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FOUR NOTABLE ACQUISITIONS

With this issue the Princeton University Library Chronicle begins its twenty-sixth year. During the past quarter century the Library has grown from a collection of less than a million volumes to one of about two million; the growth of its manuscript collections has been even more rapid. One of the principal purposes of the Chronicle is to inform the scholarly world of important new acquisitions and their availability at Princeton, and a glance through the pages of its first twenty-five volumes makes it immediately clear that the Library has grown in quality as well as quantity.

Thus, it seems appropriate to begin another quarter century with descriptions of four more notable acquisitions. The great Helmingham Chaucer manuscript is a superb addition to what has been described as one of the five strongest collections of Medieval and Renaissance manuscripts in the country. The Sylvia Beach Collection will substantially increase our excellent resources for the study of a number of American, British, and French authors of the Twenties and Thirties. It is fitting, too, that the books, manuscripts, and pictures which this "ambassadress of letters" cherished should now come to Princeton—to the place which she referred to as "my home town" when I called on her in Paris in 1960. The Papers of Bernard Baruch and Adlai Stevenson are signal examples of the Library's resources for inquiry into the essence of twentieth-century American political and diplomatic history, which have grown so substantially in these twenty-five years.

With these memorable additions to the Library there are associated the names of donors or friends who made the acquisitions possible. Graham Mattison, himself a link between American and French culture, responded immediately and effectively when he
learned the opportunity to obtain the Sylvia Beach Collection for Princeton, just as he had when he established and endowed the Julian Street Library. The names of principal donors of the Chaucer manuscript, Robert H. Taylor and Christian Zabriskie, are already associated with a great many other bibliographic treasures in the Library, but the magnitude of this gift provides a happy occasion to repeat them here. The donors of the two collections of personal papers are of course Mr. Baruch and Mr. Stevenson themselves, and they appear in the twin roles of author and donor, but another was instrumental in securing the decision that Princeton was the right repository. It was perhaps not only his admiration for Woodrow Wilson but also eloquent intercession of his friend Dean Mathey that persuaded Mr. Baruch to select Princeton. It was Julian Boyd, who started so many good things in his term as Librarian, who first proposed to Governor Stevenson that he place his papers at Princeton.

To welcome these new resources for scholarship and to pay tribute to the donors and friends who have helped make them possible seem fitting notes upon which to open a new volume and a new quarter-century of the Chronicle. One wishes that each new volume or indeed each new quarter-century could be inaugurated so propitiously!—William S. Dix

CHAUCER’S CANTERBURY TALES

Through the generosity of Robert H. Taylor and Christian A. Zabriskie, with assistance from Arthur A. Houghton, Jr., Kenneth H. Rockey, and Ernest C. Savage, the Princeton University Library has recently acquired a fifteenth-century manuscript of Geoffrey Chaucer’s Canterbury Tales. Parts of the manuscript at least were written within about twenty-five years of the poet’s death in 1400, and thus belong to a small group of early Chaucer manuscripts; all the extant manuscripts of the Canterbury Tales probably date from the period after 1400 and the majority of them come from after 1450. The extreme infrequency of any Chaucer manuscripts becoming available for purchase plus the rarity of Chaucer manuscripts in this country make this acquisition especially notable.

The new Princeton manuscript has belonged since the sixteenth century to the Tollemache family at Helmingham Hall, Suffolk, and has been variously known as the Tollemache Chaucer and the Helmingham Manuscript. It is fully described by Manly and Rickert in The Text of the Canterbury Tales Studied on the Basis of All Known Manuscripts (Chicago, 1940), I, 256-265. Whether or not it was made for the Tollemaches in the fifteenth century, however, cannot be proved. The manuscript is in two parts totalling 215 leaves; there is an early vellum manuscript, the handwriting of which the paleographers date in the 1420’s, only slightly later than that of the earliest and best manuscripts, Ellesmere and Hengwrt. This was later supplemented around 1450 or 1460 by a copy on paper of those tales missing from the vellum portion. It appears as if some unknown lover of literature around the middle of the fifteenth century owned a fragmentary copy of the Canterbury Tales containing only the Monk’s, the Nun’s Priest’s, and the Manciple’s tales plus part of the tale of Melibee and part of the Parson’s sermon. We can imagine that this earliest owner hired a scribe to complete his manuscript by copying all the tales earlier than the Melibee and also by completing the copy of the Parson’s prologue and tale, bringing the copy to a state of completion. This later copying was done on the heavy paper which was becoming
popular in fifteenth-century bookmaking, some of which bears a watermark which helps in dating the manuscript. The handwriting of the early vellum portion of the manuscript is in a clear and extremely legible book hand; though the ink varies from a very dark to a pale brown. The hand of the later, paper, portion varies considerably. Manly, in his thorough study of Chaucer manuscripts, seems to think the entire paper manuscript was copied by the same man, but there is room to doubt this. Even allowing for differences of pens, and the apparent differences in writing produced by new supplies of ink, the hand on folio 1, small, crabbed, and ugly, gets thirty-seven lines on a page, whereas the hand on, say, folio 32 is larger, freer, and more graceful, and puts thirty-three lines on a page. Closer study by paleographical experts may indeed find that three or four scriveners worked to produce the manuscript. During the sixteenth century, the manuscript was probably not cared for with any zeal, and there is abundant evidence in the margin that a series of Suffolk children used it for scribbling their juvenile secrets. It is not surprising, then, that the manuscript by now has again lost some pages. Approximately twenty-seven leaves have been lost at the beginning of the manuscript, six at the end and a few leaves internally. Since no manuscripts now extant seem to contain all the lines Chaucer wrote (even the best manuscripts lack some lines contained in otherwise inferior manuscripts), the new Princeton Chaucer is as complete as most, and may be ranked among the major manuscripts, as distinguished from fragmentary texts containing one or two tales.

Although not a sumptuous manuscript as medieval books go, the Princeton Chaucer presents a pleasant and readable page. The decoration is simple and attractive, consisting mainly of bright blue and red ink used quite frequently for making large ornamental initials with pennons and scrolls. The decoration of the paper portion of the manuscript, though about thirty years later, copies that of the earlier portion closely, and the two artists certainly must be considered to have worked in the same style. The binding is interesting in that the original fifteenth-century thongs and boards (now worm eaten, though strong) encase the book. Only four other relatively complete manuscripts of the Canterbury Tales are known to exist in American collections. Only two seem to have been auctioned in England or America during the past fifty years.—JACKSON J. CAMPBELL

THE SYLVIA BEACH COLLECTION

The Library's extensive materials relating to twentieth century literature have been significantly augmented and enriched by the acquisition of papers and books of Sylvia Beach, proprietor of Shakespeare and Company, the Paris bookshop which was a meeting-point for French, English, Irish and American writers during the 1920's and 1930's. The collection, which had remained in Miss Beach's Paris apartment at 12, Rue de l'Odéon since her death there in October 1962, was acquired earlier this year from the Sylvia Beach estate, through the generosity of Graham D. Mattison, Princeton Class of 1926, and with the interest and support of Miss Beach's surviving sister, Mrs. Frederic J. (Holly Beach) Dennis of Greenwich, Connecticut. The Assistant Librarian for Rare Books and Special Collections spent several weeks in Paris last spring preparing the Beach collection for shipment to the United States. It is now at Princeton, where it is in the process of being organized, and will, it is hoped, be available for the use of scholars in the course of the year 1965.

Sylvia Beach, born in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1887, was the second of three daughters of Eleanor Orbison Beach and the Reverend Sylvester Woodbridge Beach, Princeton Class of 1876, for many years pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Princeton. She first visited Paris in the early 1900's, when her father was director of a center for American students and assistant pastor at the American Church. Frequent trips abroad followed this first sojourn. After World War I (a part of which she spent in France), Miss Beach, with the encouragement of Adrienne Monnier, who presided over La Maison des Amis des Livres at 7, Rue de l'Odéon, opened a bookshop and lending library of her own specializing in English and American books. "Shakespeare and Company," as she called it, opened its doors in 1919 at 8, Rue Dupuytren, a small street on the Left Bank in the neighborhood of the Ecole de Médecine. In 1922 the shop moved to 12, Rue de l'Odéon, across the street from Mlle Monnier's establishment, where it remained until 1941. In that year, to forestall confiscation by the Nazi occupants of Paris, Shakespeare and Company "vanished" overnight to a vacant upstairs apartment at the same address. After World War II (during which she spent six months in an internment camp at Vittel) Miss Beach maintained her residence at 12, Rue de l'Odéon,
but did not reopen her street-floor bookshop there. During the
two decades separating World Wars I and II Shakespeare and
Company served as a port of call for American visitors to Paris,
for expatriate writers of the so-called “Lost Generation,” and as
a center where French writers, translators and scholars deepened
their acquaintance with English and American literature. To her
other activities Miss Beach soon added that of publisher, acquiring
a portion of her fame as the publisher, in 1922, of James Joyce’s
*Ulysses*, which she distributed as long as it remained a banned
book in England and the United States, and, in 1927, of his *Pomes
Penyeach*. There followed, in 1929, also under the imprint of
Shakespeare and Company, a volume of studies of Joyce’s *Work in
Progress* (later incorporated in *Finnegans Wake*), by fourteen con-
tributors, entitled *Our Examination Round His Facitication for
Incamination of Work in Progress*.

Protesting Joyce’s work against piracies was one of the frustrat-
ing subsidiary tasks created for Miss Beach by her publishing
ventures. In one such episode her American “home town”,
Princeton, played an essential part. In April 1931, upon learning
that an unauthorized edition of *Pomes Penyeach* was being printed
in Cleveland, Ohio, on the grounds that the work was not copy-
righted in the United States, “S.B.” straightway requested “S.W.B.”
her father in Princeton, to arrange with the Princeton University
Press for a special printing of *Pomes* for the purpose of securing
copyright. The business was handled most expeditiously, through
Tomlinson of the University Press, and early in May fifty copies of
a small twenty-page pamphlet in gray wrappers were on their way
to Paris, while two additional copies were sent to the copyright
office in Washington. This edition—described in Slocum and
Cahoon’s Joyce bibliography under No. A 25, and now much
prized by Joyce collectors—includes on the title-page the name
*Sylvia Beach* and date 1931, with “Copyright 1931 by Sylvia
Beach” and “Printed in the U.S.A.” on the verso. There is no
mention, however, of Princeton or of the Princeton University
Press. According to a memorandum on the subject preserved
among Miss Beach’s papers, the charges for this P.U.P. printing of
P.P., including copyright expenses, were $37.06.

Miss Beach has herself told the story of her career in a volume
of memoirs published by Harcourt, Brace and Co. of New York
in 1959, under the title *Shakespeare and Company*, which was
also issued by Faber and Faber in London, and subsequently in
French, German and Italian translations. This book provides a
key and summary guide to the collection of manuscripts, books,
pictures and other souvenirs now at Princeton. Indeed, it is evi-
dent from a collation of the book with the collection that, during
the 1950’s, when Miss Beach was marshaling her memories, she
was concurrently ordering her papers and books. Thus, the book
itself may be characterized as a collection of documented mem-
ories and the collection as the documentation for the book. In
1959 Miss Beach had a major share in the organization of the ex-
hibition, “Les Années Vingt, Les Écrivains Américains à Paris et
leurs amis, 1920-1930,” held at the Centre Culturel Américain in
Paris, under United States Embassy auspices. The display was
based to a large extent on Miss Beach’s collection, as was the re-
vised version of the same exhibition held at the USIS gallery in
London the following year under the title, “Paris of the Twenties:
An Exhibition of Souvenirs of British, French and American
Writers, from Shakespeare and Company.” The notable printed
catalogue of the Paris exhibition, to which Miss Beach contributed
an introduction, lists many of the items now in the Princeton Li-
brary. Still others are included, under the sub-heading “Petit
Mémorial de Shakespeare and Company,” in *Sylvia Beach, 1887-
1963*, a volume of tributes assembled by her friends Maurice Saill-
et and Jackson Mathews (published in the *Mercure de France*,
August-September 1963 issue, and also separately, with added
illustrations).

With the exception of Miss Beach’s “Joyce Collection”—that is,
manuscripts which James Joyce had given to her and letters which
he had written to her—which she relinquished in 1959 to the
University of Buffalo Library,* the collection at Princeton is a
substantially complete personal archive, reflecting all aspects of
Sylvia Beach’s life. The correspondence files include letters from

*See Peter Spielberg, comp., *James Joyce’s Manuscripts & Letters at the University of Buffalo, A Catalogue* (University of Buffalo, 1968), where the manuscripts and letters acquired from Sylvia Beach are listed and described. Miss Beach had earlier, in 1955, offered some of her Joyceana for sale, but only a few items were actually disposed of at that time, the others remaining in her possession until they were acquired by Buffalo. The 16-page brochure issued in 1955 is entitled: *Catalogue of a Collection containing Manuscripts & Rare Editions of James Joyce, . . . Belonging to Miss Sylvia Beach and offered for sale at her shop Shakespeare and Company, 11, rue de l'Odeon, Paris-Ve*. The Spielberg catalogue of the Buffalo collection identifies the items in Miss Beach’s 1955 catalogue that are now at Buffalo.
such American writers as Harriet Weaver, Hilda Doolittle, Ezra Pound, Sherwood Anderson, Gertrude Stein, Ernest Hemingway, Archibald MacLeish, Robert McAlmon, T. S. Eliot, William Carlos Williams, Allen Tate, Alice B. Toklas, Marianne Moore, Katherine Anne Porter, Richard Wright. George Antheil—the "bad boy of music," who came to Paris from Trenton, New Jersey, and who lived for a time in the mezzanine-floor apartment above the Shakespeare and Company bookshop—is represented in the collection by letters, musical scores, and by the original piano player rolls (inscribed to Sylvia Beach) which served at the world première of his Ballet Mécanique in Paris in 1926. F. Scott Fitzgerald makes a brief appearance with Miss Beach's personal copy of his The Great Gatsby, in which the author drew a picture commemorating the "Festival of St. James," a dinner held in July 1928 in Adrienne Monnier's apartment, at which the Fitzgeralds made the acquaintance of James Joyce.

Correspondents of English or Irish origin include, in addition to Joyce, Gordon Craig, Arthur Symons, Ford Madox Ford, Frank Harris, Norman Douglas, Ivy Litvinov, Richard Aldington, Stuart Gilbert, Cyril Connolly, D. H. Lawrence, Stephen Spender, and Dorothy Richardson. French friends occupy an equally important place in the collection, as they did in Miss Beach's life: for example, Adrienne Monnier, Valery Larbaud, Léon-Paul Fargue, Jean Schlumberger, Paul Valéry, André Gide, Jules Romains, Jean Giono, André Chamson, Jean Prévost, and Henri Michaux (whose A Barbarian in Asia, translated by Sylvia Beach, was published in New York by New Directions in 1949).

Complementing the letters are books by the above-named writers, many of them first editions inscribed to Sylvia Beach. There are also ephemeral pamphlets, magazine publications of their work, and other material about those whose careers Miss Beach followed with special attention, and almost maternal interest, as long as she lived. Little magazines published on the continent by English and American expatriates, as well as books issued by such Paris-based enterprisers as William Bird's Three Mountains Press, Robert McAlmon's Contact Editions, and Harry and Caresse Crosby's Black Sun Press, account for another interesting—and now hard-to-come-by—group of publications. Miss Beach's portrait gallery—which once adorned the walls of Shakespeare and Company, and more recently those of her private residence—has also come to Princeton. Informal snapshots and more formal portraits, many of them inscribed by the subjects and some of them the work of "name" photographers like Gisèle Freund and Man Ray, provide a visual record of Miss Beach's wide circle of acquaintances. Among the original works by the French artist, Paul-Émile Bécat, are oil portraits of Adrienne Monnier (the painter's sister-in-law), done in 1921, and of Sylvia Beach (1923); pencil portraits of Miss Beach (1926) and of her father, the Reverend Sylvester Woodbridge Beach (1927); a pencil portrait of Havelock Ellis (1924); and a double portrait, also in pencil, depicting James Joyce and Robert McAlmon in 1921. Finally, mention should be made of several mementoes of Shakespeare and Company: the familiar red and blue signboard, painted by Marie Monnier-Bécat, which hung from a bar above the door of the shop; the Staffordshire bust of the "Patron Saint," presented by Lady Ellerman; the detachment of toy soldiers representing George Washington and his staff, supplied by Valery Larbaud to stand guard over Shakespeare's house; and the framed scraps of Walt Whitman manuscripts which Sylvia Beach's Aunt Agnes Orbison had once rescued from a wastebasket when on a visit to the old poet in Camden.

The Sylvia Beach Collection promises to be a rich quarry for those interested in the literary figures with whom she was acquainted, as the above roll call of names—far from complete—will indicate. Nevertheless, when seen as a whole, the collection is above all a reflection of Sylvia Beach herself, a personality who will long command respect for her own sake and not merely as one who lived in the reflected glory of others. The role of a prophet of the Twenties, which was thrust upon her during the last and what has been described as "the official period" of her life, was one that she accepted with characteristic conscientiousness, generosity and humor, but with a grain of salt, and without ever losing her bearings or sense of proportion. She was often distressed to find that people confused the literary life with the café life of the Paris Twenties. The name of Sylvia Beach inevitably appears in the many published memoirs of this period, which tell a great deal about who thought what about whom. But, as Katherine Anne Porter has recently pointed out in her perceptive sketch, "Paris: A Little Incident in the Rue de l'Odeon" (Ladies' Home Journal, August 1964), although these recorded memories often
glitter with malice, hatred and jealousy, none of them speak meanly of Sylvia Beach.

The French novelist Jean Schlumberger, when inscribing one of his books to her, characterized her as “Sylvia Beach, ambassadrice des lettres.” Another of her French friends, the novelist André Chanson (now Director of the National Archives of France), has developed this theme in a tribute entitled “Le Secret de Sylvia,” which appeared in the memorial volume mentioned above. Recalling that it was thanks to Sylvia Beach that he made the acquaintance of F. Scott Fitzgerald, Chanson concludes his reminiscence with these words: “Sylvia carried pollen like a bee. She cross-fertilized these writers. She did more to link England, the United States, Ireland and France than four great ambassadors combined. It was not merely for the pleasure of friendship that Joyce, Eliot, Hemingway, Scott Fitzgerald, Bryher and so many others so often took the path to Shakespeare and Company, in the heart of Paris, to meet there all these French writers. But nothing is more mysterious than such fertilizations through dialogue, reading or simple human contact. ... I know, for my part, what I owe to Scott Fitzgerald. ... But what so many other writers owe to each other, is Sylvia’s secret.”

In recognition of Sylvia Beach’s role as ambassadress of letters, a substantial segment of the books which once formed part of the stock of Shakespeare and Company has been presented, on behalf of Princeton University, to the University of Paris, for use in the library of its English Department, the Institut d’Études Anglaises et Américaines. These books might be described as a “basic library of English literature,” for the Shakespeare and Company “lending library” was far more than a mere circulating library for current reading. French teachers, students and English scholars, as well as translators and writers, were in the habit of finding there, alongside the avant-garde writers of the twentieth century, not only Shakespeare, but also, in his company, the Elizabethan poets, the eighteenth-century novelists, the Romantics and the Victorians. Such books, which Miss Beach brought into France, with persistence and discrimination, from across the Channel or the Atlantic, may now continue their ambassadorial and fertilizing role among new generations at the Institut’s library, located in the Rue de l’École de Médecine, in the “heart of Paris,” where Sylvia Beach lived for more than four decades.

Even though Sylvia Beach’s name is indelibly associated with the Rue de l’Odéon, it is not wholly inappropriate that a collection of her papers and books should now find a home in Princeton. Speaking in her memoirs of her very first visit to “the spot where such important things in my life were to happen,” she recalls that the eighteenth-century neo-classic façade of the Odéon, the theatre standing at the head of the street, reminded her somehow “of Colonial houses in Princeton.” The first chapter of these memoirs evokes the years spent in Princeton with her family in the days of Woodrow Wilson. “Princeton,” she comments, “with its trees and birds, is more a leafy, flowery park than a town, and the Beach family considered itself lucky.” After Sylvia Beach’s death, her ashes were brought to Princeton for interment in the family plot in the Princeton cemetery.

In the autumn of 1959, on her last visit to Princeton, Miss Beach had a glimpse of the University Library, where she took keen delight in examining Audubon prints and drawings (her memory flitting back to the birds she knew at her cottage at Bourré on the banks of the Cher, or at her chalet high above the Lac du Bourget at Les Déserts in Savoy). She seemed, upon this occasion, far less interested in talking about the writers of the Twenties than she was in seeing the parsonage in Library Place, or in finding out if the families in Witherspoon Street still named their little boys Sylvester, as they had in the days when her father was their pastor.—HOWARD C. RICE, JR.
Two gifts to the Library of primary importance are the Papers of Bernard M. Baruch, public servant and private counsellor to presidents and statesmen, and the Papers of Adlai E. Stevenson, Princeton Class of 1912, head of the United States Mission to the United Nations. These notable acquisitions inspired the thought, planning, and decision that persuaded President Robert F. Goheen to establish Princeton’s “Center for Studies in Twentieth-Century Statecraft and Public Policy.” The plans, hopes, and purpose of the Center will be discussed more fully in a future issue of the Chronicle.

The Bernard M. Baruch papers constitute a major archive of twentieth-century history. They reflect the confidence which eminent men of our times—Woodrow Wilson and Winston Churchill, among others—have placed in Mr. Baruch. His voluminous papers, in addition to full correspondence files, contain extensive documentation concerning the Council of National Defense and the United States War Industries Board, of which he was Chairman in World War I; the National Industrial Conference, of which he was appointed a member by President Wilson; the Versailles Peace Conference, where he served as a member of the American delegation; the Committee on War and Postwar Adjustment Policies and other governmental projects in which he participated during and immediately after World War II; and the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, on which he served as United States Representative, when presenting the “American Plan” for the international control of atomic energy.

Mr. Baruch’s papers will come to the Library in annual installments during the next few years. Already received are selected portions of Mr. Baruch’s retained copies of his outgoing letters, which are now available to qualified scholars upon application to the Librarian. The collection at Princeton, when complete, will contain, among other records of this remarkable man’s participation in events over the past fifty years or more, his correspondence with Presidents of the United States from Woodrow Wilson to Lyndon B. Johnson, as well as with leaders in the academic world, literature, the theatre, science, medicine, labor, and other areas of our national life. Commenting upon his decision to give his papers to Princeton, Mr. Baruch has recently stated: “My choice has been dictated not only by my confidence in the use which Princeton will make of these papers, but, also, by the association which Princeton and I share with Woodrow Wilson.”

Adlai E. Stevenson has already deposited in the Princeton University Library more than one hundred filing drawers of his personal papers. These include records of his two national campaigns (1952 and 1956) as the nominee of the Democratic party for the Presidency of the United States, comprising correspondence with party organizations and with communications media, financial records, and letters to friends. During the decade of the 1950’s, when Stevenson was titular head of his party, he was in close touch with Democratic leaders such as Senator John Sparkman and Senator Estes Kefauver, his two vice-presidential candidates, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Governor Averell Harriman, Herbert Lehman, David Lawrence, Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago, Mayor Robert F. Wagner of New York; and with party spokesmen like Adolf A. Berle, Thomas Finletter, Gerald W. Johnson, and Jonathan Daniels, to name but a few. A survey of these records, which also include tape recordings and texts of Stevenson’s speeches, indicates that they form an exceptionally complete archive for the study of Presidential campaigns.

Mr. Stevenson’s official papers as United States Ambassador to the United Nations will, of course, remain the property of the Federal Government as a part of the records of the Department of State, just as the official records of his Governorship of Illinois remain in the archives of that state. Except for certain papers relating to his career in Illinois, which have been given to the Illinois State Historical Library, the balance of his personal papers will eventually come to Princeton, where they will be available to scholars, but, like those already received, on a restricted basis during Ambassador Stevenson’s lifetime. When announcing his intention to make Princeton the depository for his papers, Mr. Stevenson said that he had been influenced by the work of the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, “one of the country’s first-rate schools training young men for public service,” and also noted that “the Princeton University Library is attracting the papers of many men in public life, by virtue of its fine facilities for preserving them and making them available to students of public affairs.”—ROBERT A. LIVELY
Illustrations of American Editions of *The Pilgrim’s Progress* to 1870

BY DAVID E. SMITH

The *Pilgrim’s Progress* was one of the earliest illustrated books in America, and because so many early American book illustrators produced at least one set of “cuts” for Bunyan’s allegorical work, this study attempts to ascertain the origin, development, and relevance of American illustrations of *The Pilgrim’s Progress*.

As one of the earliest illustrated books in America, Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress* provides an interesting case-study of the history of American book illustration in the formative years of that art. All of the important illustrators—Alexander Anderson, Garret Lansing, Mason, and others—cut at least one set of “pictures” for the perennially-popular allegory, and the fact that *The Pilgrim’s Progress* remained in favor for so long in America allows for a survey of the gradual changes which occurred in illustrating technique.


English editions of *The Pilgrim’s Progress* were almost always illustrated. Early in the history of the book a pattern of subject and design was established which was never subsequently altered. Early English woodcuts, copied from the striking designs of the accomplished Dutch engraver Jan Luikens, prevailed for two centuries. Rarely was a new subject added. The most popular “pictures,” as they were called, included Christian meeting Evangelist, Christian and the Worldly-Wiseman, The Burden Falling off, Passing the Lions, the Fight with Apollyon, and a few others. Crudity and awkwardness—especially in the many pirated editions of the work—were so common as to be the rule. The professional craftsmanship so evident in the work of Luikens and Sturt rapidly degenerated in subsequent editions of the eighteenth century, when the work of these masters was copied by unskilled amateurs.

**EARLY AMERICAN PILGRIM’S PROGRESSES**

Although the first American edition of *The Pilgrim’s Progress* (1681) contained no illustrations, American readers were probably familiar with an early period with cuts in English and Dutch editions. The first known illustrated edition in America was that of Boston in 1740. It is not surprising that the cuts—which include only the “Dreamer Portrait,” Christian Knocking at the Gate, Meeting Apollyon, Meeting the Shepherds, and Vanity Fair—should be obvious copies of illustrations in undistinguished English editions. The first American appearance of Part Two of *The Pilgrim’s Progress* (Boston, 1744) again copies English prototypes, namely: Great-heart leading the Pilgrims past the Gibbet, Vanity Fair (indistinguishable from the Vanity Fair of Part One), and Doubting Castle Demolished (Figs. 1 and 2). There is no way to determine if these crude cuts were executed in England or America. Although it is true that early American printers, including James Franklin, were not above attempting wood and type-metal...


3 In the *Autobiography*, Benjamin Franklin described the copper cuts in a Dutch edition he saw in his youth. There were no American illustrated books in 1681.
cuts, it is also true that plates were often brought from England for use in books printed in America. 4

THE 1790'S: ANDERSON

The 1790's do not reveal any change in the American practices of copying from the English, but the decade marks the first Pilgrim's Progress illustrated by an identifiable American, 5 and it marks the beginning of the career of Alexander Anderson.

Without apparent exception, cuts for The Pilgrim's Progress during this period—and for that matter, well into the 1820's—were imitative. Indeed, the lack of variety in the illustrations might be said to be a principal characteristic of the American editions of Pilgrim's Progress. Occasionally an American edition itself furnished the cuts for later printings, as was the case with Isaiah Thomas's many issues of Bunyan's work. Thus Thomas's Boston editions of 1794 and 1809, as well as the "first" Exeter edition of 1804, borrowed plates from the Worcester edition of 1790.

A study of Anderson's career demonstrates that, as he gained in technique, he nevertheless continued to be slavishly imitative in design. The first known Anderson illustrations to The Pilgrim's Progress were cut in 1794 (Figs. 4 and 6). 6 Still very much an apprentice, Anderson relied upon conventional designs of others, even when he began to innovate with white-line engravings cut into the end of a boxwood-block. The source of the type-metal cuts in the 1794 New York edition of The Pilgrim's Progress is not far to seek: it is the Philadelphia edition of John M'Culloch, issued a year earlier (Figs. 3 and 5). An examination of this primitive edition would seem to suggest one of two possibilities: either Anderson is the author of the Philadelphia cuts, or he copied them with an amateurish disregard for originality. Linton reports that Anderson had experimented with woodcuts as early as 1787, and that he had done work for printers in Philadelphia at a very early period in his development. 7 If the Philadelphia Pilgrim's Progress of 1793 is indeed illustrated by Anderson, then it is the earliest and most complete example of his work on wood or type metal yet discovered. During the late 1790's Anderson had perfected his new technique of wood-engraving. The next Pilgrim's Progress credited to him, however, was published by Joseph Bumstead, Boston, 1806, and the cuts, as Sinclair Hamilton has noticed, "appear to be copied in reverse from The Pilgrim's Progress of 1794." 8 Mr. Hamilton finds this reversion to type-metal strange after Anderson's success in the new medium. However, the 1806 edition represents no "reversion," because identical cuts by Anderson appear in John Tiebout's New York edition of 1804. Bumstead merely used the earlier cuts again in 1806: a common practice. For example, he had used the Thomas cuts (Worcester, 1790-91) in his Boston edition of 1800. There is, then, no special reason to conclude that Anderson was still working in type-metal as late as 1806. His name was by that time familiar enough to insure a rise in sales wherever it appeared, 9 whether the engravings were new or old.

In 1811 Tiebout issued another edition of The Pilgrim's Progress in New York with "engravings by Alexander Anderson" (Fig. 9). 10 These are the earliest application of Anderson's boxwood-engraving technique to designs for The Pilgrim's Progress. The plates were re-used subsequently in editions at Elizabethtown (1818) and Newark (1818, 1819). It might be expected that the labor of such an accomplished and popular engraver as Anderson would by this time reflect innovation and imagination, but such is hardly the case. There was a single source for these Pilgrim's Progress engravings, and Anderson copied from it slavishly and unashamedly. It was Heptinstall's immensely popular London edition of 1796, which incorporated the most popular designs of contemporary

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4 Wroth and Adams. If James Franklin was the first American to execute certain early woodcuts, and if the portrait of Bunyan in the 1736 Boston edition of Come and Welcome to Jesus Christ is indeed his, then quite likely the identical portrait in the 1735 Grace Abounding is his also. My own examination of the 1717 Grace Abounding leads me to believe that a similar cut appeared there.

5 Worcester, Massachusetts, 1790-91. Probably by a negro in the employ of Isaiah Thomas.

6 The Pilgrim's Progress, New York, 1794: "Contains 22 type metal cuts which are unsigned and very crude when compared with Anderson's later work on wood. They are by him, however, for the making of these cuts is referred to in his diary." Hamilton, p. 49.

7 Linton, p. 5.

8 Hamilton, p. 59.

9 The repetitious use of one set of cuts for numerous editions of The Pilgrim's Progress suggests that publishers shunned variety and originality, probably discouraging it in their illustrators. This practice sometimes led to confusion, as in the Duyckinck inscription (Brief Catalog, New York, 1889) to Anderson of the illustrations appearing in Isaiah Thomas's edition of The Pilgrim's Progress, Worcester, 1817. Hamilton found this inscription "doubtful." The actual source of these cuts was a Thomas edition of 1790, which was copied many a time! Clearly, then, Anderson did not engrave them.

10 Not listed in Hamilton.
English illustrators, most notably those of Thomas Stothard (Fig. 7). Stothard, who in his lifetime designed more than 5000 plates for book illustrations, “gave the preference, before all his other works, to fifteen small pictures from Bunyan’s Pilgrim’s Progress...”11 Anderson was not the only American illustrator to copy Stothard. Stothard’s familiar “Muckrake,” for example, established itself as the standard “Muckrake” of American editions, and was recopied in Boston in 1805 (Fig. 8), Philadelphia in 1811, and subsequently by Anderson. Nathaniel Hawthorne’s verbal portrait of old Roger Chillingworth in The Scarlet Letter would appear to have been modeled upon this popular Stothard portrait.12

GARRET LANSING, WILLIAM MASON, GEORGE GILBERT

Anderson’s first pupil, Garret Lansing, began his career as his teacher had, by copying earlier illustrations of The Pilgrim's Progress. After studying with Anderson in 1804, Lansing began business in Albany. His earliest signed work consists of ten engravings for The Pilgrim’s Progress, Burlington, New Jersey, 1805.13 It is likely that Anderson provided his pupil with earlier examples of his own work as models, because Lansing’s engravings are copied for the most part from those of the New York edition of 1794, which Anderson is known to have illustrated.

Two other popular illustrators followed the example set by Anderson and his pupil, William Mason, who admired Anderson’s work, was stimulated by it to take up engraving as a profession. In 1810 he moved to Philadelphia and was probably the first professional wood-engraver to establish himself in that city. His engravings were frequently used in early American Tract Society editions of The Pilgrim’s Progress. Mason’s pupil, George Gilbert, followed his master’s lead, and his drawings, which are of little merit, were frequently reissued in Tract Society Pilgrim’s Progresses far into the century.14

Later Innovations and Experiments

As the initial compelling force which The Pilgrim’s Progress exerted on earlier generations of Americans gradually diminished, the “pictures” changed, and the period after the 1850’s may be distinguished by the liberties taken with subjects and designs which had become standardized in earlier periods of publication (Fig. 10).

In general, as was the case with illustrations other than those for The Pilgrim’s Progress, techniques of mass publication and a spirit of gross commercialism lowered the artistic level of book illustrations to a condition of soggy sentimentality. If the earlier woodcuts had been crude and imitative, at least they had often possessed qualities of artistic vigor and honest craftsmanship which were lost in the lavish but insensitive experiments of the mid-century.

Typical is the elaborate set of thirteen plates for The Pilgrim’s Progress issued separately by the Philadelphia Presbyterian Board of Publications in 1844, in handsome folio size on expensive paper. Without exception, the plates were conceived and executed by English artists.15 Some few of the drawings were by Turner and Cruikshank, but most of them were by the popular English illustrator H. Melville, whose emphasis was entirely upon landscape (Fig. 11). As a result, the original nature of Christian’s allegorical pilgrimage (crudely but effectively rendered in woodcuts) was lost in a rich and romantic display of panoramic vistas.

By mid-century, a number of ingenious entrepreneurs had found it profitable to exploit a vast public familiarity with Bunyan’s work by presenting The Pilgrim’s Progress pictorially as a kind of evening entertainment. The most successful of these attempts was unquestionably Edward Harrison May’s16 panorama of The Pilgrim’s Progress exhibited during the 1850’s in New York, Albany, and other northern cities, as well as in southern cities such as Charleston and Richmond. Combining the skills of the showman and dramatist with those of the painter, May and his associ-

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13 Sinclair Hamilton identifies these engravings as Lansing’s. My own investigations confirm this identification.
14 See Hamilton, p. 176; Groce and Wallace, p. 428; Linton, p. 11.
15 See John Brown, pp. 448-9.
16 “Edward Harrison May was born in England and brought here so young that his early work as an engineer and his first training as a painter occurred in this country; his permanent identification with Paris ought to relieve the United States of responsibility for his Salon story-pictures that were praised by Théophile Gautier.” Virgil Barker, American Painting (Bonanza Books), 1960, p. 541.
ates presented audiences with "1000 feet of canvas" which, when rolled across the stage, offered a spectacular rendering of Christian's journey from the City of Destruction to the Celestial City. The Pilgrim's Progress was admirably suited to such a panoramic treatment, being to some degree a "panoramic story, moving along quickly from beginning to end," as Frank Mott Harrison has observed. May's panorama was highly successful. He had commissioned a number of painters and illustrators of reputation, including Frederick E. Church, the famous "painter of the Andes," Henry Courteney Selous, whose allegorical and scenic panoramas had been incredibly successful in England; Jasper F. Cropsey, landscape painter and designer of the Sixth Avenue Elevated Railroad; F. O. C. Darley, the famous illustrator and caricaturist; and Daniel Huntington, whose works, according to Virgil Barker, "best embodied the mid-century's pietistic sentimentality." Unfortunately the actual panorama cannot now be located, but the significance of the event can be seen in the attitude expressed by contemporary reviewers. What had been to an earlier generation the allegorical story of an intense spiritual conflict became for the generation which went to May's panorama a pleasurable and soothing experience:

A new and easy mode by which a sweet book may get to the brain—and get there with music and pleasure, and without leaf-turning and study—is one of the new inventions of this labor-saving time. "Pilgrim's Progress" is a continuous picture, and passing before the eye like a dream, to the low soft melody of an instrument appropriately played, is the novelty we refer to—a more improving luxury could not possibly have been thought of. The whole spirit and meaning of that charming book of Bunyan's is given in an admirable series of paintings.

Obviously the tone and temper of The Pilgrim's Progress had been falsified to allow for a successful evening's entertainment, but what is particularly evident is that the reviewers of the panorama were insensitive to the shift which had taken place:

We cannot forbear praising the skill which has linked such beauties of landscape and architecture, where the gorgeous is exquisitely managed, and the sight charms with harmonious coloring and graceful forms.

May's panorama was successful throughout the East, and even in the South, but the probable reason for its success was in the sensational aspect of its presentation:

The painting is descriptive of Bunyan's beautiful allegory in which hideous monsters, angelic forms, yawning abysses, with bottoms strewed with human bones, enchanting scenery, palaces, and craggy rocks, all perform their part in marking the ever-changing progress of the burdened pilgrims.

May's panorama, contrived by some of the most eminently successful popular illustrators and painters of the day, is a striking demonstration of how the original simple but forceful woodcuts of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth century were replaced by the lush, and sometimes sublime, landscapes, "enchancing scenery," and "pious sentimentality" of the mid-nineteenth century. One other example of pictorial exploitation will serve to demonstrate the nature of the change which had taken

27 Harrison, "Some Illustrators...etc." op.cit., p. 290. The work was represented in this way in England in a colored panorama measuring 18½ inches by 9½ inches, and Percy Cruikshank issued a folding series of engravings of engravings of the same nature around 1880. See also the frontispiece insert in George Offor, The Works of John Bunyan, London, 1855, III.

28 Henry Ashton Barker and John Burford's Panorama on the Strand drew large crowds throughout the 1840's and 50's. Selous assisted in the painting of a large number of panoramic views, including "The Ruins of the Temple of Baalbec"; "The Bernese Alps"; and "The City of Cairo." (New York Public Library collection of programs of panoramas.)

29 Darley illustrated scores of books, and is probably the most famous of all nineteenth-century American illustrators. His work includes illustrations for Thompson's Major Jones' Scenes in Georgia; T. B. Thor's Mysteries of the Backwoods; Brackenridge's Modern Chivalry; as well as works of Irving, Hawthorne, Cooper and Longfellow.

30 Barker, p. 469. "His ambitious illustrations to Pilgrim's Progress gave him contemporaneous fame. He found it profitable to make replicas of Mercy's Dream [Pennsylvania Academy, Philadelphia; Metropolitan Museum, New York; Corcoran Gallery, Washington]—as significant for the taste of the times as Powers' sculptural repetitions of The Greek Slave."


32 Ibid.

33 See similar enthusiastic reviews from the South Carolinian, the Charleston Courier, and the Richmond Enquirer, in 1853. The reception of Bunyan in this "palatable" form by the South is one of the few examples I have found of any southern interest in The Pilgrim's Progress.

34 "Descriptive Catalogue...", NYPL pamphlet collection, op. cit.
place not only in attitudes towards popular art, but towards The Pilgrim's Progress as well.

In the late 1850's, one J. W. Bain promoted a large collection of gigantic paintings by numerous artists of contemporary fame, and exhibited them in the Tremont Temple in Boston to the musical accompaniment of a Chickering piano and a Mason and Hamlin organ. The "Works of Art" were each twelve feet high and eighteen to thirty feet long. All figures were life size, and Bain boasted that "every painting [was] an original production, no copies whatever, and only artists of highest reputation and established celebrity [were] engaged upon the work." Included in the mammoth exhibit were "Exquisite Landscapes, Rich Historical Paintings, Character Portraits, and Novel Effects." Visitors apparently walked around the temple in a predetermined direction, which gave the effect of panoramic continuity. Painters who contributed canvases for Bain's "entertainment" included Emmanuel Leutze (d. 1868), best known for his "Washington Crossing the Delaware," and other historical paintings; William Hart, a member of the Hudson River School, The National Academy, and founder of the American Water-color Society; and Alonzo Chappel, portrait, historical, landscape, and figure-painter, who was particularly well-known for his historical naval paintings. Many other artists were represented in the exhibition. Leutze contributed scenes of "Christian Fighting with Apollyon," "The Hill of Error," and others. Hart painted a twelve-by-thirty-foot landscape of "The Delectable Mountains," and Chappel was represented by "The Burdened Pilgrim," "The Shining Ones and the Cross," and others. The entertainment was accompanied by special music written for the occasion, and began with an explanatory lecture, probably by Bain himself. What Bain's exhibition demonstrates is essentially what May's panorama did. There was an insatiable public appetite for Bunyan in pictures, and the more melodramatic, the more sentimental, the more mammoth they could be made, the more profitable they would be for the promoters.

Artistically, there had been a degeneration. Not only was the original spirit and intention of the early wood-cut illustrations completely lost, but the hasty commercialism represented by these popular ventures left little room for genuine and lasting artistic expression. If May's and Bain's exhibitions shared the character-

1-2. The Pilgrim's Progress,
Second Part, Boston, 1744
Cuts from English prototypes.
Princeton University Library
Sinclair Hamilton Collection, No. 20
To blend Indolence with delight,
Mankind the elder to excite,
To love the things that are divine;
Was BUNYAN's great and good delight.

To blend Indolence with delight,
Mankind the elder to excite,
To love the things that are divine;
Was BUNYAN's great and good delight.

4. The Pilgrim's Progress
New York, Gaines, 1794
Positively the work of Anderson.
Princeton University Library
Sinclair Hamilton Collection, No. 259

5. The Pilgrim's Progress
Philadelphia, M'Colloch, 1793
Artist unknown. This may represent
the earliest known work of Alexander Anderson.
Princeton University Library
Sinclair Hamilton Collection, No. 258

6. The Pilgrim's Progress
New York, Gaines, 1794
Known to be Anderson's work.
Princeton University Library
Sinclair Hamilton Collection, No. 259
THE MUCK RAKE.

7. The Pilgrim’s Progress, London, Heptimall, 1762
Thomas Stothard’s famous design was the model for many American engravings of “The Muck Rake.”
Princeton University Library

8. The Pilgrim’s Progress,
Boston, Manning & Loring, 1863
Probable source for Anerson’s version, below.
New York Public Library

9. The Pilgrim’s Progress,
New York,Ticknor, 1881
Anerson’s characteristic signature may be seen in the shadow near Muck Rake’s right stool.
Princeton University Library
Frontispiece engraved by Joseph Alexander Adams
after design by John G. Chapman
Princeton University Library
Sinclair Hamilton Collection, No. 196

View of the Doleful Mountains, by Martin H. McVicar,
carved by George H. Cushman. This last scenery was
characteristic of later interpretations of Bunyan's work.
Archer's Collection
Another adaptation of Pilgrim's Progress seems to be uniquely American. It took the form of a 'metamorphosis.' A metamorphosis is a sheet of paper, cleverly printed on both sides, folded like an accordion—the top and bottom of each section are folded down to meet. Each section when first seen shows a complete picture (however with a split in the middle) accompanied by two verses of explanation. When one unfolds the bottom he is confronted with a partially changed picture and new caption; then upon unfolding the top part, a third and completely different picture is presented with yet another verse. Since there are five sections on the Pilgrim's Progress metamorphosis, one discovers fifteen different combinations of pictures with their attendant verses. The concept of such a transformation is seventeenth century. Booksellers were producing simpler shorter ones, without continuous stories, in London as early as 1766 or 1767, and in Philadelphia in 1775. But the idea of working a great classic into metamorphosis form is original with John Warner Barber, a prolific Connecticut wood engraver, who undertook this project as his first effort in 1819 (Fig. 12), at the age of 21. Barber became famous for his illustrated histories of states. He reissued his metamorphosis in 1821, then re-engraved the cuts for an edition of about 1835. These were used again in 1840 for a “fourth edition, improved.” By the 1840’s children were enjoying the very different flavor of Mother Goose and the brothers Grimm, and Pilgrim returned to the world of the adult.

—GILLET G. GRIFFIN

Household Words and Its “Office Book”

BY ANNE LOHRLE

In his pleasant book of recollections, What I Remember, Thomas Adolphus Trollope tells of his dining on one occasion with Dickens, presumably in Florence. He makes neither the place nor the date specific. Trollope had been reading a Roman Catholic manual for confessors, published for the direction of the dioceses of Tuscany. The book had so horrified him that, as he relates, it made “all the remaining hairs on my head . . . to stand on end,” and he spoke of it at the dinner table:

I was full of the subject, and made, I fancy, the hairs of some who sat at table with me stand on end also. Dickens said, with nailing forefinger levelled at me, “Give us that for Household Words. Give it us just at you have now been telling it to us”

—which I accordingly did.

The article thus written “to order” was but one of the many, recorded Trollope, that he contributed to Dickens’s Household Words, his other articles consisting for the most part of “tid-bits from the byways of Italian history, which the persevering plough of my reading turned up from time to time.” “I was,” wrote Trollope, “for several years a frequent contributor to Household Words. . . .”

Trollope can hardly have misquoted Dickens’s words or forgotten the dinner table episode which he so specifically recorded. But in certain other details his memory played him false. His article on the casuistry of Catholic confessors appeared not in Household Words, but in the first volume of its successor, All the Year Round. To that periodical, too, he contributed his “tid-bits from the byways of Italian history.” None of Trollope’s writings appear in Household Words.


3 Trollope has frequently been mentioned as a writer for Household Words. Letters of Charles Dickens to the Baroness Burdett-Coutts (ed. Charles C. Osborne, London, 1931, p. 185) states that Trollope was a Household Words contributor; so
If contributors were at times confused as to which of Dickens's two periodicals they had written for, so as a matter of fact, was the editor himself. In a letter of December 25, 1868, Dickens referred to the type of subjects that he had "invariably offered" to J. C. Parkinson during "my editorship both of Household Words and All the Year Round."4 Parkinson, again, contributed nothing to Household Words.

Compilers of anthologies and biographical works, as well as commentators on Dickens, have likewise confused the contributors to the two periodicals or have designated as "constant contributors" to Household Words writers of but three or four items. Mile's Poets and Poetry of the Century (IV, 378-79), for instance, records William James Linton's "Grenville's Last Fight" as appearing in Household Words, whereas the poem actually appeared in All the Year Round. Percy Fitzgerald stated that "Owen Meredith" "used to furnish contributions . . . prose and verse" to both of Dickens's periodicals.4 "Owen Meredith" did not write for Household Words. The Dictionary of National Biography records the famous Egyptologist Amelia Blanford Edwards as doing, in her early years, "a good deal of work for 'Household Words' and 'All the Year Round,' usually providing the ghost story for Dickens's Christmas numbers." Miss Edwards's single contribution to Household Words was "The Patagonian Brothers," a story published in one of the regular issues. Again, Men of the Time, 1868, lists Mrs. Thomas Kibble Hervey, the well-known contributor to annuals, as a writer of verses for Dickens's two periodicals. Mrs. Hervey's contribution to Household Words consisted of but a single poem. In The Dickens Circle, J. W. T. Ley mentions Edmund Yates as a "frequent contributor" to Household Words.6 Yates's Household Words contributions amounted to three stories and one poem, though he was, to be sure, a frequent contributor to All the Year Round.

The confusion between the two periodicals is understandable, for the second did not merely succeed the first, but for five weeks (April 30—May 28, 1859) appeared simultaneously with it. Dickens's decision to terminate the highly successful Household Words in 1859, after more than nine years of publication, resulted, as is well known, from his altercation with the publishers Bradbury and Evans, who had refused to publish in Punch his public pronouncement on his marital difficulties.

Though Dickens referred to All the Year Round as "my new journal," he clearly conceived it to be the old journal under a new title and attempted to make his readers accept it so. The Household Words staff of writers, he explained, was to continue with him in All the Year Round, and that periodical was to strive for the same end for which Household Words had striven—the "fusion of the graces of the imagination with the realities of life."7

Household Words of necessity contained "A Last Household Word" in its final issue, but All the Year Round began with no introductory statement that would have marked it as an entirely separate publication. Dickens's announcement, on May 28, of the discontinuance of Household Words explained that that publication had now "merged into" All the Year Round; and below the title of All the Year Round of the same date appeared the line "WITH WHICH IS INCORPORATED HOUSEHOLD WORDS." As the numbers of All the Year Round continued, moreover, they contained references, in text and footnote, to articles in Household Words, thus assuming the identity of the two periodicals.8

Yet the two periodicals are not the same. In introducing All the Year Round to his Household Words readers, Dickens assured them of his continued "unwearying and faithful service, in what is at once the work and the chief pleasure of our life." Clearly, however, the editing of a weekly journal was

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8 A curious instance of such a reference occurs in the All the Year Round article (May 11, 1851) "Cattle Farmers in the Pampas," which begins with the abrupt statement: "Some time ago I sent you a general description of an estancia, or cattle farm, in La Plata." The "you" was not All the Year Round, but Household Words; and for "some time ago," a footnote referred the reader to the year 1850, in which had appeared a Household Words article by the same contributor.
no longer the chief pleasure of his life. The later volumes of Household Words already indicate that it had ceased to be so. He wrote less for the later numbers and corrected fewer manuscripts. By the time that he began All the Year Round, the unremitting toil of editorship had become wearisome to him. The periodical shows the result of such weariness. Percy Fitzgerald remarked on the essential difference between the two periodicals. In Household Words, as he said, Dickens labored "to make himself present," and, as a result, the journal "displays his complete personality." All the Year Round does not.

Thus, there is some importance in an accurate record of the writers whom Dickens, in his early enthusiasm as "Conductor," chose as his contributors, as there is in an accurate record of the multitude of writers who sent their unsolicited contributions to the popular periodical.

Who the Household Words writers were is, of course, not a matter of a contributor's remembrance—or of Dickens's recollection—or of a commentator's surmise or conjecture. It is a matter of record. That record is in the "Office Book" to Household Words, now in The Morris L. Parrish Collection of Victorian Novelists at Princeton University Library.

The purpose of this paper is to give some account of the "Office Book" and of the manner in which entries are recorded, since a misunderstanding of that arrangement has resulted in certain unwarranted ascriptions of authorship; to indicate some of the problems encountered in identifying authors listed; and, thus, to show the value, as well as the limitation, of the "Office Book" as a source of bibliographical and, occasionally, biographical information and as a record of the journalistic practices of a popular mid-century journal.

The Household Words "Office Book" is a bulky, oblong ledger (261/2 x 42 cm.) bound in black cloth over boards with brown leather corners and spine. It bears on its cover no indication of its content; but on the free half of the front end paper is pasted the notation:

This Office Book of Household Words belonged to William Henry Wills who was Charles Dickens's sub editor. It covers every issue of Household Words. Mr. Wills entered in this book the names of all the contributors with the titles of their articles and the amounts paid for them.11

Whether the ledger was ordered made for the Household Words office or whether it was a stock item obtained from a stationer's shop is not clear. The page rulings and the column headings—"When and where inserted," "Author's Name," "Title of Article," "Length in Columns," "Price Paid," "When Paid," "Memoranda"—seem to indicate that the book was ruled and printed to order. Yet the printed date "1850" which appears above the rule in the upper left-hand corner of each page seems rather to indicate that the ledger was an item carried in stock by a stationer for the use of any publishing office. The absence of the printed title Household Words either on the outside or inside of the ledger also seems to point to this inference. The book shows evidence of its almost daily handling for over nine years in the Household Words editorial office. The leather corners are worn; the front cover is partially broken from the binding.

As the prefatory note states, the "Office Book" covers every issue of Household Words. For all but three of the 487 numbers (479 regular numbers plus eight "Extra" Christmas numbers), the entries are in Wills's handwriting.12 The early pages of the book are crowded with entries, no space being left between those for one issue and another. In later pages, blank lines separate the entries for the various issues. The earlier pages, too, contain more notes on manner of payment, as well as on revision, than do the later pages. Wills obviously began his record with the intention that it should include all information concerning the periodical, but later found such detailed notation unnecessary.

The "Office Book" is a carefully kept record; but it is, of course, a working record with, inevitably, certain mis-recordings and omissions.

11 The notation was obviously written after Wills's death (1880), perhaps by Mrs. Wills, who survived her husband for twelve years, or perhaps by a member of the Lehmann family, into whose possession the "Office Book" came. In the early 1900's it belonged to Wills's grand-nephew, R. C. Lehmann. It was in Lehmann's possession when B. W. Matz used it for bibliographical information for the National Edition of Dickens's Works, published 1906-1908. Lehmann himself used it in his writing of Charles Dickens as Editor, published in 1912. Thereafter the "Office Book" belonged to John Lehmann, Esq., London.

12 In Nos. 252, 253, and 254, authors' names and titles of articles are in another hand.
The entries indicate the standard rate of payment—a guinea for a two-column page of prose—and variations from this rate. (Payment for verse was higher, but hardly uniform enough to indicate a standard.) Notations show Dickens's eminently fair policy of paying not only the author of an article, but also the person who suggested its idea or provided other assistance. Wills's "To Clergymen in Difficulties," for instance, bears record of payment to the gentleman "who furnished the idea"; the entry for Dickens's "Bill-Sticking" is accompanied by notation of cash to "the Bill Sticker."

The "Office Book" indicates also Dickens's adherence to his rule "to pay for everything that is inserted in Household Words". The entry for Bryan Waller Procter's first contribution is marked "Mr. P. would not be paid." Then, at a later date, is entered the notation "Cheque C.D.," the first notation being crossed out. For his friend Thomas Noon Talfourd, however, Dickens seems to have made an exception to the rule of obligatory payment. The entry for the first of Talfourd's contributions bears the notation "Not to be paid," and for none of Talfourd's five items is payment indicated.

The payment notations have much interest; but it is in its record of the Household Words writers and their contributions that the main value of the "Office Book" lies.

Bibliographers and biographers have, from time to time, made use of the "Office Book" to compile lists of the Household Words contributions of various writers. The most important such list is that of Dickens's own Household Words writings, compiled by B. W. Matz, on the basis of which some eighty of Dickens's articles and stories were for the first time included in an edition of his works—the National Edition, 1906-1908, published by Chapman and Hall. Clement Shorter used the "Office Book" in compiling Dickens to W. C. Macready, August 8, 1850; Letters, II, 755.

The notation may mean that Dickens personally made payment to Talfourd, rather than authorizing payment through the office; but such arrangement is unlikely. (The Talfourd items are not included in the twenty-five instances of no payment record mentioned above.)

This edition includes all of Dickens's Household Words writings but five: "The Household Narrative" (IV, 49), "A Free (and Easy) School" (IV, 260), "Our Almanac" (XII, 858), "The Samaritan Institution" (XV, 475), and "Personal" (XVII, 601). The omissions were obviously intentional. Two of the omitted items are in the nature of advertisements; two are qualifications of statements appearing in preceding numbers; the fifth is Dickens's signed statement concerning his marital difficulties. In "Dickens as Editor: Some Uncollected Fragments," The Dickens, LVI
piling his bibliography of Mrs. Gaskell's *Household Words* writings; Mr. Eric J. Sluiter used it to identify those of Richard H. Horne, as did Miss Dorothy L. Sayers to identify those of Wilkie Collins.

Not all writers, however, have availed themselves of the information that the "Office Book" provides. Mr. R. K. Webb, for instance, stated that Harriet Martineau's *Autobiography* and the republication of certain of her essays provided the "clues" to her *Household Words* writings. The complete record of Miss Martineau's contributions to the periodical appears, of course, in the "Office Book." Edmund Blunden debated whether "By Rail to Parnassus" was the writing of Dickens or of Henry Morley. The "Office Book" answers the question. Landor's bibliographers stated that they were unable to discover the place of first publication of Landor's dramatic poem on Diana de Poitiers. The "Office Book" records the place of first publication. Michael Sadler was listed as anonymous *The Woman with the Yellow Hair*. The "Office Book" shows it to be the writing of Percy Fitzgerald. Mr. Edgar Johnson stated that he was unable to identify a "Mr. Sidney" mentioned by Dickens as a writer on Australian subjects. The "Office Book" leaves no question as to Samuel Sidney's identity.

In addition to its value as a source of bibliographical and biographical information, the "Office Book" has interest in the number of writers whom it lists as contributors. Percy Fitzgerald—and Dickens himself, as a matter of fact—represented it as most difficult to gain admission to the rank of *Household Words* writers. Fitzgerald wrote of the "whole sacks" of "voluntary contributions" that the editorial office was forced to reject; Dickens referred to the "shovel" of unpublishable verses sent in by aspiring poets. Undoubtedly, *Household Words* rejected hundreds of manuscripts from perhaps hundreds of writers. But, as the "Office Book" shows, it accepted the writings of a surprisingly large number. During the nine years of *Household Words* existence, its contributors—solicited and voluntary—numbered more than three hundred seventy. Some of them were extensive contributors; others, the contributors of one item. Some were writers of importance; some were writers of importance in their day; some were so obscure that their names appear in no biographical compilation.

On the authorship of the *Household Words* writings of these three hundred seventy contributors, Wills's "Office Book" is incontestable authority.

Yet the "Office Book" must be taken for what it is—a working record. And even the best and most conscientious of sub-editors—as Wills undeniably was—must be allowed an occasional omission and error in his recording.

B. W. Matz and later scholars who have consulted the "Office Book" have stated that it lists the titles of "all items" printed in *Household Words* and gives "the authorship of every item." The "Office Book" does not.

Fourteen items printed in *Household Words* the "Office Book" does not list at all. Some of them are poems (or lines from poems); some are short prose items published in the periodical under the heading "Chips"; some are full length articles. Two, at least, of these omitted items have some importance. One is the amusing essay by John Hollingshead, "How I Fell among Monsters," reprinted by Hollingshead in two of his collections of essays; another is the quatrains "Dream within Dream" by Leigh Hunt, which Hunt included in the 1857 edition of his *Poetical Works*.

The "Office Book" does not state the author of every item that

30 *Memories of Charles Dickens*, pp. 4, 209.
32 Hollingshead's article: *H.W.*, XVII (March 19, 1856), 399-401; Hunt's poem: *H.W.*, I (April 20, 1857), 64. Hunt is usually credited with three poems in *Household Words*; "Dream within Dream" is a fourth.
it records; nor are the authors' names that are recorded always correctly given.

Wills occasionally recorded an author's name without checking the writer's manuscript to verify initials or spelling. Thus, of Matthew Davenport Hill's two *Household Words* articles, one is credited in the "Office Book" to "M. D. Hill," the other to "D. M. Hill." Sidney Blanchard's name appears in its correct spelling, but also with the spelling "Blashard"; Andrew Wynter appears also as "Winter"; John Payn, also as "Payne"; John Lang, also as "Laing"; William Charles Milne, also as "Myrne." 22

Even correctly spelled names are at times difficult to decipher in Wills's handwriting. Their correct transcription requires a knowledge of the writers—particularly the minor writers—of the time. Of that knowledge Percy Fitzgerald appears to have had little when he transcribed the names of such easily identifiable contributors as Postans, Von Corvin, and Mrs. Broderip as "Postano," "Van Corrin," and "Broderiss." Unwisely, Fitzgerald accented his transcriptions by a joking reference to the "Dickens flavour" of the mutilated names. 22

The authors' names that are erased, crossed out, or over-written in the "Office Book" indicate that Wills sometimes wrote down a name that he recalled at the moment as the author of an item, and then, on reflection or verification, found to be incorrect. Eight instances of this occur in his recording of the authors of poems. "The Shadow of the Hand," for example, he first assigned to Miss Procter, thereafter correcting the entry to read "Miss Macready"; "A Daisy on a Grave" he first indicated as by Mrs. MacIntosh, thereafter crossing out her name to assign the poem correctly to Thomas Hood's daughter, Frances Freeing Broderip. 22 By "A Child's Prayer" Wills wrote Meredith's name; this he scratched out, but did not replace by another. In at least two entries, how-

ever, Wills left recorded an incorrect ascription: one assigns to John Critchley Prince Miss Procter's poem "The Two Interpreters"; the other credits Edmund Yates with her "Patient and Faithful." 20 The easy interchange that Wills found possible between the authorship of one poem and another confirms—if confirmation were needed—the bland nature of much of *Household Words* verse.

As stated above, the "Office Book" does not give the authorship of every item listed—or, at least, the specific authorship. For some it gives merely a general indication; for others it gives none.

Non-specific or partial ascription accompanies nineteen items. The non-specific ascriptions include such notations as "Correspondent" and "Communicated." In some entries the name of a writer associated with *Household Words* accompanies the designation "Correspondent," thus giving a partial indication of authorship. Such partial ascription occurs also in such entries as --------- & Morley," --------- & Mr. Horne."

Certain other entries indicate a contributor only by the record of his or her friendship. The article "Boulogne Wood," for instance, the "Office Book" assigns merely to "Robertson's friend" and three poems to "Miss Lynn's friend." The authorship of these items is difficult to establish. "Mrs. Gaskell's friend," credited with the story "Coralie," appears from references in Dickens's letters to have been a Mrs. Jenkyn. 21

But for thirty-eight items printed in *Household Words* the "Office Book" gives no author whatever. 22 Certain of these omissions of author's name result from errors in recording, as in the repetition of the title in the author-column. Other omissions occur in the instances in which the "Office Book" lists, instead of author, only the name of the person responsible for directing the contribution to the *Household Words* office. The article "Life in the Burra Mines of South Australia," for instance, is indicated

20 References in Rosamond and Florence Davenport-Hill. The Recorder of Birmingham (London, 1878) prove both articles to be by M. D. Hill.

21 Following the incorrect spelling given in the "Office Book," R. C. Lehmann, Charles Dickens as Editor, p. 150n, recorded one of Milne's articles as "by Myrne." Letters, II, 590n, repeats Lehmann's note. Milne's comment and quotation in his Life in China (London, 1857, pp. 164f) prove him to be the Household Words contributor.


23 Adelaide Anne Procter (1823-1864) republished both poems in her Legends andLyrics, First Series, 1858. "Patient and Faithful" appears there with the title "Fiddles."

24 Dickens to Wills, Sept. 4 and 20, 1857. The letters are among the unpublished Dickens letters in the Henry E. Huntington Library. The Library has very kindly given me permission to read them.

25 An additional item for which no author is given is "Summer in Rome." However, the notation in the memorandum-column ("Cheque to J. Kenyon Esq. 39 Devonshire Place") substitutes for the omission and establishes, practically beyond doubt, that the article is by John Kenyon (1784-1860).
merely as "per R. Bell"; one poem is marked as "per Horne," one as "per Mrs. Gaskell." Two other poems lack even this indication of origin, being listed merely as "Anonymous." Curiously, the "Office Book" indicates payment for both pieces.

These various errors in recording and the notation in the author-column of information other than the author's name account for many of the omissions of authorship indication. For the remaining twenty-eight, the author-column is simply left blank or (for one item) with the author's name entered, then marked out.

Among the entries for which a blank occurs in the author-column are those for the article "A Small Monkish Relic" by Francis T. Buckland, for the poem "The Sower" by Henry Morley, and for the sonnet "Hiram Power's [sic] Greek Slave" by Elizabeth Barrett Browning. These items stand, respectively, next below the entry for an item by Ruge, one by Wills, and one by Dickens. Clearly, therefore, the blank in the author-column does not have the value of ditto marks; that is, it does not mean that the entry by which it occurs is by the same author as the entry above.

The unwarranted assumption that this was so led B. W. Matz to his unfortunate announcement of Mrs. Browning's sonnet as a newly "discovered" poem by Dickens and, recently, led Mr. Arthur A. Adrian to a repetition of the same error. Two similar mis-ascriptions of items that appear in the "Office Book" without indication of author are Matz's assignment to Dickens of the poem "Aspirl," which is entered in Wills's record next below an item by Dickens; and Clement Shorter's assignment to Mrs. Gaskell of "A Christmas Carol," the entry for which happens to stand next below that of a story by Mrs. Gaskell.

With the exceptions here noted, however, the "Office Book" does indicate the authorship of every item recorded. Occasionally...

...The article consists of a letter from an emigrant to Australia, prefaced by the editorial explanation that it was addressed to "a gentleman in London," by whom it was "confided to us for publication." The statement makes clear the meaning of the notation "per."

...In one instance appears the beginning of an author-entry: "Mrs. ————"

...Republication of these two items establishes their authorship. Buckland republished his article in his Curiosities of Natural History, 2d ser., 5th ed., London, 1900, pp. 255-50; Morley republished his poem in Goslip, London, 1857, p. 73. The authorship of the remaining items for which no author is given I have not yet ascertained.


...it gives an author's name in full (Edmund Ollier, Peter Cunningham, W. Wilkie Collins, for instance), more frequently the surname only. Some writers it indicates by initials.

...For the purpose of identification, Wills's listing only the surname of known contributors with distinctive names—Martineau, Sala, Chorley—is sufficient ascription, even without the verification provided by republication of their Household Words contributions. Wills's listing without first name or initials the writers with less distinctive names—Harris, Martin, Robertson, Wood—obviously raises problems in identification. The chance correspondence, of course, of the name of a Household Words writer with that of a writer listed in a biographical compilation hardly establishes the identity of the two.

...In his article "Charles Dickens as Verse Editor," Mr. Adrian assumes the Household Words writer listed as "Harris" to be the self-educated working-man poet John Harris of Cornwall (1820-1884), who wrote humble verses about miners and fisherfolk, with occasional excursions into rhymed preachments against drunkenness. Dickens may have accepted this writer's poems, suggests Mr. Adrian, because his working-class origin "made a personal plea" to Dickens. It is inconceivable that John Harris of Cornwall should have written the self-conscious verses of the Household Words Harris. In his Wayside Pictures (London, 1874), moreover, which John Harris stated to contain "the life-work of the author," the verses of the Household Words Harris of course do not appear—as they would, had they been written by him.

...Wills's listing of writers merely by surname causes difficulty also in establishing authorship of items in the instances when Household Words had two or more writers of the same name. The periodical numbered among its contributors, for instance, at least four writers named Dixon, to whom Wills assigned a total of 144 articles. For only four of these articles did Wills accompany the "Dixon" by initial or first name.

...Ibid., p. 100.

...Mr. Adrian also assumes the writers listed in the "Office Book" as "Blackmore" and "Harper" to be Richard Blackmore and William Harper. For the two writers listed, the "Office Book" gives no address or other information that would serve to establish their identity. Neither did Richard Blackmore or William Harper publish a collected edition of poems that would make identification possible. The identification is presumable; it is not positive.

...Lehmann, Charles Dickens as Editor, p. 101n, stated that William Hepworth Dixon was "a fairly regular contributor" to Household Words, and identified several
The names of certain staff members and other writers closely associated with the editorial office Wills usually indicated by initials. His own articles he uniformly marked "W.H.W." Dickens's (except for three installments of Hard Times, marked "Mr. Charles Dickens") he indicated as by "Mr. C.D." or, more commonly, "C.D." John Forster's contributions he marked "Mr. J.F." or "J.F." Among contributors, Eustace Clare Grenville Murray needed nothing more than initials to identify his writings. The letters "R.E.," several times recorded in the author-column, stand for the "Roving Englishman," a designation which Murray's popular articles, both as they appeared in Household Words and in book form, established as synonymous with his name.

With the exception of certain of Dickens's own writings, Mrs. Gaskell's "North and South," and Wilkie Collins's "The Dead Secret," materials published in Household Words appeared without name of author. A few contributors, however, for whom even this guarantee of anonymity was insufficient, kept their identity a secret even from the Household Words editorial staff by submitting their contributions under a pseudonym.

One obvious pseudonym recorded in the "Office Book" is "Sophy Traddles," written there in quotation marks. "Osian Macpherson" would likewise appear to be a fictitious name, though the "Office Book" records it without indication that it is so. "Mr. Loader" (or simply "Loader"), credited in the "Office Book" with the authorship of two articles, was, according to Mr. Shumaker, Richard H. Horne—a writer much addicted to pseudonymous authorship. Some indication that "Mr. Loader" may have been Horne is provided by the notation that "Pearls from the East," assigned to Mr. Loader, arrived at the editorial office "per Horne"; but the entry for the other Loader article gives not even this inconclusive evidence that "Loader" was indeed a Horne pseudonym.

The famous nom-de-plume connected with Household Words was of course "Miss Mary Berwick," the name under which Adelaide Anne Procter submitted her poems to the periodical for two years. Miss Procter's sense of the fitness of things forbade her submitting contributions under her own name; for, if they did not please Dickens, he would have the pain of returning them or the unhappy alternative of printing them "for papa's sake, and not for their own." The discovery that "Miss Berwick" was the daughter of his friend Bryan Waller Procter, told by Dickens in his introduction to Miss Procter's poems, is commemorated in the "Office Book" by the record for the 1854 Christmas number, in which appears for the first time the name "Miss Adelaide Procter," followed in parentheses by the now no longer needful "Mary Berwick."

Of the some twenty-seven hundred items listed in the "Office Book," about two hundred are accompanied by more than one name in the author-column. In most of these entries, the name of an outside contributor stands with that of a member (occasionally two members) of the Household Words staff; in some, stand the names of two writers connected with the periodical. The staff member most frequently listed in these entries is Wills; next, Henry Morley; then, Dickens. Occasionally in the early pages appears the name of Horne, who was briefly a member of the staff before his leaving for Australia in 1852.

The double names do not, for the most part, imply actual joint composition of an item or the writing by two authors of individual sections of a series of items, though for occasional entries they do. An example is "The Lazy Tour of Two Idle Apprentices," all five installments of which the "Office Book" records as by Dickens and Wilkie Collins. The articles had their genesis in Dickens's asking Collins to suggest a tour or other expedition on which "we could write something together."


40 In one of the numbers not in Wills's handwriting a Dickens item is marked "C. Dickens."

41 The authorship indication of even "North and South" and "The Dead Secret" was indirect. The installments of Mrs. Gaskell's novel appeared as "By the Author of Mary Barton." Advertisements preceding the serialization of Collins's work stated it to be by him, but Collins's name did not appear under the title of the installments.

44 In addition, some few entries list the names of two writers neither of whom was connected with the editorial office.

45 August 29, 1875; Letters, II, 873. Miss Sayers, C.B.E.L., III, 481, lists the specific columns and pages of the work that are the writing of Collins.

46 Feb. 6, 1858; Letters, III, 7.
The "Office Book" assigns two chapters of the story to Dickens, the remaining one to Collins. Another instance of what Dickens thought of as actual co-authorship is indicated by his reference to one of the many articles on which he worked with Wills as "our joint article."48

In general, however, the joint names imply revision rather than co-authorship. They indicate, usually, that an item written by a contributor was revised by a staff member. Such "Office Book" entries as "Murray and Morley," "Wreford and Morley" correspond with the explanation of Morley's editorial duties, as recorded in his biography, of "dress[ing] up" articles by these writers or "recasting" their material so as to make it "suitable for the journal."47

In itself, the record of the joint names does not, of course, indicate the nature or extent of the revision. Editorial alteration—as is made clear by Morley's biography, by occasional comments that appear in Household Words itself, and, above all, by the Dickens-Wills correspondence—ranged from the correction of punctuation and spelling errors to revision of style. It extended to the content of stories and articles and included such matters as the softening of an unpleasant story ending and the deletion of reference to painful facts of life. It involved, occasionally, the addition of material to an article; more frequently, the shortening of an item to make the total content of an issue fit into the regular forty-eight columns.49 The occasional entries on revision given in the memorandum-column of the "Office Book" deal mainly with condensation of material. The five-column article "Troops and Jobs in Malta," for instance, Wills accompanied by the notation "The result of a great pile of MS. A Day in a Pauper Palace" he marked as "Rewritten almost entirely by W.H.W. & abridged a half," and "Spy Police" as "Cut down from three times the quantity by W.I.W."

The entries accompanied by joint names or by specific notation of revision cannot, however, be taken as the only items revised either by Dickens or by members of his staff. Wills did not always indicate revision.

49 Household Words advertisements for the Extra Christmas numbers (beginning with the number for Christmas 1851, these contained 30 pages each) referred to the "regular" numbers as containing 44 pages each, i.e., 48 columns. Actually, eighteen of the regular numbers contained only twenty pages each.

The changes that Dickens made, for instance, in Mary Boyle's "My Mahogany Friend" and those that he made in G. A. Sala's "The Foreign Invasion" were almost identical in extent and nature.60 Yet in the "Office Book" "My Mahogany Friend" stands with the notation "The Hon. Miss Boyle & C.D.," while "The Foreign Invasion" is recorded as by Sala alone. Also, as his letters indicate, Dickens altered many Household Words poems, in an attempt to make their meaning clear, to better their phraseology, or to mend their "awful haltings" in metre. Yet in the "Office Book" his name stands as reviser of but one poem.

The usual order in which joint names stand is what would seem to be the normal order, that is, the author first, the reviser second. The significance of deviation from this order, if it has significance, can only be guessed at.

Of Thomasina Ross's three articles that he revised, Wills credited two to Miss Ross and himself, the other to himself and Miss Ross. Of three articles by Weir (presumably William Weir, the journalist), Wills again recorded two as by Weir and himself, the other as by himself and Weir. The reversal of names may perhaps indicate that Wills's revision was so extensive that he felt the resultant articles to be his writing rather than that of the contributors. For minor writers, the matter is of small importance.

The instances in which Dickens's name is one of the joint names attached to an entry are, however, of some interest. Among these is the entry for "Common-Sense on Wheels," written by E.C.G. Murray and revised to some extent by Wills. Dickens mistrusted the article on the ground of accuracy and was dissatisfied with it even after he had revised it himself. "I have done what I can with it," he wrote to Wills, "but it is a poor opportunity."61 In the "Office Book" the article stands as by "C.D. W.H.W. & Murray." Again, Murray's notorious article "On Her Majesty's Service," with its merciless caricature of Sir Stratford Canning62 (which

49 Dickens wrote to Miss Boyle that he had used "the pruning-knife" on her paper, that he had endeavoured "to bring it closer, and to lighten it, and to give it . . . compactness" (Feb. 21, 1851: Letters, II, 275-76). Of Sala's paper he wrote to Wills: "I . . . have cut a great deal out, and made it compact and telling" (Sept. 27, 1851: Letters, II, 245).
50 March 29, 1851: Letters, II, 29a.
51 In Fifty Years of London Life (New York, 1885, pp. 426f) Yates tells of the enormous number of copies of the Household Words issue containing Murray's article that Canning's "enemies, and naturally all his friends," forwarded to him, of Canning's fury at the article, and of his consequent attempt to wreck Murray's diplomatic career.

43
Dickens did not recognize for what it was), appears in the "Office Book" not as by Murray and Dickens, but as by "C.D. & Murray."

These, among other similar entries, seem to indicate that Wills attached some prestige to position No. 1 among the writers listed in the author-column and that he at times allotted that place to Dickens irrespective of whether Dickens wrote an item or merely revised it.

That this may be so is suggested also by Wills's "Office Book" entries for his own articles. In 1860, Wills reprinted in Old Leaves: Gathered from Household Words a selection of the articles that he had written for the periodical. With scrupulous fairness, he indicated in the book the fifteen of his articles whose "brightest tints" resulted from the "masterly touches" of Dickens's pen.\(^6\) Yet, in his original "Office Book" recording of twelve of these articles, Wills had indicated the authorship not as by "W.H.W. & C.D.," but as by "C.D. & W.H.W." (or "Mr. C.D. & W.H.W."). The yielding of first place to Dickens here seems a gesture of courtesy or respect.

The vast majority of Household Words contributors left on record, of course, no indication of how they regarded the changes made in their manuscripts either by Dickens himself or by members of his staff. Like Wills, some writers undoubtedly held Dickens's alterations to be "masterly touches." According to Percy Fitzgerald, at all events, "the usual tone of contributors was one of profuse gratitude to this great man for condescending to amend their writings." Fitzgerald's statement, however, probably reflects his own hero-worship, rather than actual fact. More reliable is the comment of G. A. Sala. Sala freely admitted that Dickens's alterations in his articles were "always for the better"; yet he felt that the constant insertion of "Dickensian tropes, illustrations, and metaphors" in the articles of young Household Words writers resulted in such pseudo-Dickensian style that the writers seemed guilty of slavish imitation.\(^6\)

But not all was "profuse gratitude" or even qualified approval. Wills commented to Morley that the office was "bothered by contributors, especially ladies, objecting to alterations."\(^6\) Obviously,

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\(^6\) One of these items, "A Plated Article," Dickens republished in his Reprinted Pieces (1868) as by himself.

\(^6\) Memories of Charles Dickens, p. 295.

\(^6\) Things I Have Seen and People I Have Known, London. 1894, I. 78-79.


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the ladies included the most famous of all Household Words ladies, Mrs. Gaskell, who strenuously objected to changes in her contributions. "North and South," she stipulated specifically, was not to be touched "even by Mr. Dickens."\(^6\) The "Office Book" records no revision of Mrs. Gaskell's writings—not "even by Mr. Dickens." All her items stand with her name alone.

As for the attitude of contributors concerning revision of their manuscripts by members of Dickens's staff, William Allingham, for one, regarded the alterations in his "The Lady Alice" as nothing short of mutilation of the poem,\(^7\) and Henry Morley, before he himself became a staff member, complained to his friends of the Household Words mangling of his poems and articles.\(^8\) But there is record of at least one contributor who had modest enough opinion of his literary ability to regard as a betterment the revision of his articles by a staff member. In 1858, William Duthie, novelist and miscellaneous writer, published in A Tramp's Wallet (which he dedicated by permission to Dickens) his sixteen Household Words articles. In his preface he wrote:

"For the careful and valuable revision of that portion of his book which has appeared in "Household Words," the Author here begs to express his sincere thanks; and to acknowledge, in particular, his obligation to some unknown collaborator, who, to the paper called "The French Workman" has added some valuable information."

Duthie's "unknown collaborator," the "Office Book" shows, was Henry Morley.

To Harriet Parr, the hymn ("Hear my prayer, O! Heavenly Father") inserted in her story of "Poor Dick" in The Wreck of the Golden Mary may likewise have been an addition by "some unknown collaborator." Unlike Duthie, however, she gave no indication, when she republished the story in The Worthington Diary, that Dickens's hymn was not her own writing.\(^9\)

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\(^6\) Dickens to Winkle Collins, March 24, 1850: Letters, II, 646.

\(^6\) Coventry Patmore to Allingham, May 20, 1850: "... I was heartily disgusted with the way in which your 'Lady Alice' was treated by the Editor (not Dickens) of the 'Household Words,' and ... I coincide with all that you say in defence of the mutilated lines." Basil Champneys, Memoirs and Correspondence of Coventry Patmore, London, 1901, II, 174-75. The "Office Book" does not indicate who "mutilated" Allingham's lines.


\(^6\) "Poor Dick. Captain Dover's Story," in The Worthington Diary, and Some Old
Miss Parr did, however, state that various of the stories in her book had first appeared in Dickens's journal. Many other writers who republished their *Household Words* contributions also gave that periodical credit as place of first publication. Morley, Murray, Charles Knight, Edmund Yates, John Hollingshead, Harriet Martineau, for instance, were among those who made this fact known.

Some writers, however, republished their *Household Words* materials without acknowledgment of first place of publication. Thus, bibliographers who base their notations solely on the information given in the preface or introduction to such books give but a partial account of *Household Words* replications. For numerous poems, stories, and articles which first appeared in *Household Words*, that periodical has received no credit as the original place of publication.

George Walter Thornbury's *Life in Spain* (1859), for instance, does not acknowledge the fact that all but two chapters of the work are reprinted *Household Words* material; Dudley Costello's *Holidays with Hobgoblins* (1861) gives no indication that all but three of its articles first appeared in *Household Words*. Similarly, R. H. Horne, T. N. Talfourd, and R. S. Hawker reprinted various of their contributions without indicating that they had first appeared in Dickens's journal. Buried as they are in the pages of the nineteenth volumes of *Household Words*, the items are difficult to trace without aid of the information given in the "Office Book."60

One curious instance of lack of acknowledgment—or, rather, of a deliberate attempt at disassociation from the periodical—is Anna Mary Howitt's statement in the preface to her *An Artist-Student in Munich* (1858). The book contains Miss Howitt's "Bits of Life in Munich" and other sketches published in *Household Words* and duly credited to her in the "Office Book." Yet in her introductory remarks, Miss Howitt explained to the reader: "These pages are gleanings from letters written home during a sojourn in Munich for the purpose of artistic study."

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For bibliographical and, on occasion, biographical information concerning over three hundred mid-century writers, for a record of the journalistico practice of a popular Victorian periodical, the "Office Book" has much value; and Wills's thousands of entries are incontestable authority for the details that they record. But the accuracy of information gleaned from the "Office Book" pages depends on the understanding that the book was a working record, on the realization that Wills recorded entries in accordance with his own system—not in accordance with one arbitrarily assumed to have been his, and, finally, on the allowance of occasional mistakes to the indefatigable and conscientious sub-editor—more rightly called, as John Hollingshead called him, "the working editor" of *Household Words*.

In May 1859, Wills wrote in the "Office Book" the number of the final issue—"479 and last"—and recorded the items that were to appear: Dickens's announcement of *All the Year Round*, "entreat our readers . . . to bear us company" in the new journal; an article by Thornbury, one by Wilkie Collins, one by Hollingshead, and, finally, Dickens's "A Last Household Word." Below, he wrote across the page: "End of Volume the Nineteenth and Last."

Then follow more than a hundred blank pages. Through these the record had been meant to continue. Unwritten, they testify to the untimely end of *Household Words*.

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60 Hawker's prose contributions are identified in Boase and Courtney, *Bibliotheca Cornubiensis*, London, 1874-82.
Open Sesame
Notes on the Arabian Nights in English

BY JAMES HOLLY HANFORD

The Princeton University Library has just acquired by great good fortune an apparently unique copy of the earliest known edition of the Arabian Nights in English, London, 1706. This acquisition followed the purchase (through the generosity of Robert H. Taylor '30) of a very fine complete set of the Osborn and Longman edition of 1728-1730, not recorded or described elsewhere. The first item supplies the most important missing link in the publication history of the English version and is indispensable to future bibliographers. The interest and importance of this translation and the complexities involved in its publication history may best be indicated by reviewing briefly the story of the first appearance of the Nights in the Western world.1

The pioneer version and the original of all translations into Western languages before the advent of the great nineteenth century English orientalists (Lane, Payne, Burton) was made by Antoine Galland, himself a famous scholar and master of Eastern languages, who had become interested in the tales during periods of study and travel in the Levant. Returning to France in the last years of his life Galland turned from more serious work to the translation of the Nights. He made a version of the Seven Voyages of Sinbad the Sailor and presented it in manuscript to a noble patron. Later he received from Syria four volumes of a fifteenth century Arabic manuscript and proceeded from the beginning, publishing in installments. Volumes I and II appeared together early in 1704; Volumes III, IV, V and VI at later intervals in the same year; Volume VII in 1706. At this point Galland had apparently come near the end of his materials. In 1709 his publisher issued on his own initiative an eighth volume, which contained only one story translated by Galland and two by a fellow orientalist, Petis de la Croix, intended for a collection of similar tales entitled Les Mille et un Jours. Galland repudiated Volume VIII but it continued to be included in his collection. He had already found a new source and in 1712 produced Volumes IX and X. The final installment, Volumes XI and XII, came in 1717, after the author's death.

The facts so far are well supported by bibliographical evidence. A diary of Galland himself gives details of composition which begin the legend of the translation of the Nights, later so greatly enhanced by the fabulous achievements of Richard Burton. From this point on, however, confusion and uncertainty prevail. There was a second edition of the whole of Galland with the twelve volumes bound in six and continuous pagination described as Nouvelle Edition Corrigée published in Paris in 1726. Meanwhile, however, the volumes had evidently been reissued individually and pirated editions had begun to appear at The Hague. The stories were immensely popular. The vogue spread to other countries, and translations from the French began to come out in various Western languages, the English version apparently being the first. Copies either of the French or English in any of the early editions are extremely rare. Until recently collectors have not much bothered with it. An important contribution to the bibliography of the French and English versions was made by Duncan B. MacDonald ("A Bibliographical and Literary Study of the First Appearance of the Arabian Nights in Europe," Library Quarterly, II [1931], 387-420), based on materials in his own collection, now in the Case Memorial Library at Hartford, Connecticut. A wide inquiry into the holdings of other libraries by the collector Brent Maxwell (unpublished, Ms. copy at Princeton) resulted in the location of partial or complete English sets bearing dates 1712 to 1728, with various edition designations on the individual title pages; in the British Museum (three copies), the University of California, the Newberry Library and the Cleveland Public Library.2

1 Galland's life and the circumstances of the composition and publication of his work are fully dealt with by Raymond Schwab, L'Auteur des Mille et une Nuits, account of the Arabian Nights in general see the article "Alf Layla wa-Layla" in the Encyclopedia of Islam, new edition.

2 The three British Museum sets have not been fully described in any published bibliography or catalogue. It is possible here to give only the title page data for comparison with the Princeton acquisitions. No. I. (B.M., 15410 bbb 33, six volumes in three); Vol. I, "the fourth edition," 1715; Vol. II, the same; Vol. III, "the second edition," 1712; Vol. III, "the second
The discovery of the 1706 edition in English increases the possibility of determining what actually happened when installments of the French reached England and began to be published in translation by the enterprising bookseller Andrew Bell at the sign of the Cross Keys and Bible in Cornhill. Princeton unfortunately lacks editions of Galland's translation in its original form. The great thing, of course, would be to find the name of the Grub Street "hack" who succeeded so well in imposing his work on generation after generation of English readers, even to the boyhood of the present writer who can quote from memory phrases which must have come from this version and no other. It was the

eighth edition," 1712; Vol. IV, the same; Vol. V, "the third edition," 1715; Vol. VI, the same. The imprint on each title page is that of Andrew Bell.


The California set is very similar to the second in the British Museum, except for Vol. VIII, which has the date 1715 and the name of Andrew Bell, with no edition indication. This is, as far as I know, unique.

The Newberry set (originally twelve volumes in four) has a Dublin imprint, is uniformly dated 1728, and is designated "the seventh edition." There is a frontispiece entitled "The Sultan."

The Princeton University Library has facsimiles of the above title pages, also of the sets described by MacDonald. Mr. Maxwell has been kind enough to send his correspondence with libraries throughout the world regarding their holdings. Another body of material available here is a copy of the data assembled by the late C. N. Greneough concerning the Arabian Nights and the Turkish and Persian Tales for his unpublished bibliography of eighteenth-century English fiction now at Harvard University.

i.e. in single or combined volumes of two each. For a listing of editions of Galland see Victor Chauvin, Bibliographie des Ouvrages Arabes, Vol. IV, 257-99, about 100 items before 1897, not including the "Editions pour la jeunesse!" The text is available at Princeton in editions dating 1785-9 (Cabinet des Fées), 1868, 1829, and later. Various editions of the French are minutely described by MacDonald and these are available at Hartford.

who invented the title Arabian Nights Entertainments, the original Arabic title, Alif Laylah wa-Laylah, having been properly rendered by Galland as Les Mille et Une Nuits and so in the translations into other languages than English.

The first Princeton set consists of four volumes 12mo. separately signed and paginated, bound in two, in the original covers. There are four title pages, of which the first, in modernized style, runs as follows:

Arabian Nights Entertainments: consisting of one thousand and one stories, told by the Sultaness of the Indies, to divert the Sultan from the execution of a bloody vow he had made to marry a lady every day, and have her cut off next morning, to avenge himself for the disloyalty of his first Sultaness, etc. Containing a better account of the customs, manners, and religion of the Eastern nations, Tartars, Persians, and Indians, than is to be met with in any author hitherto published. Translated into French from the Arabian Ms. by M. Galland, of the Royal Academy; and now done into English. In two volumes. Vol. I London, printed for Andrew Bell, at the Cross Keys and Bible in Cornhill, 1706.

The second title page is the same except for "Volume II," as are also the third and fourth, with the omission, however, of "In two Volumes." There is a frontispiece in each of the combined volumes, showing the Sultan and Scheherazade in a canopied royal bed, with the sister holding back the curtain. A table of contents for the first two volumes stands at the beginning; a list of errata in Volume I is printed on the back of the second title page. Evidently the two volumes were printed together and offered as a unit, without any indication that there were to be more. One infers that only the first installment of Galland, published early in 1704, was available to the translator. The "approbation" is dated December 27, 1705 instead of December 27, 1703 as in Galland.

The first question is whether this is actually the first edition of the English. It may not be, for a notice in The History of the Works of the Learned (VII, 573) for September, 1705, announces an Arabian Winter-Evenings Entertainments to be published the next week. This title appears as the drop title on the first page of the text of Volumes I and II of the Princeton set. Perhaps the text was already in type before the final decision about the title was
arrived at and the title pages printed. In any case the volumes must have been on sale very early in 1706 at the latest.

Regarding Volumes III and IV there is additional evidence. The table of contents for the two is at the end. The title page of Volume IV is part of the first signature and the two could have been separately printed. Volume III uses the drop-title Arabian Nights Entertainments, but Volume IV reverts to Arabian Winter-Evenings Entertainments. A second notice in History of the Works of the Learned for March 1706 (VIII, 187-8) reports Arabian Nights Entertainments as just published, four volumes in two in twelves, and quotes the title page about as given above, together with portions of the translation of Galland’s introductory statement which had appeared in Volume I.

We come now to the publication of Volumes V and VI, which is again reported in The History of the Works of the Learned, for November, 1706. No copies of these with the date 1706 are known to have survived. The assumption would be that they are identical in format with the preceding and that all six volumes were soon being sold together. They were, as we shall see, evidently reissued more than once in this form or separately, with various dates and edition designations.

The next stage in the Bell publication of the Nights is indicated in an entry in the Term Catalogue for 1708 of Volume VII published by A. Bell, “where may be had the other six.” and again in 1711 of seven volumes, “the third edition.” This seventh volume, it will be remembered, appeared alone in France in 1706. It had therefore reached England, been translated and added to Bell’s offerings before a copy of Volume VIII, published in 1709, was available. The latter must, however, have been translated shortly after the seven volume set was on sale, for a copy dated 1715 is included in the eight volume set described by MacDonald.

This marks the end of Bell’s activity in publishing the translation. The earliest imprints for Volumes IX-XII are dated 1721 and 1722 (first British Museum and University of California sets) with a varying list of booksellers: “W. Taylor at the Ship in Paternoster Row,” “W. Chetwood at Cato’s Head in Russell Street,” “S. Chapman at the Angel in the Pall Mall” (later “T. Jauney at the Angel without Temple Bar”). The assumption would be that the successors of Andrew Bell continued to hold the copy for Volumes I-VIII, while Taylor and his associates had independently undertaken the publication of Volumes IX-XII. The imprint of “Elizabeth Bell at the Cross Keys and Bible in Cornhill” occurs as late as 1721 (Volume VI in the second British Museum set). By 1725, however, the Bell firm had sold to “J. Osborn and T. Longman at the Ship and Black Swan in Pater-Noster Row,” as is attested by the third British Museum copy of that date. They continue to be the sole publishers of the first eight volumes but Taylor, Chapman, etc., are replaced in the imprints beginning with 1730.

I turn now to the complete Princeton set of 1728-30. No such edition is listed by Chauvin or others and this copy too may be unique. It contributes some new facts to the operation of Longman and various other publishers.

Volume I is similar in most respects to the corresponding volume of the 1706 edition described above. It is, however, “from the last Paris edition” and designated “the Seventh Edition.” The imprint is as follows: “London: Printed for J. Osborn and T. Longman at the Ship and Black Swan in Pater-noster Row.” Volume II is the same but with no edition designation. Combined Volumes I and II are separately paginated but continuously signed. The page numbers do not exactly correspond with those of the 1706 edition.

Volumes III and IV are so designated, with one title page for the combined volume, as in the third British Museum set. This title page does not contain the words “from the last Paris edition” but only “now done into English,” as in 1706. The combined volume is continuously paginated and signed.

Volume V is “from the third edition in French corrected and amended” and is designated “The Sixth Edition.”

Volume VI is the same. Combined Volumes V and VI are separately paginated and signed.

Volume VII is the same but “now done into English,” like Volume III, and “The Fifth Edition.”

Volume VIII is again “from the last Paris edition” like Volume I, with no edition indication. Combined Volumes VII and VIII are separately paginated and signed, like Volumes V and VI.

Volume IX is “now done into English from the last Paris Edition.” There is no indication of edition. The imprint is now as follows: “London: Printed for J. Marshall, at the Bible in Gracechurch-Street; J. Osborne and T. Longman, at the Ship and Black
Swan in Pater-Noster-Row; W. Meadows, at the Angel, and J. Brotherton, at the Bible in Cornhill, 1730."

Volume X is the same. Combined Volumes IX and X are separately paginated but continuously signed like Volumes I and II. Volume XI is the same but "Second Edition," with the following imprint: "London: Printed for J. Marshall, in Grace-Church-Street; J. Brotherton, and W. Meadows, in Cornhill; and J. Osborn, and T. Longman, in Pater-Noster-Row. 1730."

Volume XII is the same. Combined Volumes XI-XII are separately paginated but continuously signed.

Evidently Osborn and Longman had entered with the new combination of booksellers who took over from the Taylor group after 1725. It was a step in the development which made Longman the most permanent of English publishers. The varying designation in both the Bell and the Longman title pages do not indicate that the surviving sets were pieced together by libraries or modern collectors but by the original booksellers from their stocks on hand, or by the first purchasers adding newly available volumes to what they already had. It is therefore in vain to search for any set which might be called a "first complete edition as published."

There has been much difference of opinion regarding the merits of both the French translator and his English follower. The former adapted his narrative freely to the taste and style of the times but he was a matchless storyteller. The English translator occasionally falls into a French idiom but is really a very skillful writer in the plain narrative style of the age which produced Defoe and Swift. The complaint against both is that of infidelity to the original and lack of oriental color. Of the latter the world got plenty in John Payne, and in Richard Burton who made liberal use of Payne's version, in the nineteenth century. In their privately printed and limited editions they went to great lengths in the inclusion of details offensive to public decency and Burton emphasized the scandalous character of the original in his notes and especially in the chapter on pederasty in his Terminal Essay. An expurgated household edition was published by Lady Burton (1886) and one with parts of the omitted material restored by E. G. Smithers (1894). The Smithers edition has been widely circulated and often republished. Then came a literal reprint and finally a facsimile edition of Burton's original, both of which are fairly common collectors' items. A reaction against the stylistic affections of Payne-Burton and a return to propriety is represented by A. J. Arberry whose Scheherazade is a sampling of the stories in normal English. For ordinary reading purposes it does not surpass the first English rendering, though doubtless coming closer to the spirit of the original.

The early editions of the French and English were reinforced by the publication in both languages of Turkish and Persian tales translated by Pets de la Croix and by imitations which began at once to flood the market. The oriental tale, reaching its height in William Beckford's Vathek, played an important part in the Romantic movement and contributed largely to the vogue of orientalism in the other arts. The oriental imagination had of course fed the West for centuries but the Arabian Nights was something new. They brought a close-up picture of the Muslim world in infinite variety and without heroics. Their stories were often masterpieces of narrative art. They were rich in human character and motive and they moved in a world of supernatural and occult power stranger than anything in the fairy or demonic lore of Latin, Celt, or Teuton, a world natively accepted and as fascinating to the adult as to the child. The way was prepared for interest in such materials by the long historic conflicts with Moor and Turk, as well as by increasingly close contact with the East in trade and travel. The Memoirs of a Turkish Spy, purporting to give the Eastern point of view on affairs in Europe, was translated into English from 1687 to 1693 and went through many editions. However, the fact remains that the publication of the Arabian Nights in France and England marks a new epoch in the
development of popular fiction, as all authorities agree. It is for this reason that the circumstances of its first publication and early circulation become important.\footnote{The most comprehensive account of these developments and specifically of the legacy of the Arabian Nights and The Turkish and Persian Tales to eighteenth-century England is contained in Martha P. Conant, The Oriental Tale in English, New York, 1918. See also for the earlier period Samuel C. Chew, The Crescent and the Rose, New York, 1857, and for France Marie-Louise Dufrenoi, L’Orient Romantique en France 1794-1859, Montreal, 1949, which gives Galland’s pioneering work the place of primary importance in literary history which it deserves.}

That the English version was already well known in 1709 is suggested by an allusion in that year in the title page of The Golden Spy, a Political Journal of the British Nights Entertainments. In the dedication to Swift there is the statement (quoted by MacDonald) “The Arabian and Turkish Tales were owing to your Tale of a Tub.” Beginning with 1711 use of the new materials in the Spectator and the Guardian is abundant and must have constituted an important factor in directing public interest toward them. Addison applies the episode of the sick king cured by exercise with a drugged mallet (the 11th and 12th Night in Galland) in Spectator 195 (September 11, 1711), with an allusion to Galland and he retells the story of the Barber’s Fifth Brother in Spectator 535 (November 17, 1719), translating portions of it directly from the French. His own imitations in such inventions as “The Vision of Myrzia” (Spectator 150, September 1, 1711) set the stage for the great proliferation of narratives with Eastern settings in the second half of the eighteenth century.

The American public recorded their profound feelings following the assassination of President Kennedy by perpetuating his name across the American landscape. One of the nation’s official memorials to the late President, and in many ways the most extraordinary, is the use of his name to supersede one of the most venerable geographical designations in America: Cape Cañaveral. At the time of this change, interest in the derivation of this name and its original assignment to the cape instigated an investigation which resulted in an exhibition tracing the history of Cape Cañaveral through four centuries, which was on view in the Maps Division from February to May, 1964.

This name stretches back to one of the first sightings of the North American coast and appropriately it describes the image that 16th century Spanish eyes actually envisaged. For “Cañaveral” is literally a canebrake, or, as the Real Academia Española’s Diccionario Histórico de la Lengua Española translates it, a place overgrown with canes or reeds. We recognize it as the name for the shallow reeded shore—the tidal swamps—which even today line portions of the eastern coast of the cape.

Investigation of the materials in the Archives of the Indies at Seville as well as copies of documents from European Archives in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University of Florida may supply us with more information about the first authentic use of the name. This exhibition was therefore planned not as a study of the early cartography of Florida, but as a reflection of the history of the earliest geographical nomenclature of the southeastern shore of the United States. Some of the maps displayed illustrated the varied historical background of what is now the State of Florida. They also indicated that the name “Florida” was originally assigned to most of the peninsula and to a considerable part of the Mississippi Valley west of the mountains.\footnote{The selection of these rare charts and maps was based on research done also at the Library of Congress and on information supplied by the Hispanic Foundation.
"Cape Cañaveral" was a name preceded by few others in our nation. In his search for the fabulous island of Bimini, Juan Ponce de León, who accompanied Columbus on his second voyage, discovered the mainland on March 27, 1513. Easter Sunday, took possession of it in the name of the King of Spain and christened it—a land which the native Lucayos called "Cauto" or, "Florida," from "Pasca Florida," the Spanish name for Easter Sunday. Exploring the coast to the South he encountered violent currents when he sighted a cape in the latitude of 28° 15' which he named Cabo de las Corrientes.\(^2\)

Although there are disagreements among scholars today over the question whether Ponce de León actually landed on this cape, Antonio de Herrera y Torresillas (1559-1625) the official historian of the Indies, who is thought to have seen the original notes or log-book (now lost) of Ponce de León and who had access to the great wealth of documents which the Spanish archivists had preserved, identifies this cape as Cape Cañaveral.\(^3\) Some authorities believe that on earlier voyages John and Sebastian Cabot passed the cape and recorded it on their charts.

Diego Ribero, one of the most famous of the early Portuguese cartographers, was in the service of Spain as first cosmographer of the Casa de la Contratación de las Indias at Seville. On his Planisphere of 1529, preserved in the Biblioteca Vaticana (classmark Borjiano III) his portrayal of the Florida outline deserves attention, for on it the cape is perhaps for the first time clearly sketched. The author's legend, along the entire width of the upper and lower borders, says: Universal chart in which is contained all that until now has been discovered in the world.

Although documentation has not yet been found, it is possible that the name of Cape Cañaveral was in use before 1530. In the Map Division of the Library of Congress is a photograph of a portion of the Florida Historical Society. I am greatly indebted to Mr. John Cobb Cooper, Princeton '36, for his great assistance and generosity in allowing us to enrich our exhibition with materials from his extremely valuable collection of early maps. He also provided us with historical notes on early Florida.

\(^2\) Woodbury Lowery in the Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States, 1533-1562 (New York, Putnam’s Sons, 1904, p. 141) says that on March 8th, 1513, Ponce doubled Cape Cañaveral in latitude 28° 15' which he named Cabo de las Corrientes.

\(^3\) The account of Ponce de León’s voyage is contained in Herrera’s Historia General de los Hechos de los Castellanos, Madrid, 1601, Decada I, Libro IX.

The tolan chart of the world, attributed to Vesconte de Maggiolo, which bears the name of the cape. This photograph has recently been given the conjectural date of “1530?” by an unidentified person. It has not been possible to confirm either the attribution or the date.

"C. del Canaveral" is included in the nomenclature of a manuscript map belonging to Alonso de Santa Cruz, possibly made by him in 1526 and reproduced in Mapas Españoles de America.\(^4\) Santa Cruz, the celebrated "Cosmógrafo real" to the Emperor Charles V, was entrusted with many confidential geographical commissions by the Spanish sovereign and had been a member of the unsuccessful expedition undertaken by Sebastian Cabot to La Plata. The controversial authorship and date is based on the editors of the 1951 Mapas... on the assumption, that in 1535 Santa Jeronimo was already working as cosmographer and that the manuscript possesses enough of his characteristics to attribute it to him. The original is in the Archivo Histórico Nacional de Madrid.

After Diego Ribero’s death in 1553, Charles V entrusted Alonso de Chaves, pilot and professor of cartography at Seville, with the preparation of a new "padrón general" which was executed in 1556; no copy has yet been found.\(^5\) Chaves’s theoretical work on astronomical and nautical matters, entitled Quadratur in cosmographia practica, dated 1539 and preserved in the Real Academia de la Historia at Madrid contains a description of the American coast and mentions "Cabo del Canaveral" in the latitude of 27° 30'. However the name does not appear on the Spanish padrón-type maps of the 1520’s.\(^6\)

[Carta de la Florida y costas N del Seno Mexicano], an anonymous manuscript chart also probably drawn by Santa Cruz, about 1544, now in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville, shows numerous Indian settlements inland, reported by survivors of De Soto’s expedition on their return to Mexico in 1548. According to Cumming the so-called De Soto map... is the only extant contemporary map to illustrate the extensive explorations of the expedition which Ferdinand de Soto and his followers made in

\(^4\) ... siglos XV-XVII, published by the Academia de la historia at Madrid in 1951.

\(^5\) This was an official map of the New World, verified by the Pilot-Major twice a year and approved by the Casa de la Contratación.

1539-1543... [and] it is usually considered the first map which attempts to delineate the interior of any part of the present territory of the United States." One of the few names indicated on the southeast coast is "C. de Canaual." Abraham Ortelius was one of the greatest geographers of the sixteenth century. His *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, published at Antwerp in 1570 and in subsequent editions and translations, may be considered the first modern atlas and had a profound influence on early cartography. In this work the sensational discoveries in the New World are reflected in his *Americae sive novi orbis, nova descriptio*, portraying the whole of the American coastline and a considerable portion of the interior. Approximately sixty years earlier the New World had been represented only by a simple coastline. On this map the name of "Cannaueral" is applied to the whole peninsula of Florida.

Gerónimo de Chaves, son of Alonso de Chaves, also called Chiaves, cosmographer to King Philip II, was already noted as a scientist in 1545. It was he who designed for Ortelius the map—*La Florida*—reproduced here (Fig. 1). It first appeared in the 1584 addition to the *Theatrum*. It is generally agreed that few maps of the Southeast had a greater or longer influence on continental map makers than this first printed regional map. Cumming underlines its great importance as a prototype and remarks that "its general geographical outline is found in many maps, in which the details were revised and corrected upon occasion as additions to geographical knowledge were acquired, until the beginning of the eighteenth century." Its nomenclature is based upon early Spanish explorers and "C. de Cañareal" is one of the few place names depicted for the first time on a printed map on the eastern coast of the peninsula of Florida.

The celebrated Le Moyne map of French Florida was published in Theodore de Bry's work *Brevis Narratio Eorum Quae in Florida Americae Provincia Gallis acciderunt... Quae est secunda Pars Americae...* at Frankfurt in 1591. Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues, a French artist accompanied the second French Expedi-

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*This map follows very closely the description of Florida given by Fernández de Oviedo in his *Historia General y Natural de las Indias*, Madrid, 1535, Tomo 2, Libr. XXI, Caps. VII-VIII.*

tion under the command of René de Laudonnière to Florida in 1564. He explored the interior as well as the maritime parts of that region, observing the distances of the rivers from each other. Le Moyne pursued there his studies of Indian life and acted as graphic recorder of the events. The map was probably drawn at that time, but not published until 1591.

Most of the defenders were killed when Laudonnière’s colony was wiped out by the Spaniards in 1565, but Le Moyne escaped to England. After his death, Theodore de Bry, a Flemish engraver, came into possession of the artist’s drawings, his map of the region and his accompanying narrative of the French colony and engraved them for his work. It has been called: “the most remarkable and important map, which, so far as we know of, has been preserved to us among the maps, composed in the 16th century of that part of the East-Coast, which lies between Cape Hatteras and Cape Florida. The authority and influence of this map reaches as far down as the latter half of the 17th century, until the time of the first English plantations in Carolina.”

The map, Floridæ Americae Provinciarum Recens & exactissima descriptio . . . which De Bry engraved for the first time, shows Florida, part of the Gulf of Mexico, Cuba, and the Carolina coast to Cape Fear. The rivers, forts and capes are indicated, as Le Moyne heard about them from the Indians, including “From. Canuaueral.” Cumming says that these “names were given on the first voyage under Ribaut . . . They were eventually superseded by others when the seventeenth-century English settlers arrived.”

The earliest atlas devoted primarily to the New World was published at Louvain in 1597 by Corneille Wytiflet, a geographer from Brabant. It contains an account of the history of the discovery, the geography, natural history, and ethnology of the New World. Seven editions were printed between 1597 and 1611, the first under its Latin title Descriptionis Ptolemaicae Augmentum. Cumming notes that “in spite of its title, the work owes nothing to Ptolemy in substance or method.” Phillips has described this atlas thus: “as important in the history of the early cartography of the New World, as Ptolemy’s maps are in the study of the old”

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12 Ibid., p. 127.
Plate 16 of this work, entitled *Florida et Apalche*—reproduced here—is from the 1598 edition (Fig. 2). It shows a large part of what is now the southern United States as Florida and all of the lands to the northeast as Apalche. “Cap. de Cañaveral” is one of the few place names designated on the Atlantic coast.

By the late 16th century the name of Cape Cañaveral was clearly visible on all maps and sailing charts portraying the peninsula of Florida. It was a designation which remained throughout the four centuries. On November 29, 1963, President Lyndon B. Johnson issued Executive Order 11129 renaming Cape Cañaveral after the late President, who, he said, had “lighted the imagination of our people when he set the moon as our target and man as the means to reach it. . . .”

We are all aware of the special significance which this area has assumed in recent years in space exploration and the fundamental changes it may bring to the geography of the future.

—JOHANNA FANTOVA, CURATOR OF MAPS

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**PRINCETON LOANS TO EXHIBITIONS ELSEWHERE**

During the past year the Library has cooperated with other institutions in this country and abroad by lending notable items from the Princeton collections to their exhibitions. Outstanding among these are the following:


Byzantine Art in European Art. Department of Antiquities and Archaeological Restoration, Greece. Zappeion Exhibition Hall, Athens, April 1-June 15, 1964. Ninth Exhibition held under the auspices of the Council of Europe. Lent by the Princeton Library: three Byzantine manuscripts notable for their illuminations, Four Gospels, 9th & 12th centuries (Garrett Ms. No. 6); Four Gospels, 13th century (Garrett Ms. No. 7); John Climacus, The Heavenly Ladder, 11th century (Garrett Ms. No. 16). These three manuscripts are described in the printed catalogue of the exhibition (a small encyclopedia on Byzantine art with contributions by noted scholars in various countries), published in three languages (Greek, French, English), Nos. 304, 322, 352.

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**THE GROLIER CLUB VISIT**

On Saturday, May 23rd, 1964, members and guests of the Grolier Club travelled to Princeton University for a visit to the Library and other points of interest on the University campus.

The trip to Princeton took place on the final day of a “Gala Book Week” during which the Grolier Club entertained librarians, curators, and collectors (a number of whom were non-resident Grolier members) who had been hosts, in charge of institutional and private collections, during Grolier trips of the past several years. Since 1949 Grolier members have visited libraries and privately-owned collections in several American cities and have travelled to see book treasures in England, France, and Italy. During the week of May 17th the Grolier members and guests were received at libraries, museums, and homes of collectors in and near New York, and at Yale and Princeton Universities.

Some 150 visitors were received in the Faculty Room of Nassau Hall by the University Librarian, William S. Dix, William H. Scheide, and the curators of the Library’s special collections. The Librarian spoke of the growth of book collections at Princeton and gave some account of the historic building (for a few months in 1783 the Capitol of the United States) in which the visitors
were assembled. Mr. Scheide spoke briefly of the Scheide Library, soon to be moved to a new room especially constructed for it in the Firestone Library.

A printed catalogue of the exhibits which had been arranged for the guests was distributed. In addition to items from the collections of the University Library the catalogue listed books and manuscripts being shown with them, in honor of the occasion, from the Scheide Library and from the collection of Robert H. Taylor '90, of Princeton.

Upon the conclusion of the Princeton visit the visitors proceeded to Somerville, New Jersey, to the home and library of Grolier President and Mrs. Donald F. Hyde.—A.P.C.

Friends of the Princeton University Library

ANNUAL MEETING

The annual meeting and dinner, attended by 195 Friends, guests, and members of the Library staff, was held at the Princeton Inn on Friday evening, May 8, 1964. Following dinner, Robert H. Taylor '90, Chairman of the Council, presided at the annual business meeting. The slate of Council members for the 1964/65-1966/67 term, presented by Edward Naumburg, Jr. '24, Chairman of the Nominating Committee, was unanimously elected by the members present. After remarks by the Librarian, who mentioned in particular the gift to the Library by Bernard M. Baruch of his personal papers and the allocation to the Library from the University's recent capital campaign of $500,000.00 for the establishment of a fund reserved for special major acquisitions, the Chairman introduced the speaker of the evening, Dr. Mason W. Gross, President of Rutgers University. Dr. Gross outlined the different approaches to knowledge—the "romantic" and the scientific—and their bearing on books and libraries in a university. At the conclusion of Dr. Gross's talk, members adjourned to the Firestone Library to see the New Jersey Tercentenary exhibition.

THE COUNCIL

At the annual meeting the following were elected members of the Council for the 1964/65-1966/67 term: C. Waller Barrett, John R. B. Brett-Smith, Sinclair Hamilton '06, Richard M. Huber '45, Donald F. Hyde, Rensselaer W. Lee '20, Dean Mathey '12, Ernest C. Savage '19, Willard Thorp, James Thorpe, and William D. Wright '34.

The deaths of two members of the Council are recorded with sorrow: Edward M. Crane '18 on April 13, 1964, and Julius Long Stern on July 3, 1964.

Charles Ryskamp has been appointed a member of the Council, to fill the vacancy resulting from Mr. Stern's death. Mr. Ryskamp, an Associate Professor of English at Princeton University, has
been Chairman of the Friends' Committee on Publications since 1961.

The Council at its meeting on May 8, 1964, accepted the resignations of Willard Thorp as Vice-Chairman, a post which he had held since 1942, and of Howard C. Rice, Jr. as Secretary, an office in which he had served since 1951. To succeed Mr. Rice as Secretary, the Chairman has appointed Earle E. Coleman, Curator of Rare Books and Special Collections in the Princeton University Library.

ELMER ADLER UNDERGRADUATE BOOK COLLECTING PRIZES

The thirty-ninth annual undergraduate book collecting contest was held on Friday evening, April 24, 1964, in the Friends Room of the Firestone Library. Thanks to John M. Crawford, Jr. and Edward Naumburg, Jr. '24, executors of the estate of Elmer Adler, founder of the Library's Graphic Arts Division, the contest has been endowed from Mr. Adler's estate and this year, for the first time, the awards were made as the Elmer Adler Undergraduate Book Collecting Prizes. There were ten entries in the contest, including collections of Western American history, Andrew Lang, illustrated books, Robert Frost, Woodrow Wilson, romances, Nazi propaganda, gift and souvenir books, nineteenth-century decorated cloth bindings, and Charles Dickens.

The first prize was awarded to Bailey Bishop '64 for a collection of first editions of Dickens. The second prize was shared by Philip C. Peck, Jr. '64 for a collection of decorated Victorian bookbindings and Frederick W. Long '65 for a collection of gift and souvenir books. Frederick B. Adams, Jr., Director of the Pierpont Morgan Library, and Alexander D. Wainwright '39, Assistant Librarian for Acquisitions in the Princeton University Library, served as judges.

FINANCIAL REPORT

The summary of financial transactions on the Operating Account for the year 1963-64:

RECEIPTS

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<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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<tr>
<td>Cash balance July 1, 1963</td>
<td>$5,641.84</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dues for 1963-64</td>
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<td>Chronicle subscriptions and sales</td>
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<td>Friends dinner, May 8, 1964</td>
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<td>Contributions</td>
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$20,643.84

EXPENDITURES

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<td>Printing of Chronicle, Vol. XXIV, No. 3</td>
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<td>Printing of Chronicle, Vol. XXV, Nos. 1 and 2</td>
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<td>Clerical help</td>
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<td>Membership drive expenses</td>
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<td>Editor's salary</td>
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<td>Transfer to Edward M. Crane '18 Memorial Fund</td>
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$16,543.18

Cash balance June 30, 1964

$4,100.06

Contributions received from Friends during the year 1963-64 for current acquisitions totaled $22,139.63 and to "Needs" $1,575.00.

PUBLICATION FUND

RECEIPTS

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$3,912.61

EXPENDITURES

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<td>Mailing</td>
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$56.73

Balance June 30, 1964

$3,855.88
FRIENDS OF THE PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

The Friends of the Princeton University Library, founded in 1895, is an association of bibliophiles and scholars 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 legacies 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 anyone subscribing annually seven dollars and fifty cents or more. Checks payable to Princeton University should be addressed to the Treasurer.

Members receive The Princeton University Library Chronicle and publications issued by the Friends, and are invited to participate in meetings and to attend special lectures and exhibitions.

The Council

Robert H. Taylor, Chairman

William S. DIX, Vice-Chairman

Earle E. Coleman, Secretary

Alexander D. Waithwright, Treasurer

Princeton University Library, Princeton, New Jersey

1962-1963


Executive and Finance Committee

Robert H. Taylor, Chairman

William S. DIX, Vice-Chairman

Earle E. Coleman, Secretary

Sinclair Hamilton

Library News: William S. DIX

Membership: Richard M. Rider

Nominations: John C. West

Princetoniana: M. Hailey Thomas

Publications: Charles Tyndall

Purchases and Acquisitions: Donald F. Hyde

Chairman will welcome inquiries and suggestions.