 (1912), pp. 592-594; for a reprint of Wright’s notorious "Militant Hysteria" letter to the Times, and the Freewoman’s response.
56 Bessie Hayes to Harriet Shaw Weaver, 28 November 1912.
57 Rebecca West to Dora Marsden, no date.
58 Annie Dawson to Mary Gathorne, 17 March 1912.
59 West to Marsden, no date.
60 Havelock Ellis to Marsden, 23 July 1913.
copy [and] the unwarranted insertion of other matter," but ultimately powerless. As the printer would have been the party charged in a libel suit, he felt justified in deleting any questionable material.41

From the beginning the Freewoman had emphasized drama in both its content and its form. The Freewoman saw its own age as one particularly dramatic, and thus one in which the arts played a central role even as they were being redefined: "It is an age of tragedy since it is an age of conflicting ideals."42 When the Freewoman came under attack both from the conservative press, which condemned articles on sexuality, and from their own printers, who feared a skirmish with the wspu, West urged Marsden to pursue a more explicitly literary bent in order to survive: "A literary side would be a bribe to the more frivolous minded in London, and I don't see why a movement towards freedom of expression in literature shouldn't be associated with and inspired by your gospel."43

Marsden agreed, and in the later issues of the Freewoman and the first of the New Freewoman Marsden and West pursue different aspects of the same problem: the creative woman at odds with the monotony of social routine. Marsden finally rejects the Women's Movement, replacing it with the moral development of the individual, Nietzschean woman:

For fear of being guilty of supporting the power of another 'empty concept,' we hasten to add that the term 'Woman Movement' is one which deserves to go the way of all such—freedom, liberty and the rest—to destruction. Accurately speaking, there is no 'Woman Movement.' 'Woman' is doing nothing—she has, indeed, no existence. A very limited number of individual women are emphasizing the fact that

the first thing to be taken into account with regard to them is that they are individuals and can not be lumped together into a class, a sex or a 'movement'... The centre of the Universe lies in the desire of the individual, and the Universe for the individual has no meaning apart from their Individual Satisfactions... The few individual women before mentioned maintain that their only fitting description is that of Individual: Ends-in-themselves. They are Egoists.44

West's fiction and reviews similarly reject women's self-denial in favor of the symbolism of individual desire:

On the Castilian heights above Burgos there were trees of gold. They thrust shining leaves into the quivering, cloudless skies, and their slim trunks were of the glowing metal itself. They shivered in a wind that came down from the snow and the light throbbed through their bodies. The secret of their beauty was a lichenous growth that gnawed inwards as it glowed outwards. Yet they were better, so gilded and diseased, than the healthy tree whereof they cut the mischievous cross of Christ.45

Although West was at the time writing for several other papers in order to support herself, she often sent the best of her early fiction to the Freewoman.46

It is clear from H. G. Wells' correspondence in the Marsden Collection that he tried to seduce Dora when she boldly sought his advice for her new publication.47 Marsden used West to solicit articles from Wells and to goad him to find financial backers among his socialist friends. West was fascinated with Wells, and wrote hilarious letters about him:

47 The Marsden Collection reveals stores of information about the early career of Rebecca West. Cicely Fairfield was 17 when she began writing for the Freewoman, and she met her first lover, H. G. Wells, through the Freewoman collective. Fairfield took the pseudonym Rebecca West from Ibsen's Rosenholm to spare her family embarrassment and to assert her independence from them. See Glendinning, Rebecca West, for further information about West.
48 There are several flirtatious letters from Wells in the Freewoman papers; unfortunately we do not have Marsden's side of the story.

46

47
Wells expatiated at length the other day on your sweetness and brilliance. I think he misses the Freewoman very much and appreciates you better now he has to do without you. . . . I told him I was writing an article about him and was not quite sure about certain facts. He wrote back telling me to send him the proofs at a certain address in Switzerland. . . . The next thing was that one morning when I was in my bath my mother knocked on the door and said—"There's a telegram for you." I told her to read it to me. There was a long pause and then she read, icily, "No hurry about the artichoke. Wells." She had also disapproved of the acquaintance and this "chops and tomato sauce" message was the last straw. Of course it should have been "article" not "artichoke." I must say I like Wells. He hasn't made love to me and it is fun watching his quick mind splash about in the infinite.48

West's family had good reason to worry. As West resurrected the Freewoman as the more artistically self-conscious but still feminist New Freewoman in the summer of 1913, she was also beginning an affair with H. G. Wells.49

During that same summer, Marsden isolated herself further and further from the larger feminist community, and the American expatriate Ezra Pound arrived on the scene, seeking journals in which to publish his own latest work and that of his friends. West first introduced Pound to the Freewoman circle. Sharing the New Freewoman's desire to unsettle Victorian "sentimentalism," Pound offered West his own writing in exchange for access to one page per issue to attract other young, avant-garde writers. Pound, whom West later described as an "arriviste American poet who intended to oust me,"50 found another American expatriate, John Gould Fletcher, to pay the new contributors. This money was not recorded in the New Freewoman's account book, which was kept scrupulously by Harriet Shaw Weaver; it went directly from Gould to Pound to other writers, who with the exception of Hilda Doolittle (H.D.) were all male.51

Pound's letters to Marsden in the new Princeton collection show Pound at his saucy and pugnacious best. For a long time, West and Marsden wanted Pound to take a position vis-à-vis "individualism," their new, psychological theory of feminist art and social change. Pound begins typing them a letter:

The seven minutes at my instant disposal is hardly enough to define my philosophical credentials adequately.

I suppose I'm individualist. I suppose I believe in the arts as the most effective propaganda for a new sort of individual liberty that can be developed without public inconvenience.52

Pound then breaks off into pencil, attempting to address what is the real issue behind their debate about individualism: "I don't want to 'boss' but if I am to make the page efficient, I must follow my own scheme. I can't work it if 'diluted' with chance stuff of a different sort."

The Marsden Collection includes several early and informal expressions of Pound's imagist scheme, a doctrine of precise, elemental language in poetry, as in West's sensually glowing "trees of gold." Pound always ended these letters of philosophical agreement with Marsden and West with flourishes of blame; he used the women's misgivings to organize, to claim, and finally to control the New Freewoman: "I become more convinced than ever that good prose can only be about things about which one is wholly indifferent. . . . However, you done it. You axed [sic] me questions. And I'm not through yet."53

The 15 August 1913 issue of the New Freewoman was the pivot. Here West introduced the "Contemporania of Ezra Pound" and the first installment of Remy de Gourmont's Horses of Diomedes with a short description of "Imagisme."

Poetry should be burned to the bone by austere fires and

---

48 West to Dora Marsden and Grace Jardine, no date.
51 John Gould Fletcher, Life is My Song (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1937), pp. 59-
washed white with rains of affliction: the poet should love nakedness and the thought of the skeleton under the flesh.

From the beautiful, stark bride of Blake [poetry] has become the idle hussy hung with ornament kept by Lord Tennyson.

Just as Taylor and Gilbreth want to introduce scientific management into industry so the imagistes want to discover the most puissant way of whirling the scattered star dust of words into a new star of passion.54

Although West figures poetry as a woman in relation to male poets, the structure of the 15 August 1913 New Freewoman is just the reverse: Pound's poems follow West's prose and are, in effect, the "new star of passion."

By September 1913, Pound's one page had expanded to five. Although he was involved in few of the day-to-day hassles with printers and distributors that wore the original editors ragged, he was treating the magazine as his own. He wrote to Harriet Monroe:

I'm sending you our left wing, The Freewoman. I've taken charge of the literature department. It will be convenient for things whereof one wants the Eng. copyright held. . . . Orage [editor of the New Age] says he has written giving grounds for declining to exchange [articles with American journals]. . . . Will tell The Freewoman to exchange. They will.55

West was the first to realize that Pound and his friends meant to squeeze the founders out. She wrote to Marsden, "Richard Aldington, isn't it? That set has a sweet intention of buying us when our money runs low, getting rid of me and then of you."56

After two years of planning and running the journal, Marsden was exhausted; she wanted to return to her own metaphysical writing, "her ether of speculation" as West called it.57 West resigned from the New

56 West to Marsden, no date.
The New Freewoman, pregnant with Wells’ child and furious that Pound was assuming complete control of the literary side of the journal. Marsden, living outside London for a rest and often too preoccupied even to read others’ contributions to the New Freewoman, replaced West with Aldington without consulting anyone else.

Finally, in a letter to Marsden drafted by Richard Aldington and signed by Aldington, Pound, Allen Upward, Huntley Carter, and Reginald Wright Kauffman,\(^{56}\) a group of male contributors urged:

We, the undersigned men of letters who are grateful to you for establishing an organ in which men and women of intelligence can express themselves without regard to the public, venture to suggest to you that the present title ... causes it to be confounded with organs devoted solely to the advocacy of an unimportant reform in an obsolete political institution. We therefore ask with great respect that you should consider the advisability of adopting another title which will mark the character of your paper as an organ of individualists of both sexes.\(^{56}\)

“Respect” and “gratitude” were no part of the “literary men’s” agenda. Allen Upward, for instance, believed that women’s sexuality got in the way of social harmony: “Can I find women who will be able to live with men without upsetting harmony under the influence of sensual attractions or repulsions? Or must we fall back on the old rule of celibacy and separate life?”\(^{56}\)

The name change to the Ethgoist coincided, finally, with the New Freewoman’s move toward specifically nonfeminist concerns, a switch that A. R. Orage and others had been advocating among themselves ever since Pound got his foot in the door in June 1913.\(^{61}\) Although Pound

Marsden’s movement away from feminist concerns and a life-long struggle to complete her philosophical writing.

\(^{56}\) Allen Upward and Huntley Carter were regular contributors to the Freewoman, even before Pound’s arrival; Reginald Wright Kauffman was the author of the sensationalist novel Daughters of Ismael.

\(^{50}\) Quoted in Liddelstee and Nicholson, Dear Miss Weaver, p. 79; see Chapters 4 and 5 for their account.

\(^{61}\) Letters in the John Gould Fletcher Collection, written 1915–1917 between Fletcher and Amy Lowell, confirm that Pound always acted as if the New Freewoman and the Ethgoist...
and Marsden shared an elitist contempt for the middle-classes,\textsuperscript{65} Pound had the backing of a larger "modernist" coalition that was hostile to feminism, and often to women as well. Marsden resigned as editor soon after Richard Aldington became the assistant, and the replacement of the \textit{Frewoman}'s original founders was complete.

\section*{

Dora Marsden continued to work on her metaphysical writing, and published two parts of a proposed trilogy, \textit{The Definition of the Godhead} (1928) and \textit{The Mysteries of Christianity} (1930). \textit{The Definition of the Godhead} retrieves the feminine symbolically, as the source of all religion and language:

\begin{quote}
To
The Great Name
Hushed Among Us For So Long
Of
Her,
Heaven,
The Mighty Mother
of
All . . .
The Rock of Ages
The Ark and Covenant of God
God's Promise
The Logos
The Cross and the Crescent in One
\end{quote}

\textit{The Definition of the Godhead} argues against dualism: All oppositions point to the same original Being. One rather friendly review of Marsden’s opus serves well as her epitaph: "[She is] courageous almost to a fault . . . if she would be content to try something of a more moderate compass, she would do much better work."\textsuperscript{66}

Marsden’s women friends, however, took her work as seriously as she took it herself. As Harriet Shaw Weaver supported T. S. Eliot, James Joyce and others, she financed Marsden’s books and saw them into print. Storm Jameson considered Marsden’s philosophy the backbone of intellectual modernism: "I can’t, I simply can’t think that anyone for one moment could suppose that the work of James Joyce is comparable in value with yours. It is too absurd."\textsuperscript{67} And again, Jameson writes, "It is clear even to me that [Godhead] must dwarf everything done in philosophy since the era begun by Newton."\textsuperscript{68}

But Rebecca West’s early assessment was essentially correct: Modernist men wanted the fever of feminist debate without having to contend with women as equal subjects either in literature or in day-to-day life. A bad poem printed in the \textit{New Frewoman} makes the larger problem explicit:

\begin{quote}
\textbf{THE EGOIST}

"She has no soul.
Her almond eyes diminish to a spark
And change the sun to amber.
When she looks at me
I draw without myself and pass, unwilled,
The strange lids of her eyes, and seem to enter.
A garden that knows no laws,
Sowed with imaginations like a god’s.
I enter and become
Another self, drunken
With new thoughts and hot-pulsed danger.
I long to sing, to prove my madness,
Dancing away from habit,
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{65} A.T.S. James, review of \textit{Definition of the Godhead}, quoted in a letter from Jimmie (i.e. James Dyson) to Dora Marsden, 1 April 1929.

\textsuperscript{66} Storm Jameson to Dora Marsden, 26 September 1928.

\textsuperscript{67} Jameson to Marsden, 8 December 1928.
Responsibilities and the grave laws of soul.
The woman has no right to perilous thoughts.
She has no soul, and O,
I lose my own, and all my satisfied past,
Desiring her."

The male modernist defines himself by looking into the nothing of
the female soul. He renders her nothing by looking solely for himself.
But by bringing women like Dora Marsden and Rebecca West back
into the modernist circle, we see how much practical and ideological
struggle lies behind works like Yeats’ A Vision and Pound’s Cantos,
works which must repeatedly approach and symbolically overcome the
feminine. We also see, from the Marsden Collection, how Marsden and
West resisted at first, but due to ideological shifts, financial mishaps,
ilness and exhaustion, eventually participated in granting the Egoist
(and the Egoist) a male Ego after all.

—Horace Hollay, New Freewoman, Vol. 1, No. 6 (1913), p. 118.

The Return of Blue Lake to the Taos Pueblo

BY WILLIAM F. DEVERELL

The recent acquisition of four manuscript collections documenting the restoration of Blue Lake to the Taos Pueblo Indians strengthens Princeton University’s already superb holdings in Western Americana and Native American materials. They offer scholars an unusual opportunity to see clearly several sides of a single issue of transcendent importance: the fight for the return of Blue Lake.

Trace on a map the impossibly horizontal boundary between Colorado and New Mexico. About halfway across, just between the San Juan Mountains and the Sangre de Cristo Range, drop south into New Mexico along the Rio Grande. Stop at a small settlement named Taos. Just north is the ancient Taos Indian Pueblo. If the map is detailed, it might show the boundaries of the huge Carson National Forest to the east or perhaps the waters of the nearby Rio Pueblo or Rio Lucero. It likely will not show a small lake high on the southern slope of Taos Peak called Blue Lake.

To the people of Taos Pueblo, Blue Lake and the surrounding wilderness are sacred. When the entire area was taken from them early in this century, they began a generations-long battle to regain what they

1 The collections are the Corinne Locker Papers, gift of Corinne Locker; the William C. Schaab Papers, gift of William C. Schaab; the Rufus G. Poole Papers, gift of Mrs. Rufus G. Poole; and the Bobbie Greene Collection of White House Papers, gift of Bobbie Greene Kilberg (Mrs. William Kilberg).

The four Taos Blue Lake collections, which together concentrate on the final 15 years of the case (1955–1970), cannot by themselves tell the entire Blue Lake story. When used in conjunction with other Princeton collections, most notably the archives of the Association on American Indian Affairs (AAIA), and those of longtime AAAA President Oliver La Farge, the Taos Blue Lake manuscripts will doubtless be a source for important and original scholarly work on American Indians.

This brief article is offered only as an indication of research possibilities. For their invaluable help, the author thanks Alfred Bush, Dolly Pinelli, Jane Snedeker, Jim Wade, Lisa Edwards, Marjorie Dunn, and Elena Pilyuk.
called their "open air cathedral." That struggle, successful in the end, represents one of the most significant and poignant chapters in the story of 20th-century United States Indian affairs: For the first time in history, Indians were compensated not in cash, but by the return of their ancestral lands.

* The Pueblo Indians, including the Taos, live on the arid plateaus of present-day Arizona and New Mexico in small towns, or pueblos.† There they have lived for centuries, "from days beyond history's rec-

ords, far past any living memory, deep into the time of legend." The Spanish explorer Francisco Coronado "discovered" them while searching for treasure in the mid-16th century. For at least the past 600 years, the Taos people have lived in or near their multi-storied pueblo renowned as an exemplification of Pueblo culture. Here, in this arid region, they have planted—mostly corn, beans, and squash—and hunted small game. And here they have maintained a vibrant, though intensely secret, ceremonial culture that overlaps their Spanish Catholicism. Representative of a distinctive cosmology, Taos native ceremonialism evinces a powerful, complex, and profound reverence for the earth and its elements. Perhaps the most important focus of this reverence is Blue Lake.

In 1906 President Theodore Roosevelt created the Carson National Forest in northern New Mexico, including within its boundaries a good-sized portion of Taos Pueblo land. Included in the Pueblo's unvolunteered and uncompensated "gift" was Blue Lake, so essential to Taos religion, history, and cosmology. For centuries, the Indians had made end-of-summer pilgrimages to Blue Lake, journeys in part related to ritualized kiva training of chosen Taos boys. Non-Taos understanding of the religious significance of Blue Lake is slight; of the mystery and secrecy of Taos religion, John J. Bodine writes that "until [the Indians] want the total fabric of their religious belief revealed, it would be improper to delve into the complex esotericism so characteristic of this aspect of Taos culture." What is clear is that the loss of Blue Lake and the surrounding wilderness was a devastating blow to Taos culture.

The Blue Lake case, spanning as it did the first two-thirds of this century, is extremely complex. Following Roosevelt's seizure, the Pueblo waged a discouraging 40-year battle to regain exclusive use of the Blue Lake lands. The Indians argued that Taos title to the land had been unlawfully extinguished by Roosevelt's arbitrary forest boundaries. The Pueblo attempted to show that it had long occupied the disputed lands (hence, it had established "aboriginal title"), that such title had been recognized by the Spanish upon contact, that Spanish recogni-

tion had been carried over to the Mexican government following the Mexican Revolution for Independence, and lastly (and most important), that the United States had agreed, by the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, to respect established property rights in the territory gained following the Mexican-American War. The apparent logical progression aside, the argument was a complicated one, and the many changes in Native American law since 1848 only made matters more complex.

Despite the public support of many prominent artists and intellectuals, the effort to return Blue Lake to the Taos Pueblo received little notice in official Washington. The government was convinced that the provisions of a 1933 act allowing tribal use of the lands on a permit basis were concession enough. Too, the Pueblo was hindered by its own prohibition against talking about sacred things, and it lacked the political sophistication (and money) to mount an effective campaign. Even if the Indians had been blessed with political clout, it is not likely that their fight would have aroused much interest. In an era long before the nation's eyes had been opened to the injustices done to Native Americans, the concerns of a tiny group of Indians in far-off New Mexico were not likely to generate much political activity or attention. Not until after World War II would the restoration of Blue Lake become even a remote possibility.

The 1946 passage of the Indian Claims Commission Act offered the Pueblo a new avenue of approach. By the Act's provisions, Indian tribes could present disputes before the Indian Claims Commission (ICC); but the ICC upon returning a favorable decision could award only monetary judgments. Any disputed land would remain the property of the United States government, even if a decision favorable to the Indians was reached. That was unacceptable to the Taos Pueblo. The Indians had always fought for the actual return of Blue Lake and the surrounding land. Nevertheless, claims attorneys urged the tribe to file a claim before the 1951 cut-off date. In the words of attorney Richard Shifter, the hope was that a favorable ICC judgment could be used "to obtain judicial confirmation of the Pueblo's original rights in the Blue Lake area. This, we felt, would strengthen any claim which the Pueblo might subsequently wish to present to Congress for a reconveyance of the land to it."8 Thus a claim was filed before the ICC just prior to the deadline, and the tribe began what would stretch into a 14-year wait for the commission to issue its findings.

While waiting, the Pueblo worked to generate additional support for the return of Blue Lake. Upon the advice of the Association on American Indian Affairs (AAIA), the tribe asked the Interior Department in 1960 to sponsor Blue Lake legislation in Congress—a congressional reconveyance being the only hope of getting the land back. But the request apparently fell on deaf ears, for no legislative proposals were forthcoming.

A small number of committed individuals kept the fight for Blue Lake alive in the early 1960s. Oliver La Farge, novelist and champion of Indian rights, worked on behalf of the Pueblo from the AAIA president's office in Santa Fe. At his death, Corinne Locker, his secretary, carried on La Farge's Blue Lake efforts as AAIA Southwest Field Secretary. A close working relationship between Locker and Taos Pueblo Council member Paul Bernal developed; together these two anchored the Blue Lake fight throughout the course of the decade.

The ICC finally issued its finding in the fall of 1965. Rejecting the argument of the Justice Department, the commission ruled in favor of the Pueblo. The Taos Indians were entitled to compensation for the lands taken from them in 1906. Though the tribe could not seriously consider trading money for their sacred shrine, the ruling was hardly an empty or meaningless one. On the contrary, the favorable decision bespoke at least token official understanding that a grievous wrong had been committed. The decision gave the Taos Indians some political leverage in their struggle to regain Blue Lake.

Armed with the ICC findings (which amounted to a judgment only; no monetary award was yet assessed), the Pueblo began to seek congressional backing. New Mexico Senator Clinton P. Anderson, an immensely powerful figure of longstanding tenure in the Senate, was

---

5 See hearings before the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs, 91st Congress, 1st session, May 15 and 16, 1969.
6 The United States Supreme Court, in a 1913 decision, overturned an 1876 ruling that had removed Pueblo lands from the purview of the United States government; the decision apparently entitled the tribes to reclaim lands that had passed out of their hands. See Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., Now that the Buffalo's Gone (New York: Knopf, 1982), p. 117.
7 For additional analysis of the pre-World War II history of the Blue Lake struggle, see Josephy, Now that the Buffalo's Gone, pp. 116-119. See also William C. Schaab, "Taos Pueblo Memorandum" and "Appendix to Memorandum of March 1, 1968," in Taos Blue Lake, William C. Schaab Papers, Box 1, Folder 3.

8 Richard Shifter to Charles Minton, November 9, 1965, in Taos Blue Lake, Corinne Locker Papers, Box 1, Folder 4.
potentially their strongest ally. To gain his support, Pueblo attorneys maintained close contacts with him, and those ties were partially responsible for Anderson's 1966 introduction of a Senate bill to return 50,000 acres of Blue Lake lands to the Pueblo.

Despite the appearance of a real breakthrough, Anderson’s sponsorship of Senate bill 3085 was decidedly pro forma. The bill had been proposed “by request,” a congressional convention often denoting lukewarm support of, if not actual opposition to, the stated legislation. Anderson was closely allied with large timber interests in the Southwest; a Taos Blue Lake victory would prevent any logging operations on the land, especially as the proposed bill had been amended by Interior Department Secretary Udall to give the land status as a protected wilderness area. Ironically, perhaps no one in the Senate opposed the Blue Lake bill more than the man who had proposed it. In William C. Schaab’s words, Anderson believed that the proposal was nothing more than “a way to set-up a settlement and get rid of the issue.”

Much to the dismay of the Pueblo and its supporters, the Taos attorneys appeared to side with Anderson. Like him, the Pueblo claims attorneys pushed for a compromise. For their part, the Indians refused to believe that there was any room for compromise on an issue of such profound importance. Anderson’s offer to grant the Pueblo title to a mere 3,000 acres of land around Blue Lake was completely unacceptable. How could they compromise on one of the most important features of their culture?

Faced with being at odds both with Senator Anderson (whose even unstated opposition to the bill was powerful enough to bury it in the Senate) as well as their own legal advisors, the Pueblo turned to Rufus G. Poole for help. Poole, a New York lawyer who had settled in New Mexico for health reasons, was a regional attorney for the AANA. In the summer of 1966, with AANA authorization, the Pueblo retained him as special liaison to Senator Anderson. Poole was to attempt to convince Anderson of the importance to his Pueblo constituents of the Blue Lake legislation.

In the meantime, Florida Congressman James A. Haley, Chair of the House Subcommittee on Indian Affairs, had placed a Blue Lake restoration bill before the House of Representatives. Haley’s motives in proposing Pueblo legislation are perhaps less clear than Senator Anderson’s had been, but it seems likely (based upon Haley’s subsequent support of the Pueblo) that he thought the cause just and also seized an opportunity to play a little political one-upmanship with Senator Anderson. Sensing a glimmer of a chance for movement on the Blue Lake legislation, Rufus Poole urged the Pueblo to refocus its energy and to stand behind Haley and his bill.

Amidst the claims attorneys’ continued push for compromise with Anderson, as well as their reluctance to swing to Haley, tensions between the Pueblo and its “supporters” ran high. Such divisiveness was only exacerbated when Corinne Locker filed a report with the AANA in the fall of 1966. In her report, entitled “The Association and the Taos Blue Lake,” Locker raised the possibility that conflict of interest existed in the case of claims attorneys who were also members of AANA decision-making bodies. The charges resulted in Locker’s dismissal as an AANA employee. Poole, too, was released from AANA employ. At about the

---


10 Taos Blue Lake, Rufus G. Poole Papers, especially Box 1, Folders 1 and 2.
same time, the Association withdrew its support for the Pueblo in the Blue Lake dispute. By the spring of 1967, the fight for Blue Lake's return appeared to have little chance of success. Not only was the struggle opposed by arguably the most powerful man in the U.S. Senate, it had lost the organizational and lobbying support of the AAIA. Nevertheless, critically important resources survived: four dedicated people. Locker and Poole remained pledged to seeking justice for the Indians, and Haley's reintroduced version of the Blue Lake bill (now HR 3306) was still alive in the House. Princeton's Taos Blue Lake collections unfortunately reveal little of the importance of Taos Pueblo Council member Paul Bernal to the fight; yet it seems clear that his was a crucial role. Locker wrote that not "one of the non-Indians working on the campaign, including myself, would have stuck it out without his leadership and inspiration, and his willingness to do a large part of the work year after year."18

The administrative void left by the AAIA's departure from the case was soon filled from a surprising source. At the request of the Pueblo, the National Council of Churches (NCC) joined the Blue Lake fight in June 1967. The organization pledged to replace the AAIA as the Pueblo's "Eastern representative and champion in dealings with Congress, the Administration, and the public."19

The NCC offered powerful lobbying support, and counseled the Pueblo on non-violent resistance to encroachments upon their sacred lands; if the Forest Service attempted to begin logging or road-cutting in the Blue Lake wilderness, the Indians ought to form a "human fence" before the bulldozers. In addition, the Pueblo was advised to build up a presence in the forest on Taos Peak, to offset any Forest Service charges that the Indians ignored what was supposed to be precious. Director of the NCC Commission on Religious Liberty Dean Kelley recognized the publicity and propaganda value of such action:

I am not sure whether the tribe can mobilize and maintain this kind of vigilance and determination, but it would be-

Working with the National Council of Churches, Poole, Locker and other friends of the Taos Pueblo formed the National Committee for the Restoration of the Blue Lake Lands in the fall of 1967. The committee, with Oliver La Farge's widow Consuelo as chairman, engineered a national fundraising and publicity drive, seeking (and getting) endorsements from organizations and prominent individuals across the country. Corinne Locker, aptly described as "something of a public relations genius," was coordinator for the committee, acting as liaison to the Pueblo from the non-Taos world. Paul Bernal performed essentially the reverse function from the Pueblo to the outside.20

In late 1967, Rufus Poole convinced another attorney to join the Blue Lake campaign. With the approval of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, William C. Schaab, of the Albuquerque firm Rodey, Dickason, Sloan, Akin and Robb, became the Pueblo's special attorney on the Blue Lake case. Schaab's research and organizational skills proved invaluable; he quickly prepared the first detailed history of the dispute, pulling together the relevant data in a memorandum which supported Haley's HR 3306. Schaab also supported the "team concept" approach to the Blue Lake fight, and worked well with his colleagues. Along with Bernal and Locker, he believed that all momentum and direction in the campaign should come from the Pueblo. The introduction of two new "weapons" in the battle—the National Committee and William Schaab—helped make early 1968 an optimistic time for those working for the return of Blue Lake. Corinne Locker wrote that she was "more convinced than ever of the Pueblo's good chances for success—possibly even this year."21

Yet Clinton P. Anderson and the U.S. Department of Agriculture stood firmly in the way of any meaningful transfer of Blue Lake lands. The Agriculture Department, especially its Forest Service subdivision,
continually refused to accept the Pueblo's arguments based on religious freedom, refused to recognize Taos aboriginal title to the land as confirmed by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and refused to see that the case was unique and not likely to set any sort of legal or legislative precedent.\textsuperscript{17} Anderson's opposition was no less obstinate. After passing the House without dissent in June of 1968, Haley's bill languished in the Senate, where Anderson suffocated all attempts to get the bill out on the floor. The year that had begun with such great hopes ended in great disappointment.

Fortunately for the Indians of Taos Pueblo, Representative Haley matched the opposition with his own stubbornness. At the opening of the 91st Congress, Haley again proposed the Blue Lake bill as HR 471. Not to be outdone, Clinton Anderson countered with a bill which would grant the Pueblo exclusive use of only 1,640 acres of Blue Lake land, the remainder to be administered by the Forest Service or maintained as a public wilderness area. Where each successive Haley bill was essentially identical to the previous proposal, each new Anderson proposal offered the tribe less and less land.

As in the past, Haley's bill passed the House easily. But there seemed little chance of success in the Senate, where supporters of the Haley bill "couldn't do anything about Clint's power."\textsuperscript{18} What the campaign needed was political clout outside the Senate. Schaab remembers an almost frantic search for White House connections "because it seemed to us that we were dead in the Senate. There was no way to deal with Clint Anderson. . . . The only thing we could think of was to get into the White House and talk to Nixon's new administration."\textsuperscript{19}

Taos Pueblo supporters studied the new administration's policies and activities with care. There seemed one possible line of approach, at once pragmatic and cynical. Richard Nixon's minority record was poor; Schaab remembers thinking that if the Blue Lake issue could somehow find its way into Nixon's office, there "was just a glimmer of possibility" that a President who had "no friends among the blacks . . . might seek friends among the reds."\textsuperscript{20}

It worked. By remarkable good fortune and timing, perhaps as much as anything else, the battle for Blue Lake got the attention of the White House just when it needed it most. The most crucial contact was Bobbie Greene, a young Yale-trained lawyer (like Schaab), who was then serving as a White House Presidential Fellow. When Bobbie Greene heard about the Blue Lake fight, remembers Schaab, she "kind of barged into the thing and picked it up and said she'd like to work on it."\textsuperscript{21} With the Blue Lake bill crushed in the Senate, Greene's efforts at getting administration backing revitalized the campaign.

Greene went right to work. Early in 1970, she complained to another White House staff member that "Senator Anderson has been holding this bill up for an unreasonable time." She argued eloquently in favor of White House support of Taos Pueblo:

\begin{quote}
I cannot stress enough the serious need to get this thing moving. Blue Lake has become a national symbol of American Indians and its significance is felt by those who are urban residents as well as those who live on the reservations.
\end{quote}
Vice-President Spiro Agnew also felt that the time was right for Presidential support of Native Americans in general and Taos Pueblo in particular. In his role as chairman of the National Council on Indian Opportunity, Agnew had listened as a delegation of Pueblo Indians presented petitions for help before the administration in January 1970. Shortly thereafter, Agnew wrote to Nixon that administration backing "would greatly assist in creating the necessary climate to facilitate our long-term objectives of having the Indians assume increased responsibility and direction over programs affecting them."24

Nixon took the advice of his staff members and the Vice-President. Before Congress in July 1970, he issued an extremely important endorsement of the Blue Lake bill. The message, part of a larger and equally important policy statement on Indian affairs, placed the Nixon administration squarely on the side of the Taos Indians. Nixon said:

Restoration of the Blue Lake lands to the Taos Pueblo Indians is an issue of unique and critical importance to Indians throughout the country. I therefore take this opportunity wholeheartedly to endorse legislation which would restore 48,000 acres of sacred land to the Taos Pueblo ...25

It would be incorrect to suggest that Nixon's endorsement of the Blue Lake bill was enough to demolish Clinton Anderson's opposition. But neither can the significance of coherent administration support of the Taos Pueblo's claims be minimized. The Department of Agriculture's longstanding opposition to the bill faded with the President's endorsement and assurances that no precedent would be established by Blue Lake's return. Anderson maintained his fierce opposition to the bill, but his was a losing battle. With White House backing of the bill and the efforts of Senator Fred Harris of Oklahoma, who exerted pressure to get it reported out of committee, Anderson was beaten. In the fall of 1970, the bill finally came to a vote in the Senate. The measure to return 48,000 acres of land to the Taos Pueblo Indians passed easily. Blue Lake had come home.26

24 Vice-President Agnew to President Nixon, March 25, 1970, in Bobbie Greene Collection of White House Papers, Box 1, Folder 3.

25 Richard Nixon, "Recommendation for Indian Policy," July 8, 1970, p. 6, in Bobbie Greene Collection of White House Papers, Box 1, Folder 4.

26 William C. Schaab and Corinne Locker briefly recount the efforts of Greene and Harris in the transcription of the oral interview, pp. 47-49.
In the Cabinet Room of the White House, 8 July 1970, when President Nixon delivered his message on Indian policy, including support for the return of Blue Lake. From left to right: An Indian Councilman, Secretary of the Interior Walter Hickel, Governor Gilbert Romero, President Nixon, and Paul Bernal. White House photograph.

Taos Pueblo Indians and friends, on their way to Washington for the signing of the bill returning Blue Lake, December 1970. Corinne Locker, second from left; the Governor of Taos Pueblo; Suzanne Poole; Cacique Juan de Jesus Romero; and Paul Bernal.
Celebrations and ceremonies followed the Indians' victory. President Nixon entertained a Taos delegation at the signing of the bill at the White House in December 1970, and the Pueblo invited its supporters and friends to a two-day celebration in August of the following year. But one of the most poignant moments in the entire history of the dispute had occurred earlier, while the bill was being voted on in the Senate. High in the Senate gallery sat a small group of elderly Taos Council members. Among them was Paul Bernal, the most important Taos representative to the outside world throughout the struggle, and Juan de Jesus Romero, the spiritual leader of the tribe. As a young man of 27, Romero had seen Blue Lake taken from his people. For almost 65 years, he had patiently, unceasingly, fought for the return of the precious Taos heritage. As the vote was being taken, William Schaab remembers, the old men "sat together in the top row of the gallery chanting softly, making medicine, and communicating with the spirits who dwell at Blue Lake. I am sure that the eventual victory was produced by that sense of unity of life between the Great House of Living Souls that is Blue Lake and the people, living, who were carrying the struggle on the Senate floor."  

7 Schaab to Suzanne Poole, December 8, 1970, in William G. Schaab Papers, Box 2, Folder 1. In 1972 Princeton Associate Professor of Anthropology Alfonso Ortiz nominated Juan de Jesus Romero for a University honorary degree: "Unschooled though he was, and committed more to a life of prayer and meditation on behalf of his people rather than one of social activism, this holy man still had the courage and vision to persist and lead the fight." From draft letter, Alfonso Ortiz to University Committee on Honorary Degrees, in files of Western Americans.
God-like figure who obsessively hounds his servant Caleb once the latter had uncovered Falkland's single and fatal lapse from perfection.

By 1796, Anna Seward's poetry had appeared in the major periodicals, and she was enjoying a measure of literary fame in her provincial home. In addition, Seward was a habitual recorder of her impressions and views of Lichfield's intellectual figures. In 1804, she published a memoir of Erasmus Darwin, an early family friend who had lived in the town for many years. In her letters, she expresses strong antipathy to Lichfield's most famous son, Samuel Johnson. She gave Boswell information for his life of "the despot," and an ugly public controversy ensued when Boswell repudiated both the material and its donor. The thoroughness with which Anna Seward took on the role of literary figure and commentator can be seen in her wish that her voluminous correspondence appear in print, and in her appointment of Sir Walter Scott as her literary executor.

The flourish with which our annotator initials her observations is indicative of her determination to stand by what she says. Her stylized writing and self-confident tone give her remarks the form of pronouncements. One realizes that for Anna Seward reading was a formal debate with the text, and that annotation was a solemn duty. She knew herself to be both well-informed and morally capable; she had distinguished herself in literary matters. She writes as an influential woman who takes her responsibilities seriously. As she annotated Caleb Williams in the Bishop's Palace at Lichfield, she is protecting the passive reader who might be gulled, the weak reader who might be seduced, the ignorant reader who might be deceived. It is refreshing to come across an 18th-century woman so certain that her private reading will be transformed into a source of general instruction.

To annotate is to instruct through particulars. At first, Anna Seward's main interest is correcting Godwin's diction. On several occasions she takes him to task over his word choice, noting beside one of his descriptions: "Strange, that expressions so vulgar should stain at intervals a style generally eloquent." Although Anna Seward lived to approve of Wordsworth (in part), her own writing was far from naturalistic. Her elevated and outmoded diction suggests an over-developed belief in literary decorum. As a marginal member of the literary establishment, she may have felt that strict propriety was needed to maintain her standing.
As the novel progresses, however, Seward’s annotations become fuller and her sympathies are more engaged on behalf of the author and his characters. When Caleb wonders if there is a God she responds:

Heavens! what an if!—unhappy Man, the doubt it implies disgraces thy fine talent & withers our trust in the goodness of thine heart.

Although Seward passes by Godwin’s famous “Preface” without comment, she is attentive to the immediate social ills he describes. Caleb’s account of his imprisonment and miseries at the hands of the law engenders detailed marginalia. When Caleb complains that the “silent, intolerable minutes” are worse than “the tangible misery of whips and racks,” Seward agrees but holds that “the evil is unavoidable, & the state is not answerable for it. Society ought to be preserved.” When Godwin maintains prisons are the “engines of tyranny,” Seward denies his claim vehemently.

Things as they are not in England. Commentator, hast thou ever been in our Prisons? If thou hast, thou wouldst not deny the truth of this picture. However thou mays’t allege with me that its horrors had their rise in the Corruption of Man rather than in the cruelty of the Legislation. We should not in our national partiality shrink from truth, much less brand it with imputed falsehood.

Prisons, she insists, were created by “dire necessity.” In the earlier section of the novel she is willing to defend the legal system because it protects society without indulging in vengeful excesses. Then, however, Caleb says that he is given foul water to drink in prison, the law “having providently directed in certain cases, that the water to be administered to the prisoners, shall be taken from the ‘next sink or puddle nearest to the jail.’” Godwin directs his readers to the State Trials, Vol. 1, Anno 1615. In a touching annotation Seward demonstrates her integrity as a reader willing to face unpleasant truths, and modify her views if need be: “Heavens! is that possible? The State Trials shall show me.”

Godwin wished to impress upon his readers the despotic elements in 18th-century life. He regarded Caleb Williams as a book which communicated the truth about his society. Anna Seward was a reader who refused to be satisfied by anything less than the truth, a reader who would research Godwin’s claims but who would not be swayed by rhetoric or sentiment. The redoubtable Lichfield poet had clear and exacting standards for fiction; her demands for accuracy and plain dealing made her a surprisingly fit reader of Godwin’s radical masterpiece.

Anna Seward annotated Caleb Williams for the benefit of eyes other than her own. That her copy of the novel is now part of the Princeton collections is a wonderful fulfillment of her expectations.
In my article I called Max a marginal genius, because his art inhabits the places between the conventional genres, and because it so jauntily, if at times disconcertingly, crosses the line that usually divides life from art. Real people become the fictions of his writing and caricatures, while his fictions seem to take on a life of their own. The correspondence seemed to me a perfect example. How perfect I did not know until the Christmas Eve following the appearance of my article. On that day I received a letter from R. H. McCall, C.B.E., of Winchester, England, the son of the man Max had called “the surprising Mr. McCall.” Max’s margins were alive again.

I read my Christmas letter with the anxiety of a scholar who knows he has wronged a living subject. But the younger Mr. McCall, it turns out, is no less surprising than the elder. Not a word of reproach! Instead, Robin McCall enclosed for my benefit a brief essay in which he gives his own version of the Beerbohm-Heinemann-Ballantyne affair, drawing on the annotated copies in his father's files. And he describes his father’s and his grandfather’s very significant contributions to the art of fine printing during one of that art’s greatest eras in England.

Robin McCall’s graceful essay is interesting, not only as an antidote to mine, but as a contribution to the history of fine printing and book production. The Library Chronicle is pleased to be able to present it here. Max Beerbohm, too, would, I think, have been pleased to know that the written word still elicits such healthy signs of readerly life. (Mr. McCall tells me that my article was brought to his family’s attention by the proprietor of Hayward Hill, “the very excellent Curzon Street bookshop”: another healthy sign in the era of B. Dalton and W. H. Smith.) At the end of Mr. McCall’s essay about his father, I will add a few words about the son, whose own contributions to the world of books should not go unrecorded.

* 

Mr. McCall’s Account: Charles Home McCall did not perhaps excell in handwriting and this was the reason for the mistake of Howe for Home in the Winter 1986 issue of the Princeton University Library Chronicle. His mother was Jane Forrest Home, a member of the large Home family of the lowlands, and his father, Charles McCall, had moved from Edinburgh to London to become assistant manager of the Bal-
lantyne Press in 1881. But within months Horace Hart, the manager, had been appointed Printer to the University at the Clarendon Press at Oxford, and Charles McCall took over at the Ballantyne Press.

Charles McCall was an artist-printer—one who took delight in books, paper, print, bindings, illustrations, and in the men who worked in the Press. He became a friend of Whistler, who was instrumental in persuading Charles Ricketts to take his printing of *The Dial* to the Ballantyne Press. Charles McCall built up a reputation for typography, paper, binding, and bookmaking in general, and many publishers, authors, artists, and journalists were drawn to the Press in Bedford Street, Exeter Street, and Tavistock Street in Covent Garden. In the 1890s and early 1900s Ballantyne was producing distinguished work in three distinct spheres: general illustrated books, private press books, and in journals, reviews, and magazines.

Between 1892 and 1904 the Vale Press was printed and published at the Ballantyne Press in a total of 46 limited editions and a 33-volume Shakespeare. In his book *The Private Presses* (1969), Colin Franklin describes this as "an immense achievement," and Stephen Calloway in his life of Ricketts (1979) describes the 80-volume achievement as enormous.

The team who produced this work included Charles Ricketts, Charles Shannon, Charles Holmes (later Director of the National Gallery), John Gray, Lucien Pissarro (who later produced the Eragny Press), Sturge Moore, and Charles McCall. Ricketts included tributes to Charles McCall and to his son, Charles Home McCall, in his *Bibliography of the Vale Press*. When this was written, in 1904, Charles Home McCall was 27 years of age, but was already Managing Director of the Ballantyne Press. He had had eleven years of experience, which included working closely with the poet W.E. Henley in the latter’s editorship of the *National Observer*, which was carried out at the offices of the Ballantyne Press.

The breadth and scale of the weekly and monthly productions at the Ballantyne Press in these years are best illustrated by the following list:

2. *The Studio* under its founder and editor Charles Holmes
3. *The Saturday Review* with Frank Harris as editor
4. *The National Review*

Thus the young Charles Home McCall was trained and took early responsibility in a Press through whose doors there passed a steady stream of distinguished writers, artists, and publishers, including J. M. Whistler, Oscar Wilde, Charles Ricketts, Charles Shannon, Aubrey Beardsley, Joseph Conrad, Kenneth Graham, Rudyard Kipling, Thomas Hardy, J. M. Barrie, R. L. Stevenson, George Moore, W. B. Yeats, Samuel Butler, H. G. Wells, Arthur Rackham, G. K. Chesterton, Cecil Chesterton, A. C. Benson, William Heinemann, Laurence
Houseman, Bernard Shaw, Sir William Watson, Gertrude Jekyll, and many others. It may not be surprising that elements of literary and artistic thought rubbed off on the young printer!

But Mr. McCall's education for a duel with the immortal Max Beerbohm went further than a general experience of the book world. Was it not from the Ballantyne Press that The Gentle Art of Making Enemies emerged, and The Baronet and the Butterfly? Charles Home McCall left, unpublished, some interesting chapters on the literary world of London in those years, with some fascinating descriptions of how Whistler would wander round the Press, and of the wit and wisdom which he uttered in those visits. Then in 1898 Charles Ricketts and Lucien Pissarro published their book De la typographie et de l'harmonie de la page imprimée and in 1899 A Defence of the Revival of Printing, both taken through and printed at the Ballantyne Press. These two slim but quite beautiful books are now rare; the air they breathe is of a world of art and craftsmen. So maybe Max Beerbohm's description of Mr. McCall as "surprising" did not sufficiently reflect the surroundings and circumstances of his daily life at the Press.

At the time of the Beerbohm correspondence Mr. McCall was 34 years of age. Three years before this he had lost his father, Chairman of the Ballantyne Press, and a year after that he had suffered a catastrophic illness. In spite of these troubled times his sense of humor prevails in the correspondence with Max. He retained an immense respect for Max Beerbohm, and those who knew Charles Home McCall would find it unbelievable that he could possibly have contemplated the "improved Max" publication suggested in the Winter 1986 article. Perhaps one may describe him as a righteous highlander—or stern natural aristocrat with immense knowledge and respect for the written word, who would never condone any tampering with texts. "The General Public" figure in Max Beerbohm's cartoon bears not the slightest resemblance to C. H. McCall.²

How came it about then that there seem to be several versions of the correspondence between Max and Mr. McCall? Of course one can propound the "rule of various versions," namely that there will always be found to be a multiplicity of versions of any thoughtfully written text. However, Charles Home McCall's file of correspondence is still in

² The misidentification was in fact my poor attempt at a joke. The figure is John Bull. (L.D.)
being, and there are significant differences from the Princeton text. In particular Max Beerbohm's letter of 16th November 1911 (in the file as a "duplicate") contains several variations from the version printed in the Library Chronicle. In particular the second sum, Ballantine's predicted future argument as to their achievement, reads thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total number of words</th>
<th>90,000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Printed correctly</td>
<td>45,001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printed incorrectly</td>
<td>44,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majority printed correctly</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is quite different from the Princeton text of the letter.

Further, in the paragraph about spelling "inexplainable" the letter in Charles Home McCall's file has two additional examples, namely "inevitable" and "ariele," which are it seems not in the version of the letter at Princeton. Is it surely inconceivable that Mr. McCall altered the letter to add these? They must be pure Max.

Charles Home McCall was quite clear as to the reason for the decision that the correspondence should not be published. Heinemann was very sensitive about his appearance and did not like the cartoon of himself. Secondly, and possibly even more important, he did not like the Ballantine Press appearing to be publishers. Heinemann just did not see the little publication as a good joke—or a good thing at all. But he was kind enough to give the Max Beerbohm drawings to Mr. McCall.

There may be another very reasonable explanation of the attempt to improve on Max's letters. In the light of the original response from Mr. McCall, saying that he ought to have handed Max's first letter to his solicitors, is it not highly likely that William Heinemann advised that

the correspondence should go to the firm's solicitors for consideration whether it would be safe to release the letters for Ballantine Press to publish? Is it not likely that someone at those solicitors had a good go at making the correspondence safe for such release? Perhaps an articed clerk was set loose on Max's splendid letters! Stranger things have happened in the law...

It is pleasant that Mr. Danson has published, 75 years after the initial proposal, Max Beerbohm's delightful cartoons and his correspondence which they illustrate. Publication at some date was surely "inevitable."

* *

Professor Danson's Afterword: R. H. McCall, the author of the foregoing essay, was born in 1912. His mother (he has kindly written to tell me) was Dorothy Kidd, one of the daughters of Disraeli's physician Dr. Joseph Kidd. The wedding service of Robin McCall's parents "was in fact the last printing from the Vale Press type matrices before Charles Ricketts threw the latter into the Thames." Dorothy McCall "was herself a highly read and cultured person who wrote two books of memoirs and a history of Chislehurst." The elder Mr. McCall—Max's "surprising" McCall—"joined the Liverpool Scottish and became adjutant of a battalion in 1915;" but because of a "severe and long-term illness" and "because of his great knowledge of non-ferrous metals developed in the printing business, [he was] transferred to develop production of small arms ammunition. For this and other work in the Great War he was awarded an O.B.E. (personally recommended by Winston Churchill) and a C.B.E. He was an unquestioned authority on marsh birds, and bred some of the earliest blue budgerigars in the country." So much for Max's caricature of a dishevelled "Ballantine," and for my satire.

But not so much for honors to the McCall family. C. H. McCall's sons both became solicitors. The elder, now Sir Patrick, was knighted in 1971. R. H. McCall, my correspondent about the Beerbohm correspondence, was on the Honors Lists of 1969 (O.B.E.) and 1976

6 Dorothy McCall's charming books about her Victorian childhood are When That I Was (London: Faber and Faber, 1952) and A String of Beads (London: Faber and Faber, 1960). (L.D.)
(C.B.E.). He is a major contributor to two volumes—those on local government and on public health—of Halsbury's Laws of England. And for 25 years he was Town Clerk of Winchester. It was in that capacity that he made his own surprising contribution to the world of fine books. In 1951, to mark the Festival of Britain, Winchester mounted an Exhibition of Books and Manuscripts which included the Winchester Bible, the Malory Morte D'Arthur, and the city's Royal Charters running back to 1155 A.D. (including a charter witnessed by Thomas à Becket). I have this information from Mr. McCall himself, who adds:

We could not insure the amazing riches we put on exhibition, but as Town Clerk I slept in the exhibition hall with my big dog and axes etc. and a special telephone line to the police. I suspect I am the only person who has slept with the Winchester Bible as an official duty.

The Exhibition was the impetus for a program of archaeological excavations and the production of the Oxford University Press series of volumes Winchester Studies. Mr. McCall is now legal advisor and appeal organizer of the Winchester Excavations Committee of which he was a founding member, "and thus (at 75) my last remaining work concerns the production of a great series of books."

Meeting Mr. McCall last Christmas Eve was one of the pleasures of my work on Max Beerbohm. I hope the readers of the Library Chronicle have enjoyed this late shoot (as Beerbohm might have called it) "from the spreading Zuleika tree."

---

Library Notes

ON THE AMERICAN EDGE

"On the American Edge: Explorers' Maps of the New World Frontiers from the Newly-Formed Collection of Historic Maps in the Princeton University Library," was on exhibition from 20 February until 5 May 1987. The show heralded the new division of the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections formed last June when maps produced prior to 1919 were extracted from the larger map holdings to form the Collection of Historic Maps. (The later maps are held in the Geology Library in Guyot Hall.)

The spring exhibition included maps tracing the earliest intimations of the new hemisphere's existence—the Scheide Library's 1507 Ptolemy, and the 1520 and 1538 Polihistor of Solinus, from the Kane Collection. They contrasted with the breadth and detail of the maps derived from the Lewis and Clark expedition.

The exhibition also demonstrated that the riches of Princeton's cartographic holdings include much more than the contents of the map drawers in the new Historic Map division. Some of the greatest cartographic treasures at Princeton are, of course, to be found in printed books in the various rare book collections in the Library. The exhibition called heavily on the Grenville Kane Collection to offer up some of the rarer and more significant printings of early attempts to chart the New World.

"America" was cast in its largest sense and maps of the extremities of the hemisphere (represented by the 18th-century editions of Captain Cook's voyages) bracketed landmark maps from the better-known explorations between the two poles.

Three manuscript maps added a unique element to the show: the only 16th-century Aztec map on deerskin known to have survived, recently given to the Library by William Reed '38; one of the linen...
from the Gates Collection now among the manuscripts in the Princeton Collections of Western Americana; and the manuscript sheet of one of the two engraved folios of the Mason-Dixon map.

—ALFRED L. BUSH
Curator of Historic Maps

AN EXHIBITION OF RARE CHINESE BOOKS

From 16 May to 19 July 1937, an exhibition entitled “The Book in Imperial China” brought approximately 60 rare books held in the Gest Oriental Library and East Asian Collections to the Gould Gallery, Firestone Library. Noted, among other things, for its many outstanding books from the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644), the Gest Library’s rich rare-book collection was acquired by the Institute for Advanced Study from Mr. Guion M. Gest in 1936, and its development and administration has been in the hands of the Princeton University Library since that time.

The exhibition included some of the finest examples of Chinese printing and manuscripts produced from the 7th century to the 18th, presenting the evolution of the Chinese book over the past 1,200 years. Of special note were two fine works lent by the Scheide Library, a 12th-century Buddhist work and a 13th-century book of history, both of great rarity. From the Garrett Collection came two exquisite late palace manuscripts which complement an earlier one from the Gest Library.

The oldest items on display were fragments of documents and Buddhist sutras from the collection of James C. and Lucy L. Lo, recently given to the Gest Library by an anonymous donor. During the 1940s, while the Los were photographing art and artifacts in the cave temples in Tunhuang, Kansu (in western China), they also acquired written and printed materials, some of which date to the 5th century, and some paintings and printed illustrations. Of the more than 70 items in the Lo Collection, six were on display: a Buddhist text, a military document, fragments of Chinese classics which were later used as shoe-pattern paper, and a haunting painting of a weeping figure. All came from the book depository at Tunhuang which contained about 30,000 paper rolls dating from the 4th to the 10th century. The priceless documents had been sealed in the cave from perhaps the 11th century until the beginning of this century.

Guion M. Gest, a Quaker by faith, was intensely interested in religion; not surprisingly, the Gest Library has a wealth of Buddhist materials. Included in the exhibition was the remarkable Chi sha ta tsang ching, a translation of the Buddhist canon which was produced in more than 5,000 volumes during the 13th and 14th centuries. The copy bought by Gest had been lost for hundreds of years until his conscientious collaborator and book-purchasing agent in China, Commander I. V. Gillis, unearthed it. Many of its existing volumes are examples of original 13th- and 14th-century printing; missing volumes were replaced with printed or manuscript copies during the Ming dynasty. Bound accordion-fashion—the usual style for sutras—many of the volumes contain intricate woodblock illustrations of Buddhist deities as a frontispiece; these are as valuable to art historians for the study of Sung (960–1278) and Yuan (1206–1367) Buddhist art as the texts themselves are to scholars of Buddhism.

The works on display exhibited a variety of the highest quality paper, binding techniques, print types, and calligraphic styles as used in Chinese books from the T’ang dynasty (618–906) to the Ch’ing (1644–1911). The cases in which such books were stored are often objects of much interest and beauty, and several of them were also on exhibit. They are covered with colorful brocade and silk, and fastened with carved ivory clasps.

Two works in languages other than Chinese were on display, both produced in China. One is an exceptional sutra in Mongol, printed in the early 18th century. It is bound Tibetan-style, with stiff covers wrapped in yellow imperial silk, and its loose pages painted with an elaborate fore-edge design. Another is a noteworthy copy of the famous 13th-century drama, The Romance of the Western Chamber; the Gest copy, printed during the Ch’ing dynasty, is a bilingual Manchu-Chinese version. These works reflect the ethnic backgrounds of the rulers of the Yuan and Ch’ing dynasties which were Mongol and Manchu respectively.

Although the works on display offered but a small sampling of the splendors of the Gest Library, which contains about 40,000 volumes in its rare book collection alone, the works covered a wide range of Gest rarities from the Confucian Classics to martial arts, and from official documents using the finest inks and paper in the empire to painting manuals and medical works for daily use, well-read and annotated by former owners. There is even an extraordinary silk shirt on which are
written some 520,000 tiny Chinese characters to be used as a wearable cribbing-sheet by ill-prepared civil service examinees.

Currently the Gest Oriental Library and East Asian Collections contain more than 430,000 volumes which are consulted heavily by scholars and students in East Asian studies from Princeton and around the world. Founded on the core of rare Chinese books acquired by Guion M. Gest 60 years ago, the Library continues to develop as a working collection to support research on traditional and modern East Asia, and as one of the eminent rare book collections outside China.

—D. E. PERUSHEK

Curator, Gest Oriental Library and East Asian Collections

THE ELMER ADLER PRIZE, 1987

A written essay on their personal collections, rather than a three-judge interview, marked a new approach to the annual undergraduate book-collecting contest at Princeton. The results confirmed the wisdom of the change. Entries included 17 excellent essays giving eloquent testimony to the joys of personal education through books and book collecting. They gave the curator new hope for the emergence of young bibliophiles and collectors among Princeton undergraduates. In a world of unbridled zeal for computerized learning, it is heartening to read so many good essays praising the book and collecting. The individual pursuit of a personal library of fine books is both an education in itself and a great pleasure for our contestants.

The essays were read by Richard M. Ludwig, Professor of English Emeritus, Patricia Marks, editor of the Chronicle, and by the Curator of Graphic Arts. As usual, it was difficult to choose prize-winners from among so many good entries. The judges awarded third prize to Jorge J. Bravo, in '89, and second prize to Pieter van Zee '87. First prize went to Joseph D. Watson '87, whose essay is printed below.

—DALE ROYLANCE

Curator, Graphic Arts

Sir Walter Scott: First Prize, Adler Book Collecting Contest, 1987

A few years ago, an antiques dealer told me that collecting is not a hobby, nor an occupation, but an affliction—an overwhelming passion that attacks certain people and absorbs them for the rest of their lives. There were many avid collectors in my family, so I was familiar with the visible effects of a love for old things: piles of auction-house catalogs lying in the laundry room, impromptu excursions to newly discovered shops and flea markets, furniture on which my brothers and I were not allowed to flop. Yet at the time I did not fully understand the significance of the dealer's comments. That was about a year before I was afflicted.

My passion for collecting was awakened by Sir Walter Scott. I was born and raised in Georgia, and any Southern historian will confirm that Scott was by far the most popular author in the antebellum South. Aspiring Southern gentlemen and otherwise unoccupied Southern ladies of that era were completely captivated by Scott's tales of medieval adventure, romance, and chivalry; consequently, his books were shipped from England and Scotland to the South in huge numbers. To this day, 19th-century editions of Scott are not impossible to find in the South.

I first realized the magnitude of Scott's influence in my native region when my grandfather died. My inheritance consisted of a first edition Quentín Durward (Edinburgh: Ballantyne, 1823) and the knowledge that my grandfather, Judson Durward Watson, had been named for the hero of the story. I was completely enthralled by this piece of family history and its implications about Scott. Here was an author so respected that mothers actually named their children for his characters (at least my great-grandmother had done so). I began to read everything that I could find written by or about Scott, a considerable task indeed, and one that is still far from completion. My exposure to Scott's style and content grew progressively more thorough, and I began approaching teachers and anyone else I could find who was willing to talk to me about the author.

My passion for collecting grew directly out of this obsession, and the shift in focus—from reading Scott's books to acquiring them—occurred very suddenly in the following manner. During one of many conversations about Scott, a high-school English teacher of mine pointed out that Scott's most notable contribution to English writing had been his attention to history and the importance of history in people's lives. Unlike those of his predecessors, she said, Scott's characters had been shaped by the historical forces acting on both them and their environments no less than by innate qualities of human nature, and
Scott’s insight in this matter had been nothing short of revolutionary. I commented that in The Antiquary Scott’s attention to historical detail had been played out very markedly via material objects, and I added that the language in many of the passages concerning “antiquities” was particularly rich (Oldbuck describing the thrill of finding a bargain to Lovel: “How often have I stood haggling on a halfpenny, lest, by a too ready acquiescence in the dealer’s first price, he should be led to suspect the value I set upon the article; how I have trembled, lest some passing stranger should chop in between me and the prize, and regarded each poor student of divinity that stopped to turn over the books at the stall as a rival amateur, a prowling bookseller in disguise! ... The sly satisfaction with which one pays the consideration and pockets the article, affecting a cold indifference, while the hand is trembling with pleasure! ... These, my young friend, these are the white moments of life.”). My teacher told me that Scott’s eloquence on the subject had probably resulted from his own obsession with collecting, and she gave me a brochure from Abbotsford. Over the course of 10 years, Scott had filled this home with medieval English and Scottish armor, some 20,000 volumes of English and Scottish literature and history, cases of European and Chinese porcelain, and numerous pieces with perfect provenances, such as Marie Antoinette’s mantel clock and Napoleon’s silver pistols.

I was stricken—the obsession of my obsession became my own. I started searching for the old editions of Scott with which the South was allegedly loaded, and after a few months I found a complete set of the Waverly novels (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1860). Steadily acquiring both more bibliographical knowledge and more funds with which to operate, I soon sniffed out first editions of Guy Mannering (Edinburgh: Ballantyne, 1815) and The Antiquary, that source of my inspiration (Edinburgh: Ballantyne, 1816). I broke away from the Waverly series when I found a first edition of Scott’s Life of Napoleon Buonaparte (Edinburgh: Ballantyne, 1827); this last set is now particularly meaningful to me, as I have in the past year become a Napoleon enthusiast.

As might be expected, the scope of my collecting has broadened considerably since Sir Walter Scott introduced me to its delights. Like Scott himself, I find myself trembling not only in book stalls with an old edi-

“Japanese Prints and Illustrated Books,” on exhibit from 19 May to 19 July 1987, marked the first anniversary of the opening of the Leonard L. Milberg Gallery for the Graphic Arts on the second floor of the Firestone Library. Containing 51 books and 52 original color prints, many from private collections, the show was a vivid reminder of the beauty of Japanese craftsmanship in the printing arts. Only a small sample of the treasures on display can be illustrated here.

Ukiyo-e: Images of the Floating World

The exhibition focused on Ukiyo-e prints depicting the inimitable world of the Edo period (1603–1868) in Japan. Ukiyo literally translates as “the floating or transient world,” and e means “picture.” When understood in context these pictures reveal a wonderfully strange and exotic culture concerned not only with the beauty of the everyday passing scene, but also a society in obsessive pursuit of pleasure in the theater, erotic fantasy, and high fashion.

Ukiyo-e painting and prints emerged from the late 17th-century Tosa period, when artists were turning away from traditional preoccupation with aristocratic subjects towards the more liberal and pleasure-loving themes of day-to-day life and entertainment in the newly flourishing city of Edo (now Tokyo). Popular actors of the Kabuki, the latest hair styles and kimono patterns, and most of all the highly professional courtesans and geisha of the Yoshiwara district of Edo became the reigning subjects of popular prints in color woodcut. Such prints became as much a part of Edo life as Hollywood or New York advertising imagery is of the world today.

The Japanese color print was the result of collaboration among publishers, artists, image-cutters in wood, and printers. With a truly masterful sense of design, the artist rendered his image in brushed ink in a manner most suitable for cutting in wood. The drawing was then pasted face-down on a thin block of cherry wood, and a highly trained craftsman cut through the design to leave only the printing surfaces standing. A separate block was cut for each color, and inked. Paper on which the print was to be produced was then placed to exact register on each color block; to transfer the ink, the paper was finely burnished with a printing buren covered by a thin paper-like piece of bamboo. The technical mastery of each of these fundamental steps resulted in some of the finest color prints in the entire history of the graphic arts.
HISHIKAWA MORONOBU, CA. 1615–1694

Moronobu is often called the founder of the Ukiyo-e style. His Edo Suzume (The Sparrow of Edo) is a famous guide book to the city. Views along the Sumida River, street scenes, and tantalizing glimpses of the inside of the Yoshiwara or brothel quarter are among its many woodcut illustrations.

In this woodcut of a Kabuki stage, the strong diagonals of the architecture and the bird's-eye view are reminiscent of the Tosa period, but the figures are lively embodiments of the new Ukiyo-e style.

Moronobu was the son of a textile designer, and his father's influence is visible in the careful patterning of robes in his prints.
Sukenobu was one of the most prolific of the early *Ukiyo-e* book illustrators. His *ehon* (picture books) included hundreds of distinctively-styled portraits of graceful courtesans, of which the *Ehon tokiwas-gusa* is a fine example. Its title translates as “Picture Book of Evergreens” ("evergreens" were young girls).

Sukenobu was an early advocate of an indigenous Japanese art of the book, independent of Chinese and Tosa styles. In a preface to the *Ehon tokiwas-gusa*, he calls for a more realistic style to portray women, with the Tosa style reserved for ladies of the court.
The refinement and delicacy of form and color so intimately associated with the Japanese print had its major wellspring in the art of Harunobu. Possibly the pupil of Sukenobu, Harunobu’s gentle, quintessentially feminine figures and his use of beautifully contoured line show the strong influence of the earlier master.

Harunobu is said to be the first master to use full color, found in a print of 1765. He developed to perfection three types of color prints: *Nishiki-e*, or full-color brocade pictures depicting the same richness of pattern and color as the textiles so beautifully developed in Japan; *Hashira-e*, or pillar prints designed to decorate the pillars of Japanese houses; and *Surimono-e*, or small greeting-card prints.

In addition to his many fine color prints, Harunobu created 14 *e-hon* (picture books) between 1762 and 1770. His most famous book is a series of color woodcut portraits of courtesans of the Yoshiwara, the *Yoshiwara seiro bijin awase* published 1770, the last year of his life. The book is considered to mark the beginning of the golden age of printing in Japan.
TORII KYONAGA, 1752–1815

In the 1780s, Kyonaga's work gave a new look to Bijin-ga, or prints of beautiful women. The delicate young girls of Harunobu (called "Lolitas" by James Michener) became far more substantial: tall, queenly figures whom Fenellosa likened to Greek goddesses. Kyonaga's style dominated the Edo print for nearly 50 years, in works by the master and by his many gifted pupils.

General dating of Bijin-ga is possible by taking note of the changing fashions in costume and hair styles. Harunobu's women wear a simple pompadour; about 1775 women began to wear a binaashi, a device that created sharply-defined "wings" of hair above the ears, as in the print by Kyonaga. From about 1741, only courtesans wore the obi tied in front, and until the middle of the 18th century the kimono was long in front, requiring women to hold their robes up in order to walk. Bijin-ga prints reflected such changes; they were true fashion plates of their day, both for the beautiful brocade fabrics depicted and for their general style.

KITAGAWA UTAMARO, 1753–1806

An exact contemporary of Kyonaga, Utamaro's fame overshadowed that of the master in the 1790s when he became closely associated with the famous bookseller and publisher, Tsutaya Juzaburo. Juzaburo became Utamaro's patron and friend, and the two men lived together until Juzaburo's death in 1797. Both were among the most celebrated customers of the Yoshiwara, and Utamaro's great woodcut portraits of courtesans, although slightly decadent in their extraordinary refinement, have come to epitomize the classic Japanese female portrait.
ANDO HIROSHIGE, 1797–1858
KATSUSHIKA HOKUSAI, 1760–1849

Landscapes, always of great importance in classic oriental art, are conspicuously rare in Ukiyo-e prints prior to 1820. At about that time, two late masters of the Japanese print, Ando Hiroshige and Katsushika Hokusai, began producing travel and topographical views. Their work established the conventional, and very beautiful, image of serene countryside and picturesque cityscape so intimately associated with 19th-century Japan.

Hokusai is perhaps the most extraordinary of all the great printmakers of Japan. He changed his art name many times, beginning with Shunro, meaning Spring Brightness. As Shunro he showed signs of a brilliant future, but in 1797, when he adopted the name Hokusai, he emerged as a truly important genius in the art of the print. Thousands of his prints confirm the originality and artistic brilliance of the man, but the most famous are his visual variations on the theme of the main scenic symbol of Japan, Mount Fujiyama. This celebrated tour de force of hundreds of prints showing the most startling artistic ingenuity was created when Hokusai was more than 70 years old.

Another achievement of Hokusai is his encyclopedic series of volumes on Japanese life, the Manga. In it, the world of 19th-century Japan is illustrated in the most energetic, spirited drawings imaginable. Hokusai, who called himself “the Old Man Mad about Painting,” died in his 90th year with his only regret being that he had not been given 10 years longer so that he might have become a truly great painter!
New and Notable

VIRGIL, DIBDIN, AND MORGAN

Margaret M. Fisher has given the Library a book once in the library of her grandfather, Junius Spencer Morgan, Jr. It is Thomas F. Dibdin’s *An Introduction to the . . . Greek and Roman Classics* (London, 1827). Junius S. Morgan, Class of 1888, was generous and loyal to Princeton throughout his life, and served as Associate Librarian from 1898 to 1909. He presented his magnificent collection of early printed editions of Virgil to the Princeton University Library, a collection still much used and treasured today. But how had Morgan known which editions were worth buying?

Morgan, of course, turned to Thomas Dibdin’s book for help. In the 19th century, Dibdin served as a “bibliophile’s bibliophile,” guiding his novitiates to knowledge of the most magnificent, most luxurious, or the earliest editions of collectible authors.

Morgan’s copy of Dibdin’s *Introduction* reads like a diary of his quest for Virgil editions. Even though normally Morgan’s penciled annotations in the margins are brief (“... from Sotheran, Feb. 1892, 4-4” regarding a Venice, 1488, edition), they are clear and full, regularly giving date, source, and purchase price. When Morgan breaks away from this formula, his remarks are quite interesting. For example, he says of the 1469 *editio princeps* of Virgil, still the only copy in the United States, “I was two years negotiating for this book.” He bought it in May 1894 from James Toovey, an English bookseller, and, curiously, does not give the price, which was certainly a goodly sum.

Morgan’s copy of Dibdin illuminates the process by which a most important collection was formed and, fittingly, it now rejoins that collection in the Princeton University Library.

—Stephen Ferguson
Curator of Rare Books

RARE BOOKS

The following represent significant gifts and additions to the Library’s general Rare Book Collections and related special collections made during the past year, 1986-1987.

AMERICAN LITERATURE AND HISTORY


ENGLISH HISTORY AND LITERATURE


HAMILTON, NEWBURGH. The Douling Lovers. London, 1715. Presentation copy. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. John Brett-Smith in memory of Sinclair Hamilton.

HAMILTON, NEWBURGH. The Petticoat-Plotter. London, 1720. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. John Brett-Smith in memory of Sinclair Hamilton.

HARDY, THOMAS. The Famous Tragedy of the Queen of Cornwall. London, 1924. Pages 527-569 of the Pocket Edition in which it had been printed with The Dynasts, bound in plain wrappers for private distribution by the poet. This copy has a presentation inscription from Hardy to the English actor, Lawrence Grossmith. Purchase. Levering Cartwright Fund. For the Parrish Collection.


NEPTUNE, ADAM. Neptunes Address to His Most Sacred Majesty Charls [sic] the Second: Congratulating His Happy Coronation Celebrated the 22th Day of April, 1661. London, 1661. Purchase. English Literature Fund.


POWYS BROTHERS AND MEMBERS OF THEIR FAMILY. A collection of more than 250 volumes of books by the Powys brothers and members of their family, mainly published in London and New York between 1915 and the 1970s. Purchase. English Literature Fund.


CONTINENTAL HISTORY AND LITERATURE


FERNANDEZ, ALONSO. Història de los insignes milagros que la Magestad Divina ha obrado por el rosorio santíssimo de la Virgen soberana su Madre: adonde se referen dozientos y treze milagros. Madrid, 1613. Purchase. Spanish Literature Fund.


GLANTZBY. Les voyages de Glantzby dans les mers orientales de la Tartarie.


LENGLLET DUFRESNOY, NICOLAS (1674–1755). A collection of 96 volumes, most of which are major early editions of Lengllet Dufresnoy’s various works. The collection was formed by Manson Milner Brien ’27 and given to the Library by his widow in his memory.


PLUTARCH. Opuscula: De garrulitate; De avaritia . . . [etc.]: omnia per eximium Richardum Puceum Angliae oratorem eleganterius versa. Venice, 1522. Purchase. David A. Reed Fund.


ROSSELLIUS, COSMAS. *Thesaurus artificioseae memoriae*. Venice, 1579. One of the leading Renaissance works on “artificial memory.” Purchase. David A. Reed Fund.


EDUCATION


COMENIUS, JOHANN AMOS. *Janua linguarum rererata, sive, Omnium scientiarum et linguarum seminariurn... The Gate of Languages: Unlocked; or, A Seed-Plot of All Arts and Tongues... Now Newly Added the Foundation to the Janua*. London, 1652. Purchase. Theodore F. Sanxay Fund.


EMBLEM BOOKS


HISTORY OF SCIENCE


SMITH, JAMES EDWARD. A Grammar of Botany, Illustrative of Artificial as Well as Natural Classification: With an Explanation of Jussieu's System ... to Which is Added a Reduction of All the Genera. New York, 1822. First American book illustrated with lithographs. Purchase. History of Science Fund.

LIVRES PHILOSOPHIQUES


La Fausseté des miracles des deux Testaments, prouvée par le parallèle avec de semblables prodiges opérés dans diverses sectes. N.p., ca. 1760. Purchase. David A. Reed Fund.


NEAR EASTERN COLLECTIONS


Floro histórico de la guerra movida por el sultan de los Turcos Mehemet IV. contra el augustíssimo Leopoldo Primero ... traducido de italiano en castellano, y añadiendo de los sucesos posteriores á la liberacion de Vienna, por Don Francisco Fabro Bremundan. Madrid, 1684. Purchase. Near Eastern Studies Fund.


GROSVENOR, ROBERT, LORD. Extracts from the Journal of Lord R. Grosvenor:


MISCELLANEOUS

GUIGNES, CHRÉTIEN LOUIS JOSEPH DE. Voyages à Péking, Manille et l'Île de France, faits dans l'intervalle des années 1784 à 1801. Paris, 1808. Author's copy with his annotations in manuscript. Purchase. David A. Reed Fund.


—STEVEN FERGUSON
Curator of Rare Books

THE ROBERT H. TAYLOR COLLECTION

The following books and manuscripts were added to the Taylor Collection in the academic year 1986-1987. All were purchased on the Robert H. Taylor Fund, an endowment for the conservation and expansion of the collection.

PRINTED BOOKS

The Academy of Complements and A New Academy of Complements. Two of the most popular and long-lived courtesy books and poetical miscellanies. Each of these two works probably went through at least 15 editions between 1640 and 1750. This lot comprises three editions of each work, as follows: of the Academy the 8th edition, 1648; the “last edition,” 1663; and another edition with many new additions, 1684; of the New Academy an edition of 1672; an edition of 1713; and the 19th edition, 1748. All were published in London.


SETTLE, ELKANAH. Fears and Dangers Fairly Display'd: Being a New Memorial of the Church of England. London, 1706. In a presentation binding made to order for Settle, who was London's last city poet.

SETTLE, ELKANAH. Threnodia Hymenea: A Funeral Tear to the Memory of Her Grace the Dutchess of Dover and Queensberry. London, 1709. One of at least three of Settle's poems beginning with the line, “Ye Sacred Nine, can Sortows tune your Choir?” In a Settle binding with the Duke's coat of arms.

The following are books from the library of Narcissus Luttrell, a Londoner who began his collection in 1675.


The Arrival of the King: A Poem, Inscrib'd to Sir Andrew Fountaine. London, 1714.

BROWNE, JOSEPH. The Insect War: or, A Battle Between the High-Church Hornets [Churchmen], the Scribbling Wasps, the Canting Caterpillars [Fanatics], and the State Butter-Flies [ye Whiggs]: A Parable. London, 1706. Bracketed insertions are in Luttrell's hand.

CHUTE, FRANCIS. Beauty and Virtue: A Poem Sacred to the Memory of Anne, Late Countess of Sunderland. London, 1716.


The Generous Muse: A Funeral Poem in Memory of His Late Majesty K. James the II. London, 1701.

HIGGONS, BEVILL. A Poem on the Peace: Inscribed to the Most Honourable

The Ladies Choice [In a Sweet Heart]: A Poem. London, 1702. The bracketed insertion is in Luttrell’s hand.


A Poem to the Memory of Thomas, Late Marquiss of Wharton, Lord Privy-Seal. London, 1716.


POMFRET, JOHN. A Prospect of Death: A Pindarique Essay. Written by the Right Honourable the Late Earl of Roscommon. London, 1704. Written by John Pomfret, according to Foxon (P733).

Recreation for Ingenious Head-Pieces; or, A Pleasant Grove for Their Wits to Walk In. London, 1667. The Huth copy.

MANUSCRIPTS

PORTER, ENDYMON. Autograph letter, signed, to his wife Olive. Between Aston and Windsor, ca. 1625.

THACKERAY, WILLIAM MAKEPEACE. An early draft of the first page and three other pages of Thackeray’s unfinished historical novel, The Knights of Borsellen. These pages supplement the Taylor Collection’s 41-page autograph fragment of The Knights of Borsellen, which includes Thackeray’s illustrations. London, 1861–1863.

WALSH, WILLIAM. The Golden Age Retriev’d; or, The Fourth Eclogue of Virgil Translated. Four copies in different hands of a poem written around 1700 as a Whig reply to the Tory poem, The Golden Age from the Fourth Eclogue of Virgil etc. Walsh’s poem was later printed in Poems on Affairs of State, Vol. II (1703), p. 422.

YOUNG, EDWARD. Autograph letter to Elizabeth Montagu, regretting that he cannot accept her invitation. July 21, 1761.

—MARK R. FARRELL
Curator, Robert H. Taylor Collection

MANUSCRIPTS

The following manuscripts were added to the Library’s collections during the academic year 1986–1987. This list does not include manuscripts housed in the Library on deposit, nor does it include microfilms of manuscripts housed elsewhere. Manuscripts of 20th-century public affairs papers in the Seeley G. Mudd Library are listed separately.


ASTURIAS, MIGUEL ANGEL. Seymour Laurence’s archive about the Guatemalan writer who won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1967, including papers of Gregory Rabassa, who translated Asturias into English in the 1960s. Purchase. Theodore F. Sanxay Fund and Duplicates Fund.

BEECHER, HENRY WARD. Autograph letter from the American clergyman, orator, and publicist, to Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy, Brooklyn, November 16, 1865. Gift of William H. Morris '32.


BISHOP, ELIZABETH. Correspondence (32 letters, 13 postcards, and 2 telegrams) to Professor Ashley Brown, and the text of an interview with Bishop while Brown was visiting her in Brazil, with her corrections to his typescript. 1965–1979. Purchase. Levering Cartwright Fund.

BISHOP, ELIZABETH. North Haven. 1979. Presentation copy of a printed broadside “In Memoriam: Robert Lowell,” signed by Elizabeth Bishop and illustrated with a scene by Kit Barker. To accompany the long series of letters from the American poet to her English friends Kit Barker, the painter, and his wife, and Ilse Barker, the writer. Purchase. William S. Dix Fund, Willard Thorp Fund, and English Literature Fund.


BRADDON, MARY ELIZABETH. Five letters from the author of Lady Audley’s Secret to various correspondents, fair copy of a poem entitled “In Memoriam,” dated December 14, 1861, and several other manuscript items. Purchase. David A. Reed Fund. For the Parrish Collection.


CLARK, DANIEL A., Class of 1808. Letter to his uncle and aunt, Mr. and Mrs. James Moore, written on the printed broadside sheet with a view of Nassau Hall, November 20, 1807, about the insubordination of students and the College’s encouragement of religion. Princeton, January 10, 1808. Gift of William Ruckert.


FITZGERALD, F. SCOTT, Class of 1917. Two letters about Fitzgerald, both written to Susan Dart (Mrs. John McCutcheon): one from Fitzgerald's one-time friend Ginevra King Pirie, the other from Patricia Newman Rummago, a schoolfellow of Fitzgerald's daughter Scottie. 1986. Gift of Mrs. John McCutcheon.


GORDON, CAROLINE. Twenty-six letters to her long-time friend Sally Wood Kohn, and 4 letters from Nancy Wood (daughter of Allen Tate and Caroline Gordon) to her Aunt Sally [Wood Kohn]; also 3 photographs of Caroline Gordon in Mexico. Chiapas, Mexico and other places, 1979–1982. Gift of the estate of Sally Wood Kohn.


GREGORY, ALYSE. Ten letters from Albert Harold Degenhardt to Alyse Gregory Powys, being the other side of her correspondence with him, 1947–1954, together with Honey and Gall by her husband Llewelyn Powys, presented to Degenhardt by Alyse Gregory. Purchase.

HALLIBURTON, RICHARD, Class of 1921. Letters from classmates and friends of Richard Halliburton to his father, Wesley Halliburton, on Richard's loss at sea in the junk Sea Dragon out of Hong Kong. 1939–1940. Gift of Wesley Halliburton's nephew, John H. Halliburton.


KINGSLEY, CHARLES. Letter to General Sir William Thomas Knollys, asking him to convey to the Prince of Wales a message from the geologist Sir Charles Lyell. June 1, 1865. Purchase. David A. Reed Fund. For the Parrish Collection.
KINGSLEY, CHARLES. Letter to the publisher, C. Kegan Paul, November 27, 1858, refusing to give permission to a lady to set one of his poems to music. Purchase. Levering Cartwright Fund. For the Parrish Collection.


MANN, HEINRICH. Eight letters to Eleanor Mishmun (seven in German, one in French). France and Princeton, 1933–1934. Gift of the recipient's nephews, Joel and Henry M. Yohalem.

MANN, THOMAS. Letter in German to Eleanor Mishmun. June 10, 1934. Gift of the recipient's nephews, Joel and Henry M. Yohalem.

MARDEN, CHARLES CARROLL. Concordances made by the Princeton philologist and Spanish professor from manuscripts of Libro de Alexandre and Gonzáldez de Berceo's Milagros. 1920s. Gift of Professor Emeritus Raymond S. Willis, Jr. '28.


MIZEN, ARTHUR. Class of 1930. Correspondence, 1947–1951, relating to his F. Scott Fitzgerald: A Biographical and Critical Study, first published as The Far Side of Paradise (1951); including letters to and from Fitzgerald's daughter Scottie, his literary executor Judge John Biggs '18, and many others with personal reminiscences. Purchase. Willard Thorp Fund.


OUIDA. Five undated or incompletely dated letters to various correspondents, including two to Thomas Adolphus Trollope, from Marie Louise de la Ramée, the writer better known as "Ouida." Purchase. David A. Reed Fund. For the Parrish Collection.

PALM LEAF BOOK. From the area of Bali, in a language yet to be determined. Gift of Dr. Joseph Lieberman.

PHILLPOTTS, EDEN. Letter from the English novelist and poet to Llewelyn Powys, the Welsh writer. July 2, 1932. Purchase.


READE, CHARLES. A letter of thanks to a woman who had written to him about a newspaper biographical sketch of Reade. March 4, no year. Purchase. David A. Reed Fund. For the Parrish Collection.


ROSSETTI, DANTE GABRIEL. Subscription in aid of a poor French family, with contributions also from William Michael Rossetti, Ford Madox Brown, Eliza Lynn Linton, and other Pre-Raphaelites. 1872. Purchase. Friends of the Library Fund.


SMITH, LOGAN PEARSALL. One letter to John Russell, 1945, and four letters and postcards to Smith from various correspondents, including Lady Ottoline Morrell and Dame Una Pope-Hennessy. 1944–1945. Purchase. English Literature Fund.

STEVENSON, ALLAN. Correspondence, notes, typescripts, and illustrative material from his work on block books, watermarks, and 15th-century printing. Gift of his widow, Mrs. Allan Stevenson.


THACKERAY, WILLIAM MAKEPEACE. Letter to an unidentified correspondent, concerning a series of lectures to be delivered by Thackeray in Boston on the subject of English authors. Clarendon [Hotell], New York, December 17, 1852. Purchase. Levering Cartwright Fund. For the Parrish Collection.


TROLLOPE, ANTHONY. Letter to the photographers Elliot & Fry arranging for an appointment to be photographed. February 8, 1867. Purchase. Levering Cartwright Fund. For the Parrish Collection.

TROLLOPE, ANTHONY. Two letters to unidentified correspondents: July 22, 1878, declining to sign a petition on the basis that "in such matters the Prime Minister pays little or no attention to the names of merely literary men"; and December 13, 1878, declining a "flattering offer to lecture." Purchase. David A. Reed Fund. For the Parrish Collection.

TROLLOPE, FRANCES MILTON. A brief letter from Anthony Trollope's mother to a publisher, declining to write a preface. May 22, 1843. Purchase. Levering Cartwright Fund. For the Parrish Collection.


Wood, Grant. Photographs and press clippings about the American painter, collected by Itza Bergzay, especially about the sitters for his famous portrait American Gothic and other paintings. Collected ca. 1950 and later. Gift of Professor John R. Martin.


—Jean F. Preston
Curator of Manuscripts

Twentieth-Century Public Affairs Papers

The Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library has received the following manuscripts which augment or supplement existing papers or established collections, or which represent new collections.

American Civil Liberties Union. The general correspondence files for 1982 were added to the archives by the ACLU.

Baldwin, Roger Nash. A supplement to the personal papers of Roger N. Baldwin, an out-of-print booklet entitled Roger Baldwin: In Remembrance, which was sponsored by the Town Affairs Council of Chilmark, Mass., in 1982, was the gift of Peter Colt Josephs.

Kemmerer, Edwin Walter. Additions to the papers of Professor Kemmerer of his correspondence in 1909 with David Kinley of the University of Illinois were the gift of Dr. Donald L. Kemmerer ’27.

Lee, Ivy. Class of 1898. Additions to the Lee papers including a yearbook signed by Ivy Lee in 1895 when he was attending Emory College, some correspondence with Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. in 1914 which led to the appointment of Ivy Lee as a member of the personal staff of Mr. John D. Rockefeller in early 1915, etc. Gift of Ivy Lee, Jr. ’31.

Lilienthal, David E. Additions to the Lilienthal papers consisting of the records placed on deposit in the Princeton University Library from October 1977 through November 1986 (excepting the cartoon drawings which are held at Firestone Library). Gift of Mrs. David E. Lilienthal.

Lilienthal, David E. Additions to the papers of David E. Lilienthal of various foreign editions of his publications, including Big Business: A New Era (New York, 1953); This I Do Believe (New York, 1949); and TVA: Democracy on the March (New York, 1944). Gift of Mrs. David E. Lilienthal.

Martin, John Bartlow. Drafts of his book Adlai Stevenson and the World (Garden City, N.Y., 1977) were the gift of Ambassador John B. Martin.

Morse, David A. Correspondence, 1971–1984, with President Léopold Sédar Senghor of the Republic of Senegal and also letters exchanged in 1985 with his successor, President Abdou Diouf, were added to his papers by David A. Morse.

Morse, David A. Copies of 48 documents, 1951–1969, approved for release under the Freedom of Information Act and the Privacy Act by the Central Intelligence Agency and the Department of State during 1984, were added to his papers by David A. Morse.

Stevenson, Adlai E., Class of 1922. Additions to the Stevenson papers of several letters, photographs, and tape recordings were the gift of Adlai E. Stevenson III.

—Nancy Bressler
Curator, Public Affairs Papers
ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

The following represent significant gifts and additions to the Marquand Library during the academic year 1986–1987.


CALVI, DONATO. Le misteriose piture del Palazzo Moroni spiegate dall'ansioso accademico... Bergamo, 1655. Bequest of Professor Rensselaer W. Lee '20.

CARTARI, VINCENZO. Imagini dell'i de gli antichi... Venice, 1647. Bequest of Professor Rensselaer W. Lee '20.

Codex Manesse: die grosse Heidelberger Liederhandschrift. Frankfurt am Main, 1974–1979. Facsimile edition of the most important compilation of Middle High German lyric poetry in manuscript. German Language and Literature Fund.


DALÍ, SALVADOR. 50 Secrets of Magic Craftsmanship. New York, 1948. The fly leaf bears a drawing by Dalí, and the facing page bears an inscription to Albert Einstein from Dalí; both drawing and inscription are dated 1950. Bequest of Margot Einstein.


PATAROLO, LORENZO. *Series Augustorurn, Augustarum, Caesarum et Tyranorum Omnium.* Venice, 1702. Given in memory of Professor Ernest T. Dewald by Professor and Mrs. Erik Sjovist.


TASSO, TORQUATO. *La Gerusalemme liberata . . . con le figure di Giambatista Piazzetta.* Venice, 1745. With its engravings after Piazzetta, this is one of the most important and most beautiful editions of Tasso. Bequest of Professor Rensselaer W. Lee '20.


—MARY M. SCHMIDT

*Librarian, Marquand Library*

---

**GRAPHIC ARTS**

A selection of the most important prints, drawings, and illustrated books added to the Graphic Arts Collection during the academic year 1986–1987.


DUPLESSI-BERTAUX, JEAN. Six etchings showing a printer's shop, an etching studio, a print shop, a sculptor's studio, and an artist's studio. Proof sheet. France, ca. 1810. Purchase. Graphic Arts Fund.


—DALE ROYLANCE

*Curator, Graphic Arts Collection*
THE THEATRE COLLECTION

The William Seymour Theatre Collection has received the following additions to its holdings during the academic year 1986–1987.

BENDINER, ALFRED. Thirty-one original drawings representing stage, film, and musical performers, drawn for the Philadelphia Record and the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin from the 1930s to the 1950s. Gift of the Alfred Bendiner Foundation.


CROSBY, BENJAMIN. Crosby’s Pocket Companion to the Playhouses: Being the Lives of All the Principal London Performers. London, 1796. Contains a frontispiece portrait of Sheridan, but without the final leaf of advertising. Purchase.


ELSSLER, FANNY. Cabinet photograph of Fanny Elssler, the last photograph taken of her before her death in 1884. Gift of Allison Delarue ‘28.


HIRSCHFELD, AL. Print of the cast of Sugar Babies. Signed by the artist and dated October 8, 1979. Gift of Malcolm Goldstein ’47.


MCCARTER THEATRE. Notes on the history of McCarter Theatre from 1930 to 1964, in the form of five binders of a typed rough draft of a dissertation (never completed), arranged by chapter, plus one envelope of typed transcripts of interviews on the subject. Gift of Lida-Virginia Parker.


PIRANDELLO, LUIGI. The Italian playwright’s letters to the Italian actress Marta Abba, 1925–1936. This collection of 560 autograph letters is restricted from use until July 1, 1991. Gift of Marta Abba.

SHERIDAN, RICHARD BRINSLEY. The Rivals. London, 1791. Copy marked for Miss Pope as Mrs. Malaprop at Drury Lane Theatre, ca. 1796. Purchase.

THEATRE-ROYAL (HULL, ENGLAND). Playbill for the evening of Monday, November 9, 1801, being Mr. and Mrs. Pope’s Second Night. Gift of Joseph J. Felcone.


THE NUMISMATIC COLLECTION

The following represent outstanding additions to the collections of coin and currency for the year from July 1, 1986 to June 30, 1987. "Aes" is used as an inclusive term for the copper, bronze, and brass alloys of antiquity; references are to standard catalogues.

GREEK IMPERIAL

1. Samos, aes (sestertius?) of Trajan, 98–117 A.D. Miöner III 284/174. 32–35 mm., 17.52 gm. Obv.: laureate head of Trajan r.; rev.: Trajan, in military uniform, standing on the prow of a galley l. This piece is poorly preserved, but interesting for its size, subject matter, and extreme rarity. Numismatic commemoration is often our only record of imperial itineraries: this piece suggests that Trajan visited the island of Samos. Purchase.

2. Seleucia ad Calycadnum (Cilicia), silver tridrachm of Hadrian, 117–138 A.D. 23 mm., 10.68 gm. Coll. Waddington 249/4455. Obv.: laureate head of Hadrian r.; rev.: Athena standing, holding statuette of Victory. In the Greek East, major centers like Alexandria, Syrian Antioch, and Cappadocian Caesarea regularly produced silver coinage under the Romans, but few other cities received permission to strike silver in their own names. Special imperial dispensation must account for this isolated issue from Seleucia, a relatively unimportant town near Turkey’s southern coast. Examples are very rare today, one other published piece being known with this reverse type. Purchase.

3. Thyateira (Lydia), aes, 2nd century A.D. Cf. BMC 294/13. 20 mm., 3.29 gm. Obv.: bust of the “Holy Roman Senate” (Hieria Synklètos) personified; rev.: youthful deity (Tyrrynos) on horseback r., holding a double axe. There is a similar, not identical, published example of this rare issue in the British Museum, but the reverse of the Princeton piece is better preserved. It shows the local version of a deity who appears on coinage of other communities in Asia Minor as well as Thyateira. The obverse type reflects the fact that “provincia Asia” was administered by the Roman Senate rather than the emperor. Purchase.

—MARY ANN JENSEN
Curator, Theatre Collection

—BROOKS LEVY
Curator of Numismatics
THE COLLECTION OF HISTORIC MAPS


J. T. Allan, Central and Western Nebraska and the Experiences of Its Stock Owners (Omaha, 1883); Cadwallader John Bates, Thomas Bates and the Kirklevington Shorthorns (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1897); Robert Bruce, Fifty Years Among Shorthorns (London, 1907); Catalogue of the Crystal Spring Herb, 256 Jerseis (Worcester, Mass., 1884); Jack Crawford, The Broncho Book, Being Buck-Jumps in Verse (East Aurora, New York, 1908); E. de Mandat-Grancey, Brèche aux buffles (Paris, 1889); Second Annual Catalogue of Devon Cattle, the Property of C.S., "The Meadows," Near Rhinebeck, Dutchess County, New York (Rhinebeck, 1856); Hugh Small, Oregon and Her Resources: From Personal Observation and Investigation (San Francisco, 1872); Statistics and Information Concerning the State of Texas with Its Millions of Acres of Unoccupied Lands (St. Louis, 1890); Carrie Westlake Whitney, Kansas City, Missouri, Its History and Its People 1808–1908 (Chicago, 1908); and fifteen 20th-century brand books. Gift of William S. Reese.

Colorado College. Education in New Mexico. This Territory Embraces an Area Large Enough to Contain Old England and New. . . No place, 1878. Purchase. Philip Ashton Rollins Fund.


COLORADO WATER RIGHTS. Typescript proceedings of the District Court of the Eleventh Judicial District, County of Park, concerning water rights on the North Fork of the South Platte River, 1 May 1875. Purchase.


KILBORN, KATHARINE SKINNER. An album of photographs taken in 1931 in Dulce, New Mexico, on the Jicarilla Apache Reservation by Mrs. Kilborne. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. W. S. Kilborne.

LUMMIS, CHARLES FLETCHER. A collection of 34 photographs and 14 negatives by Charles Lummis, including cyanotypes, mostly of the American Southwest. Gift of P. Randolph Hill '72.


MORMONS. Four manuscript Mormon licenses issued to Eliphas Sillsbury in Jefferson County, New York, attesting to his ordinations as priest and elder; and as Strangite elder and high priest, 1841–1847. Purchase.

NEVADA CATTLE BRANDS. Certificate of Mark and Brand, registering the brand of Walter T. Brown of Constantia, California, 22 November 1920. Purchase.


UTAH TERRITORY. GOVERNOR (BRIGHAM YOUNG). Territory of Utah. Proclamation by the Governor. . . . "There is in this Territory, a horde of Mexicans, or outlandish men, who are infesting the settlements, stirring up the Indians to make aggressions upon the inhabitants. . . ." A broadside. Provo? 23 April 1853. Purchase.

—ALFRED L. BUSH
Curator, The Princeton Collections of Western Americana

Friends of the Library

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL

The Chairman called to order the meeting of the Council of the Friends of the Princeton University Library at 4:15 p.m., Saturday, May 16, 1987. Twenty-six members of the Council attended in the Graphic Arts Collection.

The Chairman called for a motion to dispense with the reading of the minutes of the November 15, 1986 meeting. The motion was passed.

The Treasurer, Alexander D. Wainwright, circulated his report for the current fiscal year (through April 30, 1987). He noted that receipts to date totaled $99,019 and that disbursements came to $88,699, leaving a cash balance of $10,320. He also noted the large printing bill for The Origins of The School for Scandal ($22,191) and that we were billed this year for four issues of the Chronicle (compared to only two last year). Mr. Wainwright also noted that our existing commitments yet to be paid for this year would total $16,371, leaving the Friends with a negative free balance of $6,051. The principal of the income-producing account was $33,861, and the cash balance of the Publication Fund was $6,862. Finally, Mr. Wainwright reported that the principal of the endowed Friends of the Library Book Fund had been increased to $215,444.

The Treasurer also reported that dues income for the year stood at $52,725, and that the membership total was 945, including 871 paid, 12 permanent complimentary members and 62 complimentary for this year. We lost 125 members (25 died, 17 resigned, 85 nonrenewals) and gained 91 new members for a net loss of 94 members.

The Chairman reported on behalf of Joseph Felcone, Chairman of the Membership Committee. Ms. Kamph indicated that she and the
Membership Committee were working on the details of a campaign for this autumn to attract more local residents to join the Friends. She reviewed plans for an "open house" at the October exhibition opening (to which all area residents would be invited free of charge) that would be linked to a feature article on the Friends that Barbara Johnson has agreed to do in an early fall issue of Town Topics. The Committee is also investigating an illustrated and glossy membership brochure, as well as organizing Library tours for Friends (new and old members alike) to gain a "behind-the-scenes appreciation" for the work undertaken in the Princeton University Library. There was lively discussion on the ways and means of increasing Friends membership, including special student rates, a special mailing to interest faculty in joining, a discount for faculty and staff who might join the Friends, and an effort to recruit alumni as well as local residents.

Richard M. Ludwig reported on behalf of Lawrence Danson, Chairman of the Publications Committee, saying that the Spring issue of the Chronicle, a special issue on the Gest Library, has just come out and was very well timed to appear in conjunction with the opening of the exhibitions. Mr. Ludwig also announced that this fall we will undertake new marketing initiatives for selling our publications, and that plans for the next Friends book are proceeding slowly.

The Chairman announced that the Executive and Finance Committee had met late in February and had determined to recommend to the Council the following allocation of the bequest of Helen McKernon in honor of her brother Hobart G. Weekes: $200,000 would be set aside to assist the Library in constructing a new conservation facility in Firestone Library to upgrade the existing facility used by the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections; the balance of the bequest (about $450,000) will be used to establish an endowment fund, the income from which will be allocated annually by the Council. In allocating funds, the Council will be guided in the following way: 50-70% of the income will customarily be used for acquisitions for the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections; 20-25% will be used for curators' projects (where small allocations of a few hundred up to a few thousand dollars might help a curator complete a project); the balance of the income (5-30%) would be used for special allocations as the Council may choose to make. The Chairman asked the Secretary to enumerate some of the curators' projects, and William L. Joyce referred to several: clerical assistance for the emblem book project; assistance in processing the papers of George S. McGovern; funds for staff to complete a survey of architectural drawings in the Department; mylar sleeves for the storage of the numismatics collection; and funds to help defray the cost of acquiring several computer work stations for Department staff. The Chairman then announced that the income from the McKernon money would permit the Friends to fund all those projects requested for this year. A motion to approve the recommendations of the Executive and Finance Committee regarding the use of the McKernon bequest was made, seconded, and passed.

The Chairman announced that the Friends hoped to resume at next year's annual meeting conferral of the Donald F. Hyde Award of Princeton University for Distinction in Book Collecting and Service to the Community of Scholars. Letters have gone out to three members of the Friends, asking them to constitute a Hyde Award Committee.

The Chairman announced that the fall meeting and dinner of the Council is scheduled for Saturday, November 14, 1987.

Librarian Donald W. Koepp reported that the completion date for the new addition to Firestone Library had been put back to mid-March, 1988, that conditions in the Library this summer would constitute "controlled disorder" and that there would be scant improvement in conditions by the time classes resume. Moreover, anyone working in Firestone this summer on B and/or C floors had better be prepared to experience "battlefield conditions."

The Chairman reviewed the schedule for the exhibition reception and the dinner which was scheduled to begin at 7 p.m. The brief Annual Meeting was set to follow dessert.

The meeting adjourned at 5:15 p.m.

ANNUAL MEETING AND DINNER

The annual meeting and dinner, attended by 70 Friends and guests, took place in the Senior Room at the Nassau Inn on Saturday, May 16, 1987. Two exhibitions, "The Book in Imperial China" and "Japanese Prints and Illustrated Books," organized by Diane Perushek, Curator of the Gest Oriental Library, and Dale Roylance, Curator of Graphic Arts, were on display in the main exhibition gallery and the Milberg Gallery for the Graphic Arts, respectively. Friends and guests gathered in the Firestone Library before dinner for cocktails and to view the exhibitions.
Jamie Kamph, Chairman of the Council, presided at the annual business meeting following the dinner. Secretary William L. Joyce submitted the list of proposed Council members for the Class of 1987–1990, and the list was unanimously elected by the members present. The Chairman described the bequest to the Friends by Helen W. McKernon in memory of her brother, Hobart G. Weekes, of Princeton's Class of 1925, and explained the decision made by the Council on the use to be made of the bequest. The Secretary described the Donald F. Hyde Award of Princeton University for Distinction in Book Collecting and Service to the Community of Scholars and announced that the Chairman had asked three members of the Friends to serve on a committee to consider conferring the award at next year's annual meeting.

The Chairman then outlined briefly the fall membership campaign that was taking shape, and noted that more publicity for the Friends and a fall open house on the occasion of opening an exhibition in October were being planned. Finally, the Secretary acknowledged those Library staff members responsible for having organized the exhibitions, paying particular notice to the achievement of Gest Curator Diane Perushek in mounting her exhibition on short notice.

Memory has long played an important role in the teaching, learning, and practice of law. English lawyers of the 18th century recalled rhyming couplets which summarized cases. On the continent, Roman law was taught, and in late 17th-century Germany one schoolmaster, Johannes Buno, used pictures to help students remember the various parts of the Digest of Justinian. The Library owns a suite of plates from Buno's *Memoriale juris civilis romani ...* (Hamburg, 1673–1674) in which the centaur on the cover appears.

The centaur is Buno's mnemonic image for the 23rd book of the Digest, which covers matrimonial law. On and below the centaur are figures depicting the five titles on sub-divisions of the book: Betrothals, Formation of a Marriage, Law of Dowry, Dotal Pacts, and Dotal Land. The centaur appears as the third figure in an engraving beginning with *accera* (incense burner), followed by *betulo* (birch tree), and so on through the alphabet.

—STEPHEN FERGUSON
Curator of Rare Books

NEW FEATURE OPENINGS

The new ornament opening "Library Notes," "New and Notable," "Friends of the Library," and "Cover Note" is made from two binder’s gilding tools in the Hope Well Collection. They were cut early in the 20th century.
FRIENDS OF THE PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

The Friends of the Princeton University Library, founded in 1930, is an association of individuals interested in book collecting and the graphic arts, and in increasing and making better known the resources of the Princeton University Library. It has secured gifts and bequests and has provided funds for the purchase of rare books, manuscripts, and other material which could not otherwise have been acquired by the Library.

Membership is open to those subscribing annually forty dollars or more. Checks payable to Princeton University Library should be addressed to the Treasurer.

Members receive the Princeton University Library Chronicle and are invited to participate in meetings and to attend special lectures and exhibitions.

THE COUNCIL
Jamie Kamph, Chairman
Donald W. Koepp, Vice-Chairman
Richard M. Ludwig, Vice-Chairman
Edward Naumburg, Jr., Vice-Chairman
William L. Joyce, Secretary
Alexander D. Wainwright, Treasurer
Princeton University Library, Princeton, New Jersey 08544

1986–1989
Gerald Eades Bentley
Bailey Bishop
John R. B. Brett-Smith
Lawrence Danson
David DuVivier
Joseph J. Felcone
Christopher Forbes
Peter H. B. Frelinghuyzen
Richard M. Huber
Janet Ing
J. Merrill Knapp
Mrs. Gerard B. Lambert
John F. Mason
David A. Robertson, Jr.
Frederic Rosengarten, Jr.

1988–1989
Robert J. Barry, Jr.
Nathaniel Burt
Richard W. Couper
Edward M. Crane, Jr.
Vicountess Eccles
Charles Rahn Fry
Victor Lange
Richard M. Ludwig
Louise S. Marshall
Baldwin Maull
Leonard L. Milberg
Edward Naumburg, Jr.
S. Wyman Rolph III
Geoffrey Steele
Duane Reed Stuart, Jr.

1987–1990
Douglas F. Bauer
Brock Brower
Henry E. Gerstley
Joanna Hitchcock
Alfred H. Howell
Paul M. Ingersoll
Jamie Kamph
Susan J. Pack
Andrew C. Rose
Charles Ryskamp
William H. Scheide
Erskine Tappan
Benjamin B. Tyng
Michael Wurmfeld

HONORARY MEMBERS
Arthur C. Holden
Graham D. Mattison

EXECUTIVE AND FINANCE COMMITTEE
Jamie Kamph, Chairman
Paul M. Ingersoll
William L. Joyce
Donald W. Koepp
Richard M. Ludwig
Leonard L. Milberg
Edward Naumburg, Jr.
Carl W. Schaefer
William H. Scheide
Alexander D. Wainwright